REPORT ON GENDER EQUITY ASSESSMENT OF NAIROBI'S PUBLIC MINIBUS TRANSPORT SERVICES

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

EFAD   International Fund for Agricultural Development

KBS   Kenya Bus Service

NMT   Non-Motorised Transport

OECD   Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)

SACCO   Savings and Credit Cooperative Organisation

SPDC   Social Policy and Development Centre

SPSS   Statistical Package for the Social Sciences

UN   United Nations

WEF   World Economic Forum

WEL   Women's Empowerment Link

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Public transportation is a necessary service for accessing economic, educational and social opportunities. Yet public transportation around the world has been found to be unequivocally less safe for women than for men.

Historically, the public transportation industry in many African cities has been overwhelmingly male-dominated, but as more women seek employment, they are venturing into transportation jobs. Unfortunately, women entering the industry are faced with myriad challenges associated with their gender and representation which remains particularly low.

Strengthening women's role within the transport industry will create safer public spaces and better mobility for everyone. Flone Initiative seeks to promote gender equity and professionalism in public transport while leveraging on existing partnerships to strengthen policies aimed at ensuring safe spaces for women and girls and increased economic participation by women on an equal footing with their male counterparts in the industry.

This Gender Equity Assessment was aimed at understanding gender inequalities in the Nairobi minibus public transport service industry and to evaluate the existing policies that affect women in regard to employment, retention, promotion, safety and sexual harassment. Nairobi public minibus transport vehicles are commonly referred to as "matatu", which are organized into and managed by Savings and Credit Cooperatives (SACCOs). Each SACCO has a particular unique name developed by SACCO management and submitted to the government during registration. The study was accomplished by conducting a comprehensive literature review of existing publications on women in public transport, as well as in-depth one-on-one interviews with 104

matatu (minibus) drivers and conductors from three selected SACCOs in Nairobi: Kenya Bus Service (KBS), KANI SACCO and INDIMANJE SACCO.

The findings of this assessment revealed numerous challenges facing women in regards to recruitment, retention and promotion, contributing to a low representation of women in this industry. While SACCO managers (all men) who were interviewed unanimously acknowledged that women make good employees, there is a clear bias towards hiring men, suggesting that gender norms and assumptions about male and female roles play a large part in barring women's participation in these jobs. This assessment also revealed the non-existence of specific sexual harassment policies or reporting mechanisms in the SACCO management.

The results of this assessment were used to develop the "Gender Sensitive Mini-Bus Services and Transport Infrastructure for African Cities Toolkit" and hence recommendations for improving labour conditions for women based on this research are available in the toolkit.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Study Background

According to the World Economic Forum, we must ensure that everyone has equal opportunities, to build future economies that are both dynamic and inclusive (WEF, 2017). WEF scores Africa's gender parity at 60-68% which is below the global weighted average of 68%. In Kenya, the gender parity increase in economic participation and opportunity is ranked lowest over the past 11 years as compared to other areas such as health and education. When women and girls are not integrated economic participants, the global community loses out on skills, ideas and perspectives that are critical for addressing global challenges and harnessing new opportunities.

Women's roles and positions in society have diversified over the years with more women taking on traditionally male roles. The number of women-led households has increased greatly over the years. In 1989, only 30% of the households across sub-Saharan Africa had female household heads (Jiggins, 1989), and by 2011, 60% of the households in the same region were headed by women (IFAD, 2011).

As illustrated by Kunieda & Gauthier (2007), cities in developing countries are growing at a much faster rate (approximately 6%) than in most developed countries. Only 7% of the top 200 fastest growing cities are located in developed countries. These cities account for at least 50% of the gross national product (GNP) (World Bank, 2009).

With urban economic comes an increase in urban transport problems (Fjellstrom, 2002). However, expansion of transport networks can facilitate many positive impacts on people's lives (World Bank, 2011). Urban projects around the world are now focused on building dedicated bus lanes for improved public transport, and creating space for

non-motorised transport (NMT) (pedestrians and bicycles). However there have only been a select few projects that have mainstreamed gender, despite women comprising half of the urban population (Kunieda & Gauthier, 2007). Poorly-planned and mismanaged transport affects women more than men, and it is therefore paramount to incorporate women's perspective when designing public places.

In Sub-Saharan Africa, a reduction of the transport burden on women would in turn release time and energy for other productive economic activities (Calvo, 1994). However, threats and acts of sexual harassment are a constant challenge. Women's fear of sexual violence forces them to change their travelling routes or to abandon some routes altogether (SPDC, 2014). According to the United Nations (2015), a third of women globally will experience some form of public sexual harassment at some stage in their life. Violence against women and girls, or the threat of violence both in private and public, remains a key limiting factor to women's mobility and engagement in processes of development (Bradshaw, Castellino, & Diop, 2013). Participating in productive economic development activities includes participating in and utilizing public transport services; either as commuters or as workers.

The transport sector is a key section of the economy which offers employment for millions of people globally and hundreds of thousands of people in Kenya. The transport sector in Nairobi has been historically dominated by men, but in recent years women are venturing into it as well. The number of women working in Nairobi minibus public transport remains extremely low relative to that of men. These women face many challenges which will be discussed in detail in this report. The first step in addressing these challenges is understanding them. Understanding and responding to women's transport needs as commuters and service providers is key to reducing poverty (Riverson, Kunieda, Roberts, Lewi, & Walker, 2015).

1.2 Study Objectives

The purpose of this study was to assess the gender equity gaps in public transport and make recommendations aimed at strengthening policies that ensure safe spaces for women and girls and increased economic participation of women in the industry.

In specific terms, the research was intended to achieve the following objectives:

1. To understand the challenges faced by women operators venturing into public minibus transport service industry in regard to recruitment, retention, promotion, general safety and sexual harassment;
2. To assess the policies put in place to address these challenges;
3. To gather information to inform the "Gender Sensitive Mini-Bus Services and Transport Infrastructure for African Cities Toolkit";
4. To build a knowledge network through research that can be utilized to improve current situations or to act as a resource for other researchers.

1.3 Assumptions and Limitations

Though the transport industry is broad, this study was limited to the public road transport and associated spaces. It is assumed that the study will contribute to the betterment of the welfare of women workers and commuters. This study also assumed that responses from the sampled participants will be generalizable to the entire Nairobi County and the respondents will be available and willing to give information pertaining to the study questions.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Public Transport is not Gender-Neutral

For the purposes of this report, 'gender-neutral' public transport is that which does not create any disproportionate challenges for people of one gender over another. It refers to transport system that caters for the needs of all genders equally.

In 2017, FIA Foundation conducted a study on women's personal security and public transport in three Latin American cities (Buenos Aries, Brazil, Santiago, Chile and Quito, Ecuador) (FIA Foundation, 2017). The study found that, even while women are the majority of public transport users, transport spaces pose multiple harmful challenges to women including high rates of sexual harassment, a lack of trust-worthy reporting mechanisms and a lack of gender-sensitive infrastructure considerations.

Peters (2011) examined gender and sustainable urban mobility in both developed and developing countries and also found that urban mobility is not gender-neutral. Contrary to the long-existing assumption that urban transport is gender-neutral, Peters' research revealed a gendered nature of not only transportation systems but also the transport planning policy making, which is dominated by male decision-makers.

Harrison (2012), by way of comprehensive literature review and interviews with human rights experts, examined the transport challenges faced by women in South Asia, as well as existing theories around women's access to public transport and public space. Harrison found that women working in the public transport sector - including women taxi drivers - have made heavy sacrifices to co-exist with men in the industry, including stigmatization, sexual harassment, and even death.

The prevalence of harassment and violence against women in public spaces has led to the emergence of women-only taxi services. Dunckel-Graglia (2013) examined women-only transport in Mexico City, to understand how "pink" public transport has changed public perception of women's mobility. Using both quantitative and qualitative methods, they divided the study in two portions. The first portion contextualized women-only transport by drawing on statistics of violence against women in public transport. The second portion analysed empirical data on women-only transit systems in Mexico City for a period of three years. The study found that, due to cultural stigmatization of women as household figures, women in Mexico City are fearful of being "a woman in public". They found a clear gender divide in public opinion towards women-only transportation, where about 70% of women respondents attributed their fear of public transport to issues related to gender. 50% of the women respondents said they always use women-only transit while 77% of the women feel that women-only transit would not exist if men were taught to respect women.

It is thus worth noting that in the Kenyan public transport sector, there are no provisions for women-only transport systems as a measure to curb sexual harassment and therefore such provisions could be further explored to work along with other measures.

2.2 Women Use Public Transportation More than Men

According to FIA Foundation, women account for more than half of public transport users (FIA Foundation, 2017). In Buenos Aires, 54% of public transport users are women, in Santiago 52% of public transport users are women and in Quito 64% of public transport users are women. This is consistent with other countries both within the region and globally.

