Tourism and Urban Heritage in Kibera

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Introduction

Are slums part of urban heritage? The question may be surprising, but a short moment of reflection has to render the answer positive. Slums have been an object of tourist interest and curiosity for centuries (Koven, 2006; Steinbrink, 2012) and can be considered objects of heritage in their own right. And slums often contain important heritage, too, in terms of their built environment or the historical events that took place in them (Marschall, 2006). While slums are arguably part of the urban heritage, they do not often get recognition as such. Indeed, more often than not, slums are invisible or selectively visible, known not as sites of (valuable) heritage but of all number of problems and difficulties (Davis, 2006). In this paper, we investigate how slums may become recognized as part of the urban heritage.

Heritage has been defined as shared (social) memory (Potter & Modlin, 2015), often represented in landscapes or cityscapes, monuments, buildings and language. It has been categorized as tangible or intangible, referring to the material or immaterial character of objects of heritage (Ahmad, 2006). Critical studies of heritage have highlighted the centrality of studying the production of heritage (Smith, 2006; Winter & Waterton, 2013), which is never a given, but always made and re-made. Heritage production is often read through top-down approaches but can also be understood as a bottom-up process (Hauttekeete, Evens, Mechant & Courtois, 2009; Nikolopoulou, 2019; Pyburn, 2018), or a combination of top-down and bottom-up processes (Pulpón, & Ruiz, 2020). Tourism and heritage have a deep relationship that goes back to the colonial conquest and exploration of European settlers since the 15th century (Gravari, 2018). Tourism studies tend to discuss the relationship to heritage with a focus on touristic consumption of heritage and its management. Such views assume that tourism is a secondary social process that uses or exploits heritage, already present, as an asset and a resource (Spenceley & Nelson, 2013). This paper explores the potential of a more primary role of tourism in heritage production (Palmer & Tivers 2019). We investigate how tourist attractions in Kibera are produced and reproduced jointly by tourists and tour guides in valorization processes that evoke notions of local culture, value and tradition. By reading this data in light of extant notions of heritage production in tourism, we can identify the process in which tourism attraction making may in turn lead to the recognition of Kibera as part of Nairobi's urban heritage.

Our study is based on empirical research in the Kibera neighborhood in Nairobi, Kenya. In recent years this neighborhood has seen an increasing influx of visitors and tourists (Obombo, 2012). We choose this area, because here attraction making takes place in a very bottom-up process, with the absence of formal place making and marketing intervention by tourism authorities, and with tourists and tour guides taking an active role in the formation of the destination and its attractions (Frenzel, 2017). We investigated how the tours, and particular some of the points of interest visited by the tours, developed and we looked specifically for elements in this process that may evoke notions of heritage. The research is based on ethnographic data collection, conducted in intensive fieldwork over a total of 12 months. The results of the research show how tourism map lead to the recognition of Kibera as part of Nairobi's urban heritage thus far neglected, not recognized or invisible to outsiders. We found that tour guides draw on existing imaginaries of slums at times evoke notions of heritage which can be superimposed on attractions by repeated visitation and narration (Salazar, 2006). While guides need to adapt existing imaginaries to do so, they put creative effort into valorizing experiences into established attractions. This happens to varying degrees, with stronger and weaker evocations of heritage. Tourism may produces and reproduces myths and prejudices associated with slums and poverty. Tourists may also take a more active role regarding their preferences and valorizations, to which tour guides will respond, opening up possibilities for the emergence of new attractions.

Heritage Production

The definition of heritage has been widely discussed (Ahmad, 2006). The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) defines as follows.

> Cultural heritage refers to monuments, groups of buildings and sites with historical, aesthetic, archaeological, scientific, ethnological or anthropological value. Natural heritage refers to outstanding physical, biological and geological formations, habitats of threatened species of animals and plants and areas with scientific, conservation or aesthetic value (UNESCO, 2008, p. 3).

In addition to cultural and natural heritage as described above there is an increasing focus on intangible cultural heritage, something UNESCO has expanded on since 2003 (Su, 2019).

Included in the list of intangible heritage are food (Chen & Wu, 2019; Sotiriadis, 2017), music (Su, 2019), ownership and copyrights (George, 2010), as well as discourse (Salazar, 2020), languages (Berg, 2018) and other cultural practices. However, UNESCO's position as the arbitror of the global assessment of the value of heritage is often contested and fraught (Ahmad, 2006). Not only do nation states often contest UNESCO's assessment, the 'identification, protection and preservation of heritage' is basically a symbolic process about communicating the meaning of certain practices beyond those that conduct them, of valorizing tangible or intangible heritage. This means it is potentially open to a variety of agents. Indeed, beyond the state and UNESCO, any number of people and organizations can be involved in the production of heritage (Gravari, Bourdeau & Robinson, 2016).

Many critical and constructivist studies of heritage have highlighted the centrality of studying the production of heritage (Byrne, 1991; Coombe & Baird, 2015; Harrison 2013; Smith, 2006; Waterton, Smith & Campbell, 2006; Winter & Waterton, 2013). Heritage is never a given, but always constantly made, re-made and potentially unmade. Smith (2006) illustrates the production of heritage by the example of the prehistoric site 'Stonehenge' in the UK. Whether the rocks are considered as heritage or just a collection of rocks depends on the presence or absence of cultural processes and activities (Smith, 2006). Underlying such constructivist thinking is the growing field of 'critical heritage studies', underpinned by 'post-structuralism' and 'Critical Theory' (Gentry & Smith, 2019). Considering social reality as 'constructed' (Berger & Luckmann, 1966), we focus our research efforts on human agency and perception when attempting to understand the making and production of social reality (Arendt, 1998; Virno, 2004).

