This thesis has been approved by

The Honors Tutorial College and the Departments of
Environmental Studies and Theater

_____
Dr. Edna Wangui
Associate Professor, Geography
Thesis Advisor

_____
Dr. Matthew Cornish
Director of Studies, Theater

_____
Dr. Geoffrey Buckley
Director of Studies, Environmental Studies

_____
Cary Frith
Dean, Honors Tutorial College

SEEKING ALTERNATIVE RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT METHODS THROUGH THEATRE: A CASE STUDY ON SANITATION ISSUES AFFECTING WOMEN IN THE MATHARE SLUM

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A Thesis
Presented to
the Honors Tutorial College
Ohio University

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In Partial Fulfillment of
the Requirements for Graduation
from the Honors Tutorial College
with the degree of
Bachelor of Arts in Environmental Studies
and Bachelor of Fine Arts in Theater

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By

Rachel Gaunce

May 2018

Acknowledgements

This project would not have been possible without my thesis advisor, Dr. Edna Wangui. I would like to thank her for her encouragement, graciousness, and expertise throughout the entire process. This project also could not have happened without the help of Mr. Antony Mwangi (Mwas). I would like to express my deep appreciation to Mwas for taking on the major task of finding all of the participants, translating for me, and helping me find my way around Nairobi. Immense gratitude is due to the actors of the VOCAL Drama Group for their hard work, creativity, and detailed feedback. I must also share my appreciation for the participants of this project for taking the time to participate so fully and honestly. I would like to express my gratitude to Ken Machyo for connecting me with his family, Phoebe, Martha, J, Lexi, Ken, and baby Wes, who graciously hosted me in their home for the duration of my fieldwork.

I would like to thank the Honors Tutorial College, especially Kathy, Margie, and Cary, for their support throughout my collegiate career, Jessica Roth, for pulling me through thesis year, my family for their support, and Luke Kubacki, for helping me transcribe my interviews and edit parts of my thesis, and for being such an incredible source of encouragement. I would also like to acknowledge Salome Aluso for translating and transcribing many of my interviews, and Dr. Condee, Dr. Cornish, and Dr. Buckley, my Directors of Studies, for their guidance. I am also incredibly grateful for the funding provided by the Student Enhancement Award, which made this project possible.

Abstract

This paper explores Theatre for Development (TfD) as a research and development tool through a case study conducted in the Mathare slum of Nairobi, Kenya. Mathare is densely populated, with over half-a-million people in one square kilometer. Sanitation and water systems are poorly constructed and often controlled by cartels. This leads to health and security issues that disproportionately affect women. Development initiatives that aim to address these issues often ignore the role that community members play in development. TfD, as I modify it for this project, is an adaptation of Augusto Boal's forum theatre that generates community-led solutions to specific development issues. Using TfD, I rely on stakeholder participation to pursue a holistic research methodology that informs initiatives aimed at improving sanitation challenges. My research seeks to answer two questions: What information surfaces as a result of creating a TfD workshop in Mathare? And how does TfD succeed and fail as a methodology applied in Mathare? I present the data collected through the process of developing the workshop, conducting the workshop, and participant feedback. The data show that the practice of TfD in Mathare generates nuanced information on limitations to sanitation, and illustrates how gendered limitations restrict women's ability to make choices about their own sanitation. The data also show that TfD is useful in empowering participants to guide community dialogue around issues and ways of addressing them, and clarifying areas of misinterpretation. However, challenges can arise with budgeting time and negotiating a language barrier. Overall, I will show that TfD is a research and development tool that empowers stakeholders in the process of information collection, and allows them to invest directly and specifically in the desired outcomes.

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List of Terms and Abbreviations

Bhangi: Marijuana

Chang'aa: Illicit alcoholic brew

Flying toilets: User defecates in a plastic bag and throws it away from their home

Kibarua: Temporary job, usually refers to washing laundry

Ksh: Kenyan Shilling (100ksh=1USD)

Sheng: Slang version of Swahili

Simama: Stop

Tembea: Walk

TfD: Theatre for Development

USD: United States Dollar

Vyama/chama: A group that pools together resources to start up small business ventures and provide social community

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Chapter 1: Introduction

It is estimated that over half-a-million people live in the approximately one square kilometer that is the Mathare slum in Nairobi, Kenya. Because Mathare is an informal settlement, residents do not have access to basic amenities and there are a number sanitation challenges, such as virtually non-existent sewage systems and garbage collection, overburdened public toilets, and water that is unsafe to drink (Wambui Kimani-Murage and Ngindu, 2007). These problems are not unique to Mathare—they are prevalent in regions all over the world. Development initiatives to address these issues in slums like Mathare are often disconnected from the community the initiative is trying to "help" (Annear, 2006; Beymer-Farris and Bassett, 2012; Frank, 1997; Hodgson,1999). Poor women in particular often have limited decision-making power in the development initiatives in their own communities (Kimani, 2012).

While conducting interviews in Mathare in 2017, I realized that most residents of Mathare have a story about questionnaires, interviews, photographers, and other kinds of research being done *to* them before the researcher returns to their institution and publishes a paper with no impact on the residents' concrete situation. This is a common story. Researchers who are sensitive to this often-cited complaint have been looking for alternative research methodologies that honor the people they study and address community priorities (Brydon-Miller et al., 2003, Kindon et al. 2007). My research on Theatre for Development (TfD) contributes to this search for alternative methodologies.

In the summer of 2017, I conducted a case study in the Mathare slum in order to explore the efficacy of conducting a Theatre for Development workshop as a research

and development methodology to address sanitation issues that affect women in Mathare. My research sought to answer two major questions:

1. How can Theatre for Development be conducted in Mathare? More specifically, where does this method succeed and where are improvements and adjustments necessary?

2. What can be learned from Theatre for Development in Mathare? Essentially, what information surfaces as a result of creating a Theatre for Development workshop in Mathare?

This paper draws from data I collected during my fieldwork in Mathare to answer these research questions. I begin by defining empowerment as I will use the term throughout the paper in the context of research and development. I continue with a literature review on the theoretical influences of TfD, how the practice has been utilized, and in what context the practice has yet to be explored, followed by literature on sanitation issues in slums. I go on to detail my methodology for creating, conducting, and analyzing a TfD workshop in Mathare. I then draw on the data I collected in Mathare to examine the information that was gathered as a result of creating and conducting a TfD workshop in Mathare, and dissect the ways in which this method succeeded and failed. Ultimately, I argue that TfD is a research and development tool that empowers stakeholders in the process of information collection, and allows them to invest directly and specifically in the desired outcomes.

1.2 Defining Empowerment

It is important here that I define empowerment in the context of my thesis, as the term is often used freely and ambiguously. Gender and development scholars Naila

Kabeer and Jane Parpart et al. provide a useful framework to define empowerment in their articles "Resources, Agency, Achievements: Reflections on the Measurement of Women's Empowerment" and "Rethinking Empowerment," respectively.

Kabeer frames empowerment as a process, and emphasizes that empowerment is an ability to make choices. She defines empowerment as "processes by which those who have been denied the ability to make choices acquire such an ability" (Kabeer, 1999, p. 437). The choices people make, however, need to be analyzed in order to evaluate how the choices empower or disempower the people making choices and those who are affected by their choices. Kabeer evaluates the empowerment and/or disempowerment of choices through "three inter-related dimensions: resources, agency, and achievements" (Kabeer, 1999, p. 437). In other words, choices are dependent on the availability of alternatives, the consequences of making them, and whether or not the outcome of the choice challenges social inequality or contributes to it. Empowerment, then, is the process of obtaining the ability to make choices that challenge social inequality.

Like Kabeer, Parpart et al. also argue that empowerment is a process. They explain that empowerment can involve "gaining skills, developing consciousness, or making decisions," but they also emphasize that empowerment takes place within a culture and structure that helps define what power is (Parpart et al., 2001, p. 4). They argue that the "achievement" of empowerment is flexible and difficult to measure, as the person who is potentially empowered usually perceives their empowerment in comparison to their own individual expectations (Parpart et al., 2001, p. 4).

My research follows Kabeer and Parpart et al.'s framework to conceptualize empowerment. Specifically, I emphasize empowerment as being process oriented, expanding the ability to make choices, and perceived within one's own expectations.

1.3 What is Theatre for Development?

To recognize how Theatre for Development can be used as a tool to empower stakeholders in the research and development process, it is important to understand the practice. This type of participatory theatre is rooted in the theories of Augusto Boal's Theatre of the Oppressed from the 1970s and 80s in Brazil. Heavily influenced by Paulo Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (originally published 1968), Boal believed in the revolution of the oppressed against oppressive systems and the people who perpetuate these systems. In order to encourage this revolution, Boal developed the practice of Theatre of the Oppressed.

There are four stages of Theatre of the Oppressed: "knowing the body," "making the body expressive," "the theatre as language," and "the theatre as discourse" (Boal, 1985, p.126). "The theatre as language" stage is what most participatory theatre practitioners partially, if not completely, replicate (Osnes; Odhiambo; Kerr). "The theatre as language" stage is broken down into three degrees, or steps. Boal describes the first two degrees as preparatory for the third degree.

The first degree is "simultaneous dramaturgy." In this degree, the community members discuss problems most relevant to them, as well as the oppression they face. The actors improvise a scene that develops "to the point at which the main problem reaches a crisis and needs a solution" (Boal, 1985, p.132). The second degree Boal describes is the "image theatre," where the spectators "sculpt" the actors into still statues

to portray a problem, then "sculpt" an ideal image and a transformation image to get to this ideal picture (Boal, 1985, p.135). The third degree is the "forum theatre," where the participants themselves act out a problem and a proposed solution, becoming what Boal calls "spect-actors." Boal refers to this final degree as "a rehearsal of a revolution," because the participants are literally acting out how they will act against systems that oppress them (Boal, 1985, p.155).

The ideas behind Theatre of the Oppressed resonate with those of Bertolt Brecht, a twentieth century German theatre theorist and playwright. Brecht, too, believed that theatre should be used a vehicle for social change, and should encourage the audience to think critically about the social structures in which the audience exists. Brecht believed this critical thinking could be achieved through the *Verfremdungseffekt*, where an audience is presented a familiar subject that is altered slightly in order to distance the audience from the subject. With this distance, audiences are able to examine the subject with a critical eye (Brecht, 1964). Brecht also often set plays in the past to show that society is changeable, and has changed since the time of the play. He argues that when doing plays set in the past, "we must leave [the societies of the past] their distinguishing marks and keep their impermanence always before our eyes, so that our own period can be seen to be impermanent too" (Brecht, 1964, p.190). Similarly, Theatre of the Oppressed encourages "spect-actors" to examine oppression from a distance, in the form of dramatization, so that the issues can be dissected critically, and be seen as changeable (Boal, 1985).

Theatre of the Oppressed has influenced a number of participatory theatre forms—where participants themselves act out issues they want to address and potential solutions to them—under a number of names, including popular theatre, applied theatre, forum theatre, of course Theatre for Development, and many others. The first implementation of this approach under the name "Theatre for Development" was at Ahmadu Bello University (ABU) in Zaria, Nigeria. Awam Amkpa, a scholar of Nigerian post-colonialism and theatre, describes a project he was involved in with ABU. The Theatre for Development group addressed the issue of water shortage in Samuru, a place that Amkpa describes as "a sort of Nigerian ghetto," by acting out the problem and proposed solutions from the community (Amkpa, 2004, p.98). The show generated discussion between community members and students, as well as ideas about how to raise money to drill boreholes in the town (Amkpa, 2004, p.98-100). Since TfD's first implementation at ABU, it has been used to address a variety of different subjects in a number of regions, from subsidies for fertilizer in a rural area, to AIDS in an urban one (Kerr, 1995; Odhiambo, 2005).

The major distinction between TfD and Theatre of the Oppressed is that TfD focuses on a specific development challenge, while Theatre of the Oppressed looks at broader, systematic issues of oppression. For example, in a Theatre of the Oppressed workshop I participated in through Theatre of the Oppressed NYC, one group addressed institutional racism in the police force. In contrast, a Theatre for Development workshop, hosted by the Benue State Arts Council in Nigeria, addressed the inability of farmers to buy fertilizer because it was too expensive (Kerr, 1995). The difference between the scenes is that the focus of the Theatre of the Oppressed workshop was a large, systematic

oppressive force (institutional racism and how it affects the entire police force). The problem in the Theatre for Development scene, while rooted in systematic oppression that led to the poverty of the farmers and the expensive price of fertilizer, was focused on a more localized, specific development challenge (the farmers in a small Nigerian town and the fertilizer vendor they buy from).