Women's travel patterns are different from men's, and these differences are characterized by deep and persistent inequalities. While examining gender and transport, Duchene (2011) found that in all European countries, fewer women than men own cars; hence women are more reliant on public transport. Women also undertake activities that are far more complex than those of men as they not only tend to take care of domestic chores, children, the elderly or sick people, but also participate in other productive economic activities. For such reasons, women tend to value flexibility over time saving in their travel choices. According to Kunieda & Gauthier (2007), these trip combinations are not considered in most urban transport system designs.

It's worth noting that there are many similarities in the characteristics of trips made by women in developed and developing countries, and also between urban and rural areas. In all locations women have trip combinations that are far more complex than those of men. Juggling between these trip combinations and family chores, women have less time to explore their full potential by participating in other productive economic opportunities and contributing to pervasive gender inequality. During the course of this research, similar results were found in the Kenyan context.

2.3 Underrepresentation of Women as Workers in Public Transport

In 2013, the International Labour Office (ILO) published a comprehensive report on "Women in the Transport Sector", which detailed the ingrained gender biases and pervasive culture of violence against women that exists in the transport industry worldwide (ILO, 2013). This report documents the various challenges that women face when trying to enter and grow in transport careers and offers specific recommendations on how organizations can address some of these barriers. In

particular, the ILO Career Cycle Approach (Figure 1) offers a useful guide for how to increase women's participation in the transport sector. This chart focuses on working conditions and how human resource policies of transport providers can mainstream gender. It describes opportunities for success and advancement, while also recognizing the barriers faced by women in regard to education, training, and the level of social support available to women who work in the transport sector.

I. Attraction
-Perception of transport jobs
-'men's' work vs 'women's' work

II. Selection
-Qualifications vs Job Criteria
-Affirmative action

III. Retention
-Human resource development
-Working conditions

IV Interventions
- Career development programs
-Unpaid care work

V. Re-entry
-re-training, retention of seniority
-transfers

VI. Realization
-Quality employment
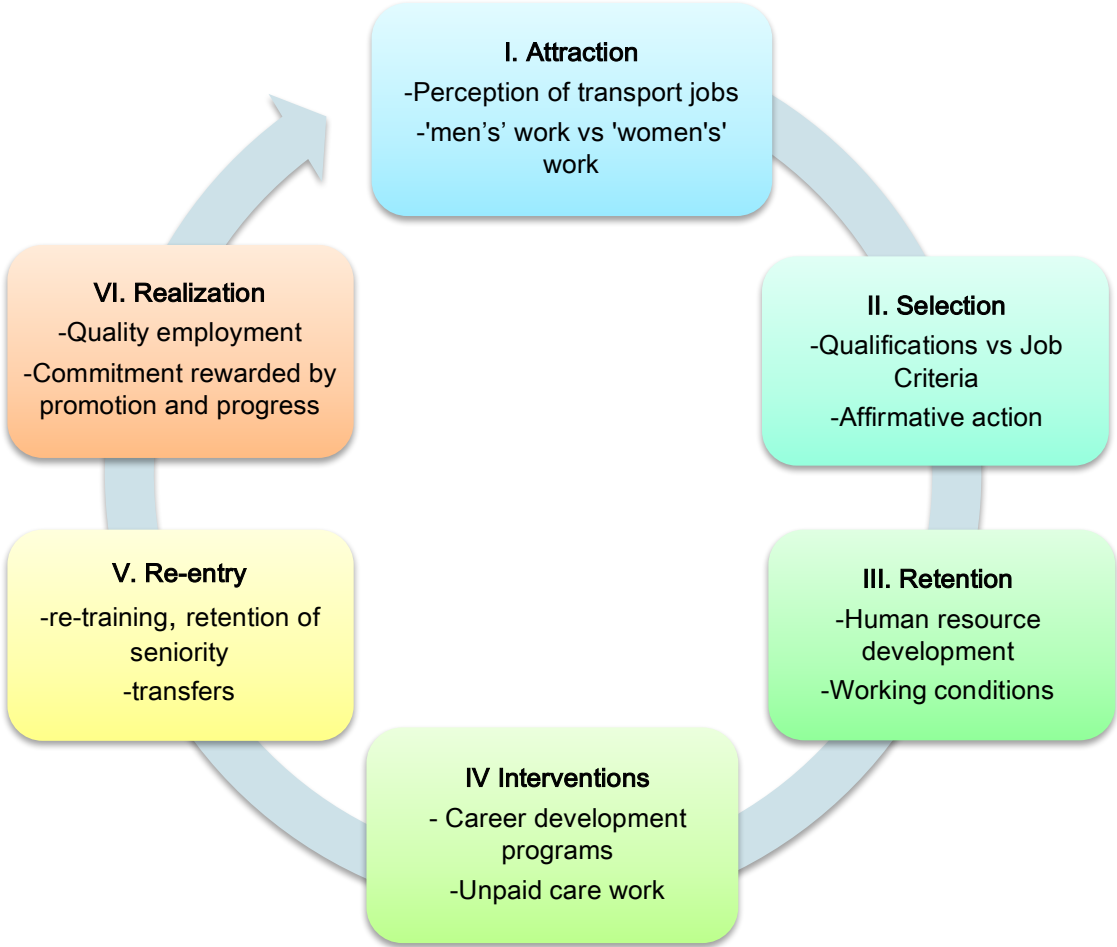-Commitment rewarded by promotion and progress

Figure 1: Women's Career Cycle in the Transport Sector (ILO, 2013)

Only a few countries have made real efforts to put women in public transportation roles at all levels. Hasson & Polevoy (2011) examined current trends and initiatives in Sweden, Great Britain, France, Canada, and the United States and found that political

committees in the transport industry sector were dominated by men. Their review showed that women had less than 15% membership on most boards and the same trend was evident in national-level committees. According to their findings, women constituted 9% transportation workforce in Israel, and that only 10% of public transportation drivers in Europe were women. Sweden was the only country that had equal representation of women to men in the National Transport Committee, after a movement to pressure transportation service providers to hire more women and address women's needs in public transport.

Alluding to research done in Nairobi slums, Peters (2011) also emphasizes the need to develop policies that aim to address the mobility constraints faced by women and children which can be made possible by incorporating women's perspectives during decision-making. Key departments like the police and public transport, including the mechanism of public transport planning, are dominated by men, which makes it difficult for women's needs to be considered (Harrison, 2012). Based on an interview with ActionAid's International Manager, Vijeyarasa Ramona, women's underrepresentation prevents them from obtaining much needed justice and attention (Harrison, 2012).

2.4 Grievance Systems and Law Enforcement

While many people acknowledge experiencing and witnessing sexual harassment, very few report these cases to law enforcement. According to FIA Foundation (2017), neither men nor women tend to report cases of harassment, which in turn makes it difficult for law enforcement and public transport service providers to assess the efficacy of existing strategies. There was a widespread lack of trust in reporting mechanisms in the three Latin American cities in the FIA study. They concluded that people did not have clear information on what they ought to do when they experience

or witness a sexual harassment incident. FIA Foundation identified safety awareness programs being implemented in Quito, but their impact was not felt on the ground (FIA Foundation, 2017).

Harrison (2012) examined challenges women faced when trying to obtain justice and existing theories of women's access to public transport and public space in India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and Nepal. Lack of justice in these countries is attributed to laxity of law enforcement officers, political instability, and an inability to collect and provide credible evidence in a court of law (India). Justice depended not on women's experiences but rather with dominant societal and cultural norms. Such injustices hinder women's ability to realize their full economic potential.

Women face overwhelming challenges in public transit which can be attributed in part to lack of sexual harassment policies, negligence in holding perpetrators of harassment accountable, and constant male domination in public transport management. Chitere & Kibua (2004) examined the effects and limitations of reforms in Kenyan public transport. These reforms included a requirement for transport operators to obtain a certificate of good conduct, conductor and driver uniforms and other forms of professionalization of the industry. These reforms were meant to enhance safety for commuters, ensure responsibility, accountability and competence of transport operators, and vehicle identification facilitation. They found that these reforms contributed to a relative reduction of crime rates and road accidents (Chitere & Kibua, 2004).

2.5 Safety and Sexual Harassment

Most public transport users interviewed for the FIA Foundation Latin America study reported that they did not feel safe while using public transport (FIA Foundation,

2017). 66%, 64% and 60% of the people interviewed in Santiago, Buenos Aires and Quito respectively pointed out safety as major concern. Women were more concerned about safety than men; 72% women compared to 58% of men in Buenos Aires, 61% women compared to 59% of men in Quito, and 73% women compared to 59% of men in Santiago expressed safety concerns while using public transport. Additionally, 89% of women had experienced sexual harassment at least once in the previous 12 months. FIA's study also found that women are more likely to leave public transport for another option when financial ability allows. However, this move disadvantages women because most women in these cities (which are consistent with African cities) are of low-income level group.

