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INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

GENDER RELATIONS IN PUBLIC ROAD TRANSPORT IN AFRICA

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DECLARATION

I, Samuel M. Mwangi hereby declare that this research project is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University.

Signed..... Date.....

Samuel M. Mwangi

This project has been submitted for examination with my approval as the University Supervisor.

Signed..... Date.....

Prof. Amb. Maria Nzomo

DEDICATION

To Sandra Maria Dias

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The shortcomings of this study are my responsibility. Such strengths as it has are due to the contribution of many people, and I here acknowledge just some of them. My supervisor, Prof.Amb. Maria Nzomo has been of great help in the entire study, and without her insight, this work wouldn't have materialized in the manner that it has. She was a thorough and meticulous coach.

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ABSTRACT

The entrepreneurial participation of women in the motorized transport sector in many African countries is limited. Determining the causal factors for the low participation of women in the sector has been the main objective of the current study. Gender-based challenges experienced by women in public road transport have also been looked into. Interventions that have been put into place internationally to mitigate harassment of women in public road transport have also been analyzed. The structural feminist theory was utilized for the analysis. The theory focuses on social structures, notably patriarchy and capitalism that oppress women. The study adopts the research design of a survey. Surveys are concerned with describing, recording, analyzing and interpreting conditions that either exist or existed. The researcher does not manipulate the variable or arrange for events to happen. Surveys are only concerned with conditions or relationships as they exist, opinions as they are held, processes as they are going on, effects as they are evident and trends as they develop. Three factors were found to cause the low participation of women in the IMT sector in Africa. They include historical reasons like colonialism, violence, and the sexual division of labour. A survey of gender relations in the public road transport in Nairobi, Kenya, was conducted. The study involved owners and workers from 10 *matatu* SACCOS in Nairobi. The study also sought the views of 30 female and 30 male commuters on gender based harassment in public transport in Nairobi. It was found that women workers comprise of about 4.95% of the workers in the sector. The average *matatu* ownership for the SACCOS sampled was found to be 1.99 *matatus* per member. However, a great difference emerges when one considers the ownership by male and female owners separately. Ownership ratio for male owners was found to be 2.096 while that of female owners was found to be 1.33. It was found that 73.1% of the *matatu* owners interviewed had worked in the *matatu* sector before in the positions of driver, or as conductors. This implies that by excluding women from working in the motorized public transport sector, women are, by extension disadvantaged with regard to ownership of property. Transport owners and workers were found to comprise powerful political lobbies in Kenya, Uganda, Nigeria and Ghana. Hence, the exclusion of women from participating in the transport sector disenfranchises women from the political and administrative opportunities associated with the field. The study found various gender differentials in the attitudes of men and women towards the *matatu*, suggesting that women's travel needs are different from those of men and are hardly addressed in the male-dominated sector. A study of expressions of masculinity in the public transport sector in Africa is recommended.

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

BRT	-	Bus Rapid Transit
CBD	-	Central Business District
CES	-	City Express Service
EU	-	European Union
GBV	-	Gender Based Violence
GDP	-	Gross Domestic Product
GPRTU	-	Ghana Private Road Transporters Union
GRTCC	-	Ghana Road Transport Coordinating Council
IMF	-	International Monetary Fund
IMT	-	Informal motorized transport
KBS	-	Kenya Bus Service
KCC	-	Kampala City Council
KEMU	-	Kenya Methodist University
LSTC	-	Lagos State Transport Corporation
MMT	-	Metro Mass Transit
MOA	-	<i>Matatu</i> Owners Association
MWA	-	<i>Matatu</i> Welfare Association
NCC	-	Nairobi City Council
NDC	-	National Democratic Council
NLC	-	National Liberation Council
NPP	-	New Patriotic Party
NURTW	-	Nigerian Union of Road Transport Workers

OSA	-	Omnibus Services Authority
PROTOA	-	Progressive Transport Owners Association (Of Ghana)
PSV	-	Public Service Vehicle
SACCO	-	Savings and Credit Cooperative Society
TfL	-	Transport for London
TLB	-	Transport Licensing Board
UTODA	-	Uganda Taxis Operators and Drivers' Association
UTOS	-	United Transport Overseas Services
VAW	-	Violence against Women

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

A broad conceptualization of transportation entails more than the movement of people, goods and services from point A to point B, to incorporate expressions of power relations in the community.¹ This is so because transport facilitates the access to essential resources such as education, employment, healthcare and other facilities that enhance economic wellbeing.² Consequently, provision of transport services can be used as a tool either to empower or to disenfranchise certain sections of a community.

Gender considerations in transportation can only be captured in such a conception of transport. It has been observed that transport needs of women differ significantly from those of men. For example, in every European country, fewer women than men use private cars for their transport needs. On the other hand, women constitute the majority of public transportation passengers. In view of such differences in transport needs between genders, the transport sector then presents a site of heightened gender inequalities. In addition, most transport policy makers and implementers are usually men and hardly pay attention to the needs of women.³

The convergence of gender-biased transport policies and practices with privatization accentuates discrimination against women in the transport sector. Privatization as a

¹ Transgen.(2007). *Gender Mainstreaming in European Transport Research and Policies: Building the knowledge base and mapping good practices*. Copenhagen: University of Copenhagen,

² Khosa, M.M. (1997). *Sisters on slippery wheels: Women Taxi Drivers in South Africa*. Transformation 33.

³ Hasson, Y. and Polevoy, M. (2011). *Gender Equality Initiatives in Transportation Policy: A Review of Literature*. Heinrich Boll Stiftung.

concept has been criticised for propagating inequalities in the society with the least vulnerable groups being disadvantaged by it. While the policy itself may be gender-neutral, its application and the societal biases make privatization to disadvantage certain groups in the population. One group that has consistently been disadvantaged by privatization is women.⁴ For example in Russia, it was shown that during privatization, women were more susceptible to being forced to sell their shares to management.⁵ Privatization also encourages practices that hinder women from competing in private enterprise, and securing employment in various sectors of the economy such as the transport sector.

As a result of discriminative social practices, women are likely to have less collateral through which they would access financial resources. Women's enterprises are likely to remain few and small owing to unfair practices extended against them by men, through informal "old-boys networks" where secrets of trade are shared, excluding women.⁶ In addition, it has been said that owing to the patriarchal nature of the society, women entrepreneurs are subjected to physical, sexual and economic violence by men, thereby intimidating them (women) from income generating opportunities.⁷

The transport sector and the urban place have been described as significant spaces in the private-public dichotomy. This is especially so in developing countries where colonial

⁴ Prizzia, Ross (2005). An International Perspective of Privatization and Women Workers. *Journal of International Women's Studies*, 7(1),55-68. Available at: <http://vc.bridgew.edu/jiws/vol7/iss1/5>

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Winn, J. (2005). Women Entrepreneurs – Can we Remove the Barriers? *International Entrepreneurship and Management Journal*, 1, 381 -397.

⁷ Godoy, E. (2013). *Women Entrepreneurs Overcoming Barriers in Mexico*. In Journalism and Communication for Global Change. Mexico City: Interpress Service News Agency.

governments restricted the movement of women to urban areas, thereby emphasizing the bias of confining women to domestic unpaid labour, while preparing men for commercial and administrative roles available in urban centres.⁸ Sexual division of labour in patriarchal societies therefore contributes to discrimination against women by having women taking up domestic and less paying chores while men are assigned to more prestigious responsibilities.

Public transport service in many African states is a fully privatized informal domain.⁹ This then makes the transport sector a ready ground for expressions of unequal gender power relations in view of the discussion above. The factors that contribute to the growth of such unequal gender relations in the transport sector in Africa will be the subject of the current study.

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

The present study seeks to analyse the gendered nature of entrepreneurial participation in public road transport in Africa. The study also seeks to investigate and assess the existing gender-focused interventions in public road transport in different parts of the world with a view of drawing lessons that can be learnt in the management of public transport in Africa, and Kenya in particular.

⁸ Mapetla, M. and Schlyter, A. (1997). Introduction. In Mapetla, M., Larson, A. and Schlyter, A. (Eds).(1997). *Changing Gender Relations in Southern Africa*. Roma: The Institute of Southern African Studies.

⁹ The World Bank. (2000). *Cities on the Move: A World Bank Urban Transport Strategy Review*. (p.94) Author.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

1.3.1 General Objective

The general objective of this study is to interrogate gender relations in the African road public transport system, with Kenya as a case study.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

1. To study the demographic features of women workers in the *matatu* industry.
2. To inquire into the causal factors for low women participation in the public road transport sector.
3. To assess the challenges and opportunities for women in the public road transport in Nairobi.
4. To investigate the gender-based challenges that women commuters face in the public road transport in Africa.
5. To assess and analyze the gender-based interventions in public road transport internationally.

1.4 Research Hypotheses

1. The gendered division of power and labour in the household prohibits women from effective engagement in the public road transport sector in Kenya.
2. Women-unfriendly character of the transport sector limits women's entrepreneurial participation in the public road transport sector.

3. Exclusionary norms and conditions, perpetuated by historical factors and patriarchy, contribute to economic marginalization and disempowerment of women in public road transport.

1.5 Justification of the Study

Parpart (1995) writing about gender and development in Africa says that women and men do not benefit equally from economic development policies. She says that patriarchal structures and ideologies and the extent to which women are emancipated or subordinated in their societies influence whether development initiatives will differentially advantage women and men.¹⁰

The privatization policies that have taken place in transport sectors of many African cities have escaped the scholarly scrutiny that other state-directed privatization ventures have met with regard to the effects that such policies have on various segments of society, especially women. This possibly happens because privatization in this case involves the quasi-legal informal sector. The present study is designed to address such a need.

The study should contribute to the efforts of state and non-state actors to increase women's effective entrepreneurial participation in the transport sector. The outcome of this study should contribute to the elimination of structural barriers that limit the economic empowerment of women.

¹⁰Parpart, J.L. (1995). *Gender, Patriarchy and Development in Africa: The Zimbabwean case*. Lansing: Michigan State University.

Secondly, the study provides gender disaggregated data for the workforce of *matatu* workers in Nairobi. The data generated should be useful to researchers, civil society and government planners as they plan for policies to increase women's entrepreneurial participation in the transport sector. Overall, this research helps to contribute towards more gender friendly road transport for both women and men.

1.6 Literature Review

1.6.1 Introduction

This literature review starts with a study of urban transport as a gendered concept. Later the study explores how the following factors contribute to the exclusion of women in the urban public transport sector in Africa: Historical reasons including colonialism, gender based violence, and the sexual division of labour. Justifications for segregating women from certain occupations are interrogated in a later section of the review.

1.6.2 Urban Transport as a Gendered Concept

In a report entitled *Gender and Sustainable Urban Mobility* submitted to the United Nations Human Settlements Programme (the UN Habitat), Deike Peters (2013) makes a convincing argument regarding the gendered nature of urban transport.¹¹ For a long time, urban transport systems were assumed to be gender neutral. Recent research has however continued to reveal the gendered nature of such transport policy and planning in different cities in the world. These gendered expressions are usually discriminative of women and are expressed in a number of ways:

¹¹ Peters, D. (2013) *Gender and Sustainable Urban Mobility*. Nairobi: United Nations Human Settlement Programme.

1.6.2.1 Domestic Division of Labour

Modern day urban transport developed from 20th Century policies which implicitly or explicitly assumed that households consisted of nuclear families with a male ‘bread winner’ who was responsible for the ‘productive’ tasks of the household and a female ‘home-maker’ who was responsible for the ‘reproductive’ tasks within the household. These notions were later exported to the developing world such that in much of the world today, urban transport remains heavily gendered.¹²

Consequent to this domestic division of labour, women are more likely to undertake trips to school events, for medi-care and other household related duties like shopping. Women are also more likely to be heads of single-parent families, such that their urban travel demands are likely not only to be more challenging but also more complicated as they combine the travel demands of formal work with those of household duties.¹³ On the other hand, transport needs for men are more typically likely to be trips to work. As more women get involved in modern wage earning employment, the differences in modes and patterns of transport for the different genders have become more evident. Differences are even more pronounced when one considers employment opportunities for different genders in the public transport sector.

Stephen Golden (2010) says that transport should be looked at as an instrument that may promote or hinder equality among different sections of an urban population. He points a number of ways in which the transport needs of women differ from those of men. For

¹² Ibid, p.1

¹³ Ibid, p.1

example women are three times more likely than men to be involved in taking children to and from school. Women are also more likely to be accompanied by children, the sick and the elderly in their trips. In London, it was also found that women made 7% more trips than men, though their trips were 11% shorter than those of men.¹⁴

To address issues related to gender equality in the transport sector, Transport for London (TfL) identified five areas of concern to women. First is the accessibility to the service which refers to the availability and integration of services as well as infrastructure. TfL observed that women were more likely to trip-chain and therefore the public transport provider ought to make arrangements for greater connectivity and cross modal integration to facilitate trip chaining. Secondly, women were said to be in greater need for safety and security while using public transportation modes. Other concerns identified as being of relevance to women's transport needs include affordability, service information, and finding work in the transport sector.

1.6.2.2 Differences in Modes of Transport

Peters, D. (2013) says that women are more likely than men to rely on non-motorized modes of transport. For example research among male and female porters in Accra, Ghana in the 1990s revealed that women porters were more likely to use their heads and backs while men and boys would more frequently use carts, wheelbarrows or bicycles.

¹⁴ Golden, S. (2010). *Expanding Horizons: TfL's Approach to Gender Equality*. A Presentation made to Transgen in Brussels on June 7th 2010.

The implication is that male porters would generally move better remunerative loads compared to female porters.¹⁵

Where households have to choose between motorized private and public means of transport, women are more likely to rely on public means compared to men. This illustrates women's inferior economic status within households compared to men. Related to public transport is the issue of gender-based harassment where women are more likely to be harassed by fellow passengers and transport operators (e.g. through groping) than men.

Women were also found to be more reliant on the informal motorized transport (IMT) modes in urban centres. IMT modes assume different forms in different cities ranging from motor cycles, auto-rickshaws, converted pick-up vans, minibus vans and buses. In developed world, these IMT modes generally appear in response to deficiencies of the formal paratransit transport. In developing world, formal paratransit transport is hugely inexistent and therefore the majority of the people depend on IMTs.¹⁶

IMT modes are generally associated with overcrowding, unsafe riding conditions, unregulated fares, harassment by the operators and preferential boarding being given to

¹⁵ Peters, D. (2013) *Gender and Sustainable Urban Mobility*. (p.5) Nairobi: United Nations Human Settlement Programme.

¹⁶ Peters, D. (2013) *Gender and Sustainable Urban Mobility*. (p.12) Nairobi: United Nations Human Settlement Programme.

male passengers. Ironically, Peters, D. (2013) finds IMT modes to be more market responsive and hence more suited to women's complex travel demands.¹⁷

The use of private motorized means of transport was also found to be more prevalent for men than for women, especially in developing economies in a research conducted in the 1990s in Bamako, Mali in the 1990s it was found that only 2 percent of women had access to private cars and 3 percent to motorcycles, compared to 7 percent and 20 percent of men, respectively. Another study in Turkmenistan found that 79 percent of car users were men.¹⁸

1.6.2.3 Female Employment in the Transport Sector

In 2007, the European Union (EU) commissioned a study entitled 'Innovative gender equality measures in the transport industry' that shed light into the employment status of women in the transport sector in the EU.¹⁹ The report noted that the transport sector constituted approximately 10% of the GDP of the EU. In addition, the sector adds value to other sectors of the economy by enhancing an efficient distribution of products worldwide. It was found that the largest portion of employment in the transport sector came from road transport (more than 50%) compared to railway transport (11.3%), sea and air (2.1% and 4.7% respectively.) The report attempted to bridge a conspicuous lack of data relating to women in the transport industry.²⁰

¹⁷ Ibid, p.13.

¹⁸ Ibid, p.17.

¹⁹ Corral, A. and Isusi, I. (2007). *Innovative gender equality measures in the transport industry*. Dublin: European Foundation for the improvement of living and working conditions.

²⁰ Ibid, p.2.

According to the report, the transport sector is one of the most segregated sectors of the economy employing only 20.5% of women in the transport workforce compared to an overall female employment rate of 43.5% in the total economy.²¹ Further breakdown of the data reveals the gendered nature of transport jobs especially in the air subsector. The air subsector was found to have employed more women than the other subsectors of transport, such as road, sea and railway. This higher enrolment of women in the transport sector is attributed to stereotypes associated with air travel where the captain was expected to be a brave man, thought to be the protector of the crew while the care-giving cabin crew was mainly composed of care-recipient women.²²

The report noted that there was widespread poor understanding of the specific needs of women workforce in the transport sector.²³ It revealed that generally women in the transport sector work under poorer conditions compared to their male counterparts.

Some barriers that keep women out of the transport industry were highlighted. Topmost was the issue of pregnancy and family status. The report said that employers feared that they would lose women workers once the workers have been allowed to go for maternity leave and child care.²⁴ In addition, it was noted that some transport sector jobs entailed working for long hours that are not family friendly. Unpredictable work shifts and demand to work overtime do not lend themselves well with workers with family responsibilities.

²¹ Ibid,p.9.

²² Ibid, p.9

²³ Ibid, p.1

²⁴ Ibid, p.8.

Women working in the transport sector were found to experience aggressive behaviour from the customers and colleague operators. Further, such women were not favoured by the ergonomics of the work place, having to work in a male-dominated sector in the economy.

1.6.3 How Colonialism Contributed to the Exclusion of Women Entrepreneurial

Participation in the Transport Sector in Africa

It can be shown that the African patriarchy and the western capitalistic and missionary patriarchy on meeting in Africa joined hands to subjugate the African woman from economically beneficial aspects of African life, such as the transport sector. Auset (2008) says that the status of the African woman in the pre-colonial era was better than it is in the post-colonial period.²⁵ The dignity of the African women got eroded through colonization in two steps: First, the colonialists imported the concept of the Victorian family into Africa²⁶ and secondly, colonial laws restricted the movement of women to urban centres.²⁷ These two perspectives will be discussed here.

In the Victorian culture, the career for the woman was marriage. Women were expected to be dutiful, innocent, virtuous and ignorant of intellectual opinion. It was the primary duty of the Victorian woman to make her house comfortable for her husband and family.

The woman was expected to teach her children good morals and run the domestic affairs

²⁵ Auset, O. (2008). *African Women in African Civilization: The effect of colonialism on African Women*. Available at <http://www.africanamerica.org>. Retrieved on July 16th 2014.

²⁶ Un-identified Author. (2007). *The effect of colonialism on African women*. Available at <http://africaneye.wordpress.com/2007/03/08/the-effect-of-colonialism-on-african-women/>, Retrieved on July 15th 2014.

²⁷ Macharia, K.P. (2003). *Migration in Kenya and its impact on the labour market*. A Presentation in the conference on African Migration in Comparative Perspective held on 4 – 7 July. (p.9).Johannesberg: American University.

on behalf of the husband, so that the husband could concentrate on making money. Women were not allowed to own property until the Married Woman's Property Act of 1887 was passed. While it was common for men to have mistresses, a woman would be cut off from the society if it became known that she was having an affair.²⁸

The Victorian thought on the family was propagated by the missionaries in Africa who presented it as the godly model of the family, while depicting the African family as evil. Hungwe, C. (2006.) writing about Salisbury (later renamed Harare) says that the missionary patriarchy in conjunction with the African patriarchy labelled the women who claimed independence from the domination of men in the rural areas, to seek for opportunities in the urban areas as "prostitutes". Married women who had followed their husbands to urban areas chose to become domesticated, so that their husbands would not be snatched by the unmarried "prostitute" women.

To fit in the image of a Victorian family, women insisted for the western-style ritualizing of marriages in church ceremonies, complete with Victorian era wedding garments and bridal attendants. Marriage certificates became important symbols of marriage and African women took pride in being referred to by their husband's names – Mrs. (husband's name). Thereafter, women were supposed to belong to women's clubs and church groups that reinforced feminine domesticity, for example through teaching home crafts, knitting and cooking.²⁹ While the African pre-colonial society also subjugated

²⁸ Thomas, P.W. (2014). *A Woman's Place in the 19th Century Victorian History*. Available at http://www.fashion-era/a_womans_place. Retrieved on July 16th 2014.

²⁹ Hungwe, C. (2006.). *Putting them in their place: "Respectable" and "Unrespectable" women in Zimbabwean Gender Struggles*. In *Feminist Africa* (6) 33-47:35

women economically in certain ways, the fusion of the Victorian thought on the family with the African patriarchy had the effect of reinforcing the sexual division of labour restricting the women into the domestic space. In this manner, women were kept from accessing entrepreneurial opportunities, including in the transport sector, at the same footing as men.

The second way in which colonialism contributed to the subjugation of women's economic and political rights is by restricting the migration of women to urban centres at the onset of the modern economy in Africa. In Uganda, women had started to move to urban areas in search of wage employment as early as 1940. This migration was however strongly resisted by the colonial officials and rural elders.³⁰

A similar scenario was unfolding in Zimbabwe where colonial officials and rural African elders joined hands to restrict the movement of women to urban centres. Hungwe, C. forwards reasons for this collaboration between these patriarchal forces.

First, male African workers were only provided with bachelor accommodation. By allowing their wives to accompany them to towns, African men labourers would start to claim for family accommodation. Such a move would have increased the cost of accommodating the workers and thus raise the cost of production for the colonial enterprise.³¹ In addition, bachelor wages were lower than those of married men. As long as the wives remained in the rural areas, the African male worker only qualified for

³⁰Hungwe, C. (2006.). Putting them in their place: "Respectable" and "Unrespectable" women in Zimbabwean Gender Struggles. In *Feminist Africa* (6) 33-47:35

³¹ Ibid, p.36.

“bachelor wages” which were lower than the wages paid to married man. Moreover, having the children and the wife in the urban centre was thought to be distractive for the male worker.³²

When Women were allowed to urban areas, many of them would brew “illegal” liquor for sale to the African men for their financial survival. This according to Hungwe posed a threat to the revenue of the state because clients would not visit the state-sponsored beer halls.³³ In this way, it can be seen that the colonial administration had economic basis for the subjugation of the African woman. This subjugation of the African woman led to her late entry into the modern economy and hence enterprise.

Rural African patriarchs collaborated with the colonial administration in an attempt to control the movement of women to urban areas. If women were allowed to follow male workers in towns, no bride price would be paid when marriages occurred between such migrants while in urban centres. The custody of women therefore acted as an insurance that the young migrant man would go back to rural areas to get a wife. The rural patriarchs would be called upon to broker and manage marriage negotiations. In this way, the African patriarchy, just like the colonial patriarchy had economic interests in controlling the movement of women to cities.³⁴

There are non-economic reasons why the African patriarchs wanted to control the movement of women to towns: they wanted to retain the purity of their clan. When

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid, p.37

³⁴ Ibid, p.38

women moved away from home, the patriarchs had less control over whom the women married or cohabited with. The patriarchs feared that women would have liaisons with men from other ethnicities. Thus, African males wanted to keep women under their noses so as to ensure endogamous marriage by the women.³⁵

By resisting the migration of women to towns, women entrepreneurs were denied the opportunity to identify a possible income generating niche in public transport, preserving it for male entrepreneurs. Macharia (2003) establishes that in Kenya, some women, against the restrictions of the African patriarchy, left for urban areas and established flourishing businesses especially in food businesses.³⁶ This freedom of movement by women to towns would later be curtailed through the introduction of passes for women.³⁷

1.6.4 How Gender-based Violence keeps Women from Participating in the Transport Sector

Evidence from around the world suggests that women generally fear public transit spaces. Loukaitou-Sideris, A. et al. (2009) offer some explanation saying that women develop this fear of the public space owing to their lesser physical ability to defend themselves. In addition, women have been socialised not to place a claim at the public space, but to content themselves with roles designed for the private space. Women are also said to

³⁵ Un-identified Author. (2007). *The effect of colonialism on African women*. Available at <http://africaneye.wordpress.com/2007/03/08/the-effect-of-colonialism-on-african-women/>, Retrieved on July 15th 2014.

