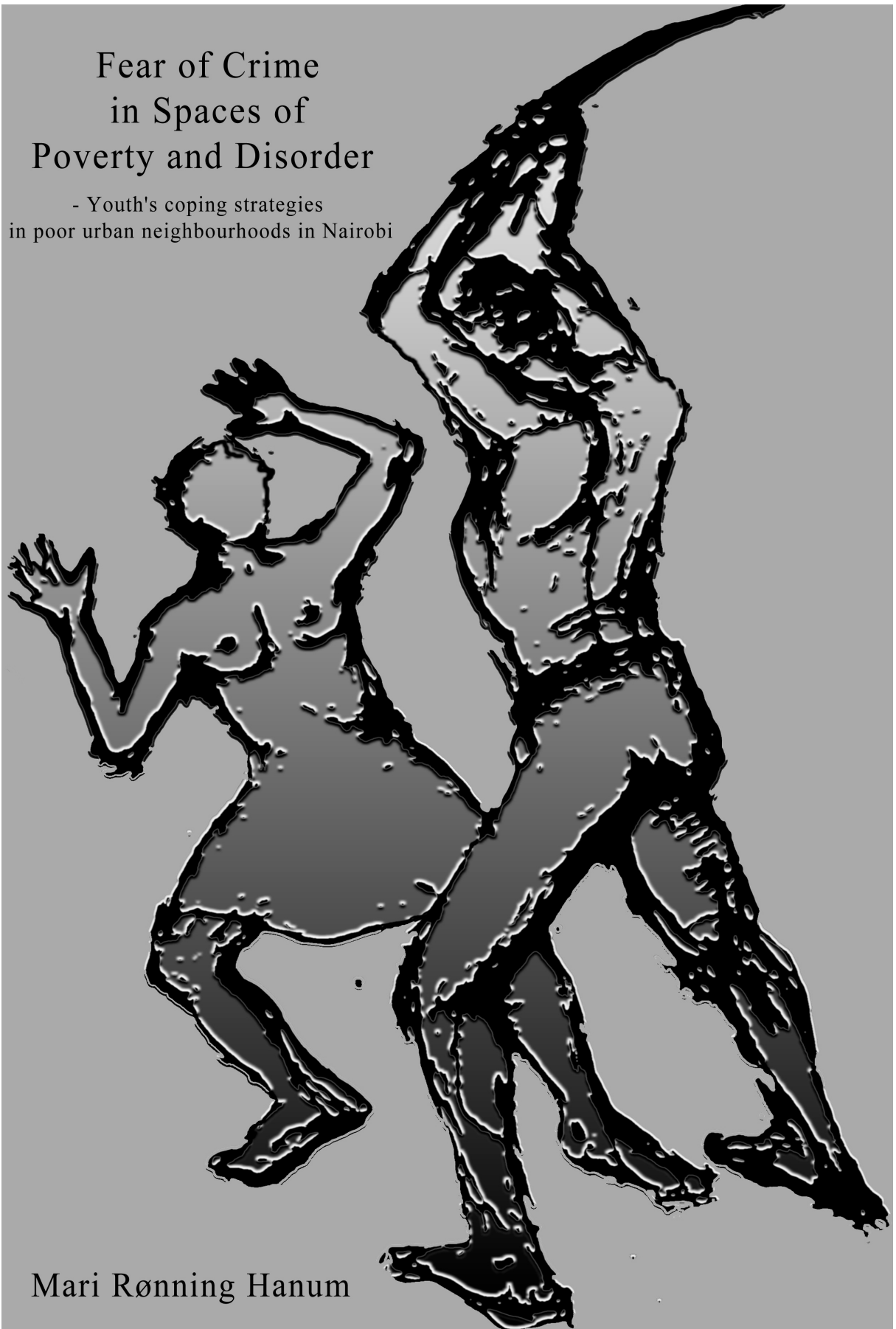


Fear of Crime in Spaces of Poverty and Disorder

- Youth's coping strategies
in poor urban neighbourhoods in Nairobi



Mari Rønning Hanum

Cover drawing by Arve Rønning

Fear of crime in Spaces of Poverty and Disorder

*Youth's coping strategies in poor urban
neighbourhoods in Nairobi*

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

IDP- Internally Displaced People

KSH- Kenyan Shillings

MYSA – Mathare Youth Sport Association

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The pauperisation of urban space in Africa has negative consequences for security, stability and spatial differentiation in many cities, and this is also the case in Nairobi. Furthermore, the exposure to crime as a consequence of poverty and inequality make many people vulnerable in the capital city. According to UN HABITAT, violent crimes in Nairobi have been on the increase for the last decade. Moreover, the civil wars in neighbouring countries have resulted in weapon smuggling, which is a major contributor to crime and other insecurities (UN HABITAT 2007). In a World Bank study from 2006 it was reported that nearly two-thirds (63%) of the households feel insecure inside their informal settlement (OXFAM 2009). Additionally, the emergence of criminal youth gangs during the latest decade and the violent outbreak after the last presidential election in 2007, are both two major sources of fear in Nairobi and its slum areas, and may have contributed to an increase in fear.

Approximately 60% of the Kenyan population are youth (Kasarani Youth Congress 2009), and many of these young people find themselves in situations that make them very vulnerable and on top of this they are meeting severe problems everyday. Many young people from rural areas migrate to Nairobi in hope of better work prospects. Consequently, this urban migration creates high competition for employment, and due to a lack in employment opportunities they have no other option than to end up in the insecure environment of the city's slum areas, which is the only affordable place. As a result, young people under the age of 35 make up the majority among the urban poor in Nairobi (Thieme 2010). The purpose of this study is to access this marginalised young section of the population living in deprivation in slum areas and poor neighbourhoods of Nairobi. Crime's impact on youth in terms of development may be severe and their quality of life reduced, especially when already it is impoverished (UN HABITAT 2010).

Fear of crime has become a popular topic in scientific literature and hundreds of academic publications give us the opportunity to immerse ourselves in fear of crime research. Particularly in Western societies fear of crime has become a salient topic, and various crime surveys have been conducted in recent years (Cops 2010). The statistics, however, do not reflect the complexness of fear of crime nor the various coping strategies. Additionally, research on youth and fear of crime is still lacking and so are studies in the context of poverty stricken urban spaces in countries in the South. This study, however, attempts to identify what kind of coping strategies young people in low-income settlements in Nairobi have adopted in their everyday lives to deal with fear of crime. In addition, the research endeavours to

understand how place identity and social identities affect young people's fear and as a result their coping strategies.

1.1 RESEARCH QUESTION

What are the coping strategies youth in poor urban neighbourhoods in Eastlands adopt to cope with fear of crime?

In order to answer this research question I have developed three minor questions that will give an understanding of the dimensions of place, social relations and social identities through the eyes of the youth in Eastlands. Questions I believe are necessary in order to understand their opted coping strategies.

- *How do the youth perceive their area in terms of crime and insecurities? And how does this affect their fear?*
- *How does the sense of belonging affect the youth's fear of crime?*
- *What role does personal identity play in the emergence of fear of crime and coping strategies?*

Some of the analytical concepts need further elaboration, to be specific the concepts *youth* and *poor urban neighbourhoods*. I present a definition of *youth* in the research method. However, I will use *youth* and *young people* interchangeably referring to the same definition, on grounds that sentences seem awkward when using *youth*. Thus in some circumstances *young people* fits better.

The concept *poor urban neighbourhoods* will include low-income neighbourhoods that are informal settlements defined as *slum* and those that are not defined *slum*. *Slum*, however, will be the term used for informal settlements, even though I know it is a term that is politically incorrect in certain circles. The reason for this is being consistent throughout the thesis, as the informants use that term.

1.2 MOTIVATIONS AND RELEVANCE

Just as the cliché goes: "I became a doctor because of an illness in my family", the reason why I am concerned about this issue is influenced by a personal event. While conducting a fieldwork in Bogotá, Colombia, a young man managed to attack me almost directly in front of

my entrance door. When trying to rob me, he fell over me and grabbed my handbag which was stuck around my neck. Luckily I was not alone, and my friend screamed like hell, trying to get attention from the surrounding houses and people around while she was struggling to remove him from me. Her attempt was successful and suddenly he ran away, leaving us unharmed. Or so we thought. The feeling of being attacked right outside the apartment got stuck inside me, fearing that it might happen again. During the next weeks of the fieldwork my heart jumped into my throat every time a man suddenly crossed the street and came towards me. However, I was lucky because I could leave everything behind me, and go home to the safe environment in Norway. *My safe space.*

Leaving my fear in Colombia, I started thinking about those who live in neighbourhoods with a lot of crime and insecurity, not being able to elope from these terrible incidents like I did. Do they live in constant fear? For many people victimisation is just a hypothetical scenario, but for young people living in poor urban neighbourhoods this could be a very real condition of everyday life. Reading and going through a lot of research and articles that has been written about the fear of crime, I realised that few researchers had studied this topic outside of Western society. To mention a few others: Caldeira (2000) in Sao Paulo, Lemanski (2004) and Taylor (2009) in Santo Domingo. Only a few of them are qualitative research, which Pain (2003) among others emphasises the need for. And while fear of crime among young people is rarely studied, there are some that have addressed the issue: Pain (2003) and Cobbina, Miller and Brunson (2008), Lane (2009) and Cops (2010).

The Safe Space Norway

Moreover, discussions around fear have also been put on the agenda in Norway during the last year. This spring's events have brought back the slogan from the International Women's Day, March 8, 1988: "Take back the night!"¹. This spring, a rape wave hit the city centre of Oslo with five assault rapes in a row², creating fear among many women.

A week in my sister's life: Wednesday, my sister got sexual harassed at work, when a Polish man came in to her store, pulled down his trousers and grabbed her arm and yelled: "Give me a blow job". Luckily for my sister, some customers entered and the perpetrator pulled his pants up and ran out. And then the weekend came, and a 'rape wave' hit the city centre of Oslo. Saturday night one happened right outside my sister's old apartment, and

¹ Prisen for trygghet: <http://www.aftenposten.no/nyheter/oslo/article1594552.ece> (17.03.2011)

² Vil at asylsøkere skal psyjosjekkes: <http://touch.vg.no/article.php?artid=10091945> (03.09.2011)

another one at the bus stop next to her new one. My sister is pretty tough, and she has never been afraid of walking outside at night by herself. After these incidents, happening in places she has considered up until then as her *safe spaces*, she has experienced a marked increase in fear when walking home alone, and she gets her friends to drive her safely home. Furthermore, in addition to all these sexual offenses, my sister woke up Monday morning by the police knocking on her door; there had been a burglary in the apartment above hers. Before this, her strategy was to arrive safely home at night by car, however, when even her *safe place*, the new apartment, had nearly been intruded by criminals she did not have any other coping strategies than to lock her door and hope they would not come back.

Following such assault rapes, it seems inevitable to put fear of crime on the agenda, but also the debate about guilt and the various attitudes in the society that direct blame towards the victims. This debate has consequences for the women who have been victimised, as they may feel more shame and stigma, which may result in hiding the victimisation and not talking about the incident. Additionally, it may also lead to discussions about women's behaviour. Should women change their behaviour? Should women know better than to walk in a park alone at night?³

The summer came, and the 22nd of July happened. Norway had for the first time in peacetime been harmed by a terror attack. First, the Norwegian Government buildings were damaged, especially the finance and oil ministries and the windows of the prime minister's office were blown out by a car bomb. The bomb killed 8 people. Then, one and a half hours later, a political youth camp for the Norwegian Labour Party experienced the worst massacre in modern times: of some 700 young people attending the camp 69 were shot to death by a man in a police uniform, and leaving the rest traumatised for life⁴. Fear of terror has been on the agenda for the latest decade. This year it is ten years since the attack on the Twin Towers in The World Trade Center in New York City 9/11, and the global war on terror which resulted in a concerted campaign of rhetoric from many governments worldwide that put terror and fear centre stage.

Fear could well have increased a whole lot more after the attack; nonetheless, the Norwegian coping strategy has been to meet this fear head on with more democracy, more

³ Holdninger i samfunnet gjøre det verre for voldtekts ofre.
<http://www.aftenposten.no/nyheter/iriks/article4137556.ece> (14.06.2011).

⁴ <http://www.nrk.no/nyheter/norge/1.7760215> (25.08.2011)

solidarity and openness. In the Norwegian prime minister's speech a week after the attack he said: "But together in unity, we will manage"⁵.

After the last year's incidents I feel that this thesis is even more relevant now than before. Vulnerability is not something reserved for the marginalised or poorest, like the terror attack on Norway shows: vulnerability is also for the strong⁶. However, the youth in Eastlands live with rape happening often outside their homes, they have experienced months with violence after a democratic election, and they still live in an area that is marked with both a lot of criminal activities caused by the Mungiki sect and the presence of the Al Shabaaab militia and Somali weapon smuggling. Furthermore, they are poor; they lack resources and cannot hide behind locked and alarmed doors. How do young people cope in such conditions?

1.3 DISPOSITION

This thesis consists of eight chapters. The first chapter is obviously this introduction chapter, which serves as a presentation of the relevance of the research question and my motivation behind choosing the topic of fear of crime. Chapter two presents the contextual background. This chapter intends to provide the reader with useful and sufficient knowledge about the context of the research. Chapter three and four give the reader a review of the theoretical background of the thesis, and present important concepts that are important for the analysis. The first part provides an introduction to the concept of fear of crime. Followed by several sections that each discusses a different concept in relation to fear of crime. The fourth chapter introduces various coping strategies opted to deal with fear of crime. The fifth chapter accounts for the methodological choices taken before, during and after conducting the fieldwork in Nairobi in spring 2010. The empirical part of this thesis is divided into two chapters. The aim of the first chapter is to describe and analyse the young people's relation to crime and insecurities in the area. Chapter seven provides discussions that are more explicitly about young people's opted coping strategies. Finally, in chapter eight I will answer the research questions by some concluding remarks based on the discussion in previous empirical chapters and concepts outlined in the theory chapter.

⁵ <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-14350366> (20.08.2011)

⁶ Aftenposten 25.08.2011.

CHAPTER 2: THE CONTEXTUAL BACKGROUND

This chapter serves as a short introduction to the Eastlands area in Nairobi. The history of the place, living conditions and recent happenings are interesting background information for the analysis which will be outlined in this chapter.

2.1 NAIROBI

Nairobi's urban population is estimated to be around 4 million (UN HABITAT 2009). 60% of these people live in slums, which consist of 5% of the total urban area. The development of slum areas goes back to the colonial period. Under the British Crown rule where the Kenyan people were prevented from moving to Nairobi, in addition there were residential areas created as racial homogeneous areas (Dafe 2009). As a result of the introduction of a law in the 1940s allowing Kenyan families to be reunited with their husbands and fathers in Nairobi, and along with Kenya's political independence in 1963, economic forces changed the residential patterns and the segregation was reduced. Instead of being ethnically divided, Nairobi has now a spatial division along socio-economic differences (Dafe 2009). But after the post-election violence in 2008, there has been an increase of ethnically segregated areas, especially inside the slums.

EASTLANDS

Nairobi is a 'two-faced city', presenting one modern part and one backyard. High-income areas are mainly located in the West, North and South of Nairobi, and these areas are characterised by a low population density, with the residents having built-up fences, hired guards and other security systems installed. In the East of the city the low-income areas are to be found, hence the name Eastlands. Eastlands is home to about 1.6 million residents, and it is the poorest of the city's four sections (ISBI 2009). Enterprises are worried about establishing themselves in the area, which is strongly marked by chronic unemployment and the poverty that weighs heavily on the residents. Moreover, political unrest is not uncommon. However, the politics are not the source of the violence but rather the frustration of young people who see more affluent people on the economic ladder, with few opportunities to socially mobilise themselves.



Map 1: Eastleigh and Mathare. Source: www.maps.google.no



A quiet street in Little Mogadishu. Photo taken by the author May 2010.

2.2 LITTLE MOGADISHU

One of the low-income areas in Eastlands is Eastleigh an area located two kilometres from Nairobi city centre. Eastleigh is formed and developed by the domination of Somali refugees, hence given the name ‘Little Mogadishu’. In the middle of Nairobi’s heart and in plain view to the Kenyan Government, illegal immigrants live informally or illegally, approximately 100.000 inhabitants, ignored as they are by the administration of the Kenyan capital (Hertz 2007). Previously this was an area dominated by Indians, but after independence in 1963, Indians moved from Eastleigh to better neighbourhoods in the west, like Westlands or Parklands. This turned Eastleigh into a popular destination among Kenyan families from rural areas and Somali merchants. Over time, Somali refugees have moved from the refugee camps in the east of the country to Eastleigh, expanding the neighbourhood and maintaining the ethnical division, which no longer is regulated by law, but is still not completely distinguished. People living here are *jua kali*, which means “working under the sun” in Swahili and refers to the informal cash-based economy in Kenya (ISBI 2009).

The main street in Little Mogadishu, 1st Avenue, is characterised by narrow streets with thousands of *matatus*⁷ and buses trying to avoid getting stuck in the muddy holes after heavy rainfall and people moving between them. The street is really crowded and a prime area for theft. Here, the residents may find anything they want including drugs, weapons and stolen goods. The Somali community is also a centre for global trade and much of Somali trade is coordinated through Little Mogadishu (Hertz 2007). Little Mogadishu has become a shopping centre where products from all over the world are sold at a low price.

However, just a stone’s throw away one may find streets that are less crowded, but their condition is not very well maintained, especially those between the houses. The quality of life in the area is poor and residents are living with inadequate sanitary facilities and the air is heavily polluted by all the diesel engines (Hertz 2007).

Crime in Little Mogadishu

In addition to Nairobi’s nickname “Nairobi robbery”, the city is also called “The gun capital of the world”⁸. The main reason for this nickname is the Somali terror group Al-Shabaab’s control over Little Mogadishu. Some even claim that they are hosting pirates as well as terrorist-cells

⁷ *Matatu* is “notorious minibuses– *matatu* simply means ‘taxi’ in Swahili, or else ‘*ma tatu*’ meaning ‘for three’ in reference to the old price in shillings for the average trip” (Parsons 2009).

⁸ <http://www.bistandsaktuelt.no/Nyheter+og+reportasjer/Arkiv+nyheter+og+reportasjer/Afrikas+v%C3%A5penhovedstad.356440.cms> (20.05.2011)

of Al- Qaeda. The neighbourhood is used as a transit-zone for weapons smuggled from Ethiopia and Somalia. Furthermore, it is believed that all weapons coming to Africa pass through the Eastleigh neighbourhood before being exported elsewhere. The weapons are smuggled inside dead animals and arrive to Little Mogadishu in new shipments everyday. This results in severe and distressing consequences for many residents in the area⁹. As mentioned, UN HABITAT (2007) points to the civil wars in the neighbouring countries as reasons for the heavy arms trafficking and increased violence in Nairobi.

2.3 MATHARE

Across the street from Eastleigh North one find the second largest slum in Nairobi, Mathare, with its approximately 500 000 residents. Only Kibera, with over one million inhabitants, is bigger. Mathare is a collection of slum villages including The Mathare Valley, which is often referred to as the oldest and worst slum in Africa. The Mathare Valley alone is home to about 200 000 residents¹⁰.

Juja Road separates Eastlands into two parts: The Mathare Valley on one side and Little Mogadishu on the other. It is defined as a slum on the Mathare side, and a low-income area on the Little Mogadishu side. The population density is very high, making the living conditions very hard. 500 000 inhabitants are living in an area which is 2km long and 300metres wide¹¹. The people in Mathare mainly live in small shanties, small improvised dwellings made up of whatever ‘material’ is accessible to them. Up to ten people may live inside this inadequate housing. Residents have little or no access to sanitation, clean water, health care or other essential public services (Thieme 2010). There are some schools in the area, but not enough room for all the children living there. This lack of education and problems of unemployment make everyday life very hard for the residents and hence creates poor urban living conditions. Informal employment is the only solution for many residents in order to survive. There are small number of markets where they sell second hand clothing and stolen goods, like old cell phones and radios. The clothing markets are usually permanent, however, the other “shops” are easy to move in case of police or other problems.

⁹<http://www.bistandsaktuelt.no/Nyheter+og+reportasjer/Arkiv+nyheter+og+reportasjer/Afrikas+v%C3%A5penhovedstad.356440.cms> (20.05.2011)

¹⁰ http://www.matharevalley.org/about_mathare_valley.htm (9.nov 2010)

¹¹ http://www.matharevalley.org/about_mathare_valley.htm (9.nov 2010)



Photo of a normal 'street' in Mathare, taken by the author May 2010.



Photo of a market place in Mathare Valley, taken by the author May 2010.



In the background one may see a ‘moveable shop’. Photo taken by the author May 2010.

There are no ‘real’ roads in Mathare, and the muddy streets turn into something like slippery garbage rivers when it rains, which is pretty often in Nairobi. The unsatisfactory health care and sanitation in the area makes the garbage problems worse, especially one considers that when the spread of cholera and other epidemics are the results.

The Nairobi River collects all kinds of garbage and sewage on its way through the city centre, and does not function as an alternative drinking source. However, the local breweries, which are established along the river, make the local brew (illegally brewed gin) *chang’aa* with the water from the river anyway. There are few public toilets in Mathare. Of the 152 city council public toilets that were built in the 1970s, only a few of them are still working, the others have been run-down over the years. You have to pay to use the ones that are still up and running, they are expensive and many people cannot afford to use them. In the 2000s, the toilets have become illicit space for drug dealers, gangs and a space for illegal abortions (Thieme 2010). This is too harsh for many residents, and the alternative is what they call

flying toilets. Plastic bags or other containers are used instead, and these are then thrown/emptied into the river or in the streets when it is raining, and the sewage goes straight into the river when everything is floating around, and it gets really muddy and slippery. Because of all the garbage and the sewage, which goes straight into the river, the risk of cholera and other illnesses is high. In fact, Mathare Valley was put on the map as an inhabited area (many other slum areas do not officially exist, and are not on the map) because a cholera epidemic broke out in the 1980s, and “the existence of its substantial population could no longer be denied”¹².

As mentioned, this area is not located far from the Nairobi city centre, but it is not an area frequented by the other residents in Nairobi, as it has the reputation of being one of the most criminal areas in the city. *Druggies*, prostitutes and unemployed people are all drawn to Mathare, and because of the high criminal rate people are afraid to go there. The slum is considered to be the worst hit by the post-election violence, when 100 000 people had to flee the area and many got killed and raped, creating a society of fear. This also made the demarcation between the ethnic groups even more visible (Informant G).

Ethnic Composition

There are 47 tribes in Kenya. The Kikuyu-tribe is the most dominating in Nairobi, and make up 32% of the urban population, followed by the Luo 18%, Luhya 16% and the Kamba 13% (OXFAM 2009). Both the low-income areas and high-income areas are multi-ethnic neighbourhoods. However, it is common that two or three tribes dominate in each settlement, and lately a development of demarcations between different ethnic groups inside the slums has become more frequent. It is suggested that the demarcation could be the result of all the immigrants moving to their existing social networks often based on ethnicity, maintaining the borders between the groups (Dafe 2009). Moreover, this development is also a consequence of the post-election violence in 2007/2008. Nairobi River runs through Mathare Valley and divides it in two, and exists like a natural border between the ethnic groups in the area, especially between the two most dominant tribes, the Kikuyu tribe on one side and the Luo tribe on the other.

¹² <http://www.stauros.org/notebooks/articledetail.php?id=32> (10.05.2011)

Crime and Insecurity in Mathare

Historically, Mathare has been a site of much gang violence. Already before the clashes in 2007/2008 as many as 63% of the slum households reported being unsafe inside their settlement (WB 2006). In 2006, Mathare was affected by a violent clash between the Taliban (not to be confused by the Taliban in Afghanistan), a group derived from the Luo tribe, and the Mungiki from the Kikuyo tribe. The Mungiki was not formed in Nairobi, but started like as a small group in the Kikuyu highlands north of Nairobi. The group became an urban phenomenon in the late 1990s, when they took over the city's minibus trade- the *matatu business*. Furthermore, the Mungiki has tried to take over a great deal of businesses and services in Mathare, from garbage collection to security provision. When they tried to implement a taxation system on the local brew *chang'aa*, the brewers asked the Taliban for help. This resulted in a violent riot between the two gangs, killing over a dozen people and frightening thousands enough for them to flee their homes (Safer Access 2007). This revealed a very visible fear.

The violence resurrected itself once more after the presidential election in Kenya the 27th of December 2007. Victory was declared to Mwai Kibaki, who is Kikuyo, with 51% of the votes, while 49% for Raila Odinga, who is Luo. Hence, the two presidential candidates represent two different ethnic groups. Following the announcements of the presidential results on 30th December, the illegal gangs, mainly Taliban and Mungiki, started systematic violations, killing and attacking people they believed to have voted for rival candidates (KNCHR 2008). They used machetes, clubs, stones and other weapons that torture and kill in a crude manner. Forcible circumcision was also one form of violence the Mungiki members used on males mainly from the Luo community that was especially atrocious (KNCHR 2008). Villages in the Mathare neighbourhood were burnt to ashes and 100 000 people were forced to flee their homes (Informant G). Paranoia and uncertainty arose in Mathare, also a heightened suspicion developed among good old neighbours, as many of the victims claimed to know or to be able to identify their attackers. This resulted in polarisation along tribal lines and splitting the social networks knit together across different ethnic backgrounds. The blood bath ended, leaving the residents in a state of chaos and uncertainty. In IDP camps cases of rape and police harassment are common (Informant G). Furthermore, The Mungiki has filled many of the government's responsibilities in the slum, making the residents pay for their services. For example they charge a high price for illegal connections to water and electricity

supplies. Additionally, their violence is especially targeted on women and includes torture and sexual assaults (OXFAM 2009).

During the fieldwork in spring 2010 the residents were waiting for a referendum, taking place in the beginning of August. There were information campaigns about the new constitution in the streets everywhere, bringing back the memories of the last election.

CHAPTER 3: THEORY

The aim of this chapter is to illuminate important aspects of the previous research of fear of crime that has been carried out in order to better understand the foundation of the thesis. The main interest is to examine the conceptual framework for the purpose of carrying out the analysis more comprehensible. This includes the academic discourses on fear of crime. First, different understandings of fear of crime will be outlined, including a brief introduction of the historical development in the fear of crime debate. Furthermore, a focus on the understanding of fear of crime in relation to this research will follow, which includes a section of fear of the police. Further, a section is then devoted to discussing social identities and the issue of ethnicity that are related to fear of crime. Further, there will be a focus on fear of *the other*, spatial differentness and place identity.

