SURVIVORS SPEAK

A SNAPSHOT SURVEY
ON VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN
IN NAIROBI
April 2002

Sabine Ravestijn

UN-HABITAT
Intermediate Technology Development Group - East Africa
The findings, interpretations and conclusions in this publication are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the views of UN-HABITAT or any affiliated organization.
SURVIVORS SPEAK

A SNAPSHOT SURVEY ON VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN NAIROBI

April 2002

Sabine Ravestijn

UN-HABITAT

Intermediate Technology Development Group - East Africa
Acknowledgements

This publication has been made possible by the contributions and efforts of the following individuals and organisations to whom the author wishes to express her sincere gratitude:

1. The Intermediate Technology Development Group - East Africa, specifically Hannah Kamau, Elijah Agevi and Sammy Oyombe;

2. The field workers: Pauline Wanjiku, Joyce Gathirimu, Felistus Atieno, Florence Mulati, Gladys Kabura, Irene Namai, Caroline Sabiri, Bernice Gateri;

3. The women’s organisations in Nairobi, specifically the Coalition on Violence Against Women, the Federation of Women’s Lawyers (FIDA-Kenya), the Collaborative Centre on Gender and Development, Population Communication Africa and the Women’s Bureau.

4. The Institute for Security Studies for its methodology;

5. Mr. Aki Stavrou for his technical assistance;

6. UNDP - Kenya for funding the survey;

7. The Government of the Netherlands for funding this publication;

8. The UNESCO - photo bank for the cover page images;

9. The Safer Cities Team for their support and inputs; and

10. Other UN-HABITAT colleagues for their contributions.
Table of Contents

Acknowledgements ........................................................................ 4

Foreword ......................................................................................8

1. Executive Summary .............................................................. 10

2. Introduction .......................................................................... 16
   2.1 Definitions and International Declarations on Violence Against Women .................. 16
   2.1.1 The Status of International Declarations in Kenya .................................................. 19
   2.2 International Statistics on Violence Against Women ................................................... 22
   2.3 Urban Safety and Women’s Safety ................................................................................. 24
   2.4 Causes and Consequences of Violence Against Women ................................................. 25
   2.5 Perceptions of Violence Against Women ...................................................................... 29

3. The Violence Against Women Snapshot Survey Nairobi ....... 32
   3.1 Justification and Needs Assessment ................................................................. 32
   3.1.1 The Findings of the Nairobi Victimisation Survey .................................................. 32
   3.2 Study Design .............................................................................................................. 34
   3.2.1 Objectives .............................................................................................................. 34
   3.2.2 Methodology ........................................................................................................ 36
   3.2.3 Sampling ................................................................................................................ 37
   3.3 Demographics of the Samples .................................................................................... 38
   3.3.1 The Violence Against Women Sample ................................................................. 38
   3.3.2 The Victim Survey Sample .................................................................................... 42
   3.4 Limitations of the Survey ............................................................................................ 44
4. The Types of Abuse .......................................................... 46
   4.1 Definitions ............................................................. 46
   4.2 Economic Abuse ..................................................... 49
      4.2.1 Most Serious Economic Abuse ...................... 50
   4.3 Physical Abuse ........................................................ 52
      4.3.1 Most Serious Physical Abuse ...................... 52
   4.4 Emotional Abuse ..................................................... 54
      4.4.1 Most Serious Emotional Abuse ...................... 55
   4.5 Sexual Abuse .......................................................... 56
      4.5.1 Most Serious Sexual Abuse ...................... 57
      4.5.2 Betterment Abuse in School and at Work ........ 59
      4.5.3 Sexual Abuse during Childhood ..................... 59
   4.6 The Most Serious Type of Abuse ............................. 60
      4.6.1 Victims of Multiple Forms of Abuse ............. 61
   4.7 Comparisons ........................................................ 63

5. The Victims ................................................................. 64
   5.1 Economic Abuse ..................................................... 65
   5.2 Physical Abuse ..................................................... 68
   5.3 Emotional Abuse ..................................................... 71
   5.4 Sexual Abuse .......................................................... 74
      5.4.1 Sexual Abuse during Childhood .................... 76
   5.5 Comparisons ........................................................ 79