³⁶ Macharia, K.P. (2003). *Migration in Kenya and its impact on the labour market*. A Presentation in the conference on African Migration in Comparative Perspective held on 4 – 7 July. (p.9).Johannesberg: American University.

³⁷ Ibid, p.12.

possess a greater propensity to transfer past experiences and memories of victimization to present situations.³⁸

Women's predisposition to fear of public transit spaces increases when one considers that women are more likely to travel while accompanied by children, the elderly, the sick and the disabled. Women's concern for these dependants induces the fear of the public space where the dependants may be exposed to vulnerabilities. Further, sexual harassment in public transport in various degrees has persisted in various transport modes all over the world. The way gender-based crimes are highlighted in the media creates an impression that the public space is more dangerous for women than the private space. This is not necessarily correct, considering that a lot of sexual harassment of women occurs in the private space and to people known to the victim. The portrayal of the public space as a dangerous place for women may be thought of as an attempt by the patriarchal society to coerce women out of the public space and to reinforce the sexual division of labour.³⁹

1.6.5 The Gendered Division of Labour

The concept of domestic division of labour refers to the distribution between family members of those responsibilities and tasks necessary for the maintenance of the domestic home and of the people who live in it. Traditionally, men have the primary responsibility for the financial provision for the family while women have the responsibility for the management and performance of housework and caring work such

³⁸ Loukaitou-Sideris, A. et. al (2009). *How to ease women's fear of transportation environments: Case studies and best practices*. San Jose: Mineta Transport Institute.

³⁹ Loukaitou-Sideris, A. et. al (2009). *How to ease women's fear of transportation environments: Case studies and best practices*. San Jose: Mineta Transport Institute.

as cleaning, laundry, shopping, cooking and caring for children. This domestic work performed by women is usually unpaid, is usually performed at home and is necessary for the maintenance of the household and its members.⁴⁰

A number of feminist theories have sought to explain the traditional domestic division of labour. Della Costa (1972) says that the domestic division of labour benefits capitalism. Unpaid housework and caring work replenishes labour power in a generational basis and in this way contributes to the production of surplus value and hence sustain the capitalist dynamic.⁴¹

Hartmann (1982) draws a relationship between capitalism and patriarchy. According to Hartmann, a patriarchal system in which men controlled the labour power of women and children grew before the development of capitalism. Through the patriarchal system, men learned the techniques of hierarchical organization and control which, as capitalism developed, they then used to segregate paid work to their own advantage. As a result, men hold jobs with greater material reward compared to jobs held by women.⁴² The lower wages generally earned by women keep women dependent on men and usually require women to get married. Married women perform household chores to keep their husbands comfortable, at no pay at all. This domestic division of labour, in turn, weakens women's position in the labour market. In Hartmann's account, the 'mutual

⁴⁰ Pilcher, J. and Whelehan, I. (2004). *50 Key Concepts in Gender Studies*. (p.31). London: Sage.

⁴¹ Quoted by Pilcher, J. and Whelehan, I. (2004). *50 Key Concepts in Gender Studies*. (p.31). London: Sage.

⁴² Quoted by Pilcher, J. and Whelehan, I. (2004). *50 Key Concepts in Gender Studies*. (p.31). London: Sage.

accommodation' between patriarchy and capitalism results in a vicious circle of disadvantage for women.⁴³

1.6.6 Narratives through which Women are Segregated from Certain Masculinised Occupations

Eveline (1998) examines three narratives through which the segregation of women from masculinised wage-earning occupations is justified. The three narratives have been classified as: the 'heavy work' story, the 'dirty culture' tale and the 'women-go-limp' fable.⁴⁴

The 'heavy work' narrative is most typically employed to justify the exclusion of women from taking jobs in heavy industry. Women are said to be physically incapable of doing jobs which are described as 'dirty', 'dangerous', 'noisy' and 'unhealthy'. Examples of such jobs have been mentioned to include building, butchering, baking, engineering, metal trades, mining and printing. In the Kenyan context, work in the *matatu* sector may be said to belong to this category of occupations.⁴⁵ The stress is on women's physical unsuitability for the work, while working conditions are often cited to be detrimental to female health.

⁴³ Quoted by Pilcher, J. and Whelehan, I. (2004). *50 Key Concepts in Gender Studies*. (pp.30-32). London: Sage.

⁴⁴ Eveline, J. (1998). Heavy, Dirty and Limp Stories: Male Advantage at Work. (p.90) In Gatens, M. and Mackinnon, A. (eds.) *Gender and Institutions: Welfare, Work and Citizenship*. Cambridge: University of Cambridge.

⁴⁵ Peters, D. (2013) *Gender and Sustainable Urban Mobility*. Nairobi: United Nations Human Settlements Programme. Peters emphasizes that the exclusion of women from working in the public sector is purely due to gender considerations and dismisses the notion of "different but equal" in justifying the exclusion.

Feminist research sharply rejects the logic of ‘heavy-work’ narrative. It has been shown that across all cultures, women do ‘heavy’ work in tasks such as fetching firewood, water and even in construction. Eveline (1998) narrates that in the nineteenth century British mines, it took two men to lift a basket of coals, weighing 170 lbs, onto the back of a woman.⁴⁶ According to her, portraying ‘men’s work’ as inherently more demanding than the jobs women do is part of the ideological framework that stigmatizes women as marginal workers. Regarding the argument that certain work practices and environments endanger the health of women, Eveline (1998) says that the solution would be to change the work practices and environments. After all, if the environment was unsuitable for the health of women, it would also be detrimental to the health of men.⁴⁷

The “dirty culture” fable is particularly associated with technical and trade occupations. The story holds that such work is conducted within a rough, dirty and aggressive culture. Rather than women being seen as ‘physically’ unfit for the job like in the ‘heavy work’ story, they are deemed to be psychologically unfit. Such trades are said to be characterized of ‘dirty language’, ‘dirty tricks’, ‘dirty jokes’ and ‘dirty environment’. The “dirty culture” fable argues that women should be ‘protected’ from the dirty working conditions entailed of these trades. The solution to this, according to Eveline (1998) should be to reform the behaviour of the workers so that the working environment is

⁴⁶ Ibid, p.106.

⁴⁷ Eveline, J. (1998). Heavy, Dirty and Limp Stories: Male Advantage at Work. (p.90) In Gatens, M. and Mackinnon, A. (eds.) *Gender and Institutions: Welfare, Work and Citizenship*. Cambridge: University of Cambridge.

conducive to all, but not to deny women the opportunity to work in an attempt to “protect” them from the uncouth male workers.⁴⁸

Finally, the exclusion of women from senior management jobs has been justified through the “limp woman” story. This story says that women are not motivated enough to get to the top. Eveline (1998) explains that women at the top of the professional ladder are faced with non-verbal hostility, ostracism and exclusion from informal networks. She recommends further research into this type of discrimination and suggests the remedy of affirmative action and sexual discrimination legislation.

1.7 Theoretical Framework

The present study utilises the structural feminism theory as a tool of analysis. Structural feminism is derived from structuralism. Structuralism is a theoretical paradigm positing that elements of human culture must be understood in terms of their relationship to a larger, overarching system or structure. It works to uncover the structures that underlie all the things that humans do, think, perceive, and feel.⁴⁹

Structural feminist theory focuses on social structures, notably patriarchy and capitalism both of which are value loaded with ideologies that legitimize relations of dominance and subordination of women. Theorists in this tradition emphasize the dominating influence

⁴⁸ Eveline, J. (1998) *Heavy, Dirty and Limp Stories: Male Advantage at Work*. (p.94-96) In Gatens, M. and Mackinnon, A. (eds.) *Gender and Institutions: Welfare, Work and Citizenship*. Cambridge: University of Cambridge.

⁴⁹ Simon, B. (2008). *Structuralism*. In *Oxford Dictionary of Philosophy*, second edition revised. Oxford: Oxford University Press

of these social structures.⁵⁰ Patriarchy is the structural and ideological system that perpetuates the privileging of masculinity. All kinds of social systems and institutions can become patriarchal. Although some institutions in the society are more inclined to espousing patriarchal tendencies, for example, families, town halls, militaries, banks, and police departments, other institutions including schools, religious organizations and corporations have also been known to reward what they considered to be masculine. It is for this reason that feminist inquiry is not just directed at public affairs, but also to the informal and private interactions.⁵¹

Patriarchy is not made up just of men or just of the masculine. Patriarchal systems often make women overlook their own marginal positions and instead feel secure, protected, and valued. Patriarchy is not fixed. The structures and beliefs that combine to privilege masculinity are continuously being modernized. While feminist consciousness has increased exponentially to become a threat to patriarchy internationally, patriarchy continues to morph new deceptive looks through new laws, policies and treaties.⁵²

The Macmillan Dictionary of Modern Economics (1986) defines capitalism as a political, social, and economic system in which property, including capital assets, is owned and controlled for the most part by private persons. Capitalism contrasts with feudalism in that it is characterized by the purchase of labour for money wages as opposed to the direct labour obtained through custom, duty or command in feudalism.

⁵⁰ Hayes, E. et.al. (2000). *Women as Learners: The Significance of Gender in Adult Learning*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers. Keele University

⁵¹ Enloe, C. (2004). *The Curious feminist: Searching for women in a new age of empire*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

⁵² Ibid.

Under capitalism, the price mechanism is used as a signalling system which allocates resources between uses. The extent to which the price mechanism is used, the degree of competitiveness in markets, and the level of government intervention distinguish exact forms of capitalism.⁵³

Capitalism is a topic of great concern to scholars of gender studies because capitalist policies are never gender-neutral, often affecting women more adversely than men. Because the main incentive of capitalism is profit, it thrives on exploiting cheap labour. It is at this point that capitalism and patriarchy connive to ensure that women are paid less for doing equal work with men.⁵⁴

Structural feminism belongs to a group of feminist theories referred to as dual-systems theories. In dual-systems theories, capitalism and patriarchy are understood as being interdependent, mutually accommodating systems of oppression where both systems benefit from women's subordination.⁵⁵

Structural feminism has been criticized for abstract structuralism, i.e. it emphasizes the role that structures play and fails to recognize fully the role that is played by individual agencies in the creation and resistance of gender inequality. The theory is also criticized for universalism i.e. it fails to recognize cultural variations and assumes that relations between men and women are the same all over the world. This notion has been

⁵³ Macmillan Dictionary of Modern Economics, 1986, 3rd Ed, p. 54.

⁵⁴ Estevez-Abe, M. (n.d.). *Labour Markets, Public Policies and Gender Equality: The varieties of capitalism perspective and beyond*. Government Department. Harvard University.

⁵⁵ Pilcher, J. and Whelehan, I. (2008). *50 Key Concepts in Gender Studies*. (p.93). London: Sage.

challenged in black feminist critiques where racism is considered an important component of gender relations.⁵⁶

Walby (1990) has forwarded a definition of patriarchy in a theory that seeks to address the weaknesses mentioned above. She identifies six structures of patriarchy namely household production, paid work, the state, male violence, sexuality and culture. Of these, the family and the household are said to comprise private patriarchy which seeks to confine women to households and to limit their participation in public life. In public patriarchy, women are not excluded from public life, but they face discrimination within it. Through her theory, Walby claims to have addressed the weaknesses of universalism, abstract structuralism and the tendency to lose agency to social and historical processes.⁵⁷

Writing about African patriarchy, Parpart, (1995) warns that considering the diverse cultural differences between different African countries, a continent wide analysis may not be feasible. She advises that such a study would be more accurate to consider country cases separately.⁵⁸

1.8 Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework explains the relationship between the independent variables and the dependent variables in a study. In the present study, the low entrepreneurial presence of women in the public road transport sector, whether as owners or as workers is the first dependent variable. Factors that lead to employment patterns that segregate and

⁵⁶ Pilcher, J. and Whelehan, I. (2004). *50 Key Concepts in Gender Studies*. (p.93). London: Sage.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Parpart, J.L. (1995). *Gender, Patriarchy and Development in Africa: The Zimbabwean case*. Lansing: Michigan State University.

hinder women’s participation are considered the independent variables of the study. A second dependent variable is the prevalence of gender based molestation in the public road transport sector against women. A section of the study will focus on the intervening variables to make the sector safer for women. These relationships are represented in the diagram below.

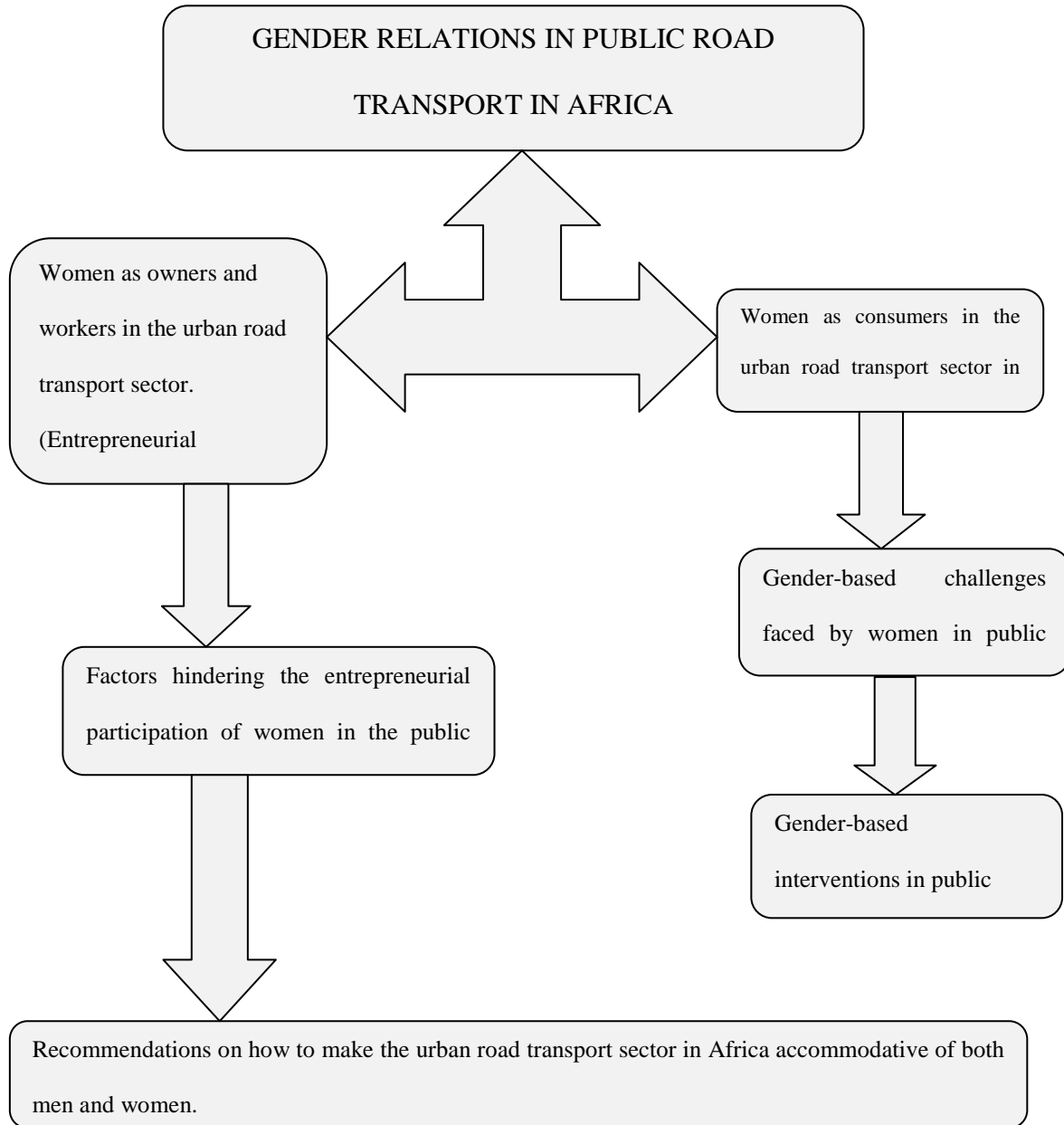


Figure 1.1: Conceptual Framework

1.9 Research Methodology

The following issues related to research methodology are discussed in this section: Research design, study population, sampling, sample size, instruments for data collection, methods of data collection, ethical considerations and validity & reliability.

1.9.1 Research Design

The present study employs both qualitative and quantitative data. The study adopts the research design of a survey. Surveys are concerned with describing, recording, analyzing and interpreting conditions that either exist or existed. The researcher does not manipulate the variable or arrange for events to happen. Surveys are only concerned with conditions or relationships as they exist, opinions as they are held, processes as they are going on, effects as they are evident and trends as they develop.⁵⁹ Surveys are generally concerned with the present, but they may pay attention to past events so as to explain how the present conditions have been influenced by past events. Consequently, surveys are well suited for social and behavioural sciences.⁶⁰ From the definition above, the survey design is found suitable for the current study.

1.9.2 Study Population

The present study is concerned with the composition of the population of the workers in the informal public road transport sector in various cities in Africa. More focus will be paid to the population of the workers in the *matatu* sector of Nairobi, where an empirical study will be conducted.

⁵⁹ Kothari C.R. (2004). *Research Methodology: Methods and Techniques*, (p.31, 2nd edition), New Delhi: New Age International Publishers.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

1.9.3 Sampling

Both probability and non-probability methods of sampling were used in sample determination. Probability methods of sampling ensure that all the units of study in a population have an equal chance of being included in the sample. The results obtained from a probability-based sample are therefore representative of the whole population.⁶¹ In this study, probability sampling was applied in the selection of the *matatu* SACCOs to be respondent in the study.

The snowballing method was used to sample the respondents used in determining the views and the unique challenges faced by women *matatu* operators in Nairobi. Snowballing is a non-probability method used when the desired sample characteristic is rare. Respondents are selected on the criteria of their ability to provide certain information that may be relevant to the study.⁶² Women workers and resource persons interviewed for this study were selected through the snow-balling method.

1.9.4 Sample Size

Sample size determination described here is for the empirical study carried out involving *matatu* workers in Nairobi. Gay, L.R. (1981) recommends that a sample size of 10% of the population is suitable for descriptive studies.⁶³ Hence approximately 10% of the *matatu* SACCOs in Nairobi were involved in the study. After determining the population of female workers in the SACCOs selected, a similar percentage of the women were

⁶¹ Ibid, p.31

⁶² Manoharan, P.K. (2009). *Research Methodology*, p.27. New Delhi: PH Publishing Corporation.

⁶³ Gay, L.R. (1981). *Educational Research: Competencies for Analysis & Application*, Second Edition, p. 98. Ohio: Charles E. Merrill.

issued with questionnaires and asked to respond to issues related to their work. The same percentage of *matatu* owners were required to respond to questionnaires investigating various aspects of *matatu* ownership. Finally, in a study about women commuters in Nairobi, 30 female students at the Kenya Methodist University (KEMU), Nairobi campus were asked to respond to questionnaires issued.

1.9.5 Instruments Used for Data Collection

The researcher used of three instruments of data collection. They are questionnaires, interviews and literature survey. The present study utilized pretested questionnaires to collect primary data from *matatu* owners, women workers and commuters as identified in the sampling process.

Literature survey was used to provide information on gender based interventions in public transport in various African cities. Literature survey was also used to shed light on the interventions that are put in place internationally to address women's harassment in public road transport.

1.9.6 Validity and Reliability

Validity refers to the ability of the research findings to reflect accurately the presence or absence of the concept that is being investigated in the study. On the other hand, reliability refers to the consistence of the research findings over time and place. The

measure of reliability indicates whether if the study were to be replicated by an independent researcher applying similar methodology would obtain similar results.⁶⁴

To enhance the validity of the instruments used to conduct this research, pilot studies involving women workers, *matatu* owners and women commuters were conducted. Necessary adjustments were made before the instruments were subjected to the actual survey.

Reliability was taken care of by depending on randomly selected samples in the choice of *matatu* SACCOs to study as well as the respondents for the survey involving *matatu* commuters. Reliability was enhanced by avoiding the use of research assistants in the study and by explaining the concept being asked to the respondents as they gave their responses.

1.9.7. Data Analysis

After collection of the questionnaires, the researcher read through them in order to ascertain their numbers and to see how/ if all the items were responded to. Secondly, the raw data was sorted out and edited to identify unfilled items, and those that could have been wrongly responded to. Questionnaires were then organized and classified according to the patterns of the responses given by the respondents, and their homogeneity. Questions were then coded for purposes of allocations of the magnitude of the variable being measured.

⁶⁴Mugenda O. and Mugenda G, (1999).*Research Methods: Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches*, (pp. 74-76) Nairobi: Acts Press.

Descriptive statistics which include frequency distribution, percentages, mean and standard deviation were used to summarize findings and describe the population samples involved.⁶⁵ Data was analyzed using descriptive statistics using statistics package SPSS version 20 and presented in tables and pie charts.

1.9.8 Ethical Considerations

All knowledge-material used for this study will be referenced appropriately. Anonymity of the respondents will be guaranteed where requested.

1.10 Scope and Limitations of the Study

This study concerns itself with the informal motorized public road transport sector in various cities of Africa. The study focuses on the entrepreneurial participation of women in the ownership and work in the taxi business, which is variously known by different names in different countries studied. In Kenya, the study concentrates on the *matatu* sector in Nairobi. In Uganda, the *matatu* concept in Kampala is studied. In Lagos, various aspects of the *Danfo* vans are studied while in Ghana, the use of the *tro tro* in public road transport in Accra is studied. In Durban, South Africa, the study pays attention to the use of the *kombi* vans.

Other means of motorized public road transport like the auto rick-shaws and motor cycle taxis are not studied in this study. The study does not focus in depth on the formal public

⁶⁵ Kothari C.R. (2004). *Research Methodology: Methods and Techniques*, (p.95) (2nd edition), New Delhi: New Age International Publishers.

road transport modes like the Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) in Lagos and the bus services in Durban and Accra. Taxi cabs for hire are also not considered in the present study.

1.11 Chapter Outline

Chapter 1 of the present study is the introduction to the study. This chapter constitutes the research proposal and provides the skeleton of the entire study.

Chapter 2 comprises of the background information regarding the public road transport sector in Africa. It studies the use of the *matatu* in Kenya and Uganda, the *danfo* in Lagos, the *tro tro* in Accra, and the *kombi* in Durban, South Africa. The chapter is entitled ‘Contextualizing the Minibus Taxi Industry in Africa’.

Chapter 3 is entitled ‘An Assessment of Gender issues in Public Road Transport in Nairobi.’ In this chapter, the data collected is presented and discussed. Some of the data is presented in tables and pie charts. A discussion based on the findings is presented.

Chapter 4 is entitled ‘Gender-based interventions in public transport’. The chapter interrogates policy interventions made in support of the participation of women in public transport in different parts of the world. This chapter focuses on women as consumers of the public road transport service.

In Chapter 5 a study conclusion is made. A summary of the research findings is outlined. Study and policy recommendations with regard to the issues under consideration are forwarded.

1.12 Operational Definitions

Boda boda: Motor cycle taxis used for public transport in some parts of Kenya.