Conscious of the limit of typologies (Salazar, 2020), we propose to differentiate not between types of heritage, that is, tangible, intangible or natural, but to consider two aspects of each object of heritage: namely 1) its substance and 2) the symbolic process of valorization, in which the substance of heritage is packaged and presented and recognized as 'heritage'.

The production and recognition of heritage can be understood as a top-down process, or as a more bottom-up process, depending on the agents involved in it (Hauttekeete, Evens, Mechant & Courtois, 2009; Nikolopoulou, 2019; Pulpón, & Ruiz, 2020; Pyburn, 2018). Agents in the production of heritage are government authorities, UNESCO, but also local communities and residents, and often there is some tension, friction and co-production between these agents. For example, Pyburn (2018) critically re-examines the politically and top-down constructed heritage of Kyrgyzstan by focusing on educational programmes conducted in citizen-run community museums. In contrast to the top-down heritage, which

Pyburn accuses of provoking and reinforcing 'ethnic conflicts' within Kyrgyzstan, bottom-up heritage allows ordinary citizens to learn and accumulate complex historicity through communication in grassroots projects. Hauttekeete, Evens, Mechant & Courtois (2009) advocate the importance of a bottom-up approach to cultural heritage, based on the case of digital archive initiatives of cultural materials (music, art, theatre, etc.) in Flanders, Belgium. It refers to the significance of the users themselves becoming archivists of the data of cultural materials, not only by cultural authorities, and the significance of the value being preserved by them. The above confirms the significance and potential for ordinary people themselves to recognize, organize and conserve value through a range of initiatives. If examined from the field and community level, it is revealed that heritage is not simply an object as expected or assumed by national, local or international authorities, but rather heritage is produced as a tool for social experience (Mydland & Grahn, 2012). Such 'people-centered' approached to heritage have received increasing attention is recent years also via the notion of attachment (Madgin & Lesh, 2021). They have been applied specifically in the context of urban heritage, and have raised questions of methodology, inter alia the question how to measure the ways in which people value places (de Jong et al, 2021). We believe that tourism, and the way tourism produces attraction, can provide some insight here.

Tourism and Heritage Production

We understand that in tourism, heritage will often be an attraction (Alonso, O'Neill & Kim 2010; Arboleda, 2016; Gravari, 2018). It can be used and exploited as a resource, enhancing place value and bringing marketing potential (Harrison, 2013). There are then strong economic incentives to producing heritage for tourist consumption（Spenceley & Nelson, 2013）. But tourism also plays a more active role in heritage production and recognition (Palmer & Tivers, 2019). In historical terms, tourism has been at the forefront of the 'discovery' of heritage. Valorizing archeological heritage of ancient cultures, while dominating, exploiting and discounting contemporary ones, was a dominant feature of European exploration, today often standing accused of looting heritage in numerous voyages (Cheer & Reeves, 2015). Conflicting views on what constitutes 'rocks' and what constitutes 'classical heritage' between explorers and resident populations and elites in the 19th century Ottoman empire remain controversial to today (Gravari, 2018). Historically we can see how travelers 'discovered' heritage valuable to them rather than the locals, imposing valorizations of objects and stories and underpinning notions of their own superiority over local

populations in the process (Gravari, 2018). In post-colonial contexts such power differences continue to structure heritage production, albeit with post-colonial states taking a more active role in the production of heritage that is of interest mainly to foreign tourists. Such logics of heritage production are often underpinned by economic considerations rather than concern for the objects of heritage, while they can play a central role in heritage preservation (Gravari, 2018).

Tourists also seek out 'authentic' local heritage, and often valorize it as such in a more bottom-up fashion. Salazar has identified how this tendency leads to a creation of heritage of a glocalized nature, investigating how student guides responded to this tourist demand (Salazar, 2006).

> The students learn to actively folklorize, ethnicize, and exoticize the ''local'', ''authentic'' distinctiveness and uniqueness of Tanzania that is constantly being fragmented by outside influences: global popular culture and tourism being two obvious examples. Through both their discursive and non-verbal practices, they learn how to present tourists with a commoditized and mystified glocal version of their heritage, represented and packaged as ''local'' for global export (Salazar, 2006, p. 847).

In this process heritage seems no longer related to any particular object or practice but emerges from a production process in which tourist guides and tourists collaborate, relating to discourses that make the 'local' readable as an expression of a global pattern.

As Salazar's research has shown, the process leads guides to sometimes mobilize discourses related to heritage production, including ideas of local culture, history and origin stories. These may not always be authentic, or true with regards to the object or practice referred to, but they convey attachment in a measurable way, namely by producing attractions linked to places which matters in particular for the recognition of urban heritage.

Slums as Urban Heritage

Slums are quite arguably part of the urban heritage. They may contain important historical sites, such as is the case in several townships in South Africa, for example in Soweto in Johannesburg, where state sponsored heritage policies related to the memory of Apartheid have triggered tourism on a large scale, here in the form of monuments and museums (Booyens & Rogerson, 2019; Marschall, 2006).