3.1 FEAR OF CRIME

The conceptualisation of fear of crime can be traced back to the beginning of the 1970s, when victim surveys were conducted in the US and spread thereafter to other parts of the world (Cops 2010). These surveys revealed public anxieties about crime and victimisation. The academic debates around fear of crime increased. The first paradigm was characterised by the ‘fear of crime paradox’, the discovery of high levels of fear of crime did not match the low level of victimisation risk, especially felt by the ‘wrong’ people - women and elderly. The first research tried therefore to point to the irrationality of people’s fears (Cops 2010).

Fear and crime have continued to be heavily discussed, also during the latter part of the 1990s and throughout the 2000s, however with an increase in attention given to different social identities, such as men, young people and ethnicity. Furthermore, research has tried to include not only public space, but also private space and thus arguing that women’s fear may not be that irrational after all. Most of the violence against women happens in the domestic sphere. ‘Stranger danger’ is the least common (Pain 2001). Nevertheless, Cops (2010) claims that there is a lack of studies on fear of crime in relation to young people. In addition, there are few studies focusing on young people in poor neighbourhoods, especially in countries in the South.

Fear

Before getting in to the contested subject of the definitions of fear of crime, I need to steer the attention towards what we associate with the concept of *fear*. Many scholars have been

mentioning the problem about measuring fear, and point especially to the confusion in the literature on the precise meaning of fear and the equation of fear with worries, anxieties etc (Pantazis 2000). The purpose of my study will not be to measure fear, however it will be difficult to interpret the informants' feelings either as fear, anxiety or worry. Nevertheless, in the next section I will give the reader an understanding of how I conceptualise the concept fear of crime, and therefore also what I infer to be included in the concept of *fear*.

Fear of Crime

Valentine was arguing in 1989 that there is no single definition of fear of crime, and even in 2010, Yavuz and Welch state: "Fear of crime is a contested subject, and there exist no agreed-upon definition" (Yavuz and Welch 2010:2493). However, it is well established that fear of crime exists, and that we are talking about some kind of emotional feeling (Smith 1987, Valentine 1989, Ferraro 1995, Glassner 1999, Pain 2001). Smith (1987) suggests that fear is an emotional response to a threat or a danger, by admitting it to the self or to others. Ferraro (1995) adds to this and claims that it could also be a response of dread or anxiety to symbols that a person associates with crime. These emotional feelings come from highly complex products of each individual's experiences, memories and relations to space (Koskela 1997). Fear of crime could either be irregular or constant, and we move in and out of different shades of fear. Moreover, it is rather transitory and situational, influenced by our own as well as others' experiences, as well as by temporal, spatial and social situations (Valentine 1989).

Pain (2001) brings these dimensions into one definition. This definition is the most fitting for how I have approached fear of crime in the analysis. She defines fear of crime "as a wide range of emotional and practical responses to crime and disorder made by individuals and communities" (Pain 2001:901). She argues that this definition emphasises how fear of crime influences people's everyday lives, and thus also has an impact on the urban social life. Furthermore, fear of crime might have consequences for the quality of life and increase social inequality. Fear is here understood as something that creates and reinforces social exclusion. Pain's definition also includes both the dimensions of 'emotional' and 'practical, which are two important aspect for the understanding of fear of crime. In addition, she points to both individual and collective experiences, which is important part of people's everyday.

Theories of why fear develops

The debate about why a feeling of fear develops is ongoing, but many emphasise the victimisation theory. Fear is here a result of the perceived probability of becoming a victim of a crime (Bannister and Fyfe 2001, Cops 2010). However, there have been several studies finding that the visualisation of the individual becoming victimised of a crime is creating an emotionally based fear (Reid, Roberts and Hilliard 1998, Pain 2001).

According to Bannister and Fyfe (2001) and several others (Cops 2010, Pantazis 2010), fear develops when people see themselves as vulnerable, because they feel that they cannot control their lives or other people's behaviours or activities. Hence the fear is a product of the factors of public space that the individual has no ability to influence (Yavuz and Welch 2010). A risk-based fear is created by an evaluation of the risk that a crime could actually occur (Reid, Roberts and Hilliard 1998, Pain 2001). Bannister and Fyfe (2001) are calling this theory the (urban) environment theory. They emphasise that the interpretation and perception of urban space is causing this risk-based fear. According to this theory fear of crime is a consequence of physical and social characteristics of a place, in addition to the individual's knowledge of that particular space. In the interpretation the individual takes into consideration how high the risk of being victimised is, as well as the probability of being helped in case of victimisation (Bannister and Fyfe 2001).

Fear may also be influenced by what kind of crime you fear. Different types of crime trigger different levels of fear. Pain (2000) distinguishes between personal and property crimes, while Gimode (2001) divides between what he calls less visible crime and open crime. Less visible crimes involve corruption, and are often done by the elite in a society. The latter category, open crime, includes burglary, mugging/robbery, being physically attacked in the street by a stranger, rape, murder and high-jacking. Psychological abuse lay in this category too. The focus in the literature has often been on personal crime, such as violence. However, this thesis will also discuss less visible crime because such crime may have implications for poor people in Nairobi. Pain (2000) mentions *systemic violence* and *hate crimes*, meaning discriminatory violence targeted on the basis of social or/and political identity. These violent crimes that are specific to age, gender and ethnic groups could also include harassment and minor abuses, which could create fearfulness if done frequently. Pain argues that such crimes may reinforce spatial and social exclusion. *Crime* in the expression *fear of crime* does not only refer to activities involving violation of the law, but I understand it to also include behaviours, activities and events associated with threatening situations which

could create a sense of fear. Examples may be insults and harassment, including police harassment, which may increase fear, especially if done repeatedly.

The talk of crime

When Bannister and Fyfe (2001) write about their three theories about what causes fear of crime they forget one important aspect in the construction of the phenomenon. It is not necessary to become a victim of crime yourself to start fearing crime. Sometimes it is enough to hear about friends, relatives or neighbours being victimised, through what Caldeira (2000) calls *the talk of crime*. Like Caldeira, Taylor (2009) emphasises the important influence of the talk of crime and she mentions factors such as heightened media attention, personal experiences and rumours that all might mitigate in producing the fear of crime. For example in neighbourhoods with great cohesion, people become aware of incidents of crime more easily than if staying isolated (Reid, Roberts and Hilliard 1998).

These talks of crime create discourses of fear and according to Pain (2000) are such discourses are often used to meet political ends. Fear is then, either through media or other ways, used to create a society of fear. This could have an impact on people's political votes and their relations to neighbours, as we will see examples of in later chapters. Furthermore, there is not only the government who could be feared in countries in the South, but also an institutional victimisation, often perpetrated by the police, may also create fear. This may result in a deep mistrust in the police, and other government agencies trying to address young people's experiences of crime (Pain 2003).

Summary

As a concept discussed to a great extent, it is not easy to find one definition of fear of crime, however, I understand fear of crime as something threatening to our well-being. I have had Pain's (2001) definition in my mind throughout the process of this study, as she emphasises both practical and emotional responses to crime and disorder, and in addition includes the notion of social inequality. Nevertheless, fear of crime may emerge from different sources and in different degrees. Actual victimisation and perceived victimisation risk are two explanations that are repeated and emphasised by many commentators. However, what I find particularly important to include in this chapter is the aspect of *the talk of crime*. Through crime stories people attach different criminal activities to particular places, which for them is either a local place with a proximity that will increase their fear, or a place people may identify as being spatially removed and avoid, thus not influencing fear of crime.

Additionally, such *talk of crime* may have implications for how areas and people living there are perceived through the creation of fear discourses.

3.2 FEAR OF THE POLICE

Institutional victimisation refers to violations committed by public agencies, either physically or indirectly by failing to meet young people's needs in relation to crime. According to this definition young people can be victimised by various institutions, which are supposed to take care of them, for example the police or young offender institutions and care homes (Pain 2003).

A strategy well known to decrease fear of crime is the augmentation of police presence in poor communities. Caldeira (2000) claims that such special attention given on poor urban neighbourhood could lead to social discrimination. However increased police presence could be positive, especially in Western countries. In these countries many people will feel safer and experience a reduced fear (Silverman and Della-Giustina 2001). Nevertheless, Skogan (1989) mentions how increased policing could generate new complaints about police harassment, especially from young people, and therefore not solving the serious crime problems, but leading to a fear of the police.

Police harassment

Research that has focused on corruption and abuse of authority has given fear of police attention and revealed that this fear is as common as fear of other crimes. Hence, visible police will not always be the best solution, as I will discuss in my analysis. Many urban areas have experienced an increasing mistrust of the police, especially among minority communities (Skogan 1986, Pain 2003) Caldeira (2000) emphasises that it is respectfulness and good behaviour that influence people's confidence in the police and not whether the police manage to get down the criminality rate.

Skogan (1986) seems to believe that the problem for American cities is that residents of poor and minority neighbourhoods with serious crime problems often have antagonistic relationships with the police. The police are one of their problems, and perceived as brutal, corrupted and arrogant. This reminds me of what we have seen happening in London and several other big cities in the United Kingdom in August 2011, and this may also give us an image of how poorer people perceive the police. The riots started after a friendly demonstration against a fatal police shooting, and gave other young people an excuse to

protest against what they think is unjust behaviour by the police. The riots ended up with several deaths and damaged buildings and stores¹³, because the youth feel mistreated by the police¹⁴. Their mistrust of the police resulted in resistance; however for the rest of the residents the consequence might have been increased fear.

Additionally, a study done by Pain (2003) shows that it is not only in countries in the South where youth mistrust the police. She revealed a deep mistrust of the police, often based on personal experiences and especially among the homeless and non-school attending young people. The young people in her study felt that the safe spaces of law and order offered them little protection when they continuously were labelled as offenders, and were victim of routine regulation of their presence and behaviour. Many of them had been experiencing violent treatment from the police (Pain 2003). Thus creating a fear of police.

Non-help

However, there is not only harassments and threatening behaviour by the police that may create this mistrust and fear. As important for the development of fear of crime is the non-help. This means that people experiencing that police are ignoring them when an incident occurs may feel as violated by the police as the people that are harassed. Furthermore, not having an institution taking care of the security situation may lead to more criminal activities, thus further increasing fear of crime (Caldeira 2000). Moreover, the mistrust of the police may be caused by lack of their presence but also ignorance and lack of resources, consequently people have no belief in the justice system (Cobbina, Miller and Brunson 2008). Ignorance by the police makes the residents feel vulnerable and fear crime even more.

Additionally, Caldeira (2000) found in her study of São Paulo that mostly women feared the police because fear of revenge. For men the main concern and reason for not reporting crimes to the police was distrust of the police. Furthermore, people did not believe in the justice system and it was perceived as ineffective, thus they did not see the need for reporting any crime. Additionally, poor people already lacking resources may fear corruption and bribes.

¹³ <http://www.tribune-chronicle.com/page/content.detail/id/143990/Police-calm-London--but-riots-flare-across-UK-.html?isap=1&nav=5030> (19.08.2011)

¹⁴ <http://www.guardian.co.uk/society/2011/aug/16/london-riots-young-people-voice-anger?INTCMP=ILCNETTXT3487> (22.08.2011)

Summary

I include this part about fear of police, not necessarily because the police themselves are criminals (as some are identified as criminals), or police harassment is the source of fear. However, lack of police presence or ignorance by the police may result in more criminal activities, additionally a mistrust of the police and a belief that they will not get help if an incident occurs can also contribute to fear of crime.

Some researchers point to the mistrust of the police that is especially high in low-income neighbourhoods. This may create a battle between the young people who feel mistreated and the police, as happened in the UK this August. Fear of police may be created through association to other criminal activities.

3.3 SOCIAL IDENTITIES

The fear of crime literature has been characterised by a stereotypical view on social identities and how they influence fear of crime. After the ‘discovery’ of fear of crime in the 1970s, associations to certain social identities were developed rather quickly, identifying some as being more fearful than others. Identities were constructed either as *feared* or *fearful*. Myths created women and elderly as passive and fearful, and men tended to be stigmatised as active and fearless (Pain 2001). Research has a tendency to be characterised by dualisms, such as male/female and young people/old people. I do not claim that such thoughts have dissipated or disappeared altogether, however much of these early findings, made through quantitative studies, have been challenged in recent years, mostly through qualitative studies (see Day et al. 2003, Pain 2003). Sibley (2001) adds to these dichotomies, in his article “the Binary City” he mentions negative stereotypical images often created by the media or government, like unemployed/employed, homeless-street child/sheltered, and single-parent/nuclear family, factors that are a part of the construction of our identity. Pain (2001), however, claims that the exception of these dualisms is the poor urban residents in low-income areas, whom are often associated to both crime in itself and the greater risk of being victimised.

Criticism of previous research and debates about gender were raised in the fear of crime literature in the 1990s (see Stanko 1990, Ferraro 1995 and Pain 2001). The reason for this was the change from the environment-centred perspective to a focus on social relations influenced by the work of Smith (1986) and Valentine (1989), with their focus on race, gender and social exclusion, among other things. Furthermore, an emphasis on the links between social identity, social structure and power relations were developed (Pain 2000). Pain

indicates also that gender, class, age and ethnicity cannot explain fear alone, but as they influence the origin and geography of fear of crime we have to study different aspects of social identities. Factors that could impact on fear of crime for these social identities are for example areas of residence, income and class. People vary according to their potential of fearing/to fear, everyone having different thresholds of fear.

Researchers have lately realised the complexness of such identities, and hence started concentrating on which implications social identities may have on fear of crime (Pain 2001, Koskela 1997). Since much of the research has been focusing on women as fearful, and the criticism of this research has led to a new focus on masculinity and fear of crime, the next section will discuss gender differences. Gender has been looked as the strongest determinant of fear of crime (Ferraro 1995), and the fear of crime paradox has attracted many researchers to study this contradiction in the levels of fear. A gendered perspective will also be of interest in the study of the Eastlands area, and a part of the analysis will be devoted to discussing gender issues.

GENDER DIFFERENCES

Previous research has established gender as the most stable predictor of fear of crime (Ferraro 1995, Lane 2009, Rader et al. 2009, amongst others) Some even state that fear of crime is a gendered phenomenon (Rader et al. 2009). Research has also emphasised that women tend to report more fear than men, hence largely ignoring men's fear. Women's greater physical and social vulnerability has been used as explanations for this (Skogan and Maxfield 1981).

Vulnerability

Vulnerability is a key concept when it comes to fear of crime. The individual's perception of vulnerability to victimisation affects their level of fear. Women who experience various forms of harassments and are afraid of sexual violence feel more vulnerable because they perceive risk and personal vulnerability more than men (Yavuz and Welch 2010). Even more important than perceived risk are those incidents that actually occur and their implications on fear of crime. These might have severe implications for the feeling of vulnerability related to particular places.

Ferraro (1996) suggest that women's fear of sexual assaults and rape explain their fear of other forms of victimisation. Sexual violence has often been the explanation of why women's fear differs from men's. The serious long-term consequences of sexual assaults

affects the level of fear, and women tend to perceive the consequences to be worse than men (Cops and Pleysier 2011).

Furthermore, Day et al. (2003) suggest that this vulnerability hypothesis could be used in the case of both women and men, although women's fear differs from men's, both in nature and in extent. As previously explained, women's fear has been looked as irrational, because of their 'hidden' victimisation resulting from underreporting in domestic and sexual violence. Despite that it is consistently demonstrated that women are more prone to fear of crime, recent research suggests that men's fear is higher than previously assumed (Pain 2001, Day et al. 2003). Moreover, boys and young men may be harassed and repeatedly insulted like women, and I cannot ignore them in this study of fear of crime.

The Socialisation Process

Lane (2009) and Cops and Pleysier (2011) claim that there are other explanations, which could be as important as the vulnerability thesis. Cops and Pleysier argue that through the socialisation process young girls are constructed as fearful individuals, which is resulting in a heightened level of fear of crime in women. Obviously, they do not mean to exclude other salient factors that influence levels of fear, but they emphasise that a focus on this differentiation between girls and boys in young age is needed to understand gender identity and fear of crime. Additionally, girls are often viewed as more vulnerable by their parents, and their protection over them may lead to a heightened awareness of their risk of crime victimisation (Lane 2009).

The 'doing gender' hypothesis of West and Zimmerman (1987 in Cops and Pleysier 2011) is central in Cops and Pleysier's work, as they emphasise that "a person's gender is not simply as aspect of what one is"(p63), but something one does in interaction with others. Cops and Pleysier found in their study a significant lower level of fear with respondent who have more masculine patterns of activity and attitudes, thus arguing that a fear of crime could be a more feminine emotion or attitude. Their theory suggests that 'gender identity' is evolving throughout the life course of individuals, with the cultural processes as a salient factor in the socialisation process. Boys, however, are often socialised to be fearless risk takers (Lane 2009). Moreover, fear could be seen as a sign of weakness and vulnerability, thus many men will downplay their fear to maintain their outward perceptions of masculinity, and their role as protectors in society (Day et al. 2003). Furthermore, many men claim that

their gender, strength and size help them feel safe, and Yavuz and Welch (2010) claim that this might be a reason for the underreporting of fear of crime among men in public space.

Fear different things

Women and men may also fear different things. Men tend to fear the presence of groups of other men and violent assault, while women tend to fear rape and sexual violence. Hence, the presence of a single man could be more fearful for them than a group of men (Yavuz and Welch 2010). Furthermore, unfamiliar environments and places may also be feared by men, which could make them feel less in control and vulnerable to unpredictable situations. Additionally, a contribution to women's fear of crime could also be darkness, poor lighting and isolation (Day et al. 2003).

Taylor (2009) argues that poor women and poor men are more likely to be victims than their more well off counterparts. Many poor women experience domestic abuse and robbery, and as for the poor men they are more likely to experience violence on the street or at the hands of the police, especially unemployed young men. Young men's relationship with the police is an interesting issue also in Nairobi, and will be in focus in the analysis.

Sexual assaults and stigma

Flemmen (1999) mentions several important aspects related to sexual harassments and sexual violence related to women. She points to how harassment of women may give them less emotional freedom, and thus contribute to making them feel less free. If women identify what is happening to them as sexual harassments they will contribute to their own oppression, thus making themselves victims. Who wants to hold the passive victim role?

Furthermore, Flemmen (1999) states that ignorance may be positive in the way that men do not get pleasure from seeing scared women. Moreover, she claims that the recognition of sexual harassment may be considered as a survival strategy; however, in contrary it may contribute to, and identify, the oppression. Therefore, women want to reject the victim role, which the identification implies.

Moreover, stigmatisation may follow victimisation as a consequence of the term *victim*, which has come to be associated with passivity (Flemmen 1999). Furthermore, *victim* previously referred back to meaning to 'be victim of an incident' and is now being referred back to the individual who has been victimised. Thus the focus is moved on the event itself than on the individual. Flemmen (1999) claims that the term *survivor* is a more positively

loaded term, whose emphasis is rather on the individual's activity in relation to doing something about the situation, while at the same time emphasises the cruelty of the incident. Thus many women ignore sexual harassment, and look at it as 'that's the way it is', i.e., somehow normal. However, the recurrence of such harassment is what may cause an increase in fear of crime, as stated by Yavuz and Welch (2010).

Flemmen (1999) also seeks to answer how young women appear to relate to questions of guilt and shame in abuse situations. And this is a very interesting issue related to the condition in Eastlands. Flemmen refers to the Swedish researcher Jeffner (1998), and her observations of the existence of rules of conduct for young women. If women have not followed the rules of conduct they may not call the incident a rape. Despite the fact that the young woman says no, in certain situation the *no* loses its importance. Furthermore, the feeling of guilt and shame may increase by the constant message women receive about their own responsibilities for avoiding risky situations (Cobbina, Miller and Brunson 2008). Thus blaming the women implicitly if an incident occurs. As a result of the stigma that may follow a victimisation, women rarely report sexual violence to the police. Caldeira (2000) adds one more factor to this and emphasises fear of revenge from the offender.

YOUTH AND FEAR OF CRIME

Whether old people or young people fear crime for most it is a contested subject. However, mostly agreed upon is that young people face a greater risk of victimisation (Lane 2009). Especially youth 'at risk' who can be labelled as being marginalised, excluded or 'hard to reach' and who are viewed as being dangerous. The reason for this is partly because of their lifestyle, which renders them more vulnerable to assaults, thefts and other harassments crime (UN HABITAT 2010). Additionally, they are more likely to be associated with other offenders (Lane 2009).

Fear of crime among young people is rarely studied (Lane 2009), and Pain (2003) argues that youth victimisation and their fear of crime has been neglected. Pain suggests that there is a paradox; while young people are often represented in media and government policy as dangerous, evidence increasingly shows that they are significant victims of crime. Furthermore, she argues that young people should not be absent from public debates about victimisation and fear of crime. Fear of crime has a damaging effect on the young people's lives (Pain 2003). Even though they have not been victimised, they may still fear crime. Harassments and oral offenses could be very intimidating, leading to fear and modification of

the use of space, thus having a big impact on the young people's lives and may even result in social exclusion.

As mentioned, several researchers (Pain 2001, Cops 2010 and Cops and Pleysier 2011), claim that fear is developed through our socialisation process and influenced by the institutions responsible for this process. Young people are growing up in an era when crime is impacting parents' restrictions over their children's use of space and thus how to address experiences of everyday challenges. They are, according to Pain (2001) socialised into fear. Youth's spatial restrictions caused by parental control are resulting in a lack of environmental knowledge, competence and confidence. Lane (2009) argues that this is especially relevant to young girls and young women, because parents tend to be more fearful for their girls.

Moreover, young people are associated with crime in many societies, creating a moral panic about young people hanging around in public spaces, thus creating a fear of crime among other youths and adults. "Fearing youth and fearing for youth" as Pain (2001:907) puts it. However, if growing up with strict parental control increase fear of crime, could it be that lack of socialisation and responsible parenting may lead to less fear among young people? Nevertheless, age should not be studied in isolation from other social identities or contextual conditions, and it is not possible to understand youth's fear of crime without reference to their carers (Pain 2001).

ETHNICITY

Previous research has tended to focus on differences between white people's fear and other ethnic groups' fear. This debate will not be of much interest for the further analysis in this thesis, but as Kenya is a multi-ethnic society, the issue of ethnic identity cannot be ignored. Many ethnic communities have lived in harmony for many years, but the last decade the fight for political power has lead to escalating turmoil between the dominant ethnic groups. Ethnocentrism is leading to competition between ethnic groups, taking form in violent reactions (Tarimo 2010). This is particularly interesting in relation to the riots after the last election in December 2007. First a section on the importance of ethnic identity in Kenya will be in focus. Secondly and in the end of this part, important factors in relation to ethnicity and fear of crime will be discussed.

Ethnic identity in Africa

Applied to Africa, and in this case Kenya, ethnic identity “refers to a group of people sharing a common ancestry, language, symbol and territory” (Tarimo 2010:299), and also how ethnicity is incorporated into self-perception (Yancey et al. 2001). This could differ both within groups and between groups. In addition, common expectations of the future and remembrance of the past make the foundation of an ethnic identity.

The ethnic community in Africa is an important aspect of the individual’s supporting network. It is normal for a person to seek both financial and political support from her or his ethnic community, especially in urban areas. It may for many stand as a symbol of security (Tarimo 2010). Ethnic identity is a deeply emotional component of personal identity, and must also be seen in relation to history and the changing realities and conditions of life. People are reconstructing their identity as a response to the changing material conditions and relations among groups (Smith 1992).

Some scholars believe that ethnic identities will disappear in the process of urbanisation, and be erased with the march of modernity (Mamdani 1996 in Tarimo, Sharkey 2007). In contrary, Tarimo (2010) believes that ethnic identities will be reinforced when bringing together people of different origins. Through the process of being exposed to different ethnic groups, one may feel a greater belonging to their own group, and therefore homogenous groups will in turn be recreated. Hence, the diversity found in urban areas will reinforce ethnic affiliations. Furthermore, belonging is a key concept in the conceptualisation of ethnic identity among all groups (Yancey et al. 2001).

Ethno-political violence

During the colonial period, small ethnic groups were forced to merge. Not used to having a state structure in the way of their reasonably peaceful way of living, the scarce economic resources and political power in the post-colonial period are making the ethnic competition acute to have a president from their group. In Tarimo’s words: “the president is not for the state, but his ethnic group” (Tarimo 2010:299). Furthermore, Tarimo argues that this is the root cause of the struggle to control the state, and what changed the meaning of ethnic identities. The issue is how to integrate ethnic identities into political processes and social relationships. Ethnic identity, when manipulated, can be the root cause of internal problems. Furthermore, ethno-political violence does not necessarily emerge merely because of ethnic differences, but when these differences become tools in an unhealthy competition and

conflict, people may start killing each other (Tarimo 2010). The genocide in Rwanda 1994 is an example of such ethno-political violence that came to expression through crude violence between the ethnic groups, the Hutu and the Tutsi. Additionally, Barth (1982) also claims that ethnicity is not simply something you are, but also something you use.

Ethnicity and Fear of Crime

As previously mentioned, fear of crime is often based upon stereotypical images created by the media. The media becomes the lens through which we see the world and images are frequently linked to race and crime. Studies conducted in British and American contexts revealed white people living in mixed-race neighbourhoods as the most fearful group (Pain 2001). Sibley (1995) has a theory about this issue and he claims that fear is reinforced by being exposed to *the other*. Visibility may have an impact of the image of the minority, because the differences between the groups become more apparent, and negative stereotypical images develop and create even 'stronger' borders between them. Wilton (1998) however, argues that 'trespassing' borders could be healthy in a way that it leads to a higher acceptance for differences. A study done by Watt and Stenson (1998 in Pain 2001) in southeast England suggests that the commonness of school friendships between young people of different ethnic backgrounds has led to a less marked fear based of ethnicity and violence, including fear of *other* areas. I will get back to this issue later in the section about fear of *the other*.

Since most of the theories related to this issue are developed on research conducted in Western societies, the terms ethnicity and race are often used to discuss hate crimes between white people and coloured people. I will argue that some of these theories may transfer to the situation in Kenya, where the violence is between the different ethnic groups. Pain (2001) states that ethnic violence causes a fear with more severe consequences. In neighbourhoods where you find such hate crimes, she argues that danger is less random and risk may seem less controllable. Furthermore, this dimension of fear strengthens the spatial borders and control, especially when ethnicity is manifested in violence. However, constructions of ethnicity and criminality differ according to the context, and the different ideas and manifestations will be influenced by local history of ethnic relations and demographics (Smith 1986). This is an aspect that certainly will be addressed in this thesis.