International development scholars Andy Sumner and Michael Tribe offer a useful definition of development that I will use for the purpose of this project. Sumner and Tribe lay out three definitions of development: "a long-term process of structural societal transformation," "a short to medium-term outcome of desirable targets," and "a dominant 'discourse' of Western modernity" (Sumner and Tribe, 2008, p.11). The first definition refers to social and systematic change with long-term implications. The second is change on a short or medium-term scale with measurable outcomes. Lastly, the final definition is a critical perspective of development in which "development (and poverty) are social constructs that do not exist in an objective sense," but are often neo-colonial practices that "silence the marginalized" (Sumner and Tribe, 2008, p.14-16). In this paper, development falls into a synthesis of the first two definitions. Development, in this project, is a combination of systematic social change and short-term progressive changes with measurable outcomes.

I find the term "Theatre for Development" most useful in the context of my research because, as TfD scholar and practitioner Christopher Odhiambo puts it best:

> The term reflects its definition: theatre in the service of community . . . It sets out
> to make people aware of the forces which determine their living conditions and to
> make them active participants in the development process, expanding the

expression of their own viewpoints, perceptions and actions to improve their

conditions. (Odhiambo, 2005, p. 6)

The emphasis of TfD is on participants being both aware of the systems that act upon

them, as well as an active part of a process addressing specific development challenges

that affect them within those systems.

1.4 Theatre for Development: Application, Criticisms, and Room for Exploration

TfD has been used to address a range of issues all over the world, but has rarely

been used to incorporate women in development, and little is written about applying the

practice in Kenya. In this section, I will discuss how TfD has been used to address

women's issues and where there is room for further research. Next, I will explore the

literature on TfD in Kenya, and the need for more investigation.

1.4.1 Theatre for Development on Women's Issues

TfD has been used to specifically address women's issues. As Emelda Ngufor

Samba, Theatre for Development scholar explains, applications of TfD have addressed

"issues of gender discrimination, inheritance and ownership of property, matrilineal

inheritance, widowhood rites, restricted mobility and bride price . . . In performances,

they raise the ever-burning issue of patriarchy that at times manifests in violence against

the female sex" (Samba, 2005, p.25). Beth Osnes (2014), a TfD (or "applied theatre," as

she calls it) practitioner, was the first to explicitly use theatre to incorporate women into

"sustainable development." In her book, *Theatre for Women's Participation in*

Sustainable Development, she discusses a series of case studies she conducted in

Guatemala, India, and Ethiopia that utilized "applied theatre" to address specific

women's issues in development. In one of her workshops, for example, a group of

women decided to address the issue of domestic violence. The women explored a number of possible ways to address the problem by acting them out. The solution the women eventually reached together was to take pictures of the injuries they sustained from the abuse with their cellphones for evidence. Together, the women found and rehearsed a solution to domestic violence that gave them more power over a situation that otherwise put them in a state of virtual powerlessness (Osnes, 2014, p.20).

Osnes' case studies in Guatemala and Ethiopia focus specifically on women's issues (education for girls and reproductive health, respectively). Her case study in India utilizes theatre as a tool to educate women on how to use and incorporate clean energy technologies into entrepreneurial endeavors. Addressing women's issues and teaching women business skills do contribute to sustainable development, as Osnes effectively argues (Osnes, 2014). This method however, focuses on women's issues as a separate area of development, and does not engage women in research and development on other issues that do not necessarily solely affect women. My case study in Mathare seeks to utilize TfD to incorporate women into research and decision making on development initiatives, regardless of whether the development challenge solely affects women.

1.4.2 Theatre for Development in Kenya

The literature on Theatre for Development in Kenya is sparse. Odhiambo addressed this gap in the literature in 2005 in an effort to theorize an effective TfD methodology in Kenya. He discussed how TfD has been practiced in multiple regions in Sub-Saharan Africa, including Kenya. Odhiambo remains the scholar with the most comprehensive literature exploring the practice in Kenya, but even he only discussed three Kenyan TfD initiatives: The Nairobi University Travelling Theatre, Participatory

Educational Theatre (PET) on HIV-AIDS in Kisumu, and Kamiriithu Community

Theatre (Odhiambo, 2005).

Kamiriithu Community Theatre is by far the most cited TfD venture in Kenya

(Kerr, 1995; Mda, 1993; Kidd, 1983; Odhiambo, 2005). In the late 1970s, citizens of

Kamiriithu, Kenya came together to revive the community center, and used the space to

produce and perform plays on class inequality (Kerr, 1995). Since Kamiriithu, nothing

has been written about TfD initiatives in Kenya where community members use theatre

as a medium to come together and discuss an issue.

The other initiatives Odhiambo discusses under the umbrella of TfD, The Nairobi

University Travelling Theatre and Participatory Educational Theatre (PET) on HIV-

AIDS in Kisumu, are both theatre for the purpose of educating participants on a

predesignated topic. The Nairobi University Travelling Theatre focused on improving

literacy rates, and the Participatory Educational Theatre addressed HIV/AIDS. These

projects did not involve the community to choose the subject or content of the plays.

The sparse literature shows there is a need for more to be written and explored on

TfD as a practice in Kenya, and this case study seeks to contribute to this literature.

1.5 Sanitation in Informal Settlements

Because this case study on TfD in Mathare addresses sanitation challenges, it is

useful to provide context on sanitation in informal settlements.

Water and sanitation issues are a serious problem in slums. Because these

settlements are usually illegal and populated by poor citizens, they do not benefit from

government infrastructure such as city water, proper sanitation, garbage pickup, health

centers, and other basic infrastructure needs found in most cities (Wambui Kimani-Murage and Ngindu, 2007).

Many slum residents rely on kiosks to purchase water, but these kiosks lack regulation and charge unpredictable prices, which is a challenge for people who make less than one dollar per day. These kiosks usually take water from the municipal water system, but in the process the water can be contaminated by illegal tapping, old pipes, and sewage (Blanton et al, 2015). Some slums rely on pumps either from the city through these kiosks or from other deep well sources, but these are also problematic. Because the slums usually tap into the city's electric grid, the electricity can be unreliable. The pumps run on electricity, so when the electricity goes out, the water pressure goes down and sewage can leak into the water supply (Yancey, 2013).

There is often risk of sewage leaking into the water supply in slums due to inadequate access to toilets for residents. The most common toilets found in Nairobi slums are "VIP latrines," "pour flush toilets," and "WC toilets," according to a case study by M.A.C. Schouten and R.W. Mathenge in Nairobi's largest slum, Kibera (2010, p. 817). VIP latrines are squat toilets over a pit, usually lined with cement, that have to be emptied on a regular basis to prevent overflowing. Pour-flush toilets are squatting toilets that the user flushes manually with water into a sewage system that can be as simple as a line running into a river or road, or a line that goes to a treatment plant. A WC toilet is a squatting toilet with a water seal that is automatically flushed in a refilling cistern that carries the waste into a sewage system (Schouten and Mathenge, 2010).

According to a study on health inequities in Mathare by Jason Corborn and Irene Karanja in 2014,

> More than 83% of [Mathare] residents rely on a shared toilet and most pay 5 KSh
>
> per use . . . [and] over two- thirds of our respondents continue to use flying toilets
>
> . . . due to cost and availability of more dignified sanitation options. (Jason
>
> Corborn and Irene Karanja, 2014, p.262)

Flying toilets are plastic bags people defecate into and throw outside, away from their

homes. The study also found that virtually none of the public toilets in Mathare were

connected to city sewage lines, and exposed raw sewage was all over Mathare from

public toilets and flying toilets (Jason Corborn and Irene Karanja, 2014).

One of the most dangerous sources of water contamination in sub-Saharan

informal settlements is fecal matter (Wambui Kimani-Murage and Ngindu, 2007). Feces-

contaminated water is the cause of a slew of waterborne diseases, including E. coli,

dysentery, salmonella, typhoid fever, parasites, and cholera (*Common Waterborne*

Disease, Bacteria, Viruses and Cysts, 2017). All of these diseases are dangerous and

potentially fatal, especially in slums where healthcare is limited, unaffordable, or

nonexistent. A study by Blanton et. al (2015) in the Mukuru and Korogocho slums just

outside of Nairobi found cholera-causing free chlorine residual levels above WHO

guidelines for source water in 82% of the water they tested. 29 people were diagnosed

with cholera in Korogocho between June and December 2009, and 23 were diagnosed in

Mukuru, just in the span of October through November 2009 (Blanton et. al, 2015,

p.717).

What is perhaps most disconcerting about the issue of waterborne diseases in

slums is that many of the diseases can be prevented by boiling water. Yet Wambui

Kimani-Murage and Ngindu concluded in their study of the Langas slum that many

residents do not necessarily know the dangers of drinking water that has not been boiled, or how it could be contaminated. Wambui Kimani-Murage and Ngindu found that only 42 percent of the respondents who drank from a shallow well reported boiling their water (Wambui Kimani-Murage and Ngindu, 2007). When slum residents were asked what the possible contaminants of their water could be, no one suggested fecal matter. Contaminants people suggested included children putting dirty objects in the wells, dirty containers, animal feces, and washing clothes (Wambui Kimani-Murage and Ngindu, 2007).

<p style="text-align:center">1.6 Gendered Limitations in Informal Settlements</p>

Jason Corburn and Irene Karanja's article "Informal settlements and a relational view of health in Nairobi, Kenya: sanitation, gender and dignity" (2014) provides a useful background as to how women are disproportionately limited in making decisions about their own sanitation. In their study on health challenges in Mathare, Corburn and Karanja employ a "relational view of slum health," which considers "resident narratives, systematic observation, spatial mapping and quantitative and qualitative measures of the location and accessibility of resources" to understand what contributes to inadequate health in Mathare (2014, p. 259). Their study specifically looked at how issues of infectious and chronic disease, education and economic burdens, and security disproportionately affect women's health and sanitation. They found that limited access to toilets increase women's risk of urinary tract infections (UTIs) and chronic constipation by 80%, and because women are 38% more likely to have HIV than men, they are that much more vulnerable to parasites and diarrheal episodes (p. 264). They also found that girls are more likely to miss school than boys, and women are forced to miss

out on work and stay home when a child is sick. Incorporating missed work, healthcare cost, and the monetized value of housework missed, Corburn and Karanja estimated that each diarrhea episode can cost a household up to 6900Ksh per year, which is about 69USD (p.265). Lastly, the study also found that women fear walking to the toilet after dark, which forces them to use flying toilets at night (p.266).

Marcia England and Stephanie Simon explore this "geography of fear" in their article "Scary cities: urban geographies of fear, difference and belonging" (2010). In this article they argue that "social perceptions of threat" influence where people move geographically, and the people who experience, or are the target of this fear are typically "racialized and gendered bodies that have historically not been allowed to be part of the citizenry" (p. 202). In the context of Mathare, women restrict their geographical movement because the fear they are targets of threat. This fear limits the time of day women feel safe going to the public toilet, and when they don't feel safe, they use a flying toilet.

Chapter 2: Methods

In order to find out what information can be collected in the process of creating and conducting a TfD workshop in Mathare, and how the methodology succeeds and fails, I needed to create and conduct a TfD workshop. Based on the techniques of Augusto Boal and other participatory theatre practitioners I discussed in chapter 1.3, as well as the critical suggestions of TfD scholar Christopher Odhiambo, I developed a Theatre for Development workshop with a Nairobi-based theatre troupe called the VOCAL Drama Group. I collected data through observation and a series of semi-structured focus group discussions and key informant interviews.

2.1 Recruitment of Participants

Christopher Odhiambo's article "Theatre for Development in Kenya: In Search of an Effective Procedure and Methodology" provides the most comprehensive critical suggestions for researching and executing a TfD project. Odhiambo emphasizes that research for a TfD workshop must be a "collaborative venture between the researcher/actor/facilitator and the community in a quest to find out the community's perspective of the subject, its priority problems, interests, concerns, peculiarities and desires" (Odhiambo, 2005, p.143-144). In other words, for a TfD project to truly involve the community, the community must make up an essential part of the research process, and decide what topic(s) the project will cover. From this suggestion, I emphasized the community's perspective throughout the research process by recruiting participants exclusively from the Mathare community and using their input to guide what was covered in the workshop.

My main point of contact and collaboration was with Mr. Antony Mwangi, or Mwas, and the community outreach performing arts organization he heads, the VOCAL Drama Group. Mwas is from Mathare and is well known in the community. The VOCAL Drama Group puts on skits in public spaces in Mathare and other parts of Nairobi about prevalent issues in order to generate discussion in the community. We first met and established a relationship in the summer of 2015, where I worked with Mwas and VOCAL to establish a performing arts program at a secondary school in Eastleigh, a neighborhood adjacent to Mathare.

Mwas is currently working to build a community center in the Good Samaritan Home orphanage in Mathare to provide resources for residents. He will use the research collected for this project to specify and prioritize the resources that will be included in this community center.