Beyond historical sites marked within slums, the very nature of slums in urban development processes, sometimes characterized as 'arrival cities' (Saunders, 2013), where rural to urban migrants arrive first, arguably makes them part of urban heritage. Indeed, urban slums play a significant part in the historical development of cities. As a consequence, in a number of cities across the world, neighborhoods which may have developed as slums or informal settlements have come to be recognized as significant part of the urban heritage. In Rio de Janeiro, neighborhood museums such as the *Museo du Mare* displays the culture, history and urban fabric of the cluster of favelas that forms *Mare*. Rio de Janeiro boost a number of other favela museums, some virtual, that preserve the memory of culture, traditions and build environment (Freire-Medeiros, 2009). Equally in the Global North, we find examples of former slum neighborhoods remembered today in museums that display and narrate their significance for the urban development process. Examples would be the Toynbee Hall in Whitechapel, London or the Tenement Museum in the Lower East Side, New York City.
However, such an active valorization of slums as urban heritage remains exceptional and selective, whereas most local authorities tend to render invisible the difficult realities represented in and by slums (Frenzel, 2016). It those cases where museums have emerged, this has been the result of resident engagement, as well as tourist curiosity and interest (Frenzel, 2016).

Urban Poverty Tourism

Our research is conducted in the context of urban poverty tourism, where bottom-up processes of attraction making are often the dominant form. Tourism in the areas of urban poverty has received increasing attention in recent scholarly debate (Frenzel & Blakeman, 2015; Steinbrink, Frenzel & Koens, 2012), investigating its controversial nature, resident perceptions, pro-poor and anti-poverty potential as well as its historical dimension. A key question for research has been how slums are made into attractions (Frenzel, 2016). Following Wacquant slums and poor urban neighborhoods carry negative value or 'territorial stigma' (Wacquant, 2008). How is such negative valorization overcome in tourism? Frenzel (2016) has argued that tourists initiate disruptive valorization processes by curiosity towards places considered of low value locally. In particular any drives to close certain areas off or render them invisible has been shown to entice tourist curiosity. Such disruptive valorization depended on certain conditions to be in place, as evidence from some of the slum tourism cases has shown, and not the least because of the controversial nature of this form of tourism. A key condition is, most problematically, the relative power of tourists, via their access to

resources, to request and pay for access to controversial sites (Steinbrink, Frenzel & Koens, 2012). Thus, initial tours are often conducted on request of pioneering tourists, who hire local guides and other helpers to get access to controversial areas. The relatively powerful position of tourists in the process of disruptive valorization can be thought of as an extension of the problem of post-colonial power. Unease with power imbalances lies at the heart of much criticism of slum tourism. The main criticism is that powerful tourists are enabled to enter and view the private lives of slum inhabitants. In such a view territorial stigma and urban poverty are not so much valorized as commercialized (Freire-Medeiros, 2009). Such critique mirrors longer debate in tourism over the role of power imbalances in tourism in the post-colonial world (Hall & Tucker, 2004; Nash, 1989). Urry's (1990) notion of the gaze underlined the problematic character of such touristic consumption, pointing to the existence of what could be described as frames of perception that will determine not just what tourists see, but what they want to see. Thus, clichés and stereotypes about poverty may well be confirmed and petrified rather than destabilized in slum tourism (Nisbett, 2017). With regards to the production and recognition of slums as urban heritage, the idea of disruptive valorization by tourists is central. Tourists may in these processes contribute to the recognition of slums as urban heritage.

Tourists valorization processes depend on local guidance to get a foothold and visit locations such as slums (Frenzel & Blakeman, 2015). While tourists have relative power over guides due to the money they can spend on hiring the guides, guides will also make informed guesses about the slum images tourists have and thus play an important role in maintaining and renewing established notions of the slum. There is a wide literature considering tour guides, their socio-economic conditions and roles in the process of tourism, for example identifying guides as mediators and negotiators (Cohen, 1985; Salazar, 2006; Weiler & Black, 2015; Wynn, 2011). Research has also specifically reflected on the role of tour guides and their approaches with a specific focus on slum tourism (Butler, 2012; Dyson, 2012; Frenzel & Blakeman, 2015; Gutowska, 2015). Working in tourism in Dharavi and Kibera, Frenzel and Blakeman (2015) found that tour guides fall into four different categories, relating to the formality of their operations and the centrality of the profit motive. Asking how the slum tourism encounters 'work' best, they found that operations were most successful in a highly formalized operational set up with a low profit motive. They found that guides in Kibera operated on low levels of formality in their operations, with limited commercial success, often focused on the creation of intimate and authentic encounters. Gutowska (2015) aimed to

understand why residents in Kibera got involved in slum tourism operations and how much they were able to resist what Bruner (1991, p. 241) calls 'the power of Western discourse' in the dominant narratives in the process of making tours. Gutowska argued that such an understanding is not true for the tour guides and organizers she interviewed. 'They claim that they want to show visitors the positive side of Kibera, Nairobi's largest slum' (Gutowska, 2015, p. 100). But as the previously mentioned studies have shown, Western discourses, imaginaries, may not be exclusively negative (Frenzel, 2017). Indeed, they often value 'slums' for connotations of authenticity, culture, struggle or history and actively search for things to value, and it is those valorizations that lend themselves to ideas and connotations of heritage. Heritage discourses thus become a feature in attraction making, and we aim to show how this is taking place.