Drawing from findings from a social assessment for urban project in Ashgabat, Turkmenistan, Peters (2011) found that women - whose earnings were found to be 30% lower than men - relied heavily on cheaper and less reliable transport modes, where men had relatively better access to public transport. Less desirable public transport was characterized with high levels of sexual harassment. In regard to safety and security, the study points out that the existing safety policies disproportionately affected women. Referencing a survey by Tokyo Metropolitan Policy and East Japan Railway Company, Peters (2013) found that two thirds of female passengers between the ages of 20-39 had been groped while using public transport.

In many countries, police are reluctant to intervene, and prefer to leave violence against women to be handled by the family (Chesney-Lind, 2013). According to Chesney-Lind (2013), violence against women occurs where women are perceived to dress inappropriately. Common types of harassment in public range from annoying behaviour – leering, winking, and sexual gestures – to offensive acts such as groping

and exposure. Often described as "micro inequalities," women are more susceptible to such experiences as they become spatially mobile (Chesney-Lind, 2013).

According to Harrison's (2012) literature review, sexual harassment was used by men to maintain the gender hierarchy of the society by endangering women when they were in public places. Men viewed public places as their domain and maintained a belief that women belong in private space. Drawing from publications by Latif (1999) and Fernando & Porter (2002), Harrison pointed out incidents where young women are denied access to crucial facilities, such as schools, due to lack safe public transport. Women were experiencing a wide variety of unpleasant consequences as a result of harassment such as negative psychological impacts including lowered confidence and self-esteem, feeling of blame and mistrust of men (Harrison, 2012).

Loukaitou-Sideris, *et al.* (2009) examined the relationship between the built environment and women's fear of public transportation systems in the United States. They compiled a comprehensive literature review on "fear of transit", conducted interviews with women riders and women's representative groups, conducted a web-based survey on transit operators, and looked into innovative responses to women's fear of the transportation environment. The study found that many women avoided specific transit routes or bus stops if they believed that they may be harassed or victimized when on the bus or at the station. They found that travel needs and behaviours were different between men and women. Women, especially when travelling with small children or carrying packages/luggage become easy targets for petty theft (Loukaitou-Sideris, Bornstein, Fink, Samuels, & Gerami, 2009).

According Gomez (2000), women's mode of dress contributed to exposure to verbal abuse and harassment. Women were forced to only wear "appropriate clothing" when using public transport. When it came to physical strength, women were perceived as

less able to defend themselves. In this case women were forced to travel in groups and only board units that are not full.

The Social Policy and Development Centre conducted a rapid assessment of sexual harassment in public transport in Karachi, Pakistan (SPDC, 2014). They interviewed female commuters from different age groups and income levels and found that 75% of working women have been harassed more than once while using public transport. 75% of the perpetrators were fellow commuters, 20% were bus conductors and 5% were bus drivers.

Safety concerns are compounded in developing countries and characterized by assault, rape and theft. In Kenya, there have been rampant cases of women being stripped of their clothes in public transport spaces. One such stripping incident occurred in 2014, which lead to the globally known #MyDressMyChoice movement. This phenomenon will be discussed further in the next section.

2.6 Violence Against Women and Girls in the Kenyan Public Transport Industry

According to research by the Women Empowerment Link (WEL), (2015) on the prevalence of violence against female commuters in Kenya, the three most prevalent forms of violence were: use of derogatory language by bus crews, coercion of passengers to board public service vehicles against their wishes and unwelcome touching of female passengers (WEL, 2015). Other common forms of harassment included contemptuous treatment of women, and robbing and stripping women passengers. The research revealed that more than half of incidences of violence against women and girls go unreported to authorities. For those cases that were reported, most were dismissed by the police for lack of evidence. Only 7.7% of reported ended up in a court.

According to a 2017 Flone Initiative baseline survey, there is very little reporting of sexual harassment incidents due to the belief that the police and judiciary simply do not take sexual harassment against women seriously (Wafula, 2018). Some women choose not to report due to fear of retaliation while others do not even know they have been sexually harassed. Others who report sexual harassment say that they are seen as being at fault due to how they were dressed or what time of day the incidence occurred. Sadly, some perpetrators view sexual harassment as a joke and tend to believe that their victims lack a sense of humour.

In Kenya, violence against women and girls (VAWG) is common and widespread across all routes plied by public transport vehicles. Drawing from the same Flone Initiative survey, findings revealed that 88% of commuters had heard of or witnessed cases of VAWG where 62% of those commuters identified public transport operators as the major perpetrators of VAWG. 70% of commuters stated that VAWG mostly occur in bus stations. While majority of SACCO managers cited abusive language as the most common form of harassment, most of the commuters identified inappropriate physical contact as the most common (Wafula, 2018).

In regard to steps followed when a sexual harassment case is reported, the study findings showed that 37% of the managers would sack the operators involved while 32% of the operators would report to the police and 36% of the commuters would take no action. It was also highlighted that 37% of commuters hardly ask for any help including from the police, and rather choose to walk away by ignoring such actions as they feel helpless.

2.7 Literature Review Conclusions

The following can be concluded from this literature review; the transport sector is not gender-neutral. Female workers and commuters face numerous challenges within the industry, which is overwhelmingly male dominated. Most of the literature studied has also revealed that women rely on public transport more than men especially due to the additional roles they have such as shopping and taking care of children. As a consequence of their vulnerable state, they often experience high levels of harassment both as commuters and workers in public transport. The literature also reveals that duty bearers such as law enforcers do little to address cases of harassment reported to them.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

The Gender Equity Assessent adopted a descriptive survey that collected detailed information through description of experiences by the respondents. Both qualitative and quantitative research methods were used. Data was mainly collected from primary sources. Secondary sources of data were also reviewed.

3.1 Scope of the Study

This study focused on three selected minibus public transport service providers in Nairobi: Kenya Bus Service (KBS), KANI SACCO and INDIMANJE SACCO. Interviews were conducted with service provider managers, female workers (drivers and conductors) and male workers (drivers and conductors), and sought to understand female workers' perspectives on recruitment, retention and promotion in the Nairobi public minibus transport services industry. The study also sought to assess organizational policies that impact women's participation in the transport industry.

3.2 Sampling Design

Non-probabilistic (purposive) sampling was used, based on the socio-economic characteristics of the service providers, which maximally captured information variations of the target population. Three public transport service providers - commonly referred to as SACCOs (Saving and Credit Cooperative Societies) - were willing to participate in this study. These were: KANI, INDIMANJE and Kenya Bus Service (KBS). There are very few female workers in these SACCOS and so efforts were made to interview as many women working in the matatu industry of Nairobi as possible, regardless of the SACCO they work with. We were able to interview 35 female drivers and conductors. Men made up the majority of drivers and conductors in the

selected SACCOs and we interviewed approximately 20 men from each SACCO (this was the number at which responses maximized variations and would start repeating themselves). Three managers in each SACCO were also interviewed in order to get information on existing organizational policies.

3.3 Respondents

For context, positions in the public transport industry range from management roles (SACCOs executives), route managers, stage attendants, drivers and conductors. These job roles are described below:

⇒ SACCO managers are responsible for company profitability and making any key decisions within the organization such as whether to add more minibuses. They represent the organization.

⇒ Route managers are in charge of their assigned routes and are responsible for any incidents that involve their minibuses (accidents, arrests). They act as supervisors to drivers and conductors of minibuses on their routes.

⇒ Drivers are the people driving the minibus, and are usually responsible for the daily maintenance of their assigned minibus. They have the power to decide who the conductor will be. They are the custodian of the daily ticket sales.

⇒ Lowest in ranking are conductors and stage attendants. Conductors are in charge of collection fare from commuters as well announcing their stops. Stage attendants are in charge of filling the minibus with passengers

The respondents (public transport operators) included managers, drivers and conductors. The main characteristic consideration of the respondents was being an employee of these public transport providers. Age, level of education, and level of income varied from lowest to the highest. The drivers and conductors were divided

into males and females but asked similar questions with a variation only on biographic data. The management (managers) interview was not divided into any gender, however all the managers interviewed were men.

3.4 Questionnaire Framing

This research took both a qualitative and quantitative approach. A questionnaire with a combination of open and closed questions was deployed. Respondents were asked about their perceptions about female employment, organizational policies as well as their views on how to make public transportation a safer place for women. Respondents were also asked to share their experiences of sexual harassment, its frequency and how they responded to it. A total of 104 questionnaires were distributed (35 for women, 60 for men and 9 for managers). You can view the questionnaires used in the Appendix.

