Norwegian University
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A Qualitative Study of Lived Experiences of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer, and Intersex Community in Nairobi With Regards to Finding and Maintaining Jobs

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DECLARATION

I, Ann Wanjiku Vestlie, declare that this thesis is a result of my own research investigations and findings. Sources of information other than my own have been acknowledged and a reference list has been appended. This work has not been previously submitted to any other university for award of any type of academic degree.

Signature:

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ABBREVIATIONS.

AMREF	African Medical and Research Foundation
CBO	Community Based Organization
GALCK	Gay and Lesbian Commission Kenya.
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
ICCPR	The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
ISHTAR MSM	A community-based organization that advances MSM sexual health rights
LGBTQI	Lesbians, Gay, Bisexual, Transsexual, Queer, and Intersex.
MSM	Men who have Sex with Men
NACOSTI	National Commission for Science, Technology, and Innovation
NGHLRC	National Gay & Lesbian human rights commission
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NSD	Norwegian Center for Research Data.
SOGIE	Sexual Orientation, Gender Identity, and Gender Expression
TEA	Transgender Education Advocacy
TSD	Services for Sensitive Data
UIO	University of Oslo
UN	United Nations
WHO	World Health Organization

OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS

In this study the term **LGBTQI** will be used as a common abbreviation referring to Lesbians, Gay, Bisexual, Transsexual, Queer, and Intersex (Gallego & Knudsen, 2015).

Lesbian: an individual who identifies as a woman and is sexually and/or romantically attracted to people who identify as women (American Psychological Association, 2021).

Gay: an individual who identifies as a man and is sexually or romantically attracted to other people who identify as men (American Psychological Association, 2021).

Bisexual: an individual who is sexually and/or romantically attracted to people of the same gender and people of another gender. Bisexuality does not necessarily assume there are only two genders (Flanders, LeBreton, Robinson, Bian, & Caravaca-Morera, 2017).

Transgender: refers to people whose assigned sex at birth does not match their internal gender identity, regardless of whether their internal gender identity is outside gender binary or within it. Transgender people can be gay, straight, pansexual, queer, asexual or any other sexual orientation (American Psychological Association, 2021).

Queer: this term is used to describe a range of sexual orientations and gender identities (American Psychological Association, 2021).

Intersex: an umbrella term that refers to individuals who have anatomical, chromosomal, and hormonal characteristics that differ from medical and conventional understandings of male and female bodies. Intersex people may be `neither wholly female nor wholly male; a combination of female and male ; or neither female nor male ` (Australian Parliament, 2013).

Gender Identity: refers to an inner sense of oneself as man, woman, masculine, feminine, neither both or moving around freely between or outside of the gender binary (American Psychological Association, 2021).

Non-binary gender / Gender non-conforming: describes gender identity that does not conform to traditional gender norms and expresses as other than man or woman (American Psychological Association, 2021).

Gender pronoun: these refer to how a person chooses to publicly express their gender identity using a pronoun, whether it is a gender-specific or a gender-neutral pronoun (Flanders et al., 2017).

Sexual orientation: refers to an individual's sexual and romantic attraction to another person.

Homophobia: refers to negative beliefs, prejudices and stereotypes that exist about people who are not heterosexual (American Psychological Association, 2021).

Heteronormativity: the view that heterosexual relationships are the only natural, normal, and legitimate expressions of sexuality and relationships, and that other gender identities are unnatural and a threat to society (American Psychological Association, 2021).

Discrimination: Discrimination as the unfair or prejudicial treatment of people and groups based on characteristics such as gender minorities or sexual orientation (American Psychological Association, 2021).

Work Discrimination: The treatment of an employee or job candidate unfavorably because of gender or sexual identity (American Psychological Association, 2021).

Sexuality: Similar to the use of the word queer, sexuality incorporates an inclusive view of sexual orientation (a desire of specific genders) and also includes how individuals express their gender, identify their gender, and who they are physically and emotionally attracted to. Sexuality is inclusive and holistic (Brickell, 2006); Foucault, 1978).

ABSTRACT

Lesbians, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer and Intersex (LGBTQI) people in Kenya often experience violations to their human rights and injustices arising from stigma and discrimination in many aspects of their lives. Müller et al. (2021) shows that 61,3% of surveyed sexual and gender minorities in Kenya had faced violence during their lifetime. Furthermore Kenya`s penal code contains provisions that prohibit same-sex activities as an unnatural offence which is punishable to up to 14 years in prison. Across the globe research shows that even in countries where homosexuality is not criminalized, gender and sexual minorities experience discrimination and stigma in their worker roles and Kenya is not exceptional. However, there is inadequate data on the lived experiences of LGBTQI people with regards to their worker roles. This study sought to contribute to the growing field of knowledge on gender and sexual minorities in Kenya. The study aimed to explore the lived experiences of LGBTQI people in Nairobi with regards to finding and maintaining jobs.

The study used an assemblage theoretical framework to inform the qualitative research design and methodology. The data was collected from 32 LGBTQI individuals through semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions conducted online through Zoom. The interview transcripts were analyzed to reveal significant relational human and non-human orders of existence that interacted to produce various capacities to find and maintain jobs. Three themes `Othering`, `Visibility politics` and `fear` emerged showing how the human and non-human forces interacted in different contexts creating barriers as well as new possibilities to find and maintain jobs. The study findings echo the need to map out "sexuality assemblages" of LGBTQI people to better understand the different forces that are working in the assemblage to produce the problem. This could not only help broaden the field of research, but it could also enable interventions nuanced to increase capacities of LGBTQI people in Nairobi.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

A growing number of states have passed LGBTQI friendly laws and the number of countries repealing laws of criminalization of same-sex relations have been on the rise. However according to the United Nation, in 76 countries there is still discriminatory laws criminalizing private consensual same-sex relationships, exposing millions of individuals to the risk of arrest, prosecution and imprisonment with at least five countries imposing the death penalty (United Nation's Free & Equal, 2017). The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) have observed that criminalizing consensual same-sex relationships promotes discrimination against homosexuals (International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, 2011). This criminalization laws violate rights to privacy, freedom from discrimination and right to life which are protected under international law, which is in breach of states obligations to protect human rights of all regardless of their gender identity or sexual orientation (Baraza, 2016).

Homosexuality intolerance is particularly high in Africa whereby supporters of criminalization claim it is against African values and that legalization will erode African family values (Finerty, 2013). According to a survey by polling institute Afrobarometer of 34 African countries, the tolerance for people of different sexual identity or orientation remains extremely low with only 20% of people saying they would `not mind `having homosexuals as neighbors which is in sharp contrast with 80% high tolerance towards foreign immigrants or people from different religions (Afrobarometer, 2020). The survey further states that this numbers have not changed in five years and in many large countries such as Kenya, Ghana, or Tanzania the tolerance has declined. Additionally, Legal protections have also evolved very slowly and Africa now accounts for half of all countries where homosexuality is illegal which is up from 40% ten years ago. (Afrobarometer, 2020). According to Murray (1998) the public discourse about same sex relations in Africa revolves mainly around three key areas: Culture, politics and religion. A study by Geibel (2012) found that in Kenya same-sex relations are commonly perceived to be "un-African" or contrary to cultural norms and believed to be a behavior or practice that was learned or "imported" from outside cultures. Public figures often make homophobic remarks such as when the Former President Daniel Arap Moi stated, "Homosexuality is against African norms and traditions . . . . Kenya has no room for homosexuals and lesbians" (Kenya Human Rights Commission, 2011). However, evidence suggests there is a long history of diverse African peoples engaging in same sex relations and it was the historical processes of colonialization and missionization that consistently altered

African sexual practices (Amory, 1997). Finerty (2013), notes that this is not to argue that sexual minorities were celebrated or even accepted in pre-colonial Kenya but rather, such sentiment fails to acknowledge the crucial role played by the west in entrenching homophobia into Kenya's legal system, and its continuous role in preventing LGBTQI Kenyans as well as LGBTQI individuals in other African countries from having legal rights.

The formal viewpoints of Kenyan religious leaders on sexuality and gender nonconformity is predominantly negative (Mbote, Sandfort, Waweru, & Zapfel, 2018), Homophobia is deeply rooted in Kenyan religious and political rhetoric with a long history of state-sponsored discrimination and violations against LGBTQI Kenyan's to gain political favor(Gay and Lesbian Coalition of Kenya, 2016). Religion as a social institution plays a critical role in framing the public discourse on sexuality in general and on same-sex sexuality (Jäckle & Wenzelburger, 2015). In Kenya there are reports that religious and political leaders coordinate to attack LGBTQI community, which has resulted in the beating of Sexual orientation, Gender identity & Gender expression (SOGIE) individuals (United Nations Human Rights Council, 2020). Additionally, it is common for politicians to make homophobic comments in churches to gain popularity with worshippers. Politicians, religious leaders, and civilians often insist "there is no Homosexuality in Africa" and that it's a "*western perversion*" imposed upon or adopted by African populations (Amory, 1997). Holan (2009), further notes how prominent figures in Uganda who by making same-sex intimacy equal to European influence in Africa unite people against a common enemy creating nationalistic pride in the traditional Ugandan culture and morality. Another example is the former president of Tanzania, the late John Magufuli who made overt institutional hostility towards LGBTQI a central plank on his nationalist platform and accused foreigners for bringing homosexuality to Tanzania (Afrobarometer, 2020). According to the survey by Afrobarometer (2020) Tanzania is the country that tolerance toward the LGBTQI community also decreased the most between 2015 & 2018.

This shared negative attitudes towards same-sex sexuality also seem to be in line with the Kenyan penal code. Under Kenya's penal code, engaging in same sexual activity termed "carnal knowledge of a person against the order of nature," is characterized as an "unnatural offense" and is a felony punishable by up to fourteen years in prison (Baraza, 2016). Section 162 criminalizes the homosexual acts including those involving consenting adults in private which it terms as unnatural. The section creates the offence of "sodomy" which is punishable by a jail term of up to fourteen years.

The sections state as follows:

Section 162: 'Any person, who permits any other to have carnal knowledge of him or her against the order of nature, is guilty of an offense and is liable to imprisonment for a term not exceeding seven years'.

Section 163 of the Penal Code states as follows: 'Any person who attempts to commit any offences specified in section 162 above is guilty of a felony and is liable to imprisonment for seven years with or without corporal punishment'.

In many Anti- sodomy laws of various nations, it is common to have terms like "unnatural sex" "carnal knowledge" and intercourse against the order of nature that do not have any definite meanings (Human rights Watch, 2017). Courts and governments have had to provide interpretations which are often narrow for these explanations (Human Rights Watch, 2017). The vagueness and ambiguity of what is really criminalized confuses both state agents as well as sexual minorities which informs misunderstanding in states agents' interpretation of penal provisions (Kenya Human Rights Commission, 2011). Additionally, same-sex acts between women are not highlighted and it is assumed that the individual neutral term ─persons in Section 162 of the penal code also includes women (LAWS OF Kenya, 2013).

On May 24th, 2019, the high court of Kenya decided to uphold and retain this anti- sodomy laws despite the evidence that these laws legitimize human rights violations of individuals which is against Kenya's constitution and international law. The court rejected the petitioners' arguments that had been based on the constitutional and human rights to privacy, human dignity, the right to protection against discrimination, freedom of expression and the right to health (United Nations Human Rights Council, 2020). The court in its ruling reiterated that the guiding principles in interpretation of the constitution and the social historical background of legislation ought to be considered during interpretation (Kenya Law, 2019).

In Kenya's 2012 UN Review, the committee noted that criminalization contributes to the stigmatization that underlies many forms of discrimination (Baraza, 2016). Some LGBTQI persons in Kenya have come together in groups to fight for their rights and have been denied formal registration by the government (Kenya Human Rights Commission, 2011). The Kenya non-governmental organization board has justified their refusal to register these LGBTQI groups citing use of names including words such as 'gay' and 'lesbian' and suggesting existence of such organizations is against public interest (Thirikwa, 2018). This has led these groups to often challenge the decision in court for the Freedom of association and Assembly.

In recent times the Kenyan court of appeal has ruled in favor of organizations like National Gay & Human Rights Commission, and Transgender Education & Advocacy be allowed to officially register as NGOs (Kenya Law, 2019).

 Furthermore United Nations Human Rights Council (2020), noted the criminalization of same sexual conduct has a chilling effect on their enjoyment of other human rights in Kenya and they often avoid seeking critical services. Research shows that criminalization laws have a detrimental impact on public health in the context of Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) prevention and treatment (United Nation's Free & Equal, 2017).Studies have shown a link between criminalization laws and the health outcomes for men who have sex with men, transgender people, and gay men (Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS, 2021). In September 2018, the supreme court of India in its ruling against criminalization of same sex relations highlighted the harmful impact of the criminalization on HIV responses in India (Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS, 2021). Laws that criminalize consensual same sex relations between men are highly stigmatizing and impede HIV responses by stopping gay men and other men who have sex with men from attending HIV testing, prevention, and treatment services (Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS, 2021). A World Health Organization report *Transgender people and HIV,* further reveals that transgender people are 49 times more likely to acquire HIV than all adults of reproductive age, and that criminalization, discrimination and violence prevents them from getting health services, including HIV services (World Health Organization, 2015).Many LGBTQI persons tend to be more concerned about the exposure of their sexual identity and how health workers react to their sexual orientation rather than in getting medical treatment (Kenya Human Rights Commission, 2011). Moreover, studies have revealed HIV-related stigma remains prevalent in healthcare, with health workers discriminatory and negative views towards HIV positive people influenced by, and often like those of the general population (Bonnington et al., 2017).

According to the Kenyan constitution of 2010's Bill of Rights, it provides for a non-discrimination clause, expresses regard for substantive equality and reserves rights from derogation, outlaws both direct and indirect discrimination and contains a general commitment to equality before the law and equal protection under the law (Baraza, 2016)

The Article 27(4) of the Constitution of Kenya 2010 provides that "the state shall not discriminate directly indirectly against any person on any ground, including race, sex, pregnancy, marital status, health status, ethnic or social origin, colour, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, dress, language, or birth,"

Article 27(5) states that "persons shall not discriminate directly or indirectly against another person on any grounds specified or contemplated in clause (4)" (LAWS OF Kenya, 2013).

Thus, the prevention of discrimination by both the non – state and state actors should be inclusive of gender identity and sexual orientation where they should be examined as forms of other status. Such an interpretation would be in line with the view that sexual orientation and gender identity are forms of "other" status (Holt et al., 2019). Kuria(2010 ; (Kenya Human Rights Commission, 2011) maintains that despite the few convictions stated on sections 162 and 165 of the penal code that criminalizes these practices, LGBTQI persons are often harassed by the police, held in custody beyond the constitutional period and are presented in court on false charges.Nevertheless, despite all the challenges LGBTQI individuals face in Kenya they continue to challenge the law and create their own safe spaces.

Local NGO's and allied individuals work to establish a platform through which it is possible to document and bring to light the voices and issues of LGBTQI people (Kenya Law, 2019). Through these informal networks of Local NGO's, LGBTQI people, and allied individuals raise an awareness about the need to organize, represent and participate in the public debate to be able to effectively affect change seems to be established (Kenya Human Rights Commission, 2011). However, much work is needed particularly in the field of research that could help their ongoing advocacy efforts for a more inclusive Kenyan society.

With this study I hope to help increase the available data regarding LGBTQI workplace/worker experiences in Nairobi, and with the use of Assemblage Theory I hope to be able to find or illuminate the assemblages that comes together to shape and form these experiences. Viewing the affect economy of these assemblages can allow us to find new and surprising relations between the various forces that produce and affect each other. It is my hope that this paper can contribute and expand on the research done about LGBTQI experiences and on research of workplace experiences to help make an inclusive future.

CHAPTER 2: PROBLEM STATEMENT

The identity categories Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer and Intersex have been instrumental in raising awareness of sexuality issues and bringing them on national and international policy agendas (Casteleyn, 2019). This classification has also been criticized that it is based on a western understanding of sexual identity, not applicable in all settings and conformity to this identity categories can lead to undesired outcomes (Mai, 2017). Research has shown that multicultural, multifaith LGBTQI young people, are increasingly interested in their same sex attracted and gender diverse histories and heritages as part of increasingly national and global decolonization perspectives and practices (Pallotta-Chiarolli, 2016). Therefore, for them to develop a healthy multiple identity and sense of belonging to multiple worlds, it is crucial to access and promote historical, pre-colonial, religious, and cultural biographies and narratives (Pallotta-Chiarolli, 2016). There is a need to recognize that western understanding of queerness is not universal and also expand it with a localized African understanding (Casteleyn, 2019). Additionally we must expand our understanding of acceptance, as in a Kenyan context it is not necessarily openly proclaimed but rather characterized by quietness and tolerance (Casteleyn, 2019).

The agency of local actors in redefining and strategically using the LGBTQI terms should not be underestimated in critical considerations of this same terminology as it will vary in different contexts (Kitzie, 2015).The access to the internet has also aided in self-identification by local urban queers who then adopt the LGBTQI terminology to self-identify and name their organizations to appeal to western donors (Casteleyn, 2019).

In a Kenyan context the Kiswahili term "Shoga" meaning gay or homosexual is commonly used when referring to people in same sex relations (Onyango-Ouma, Birungi, & Geibel, 2009). While some individuals may use the term "shoga" to describe themselves, many also consider it a vulgar term and the heterosexual population also use the term in a derogatory way (Wirtz, 2011). Foucault (Gallagher & Wilson, 1984; Mai, 2017)says that conformity to sexual labels can lead queers to pursue a new system of ethics operated under the spirit of heterosexuality. This conformity to labels can lead to the creation of a new social reality with new constraints and limits (ibid.). As a result this paves the way to a kind of politics that normalizes homosexual relations through the exercise of heteronormativity (Mai, 2017). In Kenya, binary norms of Male and female genders continue to intensify exclusion of LGBTQI individuals whereby issues affecting are hardly discussed in public (Kenya Human Rights Commission, 2011). Individuals may experience stigma related to their identity by

identifying with elements of a LGBT identity (Hillier & Harrison, 2007) and their stigmatized status displaces them from mainstream discourses rendering them subject to symbols violence (Kitzie, 2015). This symbolic violence is manifested by the legitimacy and authority conveyed in taken for granted, fact-based information such as the male/ female taxonomy (Kitzie, 2015).