In what follows we focus on empirical data from Kibera to help with this task. We collected data to understand the objects of tourist attractions as they emerge in Kibera tourism, namely who initiated their production and how often regularly they appear across tours. Objects of tourist attractions in the context of our investigations are geographical reference points such as rivers and urban vistas, shops, factories, restaurants or bars and other sites that are visited on the tours we observed.

Kibera Tourism

The cluster of neighborhoods known as Kibera or Kibera slum, in the South West of the Kenyan capital Nairobi, has an estimated population of 1 million people (Gutowska, 2015). The exact number is not officially determined, but it is making them a dominant form of settlement and housing in Nairobi. Kibera specifically also has a long history. The settlement emerged in the second half of the 19th century initially as a home for Southern Sudanese workers in the British colony who had earlier been liberated from slavery in which they were kept in Egypt (Parsons, 1997). In the late 1950s, Kikuyu' and Luo' landowners enlarged the informal settlement by building barracks to accommodate increasing numbers of rural-to-urban migrants in the capital city (Matsuda, 1998).

Over the last 60 years Kibera has grown significantly and it has also begun to attract tourism. Tourism in Kibera has been running since 2007, when the World Social Forum was held in Nairobi. The mass event triggered the increased visitation of NGO workers and activists, attending the WSF, as well as journalists. Kibera had previously got international attention via the movie 'Constant Gardener' (2006), and was thus well known to many international

delegates attending the event. Following the mass attention and visitation during the WSF, tour operators started offering tours into Kibera, catering not just for activists and NGO workers, but also for leisure tourists (Frenzel, 2012). International leisure tourists tend to pass through Nairobi on their way to other Kenyan attractions, including most importantly Safari offers and the Indian Ocean beaches. Slum tourism in Nairobi, while constant since 2007, has never reached the quantitative significance of other slum tourism destinations, such as Rio de Janeiro or Soweto in Johannesburg. According to Frenzel and Blakeman (2015, p. 12) 'the overall market is much smaller', but there are no solid figures.

Approach and Methods

Empirical fieldwork discussed in the paper was conducted by both authors separately. Researcher 1 did research in the Gatwekera area of Kibera between August 2014 and March 2019 for a combined total of 11 months. Researcher 2 conducted interview-based research in several Kibera neighborhoods in September 2014. The neighborhoods comprising Kibera have very different characteristics, and some are rarely visited by tourists. This is mainly due to security concerns. Both authors began their empirical work as tourist researchers as part of larger tour groups with guides. These tours also enabled research with other tourists. In those initial stages of work in the area, both researchers were indistinguishable from other tourists to guides and other residents. However, researcher 1 moved towards a more anthropological approach in his later visits, staying for longer periods in Nairobi and also started to stay and walk through the slum on his own without guides. Eventually he rented a place in Kibera and thus became known, at least by his neighbors, to be a somewhat peculiar 'tourist researcher'. His neighbors also gave the researcher the name 'Otieno' which is a Luo male name. As the researcher learned Swahili, his conversations were increasingly conducted in local languages rather than English. In the local area where he lived the researcher's face is recognized and his 'name' is also known broadly.

The collection of data was done in several ways. Researcher 2 conducted interviews with a total of five tour guides, and conducted participant observation. This included the observation of slum tours, collecting and recording various data such as guide remarks and behavior, and incidents that happened in their wider life. Researcher 1 took 10 tours over the above period, and conducted interviews with 43 tour guides and 2 brokers. The data set is broad and provides a comprehensive insight into the complex world of tourism in Kibera. Interviews and interactions after 2016 were conducted in Swahili and English. Researcher 1 also hired a Kenyan research assistant, from the Luo people which is majority in Gatwekera. The research

assistant grew up in Kibera. The researcher usually recorded the interview sounds on the IC recorder as to confirm the meaning of the thing said, and also conducted writing to field notes in daily life and videography during the tour. The interviews were transcribed with the help of the research assistant. We used the data to identify sites frequently visited in Kibera tours. We then looked at each of these sites separately to understand asking how they were presented and how they became part of the itinerary. We also inquired specifically about any exceptional tour sites, as requested by tourists for example. We paid attention in particular to evocations of heritage and culture, requests by tourists for culture, and by notions of tradition and history of the slum as a part of the wider city. Both researchers conducted the research in close cooperation with guides, who we relied upon in entering the field.

Both researchers conducted their work as researchers and tourists, which means that their own positionality matters in considering the research contexts. Meeting the guides, they were seen as tourists (even though they disclosed their researcher status). In addition, their own perspective on tourism in Kibera shaped the work and expectations. The research approach attempted to include a reflexive logic, based the different perceptions and positions the researchers brought (Tzanelli, 2018). Part of this practice was the co-writing of the article, which allowed for a reflexive triangulation between perspectives.

Findings: Tour set and settings

Tour groups in Kibera are normally not larger than seven people, and several were smaller than that. They take place over 3-4 hours. The tourists are mainly international and come from a variety of backgrounds and with very different motivations. Some guides are operating formally with guide certificates and in the contexts of incorporated businesses or charities. But the majority of tour guides operates informally. Informality means here that the tour guides had no official training and no documented expertise. Tour guiding was often not their only job. The tour guides sometimes refer to themselves as ‘Jua Kali’ (Swahili for Hustler). The term is used by many low-income residents of Kibera and the wider Nairobi to describe their precarious work conditions, consisting of any number of part-time jobs, temporary or otherwise confined. Being Jua Kali also means to be always looking for more work. The informal character of the tour operations has a direct impact on expected income. It is not uncommon that tourists, who booked a tour, cancel at short notice. In many cases, there is no system to charge a cancellation fee, because the contract is just a verbal promise.