3.5 Questionnaire Validation

In the validation process, questionnaires were reviewed by research stakeholders (Inés Sánchez de Madariaga; a professor at University of Madrid and a member of Advisory Group on Gender at UN-Habitat, senior staff at Flone Initiative as well as other research staff). After validation, the field team piloted the questionnaire with random transport service providers whose characteristics were almost similar with the research target population. This was done to reveal the respondent's reaction to the questionnaire, their level of understanding, their sensitivity of some of the questions and whether they want to answer these questions and practicality of the method intended to be used in the real research. The pilot was important in identifying the ambiguity in some items and modifying them accordingly.

3.6 Data Collection and Analysis

The study was descriptive and exploratory in nature, hence descriptive statistics was used to identify frequencies and percentages derived from the responses in the study questionnaires. All driver and conductor interviews were conducted at receptive bus stops for each transport service provider routes. Manager interviews were conducted in their respective offices with two stage (bus stop) managers interviews conducted at their respective bus stops.

The data collected in the field from the questionnaires was entered manually into excel sheet for cleaning, verification and accuracy check, and then exported into SPSS. Quantitative and qualitative techniques were used to analyse the data. Quantitative data was analysed using SPSS as the statistical software of choice. Data coding was done on the qualitative data and a guide generated. From these codes themes were generated. This thematic method of analysis was used to identify main themes in the qualitative data and quantified to give frequencies and percentages.

3.7 Ethics

The privacy of all respondents and researchers was observed. Respondents were informed that their participation was voluntary and it would only continue if they consent to it. Respondents were also informed that they could stop the interview or decline to answer a question at any point should they choose. For anonymity, interviews were recorded on the questionnaires without the names of the respondents and survey numbers were used to identify respondents instead. Respondents were provided with the contact information of relevant offices where they can get rapid assistance in case of risk. Interviewers were also informed not to discuss any respondent's personal issues outside research setting.

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS

4.1 Age Distribution of Women in Public Transport

According to the results gathered from the surveyed SACCOs, 35% of women joining the public transport service industry were within the age of 30 to 34 years, while those between ages 25 to 29 years represented 29.4% (Figure 2). Those aged 20 to 24 years represented 20.6%, while the age groups 35 to 39 and 15 to 19 years represent only 5.9% and 2.9% respectively. The youngest woman interviewed joined the transport service industry at 19 years while the oldest woman entered at 46 years old. It is worth noting that majority of women were aged between 30-34 years which is the child raising period with demanding parenting roles.
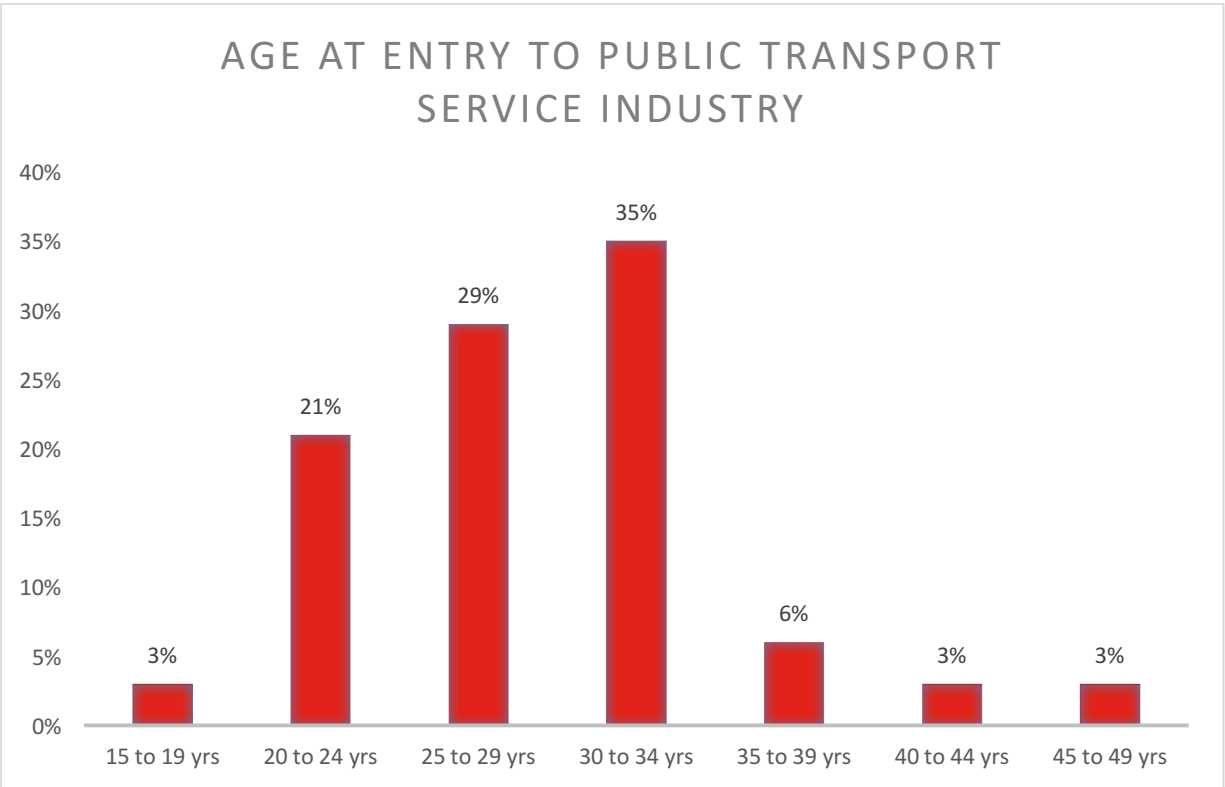

Figure 2: Age Distribution when joining Public Transport Service Sector

Additionally, the age of women when joining the industry was distributed over a wider range of values as indicated by the standard deviation of 6.5% (as opposed to a standard deviation close to 0 which would suggest a close distribution closer to the mean). Ages ranged from a minimum of 19 years to a maximum of 46 years. The average age of women when joining the industry was 29 years (similar to the men's average, which was 30 years).

4.2 Female Operators with Children

Most of the women working in the public transport industry are mothers or women taking care of children. 94% of women interviewed had children, while only 6% did not have children. Women working in the transport industry who have children have additional family obligations and must put their children under the care of another person or leave them alone (if the children are old enough to take care of themselves) when they go to work (Figure 3). From the findings, 33% of women drop their children at school before they go to work, while 26% leave them alone because they are able to take care of themselves. 19% of female respondents' report leaving their children with other family members (siblings, and other extended family members they are staying with). 11% of women leave their children with house help (nannies), 7% leaves their children with a friend and 4% leave their children with their neighbours.

Results from the male operators' survey indicated that 78% of the male operators have children. However, 69% of these children are taken care of by their spouses (women). Other care options noted were nannies, day care, and school. It can thus be concluded that the male operators have a lesser burden of child care as this role is fully delegated to their spouses unlike female operators who have to primarily shoulder the child care roles while meeting the heavy demands of work in the public transport sector.
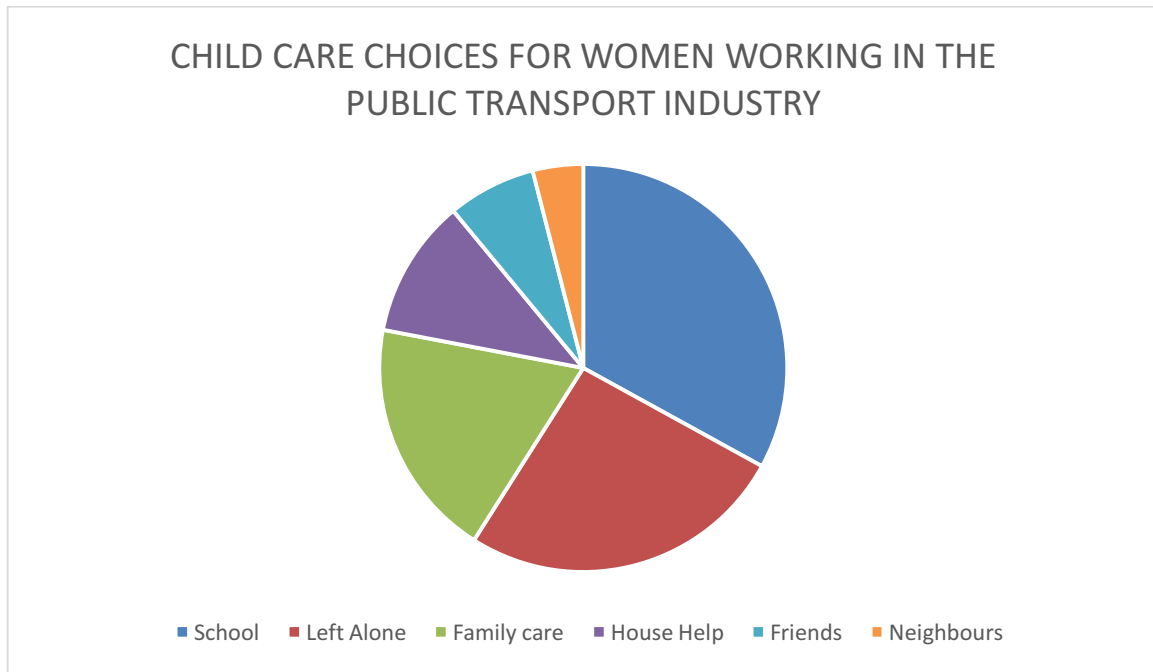
CHILD CARE CHOICES FOR WOMEN WORKING IN THE PUBLIC TRANSPORT INDUSTRY

■ School ■ Left Alone ■ Family care ■ House Help ■ Friends ■ Neighbours

Figure 3: Childcare choices for women working in the public transport industry

4.3 Women's Representation in Public Transport

Women were underrepresented in the public transport industry, making up roughly 7% of the workforce. Those who were working in the transport industry at the time occupied the lowest paying jobs. Higher-ranking positions generate higher incomes and, as Figure 4 indicates, women were primarily relegated to low-ranking positions.