In the Kenyan context, LGBTQI people are often viewed as sick, confused, social deviants, un-African, unnatural and are met with very violent attitudes (Finerty, 2013). For example, a police constable when interviewed by the Kenyan Human Rights Commission made a comment that all homosexuals are criminals and rapists who should be locked up forever. Finerty (2013), states that by equating LGBTQI Kenyans to criminals the laws contribute to the overall atmosphere of homophobia in the country which leads to violence against them in the first instance. These discourses essentialize and describe LGBTQI with certain properties, functions, and causes. For example, Gay men are viewed as sexual deviants and more morally corrupt than lesbians who will be viewed as "confused" or "sick" (Kenya Human Rights Commission, 2011). Gay and Lesbian Coalition of Kenya (2016) examines African patriarchy as a catalyst to laws that rely heavily on male dominance and submission of women, and notes that the penal code is harsher towards gay men compared to gay women who are tolerated by society to some extent. As such these perspectives presuppose on ontological reality leading to constrained analyses of LGBTQI by the state, non-state actors, employers, local community with an assumed predetermined identity expressed in the common discourses about them in Nairobi (Divon & Owor, 2021).

This study uses assemblage theory to conduct a critical analysis of the LGTQI experiences and the challenges they face regarding finding jobs and maintaining jobs based on this identity. We look at the social,biological, psychological political, cultural, geographical, historical and economic forces interacting in the context of an LGBTQI identity, govern how those groups evolve and change and how they are viewed and understood by others as a function of complex circumstances and as well as how these groups come to characterize themselves (Divon & Owor, 2021).

CHAPTER 3: STUDY AIM, QUESTIONS AND OBJECTIVES

As a characteristic of most capital cities, Nairobi attracts people from all over the country looking for employment and it is also home to many Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer & Intersex organizations. In this regard the study aim is to explore the experiences of the diverse LGBTQI people currently residing in Nairobi including those who may be born and raised in Nairobi, urban immigrants, or asylum seekers with regards to finding jobs and maintaining these jobs.

3.1 OBJECTIVES

3.1.1

To explore and describe the barriers that LGBTQI people in Nairobi experience with regards to finding and maintaining jobs.

3.1.2

To explore and describe the factors that influence LGBTQI peoples experience in Nairobi with regards to finding and maintaining jobs.

3.2 MAIN RQ

What are the lived experiences of the LGBTQI community in Nairobi with regards to finding and maintaining jobs?

3.2.1 SPECIFIC RQ'S

I.   What are the lived experiences of LGBTQI people in Nairobi?

II.   What are the lived experiences of LGBTQI people in Nairobi while finding and searching for jobs?

III.   What are the shared experiences between the different individuals in the LGBTQI community?

IV.   Do closeted and open LGBTQI in Nairobi differ in their experiences with regards to finding and retaining jobs?

V.   What are the lived experiences of LGBTQI people while maintaining jobs?

CHAPTER 4: LITERATURE REVIEW.

A homosexual identity is more than merely ones same-sex sexual behaviors or feelings but has implications for how one is perceived in society and in the workplace (Soeker et al., 2015). The Kenyan human rights commission found that LGBTQI Kenyans are harassed by state officials, subjected to physical violence, death threats, stigmatized by their families and society and unconstitutionally arrested on false charges because of their sexual orientation or identity (Finerty, 2013). Evidence also shows that often civilians physically and sexually assault LGBTQI Kenyans and there have been cases of "corrective" rape on Lesbian women in a bid to make them "normal" (Gay and Lesbian Coalition of Kenya, 2016). In a study by the Kenyan Human Rights Commission 89% of interviewees who "came out" or "were outed" reported their family members disowned them while others were forced to undergo psychological therapy to "cure their confusion", others were expelled from school or fired from their jobs (Finerty, 2013). It also does not help that religious and political leader in Kenya often reinforce the negative attitudes towards homosexuality and will publicly issue derogatory terms reinforcing the perception that LGBTQI people in Kenya.

The use of extremist religiosity and conservative interpretations of religious doctrines contribute immensely to the use of violence and discrimination against sexual and gender minorities (Thirikwa, 2018). According to Macgillivray (2004) people are so socialized in religious doctrines teaching sinfulness of homosexuality that they negotiate between faith and belief in respect for others (Hill, 2009). Finerty (2013) maintains that in equating LGBT Kenyans with criminals the anti-sodomy laws contribute to homophobia in the country leading to violence against LGBT Kenyans. The existence of the criminal law contributes to the wider climate of discrimination and encourages the sense of impunity for acts of violence as perpetrator's assume that their actions are justified because same sex conduct is illegal (Kenya Human Rights Commission, 2011).

A growing body of research indicates that LGBTQI workers continue to face high levels of marginalization globally. According to Benjamin (2015) "LGBT jobseekers are unable to secure employment because of their perceived sexual orientation or gender non-conformity and those that manage to access work often face various forms of discrimination including restriction of job duties; being passed over for promotion; animosity from co-workers and supervisors; name calling; verbal and physical intimidation, blackmail; limited productivity and career progression; and physical and sexual violence". LGBTQI workers can have a hard time reporting when discrimination happens fearing it can only make things worse for them.

This discrimination can result in depression, anxiety and even suicide ideation causing many LGBT people to rely on casual work and self-employment rather than on formal employment which in turn places them in even more precarious work situations (Badgett, 2014). Even in countries where LGBTQI rights are protected by law there is evidence showing that LGBTQI people still face discrimination. South Africa is relatively progressive and has created a non-discriminatory clause to ensure the rights of LGBT people are respected and implemented nationally, but despite this protection there is evidence that they face discrimination in a lot of aspects of their lives, particularly in the workplaces (Soeker et al., 2015). According to Ragins and Cornwell (2001) between 25% and 66% of American gay employees report workplace discrimination but because most gay and lesbian employees do not fully disclose their sexual orientation at work the potential for discrimination may be higher. Sexual and gender minorities in Kenya have no legal protections afforded to them at all which means they are not protected from any sort of discrimination including workplace discrimination.

The Kenyan Employment Act places a duty on the Minister, labor officers and employers to promote equality of opportunity in employment to eliminate discrimination in any employment policy or practice (Laws of Kenya, 2007). However, it does not explicitly state the need for protection from discrimination based on Sexual orientation and gender identity. The international labor organization has specified that unfair treatment of LGBT workers constitutes discrimination ,but the organization has yet to revise convention 111 which is concerned with anti-discrimination in the workplace, to explicitly mention LGBT workers (Suriyasarn, 2015). It is important to note that Kenya is a signatory of convention 111 (Suriyasarn, 2015). Further research conducted by the ILO indicates that most LGBT workers choose to conceal their sexual identity at work which causes stress and has a negative impact on productivity and their career progression (International Labour Organization, 2013). This majorly affects their capability development disproportionately to their heteronormal counterparts. For sexual minorities, the decision to come out in organizations is influenced by workplace safety and acceptance and their personal characteristics (Hill, 2009). This suggests that if they have experienced backlash in the past for coming out or seeing other LGBTQI people mistreated, they will refrain from disclosing their sexual identity. According to Badgett (2014) disclosure in unsafe workplaces can lead to discrimination including: ridicule, verbal and physical threats, organizational exclusion, denied promotions, violence, and marginalization. Disclosing can not only put them in potentially dangerous positions but could also lead to termination of their jobs.

Legislation dealing specifically on employment does not always address all the factors that lead to discrimination such as education, housing, and public services. For example, the Kenyan Employment Act (2007) only prohibits racial / ethnic discrimination in employment, and not in other areas where discrimination occurs frequently, such as in housing (Laws of Kenya, 2007).

The law states that:"No public establishment shall have more than one third of its staff from the same ethnic community" (Laws of Kenya, 2008)

LGBTQI people have reported being evicted from housing situations because of their sexual orientation and gender identity. A study by Baraza (2016) about the everyday life of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) persons in three cities, namely Nairobi, Mombasa and Mtwapa found that thirty per cent of mostly young participants reported having been thrown out of their homes by their families once their sexual orientation became known. Furthermore, if property owners believe that same-sex couples are more likely to lose their job due to discrimination and thus be less likely to pay their rent, then they may be less likely to respond to a housing inquiry from a same-sex couple or be more stringent when setting rent and lease agreements (Schwegman, 2018). The study also found that sixty per cent of the respondents are forced to move to a new house very often because one their sexual orientation or identity is discovered, neighbors do not want to have them around (Baraza, 2016).

The lack of acceptance from home and housing opportunities can lead to them living in transitional housing or homelessness which have a significant impact on their social economic status (Letiecq, Anderson, & Koblinsky, 1998). Research shows that housing plays a significant role into the labor market and can act as a barrier to employment (Gibb et al., 2016). The development of spaces that have come to be identified in and outside the gay community as gay spaces, allow for access to a variety of gay services and facilities including legal, housing and medical services (Visser, 2003). These gay spaces provide community and territory as well as a sense of order and power (Pritchard, Morgan, Sedgely, & Jenkins, 1998)

Research has also shown the significance of place and space in the formation, development and the consolidation of a gay or homosexual identity (Visser, 2003), Valentine and Duncan (1996) argues that homosexuals are only allowed to be gay in specific spaces with places like the street not asexual but rather commonly assumed to be naturally "heterosexual". Hughes (1998) states that gay men use space to adopt separate identities away from home and workplace suggesting that urban areas facilitate the assumption of a gay self in many ways. Despite the challenges LGBTQI people face in Kenya, Kenya is still viewed as the safest

place for LGBTQI individuals across east Africa and queer refugees often come to Kenya to seek asylum (Kenya Human Rights Commission, 2011). According to research, many sexual minorities embark on the "Great Gay migration" as they believe that cities harbour tolerant attitudes towards sexual differences (Weston, 1995), that accepting gay communities will welcome them with open arms (Marcosson, 1998); and the anonymity offered by city life will permit them freedom to pursue an LGBTQI identity (Gutierrez, 1994). A survey `progressive prudes` conducted in South Africa suggests that sexual and gender minorities in rural areas are more likely to move to Urban centres compared to their peers in the general population which may contribute to increasing their earning potential(Sutherland, Roberts, Gabriel, Struwig, & Gordon, 2016). Cities can sometimes offer sexual minorities greater freedom and acceptance than rural environments with opportunities to find people like them or sexual partners (Boso, 2012). However, it is important to acknowledge that the presumption same-sex desire is best exercised and experienced in a city ignores urban narratives that end unhappily (Boso, 2012). Sexual minorities that move to the city may encounter new challenge as access to urban spaces doesn't always guarantee good experiences. NGLHRC (2020) notes that in Kenya there is increased instances of migration of LGBTQ+ refugees and asylum seekers from refugee camps towards urban environments they perceive to be more promising.

Although rural areas may lack organized LGBTQI communities or gathering spaces, rural sexual minorities can cultivate an intimate sense of community through informal support networks (Boso, 2012). In a study of gay men conducted in a small-town respondents explained familiarity with others in town as what they liked best stating "There is something reassuring...about seeing everyone in everyday life at the stores, driving down the street...there is a sense of people coming to know others well" (Whittier, 2001).

In Nairobi there exists a good number of LGBTQI community organisations and gathering places for LGBTQI people. In the article "What a queer Urban future looks like in Nairobi" it is highlighted that the first gay support organization was formed in Nairobi and today the state routinely invites LGBTQI leaders and other stakeholders in Nairobi for meetings to discuss inclusive public health programming and access to justice (NGHLRC, 2019). LGBTQI activism in Nairobi is primarily organized in clusters that are shaped by divisions between sexual orientation and gender identity, MSM men and LBQ women (Casteleyn, 2019). The Nairobi LGBTQI constituency magnets links with other LGBTQI groups in regional towns easing movement coordination and civic education programs and furthermore during public demonstrations the police will offer them security despite being bittersweet about it (Eric

Gitari, 2016). As such they argue that Nairobi allows queer people to have anonymity giving them space to be "out" in the streets and bars but closeted in the village (Eric Gitari, 2016).

"Coming out", social movements, media campaigns and many collective actions are forms of visibility tactics and have a component of visibility politics (Whittier, 2017). Whittier (2012) states that, "disclosing a stigmatized identity publicly can powerfully shift people's identities both emotionally and cognitively and can help change onlookers' beliefs about the group". Visibility politics attempt to produce change for individuals by making a groups collective identity and point of view publicly visible (Whittier, 2017). Roberts (2005), defines visibility as being seen fully and accurately by others, allowing individuals self-identity, authenticity, and credibility. Lewis and Simpson (2010) bring an understanding of visibility and invisibility as advantages or disadvantages. Lollar (2015) argues that visibility facilitates having the ability to speak and be heard, control how they are perceived and represented, thus it can be very advantageous and empowering. Research has shown that "Invisibility puts marginalized groups at a disadvantage as once they are made invisible, they are hence denied power, voice, and recognition" (N. T. Buchanan & Settles, 2019; Lewis & Simpson, 2010; Simpson & Lewis, 2005). "Being made invisible or hypervisible is something done by dominant group members and supported by social structures" (N. T. Buchanan & Settles, 2019). According to Foucault (Creech, 2020; Foucault, 1979), power works through modes of visibility and knowledge both as a type of control and a counter point control, therefore capturing structures of visibility opens up possibility of affecting relations of power that produce and are produced by modes of image production and techniques of seeing. While visibility can be crucial in helping humanize marginalized groups, incite empathy for their plight and support actions ; it can also create perception of difference or the "other" creating prejudice in the first place (Frank, 2017). According to Merriam-Webster (n.d.-b) er the 'other' is defined as "Being the one remaining or not included". The "Other" "Identity […] is defined by faults, devalued and suspectable to discrimination" (Staszak, 2008). The idea of otherness is used by sociologists to show how social identities are constructed. The other is not someone that is not part of us but is someone or a group of people that are intentionally being situated outside the society (Salma, 2020). Therefore, othering is a process enforced by a dominant group inside the society whereby they enforce different forms of othering (Salma, 2020).

This perception of they are different and deviant leads marginalized individuals become the focus of increased surveillance from others or hypervisibility (Settles, Buchanan, & Dotson, 2019). Hypervisibility is described as "scrutiny that is based on perceived difference, which is usually (mis)interpreted as deviance, it is the result of an individual being recognised for their

`otherness` or deviance from the norm (Settles et al., 2019) .Correlated to hypervisibility, it renders individuals lack control of how they are perceived and there is heightened scrutiny and surveillance whereby their failures are magnified (Brighenti, 2007; Kanter, 1977, 2008; Lewis & Simpson, 2010; Settles et al., 2019). Visibility and Invisibility are engaged with others and can be strategic with individuals deciding when to blend in and be invisible and when to be visible (Stead, 2013). In an environment where marginalized groups are not safe to be visible or speak up, some choose invisibility in the situation as a strategy of resistance to the threat (Lollar, 2015). Strategic invisibility is therefore the perception of choice voiced by the person going under the radar acknowledging the constraints of the system, but still feels agency in making parts of themselves unknown or making their physical presence unseen (Lollar, 2015). Marginalized group members that manage their visibility by keeping aspects of themselves hidden do it with trade-offs to their sense of authenticity and belongingness in a social group or organization (Settles et al., 2019). In the context of this study, we can view LGBTQI people as an underrepresented marginalized group that lacks power in an environment that socially, culturally, politically, legally does not accept or recognise them (rendering them invisible in terms of their personal identities or capacities (e.g., to work), they may be hypervisible due to their gender markers and sexual orientation that sets them apart from the dominant group members e.g. binary norms, sexual codes, `heterosexuality etc. As a result, the hypervisibility amplifies the negative experiences they encounter as the `other`, and some individuals choose invisibility depending on the context, hence hiding their authentic selves.

This study will make use of assemblage theory to look at how a 'web of forces, intensities and encounters' (Braidotti, 2006) between human and non-human elements produce specific, highly constrained experiences in LGBTQI people in Nairobi with regards to finding jobs and maintaining, the continual challenges, fragmentation and resistances.

CHAPTER 5: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.

An Assemblage theory approach to social complexity emphasizes on multiplicity, fluidity and change in an attempt to resist essentialism and reifications that stem from definitions (Divon & Owor, 2021), (DeLanda, 2016)). Assemblages are individual entities with a historical contingent identity; assemblages can be an individual person, individual organisations, an individual city etcetera. These entities while operating at different scales, they are all seen as assemblages, they have same ontological status and can therefore interact directly with each other `individual to individual` (DeLanda, 2016).

Sexuality has been considered by some authors as symbolic of free will, identity, intimacy, individualism and even humanity (Nick J Fox & Alldred, 2013). Some authors however such as Giddens (1992) stated bluntly that the body is "plainly enough…..the domain of sexuality". Social scientists, biological and medical scientists have regarded sexuality as "quintessentially an attribute of an organism, be it plant, animal or human"(Nicholas J Fox & Fox, 2012). This post-structuralism 'textualization' of bodies has been criticized by new materialist scholars including Barad (1996), Braidotti (2006), DeLanda (2006) and others who propose an ontology asserting a central role for matter, and dissolves traditional mind/ matter dualism in social theory (Alldred & Fox, 2017b).

 New materialist authors like Braidotti (2011) conceptualize sexuality differently, describing sexuality as a "complex, multi-layered force that produces encounters and relations of all sorts". This new materialist approach calls for the consideration of how feelings, desires, meanings and concepts have material effects and thus also contribute to social production (DeLanda, 2006). Deleuze and Guattari (2004) state that 'sexuality is everywhere: in a wide range of interactions between bodies and what affects them physically, cognitively or emotionally, from dancing or shopping to state violence or authority'.

Nick J Fox and Alldred (2013) suggest that the "sexuality assemblage" rather than the individual sexual body should be the focus of the study. This sexuality assemblage is made up of not only the human bodies but the entire range of biological, social, physical, economic, political, or abstract forces with which they interact (Renold & Ringrose, 2013). For example, a sexuality assemblage grows around "an erotic kiss comprising not just two pairs of lips but also physiological processes, personal and cultural contexts, aspects of the setting, memories and experiences, sexual codes and norms of conduct, and potentially many other relations particular to that event" (Alldred & Fox, 2019).

According to Deleuze and Guattari (1988), a sexuality assemblage must be analyzed not in terms of human or another agency, but by considering the assembled relations ability to affect and be affected. The conventional conception of human agency is hence replaced in Deleuzian ontology by affect (Deleuze, 1988), simply meaning the capacity to affect or be affected. An affect is a 'becoming' (Deleuze & Guattari, 1988) that represents a change of state of an entity and its capacities this change may be physical, psychological, emotional, or social. Within an assemblage, any relation or combination of relations may affect, or be affected by another element in the network (I. Buchanan, 1997).