Summary

Gender has been identified as the most stable predictor of fear of crime. Some claim that this is a result of the individual's perception of vulnerability to victimisation, and women are constantly reminded of their vulnerability through sexual harassment. Furthermore, gender differences are also explained by the various sources of fear, such as women tending to fear sexual violence that has more severe consequences than other victimisation. Sexual violence may also result in stigma and shame. However, not everyone agrees that women fear so much more than men, and claim that men may also be vulnerable. Even though they may seem that they are not.

The socialisation process has also been used as an explanation as to why fear differs between young women and men. Girls are constructed as fearful by their carers, and thus fear more than boys. Boys, however, are often socialised into protectors in society that do not show signs of weakness. This is brought further into adulthood. Additionally, parents' restrictions over young people's use of space may cause a lack of knowledge about their neighbourhood, resulting in more fear. Furthermore, young people may fear and be feared, especially marginalised youth or youth 'at risk'. There is agreement among scholars that young people face greater victimisation risk than the elderly, and the harassment and offenses they meet might cause increased fear.

Ethnic identity is incorporated into self-perception. Moreover, the feeling of belonging is a key concept, and for many the ethnic group represents a support network and a symbol of security. Even though there are many positive aspects of ethnicity in terms of fear of crime, it is impossible to not mention *hate crimes* and *ethno-political* violence. Thus ethnic identity is something that could be abused and result in competition between different ethnic groups. In addition ethnicity ought to be studied in relation to history and the changing contexts and realities of life. Some believe that ethnicity will fade away along with urbanisation; while in contrary others claim that it will amplify and reinforce the borders between different ethnic groups.

However, what is important to remember from this part is how fear of crime may vary between various social identities, and such identities' complexness need to be taken into consideration in this research.

3.4 FEAR OF *THE OTHER*

LANDSCAPES OF BORDERS AND OF DIFFERENCE

In every academic discipline, borders are the determinant of group belonging, group membership and group affiliations, and the way processes of exclusion and inclusion are institutionalised. Moreover, difference is a term, which continuously is mentioned by many scholars, and the production and reproduction of difference happen often through demarcation, the establishment of borders. These are, according to Wilton (1998) social in nature, but immanently spatial. Furthermore, the existence of a dynamic process on various levels constructs and reproduces individuals and groups as different. Barth (1982) argues for such a process and he points to the interaction between the different groups, and how their differences play a decisive role in maintaining the borders between them.

Spatiality of difference

Several researchers (Wilton 1998, Sibley 1988 and 2001 among others) argue for the necessity of a psychoanalytical perspective when examining the process of *othering*. Sibley (2001) claims that this perspective brings *the unconscious* into the social sciences. Some have been questioning the relevance outside of Western society, since it is there the theory has been developed. However, Sibley believes the psychoanalytical perspective gives the opportunity to articulate and understand the worries and aspirations that emerge as elements in our spatial experiences, no matter the location under study.

According to Sibley (2001), what is *good* and what is *bad* are incorporated through the socialisation process. Most theorists since Freud's time have identified the stage where the child is separated from his mother as the main stage where the 'self' is formed. Furthermore, there is fear and anxiety associated with separation that is particularly relevant for the development of a sense of a social space (Sibley 2001). Patterns, order and clearly defined borders play an important role in coping with this separation. Fear and anxiety will then be associated with lack of order and disorder becomes/is a quality of the unknown *other*. Moreover, this feeling is then brought further into our life as adults. As human beings we incorporate continuously what is good and what is bad, something we transfer onto others that become objects of desire and objects of fear (Sibley 2001).

Wilton (1998) calls this *the spatiality of difference*, and emphasises how people distance themselves socially from *the other* in order to protect a sense of 'self', but also strive at separating themselves physically from those they find different or threatening, and so doing

they also include what they associate with crime and disorder, which may increase their fear. Hence, a *spatiality of difference* is created when groups or individuals distance themselves from what they perceive as different from them, and separate *them* and *us* by employing social and spatial borders.

Proximity as challenge

Furthermore, Wilton (1998) argues that a link between the psyche and the spatiality could help explain the problematic meeting with differentness, because moments of proximity represent challenges; not only to an established social order, but also to the integrity of an individual and collective identity. Infringements are therefore an important part of the study of borders and *the othering process*. Trespassing challenges existing borders, and it also challenges the maintenance of them. This could be stereotypes that reinforce differences between *us* and *the other*, or violence that put the other in place by force and not 'out of place' as Cresswell (1996) puts it so elegantly. Thus, Wilton believes that the spatial division is both a result and a cause of the construction of otherness, and physical proximity challenges the legitimacy of social borders. By trespassing the border a possible *demystification* process may take place (Wilton 1998). Sibley (1995), in contrary, is arguing that visibility leads to more negative stereotypical images of the minority, thus an enhanced focus on the maintenance of the border between groups.

Discourse of disorder

According to Cresswell (1996), it is discursive practices and rhetoric that establish and maintain the notion of borders and the meaning that is attributed to places. He argues that the media makes a discursive attempt to create and sustain normative geographies through *the discourse of disorder*. The media's and the government's rhetoric expresses a fear of *disorder in the landscape*. The meaning of place is thus subject to various discourses of power (Cresswell 1996). Furthermore, people create an image of how to behave appropriately in each particular place; a normative behaviour. There is no direct correlation between place and appropriate behaviour in everyday life, and Cresswell argues that as long as everything appears to be normal will our awareness of the place will disappear. In contrary, *actions out of place* will make us aware of the abnormalities. Moreover, the problems arise when different groups have different ideas about what is or is not appropriate behaviour. The various ideas are thus made in different normative geographies. When different cultural values clash those

with most power will define the normative geography (Cresswell 1996). The *othering* process is a differentiating and demarcation process where otherness translates into inferiority by the use of moral codes that distinguish social categories. As for the case in Eastlands, *the talk of crime* by the residents in either Little Mogadishu or in Mathare may represent such a *discourse of disorder* and affect the process of *othering*. Could the process of *othering* be considered as a coping strategy?

Purification of space

As previously mentioned, borders are all about getting order in society. Sibley (1998) emphasises this by referring to Freud, who claims that one cannot question the benefits with order in society, since it allows us to use space and time to the best possible advantage, even though the classification of space and time results in a stigmatisation of some human activities (Sibley 1999). Sibley draws on ideas from the book *Purity and Danger* (1966) written by Mary Douglas, when he describes how the Romani people may be victims of the process he calls *purification of space*. Douglas (in Sibley 1999) writes about *matter out of place*. She argues that the distinction of what is pure and what is dirty is what causes the categories, which in turn create borders in all cultures. Sibley outlines her thoughts further by arguing that there exists a social process, which creates *landscapes of exclusion*. He defines *landscapes of exclusion* as spaces that construct individuals or groups as *outsiders* in the society. He claims that these landscapes can be marginal spaces such as waste disposal sites associated with trash and dirt, which will help to reinforce the status as a minority. Otherwise they may be places that are avoided by most of society, because they seem threatening and are associated with high insecurity and crime.

The process Sibley (1988) describes allows people to classify and categorise individuals and groups in such a way that it helps them to understand the world around them, in the same manner that Cresswell (1996) claims that the *discourse of the disorder* does. During the process, so-called 'purity rules' are created to exclude the 'threatening' others. This may be the presence of any contaminants that are seen as different. Sibley calls such a process of *othering* as the *purification of space*.

Some people organise their lives differently than others, differently from the majority. Moreover, they differ from the norm. The demarcation or categorisation of what is pure and what is dirty, means that some minorities are living in disjunction with the majority and are seen as 'dirty'. The social construction of stigmatised groups is stereotypical images that have

been given a confirmed marginal status, or place anatomies where *outsiders* have been assigned to (Sibley 1999).

Self-categorisation

However, it is important to remark that borders are not constant, but they will shift continuously. The factors that decide the differences are not the sum of objective differences, but are up to each individual to decide what is crucial for them (Barth 1982). Through self-categorisation individuals may decide whether they define themselves through personal attributes (personal identity), or through a group membership (social identity). According to Giannakakis (2011) people can categorise themselves differently according to contextual factors. I will get back to self-categorisation under the section about individual coping strategies.

Summary

The discussion of the various concepts above illuminates fear of crime and coping strategies with an interesting perspective, mainly by looking at these processes which help people categorise and create a sense of order as well as belonging in their everyday lives. Some people are identified as outsiders, different and as feared *others*. Such processes are important in relation to how people construct their place identity, thus also their sense of belonging. Moreover, landscapes of exclusion may be constructed through these processes of *othering* and *purification of space*. In the next part, discussions on how place may matter in relation to fear of crime will be emphasised.

3.5 PLACE, POVERTY AND IDENTITY

The dimension of the physical environment's impact on people's fears has been reported in previous studies, and attention given to *place* is thus essential. Moreover, fear is being heightened in some particular environments, like unattractive, uncared for places, often with a dark and lonely location (Pain 2000). In relation to this, Pain (2001) points to the geographical dichotomies of places and spaces where fear is situated. This "situatedness of fear of crime" is characterised by dualisms like safe places versus dangerous places, low-income places versus suburbs. Gold and Revill (2003) mention slums and ghettos as examples of excluded spaces. Furthermore, they argue that these are landscapes that are often deliberately established as a result of the articulated fear and marginalisation process.

Opportunities and limitations are thus created through the majority's process of ascribing identities.

Landscapes of exclusion

The composition and the meaning of urban space are constantly changing, either actively or indirectly. Every part of the city and every neighbourhood have their own meaning for different individuals and groups of people, but nonetheless there exists competition over the attractive urban spaces, as a result of discourses and representations of urban space (Rodgers 2004). The spatial organisation is salient for the urban development, and Rodgers focuses on the importance of the increase of informal settlements and the development of new types of suburbs in this new spatial organisation. He claims that recent research has seen a change in patterns of urban processes as a consequence of crime and insecurity. Rodgers emphasises the process of new kinds of segregation, particularly something he calls *fortified enclaves*, which he defines as privatised, closed and controlled spaces for homes, leisure activities and work, designed on purpose to isolate the residents from crime and minimise their feeling of insecurity. In African cities such gated communities around wealthy residential areas are now becoming commonplace, increasing a sense of exclusion (UN HABITAT 2010). The social exclusion reinforced by the fences and walls could result in more violence. Furthermore, the isolation of people in safe spaces indicates that certain areas of the capital city are dangerous ones (Caldeira 2000). Mixing with neighbours on the street thus seems threatening as people retreat behind locked and barred doors. This is a choice that does not exist for people in the slum, as long as they cannot afford to buy security items.

Designing out fear has been one of the popular initiatives trying to reduce fear of crime. *Designing out* refers to the effort to change the physically built environment to increase a sense of ownership and the sense of informal surveillance of space in order to reduce fear of crime (Koskela and Pain 2000). This may include strengthening housing defences and altering street lighting. However, such initiatives have lately been challenged, when the focus has been put on social relations operating in certain physical environments, a shift from the physical character of a space. Valentine (1989) argues that it does not help to design out fear of crime when women simply fear men. Furthermore, social associations to particular places bring out existing fears, changing the built environment will therefore not easily reduce women's fear of men, neither the youth's fear of the police. Consequently, people only have to cope with that fear through other strategies, like avoiding a certain area.

The sense of belonging

As mentioned, people construct their identity through interaction with others. Concerning urban insecurity people create their identity by talking about crime and fear of crime. Moreover, when talking about crime you attach your crime stories to particular places. A sense of belonging to a particular place may have different degrees of intensity, however; personal ties to the street where you live, neighbourhood or the city may have implications on fear of crime. Sparks et al. (2001) emphasise the importance of the dialectics of the population's *crime talk*, and how they vary in proximity and in distance, from the particular to the abstract, from the general to the local. They argue that insecurity develops on the basis of this relation between people and how they relate to the place in the *crime story*. Thus place identity becomes a salient factor in understanding fear of crime.

Fear of crime is according to Skogan and Maxfield (1980) greatest in neighbourhoods where incivilities occur the most. By *incivilities* they mean criminogenic conditions like drug dealing, gang activity and also abandoned buildings and vacant lots. In addition, lack of social control, signs of disorder like litter, vandalism and young people hanging around could all be examples of visible incivilities. Furthermore, Hancock (2001) argues that it is the most disadvantaged neighbourhoods that face the greatest risk of crime. It will thus be expected that residents in such neighbourhoods perceive a greater risk of victimisation. As previously mentioned, perceived risk of victimisation predicts fear of crime (Skogan and Maxfield 1981, Ferraro 1995, Hancock 2001, Cobbina, Muller & Brunson 2008). Additionally and more important is the actual victimisation that happens in such neighbourhoods, which is a powerful source of fear.

Opportunity structure - Vulnerability

The opportunity structure becomes an important concept when studying fear of crime in relation to slums and poor neighbourhoods. The socio-economic and socio-cultural status of a community influences their capacity to respond to the criminogenic environment (Skogan and Maxwell 1980, Hancock 2001). Thus the dimension of *vulnerability* as a consequence of poverty becomes an important aspect in relation to fear of crime. According to a study conducted by Pantasiz and Gordon (1997) people in multiply deprived households were found to fear crime in their neighbourhood nearly three times more than residents in more 'comfortable' households. They concluded that poor people living in disadvantaged neighbourhoods and bad housing conditions are more fearful than the rest of the population

(Pantasiz 2000). Thus living in areas with high crime rates and incivilities may enhance poor people's perceptions of insecurity.

Vulnerability could refer to the poor person's inability to protect their property from crime. The expense of installing security systems is often too high, and the threat of being victimised is enhanced because they are not adequately secured. Accordingly, it is their resources, rather than their choice, which decide whether their household is sufficiently secured.

However, it should be mentioned that poor people often do not have many valuables in their homes, but in case of burglary they will maybe loose everything they have. Consequently, vulnerability could also refer to the severe consequences resulting from a crime when living without insurance. Furthermore, poor people may feel vulnerable because it takes them longer than average to recover both materially and physically from victimisation, and therefore it is to be expected that they fear crime more than others. Additionally, Hale (1996) argues that a lack of social networks may also make the recovering process longer and harder. Pantasiz (2000) argues, however, that poor people may have different social networks to rely on when experiencing crime, rather than lacking a social network altogether. Hale's (1996) statement may be true to poor people living in Western societies, homeless or street-children, however, as we will see for the case in Eastlands, Pantasiz' statement is much more viable. In addition, Pantasiz is also mentioning poor people's reliance on public transport because of their inability to afford taxi fares and private transport, exposing them to potentially dangerous situations.

Inequality

According to the arguments outlined in the previous section and in other sections, the notion of vulnerability provides a useful basis to explore fear of crime among people living in poverty, like the people in Eastlands, especially in Mathare. There is a need to contextualise their experiences of fear in terms of other insecurities that they may feel in various aspects of their lives, like unemployment, inadequate housing conditions and health problems (Pantasiz 2000). Taylor (2009) demonstrates in her article "Poverty as Danger: Fear of Crime in Santo Domingo", that these poor areas often are portrayed as dangerous places where the residents attack outsiders who dare to enter their space. Furthermore, she states that the poorest strata of society experience the highest rates of victimisation. She also argues that inequality is much

more related to crime than to poverty. This is an important argument to have in mind when studying the poor; poverty is not always to blame.

Briceño-León and Zubillaga (2002) state that ‘the poor suffer more from the violence of their neighbours, the abuses of the police and the ineffectiveness of the criminal justice system which excludes them, acquitting or condemning them without due process of law’ (p35). These are issues that will be discussed in the analysis. Moreover, Skogan (1989) argues that crime is corrosive and leads to distrust among neighbours, thus residents of poor neighbourhoods have a tendency to view each other with suspicion.

Summary

Urban space may either be considered as safe spaces or dangerous spaces, and obviously this picture is not black and white, however, it is up to the individual to decide what they consider as being true. Furthermore, residents’ sense of belonging to particular places differs in degree and their level of fear of crime may depend on this. Moreover, some scholars argue that fear of crime varies between neighbourhoods, and in some the perceived risk is higher in others and therefore so is the fear of crime. The initiatives of *designing out* fear of crime have been looked at as solutions for decades, however, it does not eliminate nor reduce fear if the residents simply fear elements that operate in such places.

Place matters, also in relation to structural inequalities and the opportunities the area provide for its residents. The opportunity structure defines whether people have sufficient resources and protective mechanism in order to feel safe or to cope with their fear. Hence, vulnerability and also inequality are important terms to have in mind when studying fear of crime in poor neighbourhoods. Living in such neighbourhoods will possibly lead to social exclusion and stigma.

3.6 SUMMARY OF THEORY

In this chapter, I have presented the theoretical framework I find important for examining fear of crime among youth living in the Eastlands area and their coping strategies. Fear of crime refers to an emotional feeling and a practical response to that feeling. Furthermore, the criminal activities are not the only sources of fear, and various elements in people’s daily lives may trigger associations to crime, such as disorder, alcoholics/drug users and the police, all leading to an increase in fear of crime.

I have underlined the importance of including different aspects of social identities, and how these identities could affect the fear of crime and coping strategies. A special attention is given to gender differences, age and ethnicity. Gender may impact on these responses, but not necessarily as viewed in the first studies of fear of crime. Men may also fear crime, but expressed differently and hidden behind their maintenance of masculinity and the role as protectors in society.

Furthermore, the spatiality of difference, the process of *othering* and *purification of space* may be an interesting discourse theory to illuminate fear of crime issues, such as identification of the criminals, enhance feelings of belonging and provide a basis for understanding how place identity is constructed. Consequently, this discussion ended with a focus on the importance of place and vulnerability.

CHAPTER 4: FEAR OF CRIME AND COPING STRATEGIES

As mentioned in the previous chapter, fear of crime may emerge through *the talk of crime*, the associations of crime and insecurity with particular places, and the perceived potential of victimisation, thus perceived vulnerability. Furthermore, fear of crime may also be constructed through efforts to protect against it (Glassner 1999). Such efforts are often called coping strategies, and involve responses people create in order to reduce or eliminate their fear. Glassner (1999) argues that chosen coping strategies may function as constant reminders of fear of victimisation. However generally speaking coping strategies are believed to help manage insecurities and thus reduce fear of crime. Zebrowski (2007) claims that coping with fear is about confidence, and whether coping strategies are believed to protect against crime and dangerous situations, in turn reducing the fear.

Coping strategies may either be a conscious part of everyday life, or they may be unconsciously routinised in daily actions. Furthermore, different types of fear motivate different coping strategies (Reid, Roberts & Hiliard 1998), thus individuals may vary their strategies according to which type of fear they experience. In addition, coping strategies may also be used individually or collectively. I will mainly set a focus on individual coping strategies and in the end collective strategies.

4.1 INDIVIDUAL COPING STRATEGIES

Coping strategies may be divided into various types. In this section individual coping strategies will be discussed, which may include both strategies that seek to minimise personal risk of exposure to crime and minimise risk of victimisation, when exposure is unavoidable (Skogan 1981). Minimising exposure involves avoiding potentially dangerous situations through what Pain (2001) calls avoidance strategies. When exposure is unavoidable, strategies may include defensive and precautionary measures, and also resistance. Both these categories of coping strategies share in common the fact that they may impact upon the use of space.

Avoidance strategies

Ferraro (1995) claims that avoiding strategies involve changing or limiting daily activities because of crime. Such strategies may thus include avoiding unsafe areas during the day, but also during the night. These are both coping strategies that are interesting for a case study of a high-crime area. However, there is a need to specify what this might involve.

Avoidance strategies may change both temporal and geographical patterns (Cobbina, Muller and Brunson 2008). The dark is often associated with more fear, and staying home at night or after dark is a typical strategy, especially prevalent among women (Skogan and Maxfield 1981). This strategy has consequences for temporal patterns of behaviour. However, avoiding strategies have mainly implications of geographic character, such as restrictions in the use of public space. During the night, strategies could consist of avoiding walking home alone and avoid public transport, which also may be an option during the day (Reid, Roberts and Hiliard 1998). In the last instance, avoiding an area may result in moving away from the neighbourhood. This last strategy could be very hard to accomplish for poor residents with a lack of resources, nevertheless, sometimes it is the only option to deal with fear.

Avoiding potentially dangerous situations may be the most effective coping strategy, and the vulnerable feeling may in turn disappear. However, such strategies may have other consequences. A retreat to the domestic realm could socially exclude the residents from the greater society even more than before

Precautionary strategies

Precautionary strategies are a natural defence to crime for many urban residents. In addition, protection of private property is a typical precautionary measure, which may involve installing security systems, like alarms, security bars and extra locks, buying a watch-dog and keeping a weapon for protection (Ferraro 1995). However, resources and opportunity structure affect to what degree residents are able to protect themselves in this manner, and these are not optional for many urban poor.

Individual strategies need therefore to involve measures that need limited use of resources, and avoidance strategies become the easiest option for many. Nevertheless, since many of the poor residents live in high criminal areas avoidance is impossible if they do not completely isolate themselves or move. Strategies that minimise the risk of victimisation could therefore be the only option. As a result an increased level of alertness in public space becomes a natural response to cope with fear. Furthermore, Jackson and Gray (2010) include modifying activities in public spaces, such as avoiding eye contact or dressing modestly, and hiding valuables and watch your belongings extra carefully. More defensive strategies may involve carrying a weapon for protection, which could lead to resistance.

Among young people, bringing or using the cell phone is a strategy that is common, even if this means to bring something valuable (Pain 2003). New communication technology

also affects people's opportunities to deal with fear, especially when it comes to the use of smartphones and applications that can be downloaded. After this spring's rape wave in Oslo, a company released an application for smartphones that is called Bsafe¹⁵. The application is supposed to call specific people on a list on your phone, including a text message with your coordinates from Google maps, when only pushing a big red "panic button" on the screen. However, one may discuss if this only makes a false safety, and leading to decreased alertness and relaxing other copings strategies, such as not avoiding places one should at night etc. Furthermore, smartphones are not a common gadget in poor neighbourhoods; however regardless of this, ordinary cell phones may offer strategy opportunities.

Identity

Residents adopt strategies based on their knowledge on spatial, temporal and social organisation of crime and insecurity in their area (Cobbina, Miller and Brunson 2008). Furthermore, social identities may also affect the choice of coping strategies. Pain (2003) argues that young people's responses vary from those of older people, and young women and men are likely to respond differently to fear of crime.

Gender differences

Rader et al (2009) are focusing on gendered constrained behaviours, and they argue that gendered fear may lead to gendered behaviours. When it comes to coping strategies these have been more frequently developed among women. Coping strategies, such as avoiding places, staying home at night and not walking alone in certain areas perceived to be dangerous, have been prevalent among women, and are just some of the implications of fear of crime on women's life (Skogan and Maxfield 1981). These coping strategies are resulting in a restrained activity space for many women, and are tied to the fact that women fear sexual assaults. Moreover, such strategies have implications for women's participation in social life and increase social exclusion (Cobbina, Miller and Brunson 2008).

However, according to Day et al. (2003) such limitations of freedom and restrictions in the use of public space, are also experienced by men as a consequence of their fear of crime. Furthermore, men may adopt strategies but with masculinity in mind, thus adopt behaviour that expresses fearlessness and toughness (Cobbina, Miller and Brunson 2008) In

¹⁵ <http://www.appbrain.com/app/bipper-bsafe/com.bipper.app.bsafe> (20.08.2011)

addition, they mention staying within the borders of their own area of residency as a common strategy for young men, thus avoiding neighbourhoods they perceive as dangerous, and additionally they may show more resistance than young women. However, Pain (2003) claims that the most common strategy among men is to make sure they are among friends or people of their own age, whilst women seem to make sure that they have easy access to their cell phone.

Self-categorisation

As previously mentioned, self-categorisation may according to Giannakakis (2011) vary depending the context. Thus, the context of crime and insecurities may be of influence when people categorise themselves. Additionally, Barth (1982) claims that ethnic identity is an identity that comes in addition to other identities, and it is up to the individual to decide which identity to emphasise. Furthermore, the experience of rejection on the basis of a categorical otherness could lead to a search for other distinctive qualities to identify with.

As social identities affect thresholds of fear, it would be reasonable that if people categorise themselves and emphasise another identity (and not categorise themselves in the *fearing group*) their fear will reduce, thus self-categorisation may be understood as a coping strategy. For example, Cops and Pleysier's (2011) findings show that girls with more masculine behaviours feared less than other girls. If the other girls had emphasised a more masculine identity, or their parents had not socialised them like girls, may it have reduced their fear? However, this is a different discussion about what is immanent and what is constructed, and I will not cover this in the current research. However, regarding other social identities there should be the possibility to emphasise the sense of belonging to a group or to a place through a collective identity, which seems to reduce fear of crime. Or on the contrary, ignore the identity that seems to make fear increase. Hence, constructing the identity in a way that enhances the chances to fear less, for example ethnic identity, which Barth (1982) claims comes in addition to other identities.

4.2 COLLECTIVE COPING STRATEGIES

According to Skogan (1989), people start protecting themselves and their families when the police or the state are not giving them adequate protection. He calls this the 'collective security' hypothesis. In addition to serious crime, groups also respond to disorder problems like drug use, littering, public drinking and street harassment. Collective coping strategies

may involve organising neighbourhood watches, complaining to the police or building fences and walls to protect them from outsiders. Hiring private security guards to further strengthen the security of these walls could also be a measure. At the community level, fences and walls have become the new trend for many residents in better off areas, and as previously mentioned creating what Rodgers (2004) calls *fortified enclaves*. However, for the urban poor such strategies are impossible to implement. They have neither space nor place for fences or alarms, nor the resources. In addition, new social practices in rich neighbourhoods could exclude other neighbourhoods from feeling safe implying that these are dangerous areas (Caldeira 2000).

Neighbours

As argued, neighbourhoods' opportunity structure varies and will in turn affect the residents' coping strategies and fear of crime. Reid, Roberts and Hiliard (1998) emphasise that neighbourhood watches are not necessarily formally organised, but could be as informal as watching out for your neighbour. In poverty stricken areas, such social networks are one of the most important security strategies they may rely on and could afford. Hence, coping strategies do vary from one neighbourhood to another, because socio-economic status is related to the community's capacity to cope (Podolefsky and Dubow 1981 in Skogan 1988).