As illustrated, 85% (the vast majority of the women interviewed) were conductors with only 9% working as drivers while stage girls and union organizers represented 3%. On the other hand, 45% of the male respondents occupied positions as drivers and 52% as conductors. Stage attendants and mechanics were 3% and 1% respectively. Women represented only 1% of minibus transport services top management while men constituted a massive 99% in top management of the SACCOs.

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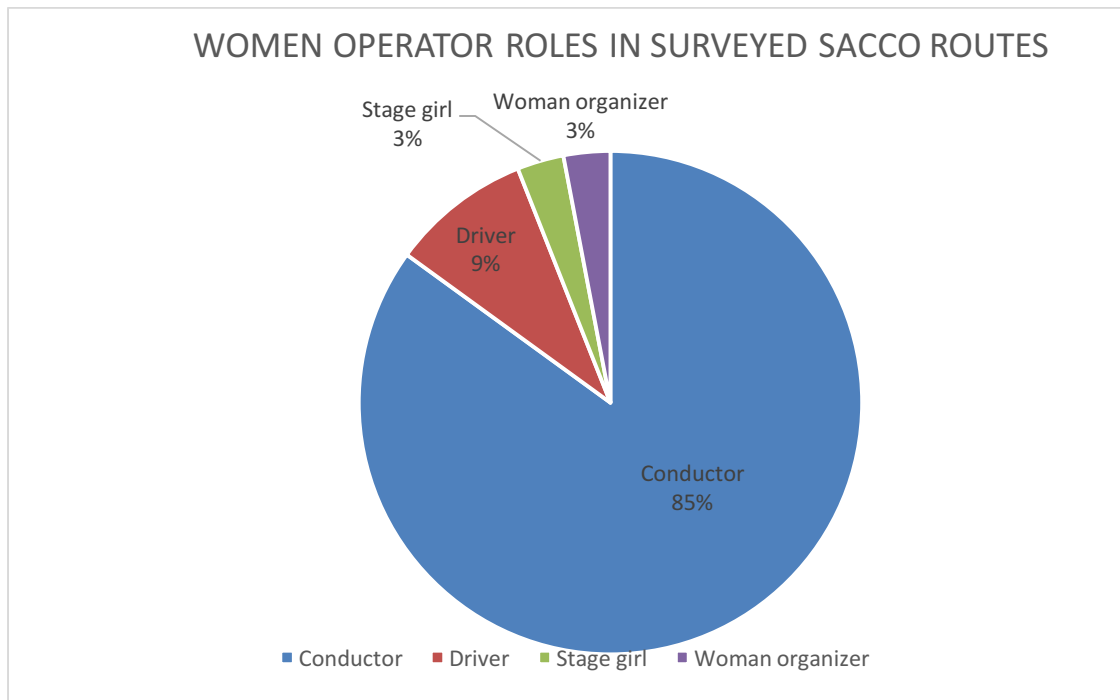
Figure 4: Roles of Female Operators in the Public Transport Service Sector

All the managers interviewed said women made the best operators, and were associated with characteristics such as humbleness, kindness, courteousness and lack unnecessary scandal usually associated with male operators. Despite this positive outlook, women's representation remains low.

Male drivers and conductors when asked about their opinion on women operators said that women were hard workers, efficient, passionate about providing for their families, independent, open minded, willing to assist, strong, aggressive, good at what they do, assist in raising alarm in case of harassment and are slowly taking over the industry. However, a few also said that women were rude, arrogant, and bossy, pretend to know it all and should be at home raising children.

4.4 Would Female Operators Choose a Different Job?

More than a half of the women interviewed were not satisfied with their current working conditions. Given a chance, majority would not want to work in the minibus public transport industry as currently constituted. 50% of those who would not want to work in the industry would rather start their own business, while 25% would like to work as drivers but not in the public minibus industry. The rest (25%) would still work in the minibus public transport services but only if the terms and conditions were improved.
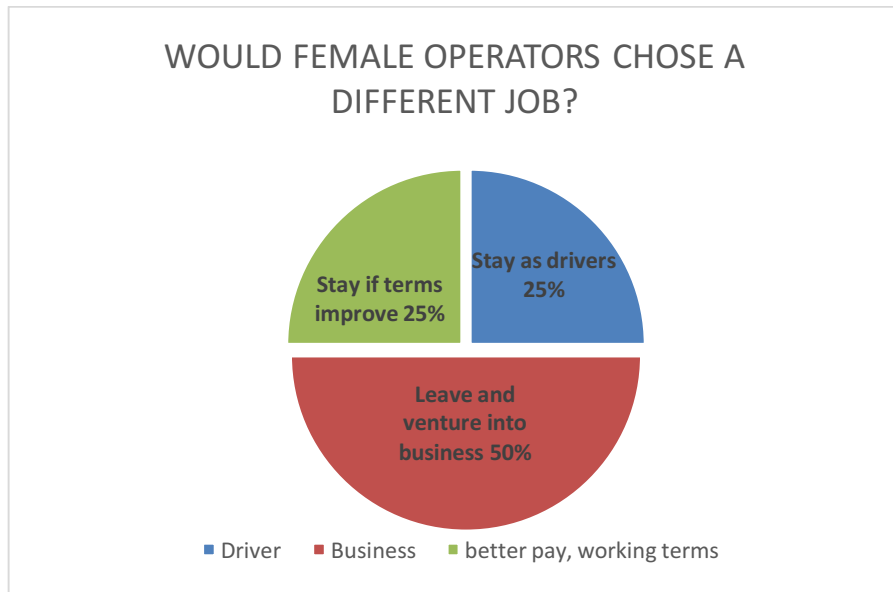

Figure 5: Would Female Operators Choose a Different Job?

4.5 Sexual Harassment

4.5.1 Frequency of Sexual Harassment in Public Transport Sector

Sexual harassment is defined by the UN Secretary General as unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favours, and other verbal or physical conduct of sexual nature (UN, 2008). This study revealed that 76% of women operators have either experienced or witnessed sexual harassment at their place of work. These incidences of sexual harassment happen on a regular basis (Figure 6).

Additionally, this research revealed incidents where women operators (conductors and drivers) were asked for sexual favours in order to receive assistance from law enforcement; if arrested they were asked to offer sex for their release or to avoid being arrested in the first place. Women reported to have been asked for sexual favours from fellow workers as well as those in management positions in exchange for preferential treatment. Women of all ages experience sexual harassment but most women in the industry within the ages of 18 to 30 years.
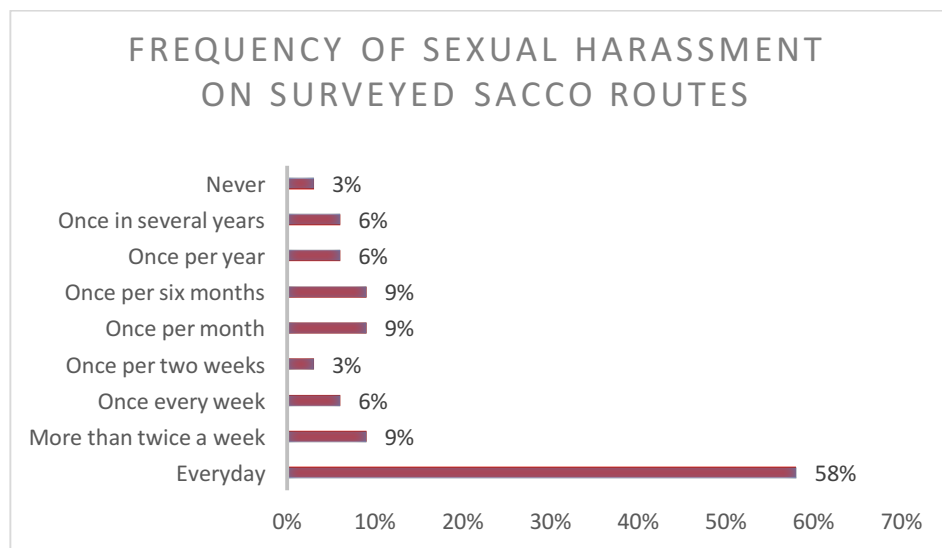

Figure 6: Frequency of Sexual Harassment on the surveyed SACCO routes

4.5.2 Female Operators Reaction to Sexual Harassment

This assessment revealed that only 6% of sexual harassment cases are reported to law enforcement. 32% of sexual harassment victims interviewed chose to do nothing about it due to a lack of trust in law enforcement and stigmatization as a victim of sexual harassment. Female operators cited a lack of initiative from SACCO management to hold perpetrators responsible for their actions and a lack of clear reporting mechanisms or policies for how to respond to sexual harassment as reasons why they choose not to report.