In a sexuality- assemblage, human and non-human relations affect and are affected by each other to produce material effects, including sexual capacities and desires, sexual identities and many discourses on sexualities (Alldred & Fox, 2019). According to Clough (2004) an assemblages affect economy are the forces shifting bodies and other relations 'from one mode to another, in terms of attention, arousal, interest, receptivity, stimulation, attentiveness, action, reaction, and inaction'. Therefore 'Sexuality is this affect economy, producing sexual and other capacities to do, feel and desire in bodies' (Nick J Fox & Alldred, 2013). This emphasis on affect economies and capacities thus establishes a basis for analysis of sexuality as an assemblage itself that produces both normative and novel capacities in bodies, including `non-sexual capacities` (Alldred, 2019). This means that in empirical research , it is the sexuality-assemblage rather than an individual body that produces the physical and social phenomenon associated with sex and sexuality (Alldred & Fox, 2019). Therefore, for this study we may then ask: what capacities as employees/ worker roles does the participant's sexuality assemblages produce?

According to Linstead and Pullen (2006) sexuality- assemblages form customs, sexual codes, society's members conduct, eroticism and categories of sexuality such as 'homo', 'bisexual' and 'hetero' (Alldred & Fox, 2015). When we ask what a body can do, cannot do, or become in its relational sexuality-assemblage we scrutinize both the affect economy within a sexuality assemblage and its internal micropolitics producing sexual desires, sexual responses, codes of sexual conduct, sexual identities and so forth (Alldred & Fox, 2015). As such, "an event such as a teenage conception assembles not just two parenting bodies, but also relations that may include sexualised media, alcohol, social spaces, sexualities-educators and classes, contraceptive devices and techniques, mobile phones, family and friends, health professionals and so forth" (Alldred & Fox, 2017a)

According to Deleuze and Guttari (1988) everybody, idea, object, subjectivities or relation is consequently *a territory*, produced and fought over by rival affects within assemblages. An assemblage, "claims a territory and is realized through ongoing processes of deterritorialization and reterritolisation such that assemblages are continually in the process of being made and remade" (Wise, 2017). Thus, Hierarchy or physical proximity does not underwrite a territory's topographic spatiality, but rather various distanced associations producing relational proximities (Prince, 2016).

Territorialization in assemblages thus refers to the processes through which the components of an assemblage are homogenized, or drawn from a homogenous repertoire but may also refer to the spatial boundaries of the whole (DeLanda, 2016). According to Deleuze and Guattari (1987), these processes of territorialisation are anchored in the natural desire of individuals to `become` and their ability to imagine a future based on that desire, especially in relation to achieving ontological security (Divon & Owor, 2021). In a sexuality-assemblage, territorialising forces produce identities and subjectivities, body components, 'femininity' and 'masculinity'; shaping sexual desires, attractions, preferences, and likings according to the mix of relation and affects in an assemblage (Alldred & Fox, 2015). Territorialization processes concerning an assemblage often lead to de-territorialisation processes in other assemblages, for example when an individual breaks with the norms of one group and begins adhering to norms of another group (Divon & Owor, 2021). In the context of this research, territorializing forces like culture, religion or discourses producing for example ´femininity` or `masculinity` can de-territorialise LGBTQI people who will break away from the territorialising forces and begin finding people like them or safe spaces. De-territorialisation processes can also emerge from conflicts between entities in an assemblage whereby other entities may engage to dissolve other groups labelled for example as "criminal gangs" (Divon, 2021).

 Alldred and Fox (2015) assert that territorialisation is not deterministic because other affects 'de-territorialise' and 're-territorialise', re-shaping the possibilities of what a body can do, continuously and unendingly. Aggregating affects in an assemblage act similarly on multiple bodies, categorising and organising them to create converging identities or capacities (Alldred, 2015). Within the field of sexuality, concepts, and ideas such as monogamy, love, sexual liberation or chastity, biases and prejudices, conceptual categories such as women, `heterosexual` or `perverted` (Alldred, 2017) ; "along with discourses on human sexuality documented by Foucault (1981) all aggregate bodies, producing among other outputs the

pervasive social relations between bodies that traditionally sociology has summarised as `patriarchy`, `heteronormativity` and hegemonic masculinity" (Alldred, 2015).

While singular affects in contrast have no aggregative capacity producing a singular capacity or outcome in just one body, occasionally they may be micro-political drivers of de-territorialisation enabling bodies to resist aggregating or constraining forces and opening new capacities (Fox & Alldred, 2014). When applied to sexuality assemblage research for example, "a kiss may specify a body into sexual arousal, yet the same kiss from a new lover may propel a body into new possibilities such as polyamory or a new life elsewhere (Alldred, 2017). Therefore, a territorialising process might open a radically de-territorialising or "line of flight" prompting a body into new possibilities elsewhere (Deleuze & Guattari, 1988). These lines of flight also represent what is possible in each society and they take shape within given realms and structures and then take flight toward something new (Deleuze & Guattari, 1988). Similarly an LGBTQI identity in Nairobi `will undoubtedly specify the biological, social, cultural capacities of an individual, though these capacities may both close down and open up possibilities` to find jobs and maintain these job (Alldred & Fox, 2017b). In the context of this study an urban immigrant or asylum seeker may experience territorializing processes in the rural areas for example cultural norms ascribing them to certain expectations for example what kind of jobs they can or cannot do. This processes may deterritorialize them or open up a new possibility for them for example moving to the city break from these restraining forces to find people like them, they may conform to the cultural norms by pretending and doing what is expected of them or they may resist.Sexual codes are often culture specific aggregating affects that establish the limits of what individual bodies can do, feel, and desire in specific sociocultural settings and produce the categories of sexual identity such as hetero, homo, polyamorous, queer and so forth assemblage (Barker, 2005; Linstead & Pullen, 2006).Therefore, as such sexualized insults may work to territorialize bodies within the sexuality assemblage and seek to close the potentiality of affect by coding certain bodies as problematic; in this way they modulate bodies' capacities to affect and to be affected by others (Sundén & Paasonen, 2018). According to Beckman (2011) the specification and aggregation affects signify while sexuality is a generalising, branching, multiplying flow of affect between and around bodies, and other relations with the potential to produce all and any capacities, and in fact "subversive and unforeseeable expressions of sexuality". Deleuze and Guattari (2004) assert that in a sexuality-assemblage the flow of affect is constantly subject to blockages and restrictions in most cultures. Sexuality loses its potential, channelling desire into a relatively narrow range of sexual capacities linked to conventional desires which is

typical in a contemporary society restricted by norms, codes and expectations into sexual specification and aggregation though always with the possibility of subsequent generalisation or line of flight (Alldred & Fox, 2017b). In the context of the study, in Nairobi a sexuality assemblage as highlighted in the previous chapter is subject to restrictions from public discourse, laws and policies, politics, sociocultural beliefs or religious beliefs which may limit their capacities' while they try to find and maintain jobs.

In this study we use this ontology of assemblages, affects and capacities as the starting point for the methodology and the approach to analysis. In the analysis of the research data, we explore the micropolitics of the lived experiences of LGBTQI people; by disclosing the territorialisations and aggregations produced by flows of affect and desire in a sexuality assemblage (Nick J Fox & Alldred, 2013). The flows cut through micro and macrolevels, linking human and non-human (physical, social, and abstract relations) to produce the capacities of LGBTQI people in Nairobi while finding and maintaining jobs, the territorialisations that limit what their bodies can do and the de-territorialisations that enable them to resist (Nick J Fox & Alldred, 2013).

CHAPTER 6: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

According to Bryman (2012), the research design and the collection of data are guided by the specific research questions that derive from theoretical concerns. Methodology has been defined as a broad theoretical and philosophical framework within which methods operate and which give them their intellectual authority and legitimacy (Brewer, 2000), This study is underpinned by a Deleuze-Guattarian materialist ontology of assemblage and uses an assemblage analysis to interpret and present the study findings . Assemblage methodologies demand that a research phenomenon be approached as the "product of multiple determinations that are not reducible to a single logic" (Ong & Collier, 2008). In acknowledging that neither assemblages nor their various components necessarily display internal coherence (McGuirk & Dowling, 2009), assemblages thinking's commitment to an assumption of multiplicity supplants recourse to claims of singular lines of determination in any given situation (Feely, 2020). According to McFarlane and Anderson (2011), `this ontological assumption of multiplicity highlights assemblage thinking insistence on non/linearity and contingency which can be downplayed or erased in orientations more prone to seeking the presence and power of the structural and the systematic´. In the context of this research, this means acknowledging there is no one linear clear answer to explain how the problem of sexuality is produced in their worker roles affecting their capacities. The assumption of multiplicity in an assemblage does not seek to deny effect of power symmetries that position certain actors, knowledge's and places differently (Baker & McGuirk, 2017). Rather it aims to place structures in the diverse and dynamic context in which they take and give shape, requiring empirically rich accounts able to reveal structural effects realized through a congested field of projects, actors and ambitions (Baker & McGuirk, 2017).

Feely (2020) states that Deleuze and Guattari do not offer strict guidelines and they encourage bespoke methods and creativity. He further argues that within a Deleuze and Guattari framework, transgressing disciplinary boundaries, offering new or different analyses, and combining unlikely perspectives is not a methodological offence and on the contrary a methodological goal (Feely, 2020). As a first-time researcher, I will have to admit understanding and following assemblage theory has been a challenge. Often doubts appeared as I struggled to understand the theory.

A research assemblage can be defined in terms of the `multiplicity of affective relations in the research process including `events` being researched (which can be any instances of things,

bodies, social formations or settings, or of assemblages of these) ; research tools ; recording and analysis technologies ; theoretical frameworks and hypothesis ; research literature and findings from earlier studies ; data generated by these methodologies, methods and techniques ;and the researchers´ (Baker & McGuirk, 2017).

Within the field of sexuality, a growing number of authors including Feely, 2020; Fox & Alldred 2019/2015,2013; Braidotti, 2006; Ringrose, 2011; Renold and Ringrose, 2011, among others have used assemblage methods and analysis in empirical studies, and I will be building on and borrowing from their methods. In this chapter I will provide an overview of the research methodology describing how methods were chosen and shaped by theoretical and practical concerns. Assemblage methodologies are committed to processuality and what happens during the process, organizing, arranging and fitting together is central to the phenomena under investigation (Baker & McGuirk, 2017)). I will describe the sampling methods; data collection methods; data analysis, data reliability and validity and the Ethical considerations. A qualitative research method was selected to explore the lived experiences of LGBTQI people in Nairobi with regards to finding jobs and maintaining jobs. Qualitative research helps the researcher discover social patterns that may exist, it helps the researcher locate meanings behind the patterns (Lune & Berg, 2017). Additionally Qualitative methodologies have the capacity to contextualize events revealing the range of relations comprising assemblages and affective economies (Nick J Fox & Alldred, 2013).

The study location of the research was Nairobi, the capital city of Kenya. The choice of this geographical area was majorly influenced by its convenience and familiarity to the researcher. Additionally, Nairobi as the capital city is home to various LGBTQI advocacy groups and the community is relatively visible compared to other places in Kenya.

6.1 SAMPLING.

 In deciding the participants who would be asked to participate in the study, a convenience sampling method was used. Due to the LGBTQI group being a sensitive community in Kenya, a convenience sampling method was selected as the most practical method to access the respondents. Participants were selected purposely because they would be talking from personal experience about a topic that they knew well and, therefore, would be motivated with an incentive to participate (Morgan & Krueger, 1998). In addition to convenience sampling method, snowball sampling was also used. Snowball sampling method is a technique used to

find subjects through referrals by other subjects, whereby the first subject refers to the second who gives a name of the third and so on (Johnson, 2014). Some participants were able to refer other LGBTQI individuals to be part of the study during the data collection process which helped increase the sample group.

According to Vasileiou, Barnett, Thorpe, and Young (2018), the appropriateness of the sample is of primary importance further asserting that qualitative samples are purposive, selected by virtue of their capacity to provide rich relevant information on the phenomenon under investigation. The sample size comprised of 32 participants who self-identify as members of the LGBTQI community. However research suggests that less information is typically elicited after 20 interviews (Green & Thorogood, 2018), and that more than 50 can be unmanageable (Ritchie, Lewis, Nicholls, & Ormston, 2013). For this study, the sample size was inside those parameters.

The participants in the study were sampled from the LGBTQI community in Nairobi and recruited through a community-based organization that advances MSM sexual health rights called Ishtar-MSM. Being an outsider of the LGBTQI community, the researcher realized her limitations in terms of access to the sample group earlier on and worked on building up a relationship with ISHTAR in the research design stage. The researcher used its extensive networks and ties to community-based organizing to find participants. The researchers contact in Ishtar-MSM was the organizations programs coordinator who put the researcher in contact with a trusted research assistant whom the organization often use as a resource to access LGBTQI people. During the planning stage the researcher intended to carry out 30 interviews with 15 male participants and 15 female participants. This however was revised when the researcher realized their biasness and assumption of LGBTQI people falling in only those two binary categories. Additionally, the researcher realized that it is better to pick participants based on the various identities under the LGBTQI umbrella rather than binary norms which may restrict the sample group. Selecting participants this way also allowed for the researcher to balance out the sample group across the different identities to ensure that none of the groups were overrepresented or left out. The researcher worked closely with the research assistant to ensure this was possible and each day after the interviews we had a meeting to discuss the number of participants and plan for the next day's interviews.

The researcher also decided only the research assistant and contact person at Ishtar-MSM would know the real identities of the participants. This meant that the participants would be informed prior to the interviews not to use their real identities. The researcher shared the

consent form that had information about the study with the research assistant who then sent it to the participants prior to the interviews. The consent was verbal, and the researcher would ask the participants if they have read it prior to collecting data. The researcher was also informed by the research assistant that it may be harder to access transgender and intersex groups. Therefore, snowball sampling method was utilized with these two groups.

Specific eligibility criteria for the participants were as follows:

o   Aged 18 and above

o   Willingness and consent to participate in the study.

o   Self-identity as members of the LGBTI community.

A total number of 32 participants were interviewed for this research. All the names used in this paper have been anonymized and do not reflect their real identities.

Participant	Gender Identity	Sexual Identity	Age	Open or Closed Sexual identity	Urban Immigrant	Employment status
Andy	Male	Gay	22	Closed	Urban immigrant	Unemployed
Anthony	Male	Bisexual	26	Closed	Urban immigrant	Part time
Dion	Female	Lesbian	23	Closed	Urban immigrant	Employed
Exe	Male	Gay	30	Open	Urban immigrant	Unemployed
Flower	Female	Gay	30	Open	Urban immigrant	X
K36	Male	Bisexual	28	Closed	Urban immigrant	Employed
Malkia	Transgender Woman	Gay	24	Closed	Urban immigrant	Unemployed
Mike	Male	Gay	31	Closed	Urban immigrant	Unemployed
Patrick	Intersex	Heterosexual	31	Open	Urban immigrant	Employed
Pekka	Male	Gay	23	Open	Urban immigrant	Unemployed
Robert	Intersex	Heterosexual	33	Open	Urban immigrant	Employed
Sharon	Intersex	Heterosexual	24	Closed	Urban immigrant	Unemployed
Sophia	Transgender Woman	Heterosexual	30	Open	Urban immigrant	Employed
Wanjiku	Female	Lesbian	30	Closed	Urban immigrant	Employed
Zed	Male	Gay	26	Closed	Urban immigrant	Employed
Mama Makeba	Transgender Woman	Gay	30	Open	Refugee	Unemployed
Preachy	Transgender Woman	Gay	24	Open	Refugee	Unemployed
Arnold	Male	Gay	25	Closed	Urban born	Employed
Ashley	Female	Lesbian	24	Closed	Urban born	Part time
Bids	Intersex	Heterosexual	25	Open	Urban born	Self employed
Claudia	Male	Gay	46	Closed	Urban born	Employed
Enrique	Gender non-conforming	Pansexual	30	Open	Urban born	Volunteer
Jack	Male	Gay	33	X	Urban born	Self employed
Joan	Female	Bisexual	23	Open	Urban born	Employed
Meghan	Intersex	Heterosexual	26	Open	Urban born	Employed
Mesu	Transgender woman	Queer	21	Closed	Urban born	Employed
Pisces	Female	Lesbian	22	Closed	Urban born	Student
Preety	Female	Lesbian	25	Closed	Urban born	Unemployed
Prosper	Gender non-conforming	Gay	23	Closed	Urban born	Part time
Stacy	Female	Lesbian	22	Closed	Urban born	Unemployed
Vincent	Male	Bisexual	25	Closed	Urban born	Employed
Wendy	Female	Lesbian	24	Open	Urban born	Part time

Table 1:1; Demographic information of participants. Total number of participants 32;

Sexual identities:

Lesbians=7, Gay= 13, Bisexual =4, Queer=1, Pansexual=1, Heterosexual=6.

Gender identities:

Female=9, Male=11 , Transgender women =5, Intersex=5, Gender Non-conforming=2

6.2 DATA COLLECTION

A materialist data collection machine drastically changes the focus of data collection away from `humanistic` objectives of researching experiences, reflections and beliefs while also removing boundaries between the cultural (meaning and matter and the material and the macro/micro scales of social production (Nick J Fox & Alldred, 2015).Therefore to cut across the material and the cultural (matter and meaning) and the macro& micro scales of social production, data collection from a variety of sources through a variety of methods is suggested ((Nick J Fox & Alldred, 2015)Fox & Alldred, 2014).

The study collected data through two methods: online semi-structured interviews and online focus groups discussions. Interviews help provide a deeper understanding of social phenomena than we would obtain through quantitative methods such as questionnaires (Silverman, 2013). The interview questions will cover topics around their sexual identity, gender identity, experiences in Nairobi, finding jobs and maintaining these jobs. The goal is to determine patterns that exist and to interpret the patterns based on the way the patterns are experienced by the humans that live in these patterns (Lune & Berg, 2017). In the context of this study and the theoretical framework, the goal will be to determine the existing significant relations both human and non-human that assembled around sexual identities, sexual behaviours, so on producing or limiting their capacities to find and maintain jobs.

"Semi- structured interviews consist of several key questions that help define the areas to be explored, but also allows the interviewer or interviewee to diverge in order to pursue an idea or response in more detail" (Britten, 1999). The flexibility of semi-structured interviews allowed for more elaboration of questions while conducting the interviews. Additionally the interview questions are sorted in themes based on the research objectives and put in specific order to be able to conduct the interview in a more conversational style (Bryman, 2016). This was done and an interview guide was prepared prior to the data collection starting.

In addition to the individual interviews the study also used focus group discussions. A focus group discussion is a group of individuals selected and assembled by researchers to discuss and comment on from personal experience, the topic that is the subject of the research (Powell & Single, 1996). Focus groups discussions are a form of group interviewing, but it is important to distinguish between the two. Group interviewing involves interviewing several people at the same time, the emphasis being on questions and responses between the researcher and participants. Focus groups however rely on interaction within the group based

on topics that are supplied by the researcher (Morgan & Krueger, 1998). The initial plan was to conduct three focus groups with four participants each, but I only managed to conduct two focus groups one with four pparticipant's and the other only three participants.