Mwas tapped into his connections in Mathare to introduce me to seventeen women who expressed interest in participating in my research. Eight of the women were from a village in Mathare called Kosovo, five were from a village called 3B, and four were from the Mathare village Nigeria. I gave a summary of my research to each woman and answered any questions they had, then invited them to attend a focus group meeting later that week to discuss the environmental health issues that most affect them. Some of the women shared their thoughts on environmental health issues in Mathare during this meeting, and I took field notes. I also invited all of the women to attend the Theatre for Development workshop later that month and gave them flyers to invite friends.

2.2 Focus Group Discussions

The first focus group was conducted in a small library in the Mathare village Kosovo, and was composed of five women who resided in Kosovo. I conducted this focus group entirely in English, as all of the women participating were fluent. The second focus group was in The Good Samaritan Home, an orphanage that doubles as a public forum space. All four of the women in attendance were from 3B. In this interview, Mwas translated between my English and their Swahili.

The purpose of the focus groups was to begin to understand what issues matter most to the women in Mathare, and thus what we should address in a TfD workshop. I conducted the focus groups in a semi-structured interview format, so asked a series of open-ended questions about what environmental health issues in Mathare most affected the women in the focus group. Both focus groups lasted a little over an hour and were audio-recorded with permission.

2.3 Key Informant Interviews

Following the focus group discussions, I interviewed eleven other stakeholders in Mathare to better understand the complex problems that contribute to the sanitation issues both of the focus groups emphasized. These key informant interviews were also semi-structured and composed of questions about the interviewees' expertise about sanitation issues as it related to their line of work. Each of these interviews lasted about thirty minutes and four were audio-recorded with permission, but one person declined being recorded and six were in too noisy of an environment for a clear audio recording. I interviewed three doctors in different sections of Mathare, two people who ran public toilets, two people who ran water kiosks including one youth group which also acts as a

community leadership organization, a landlord, a candidate running for a local office, a youth organization leader, and an outreach coordinator for a women's empowerment organization in Mathare and Kibera, another Nairobi slum.

2.4 Creating the Scenes

After the focus group discussions and interviews were conducted, I met with the VOCAL Drama Group to devise scenes for the TfD workshop. We rehearsed for three days for about three hours each day. At the beginning of each rehearsal we warmed up and played a theatre game.

While creating the scenes, the actors and I considered Odhiambo's suggestion that the scenes in TfD act as "codifications." Drawing from Friere's ideas around "codifications," Odhiambo argues that the scenes in a TfD project should be simple, reflective of the community's lived experiences with an issue, and encourage critical analysis from the community to "decode" the scene (Odhiambo, 2005, p.146). In other words, the scene in a TfD workshop should present an issue like a code that the community has to think through to crack. Odhiambo also emphasizes that the scene should offer a number of "decoding" options for the community. There should not be a predesignated solution to the issue in the scene that the community needs to "get right" (Odhiambo, 2005, p.146).

In order to ensure that the scenes reflected the community's experience with an issue, I went over with the actors the main issues the women in the focus groups said they wanted to talk about at the workshop. In the first rehearsal, the actors created images, or still poses, based on themes that came up in the focus groups. For example, I would say, "walking home alone at night," and the actors would pose in a way that was related to

what it feels like to walk alone at night. Then the actors discussed what the images they made and saw in other people made them feel or think about. The actors had a lot of insight from their own experiences living and working in Mathare, and they were able to bring that to the discussions and devising. From these discussions we started to storyboard ideas for scenes. The scenes fell along the major issues that came up in the focus group discussions.

In the second rehearsal we played a series of improvisation games to prep the actors to improvise the scenes, then the actors improvised each scene based on the themes we discussed. After devising the scenes through improvisation, we set the scenes so that they would be the same each time and, as Odhiambo (2005) suggests, leave the participants multiple options to "decode" the scene.

In the last rehearsal, actors not in a scene acted like participants and asked the characters in the scene questions about why they made the choices they did, and then tried out ways to address the issues in the scenes so that the actors could practice having participants come up and interact with the scene. After each attempt, we discussed what the actors in the scene did well and what we thought could be more truthful to their character. This rehearsal helped equip the actors for interacting with the participants in a manner that was truthful to the reality of the circumstances in the scenes.

2.5 The Workshop

The TfD workshop was conducted in The Good Samaritan Home on a Saturday morning and lasted about four hours. All of the women in the focus groups and the other stakeholders I interviewed were invited, as well as a number of other community members, invited by the director of the Good Samaritan Home, Mama Mercy, as she calls

herself. Any gender was welcome at the workshop—it was not restricted to women only. A total of forty people attended the workshop. Thirty-six of those in attendance were women, and four were men. Eight of the thirty-six women were from the two focus groups. The entire workshop was conducted in Sheng, a slang version of Swahili used in Nairobi. I facilitated in English, and Mwas translated, and the scenes were all in Sheng. I made observations and took notes throughout the workshop.

2.5.1 Games

In order to make the participants more comfortable and open to discussion, we played two warm up games from Augusto Boal. One was "Name Gumbo," where participants shake hands and take on the name of whoever they shook hands with last when they shake hands with the next person. For example, Mary and Steve shake hands, Mary "becomes" Steve and Steve "becomes" Mary. When Mary shakes hands with Elizabeth, she introduces herself as Steve, so Elizabeth becomes Steve and Mary becomes Elizabeth.

The next game we played was what Boal calls "The Opposite of Jackson," but I modified it to "*Simama, Tembea*," which is Swahili for "Stop, Walk." In this game, participants have to do the opposite of what I say, so when I say stop, they walk, and when I say walk they stop. People are eliminated if they do the wrong task.

Aside from making people more comfortable, these games also prepare participants to deprogram, or think outside the box of how they normally perceive and interact with the world (Boal 1995). After each game, I facilitated a discussion with the participants on how these games make us think differently.

2.5.2 Scenes and Intervention

I posted a central question related to each scene the VOCAL drama group devised on the wall of the performance space. The questions were constructed to generate conversation about the issue presented in the scene (see Figure 1). I got this idea to center the scenes around a central question from Participatory Educational Theatre (PET) on HIV-AIDS conducted in Kisumu, Kenya (Odhiambo, 2005). I invited the participants to choose which question they wanted to answer first, and then the actors performed the scene that was correlated to the question. I'll use the first scene as an example. The first scene we presented was entitled "Problems at Home," and the central question was "Why does Tina (the daughter in the scene) have to use a flying toilet?" In the scene, the protagonist, Mama Malo, is home alone with her daughter Tina, who needs to use the bathroom, when Baba Malo comes home drunk on illicit brew called *chang'aa*. Mama Malo is afraid to take Tina to the public toilet because it is getting dark and she feels unsafe going out of the house, and she doesn't have the money to pay. Baba Malo refuses to take her, so Tina is left with no choice but to use a flying toilet, where you relieve yourself in a plastic bag and throw it.

Topic(s)	Scene Title	Central Question
Access to toilets; flying toilets; insecurity	Problems at Home	Why does Tina have to use the flying toilet?
Employment (*Kibarua*); low wages	Getting Played, Not Paid	Why doesn't Mama Malo get the pay she was expecting?
Sewage overflowing and contaminating water; access to toilets; access to water	Sewage and Water Don't Mix	Why can't the women have guaranteed access to clean toilets and water?
Insecurity; corruption of authority	Cops and Thieves	What factors led to the woman getting robbed?
Corruption of authority	Political Promises?	Why did one person say the politician isn't going to do what she says? Is that always true?

Figure 1: Table of topics, scene titles, and questions used in the workshop

After the scene, I asked the participants what problems they saw in the scene and if they had ever experienced anything like the issues in the scene. The purpose of this was to promote solidarity amongst the participants, so I asked about the issues more and more broadly until everyone had their hand up to signal they had experienced something like that problem. After the first scene, for example, I asked, "Has anyone experienced this situation in the scene?" then, "Has anyone not been able to go to a public toilet because they were afraid to leave the house?" and lastly, "Has anyone needed to do something and not been able to do it because of factors outside of your control?" Then, I encouraged the participants to ask the characters in the scenes questions about what they did in the scene, and the actors responded to the questions in character. This idea to have the audience ask the characters questions comes from a rehearsal game in Theatre of the Oppressed called "Interrogation" (Boal, 1985). Some of the questions participants asked the characters in the first scene were, "Why would Mama Malo try to make Baba Malo

take Tina to the bathroom? He could assault her," and "Why doesn't Baba Malo provide for the family more or why doesn't Mama Malo work so she can provide?".

Next, we tried to tackle the big question that correlated with the scene that was posted in the wall. For example, for the first scene, we asked participants to answer the question, "Why does Tina have to use a flying toilet?" I facilitated this discussion, then encouraged the participants to turn to their neighbors to discuss any ideas they had as to how to address the issues in the scenes. When the conversations with their neighbors came to an organic end, I invited the participants to share with the big group what they discussed with their neighbors.

The actors and I encouraged the participants to come up and try acting out the idea themselves in the scene. This act of acting out a way to address the issue in the scene in TfD is called an intervention. Odhiambo argues that an essential part of TfD is the participants' intervention. He argues the scenes should "generate more questions than answers," and must have room for participants to step into the scene to explore those questions (Odhiambo, 2005, 172). We did this two or three times for each scene, and followed each intervention with a discussion about what we saw the participant try to do to address the issue, how it worked, and if and when that solution may work in the participants' day to day lives.

2.5.3 Participant Scenes

In the final step, of the workshop, I encouraged participants to think of a time when they confronted an issue that we discussed in the workshop that resonated with them, or one that we hadn't talked about and they wanted to discuss. Based on this issue, the participants made a pose that embodied that image for them, then they joined in

groups with other people that they believed had a similar or complementary pose to them. In their groups, they discussed the experience and the issue they had in mind, and settled on one or a combination of experiences and issues to make into a scene. After the group settled on a scene, I encouraged them to generate ideas as to how to address the issue in the scene, and try acting out a solution as well. The groups that were willing presented their scenes to the larger group, and after each scene we discussed what the problems in the scene were, and what the solutions to the issues were that the small groups came up with.

2.5.4 Debrief

To conclude the workshop, I facilitated a brief final discussion about what solutions resonated most with the participants and what they thought they could carry forward with them in their lives. This section was unfortunately briefer than I intended it to be, as the workshop had gone on for almost four hours at this point and everyone was visibly exhausted.

2.6 Post-Workshop Interviews

In the week following the workshop, I conducted a focus group with the participants of the original two focus groups composed of women residents of Mathare, as well as with the VOCAL drama group, and I conducted individual interviews with five people who attended the workshop, but were not involved in the preparation for the workshop. I asked the original focus groups about how they felt their input was incorporated, what they liked about the workshop, and what they thought could be improved. I also asked them questions about the feasibility of the solutions participants generated in the workshop. In the follow-up focus group with the VOCAL drama group

we discussed critiques and positive points in the process of developing the workshop, and I asked for feedback about the workshop itself—what the actors thought worked, and what could have been improved. The actors also provided their insight on discussions they heard from the participants, particularly when they broke into small groups during the workshop. Because the actors helped facilitate the discussions in Swahili, they had insights I could not have understood in their entirety during the workshop.

2.7 Analysis

After I transcribed the recordings of my interviews and focus group discussions, I analyzed the data from the interviews, focus group discussions, and field notes using open coding with NVivo qualitative analysis software. I grouped the data into nodes based around my research questions, so I was looking at the information that was gathered in the process of developing the workshop, as well as the successes and challenges of the workshop itself. From those broad categories, I broke down the data further into more specific nodes as I saw appropriate while sifting through the transcriptions. Under the category of information gathered in the process of developing the workshop, I broke down the data that shaped the scenes in the workshop. Nodes included quotes from participants on sanitation, such as public toilets, water, and flying toilets, mentions of health issues and healthcare, participant quotes on insecurity, gender roles, employment, and coping strategies. The second research question on the successes and failures of TfD in Mathare included nodes such as participant quotes on community building and education, feedback on the games, and debate between women over 35 years old and women 18-35 years old.

Chapter 3: Results and Discussion

In this chapter I will present my results and discuss my interpretation of the data. In the first section, I will discuss the wealth of information that was gathered on the complexity of sanitation issues in Mathare. The second section focuses on a discussion of my analysis of the data on TfD as a methodology—where TfD was successful in Mathare and what the challenges to the method were.

In order to protect the identity of the participants, all of the names are pseudonyms. The quotes are taken directly from the focus group discussions and key informant interviews. Some of the quotes are translated to English from Sheng, and modified grammatically for ease of understanding.

3.1 Information Collected with Stakeholders Guiding the Research

In the process of creating and conducting the TfD workshop, I was able to gather valuable information on the complex factors that contribute to sanitation challenges in Mathare. The primary issues the women in the focus groups mentioned were limited access to public toilets and water, unemployment and low wages, exposed sewage, insecurity at night, and corruption of authority (specifically in the context of reporting assault). All of these issues limit women's ability to makes choices about their own sanitation. In this section, I will discuss how the major issues the women emphasized in the focus groups limit sanitation in Mathare, then how gender roles specifically contribute to limited sanitation, and finally, what the consequences of limited sanitation are.