When asked how they respond to experiencing sexual harassment, 21% said that they physically fight back (Figure 7). They noted that this is usually a losing battle given that bystanders are often hesitant to intervene or assist. 15% of women said they respond with a heated verbal exchange, while 13% feel helpless and do nothing. 11% of the respondents shout in attempt to raise alarm while the rest 2% of these sexual harassment cases are reported to the employee unions (SACCO unions).

FEMALE OPERATORS' REACTIONS TO SEXUAL HARASSMENT INCIDENTS

Report to the Union: 2%
Fight Back physically: 21%
Cry: 13%
Insults the perpetrator: 15%
Silence: 32%
Shout: 11%
Report to the police: 6%
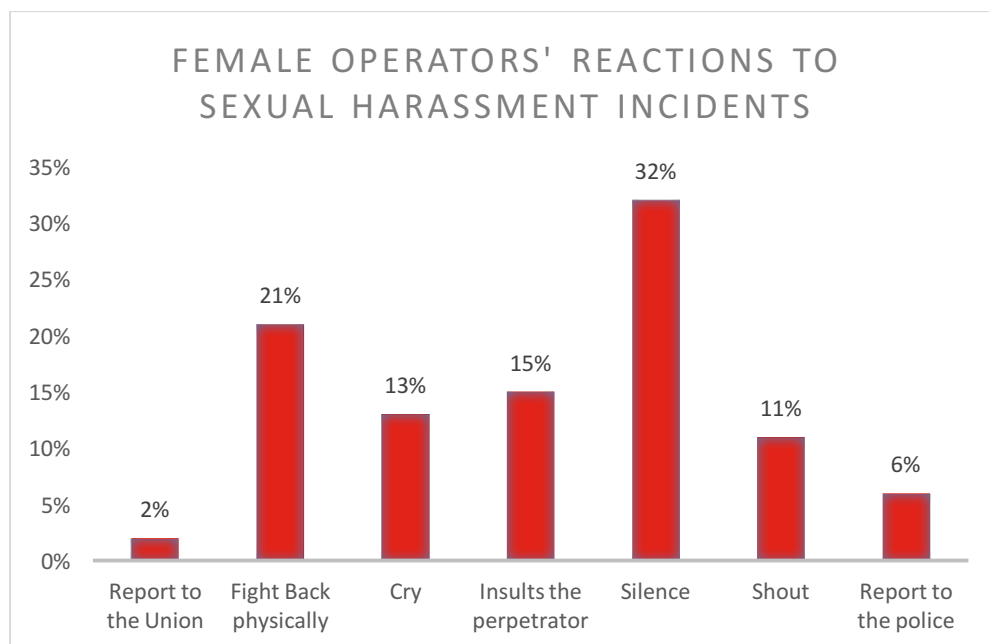
Figure 7: Female operators' reactions to Sexual Harassment on the surveyed SACCO routes

4.5.3 Male Operators Reaction to Incidences of Sexual Harassment

When responding to cases of sexual harassment, 31% of male operators said they would report the incidents to SACCO management, while 25% would choose to defend the woman physically by confronting the perpetrator (Figure 8). 17% of men said they would warn the perpetrator while 14% would do nothing to intervene. 10% say they would remove the perpetrator from the bus while 2% would reprimand ladies to dress appropriately. 1% of men would warn ladies to avoid boarding certain minibuses.
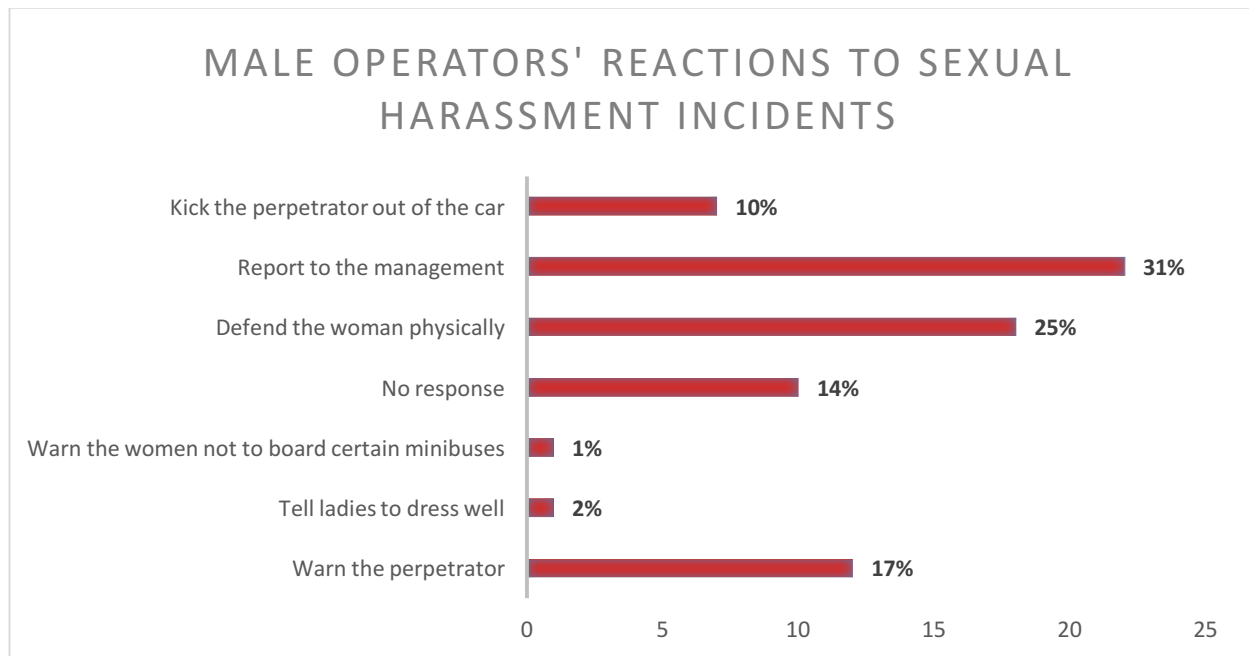
Figure 8: Male operators' reactions to Sexual Harassment on the surveyed SACCO routes

4.5.4 Response to Sexual Harassment by SACCO Management

More than half of reported sexual harassment cases resulted in no action being taken by the minibus transport organization, making victims feel disillusioned by current reporting mechanisms. For operators who were victims of sexual harassment and reported the incident to their managers, 54% of the reports were not acted upon, 33% of the cases resulted into perpetrators being fired while 13% of the cases were forwarded to the police (Figure 9). Worth noting is that once the management fires the operator, they don't proceed to prosecute these cases and it is up to the victims to prosecute in pursuit of justice.
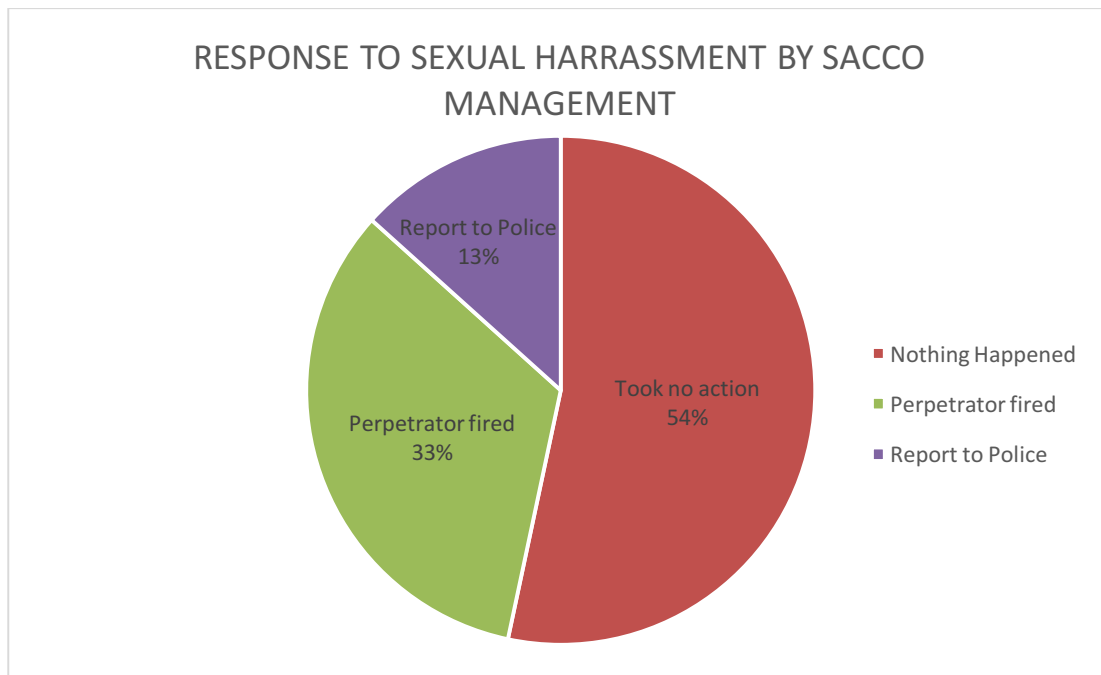
Figure 9: Response to Sexual Harassment by SACCO Management