The data collection process was done through digital technologies namely the video conferencing service Zoom. The decision to use online technologies in data collection was largely influenced by the covid pandemic hindering the researcher from travelling to Kenya and conducting field work.

6.3. INTERVIEW PROCEDURE

The interviews and focus group discussions were guided by a predetermined interview guide. All the interviews were scheduled well in advance, with the researcher coordinating closely with the research assistant to ensure that all participants had the link to the zoom interview. The participants also received a written consent form containing information on the research and a written guide on how to use Zoom. Being that the interviews were to be conducted online, the researcher provided a 500 Ksh stipend equivalent to a 3GB internet bundle package to each participant. This was sent to the research assistant who later distributed to the participants. The researcher prepared and pretested the recording device in preparation to the interviews. The interviews began with a friendly greeting and the researcher introducing herself to the participants. This was meant to make them feel comfortable and create a rapport. The researcher then introduced the research topic before proceeding to ask for their verbal consent and informing them that their participation was voluntary, and they could stop at any given time.

The researcher conducted 25 individual interviews and two focus group discussions with a total 7 participants. The interview questions began with demographic questions where the participants where asked general information about themselves. Because of the sensitive nature of the study, information like their real identity and things that could identify them for example their workplace was omitted. The main body of the interview questions mainly focused on questions about their experiences in Nairobi as LGBTQI, experiences finding jobs and experiences maintaining these jobs.

The researcher also used prompts whenever the discussion decelerated and to get more information for example," what do you think causes that?......you mentioned earlier…... Why is that?".

The researcher conducted four pilot interviews to pretest the interview guide and the digital technologies feasibility. During this tool pretesting stage, the researcher noted that it was very important to emphasize on anonymity and explain why it was necessary when the interviews began as some participants wanted the camera on. Additionally at this stage the researcher realized there was lack of natural flow in the structure of some of the questions. This resulted in the researcher revising and making some structural changes to the interview guide to ensure better flow of information.

The individual interviews lasted between 20 minutes to 1hr while the focus group discussions lasted between 1 hour 45 minutes and 2 hours. During the interviews the researcher began documenting their initial thoughts and impression. According to Tuckett (2005) documenting these thoughts during data collection may mark the beginning of data analysis. All the interviews were recorded through Diktafon and saved directly on both NMBU One drive and NMBU Nettskjema which are safe and approved for this kind of research. During the interview process some technical issues caused by poor internet connection were experienced leading to changes in the research design. For instance, the researcher intended to carry out three focus group discussions with four participants each but ended up doing only two focus group discussions with three participants in one and four in the other one. Additionally, the researcher had the camera off to protect the participants identity which also therefore meant observation of the participants while responding was not possible. After the interviews were transcribed some of the participants were contacted via the research assistant to clarify and answer some questions which may have been missed out during the interviews.

6.4 DATA ANALYSIS

A materialist ontology moves the focus of analysis from the actions, ideas and feelings of individualized subjects to the impersonal flows of affect through assemblages and the territorialisations of capacities these produce (Youdell & Armstrong, 2011). Deleuze (1988), asserts that 'the unit of analysis moves from human agents to assemblages and the concern is no longer with what bodies or respondent`s subjectivities, social institutions or things are, but with their capacities for action and interaction within specific material contextsn' (Alldred & Fox, 2015). A new materialist analysis is uninterested in humanistic aspects of interview data such as `subjectivity` and `experience`, but rather objects of study must be turned decisively from traditional concerns of qualitative study and towards disclosing relations within assemblages and the kinds of affective flows that occur between these relations (Renold and

Ringrose (2013) as cited in (Alldred & Fox, 2019) ; as well as the capacities these flows produce in the assembled human and non-human relations' (Alldred & Fox, 2017a). As such in the analysis of the data in this study, I will try to step away from efforts to reveal `authenticity of participants accounts but rather disclosing `the thick and affective materiality` of their world, culture and people's lives (Renold & Ivinson, 2014) and the territorialising and de-territorialising micropolitics within assemblages that link matter and meaning cutting across micro and macro levels (Alldred & Fox, 2015).

Once the data was collected and transcribed, a thematic qualitative analysis was conducted. According to Braun and Clarke (2006), a thematic analysis is a strategy and tool that allows the interpretation of rich data. A thematic analysis is a useful method for examining perspectives of different research participants highlighting the similarities and differences and generating unanticipated insights (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Additionally, a thematic analysis is useful when summarizing key features of a large data set as it forces the researcher to take a well-structured approach to handling data, helping to produce a clear and organized final report (Flick, 2004).

The researcher began by printing out the transcripts familiarizing themselves with all the data set and journaling to make note of participants comments. Braun and Clarke (2006) states it is important for researchers to immerse themselves with the data to familiarize themselves with its breadth of content and depth. The transcripts were read several times to allow the researcher to immerse themselves in the data for a clear and deeper understanding of each respondent`s lived in experience. The reading and reflection of the text facilitates the definition of the codes (Oliveira, Bitencourt, Teixeira, & Santos, 2013). During this stage the researcher began using an excel spreadsheet to log all raw demographic data of the participant's and began developing the initial codes. The researcher began coding the transcripts assigning codes to highlighted statements. Codes describe the idea, or the perception described in the text and involves three stages namely open, axial, and selective coding (Flick, 2004). The researcher began with open coding whereby many codes that clustered around the phenomena and were relevant to the research question. According to Flick (2004), open coding results in the production of a list of codes, grouped into categories, and the definitions and observations generated at the time of creating codes and categories. The next step the researcher tried to identify relationships between codes and creating categories.

At this stage the researcher decided to switch to MAXQDA for the coding process. MAXQDA (Berbi Software, Berlin, Germany) was chosen because I realized that doing all the coding through Excel would require lot of manual work and because MAXQDA has a wide range of official and unofficial support guides as well as an easy-to-use interface regarding coding. The integrated user interface can deal with multiple forms of data simultaneously, allows easy visualization and comparisons of codes and documents and has built in analysis tools (Oliveira et al., 2013). The dataset was analysed with the help of MAXQDA, and I started making descriptive codes with memos and colour coding them with different colours to easily distinguish them. After an initial coding process, I started combining the codes into different categories and putting them into my initial themes. These generated themes were repeatedly reviewed several times and refined to ensure they can explain the data in relation to the coded data and whole dataset.

Coleman & Ringrose (2013) argue that in a Deluzian research, the significance of various entanglements should be foregrounded rather than denied (Ringrose & Coleman, 2013). Therefore, I am not making a claim that I am objective in the coding, because if you the reader were to code the same data our codes would be different. Hegemonic discourses and common social practices that are obvious to the attentive would probably be similar, but there would also be differences in the codes (Feely, 2020). Therefore, the researchers position in discourse, their embodied and affective responses to the data (feelings of empathy`, anger` etcetera) and knowledge they bring to the research all affects what they discover (Feely, 2020).

Feely (2020) maintains that an assemblage analysis calls for "one ceasing to focus on the discursive orders of existence and begin noticing additional orders of existence including the material, the biological , the economic etcetera ; abandon any assumptions of downward causality from the realm of discourse to other orders of existence for example chronicling how discourse shapes the material and biological and the economic without considering the converse (crush implicit or explicit understandings of hierarchical relations between orders of existence); must understand these orders of existence as distributed horizontally and rhizomatically entangled and no order of existence can be understood to determine all the others. Cease to ask how something is constructed and begin asking how the thing is produced (here with the assumption that multiple orders of existence may be working together to produce the thing)" (Feely, 2020).

Having this in mind I realized the need to focus more on being able to map the relations both human and non-human and the affect economies of these relations in the context of their sexuality assemblage. For each of the codes and themes, I followed the approach used by Feely (2020), in his research about a disability assemblage, asking myself which orders of existence (the material, the nonmaterial, the discursive and so on) affect the story, how it affects the story and following the rhizomatic links between these orders.

The orders of existence that were found to be significant to this study during the assemblage analysis are as follows.

- The material environment (e.g., buildings like public toilets, clubs, private houses, workspaces, urban and rural spaces, suburbs or estate, low-income areas, or slums where narratives were set in).
- Material technologies (e.g., social media platforms, mobile phones, clothes, rainbow bracelets or flags, documents like national identification cards or medical reports, workplace rules and regulations).
- Human Biology (e.g., biological affects and capacities associated with the bodies, physical attributes e.g., facial hair) and the embodied sensations and affect (e.g., psychological affects, feeling unsafe, feeling like outcasts, the embodied process of frustration and the affect `fear`, `shame`).
- Societal discourses. (e.g., society's discourse on sexuality based on religious, cultural, or traditional beliefs, political).
- Flows of economic capital (e.g., the financial capacity of participants may lead them to living in low-income areas, small housing with no privacy, affect their ability to process identification documents, access to services).

I began by analysing these identified range of material and nonmaterial relations that assembled around their experiences or capacities in relation to finding jobs and maintaining them. Following Deleuze and Guattaria`s thinking I began asking: How is the problem of sexuality produced within their worker capacities?.

More scrutiny of the data sets revealed insights into the affective flows or movements that draw these relations into a sexuality assemblage. For example, in this research some participants would tend to bring up how a lack of knowledge about LGBTQI among the general population was a likely driver of discrimination, but I also later discovered that a lack

of knowledge about LGBTQI among the general population could also have the opposite effect in some contexts within different material environments, different bodies etcetera.

Feely (2020), argues that orders of existence are understood and found to be rhizomatically entangled, mutually affecting and working whereby all the orders of existence can play a deterritorialiasing or reterritorialising role in an assemblage. For example, material environments like an urban space can allow rural LGBTQI people to follow lines of flight which they can take to escape territorializing in rural environments e.g., by allowing them to move to a space where they have the capacity to be free. However, moving to Nairobi can also lead them to facing more challenges being new in the city with no knowledge of LGBTQI friendly spaces or friends, the diversity in Nairobi they may meet who are not accepting of all LGBTQI etcetera. Therefore, the orders of existence cannot be ranked hierarchically as they were found to be relational, rhizomatically entangled and mutually affecting (Feely, 2020).

Three themes and subthemes were named and defined. The researcher considered in each theme the orders of existence and how they interact, overlap, and intersect into each other. The themes developed were Othering, the politics of visibility and fear. An assemblage analysis is always open ended in that re-reading the narrative, researchers may notice new things and follow new rhizomatic connections between bodies, concepts, material objects and languages (Feely, 2020).

6.5 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS AND CONSENT

Due to the sensitive nature of the topic various ethical considerations had to be adhered to ensure that the participants would remain anonymous, and confidentiality maintained. Therefore, before the research began a proposal was submitted to several tiers of ethical approvals including Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD), The Africa Medical Research foundation Kenya Ethics committee and the Kenyan National Commission for Science, technology, and innovation. These bodies reviewed and approved the research design, informed consent forms, interview guides and the data handling process.

All participants were informed that the interviews were being audio recorded and how the recording would be secured and kept confidential. They were also informed that their identity would be protected as no identifiers would be included in the published work. Participants

were reminded repeatedly that their participation was voluntary, and they could stop at any given time. No financial incentives were given to the participants to be part of the study and they all willingly agreed to be part of this research without expecting any financial gain.

6.6 RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY

In a Deluzian-Guattarian methodology of assemblage analysis, the researcher is assumed to be inextricably entangled in the assemblages they seek to map (Ringrose & Coleman, 2013). I therefore wish to acknowledge and explore how my own subjectivity have shaped and affected aspects of the research. I personally knew some of the areas the participants recounted their experiences, and these places were very real in my mind. My experience of growing up in Nairobi as well cannot be ignored and shaped my interpretations of, as well as my affective and embodied response to the experiences shared. In my case as a female, am from a strict religious catholic background that does not tolerate homosexuality. I have close friends in the LGBTQI community who I have seen experience stigma and discrimination. Some stories recounted during the data collection often evoked embodied feelings of anger, shock and disbelief in the researcher and empathy towards the participants. As such it is important to acknowledge my motivation to do this research was also largely personal to me as the researcher to some extent.

According to Lune and Berg (2017), reliability in thematic analysis can be accomplished by having a team member or supervisor review the researchers work to see if they would code the data in the same way the original researcher did. They further argue researcher should maintain the coding sheets with cross referencing that can be made available to other researchers to check it reliability (Lune & Berg, 2017). This way the replicability of the results using the same data is checked. The following was done, and code book will be provided to show the overview of the codes in the appendix.

CHAPTER 7: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

This chapter is a presentation of the interviews and data collected from the participants in this research. As mentioned in the previous chapter, through an assemblage methodology a close reading of the transcripts identified a range of significant relations that assemble around

events such as finding jobs and maintaining them. Further analysis identified material environments, material technologies, human biology and psychological, society's discourse, and flows of economic capital as mutually affective relations. This chapter will attempt to provide further understanding of the affective movements drawing the identified relations into an assemblage. The affective movements including singular and aggregate affects as mentioned in the theoretical framework, make up the affect economies around bodies in a sexuality's assemblages (Alldred & Fox, 2019). They produce micropolitical affects in LGBTQI people in Nairobi, from this analysis we can gain insight into the `sexuality assemblage` that produces various capacities to find and maintain jobs in LGBTQI people, what these bodies can do and what they cannot in different contexts.

I have divided the presentation of the material into three themes based on the experiences the participants presented. Three emergent themes; Othering, The politics of visibility, and Fear. The themes are described and discussed using direct quotations from the participants and supportive interpretation.

The first theme that emerged was called Othering. The researcher picked up this term from other empirical studies on Gender and sexual minorities. Othering as a concept is related to the idea of identity and an individual's identity is usually the reason a person is being othered (Dervin, 2016). Therefore, narratives and stories of exclusion here is a form of "othering" that is creating boundaries and borders socially, politically and economically (Salma, 2020). Under this theme, the researcher coded participants stories of being `the other` with relation to the; material environments (i.e. public spaces, living space, rural spaces, urban space,low income areas, suburbs), human biology (i.e. the capacities their `othered bodies` can or cannot do) , societal discourses(i.e. society's perception of the other, beliefs religious, cultural &traditional) and Flows of economic capital (i.e. how financial capacity affects them in relation to them being the other in material environments and societal discourses).

The second theme that emerged was called ` visibility politics`. In this theme we conceptualize visibility issues as an additional form of identity-based mistreatment faced by individuals from marginalized social groups (N. T. Buchanan & Settles, 2019). In the context of this study, visibility implies LGBTQI individuals being perceived in a way they desire and not through bias, prejudice, stereotypes, and more marginalization. In the workplace this may be recognition for one's skills and abilities rather than being categorized by others in terms of stereotypes (N. T. Buchanan & Settles, 2019). Under this theme we have two sub themes: hypervisibility and strategic invisibility.

The first subtheme has been named `hypervisibility` and it includes participant's stories of how appearances including the physical body (biological bodies), mode of dressing (material technologies), behavior and presentation like body language, walking, talking (social norms) produced hypervisibility and different capacities for them in different material environments depending on the context affecting their capacities. Additionally, some participants revealed hypervisibility produced by material technologies like documentations e.g., national identification, education certifications, asylum papers etcetera and how this affected them rhizomatically in no specific hierarchical way across the orders of existence.

The second subtheme is `strategic invisibility´ and under this theme the researcher coded participants stories of pretending, hiding themselves or consciously choosing and negotiating to be closed or secretive about their sexuality in different material environments or spaces; with different people in including co-workers, employers, friends, family, society and depending on the context ; hiding aspects of themselves like biological bodies through material technologies like clothes or strategically making themselves invisible through material technologies in different spaces and so on.

The third theme that emerged was Fear. According to Mariam-Webster, Fear is defined as a present unpleasant feeling emotion caused by anticipation or awareness of danger; Fear representing an instance of this emotion, or a state marked by this emotion(Merriam-Webster, n.d.-a).Under this theme stories of participants expressing feeling fearful in relation to the mentioned orders of existence. Participants revealed fear for their safety from physical attack, fear in material environments, fear of being judged, fear of losing their jobs etcetera. Fear was also an underlying current across the other themes as well as a psychological affect. Participants were afraid of being othered, participants expressed the society being afraid of the ´other` as well as some being othered in some spaces made them more afraid verses others. Additionally, fear was also present in the politics of visibility, participants revealed being afraid of being in hypervisible, as well as fear being a driver for strategic invisibility.

7.1 OTHERING

Participants offered rich and detailed accounts of their LGBTQI lived experiences in Nairobi with regards to finding jobs and maintaining jobs. The first theme that emerged was called `Othering`. Othering as a concept is related to the idea of identity and an individual's identity is usually the reason a person is being othered (Devin, 2016).

This concept of othering, being others, being othered was evident in the stories told by many of the participants in the study. Under this theme the researcher has three categories: othering by the society, othering by the beliefs and othering in spaces.

7.1.1 OTHERING BY SOCIETY

During the interviews participants mentioned feeling othered by the public discourse about sexuality. The data revealed that in the participants sexuality assemblage, societal discourses on sexual desire, sexual expressions, gender norms and sexual identities as relational affects that had the ability to affect what they can or cannot do in different contexts.

As one participant put it:

Jack: the general public tends to be like LGBTQI people are like outcasts they are people who don't deserve to live they are people that don't have morals, they don't have good character and habits, so they call them as bad people who don't have anything when it comes to morals and habits. (Gay)

Prosper: okay well for me there is a lot of stigma, a lot of discrimination once a person knows your identify as an LGBTQI community that kind of stigma and discrimination you face also there is kind of rejection from my siblings. (Gender nonconforming)

Participants revealed that public discourse about them was often negative with people associating their identity as something `other`, different or unusual in the society. This discourse was not only present in public spaces, but as well as private spaces including home environments and work environments. Some participants revealed feeling othered starting from their families where they faced rejection once they willingly disclosed their sexuality or were outed.

Preachy: and the second challenge is discrimination and our identity coz we are even discriminated or abused or even killed by our own parents because of our sexuality so how do you expect you're a person you don't know them, he is not your family he is not your friend to give you a job, yet you are a transwoman because no one loves gay people! No one! no one will give you a job coz you are a gay person the way you walk, the way you talk, yeah no one will give you a job no one will do it. (Transgender)

This othering of participants LGBTQI identity impacted them subtly or very harshly. Several participants described the negative impact of othering of their LGBTQI identity in Nairobi with development of subsequent stereotypes about them, rejection, violent public and private attacks, prejudice, and slurs of hateful expressions about their sexuality and gender identity.