3.1.1 Limits to Sanitation

The first limitation to sanitation in Mathare is the lack of toilets and sewage lines and limited access to the few toilets that are present. Most women in the focus groups, with one exception, described primarily using public toilets run by individuals or organized groups that cost 10ksh to use (Focus Group Discussions, June 1, 2017 and June 3, 2017). It is interesting to note that Corburn and Karanja reported that toilets are 5ksh to use in Mathare (Corburn and Karanja, 2014), and indeed many signs for the public toilet said the cost was 5ksh, however the women consistently reported that the toilets were 10ksh. It is not certain why these costs differ by 50% over the course of just three years.

These public toilets are overburdened. In Kosovo Village, for example approximately 15,000 people share two public toilet houses with five to fifteen toilets (MCA Candidate, Key Informant Interview, June 3, 2017). Corburn and Karanja reported that an average of 55 people share one toilet in Kosovo (2014, p. 263). Some residents, including one woman from the Mathare 3B focus group, have access to a toilet on their housing plot that is included in their rent payment, but even here the toilets are overburdened. In Mathare 3B for instance, a plot owned by a landlord I interviewed named Stephen has seventeen homes, each with an average of two to three residents, all sharing a single toilet. This means at least thirty-four people are sharing one pour-flush toilet that Schouten and Mathenge (2010) describe as a squat-toilet manually flushed with water. Corburn and Karanja found that a whopping average of 232 people share one toilet in Mathare 3B (2014, p. 263).

Additionally, these overburdened toilets are connected to inadequate or nonexistent sewage lines. Many of the toilets in 3B and Kosovo are connected to sewage

pipes above ground that flow directly into the Mathare River with no treatment (as is the case for the toilet house in Kosovo run by the manager I interviewed, and is consistent with Corburn and Karanja's [2014] findings). There are some lines that flow to Ruai, where the Nairobi Water and Sewerage Company treats most of the city's wastewater, such as on the plot in 3B owned by Stephen, but these lines face significant challenges (Stephen, Key Informant Interview, June 8, 2017).

It is not uncommon for toilets and the sparse sewage lines to clog and even break due to overuse and the inadequate pour-flush mechanism[1], where users simply pour water down the toilet to flush it (Focus Group Discussions, June 1, 2017, and June 3, 2017). This mechanism is often not enough force to properly flush away solid waste and the newspaper that is commonly used as toilet paper (see Figure 2). When the sewage pipes clog or break, sewage can overflow into public walkways and homes. A public toilet manager in Kosovo named Lydia and the landlord in 3B, Stephen, both pointed to toilets clogging and overflowing as a relatively common problem. A quote from Lydia illustrates the frequency of the toilets clogging. When asked if the sewage pipes ever clogged, she replied, "Yes. Almost every time. Now and then, it leaks here, the neighbors start complaining and sometimes the closest facility is not operating, [it takes time] until we find someone who is going to [unclog the pipe]" (Lydia, Key Informant Interview, June 13, 2017).

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[1] All of the women reported using a pour-flush toilet when they used a public toilet. It is possible that pour-flush toilets are more common in Mathare than in Schouten and Mathenge's (2010) Kibera study because the toilets in Mathare are able to drain into the Mathare River (Focus Group Discussions, June 1, 2017 and June 3, 2017).

Figure 2:Pour-flush toilet in a public toilet stall in Mathare

When the sewage lines clog and overflow, open sewage makes its way onto walkways and public spaces in Mathare (see Figure 3). This is a serious sanitation issue all of the time, but especially when it rains. Phebe, a woman and mother in Mathare 3B describes this challenge:

> [Open sewage] is always a big problem, especially when it rains because the water comes and it's like a valley, so all the water comes from up there, and we're staying down here. The water goes into the houses . . . And also, when it rains, most of the houses around here have leakages. (Phebe, 35+ Years Old, Mathare 3B Focus Group, June 3, 2017)

Mathare is split in two by the Mathare River, forming a valley, with both sides sloping down from a road at the top to the river below. The river is prone to flooding during the rainy season. The rainwater, mixed with raw sewage, pours into residents' corrugated metal homes. This problem is compounded by the fact that flying toilets clutter the roofs

of many of the homes, so when it rains, the water pulls the contents of the flying toilets

through the leaks in the roof.

Figure 3:Raw sewage overflowing onto walkway in Mathare

In addition to the toilets being insufficient for the amount of people using them,

they are also expensive to use and have limited hours. All of the women in both the

Kosovo and Mathare 3B focus group discussions confirmed it costs 10ksh to use the

public toilets each time (see Figure 4 for a photo of the public toilet stalls). Elizabeth, a

woman in 3B described having to pay 20ksh if she is in the stall for a length of time that

the owner of the toilet deems long enough to charge her more (Elizabeth, 35+ Years Old,

Personal Interview, May 29, 2017). She was the only woman, however, to mention this

surcharge. The toilets also close at night. The toilet house most of the women in Kosovo

described using, for instance, opens at 6:00am and closes at 10:00pm, and the toilet house

run by Lydia in Kosovo opens at 5:30am and closes at 9:00pm. The cost and limited

hours of the toilets are serious limitations to using them. As Phebe from the 3B focus

group aptly put, "If you don't have 10ksh, you can't use the toilet" (Phebe, 35+ Years

Old, Mathare 3B Focus Group, June 3, 2017).

Figure 4:Public toilet stalls in Mathare

The cost of water and limited access to it in Mathare also contribute to sanitation

challenges and contribute to the limitations of toilets in Mathare. Nairobi's city tap water

only flows through the Mathare water kiosks where people purchase water one to three

times per week. Residents collect water at these kiosks in 20L plastic containers

commonly called jerry cans for 3ksh-10ksh per jerry can[2] (Focus Group Discussions,

June 1, 2017 and June 3, 2017). When tap water isn't flowing to Mathare, residents are

forced to cross Juja Road to Eastleigh, an adjacent neighborhood that receives city tap

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[2] The cost of water depends on the availability of water. Owners of water kiosks will charge 3ksh when water is flowing to Mathare and is readily available, and charge more for water they store when water is not flowing to Mathare.

water more consistently. In Eastleigh, water costs 50ksh per 20L jerry can (Focus Group Discussions, June 1, 2017 and June 3, 2017). The high cost for water and inconsistency of flow has serious sanitation implications in Mathare. Toilet owners have to pay the same amount as other residents for water, so sacrifices have to be made to minimize costs. Lydia, a toilet manager, describes having to shut down half of the toilet stalls in her toilet house because "in order to manage two sides we need so much water . . . so, we came into conclusion [to use] one side. Both women and men just use one side" (Lydia, Key Informant Interview, June 13, 2017). This of course reduces the total number of available toilets, adding more stress to the toilets in use. The limited number of toilets in this case also forces men and women to use the same toilets, which Lydia believes poses a risk, particularly to young women:

> It's not right [to have men and women use the same toilets] Yeah it's not good . . . You know people are not of the same character, you find someone with satanic minds would go into the facility and if there is a daughter, let's say a girl enters into the toilet, another man inside there is trying to peep [at her]. (Lydia, Key Informant Interview, June 13, 2017)

An attempt to save money on water often also means that water for hand washing is not available, which encourages the spread of disease (Lydia, Key Informant Interview, June 13, 2017).

Like many of the sewage lines that are built by toilet house owners, the people who control the water kiosks construct many of the water lines. These water lines are often constructed by cartels, who tap the city water lines, divert the water into their own lines, and thus control the flow and price of water in that area. Because both the water

lines and the sewage lines tend to be constructed poorly, often barely underground, and

with inadequate knowledge as to where other lines are, there is high risk of the contents

of the sewage and water lines crossing. This risk is exacerbated by vehicles and foot

traffic crossing over these lines, causing them to break and increase the likelihood of

sewage and tap water mixing, thus increasing the risk of waterborne disease (SHOFCO

Key Informant Interview, June 19, 2017).

Lastly, there is no solid waste collection in Mathare. The river, or often simply the

ground, acts as a disposal site. Consequently, garbage, along with human and animal

waste, litters the landscape. This poses a major sanitation challenge. The interview I had

with Lydia is illustrative of the scale of the issue of no proper waste disposal system.

Lydia described her frustration with women leaving their pads in the toilet stalls:

> There are women who use the facility and leave pads just along the windows.
>
> Scattered all over. Now for me I would say it will be better if women in this area
>
> will be educated on ways to dispose their used pads. (Lydia, Key Informant
>
> Interview, June 13, 2017)

When asked where the women could dispose their pads however, she replied, "We find

[pads] all over here . . . No, we don't have [waste collection] here . . . so people after

using them, they just throw them in the river, we don't have a disposal place" (Lydia,

Key Informant Interview, June 13, 2017). Pads are of course only one example of

garbage with no place for people to properly dispose them. Disposable items people use

every day cover the roads and riverbanks of Mathare (see Figure 5).

Figure 5: Waste along the Mathare Riverbank

3.1.2 Gendered Limits to Sanitation

Beyond the direct limitations to sanitation that affect most of the people living in

Mathare, there are a number of challenges indirectly related to sanitation that

disproportionately affect women in Mathare. In a similar vein with Corburn and

Karanja's study (2014), I would argue that, in order for sanitation issues to be addressed

in Mathare, the underlying, gendered issues in Mathare must also be addressed: namely

insecurity, unstable employment for women, and the role of women as caregivers and

housekeepers.

The women in both focus groups, but especially in the Kosovo Village group,

composed entirely of women aged 18-35, emphasized the need to talk about and address

insecurity. The women in the focus group used the word "insecurity" to mean the threat

and/or execution of physical violence, sexual assault, and/or robbery outside of the home.

The women in both focus groups described a heightened fear of insecurity when walking alone at night. Martha, a young mother in the Kosovo focus group, describes the fear of sexual assault while walking to the toilet after dark:

> You want to go to the toilet at night, and then those people that collect the money are men. Now you see, and most of them take *bhangi* [marijuana]. Now if you enter that toilet, most likely, probably, they are going to rape you, and now you see that's a big challenge. (Martha, 18-35 Years Old, Kosovo Focus Group, June 1, 2017)

Patricia, another young woman in the Kosovo focus group added on, "Being raped here is not a big deal" (Patricia, 18-35 Years Old, Kosovo Focus Group, June 1, 2017). Phebe from Mathare 3B also brought up insecurity when walking to the toilet at night, this time referring to robbery, saying, "It's hard for me to go to the toilet at night. Someone might steal from you" (Phebe, 35+ Years Old, Mathare 3B Focus Group, June 3, 2017). Contributing to this sense of insecurity is the lack of helpful policing presence. The women in the Kosovo Village focus group explained that the police will often take bribes to not arrest a perpetrator, and women often don't feel safe saying who the perpetrator was in the first place for fear of retaliation. The following dialogue from the Kosovo focus group is illustrative of the fear women have of assault:

> Patricia: [The victims] don't want to tell [the police] whose child it was [who assaulted them]
>
> Martha: There is a lot of corruption
>
> Amana: And we are the ones who suffer. You have a right to say but you can't talk. And you know it's this one, it's him, but you can't tell.

Martha: Because you fear for your life. You fear for your life. They are going to

say its him and then the next thing, you're going to be killed, or raped.

Patricia: Even the community, will like blame you . . . because it's someone that

you know maybe.

Amana: They will start blaming you. 'It was you.'

Martha: You can get maybe it's a nineteen-year-old boy, they are raping even

fifty-year-old women. They don't fear.

Amana: Because maybe they are ten, and you are one. (Kosovo Focus Group, 18-

35 Years Old, June 1, 2017)

This fear of walking alone after dark prevents women from walking to the public toilets

in the evening, so women have limited options when it comes to going to the bathroom at

night. They can wait to go to the bathroom from 7:00 or 8:00pm to 6:00am, they can risk

assault going to the toilet before it closes, or they can use a flying toilet from the safety of

their home. Many women and their families opt for the flying toilet, contributing to the

open sewage that covers the landscape of Mathare. This concept of women's fear

restricting their geographical movement, in this case to the toilet, is discussed by England

and Simon (2010). They argue that the threat of violence shapes the geographical map

people who fear they may be targets of this violence. Corburn and Karanja also found

that women restricted their movement to public toilets at night in their 2014 study.