Furthermore, Podolefsky and Dubow (1981) argue that social divisions of 'in-groups' and 'out-groups' based on ethnicity are likely to influence collective coping strategies. This statement will be interesting to elaborate further in the case of Nairobi. Moreover, Skogan (1989) states that the same factors that create criminal activities also may erode the social basis for collective action, thus less collective action in high-crime places. Skogan is especially thinking of community based anti-crime organisations, however, this may also be true regarding other collective strategies. Additionally, informal ways of dealing with crime and insecurities are more common in cohesive areas.

According to Norris and Kaniasty (1992), coping strategies are something that allow the individual to live with fear, and they identified neighbourhood action as the only strategy that buffered the individual from the detrimental psychological effects of fear. Additionally, active neighbouring is an important social support (Reid, Roberts and Hiliard 1998).

Group strategies

Collective coping strategies do not only refer to neighbours looking out for each other but includes coordinated strategies between group's members. Pain (2003) argues that young people's tendency to move around in big groups could be considered as a coping strategy. The irony is that a group of young people creates suspicion among other residents and other youths, so the strategy could lead to more fear among other people. Rader et al. (2009) add reliance on others as a collective strategy, which may include walking together, but also waiting for each other.

4.3 SUMMARY OF COPING STRATEGIES

Neighbourhoods differ in the opportunities they present, and urban inequality may have implications for what coping strategies residents adopt to deal with fear of crime, either consciously or unconsciously. In addition, they may cause increased fear as they function as constant reminders of the insecure condition some people are living in.

I have categorised strategies into avoiding strategies and precautionary strategies. While the avoiding strategies do not require a lot of resources, some of the precautionary measures involve strategies that are not affordable for poor people, such as installing alarm systems or hiring guards etc. This results in a divergence between neighbourhoods in what coping strategies are available, as the opportunity structure varies according to socio-economic capacity.

Furthermore, avoiding strategies are both temporal and geographical in their nature. They may be temporal by avoiding particular public spaces in certain hours, especially at night. Additionally, changing geographical patterns by avoiding places identified as unsafe and dangerous, as well as public transport and other safer means of moving through a city can also be considered to be similar strategies.

Residents of poor urban neighbourhoods may shape their precautionary strategies according to changing contextual realities. Increased alertness in public space, such as watching belongings and hiding valuables, and additionally, some may adopt defensive strategies that involve carrying weapon. I have also defined self-categorisation as a coping strategy, which consist of either hiding an identity or emphasising an identity in order to fear less. Furthermore, coping strategies may vary between social identities, with gender being the most prominent predictor.

Collective coping strategies involve a great deal of relying on others, either neighbours watching out for each other, or group members walking together or waiting for each other. These strategies may both be formally or informally organised. Some argue that crime and insecurity affect a neighbourhood's ability to cooperate, because of a mistrust of neighbours, thus informal ways of cooperating are more common in well-integrated neighbourhoods.

CHAPTER 5: THE RESEARCH METHOD

In this chapter I will account for the methodological choices made during the research process. Furthermore, I will discuss the ethical dilemmas associated with using qualitative modes of enquiry.

5.1 QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

The research, conducted in Nairobi from April to June 2010, relies on a combination of techniques and various types of data. In order to answer the research question and illuminate the phenomenon under consideration, a research strategy has to be chosen that helps to do this in the best way possible. Participant observation, usually considered as “the par excellence of an ethnographic study” (Caldeira 2000:11), was also viable for this study. Because the interest was in youth behaviour, direct observation was the best way to capture this. Although this method of observation provided much information about their coping strategies, it did not provide much details about why they took these precautionary measures or whether they were aware of doing it. In-depth interviews were conducted with the young people to obtain a deeper understanding of their fear of crime.

There is no such thing as the perfect research strategy. A qualitative approach captures a deeper understanding of the complexities of people’s everyday lives. Traditionally the qualitative approach is characterised by the closeness to the informants by deploying participant observation and in-depth interviews. Closeness to the informants gives the opportunity to understand their lives and their life experiences, and how the informants are experiencing the social world to which they belong (Thagaard 2009). This knowledge will only come to you by establishing a direct contact with the informants.

The qualitative method involves various collection techniques, the most common being in-depth interviews, which can also take different forms. Interviews can be conducted in a structured, semi-structured or informal manner, either with individuals or in (focus) groups. Nayak (2003) states that this kind of participation of young people within focus groups should entail not just speaking to them and/or asking questions, but observing them, listening to them and accepting their views as legitimate. This brings us to the next collection technique: participant observation.

According to Hammersley & Atkinson (2007) ethnography does not have a well-defined meaning, but they outline a core definition by focusing on the practical level. They see ethnography as a method or a set of methods, where the researcher participates, “overtly

or covertly, in people's daily lives for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, and/or asking questions" (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007: 3). Both informal and formal interviews are included in this method, and help collect all the data available that assists in understanding the core issues of the research. Research of this kind takes place 'in the field'.

Observation is a fitting approach if you want to study peoples' behaviour and social relationship, and how people interact with each other (Thagaard 2009). In participant observation, participation does not necessarily mean doing the same activities as the informants, but the researcher interacts with their informants while they are doing their daily activities. This could be done either actively or passively. When the researcher is participating at the same level as the informant, it gives a good foundation to understand the social situations in which the informant takes part (Thagaard 2009). Pain (2000) emphasises that studying fear of crime through young people's experience of locality should bring an understanding of the dimensions of place, social relations and social exclusion.

Feelings and perceptions about the neighbourhood and the youth's experiences could only be collected through stories from the youth themselves. Semi-structured interviews were conducted in order to get this information.

THE CASE STUDY

According to Thagaard (2009) case studies are characterised by a lot of information that have few cases or units, which are studied in their natural environment. The case unit could be people, groups or organisations. This case study is about slums and poor neighbourhoods in the Eastlands area and young people coming from or living in these neighbourhoods. An empirically defined unit, isolated from other areas and other groups of young people, make this a case study. Yin (2009) claims that a case study is the preferred strategy when *how* and *why* questions are being posed, as in this thesis.

Analytical generalisation

The concept of generalisation is a much discussed issue in the social sciences. Analytic generalisation implies that the research would contribute to the development of theory. The aim here is not to develop a new theory, but to study a single case, which may give interesting insight and could be valuable for similar cases in later research. Thagaard (2009) refers to this as *transferability*. Frequently the viewpoints and opinions of a small numbers of informants

are used to substantiate often quite abstract theoretical expositions, which is not the intention of this research.

Choosing my case

Since almost all the literature on this subject focused on middle-income neighbourhoods and mainly in a British or an American context, there was interest in focusing on a poor neighbourhood and high crime area where the residents already experience low living standards and suffer from other deteriorating conditions. The point is that there has been little examination of fear of crime in areas considered to have a higher crime rate, especially within urban areas in countries in the South.

Information on the largest slum in Nairobi, Kibera, gave the impression that the area was ‘overstudied’, and that it would be a case of another researcher posing questions to the slum-dwellers, already tired of speaking with researchers. The Mathare Valley was repeatedly mentioned in many articles concerning crime and insecurity in Nairobi, especially regarding the post-election violence, which created an even more insecure environment for the slum-dwellers. The Norwegian Ambassador in Kenya provided access to two gatekeepers, who provided informants from different parts of the Eastlands area, mainly Eastleigh North (Little Mogadishu) and the Mathare Valley. The section pertaining to *access to the field* will go deeper into how contact was established.

5.2 THE COLLECTION METHODS

It is important to account for all the stages and choices made during the research process as this will increase the reliability and validity of the research and will give the reader the opportunity to make up their own mind if the interpretation of the data collected is treated in the best possible way.

Access to the field

When it comes to participant observation, Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) write that access to the field may need to be negotiated both through gatekeepers, and again and again with the people being studied. Hence, relations will have to be established, and maybe identities constructed. This seems to count in the case of qualitative interviewing too. By *gatekeepers* it is meant those with “control over key sources and avenues of opportunity” (Hammersley and

Atkinson 2007: 27). The gatekeeper exercises that control mainly in the earlier phases of the fieldwork, but could be carried out by different personnel in the different phases throughout the fieldwork.

The first week I had already met one of the two gatekeepers and some of the informants. I will argue that I gained easy access to the field, and established many relations already the first day in Eastleigh.

Selecting informants

A number of definitions are used internationally to refer to youth, for the purposes of this thesis I thought of using The United Nations' definition, which defines "‘youth’, as those persons between the ages of 15 and 24 years. Within the category of "youth", it is also important to distinguish between teenagers (13-19) and young adults (20-24), since the sociological, psychological and health problems they face may differ"¹⁶. However, since fear of crime is a sensitive subject, and interviews with young people under the age of 18 have to be consented to by their parents, the focus was on young adults. Nonetheless, Thieme (2010) claims that youth in Kenya can refer to anyone between the ages of 18 and 35. Interestingly, she states that in Nairobi 'youth' is a problematic category to define. As a result of migration, the majority of the urban population consist of youth under the age of 35, and a quarter of them are between the ages of 18 and 35. For this reason the working definition was broadening, however, the eldest informant was 26 years old. Additionally, the analytical concepts of both 'youth' and 'young people' refer to the definition explained above, and will be used interchangeably throughout the thesis.

The youth were accessed at a range of services and projects across the area, and on the streets. Informants were recruited through mainly two projects in one slum area and in one low-income neighbourhood, altogether thirteen informants who were interviewed and many more observed. The first gatekeeper whom the Norwegian Ambassador had provided access to was the leader of the Haba na Haba group in Mathare Youth Sports Association. MYSA is a self-help organisation that was started up in 1987 with sports and environmental programmes inside the Mathare slum. Haba na Haba was established to provide options for youth interested in activities other than football, such as dance, music and theatre.

¹⁶ <http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unyin/qanda.htm> (10.03.2010)

Whilst the organisation has many offices, the office located in Eastleigh North provided easy access to the youth in Mathare. Located next to the Juja road in the borderland between Mathare and Little Mogadishu youth in Mathare only need to cross the road. The location of the office is one of the reasons Little Mogadishu was included in the case study. I met many young people hanging around in the streets around MYSA, both from Little Mogadishu and various neighbourhoods inside Mathare.

Haba na Haba provided access to one of their drama groups, working on a HIV testing campaign through a play that was performed to people in different slum areas and schools. For the next six weeks I was able to join them to the places where they were having the performance. The drama group was large though not everyone performed in the show, the rest lingered in order to feel part of something. In this way, I had always someone to hang out with, when the others were busy with the preparations and the show.

The gatekeeper did not join the group, but he had mentioned earlier that I wanted to talk to some of them more 'formally'. So some came to me and asked if I wanted to interview them. Since everyone in the group matched my criteria of being a youth living in a poor (high crime) area or a slum, or had been living in one, I did not see any problem in them approaching me like this. The group consisted mainly of boys, from ages 17 to 26. Five of them were interviewed, three young men and two young women. Appendix 2 lists the informants.

The next group of informants was a women's empowerment group I was introduced to through a representative for The Norwegian Church Aid. *The Ladies* meet twice a week in a small shanty to crochet that they are selling to save up start-up fund for their own business, and learn how to run the business. Some of them have already succeeded. The young women's ages range between 19 and 23. They come from different backgrounds and one of the young women has even moved to Mathare from Uganda. The focus group was conducted with a restricted amount of time, because of their tight schedule.

These youth are already doing something to get out of the poverty they are living in, thus not representative of all the youth living in the area. However, the aim of this thesis is not to draw a representative picture but to understand the stories of a certain number of inhabitants.

Nevertheless, by employing the snowball method in the surrounding areas of the MYSA office several informants not involved in organised activities were able to be used in carrying out the research. This makes up the third group of informants. The group consists of

youth I met ‘hanging out’ on the streets in the Little Mogadishu area. Interviews were conducted with two young women, one living in Mathare and one living in Little Mogadishu. Many informal conversations have also provided important information. However, this information is as important as the information collected through interviews. Further information about the complexity of the informants’ identities is provided in the first chapter in the empirical part of this thesis.

Semi-participant observation, semi-structured interviews and a focus group

This section will describe how interviews were conducted and how the semi-participant observation was experienced. The research involved observations, in-depth interviews as well as a focus group, the latter involved discussion in a small group where the young women were encouraged to raise and discuss issues that concerned them.

Sampling

Sampling is commonly associated with survey research, but it does refer to *where* to observe, *when* to observe and *what* to observe (Burgess 1982 in Hancock 2001), or in this case *whom* to observe. These decisions will, according to Burgess (1982), affect the data gained through the field research. The issues of where and when in this case, were determined by informants, who informed when they were supposed to meet at the MYSA office and where they were going from there. As Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) state, when and where decisions have to be developed throughout the fieldwork, and the data will usually be collected in an unstructured form.

Semi-participant observation

In order to interpret the informants’ behaviour it was important to observe their everyday lives and the spaces in which they moved. Much of the information was gathered by ‘hanging around’, either on the street corners in Little Mogadishu, by travelling to different schools or to other slum areas with the drama group. ‘Hanging out’ at the MYSA office, when they had their band practice, was also an option.

The first day travelling to another slum area observation of how they interact with people from another area was also possible. Only observation was planned, but suddenly the role as an observer was changed to a participant when some of the youth included me in their dance. Luckily for me I love to dance, so it did not make me uncomfortable in any way. This

was a perfect introduction to the group, and the role as a participator gave new opportunities. Their openness from the beginning might have been the result of this introduction in which I revealed that I shared some of the same interests as those of the youth, in this case a passion for dancing. As a participant observer it is the first impression and the presentation to the field of study that is important to the further gathering of information and the openness the informants will give. However, this presentation must be done several times if more participants join during the research. The informants' already existent attitudes towards the researcher could affect the researcher's acceptance throughout the course of the fieldwork (Thagaard 2009). It is my impression that the first group of informants was already used to people coming from Norway, as Strømmestiftelsen funds MYSA and some of the informants had been visiting Norway. They seemed positive and one of the informants speaks even quite good Norwegian. This may have affected the generally high level of acceptance during the first days in the field. Additionally, the colonial rule and the people's relationship with the British people (looking at them as an opportunity to get help) also seems to affect the way people are connecting to you. They connect to you for a reason. There is obviously a probability that this also might have happened during this research.

Since fear of crime is situated in place and space one may learn a lot only by joining the group. Observation of their behaviour in particular places and in various urban spaces gave information on which areas the young people avoid, where they use precautions and whether this is adopted consciously or unconsciously. Moreover, it gave an understanding of the context they live in and work in not only through interviews, but also by observing and participating in their everyday lives. In addition, since the issues of insecurity also count for the researcher, their precautionary measures had to be adopted in order to stay safe.

The time frame is often mentioned in qualitative research: an extended time is preferred. Six weeks in Nairobi went really fast, and some challenges were met as result of sickness and that you cannot avoid getting robbed in 'Nairobbery'. In the middle of the fieldwork a week of observation and possibility to conduct interviews was lost. In addition, the loss of a cell phone in the robbery with many phone numbers to informants delayed the fieldwork some more. However, it is a good thing that Kenyans are eager to call you or text you. After a couple of days the numbers were recollected and contact re-established with the informants. Additionally, regarding the informants in Haba Na Haba it was not a particularly big problem to meet up at the MYSA office and find many of them there.

The six weeks gave the opportunity to experience a lot, and spend some incalculable

hours observing in a numbers of settings. A personal diary was kept to remember the perceptions and thoughts made during the day in the field. This has helped during the analysis of the collected data.

Carrying out of semi-structured interviews and a focus group session

To carry out interviews requires a good deal of preparation. An interview guide was developed before starting the fieldwork, with a list of topics and some questions under each main topic in order to steer it in the 'right' direction. In the hope that these open-ended questions would shed light upon the social geographies of the young peoples lives and their relationship to the fear of crime and community safety. Also by using a focus group, I hoped to wed together these dimensions.

Altogether, seven in-depth interviews were conducted and one focus group. For the first group of informants the interviews were conducted after spending some days in the area, when they knew the purpose of the study and had gotten used to a researcher among them. The qualitative interviews were conducted individually, and were of an in-depth and of a semi-structured character. The interview guide was developed but there were few times it made sense to follow that guide strictly. In addition, more than one time it felt more like an informal conversation about the theme that continued fluidly in the direction the author wanted. The semi-structured and unstructured interviews give the opportunity to probe, giving them encouraging signs to keep on talking, making them tell more about their life and crime stories. This approach is people-oriented and sensitive, allowing informants to construct their own stories of their experiences (Valentine 2005). The advantage of this kind of dialogue is that it makes it possible to have a more wide-ranging discussion and the informants may describe their everyday lives in a more detailed way. As this approach also gives the opportunity to raise new issues not anticipated by the researcher, the interview guide was adjusted several times over the course of the research.

All the informants gave the permission to record the interview. In the beginning it seemed to intimidate some of them, but as soon as the recorder in the table in front was forgotten, the conversations went along in a comfortable manner. The youth interviewed were all eager to talk, except for one who seemed a little shy. The interviews varied in length, from 25 minutes to two hours long and they were all conducted in places the informants chose. Where the interview is conducted makes a difference according to Valentine (2005), who also outlines the places where taped interviews should not be conducted, as in busy and noisy

social spaces. Because talking to people in their own familiar spaces can lead to a more relaxed setting, making the informants feel more comfortable. In this study, the interviews were conducted in the streets, in cafés and some in the library (in a place where we were allowed to talk, albeit quietly). Since there was no room for speaking loudly in the library, a number of background noises from the surrounding rooms are also recorded. This became a problem when transcribing the interviews. Furthermore, many of my informants spoke really quietly, almost whispering, making it even harder to do the transcriptions. Notes were taken while interviewing, but mainly I trusted the recorder to get all the information. In that way I could concentrate more about the informant, and therefore understand them better and probe and follow up with questions. The same counts for the interviews conducted in cafés and the focus group that was conducted in Mathare. Here there were babies crying, phones ringing, and informants speaking in Swahili and English interchangeably.

The questions asked started off with some basic background information and led to more sensitive topics in the end. Many questions were related to their perceptions of their neighbourhood and other parts of the area. The topic about crime and insecurity was raised by some of the informants themselves. For others the topic was introduced by asking how they felt about crime and insecurity in the area and how this affected them.

The focus group session with The Ladies was taking place in their little shanty inside the slum, where the women were crocheting. The discussion did not last longer than twenty minutes, however much information was revealed in that restricted amount of time. This was a different setting that I was not used to, and for me the most unfamiliar form for enquiry. The Ladies discussed the topic, and told different stories from their backgrounds and from their neighbourhood.

Summaries of the interviews and the focus group were written in the field diary soon after conducting them, when everything was fresh in remembrance, and also in case the recordings should be lost somehow. The interviews were transcribed. Some more detailed than others, as the sound did not make it possible to hear everything that was said.

Language

Learning the language is a part of doing participant observation (O'Reilly 2008). Because of Kenya's history of being under British rule, English is the formal language. This does not necessarily mean that everyone speaks perfect English, but almost everyone can understand and make themselves understood. I had learned some Kiswahili from an earlier trip to

Tanzania, and thought this would help me during the stay in Kenya. However, I was wrong. In Nairobi they speak a slang-based language, influenced by the many tribal languages spoken there. They call it Sheng, from the mix of (S)wahili and (Eng)lish. It was mainly a language of urban youths, which originated in the Eastlands area of Nairobi in the 1970s¹⁷.

Nevertheless, the only time I had trouble understanding the informants was during the focus group interview. All of the informants spoke English, but some of them started to speak Sheng when discussing with each other. Normally, I would have understood a lot of it, but because of all the noise (babies crying, phones ringing and them talking among themselves) it was not easy to pick up on what they were discussing. I did not bring an interpreter, as I never had had any problems with this before. Luckily, the woman next to me translated much of it. I have to admit that this could have had an impact on the data collected, because some information may have gotten lost in translation.

Additionally, the issue of only including English speaking informants has to be raised, not capturing the reality of those who do not speak English. Especially since not speaking English could lead to a more socially excluded reality, in a world where meeting ‘foreigners’ (international aid people etc.) may give you opportunities. The probability that I might have gotten different answers from those who do not speak English cannot be ignored, but since this thesis focuses on stories from a select number of youth in the area, and not searching for any generalisation, their stories will give an interesting insight into conditions in Eastlands. Furthermore, the snowballing method did not give me access to Somali youth. Their perspective and perceptions of Little Mogadishu and Mathare would have been interesting, and should be included in another research.

This last section has brought up some important aspects about the limitations of the research, which are to be discussed further in the next part of this chapter. In order to understand what might have had an impact on the collected data, there is a need to take a deeper look at collection methods and what considerations have been made during this process.

5.3 THE QUALITY OF THE DATA AND ETHICAL DILEMMAS

For the reader to understand the analysis and the interpretations of the researcher, it is important to account for, as well as make transparent the process that gave the result, referring

¹⁷ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sheng_slang (01.05.2010)

to the data collection and the analysis. Thagaard (2009) also underlines the importance of interpretation. Transparency becomes an important concept in this process. Furthermore, two concepts are important in relation to the quality of the data, namely: reliability and validity. In the end of this section an emphasis will be given on the ethical dilemmas.

RELIABILITY

Reliability refers to the confidence we may have in the research and the data gathered, and the outcomes resulting from this process. Is the process carried out in a trustworthy and reliable manner? Credibility is a word many researchers emphasise as being important in relation to reliability (Thagaard 2009). In order to accomplish this credibility it is important to explain how the data has been collected. The reliability depends a lot on the relationship between the researcher and the informants, and how the informants may have interpreted the questions or if the questions were asked in an encouraging manner. In order to reinforce reliability the researcher has to give an account of all the decisions made during the process, the problems faced and what ethical considerations have been made. Transparency is important to give the reader the opportunity to judge the quality of the data. This is why one should make transparent the considerations made throughout the fieldwork, especially regarding the strategic decisions made in relations between the researcher and the informant (Thagaard 2009).

Location of interviews

The interviews were conducted both *inside* the slum and *outside* the slum. This means that informants could have felt out of place and not comfortable under the interviews. But as previously mentioned, the informants themselves chose the location of the interviews. Carrying out the interviews at the library may seem very wise when everything is quiet and the recorder could tape everything without a noise (that was what I thought), but many of my informants spoke really quietly, almost whispering. At the library they may have felt that some other people could have heard what they were saying, and therefore kept their voice very low. In addition, this suspense may have made them answer some of the questions differently: maybe not 'fearing' as much as they actually do. In other places there was always noise coming from the streets, nobody was hearing the informants and they could feel comfortable.

In the context of a focus group we have to consider the possibility that not everyone felt comfortable saying out loud his or her feelings on the topic, especially such a sensitive one. Even if they could discuss their world and argue over situations in a group interview, it does not necessarily mean we will get everyone in the group's opinion, but only the group's "leader" (Thagaard 2009). Two of the young women in the focus group were noticeably more active in the discussion than the others. I intervened a couple of times, trying to get answers from the shyer women, and also when they forgot that their interviewer did not speak Sheng.

Relations between the researcher and the informants

Doing participant observation one gets close to the informants, more than when only interviewing them. The closeness to the informant may affect both the informant and the researcher creating emotional ties. For the researcher this may involve both ties to people and places. 'Hanging around' with such nice young people and becoming friends with them was unavoidable. However, it is hard to say if the feeling was mutual or whether they were only friendly because of their hope to get something back from the relationship. Many of the informants are really poor, struggling to support their children or their family. They will do almost anything to get money from somewhere, making the researcher a "soft target".

The presence in the field

Time to get personal: When it comes to the presence as a researcher in the field, there are several issues that need to be raised and taken into consideration. I cannot hide that I am a white European woman, and I need to realise that this might have had implications for the young people's actions both in relation to me and to others and the information they gave me. I noticed that my informants were taking good care of me when we were travelling around to different dangerous areas and in the *matatus*. My presence could have made them to be more careful, or not to think of themselves at the time because they were worrying about me instead. White people, or *Mzungu*¹⁸ are seen as rich, especially in the part of the city where the study was conducted, and I may have been looked at as "a target" for criminals. This may have changed their strategies, and furthermore the interpretations of their behaviour, especially the young men who are protecting their female friends.

¹⁸ That is what they call white people

The Recordings

When transcribing the interviews many times it was rather difficult to understand what the informants were expressing. It is like your ears filter out every other sound in the surrounding area when you are really concentrating about what they are telling you. This problem was solved because of the notes that were written during the interviews, and because of their stories that made a great impression and these you are able to remember. However, it is difficult to find quotes in the interviews that this problem applies to. But as a personal field diary was kept, in which thoughts and key points in the conversations were written down, data from these interviews is available.

VALIDITY

Validity implies that the researcher gives the reader the opportunity to judge if his or her data is interpreted in the best possible manner, and the conclusion is supported by the data and analysis. By maintaining a critical view on the analysis the researcher may account for the interpretations made on the basis of the data collected, and the outcome is not caused by other probable reasons (Thagaard 2009). In this chapter and in the analysis there will be comments on why I think how I interpreted the data was the best possible direction to take, and therefore what grounds my interpretations are made on. In order to do this, the researcher needs to specify how experiences and relations in the field have resulted in the conclusions drawn in the analysis chapter. We are strengthening the validity by doing a critical examination of the process of analysis.

Relations in the field

The relationship between the researcher and the informants influence the results. Hence, the researcher needs to be self-reflective about this role, and the positioning within the research. Gender, age and even marital status are all part of the researcher's identity that could influence the data or access to informants (Valentine 2005). In addition, as the research is embedded in the context of colonialism, it is important that I am aware of my privileged position in terms of wealth; added to this are the complex power relations that may exist between the informants and the researcher, as a consequence of the colonialism. Power relations could also be related to gender, religion or politics. Valentine (2005) has a useful example related to studying fear of crime. She explains how it could be difficult to be a man conducting interviews on women's fear, because he himself could be perceived as threatening

by the women. Sharing the same identity or background may have a positive effect on the interviews, and in this case, as a woman I had access to information from both women and men. However, some argue that men may toughen up, not talking about their fear because it is a sign of weakness (Day et al. 2003).

Mzungu

It is hard to not look at yourself as an outsider at the beginning of a study, trying to be accepted by the informants and get to know them. This changed throughout the fieldwork as more time was spent with the informants and they were inclusive. Being around the same age and sharing some of the same interests did not create an unequal power relation. However, the issue of being a *white* woman might have created a picture of inequality. As previously mentioned, they might have seen me as “an opportunity”, like many other *mzungus* who come to the slum trying to help through volunteering etc. It happened that some of the informants asked for money, seeing me as a rich *mzungu*. I had to explain more than once that I was there as a student, conducting my research with limited resources. This relationship with white people in Kenya may have affected the information collected through the interviews, for example describing their situation as worse than it really is, in hope that I would help them with some money/clothes/work etc. This issue brings us to the credibility of the informants.