Patrick.: oh yes very many have been kicked out by their families now we have like millions of cases but now because of lack of resources there is those that we are not even able to reach there is even those who are killed! You are called and told one was killed yesterday, even there is one who was killed when they are big. They are lied to and told let's go to the forest and collect some firewood, but they have planned and ambush them and kill them. They see you as when you are an intersex in the family, they see you as useless because I remember my brother telling me I am that tree which cannot produce fruits, like I have nothing, you cannot get married neither can you marry now what are you. so, they believe such a child is useless. (Intersex)

Being othered in the society was also dependent on the people they interact with, in that for some of them they are accepting of LGBTQI people compared to others who may not be accepting of them. For the participants it was important to have an already established connection to some degree before revealing their sexuality.

Prosper :So I believe that once someone comes to know that you are Gay, okay people differ in how they understand you, you find there are some who take it fine and then you find there are others who to them that is something that is uncouth, sheepish and to them it's different and nasty and they see you like and treat you like an outcast once they get to know and they treat you like an outcast. Some of them you will find that maybe they are not open minded about "gayism" so it is how they were brought up and told that "gayism" is a sin it's the biggest that you can ever commit, and you should stay away from those people who practice "gayism". (Gender nonconforming)

Othering by the society was also highlighted by several participants that it is relational to and affected by flows of economic capital. Society shows more tolerance and acceptance when you have money compared to if you are struggling to make ends meet. 12 participants out of 32 revealed that having money played a big role in how much the society othered you. Similarly, participants reported having the means to access private institutions like health facilities produced an opportunity to get better services compared to paid or free services from public institutions.

Preachy: If you go to a shop with a dress and a beard and you have money, people accept that money. (Transgender)

Sophia: so, your sexuality never becomes a burden when you have your money. (Transgender)

Some people will only show tolerance to LGBTQI people and other them less when in environments where the flows of economic capital are high for example high income areas or neighbourhoods compared to when they are in environments where flows of capital are very minimal for example low-income areas or slums.

Mike: I think it does because I don't know if I will call it social economic or what because I don't understand why because you see even the same people who we are saying will be unaccepting of your presence in the hood, probably maybe the same people in some bougie establishment they will not mind they will be like that's okay because you know some of this Boda Boda and taxi guys you know they pick people from Karen and they are fine! They even entertain them but, in the hood, /ghetto it's a different story. So, I don't get it. I personally know because I have been carried from a posh place to town and I was treated different by a guy who I know because I have heard different stories of how Anti LGBTQI he is I don't know it was just weird. (Gay)

Similarly, participants revealed acceptance and tolerance in the family setting was shown more if LGBTQI people are financially able to support themselves and others for example family members or members of the public.

Patrick: the relationship with my family right now what brings us together is when I have money so if I don't have cash, we don't know each other yeah (Intersex)

Claudia: but then if you are or let's say a CEO or manager or whatever it is that you are that you are still able to dig into your pockets and are able to give somebody the help you will be respected even if it is in the family setting , you are a child of a family and then again you are the one who is really earns some money you know and you have built mummy a good home and you have bought daddy a good car, your sibling you have really taken care of them, you know what as long as you are the one with the money you are good , you will never get this kind of stigma. (Gay)

7.1.2 OTHERING THROUGH BELIEFS

Majority of the participants talked about being called names such as devious, sinners, immoral, devil worshippers, perverts' etcetera that they could link to religious beliefs. Several participants talked about the big role of religious doctrines whether Christian or Muslim in harshly rejecting homosexuality. Participants felt that religion heavily othered them perpetuating the stereotype that they are a danger to the sanctity of religion, society, social norms, and religious beliefs. This othering by religious doctrines directly affected their social acceptance as morally upright people in different contexts and capacities including as jobseekers, employees, colleagues, friends, and family members.

Wendy: it depends for example what plays a major a role in the views of people from this community it is more so religion, people are taught to view people from this community as sinners (Lesbian).

Sophia: other people will tell you if you are Gay, if you are lesbian if you are transgender those are the cursed people in the bible, you know spiritual believers and you know most of the kind of things in Kenya they are so religious directed, yeah so that's why you see sometimes LGBTQI people who don't have work face a lot of stigma more than people that have work. (Transgender)

Several participants reported that many people view homosexuality as going against their cultural and traditional beliefs where they perceive it is as something that is wrong, a curse to generations and un-African. The participants added that the cultural and traditional norms played a role in society's expectation of social norms for example marriage between men and women only. For example, several participants mentioned facing rejection from family members who had strong cultural beliefs that did not accept gender and sexual minorities.

Pretty: and those beliefs that people believe that a woman must be married to a man, those cultural and religious beliefs are the ones making us and taking us back. (Lesbian)

Patrick: well yeah you know everyone has their culture and tradition according to culture to western Kenya, there culture is everything so you find let me say if I was home let me say I continued to study without being kicked out, there is a time that comes that time of circumcision and now from then I had started transitioning from female to male so you know I would have been forced to be circumcised and you know there people don't got to do it in hospitals so now you see such a challenge. And then you find that there was a time we had

gone to see an intersex child who was going to be killed because they believe it will be a curse. (Intersex)

Cultural and traditional beliefs influence how people perceive LGBTQI people as in some cultures they are viewed as a taboo. Nairobi as an urban environment is comprised of many people with different cultural and traditional views and backgrounds which they carry with them to the city. Majority of the participants repeatedly highlighted Nairobi's diversity revealing that the population is made up of people from different tribes and different cultures. Different tribes and cultures view LGBTQI people differently, but the similarity was that often most cultures and traditions view them negatively and produces restraining capacities in different contexts across the orders of existence.

Prosper: some of them are so attached to the culture, so attached to the culture so they get to know that you identify yourself as a Gay that image they had about you it fades and they start like you cannot understand what it is and start viewing you in a sort of way that is suspicious, they are not comfortable being in this image. (Gender nonconforming)

Pretty: yeah such things its very tricky especially Nairobi it's the capital city of Kenya, there are many tribes and each has what they believe in so you can meet someone like for example who is a Maasai who will tell you if you were from our tribe we would make you straight, we would look for men to rape you so you can be straight so in Nairobi there is such things. (Lesbian)

7.1.3 OTHERING IN SPACES

Under this theme material environments include urban environments, rural areas, suburbs, social clubs, estates, eastlands, slums and ghettos, public spaces, and private spaces. Othering was produced differently in different material environments.

Out of all the 32 participants, half of them were urban born while the other half were urban immigrants including two refugees. Most of the participants mentioned feeling a sense of freedom, using words like `here in Nairobi I can be free`, `it's normal here`, ´there is a little freedom here`, `it's better than....`. These statements revealed participants embodied feelings of having the freedom to be themselves in Nairobi, what it means to them and what they can do with said freedom. Out of 32 participants, 19 mentioned feeling that compared to other places, in Nairobi they felt that it was more LGBTQI friendly compared to other material

environments like rural areas. Similarly, the 2 refugees in the study revealed that Nairobi provided a safe space where even though they were still othered it was still a lot better compared to their home countries.

Enrique: mmh of course it has to be different, I live in the city and I have Gay friends who live in the rural areas probably my experience and their experience will be different in different ways so...mmh for me I am a social person and I go out most of the time and here in Nairobi there is open clubs for queer people so I will go meet people, socialize compared to a gay person who is in the closet who stays in the village who doesn't have access to social spaces who even lacks information that social spaces exist or even maybe they don't know if they exist in the rural area (Gender nonconforming)

Mama Makeba: erm by the way I did not want to share myself my story but maybe when I was in Uganda, I was a little bit maybe close but when I came to Nairobi as in from being persecuted, oppressed I wanted to be open so that the world can know who mama Makeba is. So now I am open but when I was in my nationality country, I wasn't open, so now I am open am out I do what I want! (Transgender woman)

This was not meant to say that they thought in Nairobi they were completely free from being othered, however despite this in Nairobi they were able to find public and private environments where they could be free and accepted. There was a general feeling that at least in the space in Nairobi it is better, and they could find some form of tolerance from the public who may know something about LGBTQI people or have seen or interacted with LGBTQI people before. Participants revealed that in Nairobi there are spaces like night clubs where they can meet with other LGBTQI`s as well as members of the public and they are free to enjoy their night out with no issues. In some situations, members of the public even defending them from discrimination. As one participant put it:

Mama Makeba: It's like; Nairobi is not so homophobic to LGBTQI community, because there are some bars who are friendly to queer people.
Let me give you an example, I was at a certain bar, there was someone pointing fingers at me saying I was a homosexual and so on, but there were people there that started to defend me, so Nairobi is somehow welcoming, the people they know what LGBTQI community is. Though there are still some people lagging behind, they are so homophobic.
But me, what I see in Nairobi is we have friendly gay bars in Nairobi and if someone points their finger at you, people will support you, you will be told that you are doing good, this

comes also to our character in the community, people are so friendly depending on your character. (Transgender)

Patrick: let me say in Nairobi even though I have been beaten up repeatedly its safer than upcountry because in upcountry I would already have been murdered because they plotted two times then one guy who was in that gang is the one that came and told me your parents have paid us to kill you so today don't come out of the house. (Intersex)

Participants highlighted that while in Nairobi they felt freer, they also revealed that in some spaces in Nairobi they felt more othered than others. 21 participants mentioned LGBTQI people are othered more in Eastlands, Kayole, Utawala, Pipeline which are all low-income areas in comparison to suburb areas like Westland's, Karen, Bururburu that are middle class or upper-class income areas. Participants revealed that in the low-income areas people were idle due to various reasons including lack of jobs; the areas are densely populated; housing buildings are built closely with little to no privacy; sharing of bathrooms and washrooms with neighbours and strangers; low levels of education; little to no information and understanding of LGBTQI identities and people, multiple cultures and traditions coexisting together with different interpretations of sexuality; religion and high levels of poverty and so on.

k36: yeah, I think there are places which are secure for the community let's say a place like Buruburu, Fetha, where rich people live those places are very safe because no one will tamper with your lifestyle, when you come to the eastlands, eastlands is a hell to the community…laugh…. because you find that this people are unemployed so they must investigate you. (Bisexual)

Anthony: there are estates that have blackmailers and others it's a good estate. (Bisexual)

Jack: because you find that there is people living in high suburb areas and people living in shanties and slums and that's where you get this attacks homophobia even if it is going to be about tribalism not the LGBTQI aspect of it even in terms of kikuyu, you are a Luo, you are a Maasai this things will come like when people are having conflicts so you find that most conflicts when it happens in such areas and areas where LGBTQI are in areas like Lavington, Karen , Westlands these are places that people don't care about your life…it will just take forever so you can maybe yourself in such an area and have no fear of maybe victimization and homophobia but in other places like eastlands area these are places where you go and where just the common citizen lives the middle class to that lower class, so this is where now you find the deep rooted homophobia and so I find it very different across other places. (Gay)

Several participants that were Urban Immigrants to Nairobi brought up personal stories of how othering can differ between geographical environments. As an example, a participant talked about being outed while attending High School in their rural home community and consequently being the subject of local gossip for a short time, but not facing any direct harassment, stigma, discrimination, and exclusion. The participant felt that their strong bonds to the people in the community was why they didn't experience exclusion.

Pekka: my opinion when it comes to ******(rural county) we are much open, but nobody really bothers with what I do, when it comes to Nairobi now you know we have friends we have everywhere there is stigmatization, Nairobi is full of drama everywhere. Back in high school when my orientation came out, I was found out when I was in high school and I was in ******(rural county) and it became an issue all over the village, so people talked for a while and then they were quiet, the next day we meet on the road we interact very well as if nothing is a big deal yeah...... its not about the culture you know there is that bond that you have with people and parents and its very strong and it just makes people maybe for sometime to understand. (Gay)

Another Urban Immigrant participant brought up how being othered because of appearances including biological bodies appearances and material technologies like clothes could change between spaces. Participants revealed that due to the lack of knowledge and ignorance about LGBTQI people and their identities, in their rural home community certain appearances and behaviors were not recognized as belonging to any specific stereotype or Identity.Therefore for example for one female participant, they were not othered in rural environments because of wearing clothes that made them appear masculine compared Nairobi where people immediately othered them based on their clothes.

Dion: you know in Nairobi people know these things, so if you go to *****not a lot of them know so they don't mind you see. In ******** they don't have an idea, so they don't know why a girl is dressing like that, how that girl acts etcetera
Interviewer: oh okay, so because they don't know and understand it they will not discriminate?
Dion: yes they will not talk about me. (Lesbian)

In total 5 out of the 16 urban immigrants brought up these interesting revelations on how othering in rural areas happens in different contexts.

7.2 VISIBILITY POLITICS

This was the second theme that emerged named the `visibility politics ` and under this theme there are two sub-themes: hypervisibility and Strategic invisibility. Under this theme I analyse participant's stories of ; appearances and the physical body (e.g. biological bodies what they can do), mode of dressing(e.g. material technologies like clothes, rainbow bracelets associated with LGBTQI), behavior (both inclusive of human biology the psychological) , presentation like body language, mode of walking and talking(social norms) and identification documents(material technologies affects capacities to register and use some services), and how flows of movement affected them across the orders of existence. In this theme participants how hypervisibility and strategic invisibility contributes to their lack of agency and gives them agency depending on the context and the flows of affect.

7.2.1 HYPERVISIBILITY

30 participants revealed that appearances including biological bodies, physical appearances, dress codes, jewelry, behaviour, mode of talking, mode of walking, presentation, and documents (national identification card) in an environment where they are already othered or seen as deviants made LGBTQI people hypervisible.

Several participants mentioned existence of societal dress codes whereby there is social expectations of how a man or woman should dress. Participants described being discriminated and stigmatized because of their dressing attire which produced increased visibility in negative ways. Several participants here expressed that if a lesbian woman is dressed in a way that may be perceived as masculine, or if a Gay or Bisexual man dress in a way that they are seen effeminate, they will be discriminated and face judgmental attitudes. Participants described how the closer a man gets to dress like a woman or a woman dress like a man the more they are not accepted by the society. In this context participants revealed that clothes or dress codes could give them hypervisibility.

Jack: and your dressing how you portray, maybe your dressing some will judge you about your sexuality, so even dress code, you will even maybe tell you, make someone to judge you that's how I take it. (Gay)

k36: this guy is so feminine even the walking style, dressing code, that guy cannot work in any environment except one that accepts him which is the community. (Bisexual)

Majority of the participants revealed that if your physical appearances or biological body did not match with public discourse of your gender, you were more likely to experience some challenges. Respondents that did not conform to binary norms revealed that lack of conformity made them hypervisible which came with specific negative consequences. For them they expressed a lack of understanding of their identity whereby for example people would refuse to use their correct pronouns. Several participants shared numerous stories of feeling hypervisible in relation to their biological bodies whereby for example they revealed being held to higher scrutiny by health workers when they were seeking medical services or in public institutions as LGBTQI people. One Intersex participant recalled having to undress in front of the doctor and facing a hospital medical board just to access a routine medical report required by potential employers. The participant expressed feeling frustrated at having to go through this experience just to get a medical report while acknowledging its fairly an easy process for others who don't have an intersex identity.

Sharon: Okay, one when you go to look for a job they ask for a medical, and for you to get that medical it is very hard for someone in the community to get it because for example with me, when i went to look for a job one day I was told that the medical report is required so I went to the hospital to ask how I can get it. At the hospital I was told because I am an intersex person, I cannot be given the medical like a normal person and they told me that for me I must face the hospital board. So you see you start a whole process and I had to face the board to explain to them that am an intersex the things that I am going through and you end up exposing yourself to strangers and so those things you go through and I had to do it so I could get a medical report…….like me they told me I have to undress and I had to go and remove my clothes so that they can see that I am not lying. Because when I tell them that I am an intersex how will they prove it and I ended up spending so much money. You know the medical form is only 1000ksh and I did not have money at that time I had to get a loan. I had to undress I did not have a choice. (Intersex)

While another Bisexual male participant shared experiences about going to hospitals with diseases that give them hypervisibility as men who have sex with men and what that meant in regards with the services they will receive. The participant revealed that this often meant a very uncomfortable experience as they were often met with unprofessional curiosity about their sexuality irrelevant to the present situation.

K36: okay I can give you one example, one of the examples is as a member of the LGBTQI community right now, there are some diseases if you go to the hospital they must know you

are a member of the community maybe something like anal warts , something of the sort, you find that you are not free there and where we work with the community, you cannot go there because of your confidentiality because the doctor is your friend ….…so a general hospital a public institute, going there staying in the line all that long and then when you are in the queue they call you to see the doctor for consultation so you must say what is your problem, so when you say you know it's kind of a curse to some other people, so you find yourself you don't get the services the way you wanted and have to lie about things because of the kind of questions that they will be asking like me I have been asked once if I was offered 100000 and my daughter to marry plus making you a youth leader in the church can you change and that is the doctor asking you. (Bisexual)

Similarly, intersex participants expressed there was a general lack of understanding about their identity by people and that this made them hypervisible as a group. Participants added disclosing their intersex identity was often followed up by curiosity about their sexual anatomy and in some cases, they were violently stripped naked as people wanted to confirm if it is true. Participants revealed this lack of understanding and assumptions that an intersex person will have two sexual organs has serious consequences for them and ignores the different intersex variations.

Patrick: as I grew the challenges were there since then because of my physical appearance, sometimes you hear someone say hey beautiful, then they say oh you mean it's a man, you see so when they get that confused then they remove your clothes to understand, so I have been beaten many times I even got used I am not shocked anymore…laughs. I always know once I hear someone say hi beautiful and hey are you a man that it's about to go down. (Intersex)

Consistent with the narrative shared by Intersex people, the experiences of Transgender women also suggested they came under heavy scrutiny with regards to what their biological bodies and physical can do.

Malkia: yes! for instance a transwoman who has beards who have muscles or maybe have a deep voice, maybe little male ish. They cannot go out or use the means of public transport and their expenses must increase. Yeah, their expenses increase because you have to use a taxi, an uber, bolt, bike and they are very expensive compared to public means of transport. Anywhere you are going especially during the day you can't walk; at night you must use a taxi. (Transgender)

Transgender participants revealed having challenges with national identification documents after their transition. One transgender woman who previously identified as a Gay man revealed her experiences to have become harder attributing it to the increased visibility she got after transitioning. Similar with the participant above, transgender, and Intersex participants repeatedly mentioned having an issue with their identification documents not matching their chosen gender identity which gave them hypervisibility. Participants mentioned having problems of people doubting if it was really them or they had another person's identity card. In some instances, the situation even turned violent, they were chased away, or they got apprehended by law enforcement.