Even during the day, when the fear of insecurity is lower than at night, using a

public toilet is not always an option because of the cost. Employment options are limited

for women in Mathare for a number of reasons, including general lack of employment

opportunities in Mathare, the roles women are typically expected to perform such as

raising children and keeping the house, and insecurity at night which limits the location and type of work women feel safe doing. Limited employment opportunities for women often equals limited income, which makes the public toilets unaffordable. The women in the focus groups were single mothers or rely at least in part on the income of their male partners, who are also often struggling to find work that pays enough to support a family. To provide or supplement income, many women do *kibarua* work, which is a small, temporary job, typically washing laundry. In Mathare, women go to the adjacent neighborhood Eastleigh for *kibarua* work. On a good day with multiple paying customers, a woman could come home with 600ksh, or about 6USD, working a *kibarua* job, but some days, a woman may go home empty handed. There is no guarantee anyone will hire a woman to wash their laundry that day, and even if a woman does laundry, the customer may not pay (Focus Group Discussions, June 1, 2017 and June 3, 2017). The shortage of water has also made *kibarua* work harder to come by, as Phebe explains:

> We depend on water, and right now we have a shortage of water in Nairobi. Most of us do this small work, this temporary work of washing clothes. So if we don't have water in Nairobi, then we also don't get to work. Because we want to wash the clothes and get clients, but the clients don't have water for washing the clothes. (Phebe, 35+ Years Old, Mathare 3B Focus Group, June 3, 2017)

According to the communications director of a women's empowerment organization in Mathare, the average amount a woman makes per day doing *kibarua* in Mathare is 200ksh, or about 2USD (SHOFCO Key Informant Interview, June 19, 2017).

There was one woman in each of the two focus groups that ran an independent business. Lina from Mathare 3B had a stall where she tailored clothes and Joan from

Kosovo had a small business where she sold items you might see at a convenience store like toiletries and snacks (see Figure 6). These businesses, too, provide an inconsistent income that makes planning and budgeting finances a challenge. Lina described charging an average of 20ksh per customer, but she could get anywhere from ten to twenty customers each day, so one day she might make 400ksh, and the next a mere 200ksh (Lina, 35+ Years Old, Mathare 3B Focus Group, June 3, 2017). Joan's business also generated an inconsistent income and required money provided upfront by her husband (Joan, 35+ Years Old, Kosovo Focus Group, June 1, 2017).

Figure 6: Window of a shop owned by a woman in Mathare

These wages barely cover the recently skyrocketed cost of 2kgs of maize flour, which is used to make a staple dish in Nairobi called ugali, let alone rent that can be anywhere from 1500ksh to 4500ksh per month, and other necessities such as water, electricity, childcare, and school fees (Focus Group Discussions, June 1, 2017 and June 3, 2017). The inconsistent income can also put women in a difficult position when they owe money. Phebe describes an instance where she was confronted with paying for daycare, where she left her child to get *kibarua* work, but came back empty handed:

At times we'll work at the *kibaruas* and get nothing or get 100ksh. So I left my

baby at the baby care and the baby care teacher won't want to [hear any excuses].

He or she will want 50ksh and I don't have it. (Phebe, 35+ Years Old, Mathare 3B

Focus Group, June 3, 2017)

When a woman is confronted with an instance like this, she is forced to get a loan from a

friend, or from a shylo[3], "where you have to leave something and you have to back sure

you pay it with interest, which is very expensive" (Phebe, 35+ Years Old, Mathare 3B

Focus Group, June 3, 2017).

Additionally, as Corburn and Karanja (2014) argue, when a child is sick, the

mother loses the ability to work that day, and thus any income she may have earned. The

fluctuating income from the jobs women work makes it difficult to pay for a public toilet

for themselves and their children, so when women cannot sneak into a public toilet, they

may again use a flying toilet and contribute to the raw sewage sanitation issue in

Mathare.

Women's fear of insecurity and limited employment options are a part of a

vicious cycle where women can feel forced into roles that leave them as the primary

caregivers and housekeepers, and often feel dependent on men as a source of income and

safety, even if the relationship is abusive. These gendered expectations and danger in

public space restricts women's movement in public spaces. This limits a woman's ability

to make choices about her own sanitation and that of her family, and she is often left

bearing the consequences of limited sanitation.

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[3] The term "shylo" comes from the character "Shylock" from Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*, a moneylender that does not require a background check and loans money quickly, but charges interest rates such as 10% each day (Kenya Loans 2012).

The women in the Kosovo focus group in particular emphasized a sense of being trapped in a cyclical role as a mother who is dependent on men, which limits their sense of autonomy and ability to move through public space, and thus their perceived ability address sanitation challenges. A section from the Kosovo focus group illustrates the perceived need women have to get married so that a man will supplement their income, which is often tied to having children with that man, thus making the woman take on the role as a caregiver, and even more dependent on men for income.

> Amana: You see, us young girls, some of us don't have parents. And even if we had them, the way we found them, they were poor. You went to school, but when you finished primary, there was no money to go to secondary, so when you finish that class, you are on your own. Maybe you start working, because the parent you have cannot support you. So, we get married at an early age. So, the one you are married to is jobless, so we start facing problems. We get killed. We get pregnant. You see, like me, I have four children. You see? All of them, they are not from the same father. You find this man; you get pregnant from him. Maybe you fight, you leave him. You see, you find someone who helps you. You live with him maybe one year, he wants to have a child with you. You find him good, better than the other one . . .

> Martha: But even the good husband is a thief, who gets caught and killed, so, you have to get married again . . .

> Amana: You don't get married because you want to; you get married because of poverty . . .

> Patricia: You get married so that your child won't starve.

The communications director at the women's empowerment organization also touched on this issue, saying:

> Most of [the women who seek help through the organization] are at very low education levels . . . Because of that, most of them are not employed, so this means that they are dependent on their husbands. For that reason, they are not able to even make decisions based on their health, on their reproductive health, because they are vulnerable. So in this regard you find a good number of them also having a good number of children, which are dependent on the husband or the bread-winner. Based on this and because of the low education levels, you find that culture, or rather cultural norms and social norms, also affect them big time because communal beliefs or religious beliefs are also encompassed there. And some of them, culture dictates that for a man to show you love they have to kind of, you know [be violent]. (SHOFCO Key Informant Interview, June 19, 2017)

As the quote from the Kosovo focus group alludes to and the SHOFCO communications director points out, women can be controlled in their role in this cycle through domestic violence and threats. When I asked if the men ever help with the child if the child gets sick, Patricia replied, "You know you can't even ask the man, because the man will beat you, it's your problem" (Patricia, 18-35 Years Old, Kosovo Focus Group, June 1, 2017). In this quote, Patricia is describing the use of violence, or at least the perceived threat of violence, to maintain the role of the woman as the primary caregiver for the children.

Some women decide to go into commercial sex work to make a greater income without depending on a spouse. Martha in the Kosovo group described commercial sex work as "the easier way; they go and sell themselves. But it's not because they want to,

it's because you have children to feed" (Martha, 18-35 Years Old, Kosovo Focus Group, June 1, 2017). A woman can make 100-200ksh per job in Eastleigh for sex work, and 1000ksh for sex work in town (Kosovo Focus Group, June 1, 2017). This work however, also comes with risk, as Patricia explains, "then you get HIV now, that becomes the end of you." To which Martha responds, "And when people know you are HIV positive . . ." Patricia finishes her sentence, "There is a lot of stigma here" (Kosovo Focus Group, June 1, 2017). The stigma that follows a commercial sex worker, and especially one that is diagnosed with HIV, may limit her autonomy as much as or more than a woman who feels locked in the cycle of dependency with a male partner. Corburn and Karanja's study also shows that HIV prevalence is 38% higher in women than in men, and HIV increases women's vulnerability to infections and disease (2014).

The restrictive cyclical roles women in Mathare can feel forced into, as well as the limitations on their movement in public space, reduce women's ability to make choices about their sanitation. This limited ability to make choices stands in contrast to Kabeer (1999) and Parpart et. al.'s (2001) conceptualization of empowerment. Kabeer and Parpart et al. emphasize that empowerment is about the perceived ability to make choices. The women in the focus groups described feeling that their choices are extremely limited, which leaves them feeling forced into this cyclical role where they are unable to make choices about their movement and sanitation.

3.1.3 Consequences of Limits to Sanitation

Limited access to sanitation affects everyone in Mathare, and can lead to serious health problems that are often left insufficiently treated due to limited access to healthcare. Because they are expected to take care of the children and maintain the home,

women disproportionately confront sanitation challenges and the consequences those challenges have on the health of themselves and their families.

When it rains, and rain and floodwater picks up raw sewage and flows into the homes, women and children are left responsible for protecting the home from the unsanitary water. Phebe illustrates the task of managing to keep the water out of the home, "When it rains, we don't normally sleep at all. We are always on our toes trying to prevent the water from getting in" (Phebe, 35+ Years Old, Mathare 3B Focus Group, June 3, 2017). To prevent the water from getting in, the women in the focus groups were in consensus on the best strategies. The women in the focus groups described using plastic bags to seal off their roof from any leaks, and they have their children climb on top of the roof to knock off any flying toilets sitting on top. They also use buckets to collect water leaking from the roof all over the house—on beds, couches, and shelves stacked with clean dishes. Another strategy the women use is digging diverts into the ground in front of the house that redirect rushing rainwater streaming down walkways toward the river, rather than into the homes (Focus Group Discussions, June 1, 2017 and June 3, 2017). The diverts look like veins weaving through Mathare Valley, carved into smooth lines by rainwater (see Figure 7).

Figure 7:Divert carved into a walkway to prevent water from getting in the homes

When women and children are cleaning and sealing off the house from sewage-rich water, they are exposed to harmful bacteria that can lead to health problems. Children are especially at risk for the harmful effects of exposure to raw sewage because, as Trish in the 3B focus group described with her baby snuggled close on her chest, "Its unsafe for us to walk, and also for the kids to. Because the kids will play like, they won't know there is a sewer line," to which Phebe adds, "You'll also see people eating beside the sewer line. The kids will play near them" (Trish, 18-35 Years Old and Phebe, 35+ Years Old, Mathare 3B Focus Group, June 3, 2017). While playing and exploring outside, children are particularly exposed to raw sewage.

Contact with sewage can affect the health of people in Mathare in a number of ways. The most common health issues a health worker key informant and the women in the focus groups cited were digestive problems, the flu, respiratory infections, skin infections, fungal infections, waterborne diseases, and malaria (MYTO Clinic, Key Informant Interview, June 16, 2017 and Focus Group Discussions, June 1, 2017 and June

3, 2017). While all of these health issues are not always caused by exposure to sewage, they all can be. Waterborne disease can occur when sewage mixes with drinking water, and digestive problems can come from ingesting food that has made contact with sewage (Wambui Kimani-Murage and Ngindu, 2007). All of the women in the focus groups were well aware that fecal and water mixing is a risk, and can cause waterborne disease (Focus Group Discussions, June 1, 2017 and June 3, 2017). This awareness stood in contrast to the findings of Wambui Kimani-Murage and Ngindu's study in the Langas slum, where they found that none of the respondents thought fecal matter could be a contaminant in their water (2007). Skin and fungal infections can result from water splashing up onto the body while using the bathroom. The public toilets are difficult to flush completely, so when someone squats over them, the sewage-water can splash up. This especially affects women, who are more prone to urinary tract infections. Infections like this are exacerbated by the method commonly used to bathe in Mathare—bucket baths. A person fills up a bucket with water, and may wash their legs that have been exposed to sewage throughout the day, and put that contaminated water back in the bucket, and use the same water to wash the rest of their body (MYTO Clinic, Key Informant Interview, June 16, 2017). A family may also share the bucket of water they use, which increases the likelihood that contaminated water will be used to bathe (MYTO Clinic, Key Informant Interview, June 16, 2017). Lina also explained, "the water, the sewer line, sometimes brings mosquitoes," which can carry malaria (Lina, 35+ Years Old, Mathare 3B Focus Group, June 3, 2017). Trish also said that in their homes they "don't breathe in fresh air" (Trish, 18-35 Years Old, Mathare 3B Focus Group, June 3, 2017). Trish is most likely referring to the smoke emanating through the homes when women cook, making it hard

to breathe, but could also be referring to the dampness in the homes from rainwater that makes the homes musty, or both. Both issues can cause respiratory infections (MYTO Clinic, Key Informant Interview, June 16, 2017).

Treating these health issues can prove to be a serious challenge. While there are a number of free health clinics in Mathare (see Figure 8 for a photo of a free clinic), most clinics offer free diagnoses, but still charge reduced prices for medication (MYTO Clinic, AHF Clinic, City County Hospital, Fikira Jamii Health Center). According to the women in the Kosovo focus group, for example, they have been charged 200-500ksh for children's medication for cholera, and over 1000ksh for cholera medication for adults at the City Council Hospital (Kosovo Focus Group, June 1, 2017). The women in the Mathare 3B focus group said the least they've had to pay for medication of any kind is 250ksh, and the most is 3000ksh (Mathare 3B Focus Group, June 3, 2017). When the women can't afford medicine, they usually just opt for cheaper pain killers (Focus Group Discussions, June 1, 2017 and June 3, 2017).