Informal as it may be, tour guiding can provide a significant income. A normal tour retails for 2,000 Kenyan Shilling (15US$) per participant. Of this fee the guide can earn up to half as income, while the other half remain with brokers, often placed outside Kibera in the downtown area where tours are marketed. 1000 KSh per participant (at average 2000-3000 KSh per tour) is a significant income for 3-4 hours work in the informal economy of Kibera. However, tour guiding business is irregular. Some guides told us that in some months, they only conduct a single tour. It is evident in this setting that guides depend on brokers and tourists a lot. Whether more tourists will come their way will depend partly on the feedback tourists leave for guides, some of which is now moving online and deserves more research (Iqani, 2016).

Objects of Tourist Attraction

Kibera has a number of points of interest, or potential objects of heritage, visited on a regular tour. This includes a women empowerment NGO, the 'bonecraft' shop, a public toilet, schools and local bars. Some sights are common to all tours, including a viewpoint which allows for a view over the roofs of Kibera, corresponding to a tourist desire to get a panoramic overview of the site. We have drawn a map with the most significant sites.

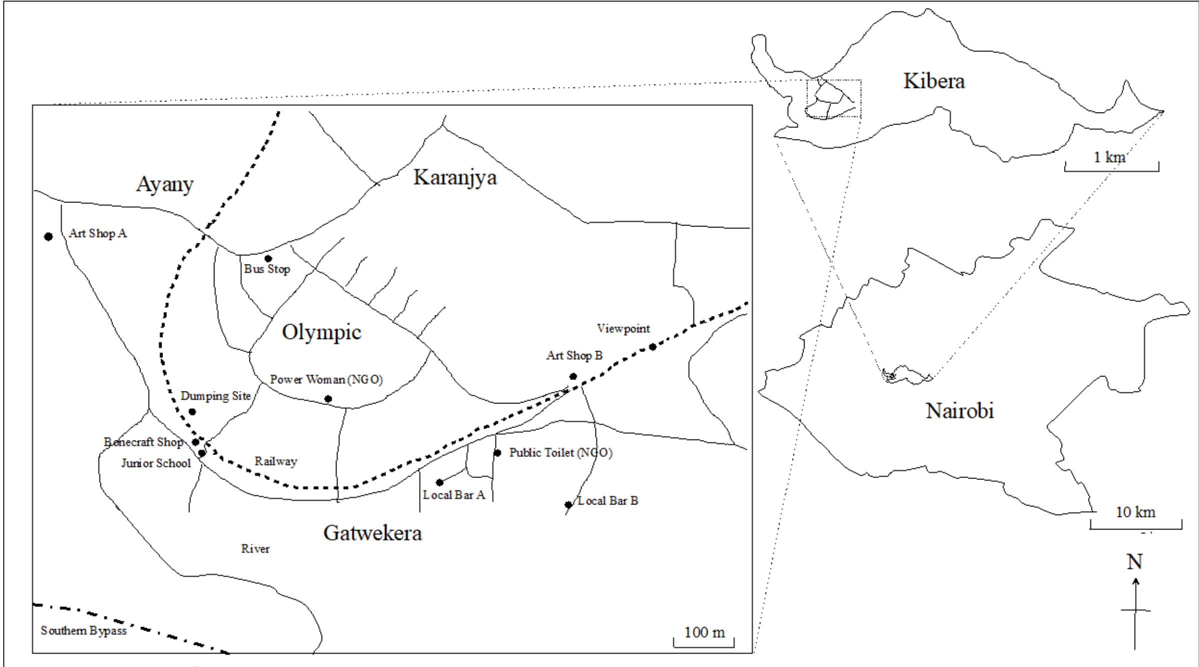

Figure 1: Map of points of **tourist** attraction

Most tours will take in the ‘viewpoint’ which allows a panoramic view over large parts of Kibera. In most tours there will be visit to a school where information about the difficult conditions for education in the slum is presented. The visual impression of the buildings and rudimentary furniture in the school contributes to the narrative. In some cases, the children interrupt their schooling to sing and dance for the visitors.
At the ‘bonecraft’ factory and shop, after seeing the workplace and talking with craftsmen, tourists are invited to purchase items produced at the factory. At the NGO ‘Power Women’ the operations of the NGO are explained. Tourists are introduced and show women workers making various items such as accessories and clothes. The tourists are then taken to visit a community bathroom and toilet facility, provided by a European NGO. Here, the tour guide explains the use of the feces for the production of gas and its use for cooking and electricity.
A regular feature of all tours is a visit to the house of a resident, sometimes the guide's house, sometimes that of a relative or friend of the guide. Finally, there is an art shop with paintings and art works by artists in Kibera slum which is sometimes visited.
One peculiar natural side of attraction is the Kibera river, a small and highly polluted stream flowing through the neighborhood. Some tours venture out to the Nairobi Dam, a big reservoir, which is more than 20 minutes on foot from Gatwekera and rarely visited. In recent years, diversification has progressed. Individual tours may also visit a large market, a hair salon, a TV Game shop or a local Restaurant.
Our following presentation of some of these attractions, we consider which role discourses and evocations of heritage play in their production.