Credibility of the informants

As a part of the interview process you have to reflect upon the truthfulness of the information given, often their stories portray only some ‘snapshots’ of events, and perceptions are distorted as they are reinterpreted and presented to the researcher. When staying for many weeks after some of the interviews, I was able to confirm and check the information by returning to respondents. Because relationships with the informants were developed in the process, this was an easy thing to accomplish.

ETHICAL DILEMMAS

Since fear of crime is a rather sensitive topic, which can bring out personal stories and sensitive issues for the informants it is important to interview informants that are willing to participate (Thagaard 2009). Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) mention the ethical considerations about negotiating access to the field, focusing on whose permission ‘ought to be asked’. They outline the issue in relations to people in subordinated positions such as

children and prisoners, but that it could apply to all kinds of groups of people. Thus this may also be an issue with youth as informants. In relation to the participant observation I cannot ensure that my presence as a researcher in the Haba na Haba group had been discussed with everyone in the group. This would have been quite difficult to accomplish, as different members were joining in at various times. Some of them were relatively young and could have felt offended that they did not have ‘a vote’ about a researcher joining them. But as has been already mentioned, they could decide for themselves if they were to be interviewed or not.

Informed consent means that the informant is aware of what he or she is agreeing to when saying yes to participate in the research (Thagaard 2009). This could lead to complications, especially regarding the observation when you are supposed to inform everyone you are observing about the research and observations. Information about the researcher’s presence was given to everyone in the group in the beginning of the study. However, informing all of them about the research topic was difficult to implement. Nonetheless, the information I gathered through some of the daily observations cannot be easily traced back to the persons observed. When it comes to the interviews, all the informants were informed about their right to withdraw from the interview at any time.

Since the topic of this thesis may be very sensitive for some of the informants, the implications of the research have to be considered. All the interviews were conducted on condition of anonymity and that the informants’ real names only would be displayed if they accepted. However, informing them about the confidentiality does not protect them from introducing the sensitive topic of *fear of crime* and make them aware of conditions they never have realised before. This might have affected them mentally, and as the researchers leave the field they will not notice because this could develop over a longer period of time. This could happen by introducing a fear that did not exist before. And as Caldeira (2000:15) states: “I prefer to omit names altogether as a sign of fear in which they live”. I emphasised for all the informants that they did not have to answer all the questions asked if it made them feel distressed. Crime and fear of crime may be a potentially sensitive and difficult issue.

5.4 SUMMARY OF THE RESEARCH METHOD

In this chapter the research method has been explained in detail, because this is important to understand the analysis and the interpretations. The participant observation gave me insights into the informants’ everyday lives, and I got to experience the critical infrastructural

challenges facing them. This included both public transport, lack of public toilets and water shortages. A focus group was held to further discuss fear of crime among young women in the slum, and semi-structured interviews were conducted to get the informants life and crime stories. I have outlined ethical dilemmas, some of the limitations about the research and possible implications this might have had.

The research does have several important limitations, some of them mentioned above. Nearly all of the youths recruited to participate in the research are already involved in local organisations, thus it may be possible that they are particularly engaged in their area. I might have ended up with other conclusions if I made sure that the sampling was representative, such as including more at risk youth like drop outs, criminals etc. However, as emphasised, this is not the purpose of the thesis. Concerning other identities such as place identity and gender and other variations, the list is endless. Nevertheless, most important is probably the presence of the researcher in the field, which may have had consequences for their behaviour and thus the interpretations that followed.

CHAPTER 6: CRIME AND INSECURITIES IN EASTLANDS

In the next two chapters I will present the empirical part of the thesis. This first chapter deals with the crime and insecurities that influence the young people's everyday lives. It is divided into three parts: the first part describes some of my informants' perceptions of the area and their local place. Secondly I will introduce the topic of ethnicity, where the young people's experiences during the post-election violence and how this may have affected their fear are discussed, that will lead us to the last section where the focus will be on fear of the police. The purpose of this chapter is to create an image of young people's daily challenges and fears, which will hopefully give the reader a deeper understanding of their identity and in addition to the context of their identity, the various strategies they adopt to cope with their fear of crime.

The challenge with anonymity counts for this thesis as well, and I have decided to replace each of their names with a nickname. My purpose is not to compare them, but since place matters I call them either slum-dweller or border-dweller: since the informants interviewed from Little Mogadishu live in such proximity to Mathare where the slum-dwellers come from, I call them border-dwellers.

6.1 PERCEPTIONS OF THE NEIGHBOURHOODS

In the first part of this analysis I will present the youths' perceptions of their neighbourhood and their local attachment to a particular geographical place, also referred to as place identity. The physical character of a place as well as the social relations existing in a place are important in understanding young people's feelings of insecurity (Pain 2001). The *sense of place* or *sense of belonging* helps define their place identity. As discussed in the theory chapter, this may matter for the youth's fear of crime. It is also important for the reader's understanding of the young people's relations to their neighbourhood that follow the discussions about other issues throughout this thesis.

Eastlands: Little Mogadishu and Mathare

There are many reasons for youths in Eastlands to feel insecure and fear crime in their area of residency. But although there are accelerating rates of crime in slums and poor neighbourhoods, in many contexts this may have already become normalised in a slum-dweller's everyday life and routinised in their daily actions. There are many insecure

neighbourhoods in Eastlands, but in this thesis there are mainly descriptions and perceptions from youth living in Mathare and Little Mogadishu. Most of the informants had some relation to Little Mogadishu, as the MYSA Eastleigh office is located there and many of their daily activities take place in the area. Hanging around in the streets is part of their everyday lives.

THE BORDER-DWELLERS

The Border-dweller

The first perception of Little Mogadishu and surrounding areas is that of a young woman in her early twenties I met hanging around on the streets around the MYSA office. At a small corner shop restaurant we started talking while waiting for our potatoes. After telling her why I was there, she voluntarily says that she is willing to participate in my research. She is telling me that she still lives with her family in the borderland between Little Mogadishu and Mathare. The youth in Eastlands usually live with their families and they rely on their families' economic support or the contrary: their families rely on the youth's support.

In a small two room apartment, she lives with her parents, six sisters and her little nephew. Their house is quite a tall building compared to the others in the area, and it is located only a block from the Juja road. The Juja road separates Little Mogadishu from Mathare. The young woman expresses her content about living in a normal house made of bricks and cement and not a little shanty, which you can find in other parts of Little Mogadishu, but which is not as common as in Mathare. When interviewing her, my informant starts by telling me that she feels safe in her neighbourhood. However, she hesitates a bit after saying it out loud and feels the need to correct her answer, and she continues: "*Yeah, I feel safe, around my house, yeah, not all the time, not safe all the time*" (The Border-dweller). She explains further that she thinks it is ok to walk around in the area surrounding her house. She knows many people in the streets, and even if she is not part of MYSA, she goes there to meet young people her own age and foreigners. "*It's a perfect place to meet someone to talk with. I don't like being alone*" (The Border-dweller). She says she is studying German, and says this rather proudly, not many are studying in her area. Since her father is a doctor, some months she gets money for her school fee, but not every month. Then she has to ask for money from people she meets.

She wants to show me around Little Mogadishu, and we are walking to the market in 1st Avenue. She is only walking the familiar paths. When we are further away from her house, she emphasises that she does not know everyone and that she does not like the unemployed

drunk men sitting along the road, some of them are sniffing glue and/or chewing khat. Some of them are calling for us and yelling aggressive comments. She apologises for their rudeness and takes my hand and walks a bit faster, with a firmer grip on her handbag. I ask her what they are saying. “*Something about sex and disgusting things*”, she answers. I do not know if she even knows how to translate it. She explains that she experiences episodes like that all the time, but she feels ashamed when I also have to experience it.

We find a café a bit further down the road away from the men, and we sit down for a while. I seize the opportunity to follow up on crime in the area since we have already touched upon it in relation to the unemployed men hanging around.

About crime here in the area, it’s there, but normally it happens when maybe someone is late in the night, where we have several people being shot and stabbed to death. These are some of the crimes I witness because they happen just outside our gate. During the day there’s snatchers, and long time ago people used to have guns (The Border-dweller).

When I ask how witnessing such incidents have affected her, she tells me that she had been hiding inside her house for a while, not going out. Additionally, she adds that her father is pretty strict, and he wants her to stay inside after incidents like that.

She relates crime in the area to its close location to Mathare. She is constantly mentioning the nearby slum area and comparing the situation down in Mathare to her own neighbourhood.

About my neighbourhood, we have more security. Worst than my area is Mathare, because it’s just across the road. But most of the people who do crime in our area are people from Mathare. The people from the other area, Mathare. They’re like, maybe, 15 people. They come from Mathare. They carry these handguns and I don’t know them. They’re coming for people that are out late, they attack them and beat you up ... kill you (The Border-dweller).

She is noticeably afraid of people coming from the Mathare slum, and affected by the closeness of its location. She repeats; “*you know, Mathare is just across the road from us*”.

And another thing is that even girls, some girls in Mathare have joined the groups of stealing with men in the night, the thieves. Actually, my area by 11pm it’s very risky to come back home. There is a group of people in Mathare who use weapons to beat up people and steal from them at the same time. (The Border-dweller).

This reflection shows that she does seem to think that her area is unsafe, but mostly at night. Moreover, she seems pretty surprised and worried when telling me that even girls have joined the criminal activities. Guns seem to have been a problem before, but after the increased

weapon smuggling by the Somalis other people do not seem to dare enter the area with guns. “*You now the Somalis have guns, you don’t steal from them*” (The Border-dweller). This is something that seems to make her feel safer in Little Mogadishu, however at the same time it renders her family as more attractive targets for perpetrators, not being Somalis.

During the day there’s snatchers, and long time ago people used to have guns, they showed you the gun and asked us to give you your phone and so on. *They don’t have guns anymore?* They do have that, but they most of them, if you argue with them, they shoot you. And the Somalis have most guns, so people are afraid to come in our area with guns (The Border-dweller).

Furthermore, she tells me about how lucky she has been that her family could afford a trip to Uganda. But the trip did have consequences for her fear:

We have gatekeepers, when they try to get in. Yeah, we have a gatekeeper, for the whole building. You know the houses made of iron sheet, easy to get in. They wanted to attack a boy. He had been to England. They ran for him. They wanted to rob him, they wanted to go in and they confused the door, went in the wrong place. And stole the TV. There were things from abroad they wanted to take, and money. You should, when you’ve been abroad, it’s not safe to be there (The Border-dweller).

She explains that she feared burglars more after having been in Uganda. Apparently she could not trust all the people who knew that her family had been abroad, and rumors among the criminals appear to spread fast.

Despite all her stories about crime in her area she feels that her home is safe for her. She tells me that she just has to be careful, and take the necessary precautions. The fact that she still lives with her family also makes her feel safer as they function as a support network, but her father is quite strict and makes her aware of her vulnerability as a woman. The incidents she has witnessed seem to have affected her coping strategies. However, she only isolates herself in the weeks after an incident. After a couple of weeks she goes back to using the normal, restrained activity space. Apart from avoiding the slum areas, she says that there are very dangerous areas in Little Mogadishu she is avoiding as well, and states: “*When you know the area, you feel safe to go there. Yeah, but whom you don’t know*” (The Border-dweller).

A special concern of her was the people coming from Mathare, and their easy accessibility to her neighbourhood because of the close location. She is aware that she is living in a crime-ridden area, but she only sees this in relation to its location next to the Mathare slum and does not mention the al Shaabab militia and other criminality going on in

Little Mogadishu as a threat. In fact she mentions the presence of the Somalis as a security against the violent Mungiki sect. I will get back to both of these issues later in this chapter.

The New Border-dweller

This perception is based on an informal conversation I had with a young man in his early twenties hanging around MYSA. He is also part of the group I spent many days with in the slum. I started talking to him when he was trying to sell me some homemade jewellery. He says that he tries to earn money to pay the rent. He tells me proudly about his new apartment just around the corner from the MYSA office. He continues telling me how much better it is to live here in Little Mogadishu than in Mathare. *“It’s closer to work and safer for my friends to hang out in this neighbourhood. It’s easier to protect myself in the new apartment, and the shanties are not that comfortable”* (The New Border-dweller). He was eager to show me his new apartment, and he seemed really happy. I ask if he feels safe here. *“During the day there are no problems here. I feel like I can move freely around here, and as you can see I’m quite big. So many people are afraid of me (laughter).”* However, he continues:

But it’s like here as down in Mathare, you can’t stay outside all night, and there are a lot of crimes happening here. Haven’t you heard about all the guns coming here, because of the Somalis? Maybe I should worry more, because I’m new in the area, people don’t know me and they see what I’ve got in my apartment (he shows me his jewellery one more time) (The new Border-dweller).

The young man has experienced both sides of the Juja road, and is clearly really happy to have moved out of the slum. However, he seems more conscious and sceptic about the Somalis and their criminal activities. A reason could be that for him this is something unknown, and he is not as used to living among the Somalis as The Border-dweller is. The young man seems to look at them as some kind of threat to the area; on the contrary, The Border-dweller looks at them as a security. Perhaps, because the young man is a new resident in the area, and he has not yet experienced how living in a Somali neighbourhood could make him less vulnerable for the Mungiki sect’s criminal activities. The ambivalent relationship toward the Somalis will be further discussed under the section about the Mungiki.

The Caught in the Middle

This young woman lives on the opposite side of Mathare than Little Mogadishu. It is difficult to define her as a slum-dweller or as a border-dweller. However, I have decided to put her story in this section because of her strong opinion of her not being a slum-dweller. She made it pretty clear that she does not define herself as a slum-dweller when I asked her if the area

she lives in is defined as a slum. This could be a result of her former neighbourhood, which was the Pumwani slum. Her mother found it so hard and insecure to raise her two daughters in that area that she managed to save up money and move to an area between Kasarani and the Kosovo Village (both Kasarani and Kosovo are defined to be slum areas that are part of the Mathare slums (Nairobi inventory 2009). The Kosovo village is a section of Mathare where the Mungiki are known to be particularly strong, while Kasarani has a greater presence of police. This creates ambivalent feelings about the place among the youth, caught in the middle of the battle between the police and the Mungiki. I thus call her 'The Caught in the Middle'.

The informant has joined MYSA and the information campaign about HIV/AIDS to afford food, clothes and school fees for her five years old son. She lives with her mother and a younger sister, who has been seriously ill the last months. This is putting pressure on my informant to earn more money to support her family. She used to play football for Mathare United, and has actually been to Norway once. She spends much of her days at the MYSA office in Little Mogadishu. Similar to other young women's comments, she also starts by telling how safe she feels in her area.

Yeah I feel very very safe. Mainly because the area that I live in, in the surrounding areas most of the landlords are police, they're renting out. But before I lived in Pumwani, 11 years I stayed there. Stayed in Pumwani. This neighbourhood is better. Because, we have a very small area. I know how it works. I live with my mum and my sister. I'm the first born, and my sister is 16 years old. She's in high school." (The Caught in the middle)

We are continuing to talk about rented houses by the police, and I ask: "*So there are not so much crime in your area because of the police?*" "*Yeah it is. It is. We have the sect the Mungiki in the area. So it's not that safe*". She has experienced severe violence against some of her closest friends, and this made her very afraid and scared for her friends. She emphasises that her area is unsafe because of this battle, but she feels safe because it is not unsafe for her. Her neighbourhood is mainly insecure for unemployed young men, who are thought to be part of the Mungiki sect. Additionally, it is unsafe for the youth who are part of the Mungiki. However, when she tells me about particular incidents of crime she expresses that she was afraid and feared going outside. For her this was particularly related to the Mungiki sect, and I will tell her story in the section relating to that sect.

THE SLUM- DWELLERS

The Responsible

I interviewed a young woman from Mathare who was working with HIV/AIDS awareness among young people. She is not as talkative as the other informants, and only wants to answer the questions I am asking without much elaboration (I think she was in a hurry without wanting to tell me). However, she has some interesting opinions and perspectives. She starts telling me about what kind of crimes are common.

We have almost all kinds of crime here. Robbing, snatching, breaking into houses. If they have a radio, and some people don't have a radio they'll take it. Or a phone, handbag. Anything that they don't have they'll want to take it. So it's best to don't have such things. Then you only be afraid to lose it. But it's more common to have a phone nowadays. I've got one (The Responsible).

She is emphasising that crime in her area is about inequality. She states that they even steal from each other, and take whatever they do not have themselves. In order to feel safe the people have to be equals, and have the opportunity to own the same things as their neighbours. Urban inequality seems to be a reason for criminal activities taking place among the residents, as emphasised by Taylor (2009).

There are some places that are worst than others, like Huruma. In that community, I will leave the phone here. I have to remove jewellery if I have something nice I not want to lose. You have to remove everything, if it's gold specifically. Be very careful with your camera. There are many petty crimes (The Responsible).

Some places are mentioned as more dangerous than others. Huruma is a place where many informants do not feel comfortable walking, except those living in that particular area. Even the slum-dwellers distinguish between different areas inside the slum, and they disparage its residents. Boundaries of belonging is crucial, something I explore in the next part of this chapter.

After mentioning all the 'normal' crimes, she continues with more specific crimes, more common in her area than in other areas. "*We have a lot of social issues cause of the poverty; issues like child prostitution, rape, and drug abuse, home brewed, a lot of alcohol. Homebrewed alcohol*"(The Responsible). Alcohol is seen as a severe problem. Not only because of the alcoholics, but also because of disturbances and disorganisation the *changaa* business brings into the area. Many of my informants brought alcohol up as a one of the major challenges for the community in Mathare. Many parents are drunk the whole day, and are not able to take care of their children. The young woman continues:

The parents don't take responsibility. That's the biggest problem here. The way the area has become known. If you say you're from ... a place, people, they will start to think bad things about you, maybe that you're a thief or somebody doing drugs. But there are many good youth there. But because of the social issues associated with the area, it's hard to cut a line. Because of (thinking) exclusion of society and the levels of crime is there. It becomes very hard. Exclusion, because you're from this kind of area (The Responsible).

My female informant expresses a feeling of exclusion as a consequence of the crime and insecurities in the area. She emphasises that: "*we don't get any attention and we don't want to be stigmatised because we're from this place*".

The Mover

A young man, originally from rural Kenya, moved to Mathare many years ago with his parents. They wanted to go back to farming and they have moved back, but he wanted to stay and find something to do. He loves music, and he has joined the Haba na Haba in MYSA, where he plays in a band and he is in the drama group. In addition he is leading a choir in Mathare. The interview is conducted in Little Mogadishu, and he starts by stating:

No one would like to live there, you have to work hard. I don't want to see my kids grow up here. Even if people seem more happy here sometimes. Everything is a mess down there (The Mover).

I ask him to elaborate and tell me what he feels are the greatest challenges, and he answers:

Especial alcoholism is the biggest problem, have you seen all the drunk men in the streets, even women? Even they're not people living in Mathare, most of them they come from other part. They come from far away to drink here. The issue about alcohol is that is a local problem. Even if you're employed, you drink. There's no clubs out here. I drink, but I, it's entertainment you know. *Why do you think they come here?* Maybe it's the best here (The Mover).

He is not the only one mentioning alcohol as a severe problem, causing disorder and lack of responsible parenting. He does not blame the unemployment, as many others seem to do, but emphasises that even employed people drink their lives away. However, the informant seems to blame the Kenyan Government for the conditions in Mathare, especially the social security system. Like The Responsible, he thinks he is excluded because of the place, but he emphasises exclusion from the system.

I blame the social security system in Kenya. It's not equal. We're not equal. That's why. 50 shillings, just use it. And we can even contribute. The slum is becoming you know, you know that the slums can generate income for the government. It's coming so many visitors from all around the world (The Mover).

The young man seems frustrated about the government, and that they do not see how they, the slum-dwellers, may contribute to the wider society if the government will only give them a little bit of attention, in addition to equal rights.

He continues to explain how the rich take the law into their own hands, and kill the people they believe coming from Mathare. Additionally, they have the opportunity to isolate themselves by building fences. The informant repeats that they are not equals.

Rich areas they put electricity in the fence. If they (meaning the rich people) found someone that got into your house, you can't tell if they're from Mathare? What I know that they keep on killing them anyway. The rich men they protect themselves, and if you're not rich. Why protect themselves?

The Mover is questioning the slum-dwellers need to protect themselves, for if they have nothing to lose they are not targets, because they have nothing the criminals want. This is one of the reasons The Mover does not feel insecure in his neighbourhood and does not see it as being necessary to protect himself.

In the Eastlands, not in the slum, there are many rich there. So they feel more insecure. *So rich people feel more insecure than you do?* Yeah they do. If I had a car, or expensive phone I would feel more insecure. If you get money, you have to move far away, not just across the street. Like in Lavington. It's like Heaven. Play gardens, Karen (The Mover).

The informant only sees the need to protect himself when he gets money. The best and the only strategy for him is then to move out of the poor area. He emphasises that it is not sufficient to move to the borderlands (surrounding Mathare), where you could turn out to be the most attractive target for criminals. However, when talking about moving far away as the best strategy, to elope from the problems he states; *"Someone try to move out. But water, electricity and rent cost 6000 KSH. So they just move back to the slum you know"* (The Mover).

The young man did actually move from Mathare in the end of my fieldwork. He moved to another part of Eastlands, not next to the slum. He explains that it is a bit far way from Mathare, where he still works with his choir and for MYSA. Thus he continuously spends his days in the area. He says: *"I haven't changed"* (The Mover). He does not know what other people think about the fact that he has got the money to move out, but he knows his friends are happy for him, and that they are trying to save up money to follow in his footsteps. The area he has moved to is not so safe either, as none of the neighbourhoods in Eastlands are. Nevertheless, he may now join other activities, when it is easier to get home

late, not feeling that socially excluded from the rest of Nairobi's young population. However, when going out dancing in Nairobi, young men have to go out early to meet women, because after ten o'clock there are not many left.

The Ladies

The focus group I conducted was with six young women in a crocheting group down in Mathare Valley. They all live down in one of the worst areas of Mathare, down by the river. (There were some more talkative in the group, they discussed some of my questions in Swahili and some in English, but there were always one of them translating their answers to English. Their English was not that good compared to the young people I had met in other places, but we conducted an informative focus group nevertheless.

After explaining shortly why I was there, The Ladies express that it is obvious that they feel safe in the neighbourhood where they live. They know the people and they do not know other places, The Ladies surmise: *"Yeah we feel safe here, because we live here. We don't know other places. We feel secure here. Yeah, because we know the people"* (The Lady E). I try to get them to embellish on their answer, and ask if 'the people' function as some kind of security. I let the young women dwell on the last question for a little while, and one of the women continues: *"Because, if we feel hungry you can go to, you can go to the neighbours. Neighbours can help you, or something"* (The Lady B). Everybody agrees, and relates to the answer. Security seems to be related to basic needs, as food, and they are not mentioning security in terms of protection from criminality.

Nevertheless when I ask them what they think about crime in the area, they answer that there is a lot of crime. It is commonly agreed among the young women that their neighbourhood is more insecure after dark and in the night, and nobody would walk outside after ten o'clock, not even accompanied by a man.

We stay in the house, but we can go outside. We have some hours. Maybe from nine, eight, seven, it's okay. But maybe starting from ten o'clock you have to stay inside. Because, sometimes it could come people who do bad things with you. We have someone who maybe cutting you, some of them have guns and some of them maybe want to rape you (The Lady B).

Furthermore, one of The Ladies explains that they are not safe during the nights in the shanties either. She emphasises that the residents' lack of physical security devices make them quite vulnerable during the night. They have nothing that prevents perpetrators from breaking in and assaulting them while they are asleep. They have no possibilities to secure

their household due to a lack of resources. Consequently she returns to their only solution regarding their security problem, which is to trust their neighbours and have confidence that they will either help you during the assault or be supportive after such an incident. However, another informant expresses her concern about this issue, and says she cannot always trust her neighbours in supporting her if raped. “*I don’t know if I will tell my neighbours if I got raped*” (The Lady E). There is clearly a stigma about being sexually assaulted, and there will be a further emphasis on this issue in the last chapter.

Even though The Ladies appear to have many reflections about crime and insecurities in their area, their main concerns seem to be about insecurity linked to basic needs like hunger.

Reflections

In order to get an impression of how some of the informants view their local place in terms of crime and insecurities, I have presented the youth’s own descriptions and perceptions in the sections above. I have intentionally not discussed much about their statements in this first part of the analysis. However, I will get back to their stories both in the next sections and in the last chapter. The purpose has been to give the reader an understanding of the youth’s perceptions of either safety or insecurity in their neighbourhood.

What is interesting to notice in this part is how the informants surmise at first that they feel safe in their neighbourhood, either because they are living there or since they know all the people, and how they later on in the interviews attach certain incidents and crime stories to particular places associations to insecurity and victimisation are triggered, and the informants seem to express more fear. This may be a consequence of their personal ties to the place in the crime story, as explained when referred to Sparks et al. (2001) in the theory chapter, which comes to the surface through *the talk of crime*. Sparks et al. argue that fear of crime develops on the basis of this relation between people and how they relate to the place in the *crime story*. Thus place identity and sense of belonging becomes a salient factor in understanding fear of crime, a matter that will be further discussed in the next section.

Furthermore, an important aspect to have in mind when hearing their expressions, perceptions and opinions is that the informants’ feelings of safety are relative to the context they are living in. This means that in a very unsafe urban space the feeling of safety is relative to how safe one may actually be or feel.

Moreover, alcohol seems to be repeated as an element causing much of the disorder in both Mathare and Little Mogadishu, resulting in other poverty related issues. While drinking alcohol in itself is not a criminal activity, some of the informants however seem to associate alcohol with disorder, unstable and unpredictable men and the Mungiki activities in the *changaa* business. Alcoholics loitering around in the streets are identified as possible offenders and may thus increase fear of crime.

Some of the informants' fear seemed to be fed by their perceptions of difference, and came through expressions that had overtones of an 'us' and 'them' mentality. Furthermore, people coming from unfamiliar environments or places seen as dangerous were often described as different from them and could be seen as a threat. In addition, the unknown and associations with the *others* are possible sources for fear.