Malkia: I was employed before when I was Gay so after that then the transition getting a job became hard because the identity changed and the person representing the identity are very different. The documents say one thing and the person in front of you is so different so it's so difficult. (Transgender)

10 participants (4 transgender women, 4 intersex, 2 gender non-conforming) brought up the issue of national identification documents repeatedly. National identification documents in Nairobi are required when applying for jobs, mobile banking services, registering bank accounts, renting an apartment, accessing public services like schools & hospitals etcetera. Intersex participants revealed their challenges start from having birth certificates with gender markers that do not match their current gender identity and physical appearance. For instance, one participant revealed their birth certificate has female names, but their physical appearance is very masculine which creates doubts about them when they present their documents.

Patrick: yes, its female and it has affected me one finding a job has been really hard, two registering an MPESA I have been beaten up because of my names when I am withdrawing money from an MPESA because people think that I am stealing from somebody else. I have been beaten three times and the third time they even undressed me just to confirm and even the police they arrested me and then they were like no. I had to, there is this an advocate a lawyer who came and helped me and wrote an affidavit for me, so I used to walk around with an affidavit so that just in case there is a question around my name I use it, yeah. (Intersex)

Robert: you know being in Nairobi without the proper name and the documents it is very hard to get a job even associations they are not understanding each and everyday people are asking who is this person is it a man or a woman and because of that you get disturbed each and every day that you get out of your house whether you are going to hustle to get something

small or you are just socializing to other people outside there but the questions remains each and other time who is this person. (Intersex)

Bids: I was a house help and my ID card bares a female name despite me being an Intersex and dressing like a man, my boss used to question me a lot, she even spy on me just to find out who truly I am. I believe it's lack of information about intersex persons that made my boss question and spy on me. appear as a man but my ID shows that i am female so you find that people see like you are a con man. (Intersex)

The 10 Participants mentioned while there exists a way to change the documents, the process is expensive, often very psychologically frustrating, and sometimes can bring them hypervisibility. Participants revealed that while having money to do the process was necessary, often initiating the process could be very frustrating whereby when they go to the relevant public offices, they face some psychological affects. For example, participants revealed that in these offices they were sent back and forth in a loop to frustrate them and additionally they were asked so many questions with the people implying they must have a mental disease for wanting to change the documents in the first place.

Sophia; you need to have a huge amount of money, where you have your own lawyer and you know Kenyan lawyers they need money when it comes to protecting you and pushing your things. So lack of money is one second there is also lack of understanding, when you go to some offices you are told you needed this document but you are not going to find these document here but you are being sent back and forth but you are not being told the truth because they are not understanding why are you changing name why are you like this. So they feel like it's a mental issue so they are always sending you telling you to go to this office, go to this office back and forth for you to get tired. (Transgender)

Enrique:. I have been to their offices before trying to apply for passports and stuff the disrespect is beyond. (Gender nonconforming)

Robert: you don't have a way to change these documents because the process to change this documents is also very expensive. Even the process is not easy because starting from the chief who must say that they know you then by that point it's also necessary that you already have a lawyer even the cost is very expensive because the cost of changing your birth certificate so that it can match with your ID its 100,000ksh so you find that this process is very expensive even for the parent. So now we are asking the government from the initial stage lets have this indicated in our birth certificate so that at the age of consenting who you are it becomes easy.

If you go to the hospital you find the big problem even the registration form does not have a place where intersex people fit so they will say either man or woman, and then your physical appearance, the name is female but you look like a man so your physical appearance the person coming for the consultation is somebody else so you find that even the questions because you are called Irene now the questions are like too invasive so you find majority of intersex people will attend private hospitals over public hospitals. (Intersex)

Two of the transgender participants were also refugees and they highlighted that while Nairobi provided a safe environment compared to Kampala, they also experienced new challenges in Kenya with regards to identification documents. For them having an asylum seeker status meant that they cannot work, they cannot register for Mpesa (mobile banking services), register bank accounts, or rent houses as they require Kenya identification documents. For these participants their status as asylum seekers meant they did not have work permits hence this limited their opportunities and they had to do illegal work e.g., sex work or odd jobs. Even then as foreigners they had to be able to communicate in Swahili and it helped if they knew other refugees from their home country currently residing in Nairobi which increased their chances of finding a job and being able to do it without requiring correct documents.

Preachy; For me the thing i want to add is to call upon all the government because we are refugees here whether they can accept us to open to or they can give us any document that can allow us to rent, to get an account from any bank to register a line you know because we are facing those challenges, no one can give you a job because you don't have an Mpesa line you don't have an account, you don't have where to stay. (Transgender)

7.2.2 STRATEGIC INVISIBILITY

In this sub-theme phrases like `I pretend and hide myself`, `act straight', 'discreet`, `presenting` indicated participants who had strategically chosen invisibility. Under this subtheme we explore participants stories of hiding parts of themselves in different material environments; public spaces, private spaces, workspaces; participants hiding their biological bodies and physical. Therefore, strategic invisibility describes agentic behaviours in which participants manage the risk of being mistreated (for example being othered, stigmatized, discrimination, hypervisibility) and choosing to make themselves invisible (Lollar, 2015).

Participants when asked if they were open about their sexuality only 13 of them out of 32 revealed being open about it. Even then, they were not open to everyone and had alternate spaces and select people they felt comfortable enough to do so. For most of the participants who were closed, the othering of people with an LGBTQI identity by societal discourses made them skeptical and fearful of revealing their sexuality. They revealed consistently making a choice to be invisible to avoid discrimination and loss of opportunities.

Stacey: I can say my experiences is I have to hide my identity to find a job. (Lesbian)

Jack: yeah, that's how I get it because when you are discreet no one is going to know about you, your sexuality but the moment you start showing signs that's when everything, hell breaks loose people will start saying this and that and even people that you never thought would come know about LGBTQI will even like approach you and say we know about you. (Gay)

Vincent: yeah so for me I decided to just live a relaxed life just alone. If you are an LGBTQI you should just be quiet and relaxed about your identity don't go out telling everyone about yourself that you want people to know what you are. It iss not everyone who can appreciate. What everyone appreciates over here in this world is being straight, LGBTQI is not everyone that supports. I just keep quiet, and I know my friends don't know. They can see me psyching them up about girls but what I know is that I am Bi. (Bisexual)

In the context of disclosing their sexuality in their workplace, several participants revealed that they had not disclosed their sexuality to any of their co-workers or employers and neither did they intend to. Participants revealed forming invisible barriers between themselves and their co-workers or employers with regards to being open or being their authentic selves. Some participants felt that it was a personal issue, and they did not feel the need to reveal that part of themselves in the work environment. While for other individuals they felt that such a revelation would affect them negatively at work whereby for example they could get fired without pay, co-workers would gossip them at work, they would be perceived negatively, co-workers or supervisors would harass or mistreat them and fear for their safety. While for others they felt that they needed to feel safe enough in the work environment to reveal and this requires them being discreet first to observe and learn more about the people and their work environments.

Dion: No, at the workplace no no!!.... because when we are work it should just be work it is not telling people I don't know what. (Lesbian)

Anthony: actually, I have never disclosed. Yes, the reason is I have to study someone he or she I understand them well I know what they like, dislikes, emotions and their reactions. Or I know if he or she is secretive or if they are I don't know how to say this okay they gossip a lot. (Bisexual)

Several participants expressed despite being closed about their sexuality, they are actively hiding aspects of themselves through dressing, appearances, behavior, and presentation. Participants expressed being conscious of societal expectations of how different genders should dress and therefore made conscious efforts to try blend in. They described how they try not to be noticed by colleagues, family, neighbours, society and how this changed in different spaces.

Malkia: yeah, so each and every day you go to work then you must maybe now the time maybe you are working 9 hours and through that time in the 9hrs you have to act straight until you get back to your place where you can be safe, and that place is inside your apartment even on the balcony you are not that safe. (Transgender)

Anthony: as I present myself on how I am, the mode of presentation defines who you are, so when I go to the community I behave like the community, if I go the LGBTQI I behave like them, yeah. (Bisexual)

Some participants also expressed their active withdrawal from public spaces to remain invisible. Participants revealed being aware of some public spaces being unsafe compared to others and in these spaces, they choose to stay away and only in private spaces to avoid public confrontation or comments.

Arnold: yea avoiding people and things like that, I chose to like to stay calm not to like the outside world just to hang out with friends who I am open with. (Gay)

DION: It has not been easy, like for me sometimes am always just in the house and I don't go out, you know am not the kind of person ….it just makes me feel bad when people talk. (Lesbian)

Participants revealed private spaces such as their homes, LGBTQI friendly social spaces and LGBTQI friendly work environments were important to them as they could be really themselves there. For participants that lived-in low-income areas that had high levels of discrimination, they revealed strategically avoiding anything that could link them to an LGBTQI identity. Symbols like rainbow bracelet's, jewellery, public displays of affection

between same sex couples and dress codes were things that participants were conscious about and avoided while in these environments.

Pretty.: Now you see in Nairobi you can walk as a man at night it's not a big issue but during the day to see two men walking holding each other... (Lesbian)

Even though participants had the agency to choose to be invisible, there was also a sense of they are on their own and they must make the best out of the situation even though it was not ideal. These revealed participants desire to belong and feeling a need to hide important parts of themselves even though it hurts them psychologically.

Mama Makeba: I'll wear jeans, so I'll force myself to be a man, though it's not me you know. Because at the end of the day I need some income, so I'll force myself, but I'm hurting my soul. (Transgender)

7.3 FEAR

The third theme that emerged was fear which was also a constant undercurrent across the other themes. Under the identified orders of existence, fear was a psychological affect economy that was present in participants sexuality assemblage in different contexts across material environments, biological bodies, sociocultural beliefs & discourses, material technologies and flows of economic capital. Fear was voiced as a strong emotion that they often felt that had the ability to affect their capacities and behaviour. They expressed different types of fear including fear of being physically attacked, fear in some spaces example hotspots in Eastlands, Kayole and areas they called slums or ghettos, fear of being outed, fear of being judged by others in the society, fear of being hypervisible, fear of being othered and fear of being themselves.

Under this theme Fear can also be seen as influencing their behaviour because out of fear some of them revealed feeling it was often in their best interest to stay strategically hidden. Under this theme stories of participants fear across the assemblage, and its affect flow was analysed.

Majority of the participants mentioned fearing for their safety. Participants here revealed safety as a major concern. Participants shared stories of personal violent attacks against them and other LGBTQI people and expressed fearing for their own safety. Several participants mentioned that in low-income areas violent attacks, mob justice and blackmailing were

common occurrences. Some participants mentioned fearing being seen with their partners and some participants shared experiences where they had been publicly harassed while out together.

Sharon: yes, you get such comments and you even fear leaving home and going somewhere else because you have that fear. (Intersex)

K36: I have told several people, the thing is just try not to be you and you will be safe. (Bisexual)

Pisces: we were holding hands and she is a tomboy completely. Then there was this woman standing on the roadside and she threw some tomatoes and cursed us out! (Lesbian)

Out of 32 participants only 7 mentioned being open about their sexuality with their employers and co-workers. Out of these 5 of them mentioned they worked with LGBTQI organisations in different capacities. For these participants being out at work felt natural and they revealed feeling safe and accepted in these environments. However, for the others this was not the case as they feared that being open would cost them the opportunity or their co-workers would start perceiving them differently once they discover their real self.

Malkia: no, I had to leave myself because the insults became too much, you see once they notice they will start saying blab la this and this so you yourself are at work, but you are not going to be fully accepted they will be like what is happening why are they saying that, is there anything wrong. (Transgender)

9 out of 32 participants mentioned quitting their worker roles with fear playing a huge role in their decision. These participants revealed feeling afraid in the work environment as they worried what would happen to them if their sexuality was revealed. Participants revealed that hearing homophobic comments from co-workers and employers made them feel fearful. For some of them it was too much, and they could only bear with it for some time before quitting. While different participants quit their jobs for different reasons fear was an underlying driver amongst all the participants who quit jobs.

Prosper: okay there was this job I was offered and later my supervisor was very harsh and then the you know there are those topics that come up within the workplace that people talk about, I don't know who came up with it but there was this time I found them discussing so I stopped and maybe I did not contribute because I wanted to hear their argument because they were very rough…harsh ..where I was sitting . so I discovered that they were talking about how homosexuals are like, so for him the topic was how he cannot stand a sibling neither a

family member or friend who is a homosexual because of his belief and how he sees those people , according to him he thinks there is some kind of demon that has possessed them and so later I was thinking why should I work here yet the notion that you have in mind of , I think this is the high time I apply somewhere else. Okay I did not leave that time I heard that I had the issue kept like being in the back of my head. (Gender nonconforming)

For one participant below they were worried for the safety of their partner because of the environment they moved to for a work opportunity. The participant revealed quitting a job that was outside Nairobi due to comments made about them and their partner by locals.

Pretty: yeah, I had to resign because that place was not safe for us because even the Boda Boda (motorcycle-taxi) people, I saw that they may harm my partner so we decided I resign from that job so I can come back to Nairobi because at least in Nairobi people can understand you a bit. (Lesbian)

Some participants talked about how they stay indoors because they fear and feel unsafe when in public spaces. For some participants the fear of public spaces and environments where they felt unsafe was not unfounded as some of them reported experiencing violence in public, name calling and remarks, threats, harassment, and lack of understanding in the past.

K36: if I come and they see me walking with you what will they do to me! they may cut me too. (Bisexual)

Pisces: yeah, I know like the latest experience was the one am dating like a stud it's a stud femme relationship so like the time that I it was the other day when we were together then people were like we will give you dick until you guys go back to being straight! (Lesbian)

Participants revealed fearing and feeling unsafe in some public spaces in Nairobi compared to others. For example, walking in a place like Kayole holding hands with a same sex partner they fear for their safety compared to maybe walking in Karen or other similar suburbs in Nairobi. In these environments like Kayole, Eastlands and areas participants referred to as hotspots, it was also hard for them to feel safe even inside their private spaces like apartments. They reported feeling monitored even in these private spaces. For example, living with their same sex partners in the same house they were worried and feared for their security if their neighbours started asking why they live with a same sex partner or were to find out. In these spaces participants reported not feeling safe even inside their private space. Architecture of the buildings or how the housing conditions are played a role as seen when participants talked about lack of privacy due to crammed living spaces, sharing bathrooms spaces with strangers,

windows, or balconies that people would be able to spy on them. All these things mattered and played a role in how safe the participants felt fear and the capacities fear produced in them. Participants revealed fearing that material things like clothes, bracelets how you choose to dress or present yourself was a threat to their safety.

Wanjiku: if you are seen wearing an anklet, they assume you are gay, a lesbian so people don't know how to mind their business like in these areas, so your business is their business, so it is not safe at all you cannot walk with your partner holding hands you guys can be stoned to death. (Lesbian)

Majority of the participant revealed that they fear the judgement they will face after they come out as members of the LGBTQI community. The participants voiced fearing what others would say to them, what the reaction would be. For some of them their fear came to be true as they revealed that their relationships with some people changed once they disclosed their sexuality. Similarly, the fear of LGBTQI people from colleagues, society was also revealed when participants revealed that people thought being gay is infectious and that they will spread the `gayism` or `deviance` to them like it is a disease. Several participants made statements indicating that members of the public were often not comfortable being around them. These statements revealed society's fear of the `others` and the belief that they are a threat to the society.

Ashley: they may think you might make them to be lesbian but it is generally not the thing just like how they just think like that. (Lesbian)

In summary the data findings demonstrated movements of territorialisation, de-territorialisation and re-territorialization, singular and aggregative affects in the "sexuality-assemblages" of LGBTQI people in Nairobi, showing constant movements in the micropolitical flows of resistance and power within individual bodies and the ever-changing capacities of LGBTQI people to find and maintain jobs. Aggregation and territorialisation's producing limiting capacities for participants are met by flows of movement that can help open new lines of flights or possibilities for participants to escape territorializing forces (Alldred & Fox, 2019).

7.4 DISCUSSION

According to Youdell and Armstrong (2011), an assemblage analysis involves accepting that orders of existence which have been traditionally seen as separate (the geological, the climatological, the biological, the economic, the discursive and so on) are all potentially significant. Deleuze argues that we cannot discuss what a body can do without considering the context, because a body's capacities and things it can do and cannot do are always relational and contextual (Feely, 2020). Using assemblage approach allows us to discuss context dependent limitations, recognizing in a certain context, for example in Nairobi where an LGBTQI body may be labelled as other, but this limitation is only context dependent (of the environment, the people, biological, discourse and so on) and not an essence of the body but rather what is important is to discover context dependent capabilities or things a body can do (Feely, 2020).

7.4.1 OTHERING

Nairobi is relatively different from other similar cities in that homosexuality is illegal but not aggressively pursued by law enforcement through court sentencings. As such, it is interesting to analyse the way people who identify as members of LGBTQI interact in different spaces within Nairobi. Othering occurs through accepted societal discourses about sexuality and gender identities as well as through the law that criminalizes same sex relations and "others" people with an LGBTQI identity. The othering by society, therefore, occurs through what is accepted by law and through what is deemed acceptable in Kenyan societies. Kenya is comprised of individual societies that are defined by location and tribe identity. As such, the urban society and rural societies differ in the way they ´other` the members of the LGBTQI community in Kenya. The findings show that although the different societies ´other` members of the LGBTQI community differently, they still `other` them generally through negative discourses about them. In particular, members of the LGBTQI community whose sexual orientation is within the accepted heterosexual range, they have negative experiences when people find out their sexual orientation to an extent they are 'forgotten' with people solely identifying them through their sexual orientation. This however differs between urban societies and rural societies. Within the urban societies, members of the LGBTQI societies are easily othered because people in the society have more information on LGBTQI communities. However, five participants remarked that in rural areas they were easily "forgotten" because

people couldn't identify them through clothing choices or personality choices. Even when people found out about their sexual orientation they easily "forgot" after a while (Jauregui et al., 2021). Othering, however, in Nairobi as the city is considered better than rural areas with participants explaining that there is a sense of freedom as the LGBTQI community has become more accepted in Nairobi's urban space. This is primarily because members of the LGBTQI community can find spaces and communities where they are accepted.