Evocations of Culture and Heritage

In the first example we discuss the story of a tourist who hired a guide to get her hair plaited. Guide 1 (30's male) received a call early in the morning from a tour company in the CBD of Nairobi about a tourist wanting to come to Kibera. Around noon, guide 1 and the Brazilian female tourist met near Kibera. The tourists told guide 1 that she came to plait her hair in Kibera. For guide 1, this was a highly unusual request to which he did not have an answer. He called his girlfriend to ask for advice and then took the tourist to a salon. While the tourist had her hair plaited, guide 1 went to the Barber in the neighborhood and had his hair and face shaved. After the tourist was done, guide 1 suggested to go on a wider tour, but she declined his suggestion and returned to the CBD (June 2017).
We did not have the chance to talk to the tourist and ask about her motivations and evocations. However, we contest that she had a clear understanding that certain beauty

practices can be found in Kibera, a cultural practice which is not unique to Kibera but signifies Kibera's embeddedness in wider cultural practices. The tourist searched out and valued the service provided. In this case, the guide did not confer to this story as an example of heritage, however we see potential here for the development of a more frequent practice to develop in which a notion of 'plaiting' as Kibera heritage may emerge.

In another instance, researcher 1 accidentally encountered a large mural painting on a wall (see Figure 2) when on field work with guide 3 (October 2015). The graffiti reflected on tourism in Kibera. It showed a white man who looks at Kibera through the lens of his camera. His camera points at inhabitants who sit on a bench in front of a house. In the reflection of the white man's camera lens, or what could also be thought-bubbles, one man uses drugs, and another has a concealed handgun in his hand. But two of the men in the real scene that the tourist is taking a picture of, are those same two men relaxing on a bench. The picture thus reflects on dominant stereotypes of outsiders when visiting Kibera and is a critical comment on territorial and racial stigma.
When asked, guide 3 said he had no knowledge of the graffiti, its origin and intentions. It has not occurred to him as a valuable object of attraction. The guide was not interested in graffiti, nor did he think it would be of high interest to many tourists. We assume it would have been interesting to tourists, firstly because it provides a well-presented item of cultural display, and secondly because it is reflective of tourism itself. Despite the initial skepticism, Guide 3 responded to researcher 1 interest and included other murals in later field work with researcher 1. In this case there is a somewhat fraught negotiations between guide and tourists towards a common ground of understanding whether graffiti is considered potentially valuable. Guide 3 satisfied researcher 1 requests and started to seek out other examples, pointing to the power of tourists to set valorization processes in motion. When researcher 1 re-visited the site in October 2018, he found that the original graffiti had since been demolished and there was a new graffiti in its place. The object had vanished, but continues to live, as is usual for graffiti, via photographic documentation.

Another case concerns researcher 1's first visit to Kibera in August 2014. He joined a Kibera tour through a broker who works for a tourism company in Nairobi and was the only tourist on this tour. Guide 1, a Kibera resident who was acquainted with the broker, guided him. Researcher 1 informed both the broker and the guide that he was a student intending to learn about 'African culture' in general. The tour started with what we could later identify as a

typical tour itinerary: with a visit to the viewpoint. But on route to the next point, guide 1 suddenly suggested playing a video game. After agreeing, researcher 1 and the guide entered a house where six teenagers were playing a video game of football. Guide 1 explained that this was a house where local youth played video games and suggested that researcher 1 played a video game with them.
This it was prompted by researcher 1 saying that he wanted to 'learn about African culture'. The guide responded to this in a creative, risky way, not following established routes and objects.

One of guide 1' approaches to tour guiding involves him suggesting to tourists that he use their cameras for them, stating that it is safer and less offensive for him to take the pictures and hold the camera. Guide 1 choice of photographic objects is illustrative of where he places touristic value, of what he thinks were the most important sites in Kibera for tourists, worth taking pictures of. His pictures display tourists with children, including pictures of schools and school signs. He also takes pictures of garbage and signs of dirt and pollution. We asked guide 1 and other tour guides about the presence of schools and nurseries in their tour itinerary. They explained that many tourists like schools and children. Equally, they assumed that tourists wanted to see dirt. While neither dirt, nor children are tropes normally connected to heritage, we found the way they were framed to contain evocations of the past and of the local culture. One of the most visited sites, appearing in each and every tour we took part in, over a period of 6 years, is a section of the Kibera river. In its course through the neighborhood, the Kibera river is covered in plastic and other waste. The guides in each of the tours we attended stopped at the river and told a similar story: At some unspecified time in the past, often referred to as their childhood, people used to swim in the river. When tourists heard that story, seeing the polluted river, they mostly reacted with disbelief and surprise and were keen to hear an explanation. The tour guides, in each case, explained the change with a reference to the urban development of Kibera. "*We were still young, the population was small. But as the population grew, more and more rubbish came here*". Several tour guides added that the water used to be clean enough to drink. The fact that this visit and story was repeated in every tour we attended seems to indicate that it resonated well with tourists. There are a number of reference points to more broadly shared imaginaries: while it referred to the trope of dirt, it also linked to the trope of children and poverty by evoking the tour guides youth and their experience. It also illustrated the growth of Kibera, via the polluted river, and allowed for reference to broadly shared notions of slum and urban development.

In a similar vein, most tours take in the viewpoint, an elevated part of Kibera from where large parts of the neighborhood can be gazed upon. This panoramic presentation of Kibera allows for more reflection on the size and development of the neighborhood. Guides will often refer to separate neighborhoods which can be identified from the viewpoint or tell stories of the growth of Kibera.