6.2 FEAR OF THE OTHER

When informants were describing their neighbourhoods in terms of crime and insecurity, I noticed that they frequently used concepts like *insiders* and *outsiders*. Emphasising the importance of the sense of belonging and whether one is considered to be a part of the neighbourhood, which I argue in the theory chapter may affect the feelings of safety. Terms like *insider* and *outsider* also express that there exists some kind of demarcation between the two. Where this demarcation is drawn up is left to the individual to define. Sometimes the borders are linked to something physical in the landscape. As explained in chapter two, both the Juja road and the Nairobi River could be considered as two such physical demarcations in the landscape of Eastlands. I will use the next section to explore how the young people identify with places, and how this sense of belonging may affect their fear of crime.

Fearing "the others"

Most of my informants had experienced crime in some form or another, either themselves or through friends or relatives. When asked to identify whom they see as criminals and also to describe the problems and challenges in their area, many informants pointed to people coming from other areas, people that they meant were different and identified as dangerous. *The others* are bringing the issues of insecurity and incivilities into their neighbourhood.

When pointing to *the others*, the youth are identifying away from those described as dangerous elements and they will find it easier to identify the perpetrators in their local place. In order to feel safer, they 'move' the dangerous out of their everyday lives. *The others* are

often people who seem to be different, dirty and causing disorder. Consequently their behaviour is seen as what Cresswell (1996) calls *actions out of place*. As The Border-dweller expresses it when telling about the people coming from the other area Mathare:

You can tell that they are coming from Mathare, especially the drunk men in the streets. yeah I get afraid of them. They're coming from Mathare. We can you tell that they are from Mathare. It's very different, they behave different. The way they speak too. Very different, just across the road." (The Border-dweller)

The Border-dweller is referring to the people across the Juja road, which for her represents a physical demarcation between what is safe and what is insecure. It defines people as criminals and a place as dangerous. The fear of people living in the slum seems to be influenced by the perception of them as being different from her. She is doing a process of what Sibley (1995) calls a *purification of space*.

Similar comments are also made by slum-dwellers. An informant from Mathare is blaming *others* when he is describing their greatest challenges, however he is also explaining that people from Mathare do go outside to steal:

No. Its not easy, they don't steal from people around here. They go outside. Not from people next to themselves. Have you ever...There is no hijacking in Mathare, it's no cars here. What do they have? (The Mover).

As mentioned, alcohol is seen as big problem in Mathare, and is blamed for causing much of the disorder in the streets. In the same manner as The Border-dweller, The Mover seems to blame the *outsiders* who comes from far away to drink in Mathare. The process of *othering* seems not only to be undertaken by the informants living in the borderlands, but also by many of the informants living inside the slum. In this case it seems like it does not matter where the youth are living, the youth only want to distance themselves from what they find different and threatening. They use a process of *othering* to protect themselves against fear of crime, by assuming the criminals belong to other areas, whether they live inside or outside the slum. The difference between the processes in the areas is whom they define as *others*. What is less clear from the slum-dwellers perspective is whom they identify as *others*; none of them seem to have any clear idea of who they are.

However it seems more important for the border-dwellers to emphasise their differences from the slum-dwellers. An explanation might be the social proximity and the negative stereotypes associated with being a slum-dweller. It is thus meaningful for them to identify away from the people living there. The Border-dweller continuously points to the people in Mathare as the criminal *others*. She finds disorder to evoke a feeling of unease and

she looks at differences as something threatening which trigger associations of the unknown and maybe dangerous situations, especially the alcoholics and unemployed men that are wandering around in the streets unpredictable as possible offenders. Additionally, another young woman states: “*The majority of people that do bad things they come from outside*” (The Caught in the Middle).

The informants are using the differences between the areas to construct a place identity and distinguish themselves from *the others*. It seems to be easier to live with exterior sources of fear. Wilton (1998) argues that the *spatiality of difference* is used by people to distance themselves physically and socially to protect the sense of ‘self’. This is also my impression regarding the border-dwellers and slum-dwellers in Eastlands.

Being outsiders

The focus on being either *insider* or *outsider* is not all about blaming someone else different from them. Additionally, the sense of belonging has an impact on which places the youth fear entering. When the young people are moving outside their familiar places, crossing borders to unknown neighbourhoods in Eastlands, they seem dependent on an *insider* to move around in such areas. The young people seem to fear being *outsiders*, in the same way as they fear outsiders.

I realised this one of the first times I went with the Haba na Haba group to another slum area. It was interesting to see how they needed to find *the insider* who knew why they were there before they dared enter the area. One young man explained to me that they were not only doing this because they feared being outsiders. In addition, they wanted to protect the residents in the unknown area from fearing them. A movement of people coming from the outside may be seen as threatening (The New Border-dweller). Moreover, The Border-dweller expresses her fear of being an outsider like this:

People know that you’re not from there, but from another place. The way you looking at the area and the way they look at us, or we looking or the way you dress. And yeah they know that we’re afraid. They look at you. I couldn’t imagine walking across the street. I’m afraid (The Border- dweller).

The Border-dweller has never been inside of Mathare, and cannot know how it actually is. What is affecting her fear is *the talk of crime* she is hearing from others and the negative stereotypes that are created. All she can associate with the area across the road are the people she sees everyday in the streets around her house. The people she identifies as *others* and who are therefore different. However, she does not pay attention to other people who do not seem

threatening or *out of place* that may come from Mathare. The lack of awareness of these people is caused by their appearance, which appears normal in her eyes. This is in line with what Cresswell (1996) argues, that as long as everything seems to be normal our awareness of the place will disappear.

Her fear of crossing the street seems irrational because she is telling about all the nice youth in MUSA and how they still live, or have lived, in the slum. This is the youth she usually is joining when she is not in school. However, when talking about girls in the slum she tells me:

They drop out of school, and then they get married. And then they drop out of everything. And it's getting risky. So they fall into that (criminal activities). And one girl got married, she has no job and they steal from each other (The Border-dweller).

It is possible that a *demystification* may take place if my informant decides to cross the street, the border to Mathare. In contrary, the visibility of *the others* seems to maintain, or even enhance, the border between her and the slum-dwellers. Sibley (1995) gives an explanation to this and claims that visibility leads to more negative stereotypical images of the minority. Furthermore, Barth (1982) points to insecurity as an essential element for the maintenance of boundaries between *us* and *them*. In addition, another border-dweller also expresses her fear of entering the slum. "*Everybody will know I'm not from there, and I'll not feel safe*" (The Caught in the Middle).

What is interesting is that when you turn the situation around my informants seem to fear being *outsiders*. The sense of belonging does not only impact their fear of crime when identifying *outsiders* as criminals, but also when they are identifying themselves as *outsiders*. In the next section I will look at the term *insider*, which is probably an important aspect of feeling safe.

Being insiders

Being an insider turns out to be an important aspect of the sense of place and the feeling of belonging in terms of security. As one of the informants tells me: "*They don't harass the people from the inside, but only the strangers coming into the area*" (G). Informants explain more than once that they fear entering places where they are looked upon as outsiders. Moreover, not belonging to the particular place made them vulnerable, and they emphasise that it is easy to tell who belongs and who does not.

One of the young women tells me that she may enter Mathare when she is wearing her football shirt. She plays for Mathare United, a team that makes up the foundation of a

collective identity in Mathare and the surrounding areas. “*It’s okay to walk down there when I’m wearing my football shirt. Nothing will happen to me then*” (The Football Player). In order to walk safely in Mathare, she is emphasising a collective identity and making herself *an insider*. Thus she is self-categorising herself into a social identity that reduces her fear.

An informant from Mathare tells me that she feels safe in her area, and it is only unsafe for outsiders:

If you’re from the outside, you have to be very careful and people are afraid. But people from here are gotten, they’re kind of gotten used to the whole thing, them, and they know them. And if people who comes from the outside they’re afraid (The Responsible).

The young woman is referring to the men who harass people in the streets. She is claiming that they are normalised in the residents’ lives. Interestingly, she is talking about her area and is not using ‘we’ but ‘they’ and ‘them’, like she is trying to distance herself from the area when talking about possible sources of fear. Perhaps this is a way of coping and protecting herself not increasing her fear through *the talk of crime*?

One young man followed us through the most dangerous part of Mathare that we walked through, Huruma. A place many informants mention as the most criminal area. He is *an insider*, and that is why we may walk through the area without being soft targets. He tells me about his football team, which is called Dam Dam. It is no coincidence that *Dam Dam* means dangerous (The Insider). There is apparently another positive aspect of being an *insider*. *Insiders* are often used to follow strangers through the area, so they may come through without being robbed and harassed. “*You can actually earn money by just being an insider*”, the young man says (The Insider). However, it is important to be informed about how to act in certain areas. One day I was joining my informant through this dangerous area with a group from Norway. Even the insider was startled when one man in the group took out an SLR camera just as we passed the corner where all the criminals are sitting. My informant ran after the man, who tried to take pictures of some children playing in the street. The Insider grabbed the camera and hid it in his bag, obviously afraid. Afterwards, he tells us that we were very lucky that there were so few hanging on the corner that day.

The incident above shows how not adapting one’s behaviour in certain areas may increase fear of crime even for *an insider*. Furthermore, even though it is safer or maybe only feels safer to be accompanied by *an insider*, increased alertness and watching belongings seem to be coping strategies one should adopt anyway.

Another day, before this incident happened, the group was having a show on the other side of the Huruma community. Some of them wanted to show me Huruma, as it was an area mentioned many times as a dangerous place. It was only *the insider* and some of the young men who were walking with me. The other members of the group took the *matatu* around the neighbourhood, avoiding the area. When arriving, the women and the youngest men seemed terrified when they heard about us walking through Huruma. However, I explained that the *insider* had followed us, and they seemed to relax a bit. The conclusion that can be drawn from these happenings is that being *an insider* is a very important aspect of the youth's fear of crime and feelings of safety, thus also the sense of belonging. Moreover, the need to emphasise an identity that belongs to a collective identity is important in creating a feeling of belonging, however, at the same time the young people want to distinguish themselves from other groups.

Being an *outsider* does not seem to be easy, and the sense of belonging is crucial for the fear of crime for the youth in Eastlands. Many are joining criminal groups, the Mungiki and the Taliban sect for example, just to feel part of something, a sense of belonging in a society where being an outsider could mean a greater fear. The youth I interviewed from MYSA had joined the group to feel part of something and they had a wish to help their own community.

Reflections

In this part I have paid special attention to how the youth's feelings of belonging may affect their fear of crime. Statements about why they fear one place and not another, and why they fear some people and not others have been expressed in terms of concepts such as *insiders and outsiders*. Furthermore, some of the informants use a process of *othering* to identify criminals as *outsiders* and something identified as different from them, while others also use the process of *purification of space*. The young people are categorising their world according to what they see as different and dirty and causing disorder in their everyday lives. In contrary, they lack awareness of *actions in place* and what seems 'normal' for them.

Furthermore, they disassociate themselves from the negative images or the *other*, and identify away from what they see as threatening and dangerous. The creation and the identification of *the other* and the sense of belonging to a place where they are seen as *insiders* seem to protect them from more fear of crime. Both Sibley's (1995) concept of

purification of space and Wilton's (1998) *spatiality of difference* have proven to provide this discussion of the young people's fear of crime with valuable perspectives.

What is particularly interesting, however, is how some emphasise a collective identity in order to belong and to feel safe, as the case for the young woman in the Mathare United shirt. In their mind they have mapped and demarcated the boundaries between risky and safe spaces. Humans need order and coherence, as a result we categorise, and some of the informants self-categorise themselves and emphasise a collective identity they know will keep them out of trouble and avoid harassments. Without categorising everything surrounding them, they will live in constant chaos and disorder. However, this is not exceptional for the young people in this study, but as Freud states one cannot question the benefits of order in society. This is something all human beings are doing to make sense of their lives, nevertheless, classifications and categories vary and the purpose might, of course, also vary.

The others do not automatically mean someone dirty or drunk, possible offenders. *Others* may also be one of another ethnic origin, another tribe, and a border-creating element. After the post-election violence, demarcations along ethnic lines have increased, and a stronger division between the tribes has been the case especially in Mathare. This has led to an increased importance in ethnicity, also for the fear of crime in Eastlands. Moreover, ethnic identity has gotten increased attention because of its very presence during the post-election violence.

6.3 ETHNIC IDENTITY AND INSECURITY

Different tribes also characterise the *spatiality of difference* in Eastlands, and ethnicity becomes an important aspect of the youth's identity. The young people's sense of belonging in their neighbourhood may be influenced by their ethnic identity, which also may be a source of fear, especially after the last years when there has been an increase of illegal gangs based on ethnicity.

Some informants explained that under normal circumstances ethnic loyalty is seen as positive and able to create valuable social networks and reinforce a sense of solidarity (The Border-dweller and The Caught in the Middle). But as ethnic identity was used destructively and divisively during the conflict in 2007/2008, ethnicity appears to have increased through the development of so-called sects or illegal gangs based on ethnicity.

When analysing the interviews in terms of the youth's ethnic identity, and how it may have had an impact on their fear of crime, I realised that they only emphasised ethnicity when

talking about the post-election violence and the Mungiki sect. Most of the informants seemed proud of their ethnic identity, and were mentioning their tribe when talking about the post-election violence. Ethnic identity became salient during this period of violence and set the terms whether they could feel safe in different areas of the city and in Eastlands. Many of my informants told me that they used to live in mixed neighbourhoods, and when the riots started they did not know whom to trust.

Ethnic identity in Kenya

Riots between the two dominant groups ended up in several deaths and a hundred thousand fleeing their homes. The clashes were conspicuous in impoverished areas. The anger among those living in the packed slums in Nairobi split the settlements along ethnic lines (Tarimo 2010). Ethnic demarcation developed further as a consequence of politics based on ethnicity. Although, the division along ethnic lines is in one manner natural, the lines have continued to increase after the riots.

The post-election violence

During conversations concerning crime most of my informants are comparing the current situation to the riots in 2007/2008. The ethnic gangs, the *Mungiki* and *the Taliban*, made the area unsafe during this post-election violence. They took advantage of the riots and under the public disorder they sexually abused women on the grounds of their ethnic identity. All my informants expressed that they had felt an increased fear during this period of violence. Knowing your neighbours did not naturally mean that they would support you and function like security anymore, and living in a mixed neighbourhood seemed more like a threat than something valuable for some of them. Nonetheless, there was one person suggesting that it was safer because of the ethnic composition in her building and the Somali domination (The Border-dweller). This suggests that there is more to it than simply the areas' ethnic population and composition.

It's very important being able to trust your neighbours, it's a matter of life and death, you know. Under the riots, I'm a Kikuyu. So it was safe for us. Luos had to evacuate mainly in our area. All the time people meant that Luos, they had to shift from that area, the police had to intervene, and the Luos had to evacuate and they stayed at the police station (The Caught in the Middle).

One of the reasons why it was so unsafe for the Luo tribe during the post-election violence was because of the Mungiki sect that continuously makes life insecure for many of the residents in low-income settlements. The informant living in the Mungiki influenced area is glad she belonged to the Kikuyu tribe during the riots, but she did not want to identify with

the sect by having originating from the same tribe. It is important for her to express that she does not believe in the same thing as them, but she is glad she was not a Luo. The Luos had it very difficult in her area.

Another informant was living in one of the worst hit areas during the riots, he tells me about one morning he woke up during the violence:

I was opening the door, and I saw this murdered man and his head was put on a stick next to his body and just in front of my house. Then I noticed by house was on fire, so we had to leave the house. I've been living with some friends since then (The Mover).

Both slum-dwellers and border-dwellers experienced the violence. Here is The Border-dweller's perception of the riots:

They used to come into our apartments. It was really bad, all the supermarkets were closed. They could steal from people when you going out for work, they steal from you during the day. It was so bad. It was worst for the Luo people. But since I'm living in a mixed area. We support each other - stay together. We stay together because we're. We want to have good relations with all tribes in our house. In Mathare, the Kikuyo come and attack people, and the Luo from the other side. People from the other side, Huruma, Kariobangi, they were like. They cut the head off the other tribe, and put on a stick. They moved all of them from their houses, and they lived in there, in somebody's property (The Border-dweller).

Once again The Border-dweller distances herself from the worst areas. Nevertheless her story confirms that the people living in Little Mogadishu did not completely avoid the violence. In order to end the violence she tells me that: "*they (the police) had to use teargas, curfew, beat them up*" (The Border-dweller).

During conversations about the post-election violence there was mainly one clear concern of my informants: the Mungiki. I will use the next section to describe how this sect influences the young people's ethnic identity and fear of crime.

The Mungiki

The insecure situation has continued for the residents after the post-election violence. Some informants tell that their neighbourhood is unsafe only because of the presence of the Mungiki. The Caught in the Middle is the one that has experienced many incidents because of the Mungiki, as a result of living in an area where they have a strong presence.

We have Mungiki in the area. So is not that safe. Mungiki, kill themselves. They fight among the Mungikis. They're not good. There are two groups, they don't like each other,so they kill each other. There are different gangs inside the Mungiki sect (The Caught in the Middle).

Ethnic identity needs to be seen in relation to changing realities. She tells me about the high unemployment rate and the Mungiki's ability to earn a lot of money, which makes them an attractive alternative for employment.

For instance, back in February, a friend was killed. Not killed, but he was brutally murdered. Due to the unemployment they try to get work in the Matatu business. They contacted him. They did, but unfortunate he didn't want to get into the car. He was brutally murdered. He was cut in pieces with machete and tortured with forks. It was so bad. We have now the revenge.

I become so afraid. I was like, what? I was shocked. Since that thing I have been feeling really afraid. When I see a group of young men, around here. You don't know what they are thinking, where they have their minds. And they're unemployed. They're in the Matatu sector. In the Matatu sector is a lot of money. They get the money from the Matatus. They collect from everything in that area, bus and everything. Different groups collect the money, and two groups make a competition. They don't like each other so they kill each other (The Caught in the Middle).

The Mungiki's activity in the *Matatu* sector seems to create more insecurity for the residents in her area, including her. Another informant explains how his area was a target for ethnic gangs when the Mungiki had control over the *changaa* business along the river, and how this caused conflict between the gangs (The Mover). Many of my informants agree that it leads to negative implications when the ethnic gangs settle in their area, especially because of the existence of conflicts between the different groups.

Moreover, I want to know how the brutality of the murder has affected my informant who is caught in the middle of the battle. My informant states:

Yes, it was crazy after my friend got killed. We didn't go out for weeks. There was mad, crazy. I remember at that time afterwards I wouldn't go out from nine. Even when I was going out from nine I didn't go out. It lasted for two weeks. Yeah (The Caught in the Middle).

Furthermore she explains that the illegal sect does not use guns, but: "*No guns. They were brutally murdered. They only use weapons like machetes and weapons they can use to torture*" (The Caught in the Middle). She says that victims are often found without body organs and limbs, including the genitals.

The Border-dweller, who seems to fear crime more than many of the other informants, expresses no fear when it comes to the Mungiki. She explains how Somali refugees dominate her neighbourhood, and their involvement in weapon smuggling makes her area unattractive for the sect. The post-election violence is mentioned as one exception.

They could never attack Eastleigh. They fear Eastleigh because of the Somali people. They, the Mungiki don't use guns. They use forks and machetes. But they come into Mathare, yeah, but they are very many in the area where my dad has his clinic (The Border-dweller).

Even though she claims that she does not fear the Mungiki, it does not necessarily mean that she was not afraid during the post-election violence. Moreover she tells me how she meets the Mungiki activities in other manners. She points to the mafia related activities in the *matatu* business, and other services they provide in Eastlands.

Furthermore, many informants emphasise the importance of knowing and trusting your neighbours for security reasons. The fact that Somali refugees dominate the neighbourhoods in Little Mogadishu made the area safer under the riots. The Somali people did not involve themselves in the post-election violence; it was not their battle (The Border-dweller). Even though the female informant is a Luo, she says that she did not want to hide her tribe under the riots, she is proud of being a Luo.

Not all of my informants share the same thoughts about the sect and about their tribe. One young man from Mathare expresses his thoughts about them differently, even though he knows they cause trouble in the *changaa* business:

You can never understand these things, how people. They defend people you know. Sometime, people say Mungiki, they say Mungiki as equals as an illicit religious sect, but it's a security really, for the area because of those guys. But they don't fight. They try to fight the criminals and the government. Yeah, they try to do things. Try to keep the society secure. But they're using something for the security. That's what the government doesn't want; it's against the law. They clash against the government. Of course, they want to get some money from the local people (The Mover).

The young man is blaming the government: "*They provide services, garbage and sewage. The government doesn't provide that, have you seen it when it's pouring down how everything becomes a mess?*" (The Mover). Including basic services and garbage collection, the Mungiki have also joined the security and protection business, claiming money from people and businesses in the areas to keep them safe. Before the Mungiki established a sense of order in Mathare there were a lot of criminal activities, especially muggers and drug dealers frequenting in the area (The Mover). However, after a tax dispute with the local breweries along the river and an increased presence of the Taliban sect, the Mungiki were dormant for a while, and the muggings and other criminal activities came back. My informant tells me of other examples of the Mungiki being 'banned' from some areas, but then they simply experienced more criminal activities.

The Mover does not want to tell me his ethnic origin, and tells me that he tries to hide his ethnic identity. I respect that, and do not want to ask him more about it. He says he is not the only one doing it for reasons of security and because of his political opinion. Politics

should not be based on ethnicity, but it should treat everyone as equals. The Mover repeats that they are not believed to be equals, the slum-dwellers.

Even though some informants explain that the Mungiki provide the area with security the sect seems to have contributed to more fear and insecurity during and after the post-election violence. Another young man tells me how they have harassed residents and demanded protection fees (The New Border-dweller).

Fear of the next election

Although the Mungiki sect made problems all over Nairobi before the post-election violence, they seem to continue to spread fear and insecurity. They have created a society of fear, which reveals itself through *the talk of crime*.

The Mover tells me how the residents consequently find themselves voluntarily segregating themselves within their ethnic enclaves, leading to an increased polarisation after the post-election violence. This is a result of a lot of people being afraid of what the consequences of the next election will be. I ask The Border-dweller what she thinks about the next election, and she answers: “*Of course it will happen again. We just need to stay inside, lock ourselves in the house – but it’s still risky they can come and break in*” (The Border-dweller). It is obvious that she fears the next election. Another informant expresses her worry about the residents of Mathare:

In Mathare for instance, mainly they are, they are so arrogant, they don’t care. Before the election violence. Now they are fighting, they are trying to unite the tribes again. Do you think they will be afraid of voting next election? Fear to vote again, especially people from Mathare. Very very affected around in Mathare. They were raped (The Caught in the Middle).

Nevertheless, The Border-dweller states that the situation has ameliorated a little bit, and: “*Yeah, the police have done something, by killing them. And then it has reduced*” (The Mover). She is the only informant that expresses some kind of belief that the police may contribute to safer conditions in Eastlands.

Reflections

A lot of my informants’ fear is related to ethnic identity, both because of their own ethnic identity and the existence of the ethnic gangs, especially the Mungiki. Additionally, ethnic identity is a determinant whether one may feel safe or unsafe in many areas. This was especially true during the conditions of the post-election riots.

Implications of the post-election violence for youth in the area were severe. However, ethnic identity has not decreased as an aspect of giving a sense of belonging, but rather increased. It has become a more intensified collective identity that is creating demarcations along ethnic lines inside the settlements. This is in line with what Pain (2001) argues: how hate crimes, here based on ethnicity, may reinforce spatial and social exclusion, and this does not support Skarkey's (2007) statement about the importance of ethnicity will disappear along with urbanisation. The emergence of the Mungiki and the Taliban sects are also contributing to the increased focus on ethnic identity. All the informants save one express that they are proud of their tribe. It seems that they have become more aware of which tribe they belong to and which tribe their neighbours belong to after the post-election violence. However, in MUYA, and some in their houses, they meet many young people with different ethnic backgrounds. This may have reduced their fear based on ethnicity, as Watt and Stenson (1998 in Pain 2001) suggest in their study. However, it seems that the Mungiki is tearing down this trust.

The presence of the Mungiki sect in the Eastlands area does not necessarily lead to a fear of the sect in itself, but may lead to fear of other things, such as the police. During the post-election violence ethnicity became additionally a severe problem for the police, as the residents seem to believe that policemen with a different ethnic origin than themselves would not help them if they needed. The issue of trust decides whom to fear, and many of my informants express a deep mistrust of the police.

6.4 FEAR OF THE POLICE

Fear of crime is a wide concept, in which one may include many different crimes. However, as I clearly mentioned in the theory chapter, the term *crime* does not apply properly when referring to violations made by the police. Nevertheless, since *fear of crime* in this research has been understood as something threatening to our well-being, something that may trigger the feeling of fear of further being victimised, I find it relevant to include this part in the thesis.

A reason for this was an interesting finding that many of the informants expressed a strong feeling of fear of the police, some even more than other criminals and criminal activities. This is an interesting issue, especially since there are no police stations in the slums or in Little Mogadishu, and the presence of policemen are scarce. However, not all express mistrust in the police but rather complain about the police neglecting their area:

Yeah yeah. We can trust the police, but it's not all the time safe. And they are not all the time there. Like, when something has happened, that's when they come. Often, they don't hang around there. Mostly they keep around along the road- the wall, and they do not go down in Mathare. Yeah, and there are no police stations there beside the road. The police station is a bit far from where I live. The Pangani Police Station. So it's very risky (The Border-dweller).

In the following sections, I will give an account of why young people fear the police and how this is related to the fear of crime.

AVOIDING THE POLICE

Spending many days in the area, I can only recall having seen some sort of police presence once. This was in the borderland between Little Mogadishu and Mathare, along Juja road. I was surprised that there were suddenly few people in a street that normally looks like an anthill. Coming back to the MYSA office I asked some of the youth about the police in the area. They explain to me that they tend to turn up once in a while looking for criminals and young men belonging to the Mungiki sect. The residents in the area fear that they may be randomly picked out and interrogated by the police, expected to give them information either they do not know or they fear giving away (The Responsible, The new Border-dweller, The Mover).

I raise the issue about the police when conducting the focus group with The Ladies. The issue seems to trigger engagement in the group and several ladies want to express their opinions. One of them states: *"If more police come, we want to stay in the house. If something go wrong. Maybe evil, something like, they can shoot you* (The Lady A). The Ladies agree that the best thing to do when the police come is to hide. Another slum-dweller tells me if the police come and have raids there will be nobody outside. The streets normally filled with people will be empty, also in the night:

Sometimes you feel unsafe walking in the night- cause if you heard that the police come. They walk in the night. But when the police have an operation you don't find anyone in the streets. But generally they walk at night- men walk at night. One will see them and run and inform the others (The Responsible).