Christian Patriarchy: It is a family order headed by the husband and where the wife submits to his authority and the children obey him unconditionally. In Christian patriarchy, a man is to hold a career and provide for his family and represent his family in church and politics; a wife is to bear children, raise them and support the husband through affirmation and obedience.⁶⁶

Gender equality: The measurable equal representation of women and men. Gender equality does not imply that women and men are the same, but that they have equal value and should be accorded equal treatment.⁶⁷

Gender mainstreaming: The process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in any area and at all levels. It is a strategy for making the concerns and experiences of women as well as of men an integral part of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres, so that women and men benefit equally, and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal of mainstreaming is to achieve gender equality.⁶⁸

Gender: Refers to culturally-based expectations of the roles and behaviours of males and females. The term distinguishes socially constructed roles from biologically determined aspects of being male and female. Several aspects of gender roles and responsibilities undermine economic growth and reduce the well-being of men, women, and children.

⁶⁶ Anne, L. (2012). *What is Christian Patriarchy? An Introduction*. Available at <http://www.patheos.com/blogs/lovejoyfeminism>. Retrieved September 2nd 2014.

⁶⁷ International Planned Parenthood Federation(2014). *What is Gender Equality?* Available at <http://www.ippf.org>. Retrieved on May 12th 2014.

⁶⁸ ECOSOC, 1997

Such aspects include Gender-based division of labour; Disparities in power and control of resources; Gender biases in rights and entitlements.⁶⁹

Gender-based violence (GBV): The general term used to capture violence that occurs as a result of the normative role expectations associated with each gender, along with the unequal power relationships between the two genders, within the context of a specific society. While women, girls, men and boys can be victims of GBV, it has been widely acknowledged that the majority of persons affected by gender-based violence are women and girls, as a result of unequal distribution of power in society between women and men.⁷⁰

Matatu: The minibuses and buses that are used as Public Service Vehicles (PSVs) in Kenya. This term is used to distinguish between other modes of public transport such as taxi cabs, auto rickshaws and motor cycles. This study interrogates the transport arrangements for Nairobi metropolis and it does not concern with the vehicles plying inter-city routes.

Patriarchy: Patriarchy is a social system in which the role of the male as the primary authority figure is central to social organization, and where fathers hold authority over women, children, and property. It implies the institutions of male rule and privilege, and is dependent on female subordination.⁷¹

Tuk tuk: Three wheeler auto rickshaw. It is commonly used as a means of public transport in urban areas in Kenya.

⁶⁹ Definition taken from Peters, D. (2013) *Gender and Sustainable Urban Mobility: Thematic Study* Prepared for Global Report on Human Settlements, UN Habitat.

⁷⁰ Women Against Violence Europe (WAVE) (2014). *Defining Gender-Based Violence*. Available at <http://www.health-genderviolence.org>. Retrieved on May 14th 2014.

⁷¹ Definition taken from <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/patriarchy>, Retrieved September 2nd 2014.

Violence against Women (VAW): Any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivations of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life.⁷²

⁷² Article 1 of the Declaration on the elimination of violence against women (DEVAW), 1993.

CHAPTER TWO

CONTEXTUALIZING THE MINIBUS TAXI INDUSTRY IN AFRICA

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, a general overview of public road transport in five African countries is provided. The focus of the study is on urban road transport. The countries selected for the study include Nigeria, Ghana, South Africa, Kenya and Uganda. The study involves the private motorized minibus taxis that are the predominant mode of urban transport in all the five countries. They are referred to by different names in different countries, but the concept is the same. In Ghana, the minibus taxis are called *tro tro*.⁷³ In Kenya⁷⁴ and Uganda, they are called *matatu* while in South Africa they are referred to as *Kombi*.⁷⁵ The same van is referred to as the *Danfo* in Lagos.

Of significance to this study is that in all the African countries studied, the minibus taxi industry has developed as the informal sector response to the failure of state-owned transport providers. The ensuing private industry is characterized by intense and quite frequently catastrophic competition, disregard for the law and exclusionary tendencies against women. Despite the diversity in the cultures of the countries selected for this study, a confluence of patriarchy and capitalism breeds a sphere having relatively similar characteristics in all the polities studied. Women are generally excluded from working or

⁷³ Kaosempa (2010). *In The Beginning There were Trotros*. Available at <http://www.trotrolane.wordpress.com/2010/11>. Retrieved on July 20th 2014.

⁷⁴ The name *matatu* as used in Nairobi is these days getting to refer to the higher capacity mini-buses and even intra-city transport buses as the government phases out the lower capacity vans. Since the mini buses and buses are owned by the same people who have been operating the *matatu* vans, they too have acquired the same behaviours as those of the *matatu* and therefore the name remains.

⁷⁵ Barrett, J. (2003). *Organizing in the informal economy: A case study of the minibus taxi industry in South Africa*. Geneva: International Labour Organization.

enterprising in the field. When women get a space as commuters in the minibus taxi vans, they inevitably meet various forms of Gender Based Violence in the hands of male passengers and taxi workers. A section of this chapter however illustrates that there are efforts by the governments and the various players in Africa to formalize the activities of these motorized transport providers.

2.2. The *Kombi* in South Africa

The *Kombi* taxi in South Africa has a history that is closely linked to the history of apartheid. A feature of apartheid and the institutionalized racism it introduced in the early 1960s, was that Black, and particularly African, people had very limited legal access to business opportunities. In the taxi industry it was virtually impossible for an African person to acquire a permit to operate. The few who did operate used sedan cars, as the only vehicles recognized for taxi purposes. They catered for a very small African market because their services were expensive. Public transport was totally dominated by the state-owned rail sector and the subsidized bus industry (part publicly and part privately owned).⁷⁶

From the early 1960s onwards, urban African people were increasingly relocated (very often through forced removals) to reside in areas far from the commercial and industrial centres of all South Africa's cities. These relocations were part and parcel of the policy of apartheid, designed to keep racially defined groups separate. Apartheid spatial planning impacted directly on the public transport provided by buses and trains. Public transport

⁷⁶ Barrett, J. (2003). *Organizing in the informal economy: A case study of the minibus taxi industry in South Africa*. Geneva: International Labour Organization.

became increasingly expensive for commuters (and also for the State to provide the subsidies required). Increasingly buses and trains operated at peak times only, and routes became less and less flexible.⁷⁷

The growth of the *Kombi* taxi industry in the late 1970s was in large part a response to this. Initially the State acted to protect the existing public transport systems, and prevented entrepreneurs from operating *Kombi* taxis by refusing to issue road carrier permits to them. However, the demand for minibus taxi transport was growing and drivers increasingly operated without permits (illegally). They were subjected to fines, and often to forfeiture of their vehicles, with enforcement coming largely from the South African Railways Police Force (now defunct). In addition, local authorities exercised control over the growth of the industry by restricting access to taxi ranks. Permission had to be granted by the traffic departments of local authorities for *Kombi* taxis to park in designated areas for loading and off-loading purposes in the cities. Refusal to grant such permission could impede the *Kombi* taxi industry, by making operations illegal and operators subject to prosecution. While many continued to operate without permission, such operations were subject to constant harassment, including the confiscation of vehicles.⁷⁸

In 1986, following a report by the National Transport Policy Study (NTPS), the 16-seater minibus taxis were allowed to operate and the industry has since recorded phenomenal growth. By 2002, there were approximately 127,000 *Kombis* operating on fixed

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

commuter corridors (long and short distance) and charging fares fixed by local taxi associations. Most *Kombi* taxis officially carry 16 people: the driver and 15 passengers. *Kombi* taxis account for 65 per cent of all public transport commuter trips. Buses account for 21 per cent and trains for 14 per cent.⁷⁹

The South African minibus taxi industry has been characterized by extreme violence since 1990. Violence has resulted as the industry gets saturated as the owners fight for the control of the more lucrative routes. Between 1994 and 2000, close to 3,000 deaths were reported arising from the “taxi wars” in different parts of the country.

The minibus taxi industry is estimated to employ approximately 185,000 employees including drivers, fare collectors, queue marshals and car washers. Another 150,000 jobs are created indirectly in motor manufacturing, fuel, spare parts and maintenance. It is approximated that only two percent of the workers in the *Kombi* industry are women.⁸⁰ Interestingly, some South African towns seem to have higher percentages of women workers in the taxi industry. Such include Guateng where women drivers in the taxi industry were approximated at 10 per cent and in Durban where women drivers were approximated at 7 per cent.⁸¹

In South Africa, just like in Kenya, we observe how myths are used to keep women out of the public transport space. Khosa (1997) reports that in Durban, taxi associations that

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Ibid. These statistics refer to the situation in 2002 when the ILO study was conducted.

⁸¹ Khosa, M.M. (1997). *Sisters on slippery wheels: Women Taxi Drivers in South Africa*. Transformation 33.

would admit a woman driver were taunted as being ‘isiyoyoyo’(weak, impotent men). They were told that women would make their ‘muthi’ (juju) to fail. These myths indicate a structural system of oral traditions created by patriarchal societies to keep women from participating in commercial productive economy.⁸²

2.3 The *Matatu* in Kenya

For the 50 years of Kenya’s independence, much of the public road transport has been done by motorized minibus van popularly known as the *matatu*. The term *matatu* derives from *mapeni matatu*, Swahili for thirty cents, which was the standard charge for every trip made in the 1960, when the *matatu* appeared for the first time as a concept in urban transport in Kenya.⁸³

Government subsidized public road transport service has existed erratically since independence and has finally gone under. Even the mass railway passenger transport system that is crucial for the public transport in many cities in the world is very ineffective in Kenya. As a result, many Kenyans who cannot afford private means of transport find themselves at the mercy of the *matatu* workers. Even those who use private means cannot avoid interacting with *matatu* workers on the roads.⁸⁴

As part of the background to this study, it is imperative to highlight the history of urban road transport in Kenya. Research on urban transport in Kenya goes to the very identity

⁸² Ibid

⁸³ Chitere, P. and Kibua, T. (2004) *Efforts to improve Road Safety in Kenya: Achievements and Limitations of Reforms in the Matatu Industry*.(p.1). Nairobi: Institute of Public Analysis and Research (IPAR)

⁸⁴ Mungai, Mbugua, wa (2013) *We have made matatu man the rogue he is today*. In The Saturday Nation. November 16th 2013. Nairobi: Nation Media Group.

of Nairobi. Nairobi was formed as a railway centre along the Mombasa - Uganda railway in 1899. In 1906, Nairobi was declared the capital of the newly established British East African Protectorate. In 1934, the overseas motor transport company of London started a bus service in Nairobi using 13 buses on 12 routes.⁸⁵ By then, the population of Nairobi was low and racial discrimination characterized the demographic make-up of the city. The Europeans occupied the western zone of the city. Road transport in this section was reliable compared to the other parts of the city. The Asian quarters were in the North (currently the area around Parklands) and near the industrial area. The African population occupied much of the Eastern side of the central business district (CBD), which to date is known as Eastlands. Due to restriction on movement and interaction between different races, the demand for public transport was low.⁸⁶ It is important to note that the pre-independence era was marked by restrictions against the migration of women to cities, particularly Nairobi. The migration of African men to cities was controlled through the pass system. The migrants were admissible in so far as they would provide labour for the industries and colonial government offices. In the context of this study, the restriction of women from migrating to urban areas gave men an undue advantage in the participation in the modern capitalist economy, while reinforcing the patriarchal confinement of women into the domestic sphere.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ Opiyo, T. (n.d). *The Metamorphosis of Kenya Bus Service Limited in the provision of urban transport in Nairobi*. Unpublished.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Macharia, K.P. (2003). *Migration in Kenya and its impact on the labour market*. A Presentation in the conference on African Migration in Comparative Perspective held on 4 – 7 July. (p.9).Johannesberg: American University.

Just before independence in 1963, restriction on movement and interaction was lifted and this led to a rapid growth of the African population in the city. Motorization increased as Africans took up employment in various sections of the city that they couldn't hitherto access. In addition, satellite towns started around Nairobi offering accommodation to the growing population.⁸⁸

All this time, public transport in Nairobi was dominated by the Kenya Bus Service (KBS) offering transport services similar to those offered in western urban settlements: predictable and generally reliable. In 1966, KBS signed a franchise agreement with the Nairobi City Council (NCC) in which the council acquired 25% of the shares of the bus company. The purpose of the agreement was to ensure affordable and regular public transport provision on all city routes irrespective of route potential. The franchise lasted 20 years until 1985.⁸⁹

The year 1973 marked a watershed in public urban road transport in Kenya. The NCC-KBS franchise faced its first significant challenge. In that year, there was an unprecedented increase in the price of oil globally. The franchise document had allocated the responsibility of regulating fares to the NCC. While KBS insisted on raising fares to meet the increasing costs of operation, NCC was adamant that the 1966 prices be maintained. As a consequence, KBS could not meet the transport needs of the city, opening opportunities for the entry of private operators in the name of *matatus*. Following repeated complains about the deteriorating services of KBS, President

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

Kenyatta declared the *matatu* a legal means of public transport, thereby striking a blow to the NCC-KBS franchise agreement. According to the agreement, KBS was to enjoy the monopoly of city transport service. In the new dispensation, the *matatu* were exempted from paying Transport Licensing Board (TLB) fees. The *matatus* were also cheaper to operate because they were not required to maintain permanent employees unlike the buses. Buses were also required by the law to maintain two crews for each bus, making the cost of operation exorbitantly high.

The *matatus* did not offer any comfort for their passengers, but they were preferred because they would take a short time at the terminus before they were full with passengers, unlike buses. As for the government, the *matatus* represented an entrepreneurial spirit of the indigenous people that should be nurtured. In addition, the *matatus* were seen as a means of easing the unemployment pressure that resulted from the influx of African population to the city.⁹⁰ However, the decision by the government threatened the existence of the more established bus companies and may be said to be the source of the current dangerous and disorganized state of public transport in Nairobi.⁹¹

After the KBS-NCC franchise had expired, the government in 1986 started a public transport parastatal called the Nyayo Bus Service. The impact of the parastatal on the standards and conditions of public transport in Nairobi is negligible because it collapsed after five years only due to mismanagement. The Kenya Bus Service, by then being

⁹⁰ Opiyo, T. (n.d). *The Metamorphosis of Kenya Bus Service Limited in the provision of urban transport in Nairobi*. Unpublished.

⁹¹ Ngirachu, J. (March, 14th 2014). *How Kenya Fell Hostage to Cycles of Matatu Madness*. In The Daily Nation. Friday. March 14th 2014. Nation Media Group.

managed by United Transport Overseas Service (UTOS) was sold to the Stagecoach Holdings Limited as UTOS bowed out of the sector owing to increased competition from the *matatus*. By 1998, Stagecoach equally gave up on the running of the public road transport and sold 95% the company to a consortium of Kenyan investors. Stagecoach had also been forced out of business by increasingly dilapidated infrastructure due to the *El-nino* rains in 1996 – 1997. The declining popularity of KBS and other similar companies led to a surge of the *matatus* on public urban roads. In 1995, the government implemented the first instalment of retrenchment of public servants in IMF led downsizing policy. Much of the money that was paid to the retirees was used to purchase more *matatus*, thereby entrenching the *matatu* sector even further in the Kenyan transport landscape.⁹²

The decade from 1992 to 2002 is important in the history of public road transport in Kenya. The decade did not only see the decline of state and quasi-state operated transport systems, but even more significantly, it saw the infiltration of criminal gangs into the operation of the *matatu* sector. The most popular of the extortionist gangs is the Mungiki which still controls a number of routes within the city. Others that have been mentioned in this light include Kamjeshi and the Baghdad boys.⁹³ In the context of this study, the formation of criminal gangs to control the *matatu* sector is significant, because it comprises a patriarchal edifice created by men in which violence is utilized to block

⁹² Opiyo, T. (n.d.). *The Metamorphosis of Kenya Bus Service Limited in the provision of urban transport in Nairobi*. Unpublished.

⁹³ Graeff, E.J. (n.d.). *The Organization, Issues and the Future of the Matatu Industry in Nairobi, Kenya*. New York: Center for Sustainable Urban Development.

women from accessing economic opportunities in such an economically profitable area like public transport.

In October 2003, the government of Kenya issued legal notice number 161 that sought to streamline the operations in the *matatu* sector. The legal notice required that all *matatus* be fitted with speed governors and passenger safety belts. The *matatus* were also required to operate in clearly defined routes. *Matatu* workers were required to acquire certification for good conduct from the police and they were also required to don work uniforms. The legal notice aimed at curbing traffic accidents involving *matatus* as well as eliminating the participation of criminal gangs in the *matatu* sector.⁹⁴

Sanity was restored in the sector for some time until transport Minister, John Michuki was removed from the transport docket in 2005. While legal notice 161 of 2003 was not specifically passed in support of women's access to the *matatu* as a means of transport, the legislation may have in some small way contributed to such access. To the commuters, comfort was enhanced by reducing the sitting capacity of *matatus* from above 20 to 14. Safety in the bus stands was enhanced by eliminating touts and criminal gangs from most of the routes.⁹⁵ To women workers, stream lining the working conditions, and requiring that workers be cleared by the police may have made entry to the sector much easier. To women entrepreneurs, the reduced sitting capacity of *matatus* increased the demand for public transport and hence created avenues for participation in

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Republic of Kenya. (2003). Legal Notice 161 of 2003. Nairobi: Ministry of Transport.

the industry. Removal of route cartels and extortionist criminal gangs from the *matatu* business may also have improved accessibility for women entrepreneurs.

By 2007, much of the gains that had been achieved in streamlining the sector had been reversed. The criminal gangs that had enriched themselves through extortion in the *matatu* sector were instrumental in the political violence that was experienced in the country in 2007 to 2008.⁹⁶

Recent reforms in the *matatu* sector point to an attempt to introduce higher capacity buses in city transport. Current operators in this mode include Citi-Hoppa, Double M, Kenya Bus Management Ltd, among others. The City County of Nairobi has announced that it will start operating high occupancy buses from 2014.⁹⁷ The need for high occupancy buses came as a solution towards reducing traffic congestion in Nairobi.⁹⁸ However, because many *matatu* owners would not afford the higher occupancy bus, they were advised to form savings and credit cooperatives, so that they would pool resources together and help each other to upgrade their 14-seater *matatus* to 25 or 33-seater buses. Legal notice 219 of 2013 provided that public transport in Kenya will be offered by corporate bodies registered either as cooperative societies or companies under the companies Act. Each of the SACCOs was required to provide a code of conduct for their members and the employees.⁹⁹ These measures have the potential of increasing the utility of the public transport means to consumers. To women entrepreneurs who may have been

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Wangui, J. (April, 13th 2014). *Nairobi County Bus Plan Rattles Matatu Owners*. In Capital News. Available at <http://www.capitalfm.co.ke/news>. Retrieved May 5th 2014.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Republic of Kenya. (2013). Legal Notice 219 of 2013. Nairobi: National Transport and Safety Authority.

locked out of the *matatu* business earlier on due to the ranging violence in the sector, bus management companies have been registered that deal with the day to day running of the bus at a fee. This is an opportunity that may be utilized to increase the participation of women in the transport sector in Kenya.

The *matatu* phenomenon in Kenya must be seen to go beyond the entrepreneurial sense to incorporate political power in its wake. The best illustration for this concept is that of the current Nairobi senator, Mike Mbuvi, who realised his political objectives through advocacy in the Eastlands *Matatu* Owners Association which he is the chairman.¹⁰⁰ Denying women participation from the *matatu* sector goes beyond the business aspect that they lose out in, but includes as well denying them a possible platform for political expression.

From inception in the 1950's the *matatu* business in Kenya has been characterized by extreme aggressiveness, conflict with the local authorities as well as the government, and poor safety standards for the passengers. Most significant to this study, the *matatu* industry is a much gendered space of the Kenyan public life with the majority of the actors in the sector, including *matatu* owners, *matatu* operators, traffic code enforcers and other stake holders being men.¹⁰¹ The lack of participation by women in the *matatu*

¹⁰⁰ Biography of Mike Sonko Mbuvi, Senator of Nairobi, Available at http://www.bryanczar.com/myportfolio/senatorialpress/senator%27s_biography.php

¹⁰¹ Mungai, Mbugua, wa (2013) thinks that the *matatu* sector is such a gendered component of the Kenyan public life that he has entitled one of his books "Nairobi's *Matatu Men*." This explanation was provided in 'We have made *matatu* man the rogue he is today'. In The Saturday Nation. November 16th 2013. Nairobi: Nation Media Group.

industry, except as consumers of the transport service, is very conspicuous and is the study of the present study.

The Kenyan *matatu* scene is a highly masculinised arena and female entrants meet with a number of barriers that have been raised to obstruct women. Such include the register of the sub-culture and its superstitions. Wa Mungai, M. (2013) sheds some light into some of the registers, myths and superstitions used in the *matatu* sub-culture. For example, if the *matatu* stalls inexplicably, a crew member might be heard wondering if one of the female passengers is on her menses. If a certain crew seems to have a streak of bad luck on the road, like never picking enough passengers, being nabbed by police or losing money through vehicle breakages, other crew in the route might say that the affected crew sleeps with too many prostitutes and might even avoid working with them.¹⁰² As women workers make entry into this sexist culture, they are likely to meet opposition propagated through such nuanced attempts at depicting women as being jinxed. Further, such ideas are meant to keep men from playing a part in advancing the empowerment agenda for women.

2.4 The *Matatu* in Uganda

Just like in Kenya and elsewhere in Africa, much of public road transport business in Uganda is privatized and is largely run by the informal sector. The informal private van that ferries most of the population in Uganda is called the *matatu*, a term that may have been borrowed from Kenya. The population of the Kampala metropolitan area was

¹⁰² Wa Mungai, M. (2013). *Nairobi's Matatu Men: Portrait of a subculture*. Nairobi: Contact Zones.

estimated at 2.3 million in 2004/2005. Considering a 4.5% growth rate, the current population would be about 3.6 million.¹⁰³

Kampala's transport system consists of four tiers: buses, *matatus*, motor cycles (commonly known as boda boda) and 'special hire' car taxis. These public transport vehicles comprise of half of all vehicles on Ugandan roads. 14% of all the vehicles on Ugandan roads are *matatus*. 80% of Ugandan *matatus* are found in Kampala.¹⁰⁴

The *matatus* are second hand vans, usually Toyota cabin transporters of the 1990s make. The vehicle is fitted with locally fabricated seats to accommodate 12 fare paying passengers, the conductor who collects the fare and the driver. However, it is not uncommon to get the *matatu* overloaded to accommodate up to 18 passengers. *Matatus* concentrate with intra-town or suburban transport, leaving inter-city and international connections to buses.¹⁰⁵

Kamuhanda and Schmidt have approximated that there are 125 taxi stands in Kampala city from where the taxis pick their passengers. *Matatus* do not run on fixed schedules, rather, they depart from the stand once all the seats are occupied.¹⁰⁶ Just like in Ghana where the taxi stands are managed by the Ghana Private Road Transport Union

¹⁰³ Kamuhanda, R. and Schmidt, O. (2009). *Matatu*: A case study of the core segment of the public transport market of Kampala Uganda. In *Transport Reviews*, Vol. 29, no.1, 129 -142. Routledge.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

(GPRTU), Uganda *matatu* stands are manned by Uganda Taxi Operators and Drivers Association (UTODA).¹⁰⁷

UTODA draws its membership from *matatu* owners, drivers and conductors of which 70% are drivers, 20% are owners and 10% are conductors. UTODA approximated its membership at 60,000 in 2009 but Kamuhanda and Schmidt raise doubts about the accuracy of the figure. UTODA collects user fees from every *matatu* and only registered, paid up *matatus* are allowed to board passengers from the rank. Quite significant to this study, UTODA has also been mandated by the Kampala City Council (KCC) to collect local taxes from drivers. UTODA also assists the police in regulating the flow of traffic in the city through its own appointed warders.¹⁰⁸ This shows that *matatu* ownership goes beyond entrepreneurship and is indeed a political and social phenomenon. Excluding a given portion of the population from participating in such a platform is tantamount to exclusion from not just economic opportunities, but political and administrative prospects as well. From August 2013, UTODA was allowed by the KCC to run the only intra-city bus system in Kampala following the collapse of Pioneer Easy Coach Company.¹⁰⁹ This move by KCAA and UTODA is similar to the ownership arrangements of the Lagos BRT where the small scale transport providers have been incorporated to a mega project through the Nigerian Union of Road Transport Workers, NURTW.