Many tours included visits to private dwellings. In one example, guide 2 (30's female) led tourists into what she described as her private house, to explain and illustrate the conditions of living in poverty. She explained that she has lived in this small room for 14 years and now she lives in this room with 7 people: herself, her two children, her two sisters and two of her sister's friends who come from the same village. Guide 2 also pointed to the cost of rent: 3000 KSh per month. The object, a private house, becomes is presented as a tourist attraction via the connection to the personal history of the guides, but standing in as an example for wider culture in the neighborhood.

Like several other guides, guide 3 (30's male) regularly took his tourists to a dumping site for garbage, where he relayed the story of waste removal in the slum. The site was full of rubbish every time we visited, and a prompt for guide 3 to explain that the city authorities came to pick up the rubbish only twice a week. He added: "*This is not enough, because there are so many people here. The rubbish lying around is bad for our health and causes many illnesses. Besides, it looks dirty doesn't it?*".

On visits to one of the schools which are regular stops on the tours, several tour guides would present a teacher who'd then talk to tourists. In one instance the teacher referred to the fact that his school had once been destroyed in a fire due to electrical failure and that the slum electricity was prone to problems. Other school stops included stories about the lack of money to buy books or pens or pay the teachers' salaries.

Such stories of poverty, linked in a number of ways to the tropes of children and dirt, occurred as fixed anchors of each tour. They both personalized and exemplified notions of poverty and deprivation, as broadly shared and understood in global imaginaries of slums. The guides were therefore directly corresponding to the slum images tourists brought with them, and thus resorting to imaginaries that resonate and are familiar to tourists. The sites, or objects, were chosen to exemplify those stories. The production of tourist attraction, in each case, was a matter of repeating and re-affirming, while also slightly modifying and personalizing, stories of poverty. In some cases, evocations of history and 'tradition' were added to build the stories connected to the sites. This was also the case in the 'boneworks' factory and shop, which is a frequently visited a point of visit. The site was set up by an NGO

who aimed to create local employment opportunities. In this project, bones which occur as waste from food production are collected and then worked into jewelry and other items of use in little workshops. Tourists are invited to see the production process, and then to purchase items as well as to act as retailers in their home countries while visiting the sites. The bone-made items are not used in Kibera by locals, but only produced for export and tourist trade. As a tour site, the bonecraft project is co-produced by tourists, who underwrite the financial viability of the project and to whom it will appear as a part of the Kibera industries. While the NGO has initiated the project as a development initiative to create work for Kibera residents, tourists made the project viable by acting as consumers and also as retailers for the products. It seems that some idea of heritage is presented in the bone objects, however with no relation to local histories. But rather than seeing such heritage evocation as merely a fake, we see how tourism enables a business development and tour site that relates to stories of development, self-sufficiency and local craft in overcoming poverty. This is by all means, and certainly in the context of tourism and poverty, a traditional story.

Figure 2: Graffiti in Kibera: written that 'If a lie is told too many times, it does not become true’

Discussion

The previous section presented data regarding the way tourist attractions are presented, employing evocations of heritage. We saw tourists actively pursuing their own attractions and points of visits, such as the hair plaiting, or one of us, as researcher tourist, asking to see the 'culture of the place' or insisting that grafitti was an interesting object to visit. Tour guides respond to such requests but there was, at least initially, a lack of shared understanding of the imaginary. Negotiations pursued and frictions emerged, creativity was required to adjust. Thus, the tourist who just wanted the service of a hair-do surprised the guide, but he was able to respond flexibly. The production of shared meaning worked in this one time, and could now reasonability assumed to be repeated by other tourists and guides. Such repetition would harden the shared experience as tourist attraction, perhaps in a new way, moving from perceived notions of Kibera as a place of poverty to notions of Kibera as a place of entrepreneurship but also of skills connected to the cultural practices as present in the slum. This has been observed in other slum tourism contexts (Frenzel, 2016). Likewise, repeated visits to the graffiti site could have put this mural and mural making more generally on the map of tourist visitations to Kibera, in turn producing a notion of heritage as culture which is frequently the case in low income neighborhoods in cities across the world (Frenzel 2017). While there was no direct evocation of heritage in these exchanges, the tourists arguably looked for things that can be understood as culture and heritage. In each case, the tourists 'discovered' cultural practices of the everyday little valorised or recognized, but arguably 'producible' as heritage.

In other cases, evocations of heritage were resonating with Salazar's (2006, p. 847) notion of a 'glocal version of (…) heritage'. The guides in this study have not had many educational opportunities. But like the students in Salazar's study, they understood the discourse of the global, the Kenyan and Kibera 'local', and the characteristics and uniqueness of the slum, which can become a localized representation of global imaginaries (Salazar, 2006). They have learned global discourse throughout their lives, from their early years through mass media representations and encounters with visitors from outside the country.

Many attractions in Kibera are produced based on strong localized imaginaries. This included specific notions of poverty as associated with dirt and children, among other things (Ekdale, 2014). Often these provide a direct route for tourists' intervention, dominantly by monetary transfer, but also via opportunities of other forms of engagement. Consistent with other tours

of poor neighborhoods, and frequently observed in slum tourism literature, the visitation of children facilities resonates with tourists (Williams, 2014). Poverty is here linked to stories of hope and prospect, but also innocence generally associated with children (Huysamen, Barnett, & Fraser, 2020). While there is less direct reference to heritage in these sites, notions of local culture as exemplified in the extant facilities was visible. In the visitation of sites such as private houses and the display of 'staged' everyday life in them, as well as the permanent focus on the children and their facilities, we can see the desire of tourist to consume local life in authentic forms.