Figure 8: Free clinic in Mathare

Both focus groups said that the sanitation challenges lead to health problems, but they also did not prioritize health issues when they selected the problems they wanted to address in the workshop. Phebe explained that because she and her children live in Mathare, they are less likely to get sick from the sewage than visitors:

> For example, for these kids brought up here, especially for my kids, they are used to the environment. My sister, when she comes to visit with her kids, the kids cannot stay here for long because they'll get the flu. So for us we have adapted to it. (Phebe, 35+ Years Old, Mathare 3B Focus Group, June 3, 2017)

Lina agreed, but added, "We are used to living here—each and every situation, we are used to it—but we also get sick, like the flu, malaria" (Lina, 35+ Years Old, Mathare 3B Focus Group, June 3, 2017). Interestingly, when I asked the Kosovo focus group about the main health issues caused by sewage, the women were quick to talk about cholera. They echoed each other, saying cholera was "so common" (Kosovo Focus Group, June 1, 2017). In the Mathare 3B focus group however, no one mentioned cholera, so I asked if they thought cholera was an issue, and they seemed to agree it wasn't really, but Phebe did say, "we've heard, in some parts of Mathare, some few people have been affected [by cholera]" (Phebe, 35+ Years Old, Mathare 3B Focus Group, June 3, 2017). Both focus groups emphasized the need to discuss the open sewage, but not necessarily the health risks this issue can cause. Joan in the Kosovo focus group finally just told me, "Like about health, nobody cares," and the rest of the women nodded in agreement (Joan, 35+ Years Old, Kosovo Focus Group, June 1, 2017).

The issues that the women in the focus groups ultimately *did* emphasize as issues they wanted to see in the workshop were limited access to public toilets, unemployment,

exposed sewage, insecurity at night, and corruption of authority (specifically in the context of reporting assault). These were the issues we incorporated and discussed in the Theatre for Development workshop.

3.2 Successes and Challenges of Theatre for Development in Mathare

In this section, I will present and discuss my results on the successes and challenges of practicing TfD in Mathare. There were many successes in the process of applying TfD in Mathare. The women were interested in participating in the research, which contrasts with their previous experience with research, the participant feedback was overwhelmingly positive, and additional information was collected and areas of misinterpretation were clarified as a result of the workshop. Most of the challenges with the workshop were related to how I managed the time, which led to some parts of the workshop going on too long, and others getting shortened or omitted.

3.2.1 Successes

1. Women's Participation

One of the biggest successes of the process of creating and conducting the Theatre for Development workshop in Mathare was that the women in the focus groups explicitly expressed that the TfD workshop had the potential to empower, and they were eager to direct and be a part of the process of TfD. Their wanting to be involved in the project stood in contrast to their opinions of their previous experiences with research.

While I was conducting research in Mathare, it didn't take long to realize that people in Mathare are tired of being the subjects of research. The women in the Kosovo focus group were quick to tell me they were frustrated with researchers asking them questions and leaving. Amana explained, "They just come and ask questions, so you

think the next time they come, they are coming to change the situation, but they do

nothing. They just collect information" (Amana, 18-35 Years Old, Kosovo Focus Group,

June 1, 2017). The women in the Kosovo focus group also expressed they want changes

to be made in Mathare as a result of research and that they wanted to feel cared for in the

research process, rather than feeling like a subject. The women were straightforward

about their expectations for this project:

> Joan: These girls are [answering questions] because they have no one else to tell
>
> this to. Now you come they open up to you, thinking that maybe you can do
>
> something to help. But when you go and just decide not to come back, then it's
>
> totally the same [as other researchers].
>
> Esther: People disappear; we don't see them again.
>
> Amana: So we need someone--
>
> Joan: Someone who is feeling. You come, you study, you go, maybe you go onto
>
> something else, so that's why we're asking: are you feeling, are you in it really, or
>
> are you just coming and then you go? But you said yourself you're going to be
>
> following up [after the workshop]. We will be expecting that actually. (Kosovo
>
> Focus Group, June 1, 2017)

I was transparent with the women in the focus groups that I was using Theatre for

Development as a research and development method that is an alternative to the methods

they were expressing frustration about. I reiterated that my questions were for the purpose

of creating a TfD workshop that would address the issues the women wanted to address,

and I would analyze how TfD succeeds and fails as a methodology from their responses. I

also emphasized that Mwas is a long-term member of the community, and he will use the

information from this project to focus the priorities of the resource center he is working on incorporating into the Good Samaritan Home.

Once the aims of the project were more clear to the women in the focus groups, they expressed eagerness to be involved in the TfD workshop. The women in the Kosovo focus group were particularly interested in being involved:

Patricia: So we will be involved with it?

Rachel (me): Yes, I hope you will be, if you come [to the workshop].

Amana: We'll come. We want to be part of it.

. . .

Martha: This can be the starting point of what—yes maybe this can be the starting point of our lives. You never know.

Amana: You never know but it can change us.

Martha: Yes, you know it can change us.

. . .

Amana: A journey of 100 hundred starts with one people. One step. So we can do that and we can help our--

Martha: Yes, yes develop.

Amana: Develop our Mathare.

. . .

Joan: Empower, empower. (Kosovo Focus Group, January 1, 2017)

This quote is particularly useful in discussing the successes of TfD, because I never mentioned empowerment specifically in the focus group discussions, but upon understanding how the workshop will work, the Kosovo women expressed optimism that

the workshop will be empowering. Amana even described the workshop as having the potential to start a "journey," or process, with the other women to "develop Mathare". This description mirrors Kabeer's description of empowerment in her article "Resources, Agency, Achievements: Reflections on the Measurement of Women's Empowerment," where she defines empowerment as "processes by which those who have been denied the ability to make choices acquire such an ability" (Kabeer, 1999, p. 437). Not only does Amana describe the workshop as a step in a development process, but she also uses the pronoun "we" to describe making changes to Mathare, referring to the other women in the focus group. Here, Amana is describing the women themselves making choices as to what they want to address and how to address them. Finally, Joan sums up what Amana is saying with "empower, empower."

The women in the Mathare 3B focus group also expressed interest in being involved in the workshop and in having issues they wanted to talk about make up the topics discussed at the workshop. A few times after describing an issue that Phebe felt was important to talk about, she would say, "If you could address that at the workshop too, that would be good" (Phebe, 35+ Years Old, Mathare 3B Focus Group, June 3, 2017). Again in this instance, Phebe and the other women in the focus group are making choices about the issues they want to see addressed, and thus directing the process.

The women's attendance was another indication that the women wanted to direct and participate in the workshop—and did. Of the nine women who made up the focus groups, six attended the workshop. Of the three women who did not attend, one couldn't because she had a conflict, and the other two did not contact me with an explanation. The six women from the focus groups who attended the workshop also attended the follow-up

interviews after the workshop. One of the original women who expressed interest in being a part of the focus groups, but could not attend the focus groups on the day they were held, came to the workshop and participated in a follow-up interview. A total of forty people attended the workshop, and everyone who I asked for a follow-up interview accepted. The participation in the workshop and the follow-up interviews over a number of days indicates that the participants wanted to be involved in the process of TfD, and actively made the choice to participate.

2. Positive Feedback on the Workshop

Participant feedback on the Theatre for Development workshop itself was predominantly positive. The most common responses from participants were that the games were fun and thought provoking, the workshop brought the community closer together with greater understanding of differing opinions, the scenes were reflective of their experience, and the interactive nature of the workshop made them more equipped to discuss the issues and how to address them.

The games were a particularly big hit with the participants. Participants mentioned the games as a part of the workshop they particularly liked in every follow-up interview, and many participants said that the games got them thinking critically. A quote from Phebe is particularly illustrative of this feedback:

We can use these games in life. When a situation comes, you are supposed to *simama* [stop], and you're not standing, you're walking, *tembea*. You think twice before you do something. It was really so helpful. You have to think twice, so the game was educating. I was so happy, so, so happy. (Phebe, 35+ Years Old, Mathare 3B Follow-Up Focus Group, June 29, 2017)

Another common comment participants made was that the games made everyone more comfortable and brought the people at the workshop together as a community. Joan said the games "brought us together more. We are free with each other" (Joan, 35+ Years Old, Kosovo Follow-Up Focus Group, June 28, 2017).

Some participants also said that they though the workshop in general brought the community closer together and encouraged understanding of differing opinions within the community. Tabia, a young woman who was not part of the focus groups but attended the workshop said, "[seeing] the way people interacted, I got to know others' views" (Tabia, 18-35 Years Old, Personal Follow-Up Interview, June 28, 2017). Lina from the Mathare 3B focus group also thought the workshop brought people together with differing opinions. She said, "It was a very nice day because we were able to come together, like different women, different people from different places coming together, meeting together, and also hearing different views from different people. It was nice" (Lina, 35+ Years Old, Mathare 3B Follow-Up Focus Group, June 29, 2017).

Participants also emphasized that they appreciated how reflective the scenes were of their experiences, whether they were part of the original focus groups or not. Roselyn, who was not a part of the original focus groups said, "I was happy about the drama [scenes] because these things [portrayed in the scenes] happen a lot" (Roselyn, 35+ Years Old, Personal Follow-Up Interview, June 28, 2017). The women in the focus groups were particularly happy about the scenes, because the circumstances in the scenes reflected their experiences, and it showed that I pulled from the information they shared with me in the original focus group discussions. An exchange from the Kosovo follow-up focus group is particularly illustrative:

Joan: We really liked what we saw. The drama was good. They really tried to put

up what we had agreed with you. You remember? We gave you the notes? You

really tried to bring it up the way we said.

Patricia: And it's something that is in our lives. It's something we experience.

(Kosovo Follow-Up Focus Group, June 28, 2017)

Lina from the Mathare 3B focus group even said that the scenes were so reflective of the

women's experiences that for "the men who saw, it's a learning experience for them"

(Lina, 35+ Years Old, Mathare 3B Follow-Up Focus Group, June 29, 2017). In other

words, she thought the men at the workshop were made more aware of the challenges

women face as a result of attending the workshop.

As Odhiambo emphasizes, it is essential for the scenes in a TfD workshop to be

reflective of the participants' lived experiences in order for them to analyze and "decode"

the problem in the scene (Odhiambo, 2005, p.146), so the women's expression that the

scenes were reflective of their lives is a major success.

The women also enjoyed how interactive the workshop was and as a result,

expressed feeling more able to discuss issues and potential ways to address them.

Roselyn, who stepped into the scenes as a character trying to address the issue multiple

times said that "acting in the scenes was fun" and that she could talk to people about the

workshop, which "can bring change" (Roselyn, 35+ Years Old, Personal Follow-Up

Interview, June 28, 3017). Phebe in the Mathare 3B focus group also thought "it's

possible to talk to people and educate them through what we got out of the workshop."

She even gave an example of an idea she thought of for employment during the workshop

that she could discuss with friends:

I work in a *kibarua* job, so it will be easy for me when I sit down with the rest of

the *kibarua* ladies and talk to them, see if they can come up with similar ideas,

like contributing money for us to open up our businesses. (Phebe, 35+ Years Old,

Mathare 3B Follow-Up Focus Group, June 29, 2017).

Comments like Roselyn's and Phebe's show that the workshop got at least a few

participants thinking about how they can continue the conversations around issues and

potential ways of addressing them into their lives.

3. Participant Responses Clarified Areas of Misinterpretation and Provided

Additional Information

Another success of creating and conducting a TfD workshop in Mathare was that

the workshop revealed details I misinterpreted, and the women in focus groups were able

to clarify those details. Participating in the workshop and the follow-up interviews also

led participants to think of and share additional, relevant information. Observations of the

actors and myself from the workshop itself also provided more insight and information.

The largest area of misinterpretation that was made clearer in the follow-up

interviews was public toilets are run differently depending on the region in Mathare. The

third scene in the workshop was about a public toilet house that has clogged sewage lines

and is leaking sewage. When people stepped into the scene, the actor playing the person

running the toilets said he wouldn't fix it, so some of the participants opted to go higher

up to share their grievances—to a chairman, for example. The VOCAL Drama Group and

I devised this scene because the women in the Mathare 3B focus group expressed that the

people who run the toilets do not seem to care whether or not the toilet was leaking

sewage, and Lydia, the woman who ran a public toilet, said clogs are common. When the

participants made their own scenes, a group of participants also made a scene about their

toilets clogging, but in their scene, their toilet was on their plot and managed by the

landlord. Because the landlord wasn't around when the toilet clogged, the women

decided to fix the line themselves as a team.

In the follow-up interview with the Kosovo focus group, this problem of having

an ambivalent or absent toilet manager did not resonate with the women. The women in

the Kosovo group were adamant that when the toilet clogs,

> You just go talk to [the person who owns the toilet] . . . he has the tools to open
>
> the toilet, he can do it himself, he doesn't need us, you just have to talk to him and
>
> he unblocks it . . . he knows there are children there, there is food, there are these
>
> [water] kiosks. So he doesn't let it so much to—to drain a lot so he does it
>
> himself. (Joan, 35+ Years Old, Kosovo Follow-Up Focus Group, June 28, 2017)

After the follow-up with the focus group, Joan took me to meet the man who runs the

toilet she uses. She wanted to make sure I understood. The man she introduced me to ran

the toilet house independently—it was his business—so it made sense that it was in his

best interest to keep the toilets running smoothly. He and Joan also talked like old

friends. They clearly knew each other well.