¹⁰⁷ Kamuhanda, R. and Schmidt, O. (2009). *Matatu: A case study of the core segment of the public transport market of Kampala Uganda*. In *Transport Reviews*, Vol. 29, no.1, 129 -142. Routledge.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Mayanja, B.(Aug 10, 2013). *KCCA sets tough terms for UTODA*. Available at <http://www.newvision.co.ug/news/645940-kcca-sets-tough-terms-for-utoda.html>, Retrieved August 10th 2014.

There are not many women workers in the *matatu* sector in Uganda. So rare are women drivers in Kampala that Kamuhanda and Schmidt did not include any woman driver in their sample consisting of 216 *matatu* workers in Uganda. Writing about women drivers in Kampala, they depend on ‘anecdotal evidence’ to state that there is a handful of pioneer female *matatu* drivers in Kampala.¹¹⁰

Victoria Muwanga is one such *matatu* driver and owner. She narrates that men passengers usually get astonished on realizing that the driver is a woman and ask her, “Are you really a woman?”¹¹¹ Victoria relates how her detractors tried to keep her out of the business by calling her ‘*muyaye*’. The term is derogatory and refers to marijuana smoking, shabbily dressed and foul mouthed men seen loitering at bus parks and markets. Victoria has however shrugged off the insults and drives on undeterred.¹¹²

2.5 The *Tro tro* in Accra, Ghana

The privatized informal mode of public road transport in Ghana is called the *tro tro*. The term *tro tro* is taken from the Ga language word *tro*, which means three. Three pence was the standard fare for a trip in the vehicle during the colonial period when the *tro tro* first appeared, and hence the name.^{113 114} The provision of public road transport in Ghana has

¹¹⁰ Ibid

¹¹¹ Kikooma, J. (2012). Gender and Entrepreneurship in Uganda: Women Manoeuvring Economic Space, Entrepreneurship. In Burger-Helmchen, T. (Ed.). *Gender, Geographies and Social Context*, InTech, Available from <http://www.intechopen.com/books/entrepreneurship-gendergeographies-and-social-context/gender-and-entrepreneurship-in-uganda-women-manoeuvring-economicspace>

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Anyima-Ackah, J. (August, 20th 2002). *Tro tro and Accra's Intra-city travels*. In The Modern Ghana. Accra: Modern Ghana Media.

¹¹⁴ Similarity must be drawn about the origin of the term *Tro tro* in Ghana and *Matatu* in Kenya. Possibly, there could have been some intervention by the colonial authority on the fares to be paid for such standard

been strongly influenced by the political history of the country since independence.¹¹⁵ Ghana attained independence from Britain in 1957 and became a Republic in 1960. Thereafter, the country pursued socialist policies. This path for development saw the establishment of many state-owned enterprises ranging from heavy industry, manufacturing and trading, agriculture, banking and services, including laundries. From 1966 to 1992, Ghana went through periods of military rule, interspersed with two short periods of civilian administration. From 1992 Ghana went back to constitutional rule based on the concept of an executive presidency, with a unicameral legislative arrangement. Four elections have been held over the period and the country's democracy seems to be deepening as a result of the creation of institutions that provide appropriate checks and balances.¹¹⁶

This socialist and military-rule background of Ghana has ramifications on public road transport in that the populace readily opposes any form of privatization in the sector, making the reforms in the public road transport sector a ready item for modern day politicking. Any attempt at privatization is likely to meet strong civil society opposition. Even where privatization has occurred, there exists a strong national wide road transport union that has a strong grip on the conduct of its members, such that even though aggressive behaviour is still common in *tro tros* in Ghana, the general conduct of the industry is better than that in, say, Kampala, Uganda.¹¹⁷

trips, such that the same fare applied in Ghana as well as in Kenya. Both countries were under British colonization.

¹¹⁵ IBIS transport consultants, (2005). *Study of Public Transport Conditions in Accra, Ghana*. Accra:

Author.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

Between 1927 and 1969, virtually all road transport services in Ghana were offered by municipal councils under the ministry of local government. In 1969, the military regime of the National Liberation Council (NLC) nationalized all the municipal council and local council bus service undertakings under a single body, the Omnibus Service Authority (OSA). OSA enjoyed tax incentives and operating subsidies from the government but could not survive the economic realities of running public transport in a politically volatile time. Gradually, the public road transport fell to the informal and unregulated sector, the *tro tros*. The industry is largely controlled by the Ghana Private Road Transport Union (GPRTU) although smaller unions such as Concern Transport Union also exist.¹¹⁸

IBIS transport consultants trace the 1990s as the decade of the proliferation of the *matatu* in Accra. By then, all of Ghana's public road transport providers including the State Transport Corporation, (STC), OSA and City Express Service (CES) had either collapsed or were facing serious economic hardships. The *tro tro* also took over when the Ghana Railways operations halted in the 1980s.¹¹⁹ The restoration of the public road transport provision by government bodies soon became a powerful political agenda during campaigns. In 2000, the then ruling National Democratic Congress (NDC) divested the assets of STC to Vanef Consortium. The ownership of STC reverted back to

¹¹⁸ Yobo, E. (2013) *The Evolution of State Mass Transport in Ghana*. Accra: Public Management Research Institute.

¹¹⁹ IBIS transport consultants, (2005). *Study of Public Transport Conditions in Accra, Ghana*. Accra: Author.

the state when the New Patriotic Party (NPP) took over government with the earlier divestiture being said to have been fraudulent.¹²⁰

In 2003, the Metro Mass Transit Limited (MMT) was established to provide urban mass bus services in Ghana.¹²¹ MMT is owned partly by the state and partly by the private sector. The *tro tro* in Ghana faces a formidable challenge from MMT but the *tro* survives owing to its flexibility. The services are poor. *Tro tro* operators are generally viewed by the Ghanaian society as selfish, unkind, aggressive and uncouth. The *tro tros* are known for over speeding, overloading and they are responsible for many of the accidents on Ghanaian roads. However, the service they offer continues to be valid and popular among the people due to their good last-mile connectivity. The GPRTU maintains order at *tro tro* bus stands and ensures that fares are not increased haphazardly.¹²²

2.6 Danfo in Lagos Nigeria

The population of Lagos is estimated at 18 million, making Lagos metropolis the most populous city in Africa. The public road system plays a very key role in providing the 8 million passenger movements in a day, considering that the railway system caters only for about 2% of the passenger transport needs in the city. Water transport is also relied upon although to a much less degree compared to the road transport.¹²³

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ This is an important contradiction with the case in Kenya where the *Matatu* industry has successfully opposed attempts by the state to get involved in public road transport and has gradually transformed itself into a powerful political lobby.

¹²² See <http://www.trotrolane.wordpress.com>, Accessed on August 7TH 2014.

¹²³ Taiwo, O. (n.d.). *Challenges of Transportation in Lagos*. Lagos: Lagos Metropolitan area transport authority.

The Lagos metropolis public transportation system relies on three modes of public road transport: State operated buses, privately operated regulated bus service and the informal unregulated operators. The state operated bus is called the LAGBUS and is operated by the state government of Lagos. The privately operated regulated service is the Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) of Lagos and is owned by The Nigeria Union of Road Transport Workers (NURTW) Co-operative society and LAGBUS Assets Management Nigeria Limited. The informal unregulated sector consists of minibuses called the *danfos*, smaller midi-buses called the *molue*,¹²⁴ shared taxis called the *kabu-kabu* and the motor cycle commercial operators called the *okanda*.¹²⁵

Basorun, J.O. and Rotowa, O.O. (2012) approximate that the provision of the public transport service in Lagos is shared among the different operators in the following proportions: *Danfo* - 39%, *Okada* - 18%, BRT - 18%, LAGBUS - 7%, train - 1%, and *molue* - 17%. This data shows that 74% of the public transport service is provided by informal unregulated service providers like the *Okada*, the *danfos* and the *molue*. The focus of the current study is on the *danfos* and the *molues* which fall in the category of the informal unregulated motor vehicle urban transport providers.¹²⁶ However, it is important to consider some aspects of the regulated transport providers like the BRT and the LAGBUS.

¹²⁴ Odeleye, J.A. (2001) explains that the word Moleu means “mould them together”, an indication of the little regard that the operators have for the comfort of their passengers.

¹²⁵ Olawole, M.O. (2012). Accessibility to Lagos Bus Rapid Transit Bus Stops: An Empirical Study. Paper presented at the CODATU XV conference on the role of urban mobility in (re)shaping cities. Addis Ababa: CODATU XV.

¹²⁶ Basorun, J.O. and Rotowa, O.O. (2012). Regional Assessment of Public Transport Operations in Nigerian Cities: The case of Lagos Island. In *The International Journal of Developing Societies*. Vol.1, No.2, 2012, 82-87.

The Lagos BRT was introduced in 2008 and it operates on the concept of utilizing dedicated lanes in areas where competition with highway traffic would be greatest while it makes use of existing highways and roads in areas that are less congested in order to reduce cost.¹²⁷ In 2012, the company was said to have a fleet of 200 buses and would lift about 130,600 passengers daily. The service is faster, more comfortable and safer compared to the services of the informal service providers but is by far inadequate for the transport needs of the city. Some of the buses used in the BRT operations are owned by small scale informal sector private operators through the Nigeria Union of Road Transport Workers (NURTW) Co-operative society. The remaining buses are owned by LAGBUS Assets Management Nigeria Limited while the state and the federal governments provide the regulatory framework and infrastructure. The Lagos BRT provides an excellent example of a model of the private public partnership and if it were to grow, it would reduce the reliance of the population on informal operators.¹²⁸

LAGBUS was created out of the experience of the Lagos state Government over the years in its various attempts to provide an efficient safe and sustainable bus transportation system for the city. LAGBUS commenced operations on 17th February 2007, on three routes with 123 buses. The city has had the experience of a State Transport Corporation (LSTC) and has experimented with provision of subsidies for private operators. The state

¹²⁷ *An Overview Of The Transformation Of Lagos State Transport Sector*. Document available at <http://www.resourcedat.com/an-overview-of-the-transformation-of-lagos-state-transport-sector>. Retrieved August 8th 2014.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

has also ventured into some partnership with TATA, assembling of buses and running of a bus system but all these attempts have not been successful.¹²⁹

The latest initiative is designed to counter the challenges faced in the earlier ventures and comes with the following features: The company runs as a private limited liability company, the management of the maintenance company is separated from the bus company, ticketing is centralized, and possible investment in a bus assembly plant. Just like in the case of the BRT, the service is considered safe and cheaper than that of the informal operators. However, it has challenges of the last mile connectivity and flexibility. The service is also inadequate to meet the needs of the city.¹³⁰

The shortcomings of the regulated bus services as enumerated above have given rise to the unregulated road transport service in the form of *danfos*, *molues* and *okadas*. Olufemi (2010) explains that *danfos* are sometimes called “flying coffins” while *molues* are at times called “moving morgues”, tribute to the dangerous driving habits of the drivers of these vehicles. *Danfos* and *molues* are associated with many of the accidents that occur that occur on Lagos roads. Comfort of the passengers is not taken seriously and they are more often than not overloaded, with operators only interested in maximizing profits. Even of less significance to the operators of these vehicles is gender convenience and women are frequently harassed either at the bus stops or in transit.¹³¹

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ *An Overview Of The Transformation Of Lagos State Transport Sector*. Document available at <http://www.resourcedat.com/an-overview-of-the-transformation-of-lagos-state-transport-sector>. Retrieved August 8th 2014.

¹³¹ Odeleye, J.A. (2001). *Towards Gender Sensitive Urban Transport Planning and Operations in Metropolitan Lagos, Nigeria*. Paper presented at the 4th IFUP congress, Marrakech”: IFUP.

Olufemi (2010) in a study on gender and public transportation in Lagos found that while men were more likely to be victims of pick-pocketing in Lagos, women were more likely to be victims of every other type of crime that was investigated. For instance, women were 10 times more likely to have physical injuries inflicted on them while travelling on public road transport than men. Equally, women were 10 times more likely to be targeted for rape and sexual harassment than men. Women were also more likely to be kidnapped than men. Women interviewed for this study were found to have frequently cancelled important trips for fear of being targeted in urban crime in road transport spaces.¹³² Ownership of private cars is not very helpful in Lagos owing to the heavy traffic situation of the roads. Car ownership in Lagos stands at 15 per 1000 people compared to the case in Nairobi where the ratio is 50 per 1000. In Johannesburg, it is 109.4 per 1000.¹³³ The observations above point to a situation where women are doubly disadvantaged in Lagos: not able to access safe and comfortable public transport and not able to own and drive vehicles conveniently.

There are very few *danfo* women owners or drivers in Lagos. Mrs. Bolaji Adedotun took to driving a *danfo* when her husband lost his job. As an indication of how rare her achievement was in eking herself a space in the male dominated *danfo* sector, she reports that passengers frequently give her monetary rewards in appreciation of her work.¹³⁴

¹³² Olufemi, O.B. (2010). *Gender and Safety in Public Transportation: An Explorative Study in Lagos Metropolis, Nigeria*. Unpublished Dissertation for Master of Arts in Urban Management and Development. Rotterdam: Erasmus University.

¹³³ Barret, J. (2011). *Transport and Climate Jobs*. SATAWU Research Papers. Johannesburg: SATAWU.

¹³⁴ Illerioluwa, F. (July 5th 2013). *I make N 10,000 per day – Lagos Female Danfo driver*. Available at <http://www.osundefender.org>. Retrieved August 8th 2014.

2.7 Formalization of Public Transport in Africa

The World Bank, in its *Cities on the Move* study considers much of the public road transport in Africa as being “informal”. This categorization has been justified by the observation that in many African states, state-subsidised bus operators have collapsed owing to harsh operating environments. This has given way to “a fragmented small-vehicle paratransit sector.”¹³⁵ However, a closer look at the public road transport in Africa observes that the sector may have an informal background, but it has gradually accommodated various levels of self and government regulation to attain a certain degree of formality.

In Lagos, Nigeria, the state government is in the process of establishing a database of all owners and workers in the public transport sector. This is aimed at controlling the number of accidents that have been attributed to unregistered *danfo* and *molue* drivers.¹³⁶ The government also intends to limit the number of hours that a driver of a public vehicle works in a stretch to eight. Vehicle owners will be required to pay insurance covers that include the passengers. The routes on which the vehicles ply will be regulated by the government and workers are required to appear in uniforms for easy identification by the public.¹³⁷

¹³⁵ Gwilliam, K. M. (2002). *Cities on the move: a World Bank urban transport strategy review*. Washington, D.C.: The World Bank. <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/2002/08/2017575/cities-move-world-bank-urban-transport-strategy-review>

¹³⁶ Karim, J. (November 22nd 2013). *Lagos Government and Danfo Drivers set for a showdown*. Available at <http://www.nigeriatraveldigest.com/index.php>. Retrieved September 2nd 2014.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

In Ghana, trotro operators are required to belong to unions which regulate the conduct and operations of paratransit operators.¹³⁸ According to road transport regulation (L1 2180), it is criminal for a transit operator not to belong to any union. Consequently, a number of road transport unions are in existence in Ghana including the Ghana Private Road Transporters Union (GPRTU), Progressive Transport Owners Association (PROTOA), Concern, Freedom, Cooperative, King Jesus, Agate and VIP. All of these unions exist under the umbrella of the Ghana Road Coordinating Council (GRCC) as the apex body. GPRTU and PROTOA are the largest unions controlling more than 80% of all Ghana road transport operators.¹³⁹

Public road transport operators in Africa comprise of powerful political lobbies and have been known to play certain administrative roles on behalf of the government. In Ghana, the GPRTU enjoyed a lot of political patronage during the reign of PNDC/NDC government. (From 1981 to 2000). For example, the GPRTU was entrusted with the task of collecting taxes from trotro drivers at various bus terminals on behalf of the government of Ghana. Occasionally, GPRTU organises training for its members in collaboration with the National Road Safety Commission (NRSC) and the Driver and Vehicle Licensing Authority (DVLA).¹⁴⁰

In Kenya, reforms aimed at formalizing the *matatu* sector have become prominent with the passing of the legal notices 161 of 2003 and 219 of 2013. Some of the measures that

¹³⁸ Yobo, E. (2013) *The Evolution of State Mass Transport in Ghana*. Accra: Public Management Research Institute.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

were contained in legal notice 161 of 2003 include: Fitting of speed governors in all PSVs and commercial vehicles whose tare weight exceeded 3,048 Kgs. These are to limit speed to 80 kph; Fitting of seat belts on all vehicles (both public, commercial and private); Employment of drivers and conductors on permanent basis; Issuing of badges to PSV drivers and conductors; Issuing of uniforms to PSV drivers and conductors; Indication of route details and painting of yellow band on Matatus for purposes of easy identification; Re-testing of drivers after every two years; Every driver shall prominently display his/her photograph of postcard size of the head and shoulders taken full without a hat. The photograph together with particulars of the driver's identity card shall be approved by a police officer of or above the rank of a superintendent; and The Legal Notice required that vehicles meeting these conditions be inspected by the government motor vehicle inspection centres in different parts of the country for testing and certification. It indicated that any person who contravenes or fails to comply with these provisions, owns, drives or has charge of the taxicab or Matatu, shall be guilty of an offense and could pay a specified fine or face imprisonment. A passenger found not wearing seat belt was also to pay a specified fine.¹⁴¹

Legal notice 219 of 2013 aims at, among other things, introducing vehicles of higher capacity to reduce congestion on Kenyan roads. The notice advocates for the management of public vehicles by corporate bodies adequately registered and regulated by the government.¹⁴²

¹⁴¹ Chitere, P. and Kibua, T. (2004) *Efforts to improve Road Safety in Kenya: Achievements and Limitations of Reforms in the Matatu Industry.*(p.7). Nairobi: Institute of Public Analysis and Research (IPAR)

¹⁴² Republic of Kenya. (2013). Legal Notice 219 of 2013. Nairobi: National Transport and Safety Authority.

The discussion in this section is intended to illustrate that the public transport sector is an important platform for economic and political empowerment and should not be dismissed as inconsequential in contributing towards the empowerment of a given gender, as implied by the term “informal”. Further, the discussion illustrates that the subjugation of women in public transport in Africa takes place with the awareness of the state to a given extent. The occurrence of such subjugation is another illustration of the state failing to meet its international legal obligations for the empowerment of women.

CHAPTER THREE

AN ASSESSMENT OF GENDER RELATIONS IN PUBLIC ROAD TRANSPORT IN NAIROBI

3.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on an empirical study undertaken to determine gender relations in public road transport in Nairobi, Kenya. The study was conducted between July, 7th and 25th 2014. The study was carried out in three phases: In the first phase, the *matatu* ownership by gender was inquired into. The second phase of the study involved *matatu* owners and *matatu* workers. The third phase of the study involved women commuters.

Ten SACCOs were identified from the 125 SACCOs that had been registered with the National Transport and Safety Authority by May 30th 2014. The respondents of this section of the study were SACCO managers who were all based at Railways bus terminus in Nairobi. The respondents were asked to provide details about the numbers of *matatu* owners, *matatus* owned and workers in their SACCOs. The importance of this phase was that it allowed for appropriate sample sizes for the second phase of the study to be determined appropriately.

The second phase of the study involved *matatu* owners and *matatu* workers. Questionnaires were prepared and issued, to *matatu* owners and female *matatu* workers. Both male and female *matatu* owners were sampled. The number of female workers in the SACCOs sampled was determined to be 77. 12 female workers were sampled for the interview, accounting for 15.58% of the population. The number of *matatu* owners and

matatus owned was then determined. Vehicles owned corporately were not included in the computation. The total number of *matatu* owners was found to be 264 of whom 228 were male and 36 were female. Consequently, the sample size for this section of the study was 26, which included 22 male owners and 4 female owners. The details of the sample sizes for the two studies are described in table 3.1 below. Questionnaires for women workers were issued at the railways terminus and the respondents gave their responses as passengers boarded the vehicle. Some vehicle owners gave their responses at the railways bus terminus, but a number were visited in their respective offices and homes in different parts of Nairobi.

Table 3.1: Sample Size Determination

	Population	Sample size	Percentage
<i>Matatu</i> SACCOs	125	10	8.0
Female <i>matatu</i> workers	77	12	15.58
<i>Matatu</i> owners	264	26	9.8

Source: Researcher

The third phase of the study involved women commuters. For this part of the study, 30 women students and 30 male students from the Kenya Methodist University (KEMU), Nairobi campus were requested to fill the questionnaires. All the respondents were in the evening studies programme and were regular users of public transport vehicles. The study was carried out between July 22nd and 25th 2014, between 5.00 pm and 8.30 pm. In all phases of the study, the questionnaire return rate was 100%.

3.2 Research Findings

3.2.1 *Matatu* Owners

Table 3.2 below provides the findings of the research about *matatu* ownership in Nairobi according to gender. Once the number of *matatus* in a SACCO and the number of owners were determined, the ownership ratio was calculated by dividing number of *matatus* in a SACCO with the number of owners in the SACCO. The aggregate ownership ratio was determined by dividing total number of *matatus* by total number of owners. The ownership ratio for the SACCOs studied was found to be 1.99. The ownership ratio for male owners alone is 2.096 while the ownership ratio for female owners was found to be 1.33. Vehicles owned corporately were excluded in the computations.

The unequal power relations between genders are illustrated by the great divergence between the ownership ratios between men owners and women owners. Further, the number of women owners is very small compared to the number of men owners, with women comprising of 13.6% of all owners. This reveals the structural disadvantages that hinder women's entrepreneurial participation in the *matatu* sector.

Table 3.2: *Matatu* ownership in Nairobi by gender. *Matatus* owned corporately are not included in the computation of the ownership ratios

NAME OF SACCO	Total no. of <i>matatus</i>	Corporately owned <i>matatus</i>	<i>Matatus</i> owned by:		<i>Matatu</i> owners by gender		Ownership ratio	
			M	F	M	F	M	F
Serian	197	8	176	13	95	11	1.85	1.18
Nairobi Shuttle	37	3	27	7	16	5	1.68	1.4
Mega Rider	8	2	6	0	4	0	1.5	0
Eleventh Hour	11	1	8	2	4	2	2.0	1.0
Kilele Shuttle	38	3	28	7	17	6	1.64	1.16
Astrabelt	21	2	14	5	9	3	1.55	1.67
Ongata Line	6	0	5	1	3	1	1.67	1.0
Moa	70	3	59	8	21	5	2.8	1.6
Karuri	156	7	144	5	58	3	2.48	1.67
Team Fergie	11	0	11	0	1	0	11	0
Total	555	29	478	48	228	36		

Source: Researcher

Table 3.3: Overall *matatu* ownership ratios

(Total no. of <i>matatus</i> owned by male owners ÷ Total no. of female owners)	48 ÷ 36	1.33
Average <i>matatu</i> ownership: (Total no. of <i>matatu</i> owners ÷ Total no. of <i>matatus</i>)	526 ÷ 264	1.99
(Total no. of <i>matatus</i> owned by male owners ÷ Total no. of male owners)	478 ÷ 228	2.096

Source: Researcher

The pie charts below illustrate the demographic information of the *matatu* owners interviewed for this study including gender, number of years as *matatu* owners and number of *matatu* owned.