Despite their complaint about the police neglecting their area, they are afraid if the police decide to show up. In the next sections I will present some of the reasons why the young people avoid the police.

Police harassment

As one of The Ladies states, some of the informants fear being shot by the police when the police visit their area. Interestingly, The Caught in the Middle, who lives in an area with more police than other informants, does not fear the police at all. However, she understands why young unemployed men fear them: *“They’re walking along the road and one of them is taken. Because they will stop them, and bring them to the police station, and explain later at the police station”*. When interviewing some of the young men, they confirm the young woman’s statement, and complain about police violations and harassments. When the police finally intervened and targeted the Mungiki and their activities they wanted to see some fast results. Informants, mostly men, tell me how they fear the police because they may suddenly be shot or taken by the police and to the police station without any reason other than they are believed to be a Mungiki. *“If they shoot a young man, they just say he was Mungiki and it’s okay. They can’t prove it”* (The Mover). Among the youth there was a young man expressing his frustrations and the reasons for why he walks a different direction when he sees the police:

The police only want to see numbers, and the more Mungikis they take, the more it looks like the government has control over them. It does not matter for them if they take a young unemployed man or a Mungiki. They see both as problems anyway (The New Border-dweller).

In the poverty stricken areas, children and youth have to play in the streets like it was their own living room. Lack of space inside their poorly equipped dwellings and lack of electricity, and thus lighting, are some of the reasons. Some of the youth are tempted to get involved in criminal activities and as a consequence they attract the attention of the police. Despite this, naturally not all of them are involved in such activities: the police target them as if they were criminals and some of the informants feel stigmatised because of this discrimination. One informant understands that natural reactions, like running away, may be interpreted as the behaviour of criminals. Nevertheless, it does not justify the police behaviour against the poor slum-dwellers (The New Border-dweller).

However, there have been some empowerment campaigns about the residents’ rights, which seem to have reduced the police harassment. One of the young women tells me:

There used to be a lot of harassments, but it has changed. There has been a lot of empowerment around that issue. People know their rights. They’re still running away, because they’re used to that the police harass (The Responsible).

Fear of revenge

Another reason for why young people avoid the police, and the main reason for why the female informants expressed a fear of police, is the fear of being a witness and furthermore the fear of revenge. This finding reinforces Caldeira's (2000) findings in her study in São Paulo, also in this study there are The Ladies who discuss this very same issue. After telling me about how they stay inside during the night, they emphasised further why they stay inside when they see or hear about the police. One of them expresses her fear very dramatically:

When the policeman comes, he has to ask who did it? But we don't know and we really don't know. He thinks that the person that done it, that we know. No we cannot tell, those people coming to your house and they will kill you. The police is not there then (The Lady B).

Another young woman continues: *"Who did this? If you tell him, he go to prison and there is someone else taking care of the problem. Yeah, he has a gun and a knife"*(The Lady E). Even the young woman who says she does not fear the police, explains why she fears being a witness:

I will be afraid to tell the police about a crime. I can be killed, tortured and raped. The punishment. They will keep you for several days. Don't kill you. But torture you (The Caught in the Middle).

The main reason for the informants to fear the police does not necessarily involve police harassment or violence from the police themselves. However, much of the fear is related to the consequences of being in the wrong place at the wrong time. This is a situation that is very difficult to "protect against". So when the youth see or hear that the police are coming, they run and hide to insure that they will not be taken as a witness.

Furthermore, fear of criminals' vengeance may also be the reason for why residents do not report victimisation to the police. This fear of the probable consequences of reporting a crime exceeds their little hope of being helped by the police. *"If the criminal knows who reported it, and if he has done it he knows who. He will come back for me if I report it"* (The Responsible). The same young woman says that she does not trust the police to help her if she reports a crime. I will look deeper into this issue in the next two sections.

Corruption

The fear of crime and the fear of police may be connected to corruption in two different ways, both of the reasons are of course related to the young people's lack of resources. Some of the informants were telling me about how the police may approach them and out of the blue

accuse them of breaking the law, especially in the days before payday (The Mover, The New Border-dweller). In order to solve the problem the young people have to pay the police to get out of trouble. However, the youth in the area do not walk around with a lot of money, and sometimes they have to give away their last *bobs*¹⁹. If they do not have any money the police take them to the station.

Secondly, lack of resources is yet another reason why the youths do not want to, or cannot afford to, report any crime to the police. Corruption and the police's monetary interest are according to many of my informants a big problem and a key reason for their deep mistrust of the police, The Ladies especially emphasise this as a problem. Social economic status influences whether you can report a crime or not, because the police are expecting the residents to pay for their services.

In fact, I experienced this myself when reporting a robbery. I had to pay 3000 KSH to the police so they would take my statement. I was told that I was lucky since the "normal" price is 10 000 KSH. The amount is obviously not the same for the residents of poorer neighbourhoods. However, the amount the police require is relatively a lot of money for the residents (The Mover).

NON-HELP

Not surprisingly, the majority of the informants have no belief in the justice system. A common answer is that the system is unjust for them, and if they report a crime to the police they will not prioritise any resources anyway. Among the informants this was especially emphasised by The Ladies. They believe that the police lack resources to help them, and they state that they would never report any victimisation to the authorities. *"They will not take us seriously anyway, and for them we're less important than others. The system doesn't work"* (The Lady E).

Furthermore, one woman explains that even if the police saw the crime was committed they will not help her (The Lady B). She did not elaborate on this, but the lack of trust in the police is obvious. Another issue raised by The Ladies is the stigma that may follow from reporting a crime, especially in relation to sexual assaults. I will discuss the issue of rape and sexual assault in the last chapter. The mistrust of the police and the lack of reports of sexual crimes make the picture of the crime rates misleading. Especially when it comes to domestic violence, which we cannot forget when it comes to crime in Kenya. However, this is a crime

¹⁹ *Bob* is a slang term for the shilling as a currency, in this case the Kenyan Shilling (KSH)

that is difficult to talk about, and the limited time of this research has not made it possible to include this side of the informants' fear. I would encourage other researchers to explore this issue further.

Reflections

The youth fear the police for various reasons. Lack of police presence and mistrust of the police are both sources for more fear of crime among the informants. The police are far from being able to offer a feeling of security, especially in areas where there is almost no police presence, as in the slum areas. However, interestingly their presence seems to result in more fear than their lack of presence. As Skogan (1989) argues, young people's relationship with the police may contribute to more complaints about police harassment when the police increase their presence.

Consistent with Pain's (2003) study of youth, my findings also reveal a deep mistrust of the police among the young men. Partly as a consequence of their harassment and their hunt for the Mungiki members, as the police may randomly pick them out as member of the Kikuyu sect. Among the female informants fear of revenge is the main reason for their fear of police. Coping strategies thus involve avoiding and hiding from the police, and avoiding areas where the risk of being a witness of a crime is large. Moreover, the Mungiki sect is partly a source of this fear too, as they have crude methods of torture or rape witnesses.

Non-help and corruption may also contribute to fear among young people. Bribes are constantly being demanded from residents for the police's services, and the young people have no belief that the police will help them when they report a crime. Additionally they probably cannot afford it because of their lack of resources. Consequently, the youth have completely lost their trust in the police and the justice system.

6.5 SUMMARY

After hearing stories and experiences from various young people either living in Mathare or in the surrounding borderlands, it seems that all my informants experience fear of crime in some degree. However, their fear seems to vary and be influenced by different elements in their everyday lives or be triggered by particular incidents. To some degree the youth are used to incivilities and disorganisation in their urban space, and cannot look at all these incivilities as dangerous or threatening to them. Still, what we may read from their stories is that some

people and places give associations to crime, and some of them cause increased fear especially those the informants relate to.

What is revealed through their stories is their fear of the *others, outsiders* perceived as different from them, and the sense of belonging plays a crucial role in their daily lives and impacts upon their fear of crime. They are constructing their place identity in terms of *insiders* and *outsiders* in order to distinguish themselves from places nearby. The post-election violence especially seems to trigger associations of fear of the Mungiki sect, fear of their neighbours and fear of the police. The Mungiki, however, have continued to scare the residents by using methods we may relate to the genocide in Rwanda 1994. Their crude methods of torture were not only used during the post-election violence, but continue to define the sect's behaviour.

Nevertheless, there exist ambivalent feelings about both the Mungiki sect and the police. They are both providing security in the area, and some of the informants express that they are doing something to protect the community. The Border-dweller does not share the negative opinion about the police like many of the other informants, and The Mover implies that the Mungiki, despite their criminal activities, provide the community with basic services where the government has (been inadequate) neglected the area. Additionally, without the Mungiki presence he claims that there will be more crime in Mathare.

The fear is not restricted to the poorest youth, despite the fact that they are living in the worst conditions and the area portrayed as most dangerous. The border-dwellers are also looked at as vulnerable by some of the slum-dwellers, and they would not become one: vulnerability is not reserved for the most marginalised alone.

Positively, the young people are comparing their current situation to the conditions during the riots, this give them an impression that everything is better nowadays even though there are many crimes happening in their neighbourhoods. However, with the memories from the last election fresh in their mind, the young people are not looking forward to the next election in 2012, fearing as they do the consequences.

CHAPTER 7: COPING STRATEGIES

People react differently to the exposure to crime and fear of crime, and people have different thresholds of fear. Consequently, people adopt various coping strategies, which may or may not be a routinised part of people's daily actions.

In the previous chapter I presented and discussed various issues of how the Eastlands' context may have contributed to the young people's fear of crime and their sense of belonging, with a special focus directed on place identity and ethnic identity. This chapter illuminates what may be interpreted as coping strategies that youth in Eastlands adopt to cope with fear of crime, either explicitly explained and stated by the youth themselves or implicitly expressed through their behaviour and stories.

This last chapter is divided into several parts. First I present the gender perspective, how young women and men experience fear of crime differently and thus choose different strategies. In the second part I have a focus on strategies used by both genders, with separate sections for individual and collective strategies.

7.1 AFRAID OF THE DARK

There exists an omnipresent/ubiquitous atmosphere of sexual harassment against women in the Eastlands. Repeatedly exposed to the threat of sexual violence, women have to adjust and find new approaches to safety in their daily lives. A natural consequence of women's physical vulnerability is that coping differs across gender as supported by many researchers in previous studies (Skogan and Maxfield 1981, Pain 2001, Yavuz 2010, Cops and Pleysier 2011); my findings also revealed such differences. I will in the next section set the focus on coping strategies primarily adopted by young women in the study.

All my female informants expressed the necessity to stay inside during the hours of darkness, fearing as they did of being robbed and raped. Avoiding to go out after a certain time is thus the most common strategy mentioned by the women, however, avoiding particular places is maybe the most common, but so routinised in their everyday lives that they have forgotten all about it, so The Border-dweller tells me. What varies between the informants' strategies is what time they want or need to be inside. The Ladies living in the slum tell me that they may stay out in the dark, but no later than ten. *"Yeah, we can go out. But maybe starting from ten o'clock you have to stay inside. Because sometimes it could come people who do bad things with you"*(The Lady F). The Ladies have no parents telling them what to do. They are the parents themselves now, so they decide whether they want to walk

outside or not. Most of The Ladies have grown up in the neighbourhood and seem comfortable walking around in the area during the day, but still they do not want to be outside after ten o'clock. However, the informants who are still living with their parents tell me that they have to be inside after eight. The Border-dweller and The Caught in the Middle want to be inside when it is dark, which is pretty early living in a country close to the equator. Even though they are living in the areas where they have more electricity and also some street lightning they want to be inside before dark. The fact that women choose to stay inside after dark is neither a surprising nor a spectacular finding, nevertheless it is important and interesting in order to understand the background of their chosen coping strategy.

Socialised into fear?

The threshold for everyone to be inside in the night seems to be after ten o'clock, even some of the young men mentioned this hour (The Mover and The Insider). However, living with your parents does not necessarily mean that you need to be home early. As The Responsible states: *"The parents don't take responsibility"*. Furthermore, she explains that without responsible parents girls could be sent out after eight in the evening even though they risk being raped. Additionally the girl or young woman may be stigmatised and rejected by her parents if she gets pregnant, claiming that it is her own fault.

Nevertheless, there are differences between the parents, but my informant tells me that in general there exists a lack of parental control. However, some of the informants come from families that are aware of the insecure and unsafe environment their children experience in the neighbourhood. This has resulted in stricter curfews for some more than others, especially for girls and young women. The insecure feelings may transfer from the parents to their children and consequently construct the young women as fearful individuals through the socialisation process, as Pain (2000) and Cops and Pleysier (2011) argue in their studies. The result seems to be that youth with strict parental control fear more than others, as they are constantly reminded of the insecurities in which they are living. This reinforces previous researchers' argument that some women are socialised into fear.

The Caught in the Middle has already moved one time because her mother feared for her daughters in the slum where they used to live, Pumwani. Growing up without a father has made her mother even stricter with her two daughters. Additionally, The Border-dweller is one of my informants that expresses that her father is quite strict, and that her sisters and herself have to be inside early.

I have to make sure that I am back in the house early, before it gets dark. And then in the morning, if I get out very early in the morning, if I do that I also find people like that in the streets, like snatcher, robbers (The Border-dweller).

Even early in the morning the women have to stay inside. This young woman has also got a very restrained activity space during the day and her father has advised her to avoid particular areas, like Mathare. When asking her what she is doing to protect herself, she answers; “ *We just have to avoid places. Like avoid. Avoid the places. Like Mathare*” (The Border-dweller). Both the young women seem more fearful than the other informants, suggesting that they may be socialised into fear by their parents.

In addition, these two young women also express fear of being outdoors during the day. Light is not the solution for all insecurities and female informants seem to adopt coping strategies even during the day. As we have seen in the previous chapter both The Border-dweller and The Caught in the Middle choose to isolate themselves completely after particular incidents that have made them fear more. One of them describes the current conditions and states: “*About crime nowadays, is not that much, but if it’s there I would just prefer to stay indoors, my safety*” (The Caught in the Middle).

Moreover, sexual violence was the most mentioned reason for why my informants are afraid of the dark. There is the fear of being raped, as well as being robbed and then killed, or even being witness to another crime. The Border-dweller and her family have actually got a toilet inside their apartment, which is not normal especially not in the slum, making it harder for the slum-dwellers to stay inside during the hours of darkness.

Flying toilets

When discussing the issue of public toilets and staying inside during the night with The Ladies in Mathare, they introduce me to another strategy they are using for security reasons. They explain how they are using *flying toilets* instead of going to the nearest public toilet, which for many of them are located far away from their home. Many women do not dare to walk long distances to reach them, as this could be very dangerous especially after dark. In addition to their fear of using the public toilets during the night, not all of the informants can afford paying the shillings it costs to use them during the day either. “*They are too expensive, especially if you’re going to pay for the children too*” (The Lady E). As explained by Thieme (2010), in the 2000s the toilets have become illicit spaces for drug dealers, gangs and a space for illegal abortions. In addition to fear them by night this is also making it too harsh for some of the youth using them during the day. Consequently some of the youth

maintain themselves during the day because of such constraints. “*You feel that you need to go to the toilet, but you maintain yourself, maintain yourself*” (The Mover).

Not going to the toilet and using *flying toilets* may thus be seen as a coping strategy, when it involves avoiding public toilets which are associated with sexual assaults and rape. However, an informant told me that this strategy was not the hardest to go through with. When you do not eat or drink much during the day there is not much that has to come out either. In addition she states: “*There is no water*” (The Football Player). In fact, the days I spent with the youth around in the slums I seldom saw them drink water (or anything at all), spending a whole day in sandy and dusty roads before the rainfalls in the evening make them all muddy.

Flying toilets are a strategy that may have negative consequences for the entire community, because of the plastic bags and plastic containers, which are being emptied/thrown out in the streets during rainfalls. Leading both to more accumulation of garbage and human waste, as well as the possible spreading of illnesses, such as cholera etc.

Sexual assaults

Only one of the informants tells me that she has been raped, and now she has a two years old child with the rapist, which never lets her forget that she has been a victim of rape. It is illegal to have an abortion in Kenya, however some people still performs them illegally. The young woman explains how such abortions may be really dangerous and even result in death. She says she did not dare to carry out one, so she had to keep the baby. Furthermore, she explains that the police killed the rapist, shot him in the back. He had apparently done some other violations of the law as well (The Lady A).

The post-election violence made their fear of sexual violence increase, when criminal groups took advantage of the situation of public disorder, and violated women because of their ethnicity, but also randomly without knowing if they voted for the other party or not. Sexual violence under conflict is an often-used weapon, a weapon that may bring more insecurity into the already traumatic and severe conditions and is exclusively targeted on civilians and for the most part women (PRIO 2011). Criminals and the Mungiki’s crude vengeance methods are also sources of fear of sexual violence. Consequently my informants adopt coping strategies like avoiding the police, silence, if brought as a witness and also avoiding to report crime to the police.

There is an additional factor with sexual violence, a taboo that may lead to exclusion, which results in the underreporting of such crimes to the police. As explained in the previous chapter in the section about fear of police, the female informants will not report any victimisation because of the stigma that may follow, not even to their neighbours.

Guilt/ Shame/Blame

An interesting ongoing debate is about the issue of guilt. As a result some women fear getting raped, simply because they are afraid of getting blamed themselves. Consequently, women prefer hiding their victimisation. In some cultures where sex before marriage is a sin, women could be further stigmatised and even excluded from the wider society. The young woman states: *“We have never had a rape case, not in the new place that I live. Either it happened and I didn’t know”*(The Caught in the Middle). I think what my informant is trying to tell is that she has not heard of any cases of rape, but it might have happened anyway.

The Responsible expresses how an incident of rape may transfer the guilt to the victim: *“If she gets pregnant, they will call her a prostitute and throw her out in the streets. But who sent her out in the streets in the first place?”* (The Responsible). If this could be the consequences rape victims meet, hiding the victimisation and carrying out illegal abortions might be the only option for the victims. However, this may not be the only reason for hiding or not reporting the rape. As outlined in the theory chapter, Flemmen (1999) gives an interesting perspective on this issue, both sexual harassments and sexual violence, which also may be relevant for this study. By hiding or not reporting the victimisation the women reject the passive victim role, and the stigma that may follow.

The latest development in one young woman’s neighbourhood has been erecting a high mast with a light in one limited area (The Responsible). She says this development has both helped her and her family to feel safer. *“Finally the government has given us something”*. Despite the bad conditions she is living in she manages to stay positive and hopes for a better future. As mentioned, she believes that the empowerment campaigns in her area have also contributed to less police harassment. Something that maybe in time will lead to an increase in trust in the police among residents and maybe they will start reporting crimes?

Fear of men

The effort of *designing out fear of crime* by erecting high masts with lights may lead to less fear, like The Responsible claims. However, some of the female informants express a fear of men, mainly unemployed men especially those linked to the *matatu* sector, which is related to the Mungiki activities.

“When I see a group of young men, around here. You don’t know what they are thinking, where they have their minds. And they’re unemployed. They’re in the Matatu sector” (The Caught in the Middle).

This statement shows that even though women fear more in the dark, designing out crime does not necessarily mean that women stop fearing men. The unemployed men the informant is talking about will be present with or without light. This is in line with what Valentine (1989) argues, that it does not help to change the physical environment as long as women simply fear men. Additionally, the harassments that constantly remind them of their vulnerability have implications for their fear of men. Yavuz and Welch (2010) claim that such harassment brings associations of the risk of being victimised; this may also be the consequence for my female informants.

All the young women I interviewed seem to relate criminal activities to men, and moreover unemployed men. Nevertheless, an interesting observation is one woman expressing her surprised feeling when hearing about that even girls are joining the criminal activities, robbing and killing in her area, Little Mogadishu. This information seems to make my informant fear crime even more by dismantling her image of the criminal. Being able to identify away from people she perceives as criminal *others* seems to be an important coping strategy for the informant’s feeling of safety. However, identifying away from young women of her own age may be more difficult as she has not got any image of them as criminal *others*, creating one more source of fear in her daily life, and which is one more dangerous element she has to protect herself from, an element that could be more complicated to recognise in her street.

7.2 BIG BOYS DON’T CRY

None of my male informants express explicitly fear of crime. One of the young men even went so far to express that he has nothing worth protection. Hence he does not perceive himself as vulnerable to victimisation, not being a tempting target for criminals. As Zebrowski (2007) claims, coping with fear is all about confidence.

Informants say that it is risky and not safe during the night for boys and young men either. Nevertheless, they do not express the same degree of fear and some of the informants stay out longer than ten o'clock, the threshold the women mention. However, a reason for this might be that the young men do not experience the constant sexual comments that the women do. Thus they are not constantly reminded of their vulnerability. As The Mover puts it: *"Maybe around ten I should be inside. It depends the parents you know. My parents have moved. So sometimes I stay longer."*

The young men I interviewed or had conversations with did express surprisingly little fear. Some of them seemed rather *fearless*. However I believe that Day et al. (2003) may have been right in their conclusion that fear of crime may have spatial restrictions also for men, but that they do not want to show signs of weakness and vulnerability so they emphasise their role as protectors in society. This may be true for some of my informants, who claim that their motivation for adopting some of the coping strategies were for reasons of either protecting the women or to prevent them to fear more.

Watching out for the young women

An interesting turn in the study of coping strategies is that the young men seem to care for the young women's safety more than their own. From my very first day in Eastlands I noticed how the young men took care of their female friends. They always watched her handbag, protected them by following them from one *matatu* to another, if they needed to change along the road. In addition, they always let them enter the *matatu* first, so they were not left on the street alone among many strangers.

Additionally The New Border-dweller surprised me with an interesting perspective. He knows he is physically stronger compared to others, and may appear threatening for many. In addition he claims that his physique, especially his size, helps him stay safe, which supports some of the thoughts of Day et al. (2003) and Yavuz and Welch (2010). He also explains that he cannot do anything about his physique but he does not want to scare anyone, nonetheless his solution is to take precautionary measures to avoid scaring young women by steering away from them in the streets so they would not feel threatened. He tells me that he is aware of the situations of many young women, and does not want to be the reason that they fear more.

The Insider also seems to do something to ameliorate the conditions for the women living in the slum (but also himself). He has joined a group that is collecting garbage and

maintaining the public toilets in the community. He explains that he hopes that improving the conditions of the toilets will keep unwanted visitors away, at least for a while. However, The Insider cannot do anything about the Mungiki and other illegal gangs who collect money from the residents to use them.

Men's coping strategies

Even though young men do not express fear to me, they may adopt coping strategies that reduce their fear unconsciously, as I explained earlier with regard to the use of *insiders*, which may be considered as a coping strategy also employed by young men. When walking through Mathare, or in areas they do not know they always want to bring a friend or an *insider*. The young men's fear of being outsiders also supports the findings of Day et al. (2003) that show that men may fear unfamiliar environments where they feel less in control. As a result the young men prefer to stay within their neighbourhoods, and thus avoid places they perceive as unknown and dangerous.

Furthermore, The New Border-dweller's emphasis his physique may also be interpreted as a coping strategy, as he adopts a persona of fearlessness and toughness to protect his masculinity (Cobbina, Miller and Brunson 2008).

An interesting aspect is how most of the young men whom I talked with expressed an insecurity regarding the police instead. This was completely acceptable, and did not express vulnerability or weakness in the way that fear of crime might have. Thus male informants' coping strategies involve avoiding the police and not criminals. Fear of being harassed, or even being shot if believed to be a Mungiki, makes the young men adopt strategies to avoid the police, by running away or hide. The more extreme strategy *to move* was also chosen by two of my male informants. This strategy will be discussed in the next section.

7.3 INDIVIDUAL STRATEGIES

Obviously I have mentioned many individual strategies already, however, there are a few left that involve both genders that need to be further addressed. Individual strategies the young people adopt may involve avoidance strategies or precautionary strategies.

AVOIDANCE

Restrained activity space

Some of the coping strategies were opted by both genders. I have already touched upon the topic of avoidance, but it is not surprising when it seems like the most common strategy mentioned. Avoidance turns up in different variations in every informant's story. Furthermore, avoidance is a concept that involves many different coping strategies, such as avoidance of particular areas, avoiding staying out at night, avoiding to go to the toilets, avoiding to go out during the day, avoiding bringing valuables, avoiding the police, avoiding becoming a witness, avoiding public transport, avoiding going alone and avoiding unemployed men and drunk men (unstable and unpredictable), to mention just some of the avoidance strategies adopted by my informants. What all these strategies have in common is that they result in restrained activity space for many youth, which may impact their feeling of social exclusion. Pain (2001) emphasises how fear of crime leads to social exclusion in various manners.

However I will not use the next section to repeat myself about various avoidance strategies, but emphasise one more extreme version of avoidance and the issue about public transport.

To Move

To move away is another extreme version of an avoidance strategy that is mentioned by some of my informants. As one of them explains: "*People in Haba na Haba. All of them used to live in Mathare, but now they moved out. When they got money, you have to move out*" (The Border-dweller).

The New Border-dweller is one of the young men who have managed to find a place to stay outside Mathare. Even though he does not mention this explicitly as a strategy for coping with fear it reveals itself through his explanation of why he is so content with his new apartment. He tells me that it is easier to protect himself in the new apartment, in addition it is more secure for his friends to come and hang in the streets around MYSA than around in the slum. He also emphasises its locations next to MYSA, and he no longer needs to walk a long way to his work.

Moreover, not surprisingly the informant I have decided to call The Mover is the only one to mention that moving far away is the only option if you are going to elope from your fear. Reid, Roberts and Hillard (1998) claim that to move away from the neighbourhood is

something one may do as the last resort. Moving away is something that is rather difficult to accomplish for poor people living in Eastlands, when you live from day to day it is hard to save up resources and get enough money to pay rent (elsewhere). However it is easier for a young man to move than for a whole family, then you have only to take care of yourself and not support the rest of your family, as was the case for The Mover. The young man was forced to move because of the clashes. He moved in with some friends after his area was demolished due to a fire, and decided to move far away when he finally needed to find a place to live. He calls it “*to taste another place*”(The Mover).

However moving to another part of the city is not a guarantee of safety. The Caught in the Middle and her family moved from the Pumwani slum and ended up in a battle between the police and the Mungiki. The Mover also tells me how people try to live in other places but always move back because of the expenses (The Mover). He does complain about the rent, but he thinks it is worth it. Additionally, to move signify that the sense of belonging and a new place identity need to be created. Consequently new sources of fear may emerge, such as in the case with The New Border-dweller who seem to look at his Somali neighbours with scepticism.