4.5.5 Common Forms of Sexual Harassment

The research revealed verbal harassment as the most common form of sexual harassment in the Nairobi public minibus transport industry. 38% of women working in public transport named verbal harassment (commenting on women's bodies or making suggestive sexual remarks) as the most common form of sexual harassment, followed by groping with 32% (Figure 10). Being asked for sexual favours by commuters, operators, police officers and SACCO management was third with 15% while unwelcome sexual advances took fourth with 11%. 4% of respondents stated other forms of sexual harassment including stripping women of their clothes in public. It is worth noting that 90% of male operators said that women's attire contributes to sexual harassment.

Figure 10: Common forms of sexual harassment

4.5.6 Sexual Harassment Policies

Our research revealed that sexual harassment policies were essentially non-existent in public minibus transport organizations. While all three minibus transport service providers had other policies that outline what steps to take once a minibus operator is arrested or involved in an accident, they lac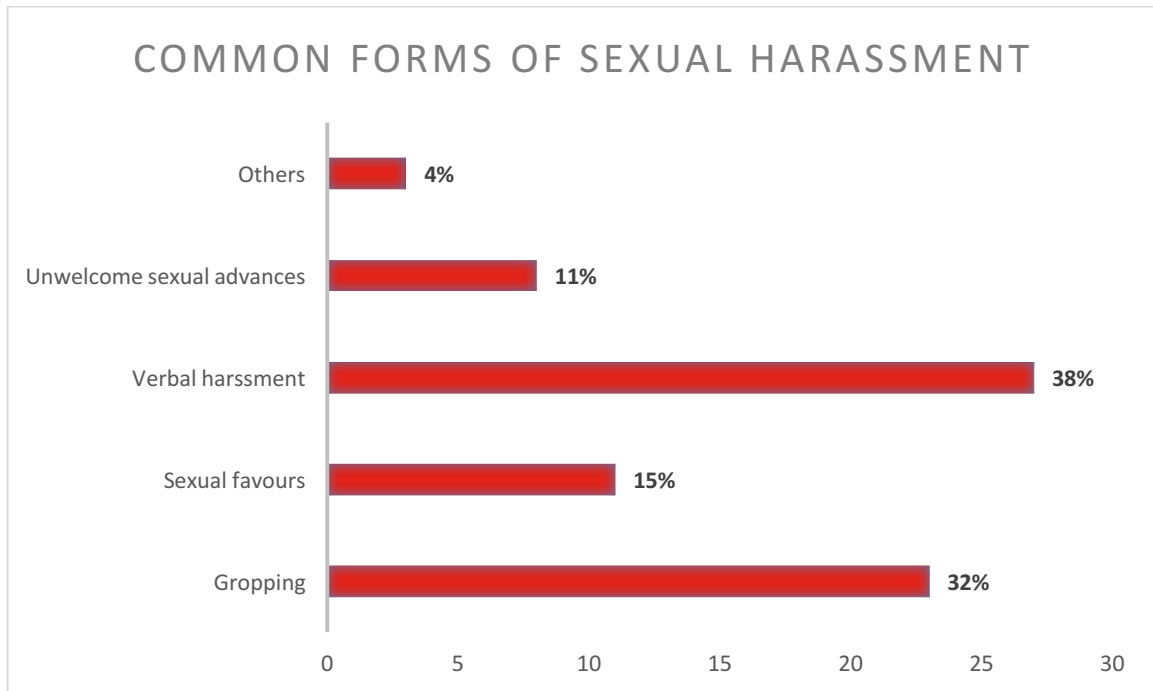k policies to address sexual harassment. Incidents of sexual harassment were generalized and treated like other cases like accidents, misconduct and arrests for minor traffic violations. SACCO managers interviewed said that they had not experienced sexual harassment cases hence not developed sexual harassment policies. However, this research revealed that both female and male operators had experienced or witnessed sexual harassment. This disparity clearly indicates a need for stand-alone sexual harassment policies and reporting mechanisms for accountability.

Both female and male operators reported a general knowledge of what sexual harassment is; 93% of men said that they know what sexual harassment is with only 7% saying they don't. 91% of women said they know what sexual harassment is with 9% saying they do not know what it is. Both female and male operators were able to explain, to some extent, what sexual harassment is. Examples given included: groping, sexual/vulgar language, striping, and unwelcome touching among others. However, almost all respondents were unclear on how to respond to or report cases of a sexual harassment when they occur. They gave varying responses as indicated in Figure 9.

4.6 Work-Related Challenges

4.6.1 Hostility Towards Women Working in Public Transport

This research revealed incidents of women having to endure name calling from family members, commuters and fellow operators. Women operators were sometimes treated as outcasts for taking jobs that are traditionally assumed to be for men. Some women did not reveal what they do for a living for fear of being abused or perceived as outcasts for taking on jobs traditionally done by men. Some of this intimidation came from the police who make derogatory remarks when they encounter women who work in the sector. This research also revealed incidents where women were physically beaten by police as they go along with their daily duties in public transport. Such challenges made women fear joining and continuing work in the minibus public transport industry. On the other hand, male operators did not experience any form of hostility at work except from police who use force and intimidation when solving issues. Male operators did agree that their female counterparts face much more hostility even from both male and female commuters.

4.6.2 Unfavourable Schedules

Work schedules in Nairobi's public minibuses industry are not flexible in spite of special circumstances that may arise such as maternal obligations, sickness, bereavement, etc. Operators often began work extremely early in the morning and finished late at night, amounting to a 13-hour work day average. Both men and women had the same daily schedule. Our research revealed that 91% of the women worked the same daily hours as men. The number of days worked per week ranged from three to seven days a week. 38% of the women said they sometimes work night shifts, making it even harder for them to attend to their families or make up for the lost time with their families. Worth noting is that some of these families were female-headed (single mothers), and that the woman was the sole parent who had to work

and attend to their family's financial and personal needs. Paid leave has been shown to promote gender equity, demonstrate respect for employees, improve employee health, increase retention and enhance a company's brand and reputation (National Partnership for Women and Families, 2018). Based on this research, there were no official leave days for operators in the minibus services, resulting in working schedules that are not sustainable in the long term.

4.6.3 Insecure Employment Status

94% of women workers said that they did not have formal contracts with their employing SACCO. As such, their employment status was unpredictable, which is especially troubling for women who may have the sole responsibility of care taking for family members. Additionally, there were no specific organizational policies that catered for the employment protection of pregnant women or women with small children. Employers did not provide full or partial salary and benefits during maternity leave and there was no provision for paternity leave according to the male operators. To safeguard their jobs, male operators had to forfeit their important paternal obligations. When women became pregnant, they reported being retrenched by the management or they would naturally stop working given the demanding working conditions of the job.

Around the time of this assessment, a female conductor was relieved of duty because she had married a colleague who worked in the same minibus organisation (SACCO). This SACCO did not have any human resource policies which allowed or prohibited such a dismissal. On probing, she was told that it was easier to let her go because she was a woman. According to Article 1 of the 1958 Convention Concerning Discrimination in Respect of Employment and Occupation (No. 111), discrimination in the workplace is any distinction, exclusion or preference made on the basis of race,

colour, sex, religion, political opinion, national extraction or social origin, which has the effect of nullifying or impairing equality of opportunity or treatment in employment or occupation (ILO, 1958). This incident was an example of extreme gender discrimination in the workplace.

4.6.4 Promotion Criteria

58% of women said that there were no promotion opportunities in Nairobi's minibus transport industry, while 28% said promotion is based on experience. 14% said that promotion is based on education. This study did not measure the level of education of women operators. However, there were women operators who had been in the industry for years, but despite their experience had occupied the same job level since joining, showing there was no standardized or clearly mapped out career advancement path.