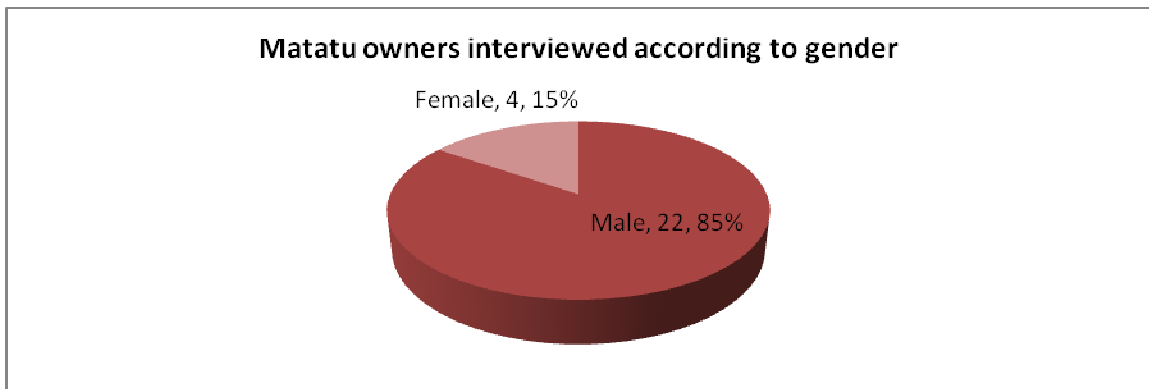


Fig 3.1 *Matatu* owners interviewed according to gender

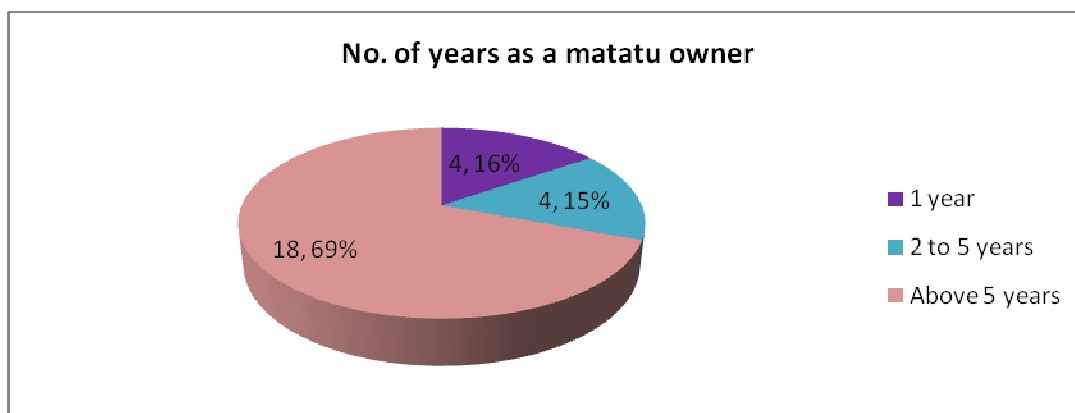


Fig 3.2 No. of years worked as a *matatu* owner

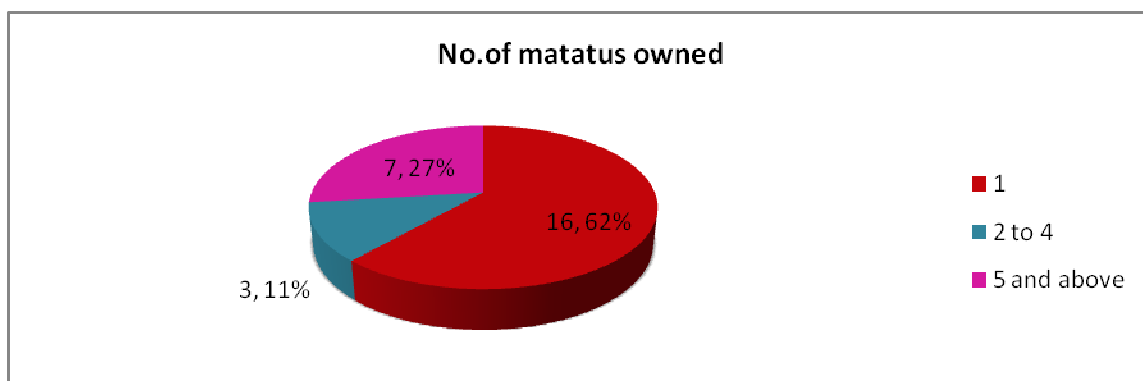


Fig 3.3: No. of *matatus* owned

Table 3.4: Experience of matatu owners as workers in the sector

Experience of <i>matatu</i> owners as workers in the sector	Frequency	Percentage
Yes. Worked as a driver	7	26.9
Yes. Worked as a conductor	8	30.8
Yes. Worked as a driver and as a conductor	4	15.4
No. Never worked in the <i>matatu</i> sector	7	26.9
Total	26	100.0

Source: Researcher

This research found that there is a positive correlation between previous experience as a *matatu* worker with the future ownership of *matatus*. It was found that 73.1% of the *matatu* owners had had some previous experience as workers in the *matatu* sector. This then implies that when structural barriers are placed to limit the entry of women to work in the *matatu* sector, such discrimination amounts to limitation of women to take part in entrepreneurial opportunities that such a sector may offer.

This finding confirms the views of Brush (1992) and Winn (2005)¹⁴³ who argue that the gender discrimination of women from opportunities of entrepreneurship is propagated through informal networks of men where the secrets of trade are shared. Winn (2005) calls them “old boy networks” while Brush (1992) says that women’s social networks are frequently a function of their children (for example teacher-parent associations) and that women are frequently excluded from business and professional business clubs.¹⁴⁴ It is in this light that work in the *matatu* sector in Kenya ought to be looked at: as an opportunity to join a tight group of entrepreneurs with their trade secrets and unique culture. Access to the group offers entrepreneurial opportunities while exclusion propagates inequality for the group excluded.

Although not intended to provide a favourable investment climate for women in the *matatu* sector, there is a new legislation that has potential to increase the participation of women in the sector. The legislation is legal notice 219 of 2013, also referred to as The

¹⁴³ Winn, J. (2005). Women Entrepreneurs – Can we Remove the Barriers? *International Entrepreneurship and Management Journal*, 1, 381 -397.

¹⁴⁴ Brush, C.G.(1992). *Research on women Business Owners: Past Trends, A new Perspective and Future Directions*. Boston: Blackwell.

National Transport and Safety Authority (Operation of Public Service Vehicles) Regulations, 2013. According to this legislation, public service vehicles in Kenya ought to be run by corporate bodies with 30 or more vehicles under them. The bodies are registered either under the companies Act cap 486 or under the cooperative societies Act cap 490. Bodies registered under the cooperative Act are popularly referred to as SACCOs, Savings and Credit Cooperatives. Bodies registered under the company Act are popularly called management companies. Some SACCOs and management companies provide management services on behalf of the *matatu* owners at a fee. It is these management companies that are likely to provide an easier entry path for women entrepreneurs into the *matatu* business.

When asked to comment on the possibility of the legal notice 219 of 2013 increasing the entrepreneurial presence of women in the *matatu* sector, 19 respondents (73%) said that the legislation had potential to increase participation by women. 27% disagreed, saying that the management of the *matatu* still remains with the owner, not the SACCO.

The grid below shows the responses of *matatu* owners interviewed to statements related to certain aspects of the *matatu* sector.

Table 3.5: Certain aspects of the *matatu* sector according to *matatu* owners interviewed

	Mean	Std. Deviation
Most <i>matatu</i> owners prefer to hire male <i>matatu</i> workers than women workers.	4.85	.368
Work in the <i>matatu</i> sector is so difficult that many women cannot cope with it.	4.08	1.412
I have experienced some form of harassment from illegal groups (like mungiki) in the course of my business.	3.15	1.912
Women workers are not aggressive enough to secure enough profits daily as required in the <i>matatu</i> industry.	4.08	1.354
The work of <i>matatu</i> workers is too dangerous for women.	1.92	1.354
The long working hours associated with the work in the <i>matatu</i> sector are unsuitable for women's health.	3.00	1.876
Female <i>matatu</i> workers are more honest than their male colleagues.	3.92	1.294
It is more difficult for women <i>matatu</i> owners to enter into the <i>matatu</i> business than their male colleagues.	4.85	.368
Banks and other financial institutions will prefer to loan money to male <i>matatu</i> owners than to women <i>matatu</i> owners.	2.31	1.644

Source: Researcher

From the responses above, it is clear that the participation of women in the *matatu* sector whether as owners or as workers remains quite a formidable challenge. This can be seen when one considers the relatively high mean of the statements that refer to the entry of women into the *matatu* sector both as workers and as entrepreneurs. Such statements include '*Most matatu owners prefer to hire male matatu workers than women workers.*'

where the respondents scored a mean of 4.85 and *'Work in the matatu sector is so difficult that many women cannot cope with it'* where the respondents scored a mean of 4.08. There is greater concurrence in the first statement compared to the latter, as seen from the standard deviation which is less (0.368) in the case of the first statement than in the second. (1.412).The statement *'It is more difficult for women matatu owners to enter into the matatu business than their male colleagues'* also got a high mean (4.85) and small standard deviation (0.368), indicating a high level of concurrence among the respondents.

There are two statements that were clearly refuted by the respondents. They are: *'The work of matatu workers is too dangerous for women.'* (Mean = 1.92) and *'Banks and other financial institutions prefer to loan money to male matatu owners than to women matatu owners'* (Mean = 2.31). The finding regarding work in the *matatu* sector is useful to dismiss the 'heavy work fable'¹⁴⁵ that is used to discriminate against women in workplaces where technical expertise is required. Such a field is work in the *matatu* sector. As regarding the finding that banks and financial institutions do not necessarily favour male applicants for loans to invest in the *matatu* sector, this finding cannot be used to suggest an equal access for both men and women to capital to invest in the *matatu* sector. This is because in a patriarchal society as Kenya is, women are less likely to have the collateral required to access loans than men.

¹⁴⁵ See Eveline, J. (1998). Heavy, Dirty and Limp Stories: Male Advantage at Work. (p.90) In Gatens, M. and Mackinnon, A. (eds.) *Gender and Institutions: Welfare, Work and Citizenship*. Cambridge: University of Cambridge.

3.2.2 Matatu Workers

The study embarked on determining the percentage of women workers in the SACCOs sampled. The findings would indicate the approximate number of women workers in Nairobi. The findings are presented in table 3.6 below.

Table 3.6: Percentages of male and female workers in the *matatu* sector in Nairobi

Name of SACCO	No. of <i>matatus</i>	Drivers		Conductors		Other workers		Percentages	
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Serian	197	197	-	194	3	4	5	96.05	3.94
Nairobi Shuttle	37	60	-	52	8	8	2	92.03	7.69
Mega Rider	8	14	-	12	2	2	2	87.50	12.50
Eleventh Hour	11	15	-	15	-	4	1	97.14	2.86
Kilele Shuttle	38	88	-	78	10	11	3	88.5	11.5
Astrabelt	21	36	-	36	-	5	-	100	-
Ongata Line	6	10	-	7	3	2	2	79.1	20.9
Moa	70	134	6	130	10	9	4	93.17	6.83
Karuri	156	166	-	154	12	4	3	95.29	4.70
Team Fergie	11	13	-	15	-	3	1	96.87	3.12
Total	555	733	6	693	48	52	23	95.05	4.95

Source: Researcher

The study found that the percentage of women workers in the SACCOs sampled is 4.95%. Closer scrutiny of the data reveals that most female workers in the *matatu* sector

are either conductors (62.34%) or “other workers”. Other workers referred to here include office managers and route managers, but hardly drivers. Route managers and office managers account for 30% of the women workers while drivers account only for 8% of the women workers. The statistic reveals the *matatu* sector as being quite intolerant to women participation as workers. According to one respondent, a SACCO manager, the reason why there were few women drivers in Nairobi was because the *matatu* drivers in Nairobi were “too hostile” harassing women drivers through aggressive driving habits such that many of the women drivers quit in frustration. He explained that even in the one SACCO among the ones sampled that had employed some women drivers, those drivers were allocated to up-market areas of Nairobi where there were fewer public service vehicles.

Another respondent, a male *matatu* driver says that the *matatu* industry was improving in terms of admittance of women workers since 2003. While admitting that the *matatu* sector still remained hostile to women workers, he says that the conditions were totally ruthless both for workers and commuters before the enactment of legal notice 161 of 2003, popularly known as “Michuki rules” after the then transport minister, John Michuki.

Legal notice 161 of 2003 reduced the capacity of public *matatu* vans from above 20 to 14, and insisted that *matatus* be fitted with safety belts. *Matatu* workers were supposed to don uniforms while at work and touting was made illegal. *Matatu* owners were required to employ their workers on more permanent basis than was the case before, where

workers would be paid on commission basis. These regulations improved the conditions for both workers and commuters and may have been the start of the long journey of incorporating women workers and owners into the *matatu* business.

Twelve female *matatu* workers were interviewed for this section of the study. Their demographic information is as shown in the pie charts below.

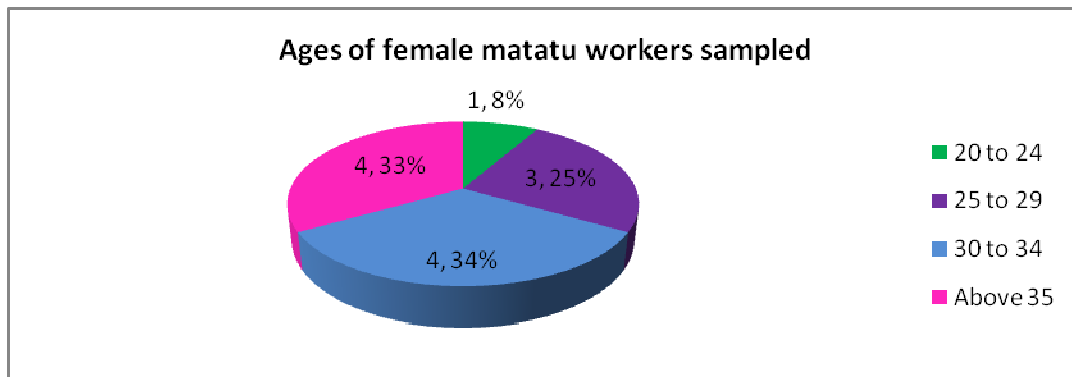


Fig 3.4: Ages of female *matatu* workers sampled

This result is hardly unexpected. Legal notice no.161 of 2003 stipulates that workers in the *matatu* sector ought to be above 24 years of age. To be able to work in the *matatu* sector, the respondent whose age is below 24 years must be assumed to be working in the office, and not as a conductor. To do so, she would need the certificate of good conduct from the police which cannot be issued if she is less than 24 years.

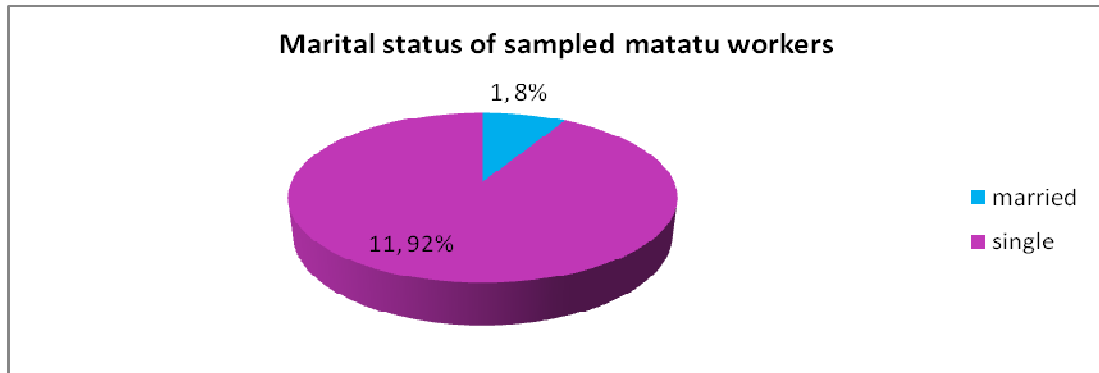


Fig 3.5 Marital status of the female workers sampled

The finding that the average female *matatu* worker is unmarried may be an indication of a strong patriarchal structure in the Kenyan society where marriage serves as a barrier to women to work in male dominated fields. It may also signify that marriage reinforces the sexual division of labour whereby the woman is expected to perform household, less rewarding care-giving roles while the husband performs the more capital intensive, income generating roles. This finding ought to be studied further in future studies, where male respondents would be studied to determine whether most of the workers were married or not.

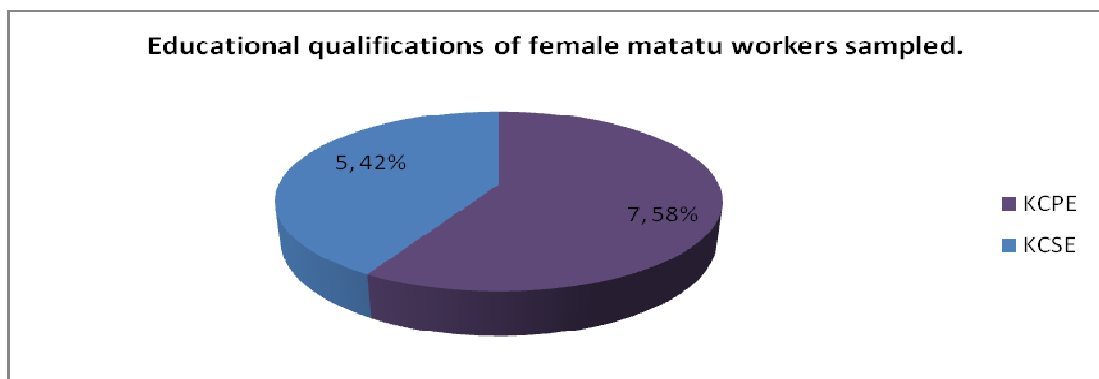


Fig 3.6: Educational qualifications of female *matatu* workers sampled

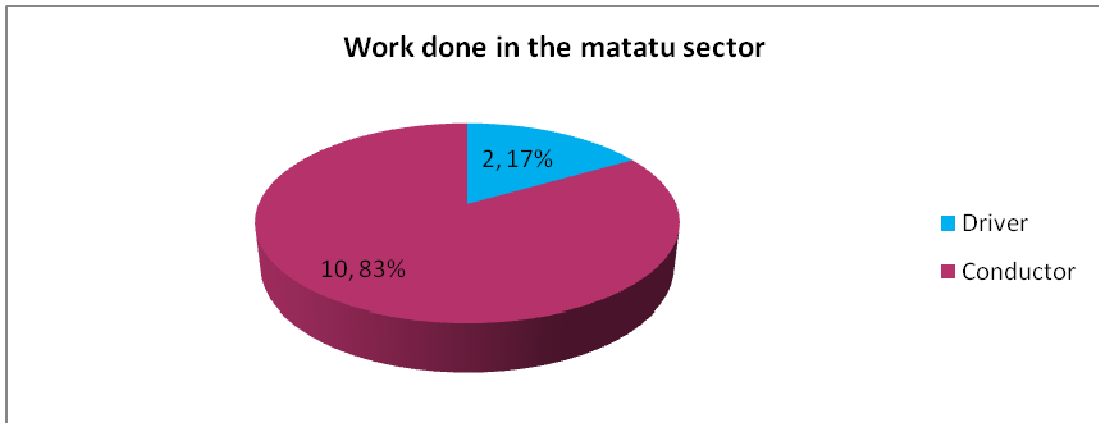


Fig 3.7: Work done in the *matatu* sector

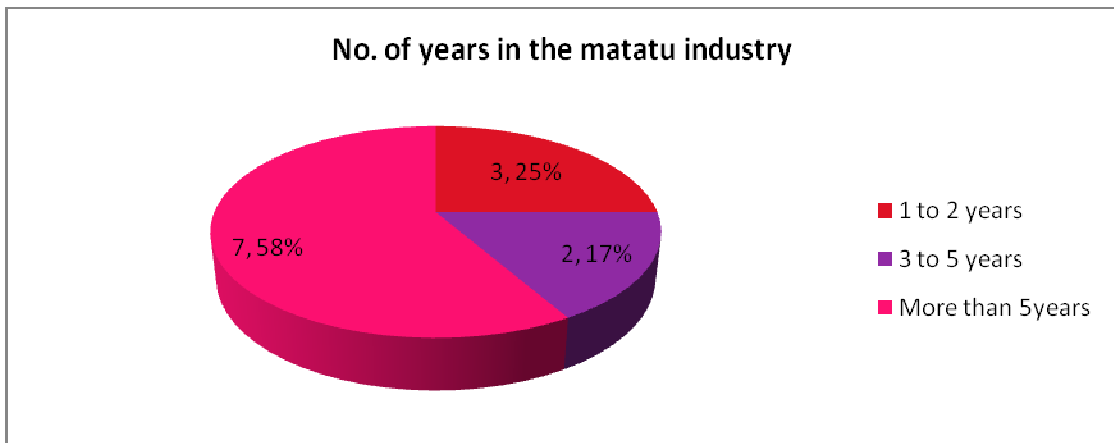


Fig 3.8: No. of years in the *matatu* industry

All the female workers interviewed for this study said that they wished to become *matatu* owners themselves. This indicates that working in the *matatu* sector increases the possibility of entrepreneurial participation by the worker as a *matatu* owner. Similarly, it is understood from this finding that by hindering women from accessing work in the transport sector, the patriarchal structure of the society keeps them from benefiting from the entrepreneurial possibilities that the sector offers.

This finding is further confirmed by the response about *matatu* owners being former *matatu* workers. 75% of the respondents strongly agreed with the statement and only 17% were in outright disagreement to the statement. This statistic is illustrated in the pie chart below.

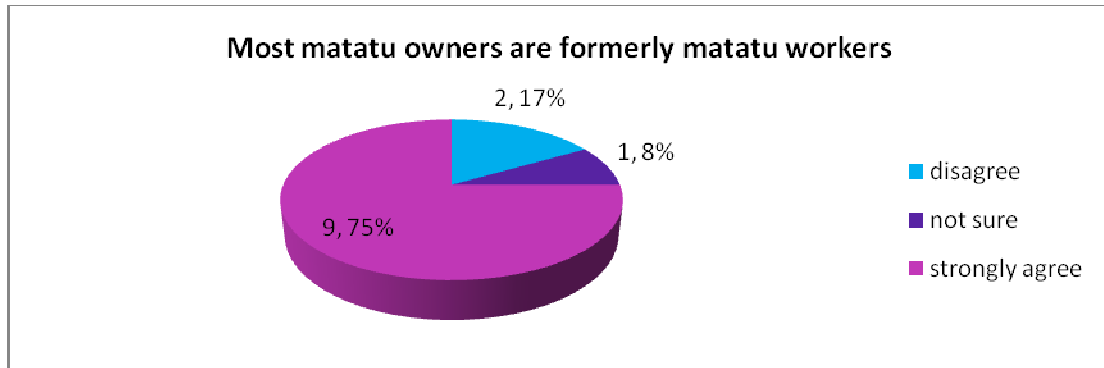


Fig 3.9: *Matatu* owners as former *matatu* workers

3.2.3 *Matatu* Commuters

This section of the study involved 30 women and 30 male students from the Kenya Methodist University (KEMU), Nairobi campus who were requested to fill the questionnaires. All the respondents were in the evening studies programme and were regular users of public transport vehicles. The study involving female students was carried out between July 22nd and 25th 2014, between 5.00 pm and 8.30 pm. The study involving male students was carried out on 3rd September 2014, between 5.00 pm and 8.30 pm.

3.2.3.1 Matatu Women Commuters

From the responses, the *matatu* routes commonly used by the women commuter respondents are as shown in the table below.