Joan assumed the people expressing frustration with toilet managers were from

3B, and that the toilets are mostly on plots run by landlords in Mathare. She thought,

"Maybe that is how they mean, they have to have this landlord and maybe they have a

caretaker, the caretaker cannot unblock the toilet because he has to tell the landlord, so

there is this chain of command" (Joan, 35+ Years Old, Kosovo Follow-Up Focus Group,

June 28, 2017). Joan assumed correctly in the case of Lina, the only woman in the

Mathare 3B focus group who uses a toilet that is contained on the plot. Lina described that when the toilets are inside a plot,

> The landlords take advantage of hiking the prices of the houses because there's a toilet inside . . . and also, if you have the toilets inside, they don't care about the sewer lines, that's why we have open pipes, blocked pipes, because they are not well maintained. (Lina, 35+ Years Old, Mathare 3B Follow-Up Focus Group, June 29, 2017)

Phebe uses the Constituencies Development Fund (CDF) toilet in 3B, which is a public toilet put in place by the government but run by a group of "youths," or young men. These public toilets are a bit of a gray area. Phebe did not have the same faith Joan did for the toilet she uses, that the men running the CDF toilet will fix leaking sewage lines. Phebe explained, "The people you pay for the toilet, they don't care about the services they provide . . . all they care about is them getting money" (Phebe, 35+ Years Old, Mathare 3B Follow-Up Focus Group, June 29, 2017). Phebe said if the toilets block, the men running the CDF toilet will fix it, but they usually go to the landlords and ask for money to unblock the toilet.

From these clarifications provided by the women in the focus groups who attended the workshop, I was able to understand how the public toilets are run with more complexity. The toilets the women in the Kosovo focus group use are run by individual people, and the toilet is their business and source of income, and they are the sole beneficiaries of the net profits. In the Mathare 3B focus groups, on the other hand, the toilets the women use are either owned by landlords or youth groups. The landlords are not always present to fix the toilets, and also are making money from the whole plot, not

just the toilet, so they have less incentive to maintain the toilets. The youth groups are splitting the profits of the toilet, so they make a lot less money individually than the individuals who own and run a toilet house. The youth groups don't have as much money as the individual owners do to fix the toilets, so they have to ask the landlords for money to make repairs. For perspective, some of the water kiosks are run in a similar manner. The city or a politician trying to gain political points puts in a water kiosk and puts a youth group in charge of running the kiosk. I interviewed Alan, a young man who was part of a youth group running a water kiosk, and he explained that once they split the profits, each of the men walk away with 30ksh per day. That's about 30 cents. This also gives insight as to why then these groups will tap water lines and charge more money when water is not flowing through Mathare—they are trying to make profits they can live off of (Alan, Key Informant Interview, June 13, 2017).

Talking about the workshop in the follow-up interviews also reminded the women in the Mathare 3B focus group about information they had previously left out. The women in the Mathare 3B focus groups were insistent that women should have their own businesses so that they don't have to do *kibarua* work. They suggested this as a good solution to the issue in the second scene, where the protagonist, Mama Malo, finished her *kibarua* work, but the man she did the work for refused to pay her unless she had sex with him. When I asked how a woman can start her own business without money for start-up costs, Phebe and Lina explained the concept of *chama*, which translates to group association (Wairire and Muiruri, 2016). She explained that in a *chama,* women form a group where they each pitch in a small amount of money to buy items that they sell, and split the profits. Development scholars Wairire and Muiruri explain *vyama,* plural for

chama, are composed of eight to twenty-five members that pool together resources "for income generating activities and social support" (Wairire and Muiruri, 2016, p. 294). According to Wairire and Muiruri, *vyama* took off in the 1980s in Nairobi, which corresponds with Phebe's arrival to Mathare in 1988. Both Phebe and Lina cited joining a *chama* as a good way for a woman to start a business and control her own work so that she does not have to go to the *kibarua* job and risk being taken advantage of like Mama Malo in the scene (Mathare 3B Follow-Up Focus Group, June 29, 2017).

Additional information was also gathered from observations the VOCAL Drama Group actors made at the workshop. Their observations were particularly useful because they were able to catch side conversations in Sheng that I missed due to the language barrier. The observations the actors made, as well as my own observations, provided insight into the differing perspectives of older, more conservative women and younger, more progressive women.

The most distinct rift between the women lie in their views of their role in their relationships with their male partners and sons. As a general rule, the women over the age of 35 were more conservative, and the younger women under the age of 35 were more progressive, though there were exceptions. The conservative women tended to be more permissive of the male characters in the scenes, and often agreed with the most outspoken man at the workshop. The more progressive women, on the other hand, were far less forgiving of the male characters.

The best example of this rift is in the first scene at the workshop. In this scene, Baba Malo, Mama Malo's husband, comes home drunk late and refuses to take their daughter, Tina, to the toilet. Mama Malo and Baba Malo get into an argument about Baba

Malo not fulfilling his responsibilities and coming home drunk. The first participant to volunteer to intervene in the scene was Joseph, one of only a handful of men in attendance and by far the most vocal of the men. He took the place of Mama Malo and tried to talk to Baba Malo nicely in the morning about his drinking habits. The women over the age of 35 at the workshop, with the exception of Joan from the Kosovo focus group, liked this solution. Phebe, for example, agreed with how Joseph handled the situation. She said, "I'll talk to [my husband] and see if he can calm down a bit and wait for him to be calm so that he can stop drinking. Talk to him and see if changes will come" (Phebe, 35+ Years Old, Mathare 3B Follow-Up Focus Group, June 29, 2017). One middle-aged woman even went further and said that Mama Malo "should be beaten or talked to" for disrespecting Baba Malo when he came home, not the other way around (Workshop Observations, June 24, 2017). A few of the younger women in attendance however, did not like Joseph's intervention and said that if Mama Malo keeps only talking to Baba Malo nicely, he may take advantage and never change.

The next participant who volunteered to go up was Roselyn. She stepped in as Mama Malo and kicked Baba Malo out. The younger, progressive women were overwhelmingly in favor of this strategy, and the older, more conservative women and Joseph spoke up in opposition. Many of the conservative women said that Mama Malo should go to church and pray for Baba Malo (Workshop Observations, June 24, 2017). Joseph said Mama Malo "violated the rights of Baba Malo" with this strategy, and doing so is "against our culture" (Joseph, Male, 35+ Years Old, Workshop Observations, June 24, 2017). Martha stood up and rebutted, "This is 2017 and women have the right to do what they have to do" (Martha, 35+ Years Old, Kosovo Focus Group, Workshop

Observations, June 24, 2017). Joseph came back, arguing that because Mama Malo and Baba Malo are married, they should work things out (Workshop Observations, June 24, 2017). Even Roselyn herself said in her follow-up interview that, "fathers and mothers should understand each other and solve their problems together because if they don't do that, that family will tear apart (Roselyn, 35+ Years Old, Personal Follow-Up Interview, June 28, 2017). This stood in contrast to the women in the Kosovo focus group's view of marriage as a way of financially supporting themselves and their families (Kosovo Focus Group, June 1, 2017). In each instance, the conservative women favored the more permissive strategies that prioritized maintaining the relationship with the husband, and the progressive women favored strategies that prioritized the family units' financial needs.

The VOCAL Drama Group actors caught another interesting rift between the conservative and progressive women in the women's side comments that I missed. A debate formed between a group of women during the discussion about the first scene about insecurity. An actor describes what she observed:

> The younger women that came were saying that those older women were encouraging insecurity. Their sons are the ones that are stealing, they are thugs. [The older women responded, saying their sons] are attacked by the police, they are shot dead. These women are their mothers, they blame the policemen, they are killing their sons. (VOCAL Drama Group Actor Observation, June 26, 2017)

This is a point the women in the Kosovo focus group brought up during our interview when we were discussing insecurity. As I discussed in the previous section on gendered limitations to insecurity, the women felt like they couldn't say "whose child it was" that

assaulted them (Patricia, 18-35 Years Old, Kosovo Focus Group, June 1, 2017). In the

VOCAL Drama Group actor's observation, the younger women want the mothers of

these young men to hold their sons accountable, but the mothers are afraid that the

consequences for their sons will be getting killed by the police. Patricia, who talked about

wanting to hold young men accountable in the focus group on June 1, 2017, also

emphasized in the follow-up focus group that:

> When the police catch these [boys], they kill them instead of maybe taking them
>
> to institutions. They kill them instantly, like they're dying so much. I think it's not
>
> right, because they should be taken maybe to police station and charged, but not
>
> being killed. (Patricia, 18-35 Years Old, Kosovo Follow-Up Focus Group, June
>
> 28, 2017)

This standard holds women back from reporting. No one wants to be the person that gets

someone's son killed by the police, and then also face the retaliation of his loved ones

(Kosovo Focus Group, June 1, 2017).

3.2.2 Challenges

A major challenge of the TfD workshop was managing time. A major criticism

the participants had was that, because I did not manage time well, the workshop went on

too long and we did not get to all the topics the women wanted to talk about in the

workshop. Poor time management also cut short the debrief at the end of the workshop,

so there wasn't much time to summarize the strategies for addressing issues in the

workshop, and then discuss specific actions participants could take after the workshop.

Managing time at the Theatre for Development workshop proved to be a real

challenge, primarily because of the language barrier. The scenes were in Sheng, the

participants spoke Sheng, and I was facilitating the workshop in English. Mwas stood next to me and translated back and forth for the entire four-hour workshop. Because of the time it took to translate back and forth, the workshop was that much longer than it would have been if we were all speaking the same language. There were also times when comments got lost in translation and people had to explain a point multiple times to get it across.

Odhiambo warns to avoid language barriers in his article "Theatre for Development in Kenya: In Search of an Effective Procedure and Methodology", saying "when language becomes a hindrance in Theatre for Development then not only is its very essence, which is to communicate a specific message through participatory modes, lost but its purpose is severely undermined" (Odhiambo, 2005, p. 100). His warning mostly concerns a language barrier between the language used in the scenes presented at the workshop and the language used by the participants, which I avoided by presenting the scenes in Sheng. However, the language barrier does also restrict free discussion between the participants and the facilitator, which does hinder the effectiveness of the facilitation. In the workshop I facilitated in Mathare, I did find that, in addition to taking more time, the language barrier did in fact hinder the natural flow of discussion and facilitation.

I also didn't time each section of the workshop, so some parts of the workshop went on longer than they probably needed to, the discussion sometimes got unnecessarily repetitive, and other sections planned for the workshop were omitted or cut short. We only got to three of the five scenes that we planned on showing, and the participants could tell. Each scene correlated to one of the five central questions posted on the wall of

the performance space, and we didn't get to all five questions. The participants expressed disappointment that "we didn't touch on the scenes that were remaining. We took time to address each scene. If we want to do it again, let us [set time intervals] . . . so that we can address the whole issue" (Joan, 35+ Years Old, Kosovo Follow-Up Focus Group, June 28, 2017).

The participants were particularly disappointed that we didn't get to the scene that was most explicitly about insecurity, *Polisi na Waizi,* or "Cops and Thieves." The central question was "What factors led to the woman being robbed?" The participants didn't know the details of the scene, but from the title and the question they knew the scene was about insecurity and how the police responded. In the scene, Malo, the son of Mama and Baba Malo, overhears his parents fighting about finances, and Baba Malo tells Malo he needs to be the man of the family and help support them financially. After the argument, Malo runs out of the house and steals woman's a purse while she is walking home alone at night. The woman flags down a police officer, but he blames her for walking by herself at night and does not help her.

Participants mentioned the fact that we did not get to this scene and talk about insecurity in almost every follow-up interview. When I asked how they felt about the bit that we did touch on in the first scene about insecurity, where Mama Malo was afraid to take Tina to the bathroom at night, they all said it wasn't enough. The women particularly wanted to touch on "the youth, what they do [to women]" (Patricia, 18-35 Years Old, Kosovo Follow-Up Interview, June 28, 2017) and "the police and insecurity" (Phebe, 35+ Years Old, Mathare 3B Follow-Up Focus Group, June 29, 2017). The participants wanted

to discuss the complex cycle of insecurity that leaves women feeling at risk of assault, and young men getting killed by police.

Lastly, we ran out of time to have a rigorous debrief at the end. Other TfD practitioners have concluded their workshops with a final action plan, such as Osnes in her workshop with the group of women who decided to take pictures of the injuries they sustained from domestic abuse as evidence (Osnes, 2014, p.20). I was unable to facilitate a meaningful debrief that would result in a final action plan at the end of the four-hour workshop. Everyone was visibly exhausted and ready for the workshop to conclude. We did however, discuss a number of potential ways to address the issues in the scenes throughout the workshop.