4.6.5 Low Representation of Women in Management

There is an under-representation of women in top level management positions. This research revealed that less than 1% of top management were women. Therefore, decisions made regarding public transport were made without the consideration of women's perspectives.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS

Nairobi's public minibus transportation system is not gender-neutral. For female workers, sexual harassment, stigmatization and employment instability is a constant threat. Less than 1% of top level management positions are held by women, and women in other levels of employment - at the lowest income level - only account for an average of 7% of the industry workforce.

The public transportation industry of Kenya is an important economic force, and women are increasingly seeking jobs in the sector in order to support their families. To achieve successful economic development goals as well as Sustainable Development Goals (Gender Equality and Reducing Inequality), it is imperative to increase the number of women working in this industry at every level.

The number of female heads of households is growing in East Africa and on the African continent as a whole, which is resulting in dynamic shifts of income generating activities (Meehan, 2004). Women require safe public transportation to access different types of employment opportunities. Having more women working in the public transportation industry is creating a demand for more gender-sensitive transportation services and a fundamental paradigm shift away from "gender-neutral" transportation systems. More women working in public transportation will create safer public spaces and greater access to mobility for everyone.

However, increasing the number of women in minibus services alone is not enough. Those already working in the industry face myriad challenges. Safety threats and sexual harassment occur on a daily basis, which deter more women from joining the industry. Putting in place measures that will stop sexual harassment will inspire more women

to work in the industry, which in turn will open potential avenues for women to participate in economic activities.

Women are ready to work in the industry. This research revealed that women wanted to work in the minibus public transport industry but would also want the existing terms to be rectified to accommodate their needs. These terms included clearer and enforced sexual harassment policies, more structured scheduling, maternity leave, equal pay, employee development programs, and job security among others.

Law enforcement is also a part of the problem. Harassment and corruption by police is a concern shared by both women and men. Poor coordination between departments mandated with public transport responsibility was also exposed through this research. Collaboration between these entities is key to attracting and retaining women workers in public transport.

CHAPTER 7: RECOMMENDATIONS

Recommendations based on these research findings are available in the Gender Sensitive Mini-Bus Services and Transport Infrastructure for African Cities Toolkit. The toolkit provides specific recommendations for various stakeholders including managers of public transport service providers (buses and minibuses), city officials, civil society actors and other stakeholders in urban public transport.

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APPENDIX: SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRES

A) Female Operators' Questionnaire

Survey Number		Date *(dd|mm|yyyy)*			
SACCO		Time started *(24 hrs)*			
Was survey completed?	☐ Yes ☐ No	Time ended *(24hrs)*			
Enumerator Name					

Your age		What age did you join the company		
Do you have have child(ren) kids		Who takes care of them when you are at work		
What is your position in the company		Do you have a formal contract?		
Why did you chose to work in the public transport industry		How did you get into the public transport industry		
If given another chance would you choose to work you chooose to work in public transport industry?		If not where would like to work?		
What are some of the challenges you have encountered as a woman in the industry			How far do you live from your work (the average mins it takaes to be get home)	
How many days in a week do you go to work		How many hours per day do you work		
Are women working hours different from those of men?		If Yes, How		
Do women work night shifts?		Do Women and Men in the same position receive equal pay?		

What are the criteria for women promotion in the company?	
From your own opinion how can women be encouraged to take up jobs in or join the public transport industry?	
What kind of support would you like to receive from your company? (career development, skills building, benefits	Career development (Seniority, Promotions) Skills building (trainings) Benefits Safety improvement More women in the industry Equal pay for men and women Equal hours for men and women Flexible shifts for women Others _____ _____ _____

Do you know what is sexual harassment?	Yes No	If Yes, *(let the respondent briefly explain what it is) If NO explain what sexual harassment is*

Have you personally encountered or witnessed sexual harassment in the workplace?	Yes No	If Yes, What kind? *(let the respondent describe the incident)*	
How did you react *let the respondent describe the her reaction)*			
How did the company react *(let the respondent describe the company reaction*			

How do you believe the company should respond to instances of sexual harassment?			
Are there organizations that cater for the welfare of women workers in the public transport sector?	If yes, what services do they provide?		
	If not, what services would be helpful?		
How often does sexual harassment of passengers occur on vehicles	Every day More than twice a week Once every week Once per two weeks Once per Month Once per 6 months Once a year Once in several years	What are common forms of sexual harassment?	Groping Asked for sexual favors Verbal harassment Unwelcome sexual advances Others_____ _____ _____
How do female passengers typically respond when they are harassed?			
What steps should be taken to make commutes safer for women			
At what age do women experience harassment the most while traveling on public transport?			
Comments:			

B) Male Operators' Questionnaire

Survey Number		Date *(dd|mm|yyyy)*			
SACCO		Time started *(24 hrs)*			
Was survey completed?	☐ Yes ☐ No	Time ended *(24hrs)*			
Enumerator Name					

What is your position in the company and how long have you been in this position?			What is your age and at what age did you join the company?	
Do you have a formal contract with your company? What type of contract you have?			How many days a week do you work?	
			How many hours per day do you work?	
			What is the lenghth of your contract?	
What is your opinion on women who works in the public transport industry?				
Do you know what is sexual harrassment?		IF Yes please describe it?		
How often does sexual harassment of passengers occur on vehicles?	Every day More than twice a week Once every week Once per two weeks Once per Month Once per 6 months Once a year Once in several years		What are common forms of harassment?	Groping Asked for sexual favors Verbal harassment Unwelcome sexual advances Others_____ _____ _____
How do female passengers typically				

respond when they are sexually harassed?			
How do you respond to incidents of sexual harassment on vehicles?			
What steps should be taken to make commutes safer for women?			
Do you think women's mode of dressing contributes to the likelihood of sexual harassment?	☐ Yes ☐ No	At what age do women experience harassment the most while traveling on public transport?	( ) Below 18yrs ( )18- 22 yrs ( ) 23- 27 yrs ( ) 28– 32 yrs ( ) 33– 37 yrs ( ) 38– 42 yrs ( ) 43– 47yrs ( ) 48– 52 yrs ( ) 53– 57 yrs ( ) 58– 62 yrs ( ) 63– 67 yrs ( ) 68 yrs and above
Do you have child(ren) kids?	☐ Yes ☐ No	Who takes care of them when you work	
How far do you live from your work?			
Would having more female operators help recude cases of sexual harrassment of women and girls?		How?	
Comments			

C) Managers' Questionnaire

Survey Administration Information

Survey Number		Date *(ddmmyyyy)*			
Geographical Area		Was survey completed	( )Yes ( )No		
Time started *(24hrs)*		Time ended *(24hrs)*			
Enumerator name					

Respondent Information

SACCO	
Position *(senior, middle level, stage managers)*	

(Target audience: top, middle and stage managers for the three SACCOs)

Classified type	Number of Matatus	Routes plied
Minibuses (30-50 capacity)		
Minivans		
Buses (60 capcity)		
Other types		

How many employees (full and part-time) worked in your company this year?		How many of those employees are women?	

How has the number of female employees changed over the past five years?		If Any change, what do you attribute these changes to?	
How many senior-level managers are women?		What other kinds of jobs are held by women?	
Do some employees work part-time?	( )Yes ( )No	Do some employees alter their work schedules with supervisor approval?	( )Yes ( )No
If yes, what is the process followed to alter the work schedule?			
Do some employees work from home or another location outside the office?	( )Yes ( )No	If yes, what is the process followed to alter the work schedule?	
Does your organization have a sexual harassment policy?	( )Yes ( )No	If yes, can we have a copy?	( )Yes ( )No
Does your organization have an official professional development programs?	( )Yes ( )No	If yes, what does your professional development program entail?	
What positions are held by women in your SACCO?		If none, does the company have a plan for facilitating women's entry into these positions?	( )Yes ( )No

(write position and the numebr of women in it)			
Do women operators make good drivers/conducotors	( )Yes ( )No	Why is this?	
How do operators respond to instances of sexual harassment among passengers?			
Whats is your understanding of sexual harrassment?			
What cases of sexual harrassment are commonly reported to your office?			
How many female employees left their jobs over the past year		What was the reason	
What types of contracts does the company offer		What are for women?	
		What are for men?	
Does the company offer support to employees with small kids?	( )Yes ( )No	What type of support?	
How many hours do employees work per day?		On which times of the day?	
How do you make decisions about the vehicle modifications in regards to: lighting, seat arrangement, maintenance and graffiti			

		Do you buy them secondhand or new?	( )Yes ( )No
What's the cost of one vehicle?			
Are there any other written documents that guide your organizational structure (by laws)	( )Yes ( )No	If so, can we review a copy?	
Are there any unwritten policies that govern the organization	( )Yes ( )No	If so, what are those policies and how are they communicated to staff?	
Would having more female operators help recude cases of sexual harrassment of women and girls?	( )Yes ( )No	How?	
Comments			