Table 3.7: *Matatu* routes frequently taken by the respondents

Route	Frequency
Dagoretti	2
Eastleigh	4
Githurai	3
Kawangware	3
Kiambu	2
Kitengela	1
Mwiki	1
Ngong road	3
Ngumo	1
Parklands	1
Rongai	2
Ruiru	3
Westlands	2
Zimmerman	2

Source: Researcher

The respondents were asked to rate the *matatu* commuter service in terms of politeness of the crew, cleanliness, comfort, cost effectiveness and convenience. The responses are represented in the pie charts below:

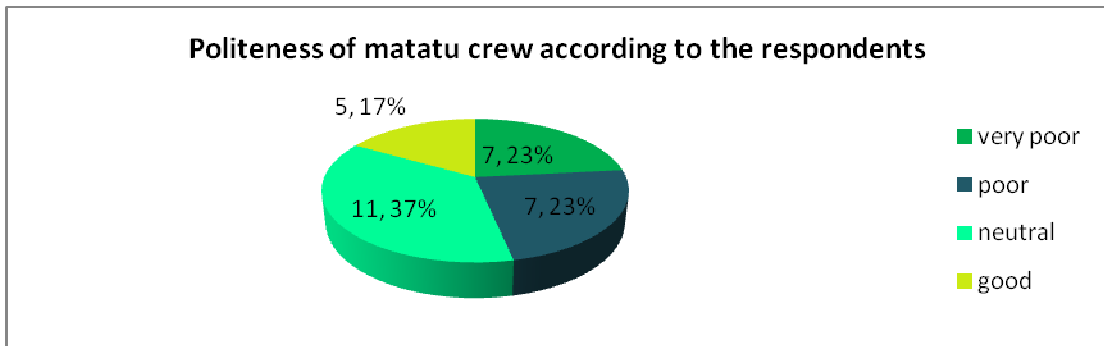


Fig 3.10: Politeness of *matatu* crew

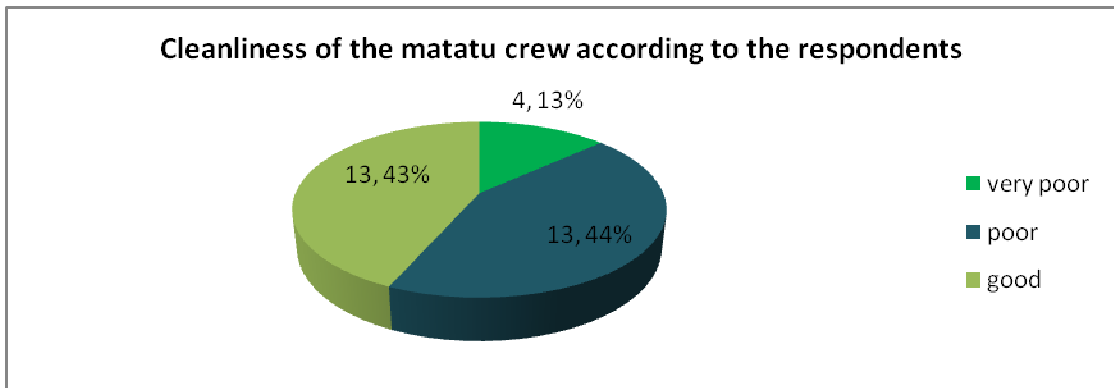


Fig 3.11: Cleanliness of the *matatu* environment

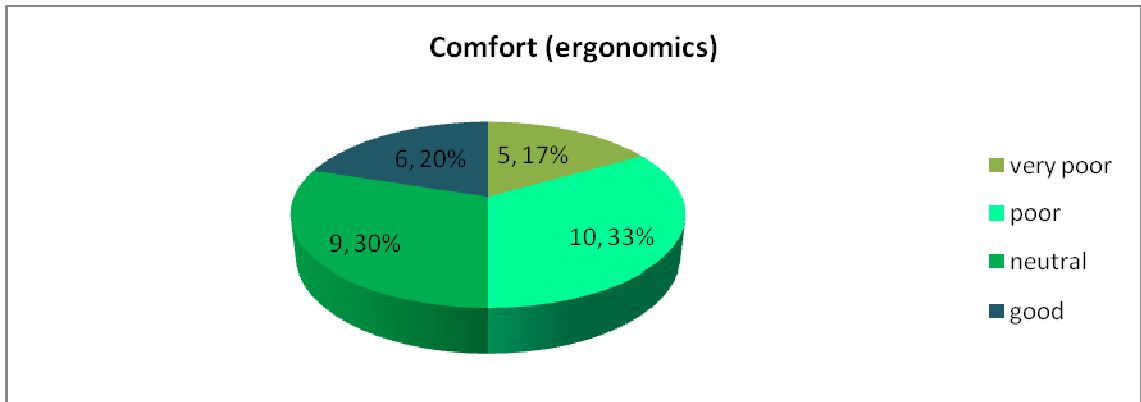


Fig 3.12: Comfort of the *matatu*

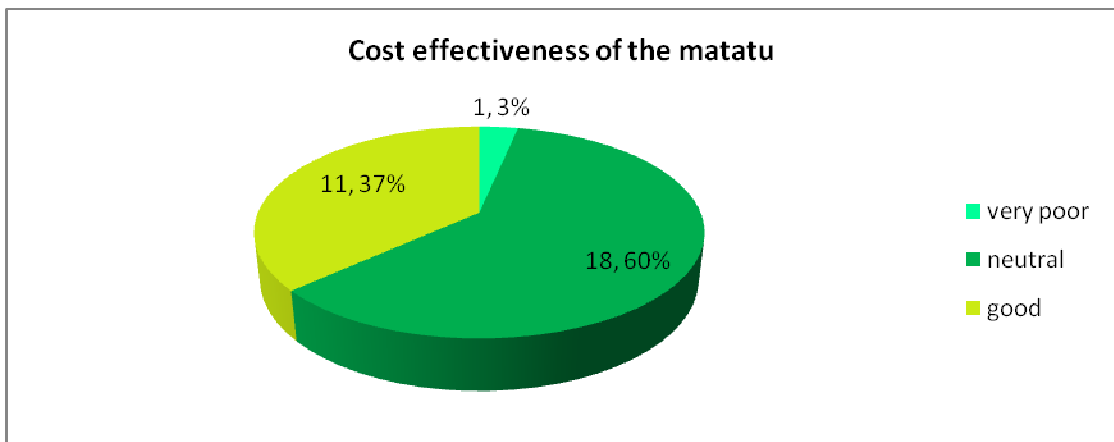


Fig 3.13: Cost effectiveness of the *matatu*

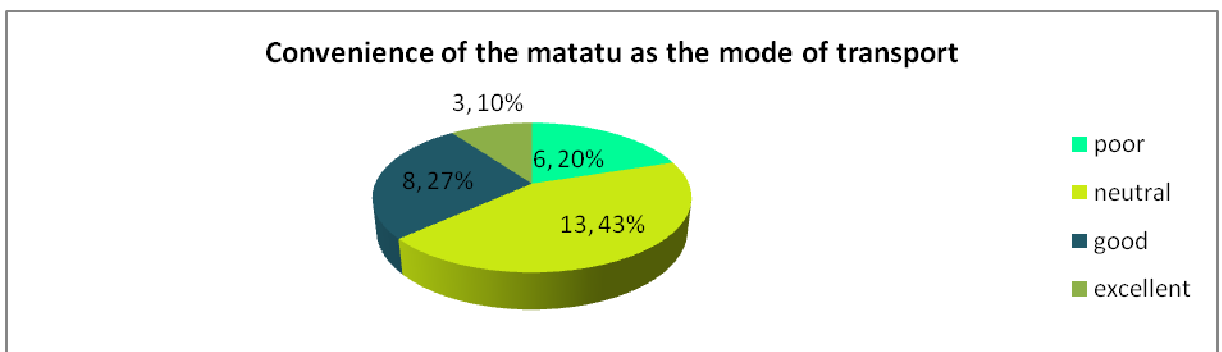


Fig 3.14: Convenience of the *matatu*

From the responses, it is seen that the *matatu* environment is generally inhospitable to women in terms of comfort, politeness by the crew, and comfort. In each of the category, the *matatu* was rated as either ‘poor’ or ‘very poor’ in each of the categories. However, despite the inconveniences, the *matatu* remains a popular choice of travel. This can be explained in terms of cost effectiveness and convenience. In a city where the light rail system does not work, and where the state-funded providers of road transport do not work, the *matatu* becomes the only choice available for the majority of the people.

Cost effectiveness is the factor that influences the choice of most of the respondents to use the *matatu*, ahead of convenience, as shown in the pie chart below.

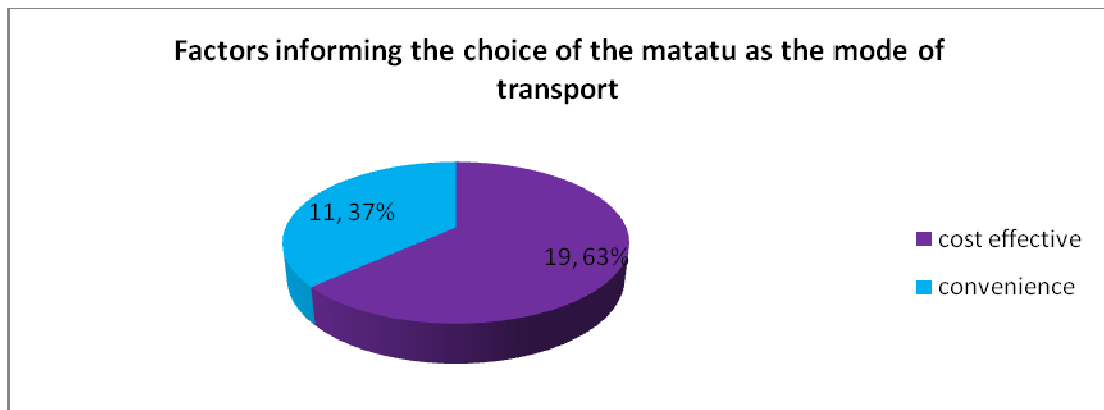


Fig 3.15: Factors informing the choice of the *matatu* as the mode of transport

The pie charts below indicate how much the respondents depend on the *matatu* for their day-to-day transport needs.

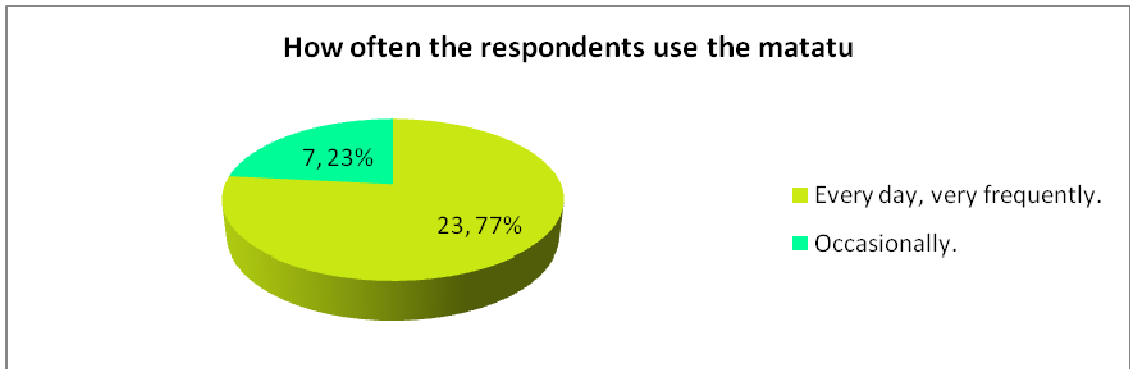


Fig 3.16: How much the respondents depend on the *matatu* for their transport needs

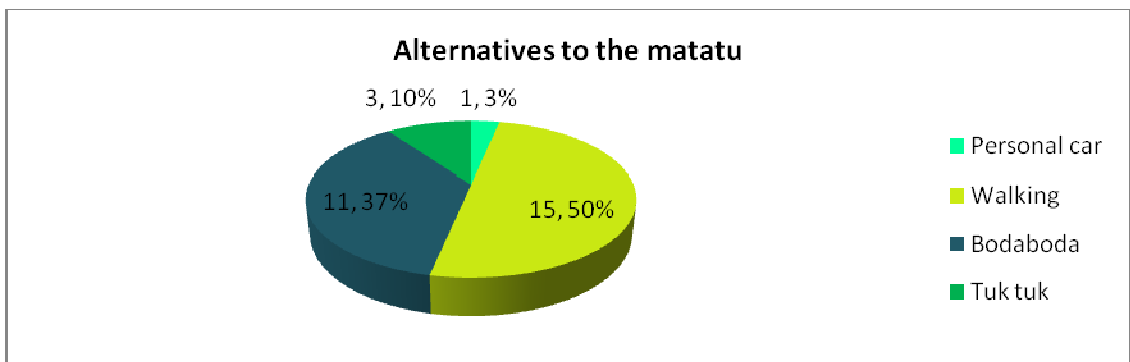


Fig 3.17: Alternatives to the *matatu*

The information below relates to the measures that ought to be taken to ensure that women are not discriminated against in the access of public transport.

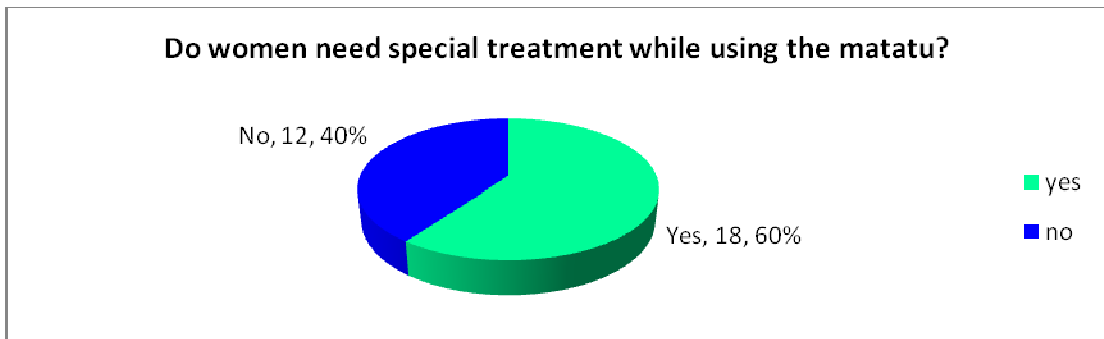


Fig 3.18: Whether women need special treatment while using the *matatu*

Table 3.8: Measures suggested to make the *matatu* more hospitable to women

Intervention	Frequency	Percentage
Employ more women staff in <i>matatus</i>	3	10.0
Increase sitting space and leg-room	22	73.3
Involvement of county and national governments in the ownership and management of public service vehicles	4	13.3

From the results above, it is important to note that the respondents do not find a women-only transport system suitable to solve problems of gender-based harassment in public transport. The requirement for more leg room and space may indicate a need specific to women’s travel patterns that is hardly addressed by male motor vehicle designers. Women for example are more likely to travel in the company of children and luggage and therefore would find such additional space suitable for travel.

The two pie charts and table below provide information related to the prevalence of gender-based violence in *matatus*.

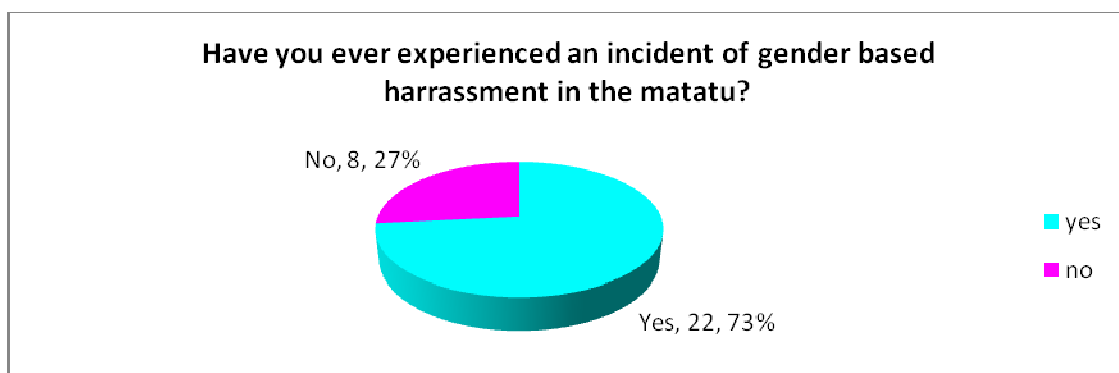


Fig 3.19: Experience of gender-based harassment in *matatus*

Table 3.9: Forms of gender based harassment prevalent in the *matatu*

Nature of harassment	Frequency	Percentage
Abusive language	8	26.7
Refusing to reach the agreed destination	3	10.0
Overcharging	6	20.0
Indecent touch.	7	23.3
Physical harassment	6	20.0

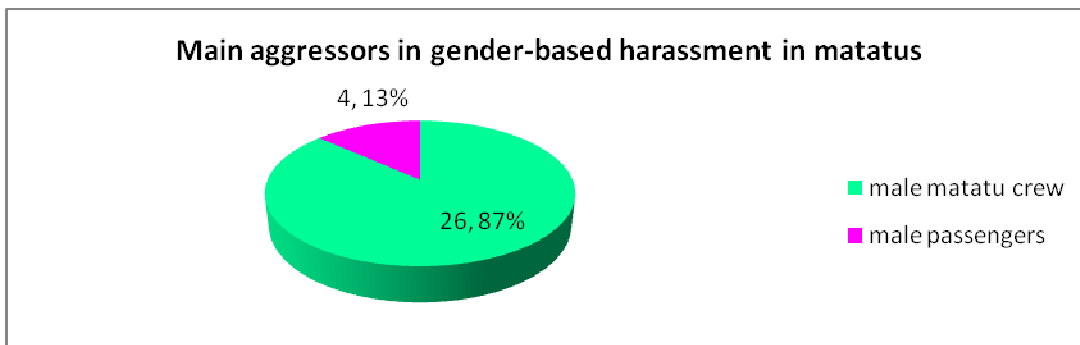


Fig 3.20: Main aggressors in gender based harassment in *matatus*

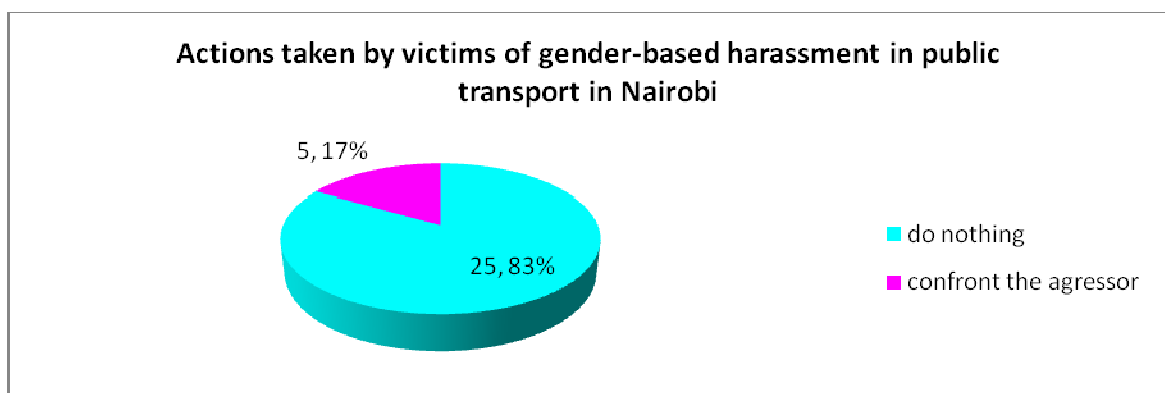


Fig 3.21: Action taken by victims of gender based harassment in public transport in Nairobi

From the results above, we observe that gender based harassment is widely prevalent in the *matatu* as a mode of transport. The main aggressor has been identified as the *matatu* crew. The main forms of harassment include overcharging and abusive language. The finding that 83% of the victims choose to do nothing about the harassment is quite unusual and may point to a likelihood of further mistreatment of the victim by law enforcers in the course of investigations. To avoid such mistreatment, the victims either keep silent about it, or they confront the aggressor.

3.2.3.2 Male Matatu Commuters

From the responses, the *matatu* routes commonly used by male commuter respondents are as shown in the table below.

Table 3.10: Routes taken by male respondents

Route	Frequency
Dandora	2
Eastleigh	3
Githurai	3
Kahawa	1
Karen	1
Kawangware	2
Kiambu	2
Lang'ata	3
Mwiki	2
Ngong	1
Ngumo	2
Ruiru	1
Satellite	1
Thika	2
Umoja	2
Uthiru	1
Wangige	1
Total	30

Source: Researcher

The respondents were asked to rate the *matatu* commuter service in terms of politeness of the crew, cleanliness, comfort, cost effectiveness and convenience. The responses are represented in the pie charts below:

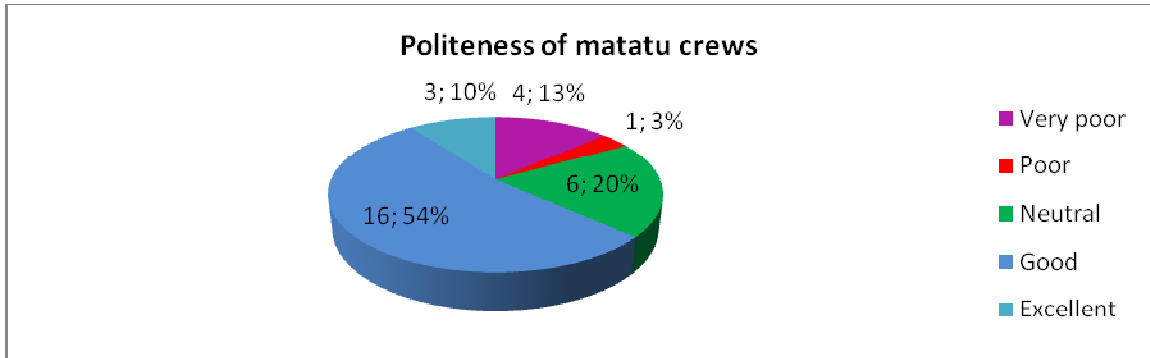


Fig 3.22: How polite are the matatu crews?