The fact that homosexuality is illegal by law and that the government continues to treat LGBTQI rights as non-issue contributes in territorizing micropolitics that have deterritoritizing affects on members of the LGBTQI community in Nairobi and within the Kenyan overarching society. The othering is the product of multiplicity of issues that have contributed to erosion of presence for people who are a minority, and their existence is routinely denied through harassment, discrimination, and fear. The singular effects were seen in how individual members of the LGBTQ community are othered differently. As such, the members of the LGBTQ are treated differently under different contexts and there is a hierarchy of extremity in how they are othered. For example, effeminate gay men are othered more than gay men whose personalities, presentation, appearances, and behaviours align with masculine male expectations within the Kenyan society. Similarly, this was also the case for Lesbian, Queer, Bisexual and Transgender women whose appearances, presentation and behaviour align with feminine expectations within the Kenyan society. Transgender, intersex, and gender-nonconforming people are each othered differently within different spaces depending on the context. However, the research also finds that the deterritorialization leads to reterritorization of new ideas and values within the Nairobi society. To justify the othering of members of LGBTQI communities, there are formations of new ideas such as what consists of traditional African values. As such belonging to LGBTQI community is considered against African values even when there is evidence to the contrary. The othering through the beliefs also contributes to the reterritorization of these new values as members of the LGBTQI are routinely aligned with being evil or demonic. In response however, the LGBTQ community within these spaces form communities through organization where they can get new capacities forming a counter territorialization. The need to be heard and to be safe can and brings members of the LGBTQ community to urban centres where they are less harshly judged and produce capacities for them to form their own accepting communities or safe spaces.

Othering in these spaces urban and rural spaces is also affected by different cultural aspects. One of the ways that othering occurs in society is through the cultural context of religion.

Kenyan social beliefs are diverse in the context that they are largely based on Christian and Muslim religion ideologies that oppose homosexuality and are largely traditional in gender roles and identities. As such, members of the LGBTQI community receive considerable othering through beliefs. The participants expressed being othered by beliefs where they are seen as spiritually cursed. Religion determines morals of what is deemed as spiritually accepted and the Christian and Muslim religions are largely and remain opposed to homosexuality even in political circles. Similarly in work environments participants meet and work alongside people who may have strong religious beliefs and backgrounds that are against homosexuality and depending on the context participants may be othered.

Another way the LGBTQI community is othered is through what is considered African. People are largely indoctrinated that the LGBTQI agenda is un-African. This is interesting because some African cultures were tolerable even accepting of LGBTQI members before colonization. There was also a highlighted role of cultural practices such as marriage and circumcision which is a rite of passage played in othering especially for members who are transitioning from one gender to the next. For the former, societal discourses others same sex relationships and marriages as well as affects their psychological as LGBTQI individuals feel pressured by sociocultural norms to enter heterosexual marriages. Intersex members face othering from birth because some members of the community can kill intersex children because they are seen as cursed (Alza & Saadi, 2021). The assemblage methodology was necessary for the way it represents the ways the different social aspects affect and are affected by the orders of existence in the sexuality assemblage interact and contribute to the othering in different contexts producing different capacities.

Othering also occurs in Kenyan spaces through material environments and material technologies including clothes and dressing expectations that mutually affect and are affected by societal discourses and flows of economic capital. Depending on the environment and context for example in a low-income urban space certain dress codes can act as aggregative affects to territorialize multiple LGBTQI bodies as `other` which leads to deterritorialization and new lines of flight. Individuals may find new spaces where their dress codes will not be othered or they may encounter individuals in the society who do not other them and they re-territorialize dress codes in an environment. Where individuals dressing is highly gendered by societal discourses, environments and material technologies, members of LGBTQI who dress differently experience stigma and discrimination which can act to limit their capacities when they are finding and maintaining jobs.

This happens even among the other members of the LGBTQI communities. For example, within the gay, and bisexual spectrum, men who are considered macho are preferred probably and it is assumed they can do heavy "manly" work in comparison to effeminate gay and bisexual men in depending on the material environments.

Othering of LGBTQI people was also seen to be affected by flows of capital with the findings indicating how different capacities could be produced in participants depending on their flows of capital. Having finances can help participants resist territorializing forces and opens new possibilities for them or lines of flight. This indicated that even in a conservative environment such as rural spaces, urban spaces, private and public spaces, different biological bodies no matter the material technologies for example documents or clothes they find tolerance and acceptance from family and the society if they have capital. Evidence from research maintains that gender and sexual minorities are more likely to be accepted by their communities and families "if they succeed professionally, achieve higher economic status than their family members and contribute financially to their households, which in turn reinforces their capacity to work and contribute to their families and communities" (White, Sandfort, Morgan, Carpenter, & Pierre, 2016).

7.4.2 VISIBILITY POLITICS

The findings indicate how hypervisibility and strategic invisibility affects members of the LGBTQI community. Lack of conformity to binary norms made members of LGBTQI hyper-visible. Hypervisibility introduced negative consequences in the events of finding work, access to healthcare and so on. Finding identification documents was a frustrating process that requires flows of capital and is relational to societal discourses, material environments, biological and psychological. Looking for jobs requires these medical reports and identification. Those who are intersex experience difficulties in getting medical reports. Those who undergo transitions experience plenty of difficulties when getting documents for jobs. Potential candidates are often rejected when their paperwork reflects a sex that is different to the one expected by interviewers or employers (Cabral, 2010). When one transition, they must get new identities and look for jobs with both documents of their previous identities and current identities (Mkhize, 2020). In addition, getting new identities changed in the legal framework is challenging which further complicates getting jobs and keeping them. The process to change identification documents not only requires capital, but as well as individuals having to interact with officials in the offices who may frustrate them

psychologically or increase their hypervisibility. Human biology is crucial in the way it elicits hypervisibility. Intersex members must prove that they are intersex to hospital boards. Members who transition face hypervisibility from the changes occurring. And gay and bisexual men experience discrimination because sometimes they are discriminated against based on the diseases that are deemed as "Gay diseases" by health officials.

Deleuze and Guattari (1983) offers us a means of understanding (in)visibility and visuality as a strategy for challenging power (Creech, 2020). Visibility politics creates aggregate affects on certain members of the LGBTQI community. They are seen as the same in the sense that transgender, gay men, gender non-conforming and intersex individuals are grouped as one further causing deterritorialization in them. The tendency by the dominant community to group members of community together leads to deterritorializations and some individuals choose invisibility to cope with the consequences. Similarly, hypervisibility creates singular affects in experiences especially for intersex and transgender members of community. In healthcare, gay men are hyper visible when they are looking for healthcare. This leads to deterritorialization which is the product of the othering that comes from hypervisibility. The affect of strategic invisibility by certain members of the community in the effort to minimize othering also disempowers the community in its quest for acceptance.

As a method of coping with othering and discrimination. Members of the LGBTQI community have chosen strategic invisibility. Most participants, 19 out of 32 revealed that they had chosen strategic invisibility. This is because of the discrimination especially within the spaces they occupy such as where they live and where they work (Hampel, 2020). As such, othering has made some members of the community remain in the closet in the public until when they go home where they feel safe. This includes suppressing aspects of themselves such as dressing and personalities when they are in the public spaces. However, there are signs that the community is establishing safe spaces where members can be safe and themselves. Strategic invisibility is a way of ensuring that members can still earn an income and keep their jobs. Strategic invisibility seems like an informed decision based on the experiences of members of LGBTQI in the workplace. Individuals when using strategic invisibility can simultaneously acknowledge the limitations and constraints of the context while engaging in behaviour that provides agency (Settles et al., 2019).Participants highlighted the negative experiences that come from being identified through sexual orientation or chosen identities that go against the norm. Some participants have lost jobs once they are found they are identified as LGBTQI community members. Gay men are not offered promotions since they have no families. Some individuals experience stigma and

discrimination in the workplace until they decide to quit once they are identified as LGBTQI members. Strategic invisibility also came at a cost as participants revealed. Participants were constantly on edge having to hide aspects of their authentic selves which hurt them psychologically. This is because being invisible does not remove the psychological harm caused by exclusion nor of being aware of how they are negatively viewed (Settles et al., 2019). Settles et al. (2019) maintains, "strategic invisibility is an individual behaviour, and it does little to eliminate prejudice, bias and poor workplace climate that results in social exclusion or other forms of mistreatment experienced by minority groups". Furthermore by withdrawing from for example colleagues individuals cannot develop positive relationships with colleagues who might be friends, supports or allies(Settles et al., 2019).

7.4.3 FEAR

Fear leads to territorialization of forces against the community and the deterritorialization of the members of the community. The threat of being labelled and othered as deviants, the threat for safety and the threat of violence all work to territorialize the dominant community in fear of the members of the LGBTQ community. In response they "other" the members whose existence is continually eroded in the public presence because they become afraid of the dominant community. Fear is the result of negative experiences of othering in the Kenyan spaces. In some areas, there is rampant homophobia compared to others and this leads to participants moving to areas they deem safe. Fear is also behind the reason why most people chose strategic invisibility. They are afraid of how safe they are in their private living spaces and public spaces. This coincides with specific attacks of LGBTQI members especially those living in low-income areas and rural areas. Sexual and gender minorities experiencing violence and other forms of mental and physical health problems can face decreased their motivation to find work opportunities and retaining the jobs once employed(O'Malley & Holzinger, 2018).

They are also afraid of being out in their workplaces (Kalinga, 2021). Only seven participants, five of them working with LGBTQI organizations, were openly out in their workplaces. This coincides with low employee turnover rates once people find out or suspect that one is a member of LGBTQI. Othering also comes with creating fear where the dominant population fears the minority community. As such members of society are uncomfortable against people who are suspected through dressing or mannerisms as being members of the LGBTQI. As such, members of the LGBTQI community are afraid of dressing up or behaving in ways that

might identify them. There have been several cases of public attacks against members of the LGBTQI community in different material environments.

STUDY LIMITATIONS AND IMPLICATIONS.

A main limitation for this study is that the findings cannot be generalised as representative of the whole larger LGBTQI population in Nairobi. This is because this research was conducted with a relatively small sample size of only 32 participants who were selected through a convenience sampling method. Zoom was used as the main data collection tool in this research due to unavoidable circumstances that made it difficult to travel to Nairobi for the fieldwork. One challenge identified was technical difficulties including slow internet and audio quality with some participants experiencing challenges to join the session. Despite providing written instructions on how to use Zoom prior to scheduled interviews, some participants expressed difficulties citing it was the first time using the platform. A study on using zoom videoconferencing for qualitative data collection found that, participants rather than researchers mostly experienced technical difficulties possibly showing differences in familiarity with zoom or access to reliable high-speed internet (Archibald, 2019). Some participants after joining the session had issues connecting their audio often resulting to poor audio quality and the researcher dropping some sessions to restart. This resulted in having to do some interviews twice and rescheduling with some participants. Archibald (2019), states that researchers discovered technical difficulties experienced often resulted in unintended benefits with regards to establishing a rapport through the protracted joint problem-solving process. This was often the case as here as well; the researcher found the initial difficulties often created an easy relaxed rapport with participants as we worked together to find a solution. Researchers using voice over internet protocol (VoIP) technologies for data collection need to capitalize on unique opportunities such as the need to problem-solve and trouble shoot technical issues arising together (Barratt, 2012). Another challenge encountered was occasional interruptions during interviews caused by internet connections, low battery and sometimes background noises from the participants. Due to the sensitive nature of the study, the participants camera was always off, therefore impossible to observe participants during the interviews. Additionally, the researcher had a Zoom basic plan of 40 minutes per session, meaning that the long interviews were conducted in two consecutive sessions. Another major limitation was time as getting all the permits approved took a total period of 7 months.

This study focused on the LGBTQI participants as part of a fluid, changing and relational "sexuality-assemblage" made up of human and non-human materials that have mutually affective flows that continually produces their capacities including to find and maintain jobs. By using a materialist ontology, the researcher attempted to show the "sexuality assemblage" is not an attribute of an individual human subject or individual body, but rather as a material micropolitical field within which LGBTQI bodies and subjectivities are assembled, from which normative forms of sexuality and heteronormativity are produced and reproduced, but with which resistance and becoming-other are always possibilities" (Alldred & Fox, 2015).

CONCLUSION

In this study, I set out to explore the lived experiences of LGBTQI individuals in Nairobi with regards to finding and maintaining jobs. The study findings revealed that LGBTQI people continue to face stigma and discrimination, violence, harassment, prejudice, and biasness in their day-to-day life. The study adopts an assemblage theoretical framework that opens the research agenda to explore participants experiences broadly. Through this new materialist ontology we view the social world as always produced and reproduced as assemblages of human and non-human relations, generate, enable and constrain desires and capacities (Alldred & Fox, 2019). As such in this study, this relational ontology has been crucial in theorising "sexuality as an affective flow within assemblages of bodies, ideas and social institutions, things, productive of all kinds of capacities to do, desire and interact" (Alldred & Fox, 2019).

The findings reveal significant relational orders of existence relevant to the `sexuality-assemblages` of LGBTQI people in Nairobi that mutually affect and are affected by each other producing different constantly changing capacities or limits to find and maintain jobs depending on the context. Therefore, we began the analysis by mapping the relevant relational orders of existence in the assemblage consisting of human and non-human affects that include material environments, material technologies, the biological bodies and psychological feelings, societal discourses and flows of economic capital. These orders of existence assemble to make up the sexuality assemblages of LGBTQI people in Nairobi. The findings reveal that the "sexuality-assemblage" of many LGBTQI people in Nairobi was often conservative, conventional, and defined narrowly. This restrictive sexuality "others" LGBTQI people as different, "othering" of their sexuality can produce, and is produced by visibility politics including Hypervisibility and strategic invisibility depending on the context and the

affect economies in relation in the assemblage; and finally, the embodied feelings of fear can produce and are constantly produced through othering, hypervisibility, as well as fear as a producer of strategic invisibility depending on the context.

In our materialist analysis "othering", "visibility politics" and "fear" are not being treated as the linear solutions to explain the negative lived experiences of LGBTQI people with regards to finding and maintaining jobs, but rather as emergent property concepts to help explain the complex mix of affects deriving from the orders of existence mutually interacting and affecting producing and reproducing different capacities in different contexts (Alldred & Fox, 2015). However, the finding revealed that in this conventional restrictive sexuality there is always the possibility for new lines of flight. For example, participants revealed moving to environments where they are not largely othered e.g., from rural to urban environments that give them new possibilities like finding acceptance, participants quitting jobs in homophobic workspaces can find new possibilities like working in environments where they are accepted like LGBTQI community-based organisations and so on. The possibilities of new desires and capacities in depleted sexualities, shifts bodies beyond the conceptions of sexualities, genders and sexes informing majority of the territorialised and aggregated `sexuality-assemblage` (Alldred & Fox, 2015). As such, future research on LGBTQI experiences in Kenya could benefit from using an assemblage approach to broaden research agendas on how sexuality is produced in Kenya depending on the context and the flows of affects that produce local sexual identities, sexual desires, and capacities.

I hope that the findings of this research will enable various stakeholders in Nairobi Kenya to better understand the micropolitics in LGBTQI individuals "sexuality-assemblages" and the capacities that they differently produce including new possibilities. Through analysing these assemblages, various stakeholders can be able to develop more nuanced interventions geared towards supporting LGBTQI people in Nairobi, fostering positive capacities and opening new possibilities in LGBTQI individuals to find and maintain jobs.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX 1: INTERVIEW GUIDE

a). Demographic questions:

- Name (Anon name).

-Age

-Gender identity

-Sexual identity

-Length of time you have self-identified as an LGBTQI person

-Relationship status

-Are you open or closeted about your sexuality?

-What is your education level

-Are you employed?

-job field

b). EXPERIENCES IN NAIROBI AS LGBTQI

2. Have you been born and raised in Nairobi?

3. What have been your experiences living in Nairobi as an LGBTQI person?

4. What do you think caused these experiences?

5. Have these experiences in Nairobi as an LGBTQI person been different compared to other places you may have lived or moved from?

6. What do you think of Nairobi as a space for LGBTQI community?

7.Are some spaces in Nairobi more secure than others for LGBTQI people or is it the same all over Nairobi?

8. What do you think are the reasons for this?

9. Does the perception or attitudes of LGBTQI acceptance in Nairobi influence LGBTQIs decisions to live in Nairobi?

c). FINDING JOBS

10. What have been your experiences as an LGBTQI person in Nairobi while looking for jobs? Can you tell me some examples?

11. what do you think contributed to these experiences?

12. Are the experiences different between different individuals under the LGBTQI community/identity?

d). MAINTAINING JOBS

13. Have you disclosed your sexuality to any of your co-workers? If so can you tell me how that was for you.

14. Would you consider revealing to any of them and why?

15. Have you disclosed your sexuality to your employer or management? If so can you tell me how that was for you

16. Would you consider revealing and why?

16. Have you experienced any challenges maintaining a job because of your sexuality? If so can you tell me more about that

17. How did you deal with the challenges?

18. Is there anything that you feel is very important with regards to the topic that you would like to add on before we conclude the interview.

-Do you have any questions for me?

THANK YOU SO MUCH FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION IN THIS RESEARCH.

APPENDIX 2: CONSENT FORM- ENGLISH

Q1

Thank you for your interest in this research study on the lived experiences of LGBTQI community in Nairobi with regards to job availability and retention. Your participation is voluntary, and you may decide not to participate or stop your participation at any given time.

WHO

This study is specifically designed for individuals who identify as members of the LGBTQI community and are currently residing in Nairobi. The study investigators are Ann Wanjiku from the Norwegian University of Life Sciences Ås, Norway and Jeffrey Walimbwa from ISHTAR in Nairobi, Kenya.

WHAT

The study will utilize online interviews via Zoom whereby semi-structured questions regarding your sexual orientation and gender identity, experiences you may have had in terms of finding and retaining jobs related to your sexual orientation and gender identity.

HOW

Here is how you can use Zoom:

o   Download the Zoom App on a PC, Mobile phone or Tablet from App store or Google play store.

o   Once downloaded sign up for zoom using your names and email address. When having the meeting you can change your

o   Tap the "Activate button you receive after sign up in your email.

o   You will get to the screen with your personal zoom meeting URL and an orange button saying "start meeting now", you can tap on this to pretest how a meeting would look like.

o

WHY

Your responses will join the voices of other LGBTQI people from Nairobi to inform and support knowledge generation, policy reforms, advocacy for rights and decriminalization. You may not benefit personally from your participation in this study. Your decision not to participate or to stop participation will not result in any penalty or loss of benefits to which you are entitled.

CONFIDENTIALITY

We will not collect any identifying information about you for this study. Therefore your responses will be anonymous and will never be linked to you in any way. We seek your permission to audio record as you take part in these interviews and we will be saving the recording on a safe network for sensitive data. All recordings will be promptly deleted after the study.

Your responses will be combined with those of other participants and together the findings will support knowledge generation, policy reforms and advocacy for LGBTQI population in Kenya.

FOLLOW UP CONSENT SCRIPT AND THANK YOU.

Thank you for participating in this study of lived experiences of LGBTQI people in Nairobi in terms of finding and retaining jobs.