Heritage was more explicitly sometimes invoked to further authenticate the stories told, to ground them in local and global histories, such as the rudimentary story of informal urban development exemplified in the visit to the polluted river. In the case of the river story we found a historical development narrative, reflective of historic fact, of rural to urban migration that stands at the origin of Kibera's neighborhood. The transformation of the natural landscape through increasing informal land and water use leads to the highly polluted river. All guides claim to have once in their youth swam and drank from that river. This may be historically inaccurate but works as a story and also conveys the development story of Kibera for tourist consumption. Evocations of heritage are thus thrown into the production of an attraction. As a result, tourism leads to the development of heritage in stories of origin that develop over time. The power of tourism to create such stories, as mediated in the interaction between guides and tourists, and through repetition, shows how tourism can lead to the production of heritage. This is even more pronounced at the viewpoint, which underpins the power of the tourist gaze to exemplify globalized notions of 'urban development' in slums. Freie-Medeiros (2009) has shown the importance of such images and vantage points in favela tourism. This is directly linked to the recognition of these neighborhoods as part of the urban heritage, from which they tend to be excluded by local elites. Tourism here produces a powerful counterpoint: images taken from the viewpoint feature strongly in tourist visual representations of Nairobi, as visible on the internet, where such images are broadly shared. These processes of tourism can be read as evidence for attachment, which underpins a people-centered understanding of heritage (Madgin and Lesh, 2021). Arguably heritage would only formally come into existence after some form of recognition, as for example in Rio de Janeiro, where residents have created museums of the favela and where policy is at least moderately supportive of such claims. Our case shows how the potential arises long before such recognition.

This is also true, albeit with a slightly different twist, for the visit to the 'bonecraft' project. Here, heritage was implicitly invoked in the product of the factory, with traditional crafts and knowledge that underpinned the production of the bone objects sold. This not being a local history at all, but rather a result of a development initiative to produce sources of income, seems to indicate that no past is involved in this. But arguably the whole project worked around a notion of 'tradition' to be discovered and fostered by tourism, namely that of producing crafts, which resonated both with tourists and had material consequences, in the existence of a workplace in which these products were actually produced.

We thus see here how tourists in Kibera are to some extent 'discovering' and co-producing heritage otherwise neglected, even though heritage thus produced is not formally recognized as such. Overall, we see evidence of tourism contributing to the production of Kibera as part of the urban heritage. Tourism plays a key role in making this heritage visible and valuable. While it is not yet recognized as such, it is arguable a matter of time until it will be, with tourism driving this process.

Conclusion

We aimed to understand tourism's potential contribution to the making and recognition of Kibera as part of Nairobi's urban heritage. In order to understand tourism's contribution, we analyzed the making of tourist attractions that are frequently toured in Kibera. We presented how tangible and intangible objects of slum life, including its built environment, its landscapes, its daily cultural events and life, its bars and restaurants, its hair salon, nurseries and craft workshops become the object of tourist attention.

We saw instances where tourists actively requested or proposed objects of visitation and attraction, and other cases where guides repeated previously visited itineraries with a number of fixes points. Analyzing the making of these attractions, we looked for references to culture and local histories which were at times mobilized by the tourists and at times by the guides, in each case signifying relevance and value.

In some of the cases, guides and tourists tapped into familiar and broadly shared global discourses associated with slum life: stories of poverty and dirt, contrasted with the potential of development, and the need for support. This constructed objects, a river, private houses, schools and NGOs projects. The guides recurred to these objects and global discourses also to avoid for their tours to go wrong in some way, or to not be successful, managing the frictions

inherent in slum tourism and the politically controversial nature of rendering into an attraction and valuable what is considered by some as shameful or difficult. Guides inserted creativity, with alterations, but the dominant mode of delivery was repetition, playing on and re-producing the attraction. Strong evocations of heritage and culture often underpinned attraction making. In this process we identified the emergence of an origin story as well as a whole site of production of 'bone-craft'. Tourism in these cases seemed to operate along the logic of cultural commodification in which attractions are prepared for consumption and evocations of heritage may underpin such processes, even in the absence of any object of heritage either formally recognized or locally practiced.

We also saw the 'discovery' of heritage through tourist curiosity. This would follow the classical pattern of heritage production through tourism as identified in the colonial conquest, but also in social processes in which tourism has historically played a central role. Tourism also contributed to the making of heritage in our case. Considering the importance of the viewpoint and the river story in particular, part of all tours in our sample, arguably tourism is helping with the recognition of Kibera as part of the urban heritage of Nairobi. To this process, most of the practices we observed and analyzed contributed, namely by rendering more valuable and visible the entirety of the Kibera as a neighborhood, by creating and evidencing attachment to the neighborhood. All tours feature its history, linked to urban development and rural to urban migration, albeit in a rudimentary fashion. Drawing from the development of museums in other areas of urban poverty frequented by tourists, we can conclude that we see here an early developmental stage of the recognition of Kibera as part of the urban heritage of Nairobi, propelled by the impact of tourism.

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