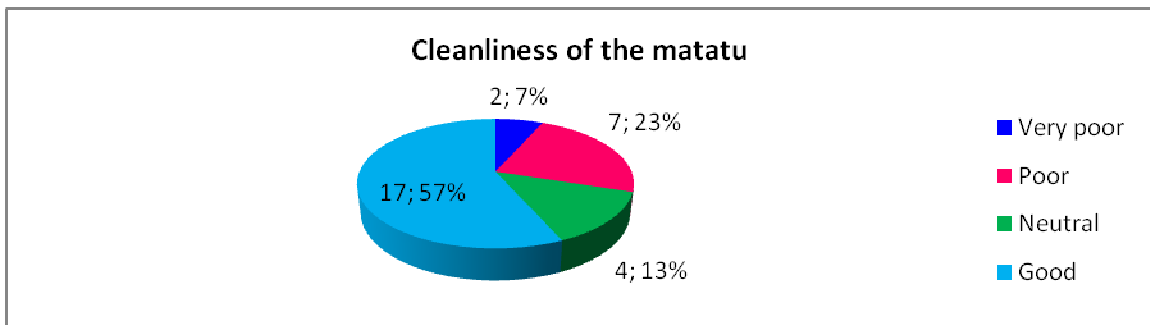


Fig 3.23: Cleanliness

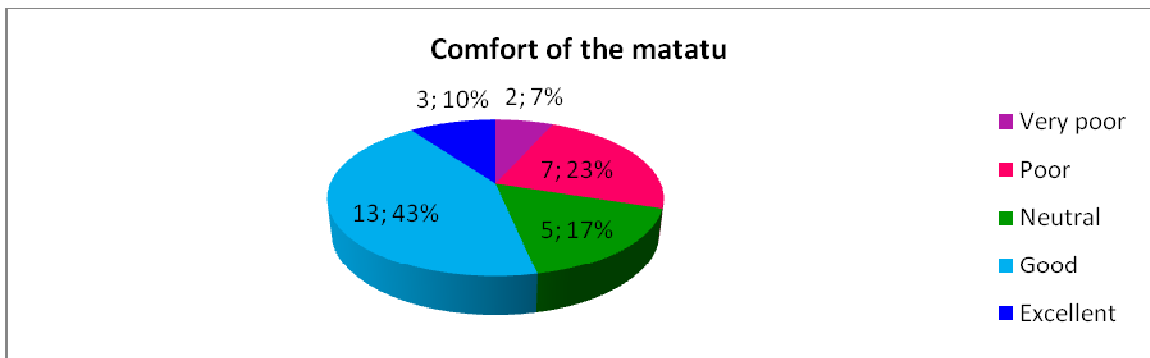


Fig 3.24: Comfort in the matatu

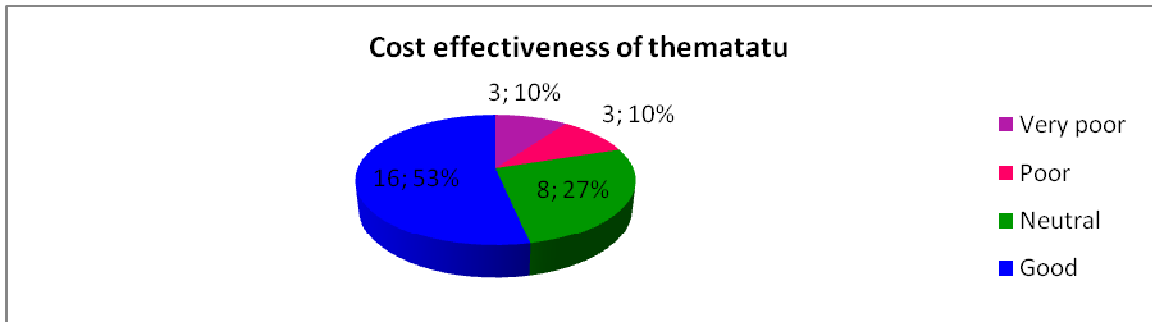


Fig 3.25: How cost effective is the matatu?

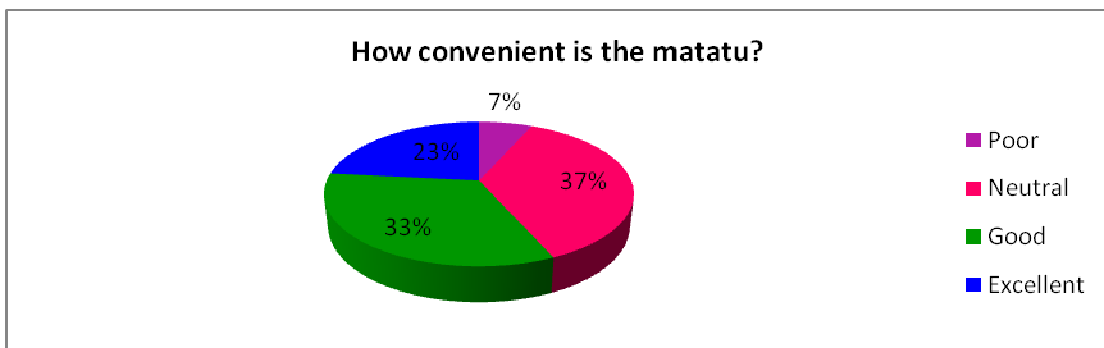


Fig 3.26: Convenience as a factor for choosing the matatu

The results from the male respondents as presented above indicate that there are clearly discernible gender differentials regarding the attitudes of men and women towards the matatu. These differentials are summarised in table 3.11 below.

Table 3.11: Gender differentials in the attitudes of men and women towards the matatu

ASPECT UNDER CONSIDERATION	WOMEN	MEN
POLITENESS	46% of the respondents rate the politeness of the crew as 'poor' or 'very poor'. Only 17% rate the politeness as 'good'.	64% of men rate the politeness of matatu crews as 'good' or 'excellent'. 16% rate the politeness of the crews as 'poor' or 'very poor'.
CLEANLINESS	57% of female respondents rate the cleanliness of matatus as 'poor' or 'very poor'. 43% rate it as 'good'.	57% of male respondents rate the matatu as 'good' in terms of cleanliness and only 30% rate it as 'poor' or 'very poor'.
COMFORT	20% rate the matatu as 'good' in terms of comfort while 50% of the respondents rate the matatu as 'poor' or 'very poor'.	53% rate the matatu as 'excellent' or 'good' in terms of comfort. Only 30% rate the matatu as 'poor' or 'very poor'.
COST EFFECTIVENESS	Cost effectiveness is the main factor that makes women to rely on the matatu for urban transportation. 37% of the respondents rated the matatu as 'good' while 60% rated the matatu as 'neutral'	For men, convenience is the more important factor for choosing the matatu. 53% of men rate the cost effectiveness of the matatu as 'good' while 20% rate it as poor or 'very poor'.
CONVENIENCE	Only 37% of the respondents appreciate the convenience that is widely associated with the matatu. 20% rate the matatu as 'poor' in terms of convenience.	56% of men rate the convenience aspect of the matatu as 'good' or 'excellent'. 7% rate the convenience as 'poor'.

Further gender differentials are illustrated in the results of the aspects discussed below.

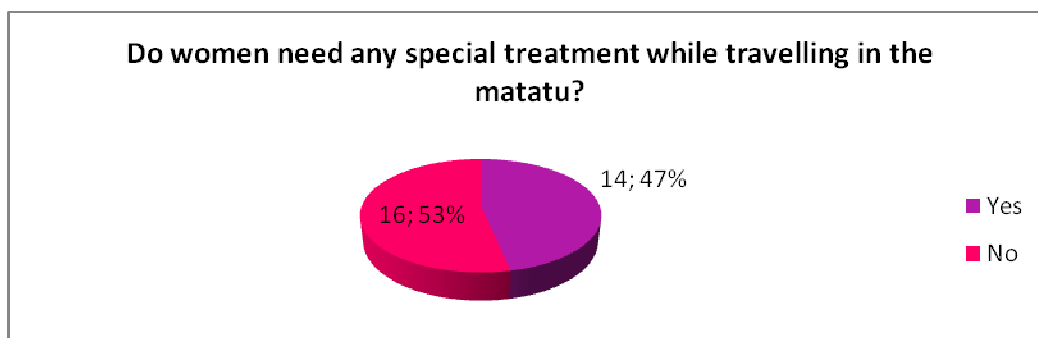


Fig 3.27: Do women need any special treatment while travelling in the matatu?

53% of the male respondents do not see the need for women to be accorded any special treatment in the matatu. Due to patriarchal conditioning, male respondents do not see the inadequacies of the matatu sector as they impact negatively on women. Of the 14 respondents who support special treatment for women on the matatu, 7 support the employment of more women staff in the matatu sector, 3 propose the increase of the sitting space and leg-room, 2 suggested that the loud music usually played in matatus is unsuitable for women, 1 suggested that tougher penalties need to be put into place to avert women’s harassment in the matatu. One respondent was unclear in this response. This finding is presented in table 3.12 below.

Table 3.12: Interventions to make the matatu more hospitable to women

FREQUENCY	INTERVENTION
7	Employ more women staff in the matatu sector
3	Increase sitting space and leg-room
2	Reduce the volume of music normally played in matatus.
1	Put into place tougher penalties to avert women’s harassment in matatus.
1	Unclear. No response.
TOTAL: 14	

Asked whether they had ever experienced gender-based harassment in matatus, 70 % of the respondents said yes while 30% said no. However, a close scrutiny of the forms of harassment that were listed in table 3.13 below indicate that the harassment referred to by the respondents may not have been gender-based, and therefore, this aspect of the study need further inquiry in future studies.

Table 3.13: Forms of harassment experienced by male commuters in matatus.

FORM OF HARASSMENT	FREQUENCY
Abusive language	2
Overcharging	19
No Response	9
TOTAL	30

The differentials in gender attitudes towards the matatu as illustrated above are indicative of strongly patriarchal society where men do not see anything unusual when the matatu sector thrives as it does without paying the slightest attention to the special needs of women. From table 3.8 above, it is clear that the comfort of women in matatus is an issue that is never addressed in the sector as it is now. Women respondents suggested that increasing the sitting space and leg room in matatus would be an important reform to enhance their urban travel experience. This corresponds with the rating of 50% of the respondents that the comfort in the matatus is ‘poor’ or ‘very poor’.

The findings also indicate that the design and the operational model of the matatu is made for a masculinised world as illustrated by the relatively high scores of male respondents in the aspects of politeness, cleanliness, comfort, cost effectiveness and convenience.

The finding is supported by a study by Deike Peters (2013) entitled *Gender and Sustainable Urban Mobility* and submitted to the United Nations Human Settlements Programme (the UN Habitat). The study found that urban transport systems were not gender neutral as had been thought before. The study illustrated that urban transport was gendered in policy and planning in different cities in the world and that these gendered expressions were usually discriminative of women.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁶ Peters, D. (2013) *Gender and Sustainable Urban Mobility*. Nairobi: United Nations Human Settlement Programme.

CHAPTER FOUR

GENDER-BASED INTERVENTIONS IN PUBLIC TRANSPORT

4.1. Introduction

In this chapter, the international policy framework that supports the empowerment of women is discussed. The various forms of gender based violence as they happen on public road transport are then investigated. This is followed by a discussion on why VAW and sexual harassment occurs in public transport. Finally, the chapter looks at gender based interventions to prevent harassment of women in public transport.

4.2 International Policy Framework for the Empowerment of Women

The agenda of the economic empowerment of women as discussed in the current study is based on a number of instruments of international policy.

4.2.1 The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, UDHR, 1948

Article 23 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, UDHR 1948 declares that everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment. It further provides that everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work. While this article does not specifically mention the equality of rights between men and women, this equality is envisaged as indicated by the preamble which provides for “equal rights of men and women to promote social progress and better standards of life...”¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁷ United Nations (1948). *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. New York: Author.

4.2.2 The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)

The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) 1979 is even more elaborate in providing for the rights of women in many facets of life. In Article 2 of the convention, member states commit to condemn discrimination against women in all its forms, agree to pursue by all appropriate means and without delay a policy of eliminating discrimination against women. In Article 2 (e), state parties are required to take appropriate measures to eliminate the discrimination of women by enterprises. Article 11 of CEDAW requires State parties to take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the field of employment in order to ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women, the same rights, in particular: (a) The right to work as an inalienable right of all human beings; (b) The right to the same employment opportunities, including the application of the same criteria for selection in matters of employment; (c) The right to free choice of profession and employment, the right to promotion, job security and all benefits and conditions of service and the right to receive vocational training and retraining, including apprenticeships, advanced vocational training and recurrent training; and (d) The right to equal remuneration, including benefits, and to equal treatment in respect of work of equal value, as well as equality of treatment in the evaluation of the quality of work.¹⁴⁸ Article 11 (2) (a) – (c) protects women against discrimination on the grounds of marriage or maternity and to ensure their effective right to work. Employers are to be prohibited from dismissing women on the

¹⁴⁸ United Nations (1979). *The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)*. New York: Author.

grounds of pregnancy or marital status.¹⁴⁹ While such dismissals have been found to be routine in the transport sector in Kenya, such should only indicate the failure of the state to meet its international obligations.

4.2.3 The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (BDPA)

Possibly the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (BDPA) addresses issues of economic empowerment for women in a more straightforward manner than any other instrument of public policy has done. Article 13 of the Declaration states that women's empowerment and their full participation on the basis of equality in all spheres of society are fundamental for the achievement of equality, development and peace. Article 15 of the Declaration clarifies that equal rights, opportunities and access to resources, equal sharing of responsibilities for the family by men and women, and a harmonious partnership between them are critical to their well-being and that of their families as well as to the consolidation of democracy. Through Article 26 of the Declaration, participants in the Beijing Conference determined to promote women's economic independence, including employment, and eradicate the persistent and increasing burden of poverty on women by addressing the structural causes of poverty through changes in economic structures, ensuring equal access for all women as vital development agents, to productive resources, opportunities and public services.

Article 17 of the Beijing Platform for Action notes that only a radical transformation of the relationship between women and men to one of full and equal partnership will enable the world to meet the challenges of the twenty first century. Article 151 of the Platform

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

for Action addresses women's involvement in enterprise and notes that despite an increasing number of women in both formal and informal sectors, there was need for governments and multilateral institutions to place mechanisms to increase the participation of women and gender concerns in economic decision making structures of society.¹⁵⁰

4.2.4 The Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa

The Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on The Rights of Women in Africa urges African states to recognise the importance of women and men as equal partners in Africa's development. In Article 2 of the Protocol, State parties are urged to ensure that the equality of men and women is observed in all aspects of life and that they should be active to remove all forms of discrimination against women in towns, cities, villages, countries and continent. Article 4 of the Protocol urges State Parties to pass laws to prohibit violence against women, be it in the marital home, workplace, on the farm or any other place. This provision is relevant to the current study, considering the widespread prevalence of violence against women in public transport modes in Africa. The Protocol also calls upon State parties to provide resources for job creation for women in the trade and craft industries. Women have the right to choose their occupations and be protected from all forms of exploitation.

¹⁵⁰ United Nations (1995). *Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action*. Beijing: Author.

4.2.5 National Constitutions of Some African States

The constitutions of a number of African states have also provided for women empowerment. Article 27 (3) of the constitution of Kenya 2010 provides that women and men have the right to equal treatment, including the right to equal opportunities in political, economic, cultural and social spheres. Article 232 (1) (i) of the constitution requires that the State shall afford adequate and equal opportunities for appointment, training and advancement, at all levels of the public service of men and women.¹⁵¹

Article 6 of the constitution of the Republic of Ghana is categorical regarding the support of women's empowerment. It provides that the State shall afford equality of economic opportunity to all citizens; and, in particular, the State shall take all necessary steps so as to ensure the full integration of women into the mainstream of the economic development of Ghana.¹⁵²

The 1995 constitution of the Republic of Uganda provides for the economic empowerment of women in Article 33, saying that women shall be accorded full and equal dignity of the person with men. The State shall provide the facilities and opportunities necessary to enhance the welfare of women to enable them to realise their full potential and advancement. Further, the State is required to protect women and their rights, taking into account their unique status and natural maternal functions in society. Women shall have the right to equal treatment with men and that right shall include equal opportunities in political, economic and social activities. The constitution also provides

¹⁵¹ Republic of Kenya (2010). *The Constitution of the Republic of Kenya*. Nairobi: Author

¹⁵² Republic of Ghana (1992). *The Constitution of the Republic of Ghana*. Accra: Author

for affirmative action for women to address the imbalances that have been created by history, tradition and custom in the representation of women in various cadres of the Ugandan society. Laws, customs and cultures that undermine the status of women in Uganda are prohibited by the constitution.¹⁵³

4.3 Forms of Gender Based Violence and Sexual Harassment Reported in Public Transport Spaces Globally

In December 2012, the attention of the world was caught by an incident of gender based violence meted on a 23 year old lady student of physiotherapy at the University of New Delhi as she travelled in a public bus in the company of a male friend. They were travelling at around 9.15 pm. The lady student was beaten, stripped, gang-raped and thrown out of the bus by a gang of six drunken men. Her male companion was also beaten and thrown off the bus. The lady later succumbed to intestinal and genital injuries sustained in the ordeal.¹⁵⁴

Equally heinous but receiving less attention in the international media is the case of a Buddhist nun who was gang raped in a bus in Nepal in June 2011. The 21 year old was travelling in a bus in the town of Sabhakola in Eastern Nepal when she was attacked by a group of five men who included the driver and the staff of the bus.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵³ The Republic of Uganda. (1995). *The Constitution of the Republic of Uganda*. Kampala: Author.

¹⁵⁴ Chauhan, N.; Ghosh, D. and Shekhar, R. (December 18th 2012). *Delhi gang rape case: Victim battles for life, 3 accused*. Retrieved from <http://www.timesofindia.indiatimes.com> on May 14th 2014.

¹⁵⁵ IANS News Agency (June 27th 2011). *Buddhist Nun gang raped in Nepal Bus*. Kathmadu: Author.

In Nairobi, an unidentified woman was run over by a bus after she was thrown out of a speeding *matatu* following a disagreement with the conductor over 10 shillings fare. The incident occurred on January 21st 2013 at Kawangware shopping centre in the outskirts of Nairobi. The conductor of the *matatu* is said to have announced cheaper fare at the bus terminus before retracting to overcharge when passengers were already onboard. The victim refused to conform with the new prices leading to the scuffle. After being thrown off the moving *matatu*, the victim was run over by an oncoming bus and she died on the spot.¹⁵⁶

Another form of sexual harassment that gets highlighted frequently in the Kenyan news media includes the stripping bare of women at bus stands, ostensibly because the women are “indecently” dressed. I highlight the word “indecently” because the measure by which the decency in dressing or the lack of it is determined by the male harassers, sending a clear signal to women that men dominate their lives to such nitty-gritty details as dressing. One such case of sexual harassment occurred at the Kitengela bus park on Saturday, February 15th 2013 while another lady got stripped at the Nyeri bus park in April 2013.¹⁵⁷

Beyond the cases highlighted above that were promptly featured in different media outlets, the reality is that sexual harassment and violence against women (VAW) even if in subtler forms occurs regularly in public transport modes in many parts of the world.

¹⁵⁶ Chemorion, E.K. (January 21st 2013). *Ten Shillings the price of a life: Woman Killed after dispute in Kawangware- Nairobi*. Retrieved from <http://www.worldpulse.com/node/63473> on May 14th 2014.

¹⁵⁷ <http://www.nairobiexposed.com/2013/02/16/woman-stripped-naked-in-kitengela-video/>, Retrieved on May 23rd, 2014 and <http://www.africanvid.com/kenya/news-woman-undressed-in-nyeri-2/>, Retrieved on May 23rd 2014.

For example, two thirds of Indian women say that they have experienced some form of sexual harassment in public transport. Nearly half of Japanese women are reported to have experienced such harassment while the problem has also been reported in Indonesia and Hong Kong.¹⁵⁸ In a report on sexual harassment in Egypt, 81.8% of the respondents said that they had frequently experienced harassment in public transport.¹⁵⁹

Various writers have identified different forms of VAW that are likely to occur in public transport. Chesney, M. (2013) reports that the following forms of sexual harassment are common in public transport forms: Leering looks, offensive gestures, unnecessary leaning or pressing against women, unexpected touching of breasts, brushing of thighs and bottoms, and pinching of the hips.¹⁶⁰ Action Aid lists the following experiences by women in public transport among acts of sexual harassment: groping, teasing, verbal humiliation, staring, whistling, intimidation, public exposure, and making vulgar comments.¹⁶¹

Violence has also been utilized as a tool to propagate patriarchal domination against women by preventing them from seeking employment in the public transport sector. In an interview for this study, one respondent, a vehicle owner, explained that if a woman was employed as a driver, she would be forced to seek for accommodation close to the place where the vehicle is parked at night after work. This is because *matatu* workers begin

¹⁵⁸ Chesney, M. (2013). *Violence against Women Riding Public Transport is a Global Issue – Especially in Developing Countries*. University Of Hawaii at Manoa.

¹⁵⁹ UN Women. (n.d.). *Study on ways and methods to eliminate sexual harassment in Egypt*. Cairo: Author.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ Quoted by Harrison, J. (2012). *Gender Segregation on Public Transport in South Asia: A critical Evaluation of Approaches for Addressing Harassment against Women*. (p.16). Dissertation submitted to the Department of Development Studies, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

their work as early as 4.00 a.m. If the driver had to walk a long distance to get to the vehicle, she might be attacked along the way. This is not normally the case with male drivers.¹⁶²

Nduati, the vehicle owner mentioned above narrated a story of a lady driver who sought for employment in one of the SACCOs in Nairobi. The male transport manager was not happy that the vehicle owner had hired a woman driver. In retaliation, he allocated the lady a faulty bus. When the lady complained about it, the manager reprimanded the lady, saying that male drivers had been comfortable with the bus as it were, adding that the lady should seek for “gender equality” elsewhere but not in the *matatu* industry.¹⁶³

Harassment against women drivers has also been documented in Durban, South Africa, by Khosa (1997). Thula, a woman taxi driver in Durban says that she would think of herself as an easy target for car hijacking and thought that her work exposed her to possible rape. She narrates of an incident where she narrowly escaped hijacking, despite the fact that she was accompanied by her boyfriend. Indeed, she would resign from the taxi industry in 1990 with the escalation of political and taxi related violence.¹⁶⁴

Dududu, another woman taxi driver in Durban says that she fears that some of the passengers would be carrying weapons with them and thus put her life in danger. She also

¹⁶² Nduati, (July 25th 2014). Vehicle owner in Kiserian. Serian SACCO. Personal communication.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ Khosa, M.M. (1997). *Sisters on slippery wheels: Women Taxi Drivers in South Africa*. Transformation 33.

says that some male drivers are rude and abusive of her, but says that she learnt to ‘swallow a stone and drive on.’¹⁶⁵

4.4 Why VAW and Sexual Harassment Occurs in Public Transport

Harrison, J. (2012) in her dissertation for MA. in development studies at The School for Oriental and African Studies, University of London attempts at finding out why sexual harassment and VAW takes place in public transport modes. She says that patriarchal societies use VAW to maintain the demarcation of public and private spaces in which the right of women to occupy public spaces is curtailed. Consequently, women are compelled to live in a “virtual curfew” in which due to fear instilled through VAW, women identify dangerous areas, routes and time periods to avoid and restrict their movement to areas designated as “safe” thereby limiting their access to opportunities provided in the public space.¹⁶⁶

She also says that the treatment of women as the property of the male population, the objectification of women and the definition of women by their physical attributes makes women to be easy targets for male violence since those attributes classify them as being lesser human beings. Therefore, a way of addressing VAW would involve confronting the broader issue of how women are viewed and conceptualised by men and by each other.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶ Harrison, J. (2012). *Gender Segregation on Public Transport in South Asia: A critical Evaluation of Approaches for Addressing Harassment against Women*. (p.16). Dissertation submitted to the Department of Development Studies, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid, p.20

Other reasons forwarded for sexual harassment against women include overloading of public vehicles as well as increased urbanization. In urban areas, there is little fear of recognition and identification as people form heterogeneous communities, thereby reducing their conformity to previously accepted behavioural norms. Again in urban areas, women are more likely to express their economic empowerment making them more susceptible to harassment by men.

In handling VAW cases, there has been consistent victim-blaming for example by claiming that the victim had dressed provocatively. Harrison (2012) says that such an attitude impacts on how VAW cases are investigated and propagates the problem further since the aggressor is not addressed in such a stance.¹⁶⁸

4.5 Gender Based Interventions to Prevent Harassment of Women in Public Transport

Deike Peters mentions that unregulated informal motorized transport may develop certain challenges with strong gender bias. She mentions some of those challenges to include overcrowding in the vehicles, unsafe riding conditions, unregulated fares, harassment and preferential boarding being given to male passengers.¹⁶⁹ In this section, an attempt is made to analyze the solutions that have been forwarded to meet these challenges in various countries.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid, p.20

¹⁶⁹ Peters, D. (2013). *Gender and Sustainable Urban Mobility: Thematic Study prepared for global report on human settlements*. Available from <http://www.unhabitat.org/grhs/2013>. Retrieved on May 1st 2014.