Public transport

Public transport is a complicated issue for young people in Eastlands. When walking through the muddy streets in Eastlands women have to ignore verbal offenses that are called after them, in addition public transport is also often associated with such comments. The young people cannot always afford to take *matatu*, but when the alternative is to walk through dangerous areas in Eastlands they will rather spend their money on a ride and put up with the harassments and the risk of pick-pocketing. Furthermore, in that moment in the *matatu* the comments may seem innocent and harmless, nevertheless, such comments may evoke associations to other possible events and thus increase fear of crime. The *matatu* is additionally a place common for other crimes, such as pick pocketing and hijacking. I noticed that some of the young women always asked a friend, particularly young men, to join them if going to a market place in another area. Having a man with them seems to make them feel safer. Nevertheless, the youth have to adopt precautionary strategies in the *matatus*.

In times when there is a lack of resources the youth are more vulnerable. During these periods they have to walk through areas they normally would have avoided by taking the *matatu*. Additionally, the young people cannot go out dancing in the city like other people, it

is not optional to take the *matatu* late in the evening and they cannot afford a taxi. However, some of the informants have found a solution to not stay totally socially excluded, but with this strategy they are more dependent on others than themselves.

Kenya's history of being under colonial rule cannot be forgotten, since then white people or *mzungu* has meant being the same as rich and *opportunity*. Likewise many of the youth look at *mzungus* as an opportunity, also an opportunity to experience other parts of Nairobi. When they meet volunteers, researchers and other *mzungus* in their area they hope they will ask the youth to join them out to eat, dance etc. However, they are not able to join if the *mzungu* does not pay for their food or the taxi fares going home, and they expect them to pay. Even some taxi drivers do not even want to drive into the area after dark, and one has to find a driver that is from the area.

However, meeting foreigners may be considered as a coping strategy, when the reason is to accumulate more resources to be able to pay for transportation in order to move around in areas normally impossible at some hours for my informants, and not stay completely isolated in their small apartments or shanties.

PRECAUTIONARY STRATEGIES

Precautionary measures are those strategies opted when exposure is unavoidable. Precaution involves strategies the youth may be aware of doing, but they are maybe not thinking about them as coping strategies but rather as adapted behaviour which is unavoidable in an high crime area, or they may be adopted unconsciously. These strategies may involve small adjustments they are doing everyday.

Adapting one's behaviour

When moving in areas believed to be dangerous and in crowded places like markets, a normal thing to do is to keep your handbag in front of you, hide your cell phone and other valuables. For many of my informants these were habits they had gotten used to, not mentioning it as a strategy because this is normal behaviour. Moreover, some tell me that they do not have anything of value, but my impression is that if they loose their cell phone they will feel more vulnerable and it cannot be easy for them to replace it. According to my observations all my informants adapted their behaviour in some way, either if it only involved holding an extra hand on their handbag or holding their hand on their cell phone in their pocket in the *matatu*.

The incident with The Insider in Huruma mentioned in the previous chapter, shows how adapting one's behaviour in certain areas is valuable both for *the insider* and people accompanying him or her. As mentioned, both watching your valuables and increased alertness were two important strategies. How The Insider told us about this, however, a little bit too late. Nevertheless, a reason might be that for him such strategies were obvious and routinised, believing that there was no need for telling us.

Furthermore, The Responsible is the only one telling me that she is leaving valuables at home when she is going places she knows could be risky. However, she adds that she cannot leave her cell phone at home, even though this could make her a more attractive target for criminals. Cell phones are not that uncommon in the slums anymore, Little Mogadishu is actually known for its good communication technology (informant G).

Cell phone

The use of cell phone can be categorised under precautionary measures that seek to minimise the risk of victimisation. Pain (2003) mentions this as a common strategy for young people. However in my opinion, such strategies often involves developing a false sense of security. Cell phones have been used in Western countries as a strategy for women walking home late at the night, believing that they are safer when holding their cell phone in their hand. Some years ago this was not a strategy optional for many young people in Mathare and borderlands, but fortunately this has now changed. The increased access to cell phones in Kenya has enhanced the security situation in urban spaces and increased the feeling of safety among many women and also for men. The cell phone has become a gadget that is even in the hands of the poor who are struggling to meet their basic needs (Informant G). The use of cell phones is crucial for their availability and security.

Cell phones are used like a precautionary strategy when walking around in insecure areas. The Border-dweller explains to me that she does not even need money on her cell phone to use it, but they have got a code they may call or send as message, like a SOS, consequently making cell phones into an available coping strategy for poor youth without any money.

An additional aspect of the use of cell phone is what they call *Mpesa*. The M stands for mobile and *pesa* is Swahili for money, hence *mobilemoney*. Since the young people in Haba na Haba get their payment in cash, and do not have any bank account the youth are afraid of being robbed when getting their salary. *Mpesa* makes it easier for the young people

to transfer money to each other, even to those who have not an *mpesa* account. In this way they do not need to carry around cash. However, they do need their cell phone available (The Border-dweller and Informant G). It is also easy to get a new SIM card with the same number in case your phone gets stolen. Some people go around only with their SIM card, and may borrow other peoples' phone in case they need to call somebody.

SELF- CATEGORISATION

The meaning of ethnic identity in Eastlands, which should stand for a symbol of security, has changed to a source of fear, both because of the post-election violence and the Mungiki, as well as the police. This has implications for how young people perceive themselves in terms of their ethnic identity. I have previously discussed the importance of identity and self-categorisation relating to fear of crime. I realised that some of the young people did not only emphasise a collective identity to feel secure, but some did actually hide a collective identity to cope with their fear.

A really interesting finding was how some of the youth were trying to hide their ethnic origin, both for security reasons but also as a political statement (no more tribalism and ethnicity based violence!). It was only one of the informants who was doing this, however he tells me that there are more people doing it (The Mover).

Nevertheless, that does not change the fact that he is self-categorising himself and identifying away from the identity that result in increased fear, fear of being victimised on the background of his ethnic identity. As emphasised in the theory chapter, identity has implications for fear of crime: ethnic identity may be a source of fear for young people in Eastlands. However, some identities are more difficult to categorise away from, ethnic identity is one of those, both appearance and language that are characteristic of tribe make it difficult to hide. I cannot form an opinion of how well this particular informant is doing, as I am just *an outsider* that has tried to be *an insider*, with not enough knowledge about tribal languages etc. to be able to distinguish possible success or failure.

7.4 COLLECTIVE STRATEGIES

Collective coping strategies may both include avoidance and precaution, and also resistance. The youth I interviewed had not organised anything formally to reduce their fear of crime, like neighbourhood watch etc. When I ask The Border-dweller if they do organise something or help each other, she answers: "*No, you live your own life*". This is the same informant

telling me about their gatekeepers, and how they protect them from strangers entering their building. The gatekeepers are not hired from a security company, but are friends and neighbours that need a job. My informant's statement suggests that what they do for security reasons is incorporated into their routines and thus a lack of awareness. According to my observations, however, informally the youth in Eastlands cope collectively without being aware of it.

The importance of neighbours

The many interviews and conversations have left me with an impression that neighbours are one of the most important sources of security the informants may rely on. Watching out for your neighbours is a coping strategy they strongly depend on in poor neighbourhoods, because as there is no need for monetary resources this is a precautionary strategy that should be available for everyone. In addition Renauer (2007: 43-44) suggests that: "When residents feel strongly that their fellow neighbours adhere to a set of shared expectations and are likely to intervene in criminal or delinquent incidents, their fear of crime will be low". What they do need, however, is a great deal of trust in your neighbours. "*Trusting your neighbours is a matter of life and death*" (The Caught in the Middle). However, this coping strategy became significantly amputated during the post-election violence. The trust disappeared among many neighbours, while others realised that they were stronger standing together, like in the building where The Border-dweller lives. One informant tells that some of his neighbours were paid by the government to kill another neighbour. He explains that 1000 KSH is a lot of money for a poor slum-dweller, and that is what the government is giving them (The Mover).

In addition, The Ladies express that they depend on their neighbours not only for security reasons, but sometimes they rely on them to meet their basic needs. They also state that they feel safe in their neighbourhood because they know people. However, when the topic of sexual violence is touched upon, one of them remarks that she would not tell her neighbours if she got raped, pointing to the shame that she would feel.

The importance of trusting their neighbours is probably one of the reasons why demarcations along ethnic lines have increased after the riots. People are moving to areas where their tribe is dominant, in the hope of living in cohesion and of feeling safer if such an event will occur again. Podolefsky and Dubow (1981) argue that collective coping strategies are affected by ethnic polarisation, and how they view each other as *in-groups* or *out-groups*.

This is also what is happening in Mathare, however I question what happens when there are many strangers moving into their neighbourhood because of this demarcation.

A direct result of the post-election violence is a fear of the next election, and a belief that they cannot avoid this happening again. *“Of course it will happen again. We just need to stay inside, lock ourselves in the house – but it’s still risky they can come and break in”* (The Border-dweller). As a result, many of the informants are afraid to vote in the next election. However, some believe that they have to vote to overcome their fear, not wanting the violent groups to win (The Mover). I hope they will vote, and not use *not voting* as a coping strategy, as this will affect the Kenyan democracy. As Pantasiz (2000) emphasises, the fear of crime and vulnerability among people living in poverty cannot be understood in isolation from other insecurities. Some of the youth mention MYSA as a place where young people from different tribal backgrounds come and meet each other, and see that they are not so different after all.

Safe spaces

Many of the youth are using MYSA as a *safe space*, even though it is open for everyone, including some of the drunken men from the streets who come in sometimes, it is a safer place than the streets and probably for some also safer than their domestic realm. The elder youth take care of the younger children, they are watching out for each other, including their belongings.

In addition, MYSA does not only function as a safe space, but also as a shelter for many of the young people in the area. The Border-dweller, who has clearly many opinions about MYSA, even though she is not part of the organisation herself, expresses her contentment with the place: *“I think that MYSA, There s another one somewhere in Mathare, keep people away from drugs and other things”* (The Border-dweller). She is often hanging in the MYSA office and library, as many of the informants do. They are using it as a meeting place and a *safe space*. Additionally, some of the informants have been involved in delinquent behaviour before, and have chosen to join MYSA to get away from criminal activities.

African time- Hakuna Matata: Waiting and walking together

The consequences of many violent incidents in Eastlands and elsewhere in Nairobi, which have created anxiety and fear, have contributed to the youth’s recognition of the necessity of walking together in a group. They have not organised anything formal, however they have

many “unwritten rules” that include both the security for friends and youth in the neighbourhoods.

Strategies involve waiting for each other before going somewhere, either walking or in a *matatu*. Walking in a group reduces their attractiveness for robbers, making sure that everyone stays safe and hence reducing their feelings of vulnerability and hopefully their fear of crime. We must remind ourselves that the youth’s work in Haba na Haba consists of going to unknown places, including other slums in Eastlands. As explained in the previous chapter, being outsiders may lead to many challenges for the youth. Normally, waiting for someone could imply waiting another hour or two. In Nairobi everything happens in *African time* and another hour or two is never seen as a problem. *Hakuna matata*²⁰.



A photo of youth waiting in Little Mogadishu, taken by the author May 2010.

7.5 SUMMARY

This chapter has shown that the informants coping strategies need to be seen in relation to the complexity of their identities, and in the context of changing realities that make them vulnerable and lack resources. Furthermore, the young people in Eastlands cope both

²⁰ It is an expression in Swahili, which means no problem.

individually and collectively and the strategies opted vary between the genders. Not surprisingly women express more fear of crime, and thus adopt strategies that involve complete avoidance of dangerous situations, as a result of fear of sexual violence. Whilst the young men are doing the same in relation to the police, they are however emphasising their masculinity and act like protectors in society by watching out for their female friends and family. The findings suggest that this is a consequence of the socialisation process, where girls and young women often are socialised into fear.

The chapter also discusses how some choose more extreme versions of strategies, such as completely isolating themselves after experiencing or hearing about traumatic incidents in areas they belong. Additionally, to move away from the area may also be considered as one of those strategies.

Several coping strategies are opted as a consequence of the presence of both the police and the Mungiki activities. These may be either of temporal and geographical character by avoiding dangerous situations or involve increased alertness and precautionary strategies when avoidance is impossible. Furthermore, there are reasons for why adopting coping strategies may also vary because of their personal identities, such as ethnic identity. One informant even hides his ethnicity to reduce his fear of being victimised, as a direct consequence of experiencing the post-election violence.

The post-election violence has had implications for their most important security by decreasing their trust in their neighbours. However, this has increased ethnic polarisation inside Mathare in the hope that this will enhance security, especially if more election-violence occurs. Additionally, the young people cope collectively by waiting for each other, and taking public transport and travelling together, or by meeting each other in their *safe space* MYSA.

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION

The purpose of this research has been to identify young people's coping strategies to deal with fear of crime in Eastlands, a poor urban area in Nairobi. The young people's perceptions, descriptions and stories of their lives, crime and insecurities, including the observation done in the area, have provided me with many necessary insights to answer the research question asked in the introduction chapter through two empirical chapters. In order to answer this research question, I created three minor questions. These questions served to understand as much as possible of the complexity of their identities, as well as other factors that influence the young people's fear. This has been necessary not only to identify but also understand their chosen coping strategies.

This research discovered that young people adopt strategies to better deal with their fear of crime through various processes and with different local knowledge. The findings from the empirical chapters will be concluded in this following chapter, and the theoretical framework has proven to provide useful concepts to illustrate this.

8.1 OPTED COPING STRATEGIES

DIFFERENT SOURCES OF FEAR OF CRIME AMONG YOUTH IN EASTLANDS

In the two empirical chapters several findings suggest that all my informants experience fear of crime to some degree, however they have all different thresholds of fear and their sources of fear vary. They have all experienced crime of various severity, and their local knowledge and experiences are identified as both tools and sources of fear.

The talk of crime appears to be a major contributor to triggering the youth's *fear*. After telling me that they feel safe in their neighbourhoods, crime stories were attached to particular local places and their personal ties to the place and the graveness of the incidents appeared to activate an emotion of fear that already existed inside them. This finding suggest that other crime stories and rumours from family, friends and neighbours, in addition to media, contribute to the youth's fear of crime. However, it is important to emphasise that this is related to actual incidents and hence a perceived risk of victimisation. I cannot exclude that this research may have affected their fear in some manner, through encouraging the informants to talk about crime.

The perceived risk of victimisation may also be influenced by the identification of themselves as targets. In terms of resources, the border-dwellers are identified as targets and

according to some slum-dwellers they should feel more insecure, and my findings suggest that they do, as a result of the inequalities between the areas. However, perceived vulnerability of sexual violence is high among young women both in the slum and the borderlands.

Through perceptions and descriptions of their area various sources of fear are revealed. The presence of police and the ethnic gangs, especially the Mungiki sect, in the area is resulting in increased fear both for young women and young men, however for different reasons. The young women's fear appear to be affected by the sect's crude methods of torture and sexual violence, thus the fear of police and fear of becoming a witness. In contrary, the police are found to be the major source of fear for the young men, supporting both Pain (2003) and Taylor (2009) statements that young men 'at risk' experience more harassment at the hands of the police and thus fear the police. In addition, they express fear of becoming an eyewitness and fear of revenge such as the women, but being randomly picked out by the police, either believed to be a Mungiki member or just to be harassed, is by far the most feared by them.

The literature has focused on violent crimes, however, I included what Gimode (2001) calls less visible crimes. As we have seen, the utterly endemic corruption seems to contribute to the poor youth's mistrust of police, which could be considered as *institutionalised victimisation*. Fear of police was found to result in *avoidance strategies*. Avoiding the police by hiding or running away was also an adopted strategy to avoid becoming a witness and avoid a possible fear of revenge. A general mistrust of the police existed among the youth, and also mistrust of the justice system. They express that they are not believed to be equal, and ignored by official law enforcement institutions.

Nevertheless, some of the informants claim that both are providing some security, respectively the police in the borderland between Mathare and Little Mogadishu, and the Mungiki inside Mathare. However, the sect is forcing the residents to pay protection fees. Furthermore, other Mungiki businesses seem to create fear, such as the *matatu business* and the *chang'aa business*. The latter is contributing to a lot of alcoholism in the area. Alcohol is identified to be a severe problem in the area, causing disorder and alcoholics to loiter around in the streets. Women seem to fear such unemployed men, and even if the men themselves are not feared to such extent they seem to evoke associations of other criminal activities and other sources of fear.

As we have seen The Mungiki may be blamed for some of this fear of police, and ethnicity that previously was more of a symbol of security has now become a source of fear.

One informant even hides his ethnic identity to cope with his fear, and *self-categorisation* has been discovered as a coping strategy used by some youth. Not only by *concealing* ethnic identity, but also by *emphasising identities* which make them feel safer in certain situations. This fear of crime that the young people express is found to be dealt with through different processes of *othering* and both avoidance and precautionary strategies.

SPATIALITY OF DIFFERENCE AND THE SENSE OF BELONGING

As mentioned, a combination of factors and complexity in the youth's identities are decisive in how they cope with fear of crime and which strategies they prefer. Living in a crime-ridden area where the victimisation risk is high implies that the young residents may feel a constant fear. However, to be able to live in such areas it seems that the youth implement *processes of categorisation* in order to live with or reduce their fear. Both Sibley's (1995) *purification of space* and Cresswell's (1996) *process of othering* have contributed useful insights in order to understand the processes implemented by the youth. These are both processes that help youth to identify the perpetrators and thus be able to protect against them, either by *avoiding areas or increasing their alertness* in particular places, and hence reducing their fear. For my informants in the borderlands there were slum-dwellers from Mathare that were typically identified as *the others*, while slum-dwellers identified people coming from areas inside the slum that are perceived as more dangerous. My findings do not support Wilton's (1998) theory that proximity represents a challenge to social borders, however they are in line with Sibley's visibility theory, and living in the borderlands may increase demarcation between the different groups through negative stereotypes.

I find that these processes are assisting the young people to categorise their world, which in turn may enhance their sense of belonging. Identifying someone or himself or herself as *outsider* or *insider* makes it possible for young people to move around safely in some areas. However, such strategies may also make them aware that they are not *insiders*, thus increasing their fear of crime in certain areas. Hence strategies may work as constant reminders, like Glassner (1999) argues. The discomfort of walking in areas where the youths were perceived as *outsiders* was reduced by being accompanied of someone regarded as an *insider*. The sense of belonging is found to be a strong predictor of fear of crime, and it has also an impact on what coping strategies are used.

The *us* and *them* mentality shapes the landscapes of both Little Mogadishu and Mathare. The post-election violence has increased the importance of the security the ethnic

group provides, and informants explain that an increased segregation along ethnic lines has emerged. *Trust among neighbours* has been emphasised as one of the most crucial security support in the area from many informants, thus this has augmented the ethnic polarisation when residents wish to live amongst their own. Several of my informants were personally harmed during the post-election violence, especially The Mover, who lost everything he had in a fire. This may have influenced his fear of crime, and it may also explain why he was eager to *move* from the area and *hide his ethnic identity*, even though he did not express fear in any of the conversations or during the interview.

THE COMPLEXITY OF IDENTITIES

The factors above show, however that *the spatiality of difference* is not only about ethnicity, but a process of *othering* is employed as a coping mechanism to identify the threats and enhance the feelings of belonging. People perceived as *different* and associated with disorder seem to feed some of the informants fear. Differences between certain identities are also decisive to this fear.

The differences of opted strategies between slum-dwellers and border-dwellers are not diverging to a high degree, but the foundation of their choices seems to vary. Not surprisingly, this research shows that young women express more fear than the young men. Gender was also found to be an important factor in what coping strategies were used and which sources of fear mentioned. Young women were found to be more vulnerable to some criminal activities more than young men- hence their strategies were also more extreme, such as completely *isolating themselves* after particular incidents happened in their area or to someone familiar. Nor am I surprised that young women's fear is influenced by their perceived risk of sexual assaults. In addition, this is also why they express fear of police and fear of revenge by the perpetrators, and their crude methods of vengeance. In order to reduce the risk imposed on them most young women adopt various avoidance strategies, which involve avoiding particular places, *avoiding going outside* at certain hours and especially at night. These avoidance strategies result in more specific measures that are found to reduce their fear, such as the use of *flying toilets* and *avoiding public transport*, as we have seen may be difficult. In addition, young women are found to *avoid reporting sexual victimisation* to the police, both as a result of the stigma that may follow and their belief that the police will not prioritise them, hence creating more harm than good by reporting it. As mentioned in the conceptual framework, Flemmen (1999) adds an aspect to this discussion and states that the reason for

not identifying themselves as victims by reporting the assault might be the consequences of feeling more vulnerable hence reducing their confidence.

As we have seen my findings also suggest that women who appear to fear more are border-dwellers with strict parental control, which imply that they may have been *socialised into fear*, by emphasising their vulnerability as girls living in such insecure neighbourhoods. This is an area where sexual harassments constantly remind women of their vulnerable position. This has been linked to theories of Pain (2003), Cops (2010) and Cops and Pleysier (2011).

My findings support what are presented in the theoretical framework, that the young men do not express much fear, this is also found in this study. In contrary, they appear as protectors in society and seem to *emphasise their masculinity* by mentioning their strength and physique in order to convince themselves that they are safe. However, this does not mean that young men do not fear. It gradually became evident during the research process that also the young men adopted various strategies, mostly of *precautionary* character such as the use of *an insider* in unfamiliar environments, but also avoiding being out too late in the night and their struggle to move away from their area, that can be identified as being important. To move signifies that the sense of belonging and a new place identity needs to be created, consequently new sources of fear may emerge.

When avoidance is not optional the youth adopt precautionary strategies that involve *adapting one's behaviour*, such as increased alertness, watching and hiding valuables and not walking alone, preferably with an *insider*. However, as Pantasiz (2000) states, some strategies are implemented not because of choice but rather as a result of vulnerability and a lack of resources. That structural inequalities define the youth's opportunity structure and opted strategies is reinforced by my findings. In addition, *restrained activity space* and a lack of opportunities to participate in social activities also reduce people's access to particular identities that might have reduced their fear. Thus shared activities available for the young people either in MYSA, the crocheting group or Mathare United, which are such opportunities for youth in Eastlands that all improve their sense of belonging. They were also used as *safe spaces*. Collective coping strategies were used by the groups, as watching out for each other, walking and taking public transport together and waiting for each other. For some the group membership represented a security in itself. An interesting finding is that none of the informants express resistance as a coping strategy, including bearing a weapon, as Cobbina, Miller and Brunson (2008) claim is common among young men.

Even though I have mentioned some of the consequences that might result from implementing various coping strategies, the purpose of this thesis has not been to discuss further the *social exclusion* that might follow from the restrained activity space, especially for women in Eastlands. However, I encourage others to study their social exclusion, also in relation to their strategy to retreat to the domestic realm, where many experience domestic violence. This was an aspect that was not included in this study because of the limited time and resources of the research.

The theoretical framework has proven to be a valuable guide in order to answer the research questions, especially the framework presented in relations to *othering* and border creating processes that also have brought the unconscious into the fear of crime research. As we have seen the youth adopt various strategies to cope with fear of crime, from creating *mental maps* of safe and dangerous places, which in turn influence their avoidance strategies and precautionary strategies, either conscious or unconsciously. Their identities impact how these mental maps look like, and thus in turn affect their coping strategies. Bannister and Fyfe's (2001) theories have been helpful in the understanding of how fear of crime has emerged, in addition to Caldeira's (2000) concept of *talk of crime* has supported me in the analysis of the youth's fear. The framework of Day et al. (2003) has provided useful insights in the case of fear and young men, while Pain (2000,2001 and 2003) and Cops (2010) have also contributed with valuable theories in order to analyse gender differences, and also other social identities. In addition, by applying this framework in relation to the literature from Caldeira (2000) and Taylor (2009), who bring structural inequalities and poor urban neighbourhoods into the debate, I have showed how the concept of *vulnerability* in terms of both place identity, social identities and lack of resources has contributed to the identified coping strategies.

TRANSFERABILITY

The findings in this study might be relevant for other contexts, as the Mathare slum and Little Mogadishu are just two poor urban areas existing among many others in cities in countries in the South, which are experiencing some of the same fundamental aspects, such as the conditions and processes of urbanisation. As mentioned, fear of crime and vulnerability are not restricted to the marginalised. In addition, women all over the world may experience threats of being sexually harassed and victimised, as showed in the introduction, and in this case the findings might provide valuable insights. This research might also be relevant in the

identity debate as the findings shed light on self-categorisation and identity construction, and the sense of identity is also an important aspect in people's daily lives. For in today's globalised world people meet many unknown *others*.

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APPENDIX 1: INTERVIEW GUIDE

Introduction:

How old are you?

Where do you live?

Who are you living with?

Is it a mixed neighbourhood?

Feelings of safety in the area:

What is your opinion about the area?

Do you feel safe?

Can you walk everywhere?

What are the main challenges?

What kinds of criminal activities are most common?

Have you ever been a victim of a crime?

Have this affected you somehow?

Are the police present in the area?

Other form for security?

Relationship with the police:

What is your opinion of the police?

Could you turn to the police for help?

If you are witness to a crime could you tell the police?

Post election violence:

How was it in your area during the post-election riots?

Were you afraid?

Could I ask you which tribe you are?

Coping Strategies:

Do you do something to feel more secure?

Do you avoid places?

Do you go out at night?

Do you do something together with anyone else to be safe?

Do you carry weapon/something for protection?

APPENDIX 2: LIST OF INFORMANTS

Code BD=Border-dweller SL= Slum-dweller	Time	Age - gender
BD The New Border-dweller	April 2010	25 - man
BD The Football player	April 2010	23 - woman
SD The Mover	May 2010 and June 2010	26 - man
SD The Responsible	May 2010	26 - woman
BD The Caught in the Middle	May 2010 and June 2010	24 - woman
SL The Insider	May 2010	21 - man
BD The Border-dweller	May 2010 and June 2010	23 - woman
SL/BD Informant G	April 2010 and May 2010	Gatekeeper/Keyinformant
SL The Ladies: TheLadyA TheLadyB TheLadyC TheLadyD TheLadyE TheLadyF	April 2010 and May 2010	Single mums 19 - woman 22 - woman 21 - woman 21 - woman 23 - woman 20 - woman