CONTACTS

Please feel free to contact the study investigators with any questions or comments regarding this study:

Ann Wanjiku / Principal Investigator, Norway: annwanjiku232@gmail.com

Jeffrey Walimbwa/ Co-Principal investigator, Kenya:jwalimbwa@ishtarmsm.org

Telephone number: +254721910905

If you have any questions about your rights as a research participant or if you have questions, concerns, input, or complaints about the research you may contact:

The Secretary,

AMREF Ethics Review Committee,

Wilson Airport, Lang`ata Road,

Office Tel:+254 20 6994000,

Fax:+254 20 606340,

P.O.Box 30125-00100,

Nairobi, Kenya.

Thank you Again!

Q2 Do you wish to participate in this survey?

☐ No, i do not wish to participate in the study.

☐ Yes, i do consent to participate in the study.

APPENDIX 3: FOMU YA IDHINI YA MAHOJIANO NA MWONGOZO WA MAHOJIANO.

 IDHINI

Q1 Asante kwa nia yako kushiriki katika utafiti huu wa kuishi katika uzoefu wa jamii ya mashoga huku Nairobi kwa mahusiano ya kutafuta na kuajiriwa kazi. Ushiriki wako katika utafiti huu ni kwa hiari. Unaweza kuamua kutoshiriki na kuacha ushiriki wako wakati wowote.

 NANI

Utafiti huu umeundwa hasa kwa niaba ya mashoga ambao kwa sasa wanaishi mji wa Nairobi.Wachunguzi wa utafiti ni Ann Wanjiku kutoka chuo kikuu cha Norwegian University of Life Sciences,Norway na Jeffrey Walimbwa kutoka ISHTAR Nairobi, Kenya.

NINI

Utafiti huu wa dakika 30-45 utatumia mahojiano kwenye mtandao na utakuuliza kuhusu uzoefu wako wa kutafuta kazi na kuajiriwa , na maoni na uzoefu ambao umepata kuhusiana na masuala tofauti uliyopitia na yanayohusisha kuwa shoga.

KWA NINI

Majibu yako yataungana na sauti za mashoga wengine kutoka Kenya ili kuwajulisha na kusaidia kuzalisha maarifa, mageuzi ya sera na utetezi kwa mahitaji ya mashoga nchini Kenya na zinginezo. Huwezi kubainika kibinafsi kwa kushiriki katika utafiti huu. Uamuzi wako wa kutohusika na kuacha kushiriki hauwezi sababisha adhabu yoyote au kupoteza faida ambazo una haki ya kupata.

USIRI

Hatutakusanya taarifa yoyote inayoweza kukutambua katika utafiti huu. Kwa hivyo majibu yako hayatajulikana na yatabaki kuwa siri na hayawezi kuunganishwa na wewe kwa njia yeyote. Mahojiano hayo yatarekodiwa kwa sauti na kuhifadhiwa kwenye mtandao salama wa data nyeti na na itafutwa mara tu baada ya utafiti.

Majibu yako yataunganishwa na ya wale washiriki wengine na matokeo ya pamoja yatasaidia kuzalisha maarifa, mageuzi ya sera na utetezi kwa mahitaji ya mashoga wengine nchini Kenya.

ANWANI

Tafadhali ujiskie uko na uhuru wa kuwasiliana na wachunguzi wa huu utafiti kwa maswali au maswala yoyote kuhusu utafiti huu. Ikiwa una swali au maswali wakati wa mradi wasiliana na;

Ann Wanjiku / Principal Investigator, Norway: annwanjiku232@gmail.com

Jeffrey Walimbwa/ Co-Principal investigator, Kenya:jwalimbwa@ishtarmsm.org Telephone number: +254721910905

Ikiwa uko na maswali kuhusu haki zako kama mshiriki wa utafiti huu ama uko na maswali mengineyo, wasiwasi, mchango au malalamiko kuhusu utafiti huu unaweza kuwasiliana na ;

Katibu,

AMREF Ethics Review Committee,

Wilson Airport, Lang`ata Road, Office Tel:+254 20 6994000,

Fax:+254 20 606340,

P.O.Box 30125-00100,

Nairobi, Kenya.

Asante Tena!

Q2 Je unata kushiriki katika utafiti huu?

☐ La, sitaki kushiriki katika utafiti huu.

☐ Ndio, nataka kushiriki katika huu utafiti

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APPENDIX 5: THEMES AND QUOTES EXAMPLES

Othering

Arnold: you can find other colleagues they bring up that topic and they are like if we find someone like that, we will beat him up or something like that. Or people like that should go to hell or something like that.

Bids: my boss used to question me a lot, she even spy on me just to find out who truly I am. I believe it's lack of information about intersex persons that made my boss question and spy on me. Being called funny tittles by colleagues e.g., tom boy or a man etc. Being looked at by colleagues in a different perspective. Being feared and left by some colleagues/ losing friendship.

Flower: yeah, the skirt official, then you go apply for the job then after a few months when they have already discovered who you are they can say no we don't want someone like you, we are not comfortable with you, we are not safe, we don't know what you can do to other ladies so yeah

Jack: erm and also the homophobia out there because the general public tends to be like LGBTQI people are like outcasts they are people who don't deserve to live they are people that don't have morals , they don't have good character and habit so they call them as bad people who don't have anything when it comes to morals and habits so that's why they will use and yet oblivious of the knowledge they can be very productive citizens of the country that is where there is a big disconnect.

K36: eastlands is not safe to the community members because they see you are part of the LGBTQI community and still you live in eastlands and you are still struggling and hustling and, in their perception, they believe that you are cursed, you see"

Patrick: there was a time we had gone to see an intersex child who was going to be killed because they believe it will be a curse...... a curse to the generations to come, so we had to rescue the kid by taking them away from the parent. And then you find that the child was only two years but if it did not rain, they would all say it's the child's fault because the child is a curse you, see? ..... Then you find if someone dies suddenly without any cause it's the child's fault, so you find that the culture has really repressed us a lot.

Patrick: the landlord came and said people like you I don't want your money you need to move.

Pisces: okay erm first time coming out it was kind of tough because in a way it was something new that was viewed as something kind of demonic and then I had to cut off like most relatives because they were like what is this and you couldn't like to go and hang out with their children so my life was kind of like socially awkward.

Prosper: okay well for me there is a lot of stigma, a lot of discrimination once a person knows you identify as an LGBTQI community that kind of stigma and discrimination you face also there is kind of rejection from my siblings ... they get to know that you identify yourself as a Gay that image they had about you it fades and they start like you cannot understand what it is and start viewing you in a sort of way that is suspicious, they are not comfortable being in this image.

Sophia: sometimes there is stigma and discrimination from the people that don't know you and then when they know how you present your identity and gender that's now how when the stigma and discrimination start and sometimes it may end being a torture or a fight and being evicted you see.

Visibility Politics

Strategic invisibility

Andy: Okay so you know if you cannot find a guy you are more reserved and when people invite you to party and you don't want to associate let me say with girls then it becomes hard you just leave the place without talking with anybody else just because you don't feel comfortable.

Anthony: as I present myself on how I am, the mode of presentation defines who you are, so when I go to the community I behave like the community, if I go the LGBTQI I behave like them, yeah.

Ashley: because your co-workers are not your friends, and you cannot just come and say that I am a lesbian because you don't know how people will perceive you the person may end up going to an extent of making you lose your job so its just better to keep to yourself because you do not know how other people may react."

Flower: so I have a band in my hand so whenever I go looking for jobs I normally remove it so its putting it the way the job needs like an official so you have to put on a dress you have to put on a skirt that is I find it much harder when I look for jobs, yeah.

Jack: most people even if they have social media they will have pseudo accounts with pictures of celebrities and not themselves so they can hide their identity so people may not realize its them, but if it was a free state and people want to do what they want , date freely and just enjoy life so that's what I wish for so that by the time you create your own account start using your own photos people want to say things to you and you start getting the homophobia kicking in.

k36: at the organization when we go for outreaches offices usually, we are picked by the Kenya Red Cross van which plays a big part...

Malkia: you are working 9 hours and through that time in the 9hrs you have to act straight until you get back to your place where you can be safe, and that place is inside your apartment even on the balcony you are not that safe"

Mike: yeah, so those are some of the things, but I guess that's why we create our own borders and try to lock people out because we don't have anything against people, we are just trying to protect ourselves.

Pisces: yeah, school you could get expulsion for something like that, so you had to hide it and keep it on the low and not say anything.

Stacey: I can say my experiences is I have to hide my identity to find a job.

Wanjiku: men would try to hit on me left right and centre so they would be wondering why I am not accepting their advances, so I used to tell this men you know I am involved with my baby daddy so there is nothing you can get from me while deep down you are still in the closet you see, you want these jobs this person is pursuing you yet you have papers you are educated".

HYPERVISIBILITY

K36: because this guy imagines in a situation this guy is so feminine even the walking style, dressing code that guy cannot work in any environment except one that accepts him which is the community"

Mesu: someone mistaken and taken the cup to fall on the floor you see, so immediately I shrieked, and that person stop look and know that they employed a gay person. So, you find that they be like due to the service her we do not employ gay people and just get fired.

Patrick: as I grew the challenges were there since then because of my physical appearance, sometimes you hear someone say hey beautiful, then they say oh you mean it's a man, you see so when they get that confused then they remove your clothes to understand, so I have been beaten many times I even got used I am not shocked anymore…laughs. I always know once I hear someone say hi beautiful and hey are you a man that it's about to go down.

Pisces: on a valentine's day last year. My partner comes, the normal things, comes to say hi and gives me like flowers you know and then people are like what's happening, this is someone who has like gone out of their way to come and express because this is a day of like love. Then like after all the giving and you give your partner a kiss and then you go back to work coz, we did it like outside the door so like people when they are walking, they are looking so I was called. That evening I was called by the manager and told that I cannot work there any longer because I am making people uncomfortable and I am making children scared, I look like a monster!

Wanjiku: oh, okay so I was saying like in Kayole if you are seen wearing an anklet, they assume you are gay, a lesbian so people don't know how to mind their business like in these areas, so your business is their business.

FEAR

Andy: being scared, where you think if you tell someone something how will you be considered in society, so you just choose to be quiet.

Sharon: you get such comments and you even fear leaving home and going somewhere else because you have that fear. Like me, after I was beaten up I usually don't walk here.

Arnold: I can say I think of Nairobi its not that safe you can be beaten down like mob justice or something like that.

Exe: if I had disclosed, I feared that they might be able to mistreat me or something like that.

K36: a friend of mine who had been attacked with a machete in Malindi. So he was sending me pictures telling me look at what has been done to me here at the stage, now when he was telling me I told him I

know that guy so I said if I come and they see me walking with you what will they do to me! They may cut me too.

Malkia: the freedom of expressing yourself you don't have because most of them once you start doing that you are going to get killed.

Prosper: I had to leave that job asap, so I was like what if they come to know I am that kind of person I am, what will they do to me, how will they react?"

Wanjiku: its not safe at all you cannot walk with your partner holding hands you guys can be stoned to death. Being stoned is very easy, being killed is very easy very easy.

APPENDIX 6: ETHICAL AND RESEARCH PERMITS

amref
health africa

Amref Health Africa in Kenya

REF: AMREF – ESRC P976/2021   July 13, 2021

Wanjiku Vestlie Ann
Norwegian University of Life Sciences
5003 NMBU 1432AS
Tel: +4740564293
E-mail: annwanjiku232@gmail.com

Dear Ann Wanjiku

RESEARCH PROTOCOL: A QUALITATIVE STUDY OF THE LIVED EXPERIENCE OF
THE LGBTQI COMMUNITY IN NAIROBI WITH REGARDS TO THEIR WORKER ROLES

Thank you for submitting your protocol to the Amref Ethics and Scientific Review Committee (ESRC).

This is to inform you that the ESRC has reviewed and approved your protocol. The approval period is
from July 13, 2021 to July 12, 2022, and is subject to compliance with the following requirements:

a) Only approved documents (including informed consents, study instruments, advertising
   materials, material transfer agreements etc.) will be used.
b) All changes including (amendments, deviations, violations etc.) are submitted for review and
   approval by Amref ESRC before implementation.
c) Death and life-threatening problems and severe adverse events (SAEs) or unexpected adverse
   events whether related or unrelated to the study must be reported to the Amref ESRC within 72
   hours of notification.
d) Any changes, anticipated or otherwise that may increase the risks or affect safety or welfare of
   study participants and others or affect the integrity of the research must be reported to Amref
   ESRC within 72 hours.
e) Clearance for export of biological specimen must be obtained from the relevant government
   authorities for each batch of shipment/export.
f) Submission of a request for renewal of approval at least 60 days prior to expiry of the approval
   period. Attach a comprehensive progress report to support the renewal.
g) In case of late renewal, the Amref ESRC shall not be held responsible for any severe adverse
   events (SAEs) that may occur as a result of research activities that were carried out after the
   expiry of approval.
h) Submission of an executive summary report within 90 days upon completion of the study to the
   Amref ESRC.
i) All government regulations for prevention and control of the spread of COVID-19 including
   social distancing, provision of personal protective equipment for participants and research
   assistants should be adhered to during data collection. All research assistants should be
   monitored for COVID 19 symptoms and referred for testing in case they present with
   symptoms.

Prior to commencing your study, you will be expected to obtain a research license from National
Commission for Science, Technology and innovation (NACOSTI) https://oris.nacosti.go.ke/ and obtain
other clearances needed.

Please do not hesitate to contact the ESRC Secretariat (esrc.kenya@amref.org) for any clarification or
query.

amref
health africa

Yours sincerely,
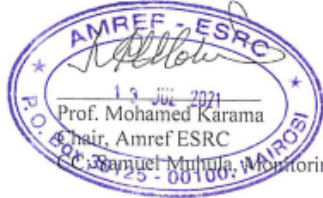
Prof. Mohamed Karama
Chair, Amref ESRC
CC: Samuel Muhula, Monitoring & Evaluation and Research Manager, Amref Health Africa in Kenya

REPUBLIC OF KENYA

NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE,TECHNOLOGY & INNOVATION

Ref No: **978456**

Date of Issue: **29/July/2021**

RESEARCH LICENSE

This is to Certify that Ms.. **Ann Wanjiku** of Norwegian University of Life Sciences, has been licensed to conduct research in Nairobi on the topic: **A qualitative study of lived experiences of the Lesbian Gay Bisexual Transgender Queer and Intersex community in Nairobi with regards to job availability and retention.** for the period ending ; **29/July/2022.**

License No: **NACOSTI/P/21/11988**

978456

Applicant Identification Number

Director General
NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR
SCIENCE,TECHNOLOGY &
INNOVATION

Verification QR Code

NOTE: This is a computer generated License. To verify the authenticity of this document,
Scan the QR Code using QR scanner application.

English   Ann Wanjiku Vestlie

A LIVED IN EXPERIENCE OF THE LGBTI COMMUNITY IN NAIROBI IN TERMS OF FINDING AND RETAINING JOBS / WITH REGARDS TO THEIR WORKER ROLES.

Reference
101789

Status
Assessed

Open Notification Form   ≣ Assessment

> Write message here. Note that the content of your message will be available to your institution as well as others with shared access to your project.

Send message

Status inquiry (project end) (scheduled)
15.06.2021 02:00

Message
11.03.2021 07:58

Behandlingen av personopplysninger er vurdert av NSD. Vurderingen er:

Our assessment is that the processing of personal data in this project will comply with data protection legislation, so long as it is carried out in accordance with what is documented in the Notification Form and attachments, dated 11.03.2021, as well as in correspondence with NSD. Everything is in place for the processing to begin.

NOTIFY CHANGES
If you intend to make changes to the processing of personal data in this project it may be necessary to notify NSD. This is done by updating the information registered in the Notification Form. On our website we explain which changes must be notified. Wait until you receive an answer from us before you carry out the changes.

TYPE OF DATA AND DURATION
The project will be processing general categories of personal data and special categories of personal data regarding health and sexual orientation until 15.06.2021.

LEGAL BASIS
The project will gain consent from data subjects to process their personal data. We find that consent will meet the necessary requirements under art. 4 (11) and 7, in that it will be a freely given, specific, informed and unambiguous statement or action, which will be documented and can be withdrawn.

The legal basis for processing general categories of personal data is therefore consent given by the data subject, cf. the General Data Protection Regulation art. 6.1 a).

The legal basis for processing special categories of personal data is explicit consent given by the data subject, cf. art. 9.2 a), cf. the Personal Data Act § 10, cf. § 9 (2).

PRINCIPLES RELATING TO PROCESSING PERSONAL DATA
NSD finds that the planned processing of personal data will be in accordance with the principles under the General Data Protection Regulation regarding:

lawfulness, fairness and transparency (art. 5.1 a), in that data subjects will receive sufficient information about the processing and will give their consent

purpose limitation (art. 5.1 b), in that personal data will be collected for specified, explicit and legitimate purposes, and will not be processed for new, incompatible purposes

data minimisation (art. 5.1 c), in that only personal data which are adequate, relevant and necessary for the purpose of the project will be processed

storage limitation (art. 5.1 e), in that personal data will not be stored for longer than is necessary to fulfil the project's purpose

THE RIGHTS OF DATA SUBJECTS

NSD finds that the information that will be given to data subjects about the processing of their personal data will meet the legal requirements for form and content, cf. art. 12.1 and art. 13.

Data subjects will have the following rights in this project: access (art. 15), rectification (art. 16), erasure (art. 17), restriction of processing (art. 18), data portability (art. 20). These rights apply so long as the data subject can be identified in the collected data.

We remind you that if a data subject contacts you about their rights, the data controller has a duty to reply within a month.

FOLLOW YOUR INSTITUTION'S GUIDELINES

NSD presupposes that the project will meet the requirements of accuracy (art. 5.1 d), integrity and confidentiality (art. 5.1 f) and security (art. 32) when processing personal data.

TSD and Zoom is a data processor for the project. NSD presupposes that the processing of personal data by a data processor meets the requirements under the General Data Protection Regulation arts. 28 and 29.

To ensure that these requirements are met you must follow your institution's internal guidelines and/or consult with your institution (i.e. the institution responsible for the project).

FOLLOW-UP OF THE PROJECT

NSD will follow up the progress of the project at the planned end date in order to determine whether the processing of personal data has been concluded.

Good luck with the project!

Contact person at NSD: Henrik Netland Svensen
Data Protection Services for Research: +47 55 58 21 17 (press 1)

This is to certify that:

Ann Wanjiku Vestlie

Has completed the following CITI Program course:

Completion Date 29-Mar-2021
Expiration Date 29-Mar-2022
Record ID 41847881

Not valid for renewal of certification through CME.

Human Subjects Research - BASIC
(Curriculum Group)
Human Subjects Research – Social-Behavioral-Educational Basic
(Course Learner Group)
1 - Independent Learner
(Stage)

Under requirements set by:

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