The results show that the process of applying TfD to Mathare generated a wealth of information on the factors that contribute to inadequate sanitation. The results also show the methodology of TfD was successful in how it was received by participants and the additional information gathered after the workshop. There were also challenges, the data reveal, in how time was managed during the workshop. Overall, the results show that TfD was received overwhelmingly positively in Mathare, and can be a useful tool for collecting information about important issues in a community.

Chapter 4: Conclusion

Literature on TfD has explored applying TfD in many parts of the world on a number of issues, including some that exclusively affect women. However, prior to this case study, literature on TfD in Kenya that involves women in addressing development challenges was severely lacking. This case study fills this gap and leaves room for future researchers to explore this area of Theatre for Development.

I conducted a case study on Theatre for Development in Mathare in order to find what information can be collected through the process of creating and conducting a TfD workshop, and to examine where TfD succeeds and fails. By analyzing the qualitative data collected through a series of focus groups, key informant interviews, and observations at the workshop, this case study on Theatre for Development in Mathare was able to gather nuanced information on factors that limit sanitation in Mathare. These limits include access to toilets and water, sewage lines that block and leak, and nonexistent waste collection. This study also gathered information as to how women are disproportionately limited in their ability to make decisions about their sanitation. Women are limited by the threat of violence, both at home and outside, unpredictable employment opportunities and income, and their roles as caretakers and housekeepers.

Data from participant feedback, and my own observations and notes, and those of the actors' in the VOCAL Drama Group also showed where the TfD workshop succeeded and needed improvement. The workshop was successful in empowering women to make choices about what issues the workshop addressed, and to lead discussion as to how to address the issues. The participants also enjoyed the games and thought the games made them think critically about their lives, and participants appreciated the dialogue that was

generated between people with differing opinions. Feedback from the participants after the TfD workshop also clarified areas of misinterpretation, such as differences as to how the public toilets are run depending on the region of Mathare, and provided additional information about women's circles as a way to start an entrepreneurial endeavor. The actors' observations and my own also provided additional information as to the juxtaposition between how conservative women view relationships to male partners and children versus more progressive women's views. On the other hand, the TfD workshop was not successful in managing time. This challenge was exacerbated by the language barrier between myself, facilitating in English, and the rest of the workshop being conducted in Sheng. Poor time management made it so that we did not get to all the scenes, which was a disappointment to the women, who were especially looking forward to the scene that was most explicitly about insecurity.

Should future researchers expand upon this case study, I would suggest that if the researcher does not speak Sheng, it may be worth exploring training a Sheng speaker to facilitate the workshop. I also recommend setting time intervals throughout the workshop. It may also be interesting to explore involving participants in every step of the process, including devising the scenes. The participants in the focus groups and workshop were eager to act in and make their own scenes, so my methodology may have missed an opportunity to involve stakeholders even more.

Moving forward, all of the research collected in the process of applying TfD to address sanitation issues in Mathare will be available for Antony Mwangi (Mwas) to use as he is developing a community resource center in Mathare, so that the center will prioritize the desires and needs of the community.

In order for areas like Mathare to benefit from development initiatives, it is necessary that the stakeholders are involved meaningfully through the entire process, from research to implementation. Through this case study I have shown that Theatre for Development is a tool that empowers stakeholders in choosing the areas of research, generating potential solutions, and investing in the desired development goals. Future researchers, communities, organizations, and development workers can and should utilize this methodology to implement lasting and meaningful development.

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Appendix

A.1 Translations of Scenes

Scene 1: Problems at Home

(Baba Malo enters the house singing)

Baba Malo: Mama Malo open the door

Mama Malo: Aah where are you coming from? What time is it now when you are coming home drunk?

Baba Malo: Mama Malo let me ask you a question. The other men come home at night, they smell food in their houses. Yours is smelling noise.

Mama Malo: Did you leave any money for food? Did you leave any money for the toilet? Did you leave any money for this house and do you know the child is sick?

Baba Malo: With all that noise why is the child getting sick when I just arrived?

(Tina comes in)

Tina: Mommy it's coming please take me to the toilet.

Mama Malo: I'm sorry Tina.

Tina: Please take me to the toilet

Mama Malo: Baba Malo please take the child to the toilet. I'm afraid of walking at night

Baba Malo: I'm I the one who needs to go to the toilet?

Tina: Mommy it's coming!

Baba Malo: Why don't you take her and both of you can go together. I won't be doing this everytime?!

Scene 2: Getting Played, Not Paid

Mama Malo: Mama Moha am done with work so I want my payments.

Mama Moha: Have you washed everything?

Mama Malo: Yes, I have washed everything.

Mama Moha: We had agreed on 400 right?

Mama Malo: Yes, we had agreed on 400.

Mama Moha: Ok. let me call my husband to pay you because I don't have money now.

Mama Malo: That's ok.

(Baba Moha enters)

Baba Moha: Aah yes how are you?

Mama Malo: I'm good

Baba Moha: I heard you completed the work?

Mama Malo: Yes, I have completed the work Baba Moha.

Baba Moha: How much was your payment?

Mama Malo: 400.

Baba Moha: 400 is a lot for that work.

Mama Malo: Baba Moha, the work I did was worth more than 400.

Baba Moha: The work you did is for 100.

Mama Malo: 100?

Baba Moha: Look at these shoes I'm wearing—you haven't even washed them—even the clothes I'm wearing.

Mama Malo: How could I wash the clothes you're wearing? Surely?!

Baba Moha: Do this, you want 400 right?

Mama Malo: Yes.

Baba Moha: Don't worry, I'll give you 400 but I need you to complete a small job for me to give you the 400.

Mama Malo: Is there any other job?

Baba Moha: Yes, just a small job.

Mama Malo: Aaaah no Baba Moha it's getting late I want to go.

Baba Moha: It's just small job, it won't take long.

Mama Malo: No, I want to go home. (Mama Moha has left)

Baba Moha: Wait, come let's finish the work before she comes back. I'll have completed the work and given you the 400. (Starts to unbuckle his pants)

Mama Malo: No I can't do that work. Give me my money that I worked for. I don't want extra jobs.

Baba Moha: No wait, let's get into the bedroom and finish the work first before Mama Moha comes back. It's just a small job.

Mama Malo: No I can't do that work. Give me my money. I want to go.

Baba Moha: (laughs) I know you used to search for this kind of work. Let's get into the bedroom and finish the work.

Mama Malo: No, I don't want to.

Baba Moha: So you don't want your payments?

Mama Malo: No, I want my money that I worked for.

Baba Moha: I am paying you nicely and you don't want it! (He pushes her harshly) Get out of my house am not paying you anything!

Scene 3: Sewage and Water Don't Mix

The toilet managers and water kiosk manager enter.

Toilet 1 (to Toilet 2): So as I was telling you—by the way did you buy the toilet paper?

Eliza: Eeh heh it's you guys am looking for. The only thing you know is collecting money for the toilet and water. You don't know how to clean your place. Your sewage has blocked all the way to my door step—how do you think my child is surviving?! That is where my kid plays and, worse, when it rains, the sewage gets into my house. What do you want with my family?

Toilet 2: Is it our work to make the sewage?

Eliza: Is the sewage not coming from your place?

Mama Malo: (comes in with Tina, asks her:) Is this the place you bought the water?

Tina: Yes

Mama Malo: (Asks the toilet and water managers) Were you the one who sold water to my child?

Toilet 1: Yes, I am the one.

Mama Malo: Why did you sell dirty water to my child? The water was even smelling like sewage. She drank the water and got diarrhea—this is now the third day.

Toilet 2: This water is clean, the whole village has been using it. Why is it you are the one with diarrhea?

Mama Malo: People treat that water. That day I didn't treat the water because I wasn't around the house.

Toilet 2: Then the mistake is yours.

Mama Malo: How is the mistake ours? Do this—I don't want to argue with you—please, take care of your water. I won't be leaving my work of searching for a kibarua job to treat a disease brought by your mistakes.

Kidum: (Comes in to use the toilet) Hey, can I use the toilet?

Toilet 1: Yes, do you have a tissue?

Kidum: No, I don't have any.

Toilet 1: Get in then and use your handkerchief.

(Kidum rushes into the bathroom)

Eliza: Now look at these guys. How can people use a handkerchief in the toilet?!

That is why the toilets is blocking! We are having sewage in our door step and also our kids getting sick. If you don't get to work on the sewage, I will deal with you guys. You will see.

(She leaves the stage angrily)

Mama Malo: This is the last day. I am going to the hospital. Please work on your water.

(Kidum rushes out of the bathroom)

Kidum (To toilet manager): You guys, wash your toilet, it's smelling.

Toilet 1: You go away.

Keziah: (Comes in angrily complaining) We are paying 10ksh per jerry can for water and you can't keep the water clean.

Toilet 2: The water is 20ksh from now on.

Keziah: All we want is clean water. We are tired of your dirty water!

(Exits)

Toilet 2: (Making fun of Keziah to Toilet 1) You are dirty.

Toilet 1: The clothes you are wearing are the only part of you that's clean.

Toilet 2: (gossips) This is the lady I was telling you about his husband is so drunk he can't even..

Toilet 1: Leave them alone let's go on with our work..

Scene 4: Cops and Thieves

Baba Malo: Mama Malo why are you disturbing me about school fees and it's a weekend? It's on Friday. Can't you wait until Monday?

Mama Malo: What Monday are you waiting for? Let me ask you, for all these weeks has Malo been to school? Instead of saving money so that Malo can go to school on Monday all you are thinking about is alcohol.

Baba Malo: Malo's age-mates are working out there pushing handcarts, why can't Malo do that? He is strong.

Mama Malo: Malo is still young, he doesn't even have an I.D. Why are saying that he should work?

Baba Malo: Stop messing with my mind. Call Malo, let me talk to him.

(They call Malo)

Mama Malo: Malo have you taken the tea that I left at the table?

Malo: It didn't even have sugar.

Mama Malo: So you didn't take it?

Baba Malo: Was that Malo's tea?

Mama Malo: So you have taken Malo's tea? A big man like you takes your child's tea? Look at you!

Baba Malo: Mama Malo just leave and let me talk to my son. Can't I talk to my son?

(Talking to Malo) Compose yourself, stand like a soldier! Malo why are you

embarrassing me in front of the whole village?

Malo: Dad I was feeling hungry--

Baba Malo: Why aren't you composed? Are you sick? Malo, your age-mates are working

out there and all you do is complain. Stay indoors and think about it. When I was your

age I was working in the village!

(Baba Malo exits)

Malo:(talking to himself) What kind of a man is this? He drinks even sugarless tea. I can't

continue living like this, I have to do something.

(On the street, a young lady on phone)

Lady: Hello, Hello...

Malo: (Talking to a friend with him) I was telling you about...

(They notice the young lady on phone. They rob her purse and phone)

Lady:(screaming) My phone, my phone...(she notices a policeman) Help me officer!

Policeman: How can I help you?

Lady: I have been robbed of my purse and my phone.

Policeman: Your purse robbed your phone? What do you mean?

Lady: I am saying that I have been robbed of my purse and my phone by thieves.

Policeman: How many were they?

Lady: Two boys.

Policeman: Why are you walking at night?

Lady: I am coming from work in town.

Policeman: Do you know this place is dangerous?

Lady: What will I do officer? I have to work. Please help me.

Policeman: Have you seen them?

Lady: I saw them running that way.

Policeman: How did they look like and why didn't you chase them?

Lady: They are thieves! Please help me officer.

Policeman: Have you reported the incident?

Lady: No, I haven't reported. You have to help me.

Policeman: How can I help you if you haven't reported? It's your fault, why were you

walking at night?

Lady: Please help me officer.

Policeman: Go to the police station and record a statement, from there I can help you.

Lady: Officer, you are the one who is supposed to help me.

Policeman: If you follow me to my house I can help you.

Lady: (policeman leaving) Officer, officer...

Scene 5: Political Promises?

Politician: Women! Hello!

(crowed cheers× 3)

As you all know I have come to your village to ask you to vote for me as your M.C.A. As

I said in my manifesto I will repair sewer lines. I have walked around and I have seen our

sewer lines are a mess and I will repair them. I will also make sure we have access to

clean water. I will build grounds for our kids to play. I will build shades so that women

will continue working. Are we together?

Bodyguard: Make some noise for the lady!

 (crowed cheers)

Politician: I will not take much of your time because I have a meeting to attend to. I will

leave something to one of you and everyone will get some—is that okay?

(Crowed cheers)

Bodyguard: Que here (Starts handing each person in the crowd money).

Woman (to Man): Let me ask you—isn't this lady lying to us? For so many years they

have been making empty promises.

Man: I think she is lying. They make promises and disappear.

Woman: Let's take their money, but I don't know who I will vote for.

Man: We will see her after five years.