One of the most popularly adopted interventions to safeguard the welfare of women in public transport is the use of separate buses and coaches for women only in public transport. This measure has been adapted in Brazil, Egypt, Belarus, India, Japan, Mexico and Philippines. The main goal of this intervention is to protect women from being harassed sexually by male passengers and male crews. Normally, there are police who are responsible for ensuring that the separation between men and women is strictly observed.¹⁷⁰

Another form of intervention involves the design of the bus coaches and seats to take into consideration women's more sophisticated transport needs. In France, the manufacturers of bus coaches decided to consult with *Femmes en mouvement, les transport au féminin association* regarding the safety concerns and the internal configurations suitable for women's transport needs. Following this decision, transport operators later employed more women to ensure that the expectations of women who comprised the larger portion of the clientele were taken into consideration.¹⁷¹ Some of the design-related interventions that have been suggested include providing sufficiently wide doors and seats as well as using low stairs to accommodate children and luggage that women are more likely than men to carry along in their travels.¹⁷²

Employment of women workers in the transport sector has also been considered as an effective means of promoting the welfare of women in public transport. In France, the *Femmes en mouvement, les transport au féminin association* produced a video entitled

¹⁷⁰ Duchene, C. (2011). *Gender and Transport*. Paris: International Transport Forum.

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

¹⁷² Ibid.

“Public transport, a job for women!” which was used by the ministries of education and employment to raise the awareness of young women towards transport-related jobs. In the Democratic Republic of Congo, as well as in Mali, government owned transport operators have started to increase the number of women workers in public transport.¹⁷³

Transport for London (TfL) has incorporated a number of strategies to ensure that the wellbeing of women is taken care of in the design and provision of transport services in London. Golden, S. (2010) mentions the role of TfL in licensing minicabs as one of the ways in which TfL contributes to gender equality. This may be looked at from the point of view that by licensing minicabs, the transport corporation meets the need for women’s transport patterns to “chain trip”. The corporation appreciates the need for women to perform roles outside the circuit of TfL’s bus circuits; needs that are best met by taxi cabs. Secondly, the corporation appreciates the need for women to feel secure in public transport, even when the corporation is not the provider of the transport service. Consequently, TfL has licensed more than 25,000 cab operators in London.¹⁷⁴

In the Christmas festivities of 2009, TfL carried an aggressive advertising campaign that targeted at women using public transport in London. The advertisement dubbed “*Know what you are getting into*” ran on TV, cinema and on posters. The advertisement aimed at discouraging the use of unlicensed minicabs especially by women users with the corporation explaining that such minicabs pose a security threat for women travelling in the capital. The advert featured a woman minicab user being attacked by the driver of

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ Golden, S. (2010). *Expanding Horizons: TfL’s Approach to Gender Equality*. A Presentation made to Transgen in Brussels on June 7th 2010.

such an unlicensed cab. Some observers criticised the advert for having placed the blame for gender based violence (GBV) on the victim, instead of the aggressor. However, TfL defended the advert saying it was relevant to the needs of the people and that it had achieved its objectives.¹⁷⁵

Another measure that has been considered by TfL to suit women's travel needs is the introduction of more bus routes in the city. Such an arrangement conforms to established women's travel demands that require them to combine responsibilities from modern wage earning employment with their household care-giving duties.¹⁷⁶

In 2012, TfL announced that it was investing £18 million in the provision of step-free access at 95% Of London's bus stops and underground stations. Such step-free access increases the use of public transport by persons with disability and the old. In terms of gender equality, such a provision connects with the transport needs of women considering that women are more likely to travel while accompanied by the sick, the elderly and persons with disability. TfL also intends to introduce 80 new trains with dedicated wheel chair space, low floors and wider doors.¹⁷⁷

To address security concerns of women in public transport, TfL intends to increase the number of buses on London routes to reduce the waiting time by customers. To women,

¹⁷⁵ Sweeney, M. (Friday December 18th 2009). *Complaints over minicab ad campaign*. In The Guardian. London: Guardian Media.

¹⁷⁶ Golden, S. (2010). *Expanding Horizons: TfL's Approach to Gender Equality*. A Presentation made to Transgen in Brussels on June 7th 2010.

¹⁷⁷ BBC.(December, 20th 2012). *Plans to raise access to bus stops and the tube stations*. Available at <http://www.bbc.co.uk>. Retrieved on May 13th 2014.

such waiting time increases anxiety and may prohibit women from taking trips. Other measures mentioned in this light include the installation of CCTV cameras in much of London, placing help points in more places in the network as well as deploying police officers all over the travel network.

Loukaitou-Sideris, A. et.al (2009) suggest that the following interventions could contribute to the welfare of women in public transport spaces: Initiating dialogue between researchers and practitioners in the public sector incorporating women's voices in the planning processes, collaborating and partnering between transit agencies and non-profits as well as tailoring security needs in the transport sector.¹⁷⁸

Regarding the design of public transportation modes, they suggest that bus stops should be located in well lit places where there are a lot of people and activities. This increases the feeling of well being for women. In poor neighbourhoods, more bus stops should be provided for so that women users do not have to walk long distances after alighting from the bus, especially at night and early in the morning. Bus bays and platforms should be maintained properly, without graffiti and litter. Clean environments have been found to reinforce positive behaviour.¹⁷⁹

As much as possible, people manned security solutions were found to be more preferred than technological substitutes. However, respondents said that technology can be useful for scheduling information at bus stations, thereby improving reliability, predictability

¹⁷⁸ Loukaitou-Sideris, A. et. al (2009). *How to ease women's fear of transportation environments: Case studies and best practices*. San Jose: Mineta Transport Institute.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

and efficiency and reducing waiting times. CCTV security cameras at bus stands were suggested as possible solutions to deter acts of sexual harassment on women.¹⁸⁰

Increasing the number of security staff in transit vehicles and routes enhances the confidence of women users. An example was mentioned of Atlanta where there is a lot of police presence in bus stops who make sure that pan handlers do not linger and that there were no destitute individuals and suspicious characters at the bus stop. They also emphasised the importance of public education in causing a shift in the attitudes of both men and women regarding the use of public transport facilities. Public transport providers are expected to organize educational programmes encouraging users of public transport systems to report sexual harassment and crime. In this regard, an example was given of public notices placed in New York's subway stations cautioning against harassment of women.¹⁸¹ An example of such a notice is included here.



Fig 4.1: A notice at a New York subway warning against sexual harassment of women in public transport. Source: Loukaitou – Sideris et al (2009)

One of the most popular interventions against sexual harassment of women in public transport is the women only transport solutions. This includes buses and railway coaches

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ Loukaitou-Sideris, A. et. al (2009). *How to ease women's fear of transportation environments: Case studies and best practices*. San Jose: Mineta Transport Institute.

in which men are not allowed to board. A recent addition is the taxi cab service accepting women passengers only and driven by women drivers. A good example of the latter is the pink cab service of London introduced in 2006.¹⁸²

Countries having some form of women only transport service include Belarus, Brazil, Egypt, India, Japan, Mexico and Philippines. Women only transport solutions vary depending on the city or transit company. Some are effective only during peak hours while others work through out the day. However, there are mixed feelings among gender scholars about women only solutions. On the one hand, such solutions are known to minimise the chances of women passengers getting harassed while on transit. On the other hand, some feminists consider such solutions to be counterproductive in the fight for women's equality.¹⁸³

The practices have also been criticised as being discriminative of men while other scholars think that such solutions reinforce the notion of blaming women for the harassment instead of targeting gropers and harassers. Jessica Valenti writing in *The Guardian* Newspaper featured this issue and argued that “the onus should be on men to stop harassing women and not on women to escape them. Women should have the right to be safe anywhere and everywhere.”¹⁸⁴

¹⁸² Ibid.

¹⁸³ Loukaitou-Sideris, A. et. al (2009). *How to ease women's fear of transportation environments: Case studies and best practices*. San Jose: Mineta Transport Institute.

¹⁸⁴ Valenti, J. (August, 3rd 2007). *Is segregation the only answer to sexual harassment?* In the *Guardian* Newspaper. Retrieved from <http://www.theguardian.com> on May 22nd 2014.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary

This research project has investigated into the gender relations in the informal motorized sector (IMT) sector in five African cities. The cities considered are Nairobi, Kampala, Lagos, Durban and Accra. The vehicles used for the IMT transport go by different names such as *matatu* in Nairobi and Kampala, *tro tro* in Accra, *danfo* in Lagos and *kombi* in Durban.

This study examines the causal factors into the low entrepreneurial participation of women in the IMT sector in Africa. Participation is conceptualized at the levels of ownership, working in the sector and as commuters. The study finds that historical reasons such as colonization contribute to the current exclusion of women from the IMT sector. The violence as entrenched in the sector also keeps women from venturing into the sector. The sexual division of labour where women were traditionally expected to perform more poorly remunerated domestic roles also socializes women from entrepreneurship in the sector.

The study has also looked at the prevalence of sexual harassment in public road transport in Africa. It was found that violence against women is widely prevalent in the continent. In the case of Nairobi where a case study was conducted, it was found that 73% of the respondents had been subjected to incidents of gender based violence in public transport. The IMT crews were mentioned as the worst aggressors in the violence against women.

The study has utilized the structural feminism theory for analysis. Structural feminism focuses on social structures, notably patriarchy and capitalism that oppress women. Patriarchy is the structural and ideological system that perpetuates the privileging of masculinity. Capitalism is the political, social and economic system in which capital assets are owned and controlled by private persons. Capitalism is of interest to scholars of gender studies because capitalist policies affect women more adversely than they affect men.

The study finds out that the following factors have contributed to the exclusion of women from the entrepreneurial participation in the transport industry in Africa: historical reasons, including colonialism, gender-based violence in the transport sector and the gendered division of labour.

Regarding women as consumers of the IMT service, the study notes that violence against women (VAW) is widely prevalent in the sector. Patriarchal societies were found to utilize VAW to maintain the demarcation of public and private spaces in which the right of women to occupy public spaces is curtailed. Treatment of women as the property of the male population and the definition of women by their physical attributes makes women easy targets of male violence because women are perceived as being less than human.

A case study to assess gender relations in public transport in Nairobi was conducted. The study involved owners and workers from 10 *matatu* SACCOs in Nairobi. The study also

sought the views of 30 female commuters on gender based harassment in public transport in Nairobi.

The average *matatu* ownership for the SACCOs sampled was found to be 1.99 *matatus* per member. However, a great difference emerges when one considers the ownership by male and female owners separately. Ownership ratio for male owners was found to be 2.096 while that of female owners was found to be 1.33. It was found that 73.1% of the *matatu* owners interviewed had worked in the *matatu* sector before in the positions of driver, or as conductors. This implies that by excluding women from working in the IMT sector, women are, by extension disadvantaged with regard to ownership of property. IMT owners were found to be a particularly powerful political lobby in Kenya, Uganda, Nigeria and Ghana. Hence, the exclusion of women from participating in the IMT sector disenfranchises women from the political and administrative opportunities associated with the field.

In Kenya, legal notice 161 of 2003 that streamlined the operations of the *matatu* sector in the country was found to have increased the access of women to the *matatu* service as commuters and as workers. This is so because the legal notice criminalised touting which had been taken over by illegal gangs. Further, the legal notice required that only persons of good conduct as certified by the police would be employed in the sector. By reducing the factors that would have supported a violent culture, the access of women to the *matatu* sector was so increased. Legal notice 219 of 2013 that provides for the corporate ownership of *matatus* increased the opportunities for women entrepreneurs to venture

into the sector. This is so because the SACCOs formed to take over the running of the *matatus* in particular routes have transformed themselves into management companies, such that the day-to-day running of the *matatu* is delegated to the SACCO at a fee.

Of the women commuters interviewed for this study, 73% had experienced incidents of gender-based violence in *matatus* in Nairobi. The most common form of violence against women in Nairobi, according to the study, is abusive language (26%), overcharging (20%), indecent touch (23.3%) and physical harassment (20%). The main category of aggressors was reported to be *matatu* crews (87%). Victims of gender-based violence in *matatus* would either confront the aggressor or do nothing about it. This may reflect lack of faith on the law enforcement agencies to tackle issues of gender-based violence amicably.

5.2 Conclusion

Privatizing the road transport sector to informal operators in Africa has led to the growth of a violence-ridden, closely-knit club of male owners and workers, where women are accepted only as consumers of the service. Even as consumers, women are objectivised in IMT modes, making them targets of gender-based violence. Negotiations in gender relations are however in favour of women and the recent past has seen more and more women being absorbed into the IMT sector in Africa. The creation of a more conducive environment for women and men commuters in Kenya through legal notice 161 of 2003 should be emulated by other countries in the continent. Management of *matatus* by

corporate cooperative societies in Kenya was found to be favourable to women's ownership of *matatus*.

5.3 Recommendations

More than 90% of IMT workers in Africa are men. This implies that the IMT sector is ground that is ridden with various expressions of masculinity. The study therefore recommends that further interrogation be done on this subject with regard to the IMT sector.

Another study recommendation involves the enactment of legal notice 219 of 2013 in Kenya. Although the results of this study indicate that the current legal framework over the transport sector in Kenya favours ownership of *matatus* by women, it would be important to study the trends in this respect over a longer period of time.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

The Gendered Nature of Public Road Transport



Plate 1: Matatu operators force commuters to alight from a Citi Hoppa bus in Nairobi on March 5th 2014, during a strike called to protest high parking fees imposed by the Nairobi city county. The photo depicts the abrasive nature of matatu workers, as well as the special needs of women passengers relying on public road transport in Kenya.

APPENDIX 4

Questionnaire for *Matatu* Owners

(To be filled by *Matatu* owners)

My name is Samuel M. Mwangi, a postgraduate student at the University of Nairobi. In partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Arts in International Studies, I am conducting a research on *Gender Relations in Public Transport in Africa: A Case Study of Nairobi, Kenya*. Your participation in this study by responding to this questionnaire will be highly appreciated. Your responses will be treated with utmost confidentiality and the data collected will only be used for academic purposes only.

Section A: Demographic Information

1. Gender: Male Female

2. No. of years as a *matatu* owner:

1 year

2 to 5 years

Above 5 years

3. No. of *matatus* owned

1

2 – 4

5 and above

3. Before owning your own *matatu*(s), did you work in the *matatu* sector either as a driver or as a conductor?

Yes. Worked as a driver

Yes. Worked as a conductor

Yes. Worked both as a driver and as a conductor []

No. Never worked in the *matatu* industry. []

4. Who introduced you to the *matatu* business?

Started as a family business by my parents []

My siblings (brothers and sisters) []

My relatives []

Friends []

SACCO []

Others (Please specify).....

Section B

Indicate how you rate the following aspects of the *matatu* industry in Nairobi using the scale given below.

1 = strongly disagree 2 = Disagree 3 = Neutral 4 = Agree 5 = strongly agree

	STATEMENT	1	2	3	4	5
1	Most <i>matatu</i> owners prefer to hire male <i>matatu</i> workers than women workers.					
2	Work in the <i>matatu</i> sector is so difficult that many women cannot cope with it.					
3	I have experienced some form of harassment from illegal groups (like mungiki) in the course of my business.					
4	Women workers are not aggressive enough to secure					

	enough profits daily as required in the <i>matatu</i> industry.					
5	The work of <i>matatu</i> workers is too dangerous for women.					
6	The long working hours associated with the work in the <i>matatu</i> sector are unsuitable for women's health.					
7	Female <i>matatu</i> workers are more honest than their male colleagues.					
8	It is more difficult for women <i>matatu</i> owners to enter into the <i>matatu</i> business than their male colleagues.					
9	Banks and other financial institutions will prefer to loan money to male <i>matatu</i> owners than to women <i>matatu</i> owners.					

Section C

1. Does the formation of SACCOS make the entry of women into the *matatu* business easier? Explain.

.....

.....

2. What are the greatest threats to the *matatu* business? (e.g. taxes, illegal groups, police, unfaithful *matatu* workers)

.....

.....

Thank you for your participation.

APPENDIX 5

Questionnaire for Women *Matatu* Workers in Nairobi

(To be filled by women Matatu workers in Nairobi.)

My name is Samuel M. Mwangi, a postgraduate student at the University of Nairobi. In partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Arts in International Studies, I am conducting a research on *Gender Relations in Public Transport in Africa: A Case Study of Nairobi, Kenya*. Your participation in this study by responding to this questionnaire will be highly appreciated. Your responses will be treated with utmost confidentiality and the data collected will only be used for academic purposes only.

Section A: Demographic Information

1. Your age in years.....
2. Marital status.....
3. Highest level of education attained.....
4. Work done in the *matatu* sector.....
5. Number of years worked in the *matatu* sector
 - a) Less than one year []
 - b) 1 to 2 years []
 - c) 3 to 5 years []
 - d) More than 5 years []

Section B

Indicate how you rate the following aspects of the *matatu* industry in Nairobi using the scale given below.

1 = strongly disagree 2 = Disagree 3 = Neutral 4 = Agree 5 = strongly agree

	STATEMENT	1	2	3	4	5
1	Most <i>matatu</i> owners prefer to hire male <i>matatu</i> workers than women workers.					
2	Work in the <i>matatu</i> sector is so difficult that many women cannot cope with it.					
3	Women <i>matatu</i> workers are generally not allowed leave-of- absence to cater for child birth and other gender-based reproductive health needs.					
4	Married women are less likely to take up employment in the <i>matatu</i> sector due to the opposition of their spouses.					
5	Women workers undergo frequent sexual harassment from their male colleagues.					
6	Women workers undergo frequent sexual harassment from male passengers.					
7	Women workers undergo frequent sexual harassment from male employers.					
8	Women workers are not aggressive enough to secure					

B.) Not interested in the *matatu* business. []

C.) I am not able to manage the *matatu* business successfully []

D.) Other reasons (specify).....

2. Rate the statement below according to the scale provided:

Most *matatu* owners in Nairobi are formerly *matatu* workers (either drivers or conductors)

Strongly disagree [1]

Disagree [2]

Unsure [3]

Agree [4]

Strongly agree [5]

3. What are the challenges that make women not to seek employment in the *matatu* sector?

.....

4. Are there organizations that cater for the welfare of women workers in the *matatu* sector?

Yes [] No []

If yes, which organizations are they?

.....

.....

What services do they provide?

.....

.....

5. Have you ever been arrested or charged over traffic offences? If yes, what offences were they? How did you handle the issue?

.....

.....

Thank you for participation.

APPENDIX 6

Questionnaire for women *Matatu* Commuters in Nairobi

*(To be filled by women *Matatu* commuters in Nairobi.)*

My name is Samuel M. Mwangi, a postgraduate student at the University of Nairobi. In partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Arts in International Studies, I am conducting a research on *Gender Relations in Public Transport in Africa: A Case Study of Nairobi, Kenya*. Your participation in this study by responding to this questionnaire will be highly appreciated. Your responses will be treated with utmost confidentiality and the data collected will only be used for academic purposes only.

Section A: Demographic Information

Matatu route most commonly used.....

Section B

1. Indicate how you rate the following aspects of the *matatu* industry in Nairobi using the scale given below.

1 = Very poor 2 = Poor 3 = Neutral 4 = Good 5 = Excellent

	SERVICES	1	2	3	4	5
1	Politeness					
2	Cleanliness					
3	Comfort (Ergonomics)					
4	Cost effectiveness					
5	Convenience					

2. How often do you use the *matatu* service?
- [A] Every day, very frequently []
- [B] Occasionally []
- [C] Once in a while, rarely []
3. If you do not use the *matatu* for your transportation needs, what other options are available to you?
- [A] Personal car []
- [B] Walking []
- [C] *Bodaboda* []
- [D] *Tuk tuk* []
- [E] Train []
- [F] Others: Please specify.....
4. What factors are most important in informing your choice of *matatu* as your means of transport?
- [A] Cost effectiveness []
- [B] Comfort. []
- [C] Convenience []
- [D] Others: Please specify.....
5. Do you think women need special treatment on *matatus*?
- Yes [] No []
6. What interventions do you think would make the *matatu* and public road transport more hospitable to women?
- [A] Employ more women staff in *matatus* []

[B] Introduce women-only sections of public service buses []

[C] Increase space and legroom []

[D] Involvement of national and county governments
in ownership and management of public service vehicles []

[E] Others: Please give suggestions

.....
.....

7. Have you ever experienced an incident of gender-based harassment in a *matatu*?

Yes [] No []

8. Who are the most likely to propagate gender-based harassment in public vehicles
in Kenya?

Matatu crew []

Male Passengers []

Others: Please specify.....

9. What is the nature of the harassment most commonly experienced in *matatus* in
Kenya?

A. Abusive language []

B. Refusing to reach the agreed destination []

C. Overcharging []

D. Indecent touch []

E. Physical harassment []

F. Others. Please specify.....

10. What action do most victims of gender based harassment in public transport in Kenya take?

Do nothing []

Report to *matatu* owner/ SACCO []

Report to police []

Confront him []

Other action (Please specify).....

11. What normally is done to the offending party?

Nothing []

Arrested []

Fired from work []

Other action. Please specify.....

Thank you for your participation

APPENDIX 7

Questionnaire for Male Matatu Commuters

(To be filled by male matatu commuters in Nairobi.)

My name is Samuel M. Mwangi, a postgraduate student at the University of Nairobi. In partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Arts in International Studies, I am conducting a research on *Gender Relations in Public Transport in Africa: A Case Study of Nairobi, Kenya*. Your participation in this study by responding to this questionnaire will be highly appreciated. Your responses will be treated with utmost confidentiality and the data collected will only be used for academic purposes only.

Section A: Demographic Information

Matatu route most commonly used.....

Section B

6. Indicate how you rate the following aspects of the *matatu* industry in Nairobi using the scale given below.

1 = Very poor 2 = Poor 3 = Neutral 4 = Good 5 = Excellent

	SERVICES	1	2	3	4	5
1	Politeness					
2	Cleanliness					
3	Comfort (Ergonomics)					
4	Cost effectiveness					
5	Convenience					

7. How often do you use the *matatu* service?
- [A] Every day, very frequently.
 - [B] Occasionally.
 - [C] Once in a while, rarely.
8. If you do not use the *matatu* for your transportation needs, what other options are available to you?
- [A] Personal car
 - [B] Walking
 - [C] *Bodaboda*
 - [D] *Tuk tuk*
 - [E] Train
 - [F] Others: Please specify.....
9. What factors are most important in informing your choice of *matatu* as your means of transport?
- [A] Cost effectiveness
 - [B] Comfort.
 - [C] Convenience
 - [D] Others: Please specify.....
10. Do you think women need special treatment on *matatus*?
- Yes No

6. What interventions do you think would make the *matatu* and public road transport more hospitable to women?

[A] Employ more women staff in *matatus*.

[B] Introduce women-only sections of public service buses.

[C] Increase space and legroom

[D] Involvement of national and county governments in ownership and management of public service vehicles.

[E] Others: Please give suggestions

.....
.....

12. Have you ever experienced an incident of gender-based harassment in a *matatu*?

Yes

No

13. Who are the most likely to propagate gender-based harassment in public vehicles in Kenya?

Matatu crew

Male Passengers

Others: Please specify.....

14. What is the nature of the harassment most commonly experienced in *matatus* in Kenya?

G. Abusive language

H. Refusing to reach the agreed destination

I. Overcharging

J. Indecent touch

K. Physical harrassment

L. Others. Please specify.....

15. What action do most victims of gender based harassment in public transport in Kenya take?

Do nothing

Report to *matatu* owner/ SACCO

Report to police

Confront him

Other action (Please specify).....

16. What normally is done to the offending party?

Nothing

Arrested

Fired from work

Other action. Please specify.....

Thank you for your participation