6. The Abusers ................................................................. 80
   6.1 Economic Abuse ..................................................... 81
   6.2 Physical Abuse ..................................................... 82
   6.3 Emotional Abuse ..................................................... 84
   6.4 Sexual Abuse .......................................................... 85
   6.5 Comparisons ........................................................ 87
7. The Impacts ................................................................. 89
   7.1 Economic Abuse ................................................. 90
   7.2 Physical Abuse ................................................. 91
   7.3 Emotional Abuse .............................................. 92
   7.4 Sexual Abuse ................................................... 94
   7.5 Comparisons ..................................................... 95

8. The Support Services ................................................... 96
   8.1 Informal Support Services:
      Help Sought from Family and Friends ............. 99
   8.2 The Medical Care System:
      Hospitals and Private Doctors .................... 99
     8.2.1 Medical Service Sought by
          Victims of Sexual Abuse ....................... 100
   8.3 Counselling Service .................................... 100
   8.4 The Police .................................................... 101
   8.5 Legal Advice and the Courts ...................... 102
   8.6 Comparisons ............................................... 103

9. The Feelings of Safety .............................................. 105
   9.1 At Home and in the Residential Area ............. 106
   9.2 The Place of Work ......................................... 107
   9.3 City Centre .................................................. 108
   9.4 Comparisons ............................................... 109
   9.5 Suggestions to Make Nairobi Safer .............. 110

10. Conclusions and Ways Forward ............................... 112
    10.1 Actions .................................................... 120

References ............................................................... 121
Attachment - Questionnaire ...................................... 122
Foreword

This publication is designed to inform the development of a citywide crime prevention strategy in Nairobi. Its beneficiaries are national government agencies as well as the Nairobi City Council, the police, the judiciary, and civil society organisations that promote women’s safety at the local level. The City of Nairobi, like many other cities of the world, recognises women’s contributions as an essential and indisputable component of sustainable development. Women are a vulnerable group. With respect to violence, the evidence is revealing and irrevocable: not only are women particularly affected by many forms of violence, but often these happen inside what should be the most secure environment - their own homes.

Urban violence against women presents itself in the public and private domain, and is closely linked with issues of housing, human rights, and sustainable development in general. Cities cannot develop to their full potential when the rights of half of their populations are being violated.

This publication, as part of the Safer Cities Nairobi Project, aims to shed light on the hidden problem of violence against women, and to address the gaps of information that persist on this subject. The publication highlights the main forms of abuse...
experienced by women in Nairobi; the socio-economic characteristics of both the victims and the perpetrators; the impacts of abuse on the victims; the types of services and assistance that victims turn to; their suggestions to improve these services; their suggestions for government action; and their suggested ways forward to make Nairobi a safer place.

The publication aims to contribute to the ongoing search for local safety solutions: a “common good” towards which citizens, the Nairobi City Council, the Kenya Police Force, and the State should work together to achieve a more inclusive and sustainable city. As such, this publication also contributes to UN-HABITAT’s Good Urban Governance Campaign as well as towards achieving the objectives of the Habitat Agenda.

Anna Kajumulo Tibaijuka  
Executive Director  
UN-HABITAT  

Nairobi, April 2002
1. Executive Summary

Survey Methodology
Based on the results of the victimisation survey conducted in Nairobi between April and July 2001, which interviewed a representative sample of 1,210 women concerning their experiences of gender-based violence, a qualitative survey was conducted for an in-depth analysis of the characteristics of violence against women in Nairobi. Face-to-face interviews were held with 195 abused women in Nairobi. A number of abused women were identified by women’s organisations. These women then referred the field workers to other women of whom they knew or suspected they were victims of gender-based violence as well. The 195 women came from all constituencies in Nairobi and covered all socio-economic groups: 90% were living with their families (husbands, children, parents, uncles, aunts etc.); 55% were younger than 30 years; 45% were married and 22% were single. As such, the sample used in the violence against women survey corresponds with the sample of the 1,210 women interviewed for the main victimisation survey. This strongly suggests that women from all socio-economic backgrounds and all areas in Nairobi are equally at risk of becoming victims of violence against women.

Priorities of the Victims
The survey focused on one form of gender-based violence and did not assess gender-based violence against men because the findings of the victimisation survey identified only violence against women as an issue in Nairobi. The violence against women survey assessed four types of gender-based abuse of women: economic abuse, defined as coercive acts that have
adverse economic implications on the woman, such as drawing money from her bank account without her consent and preventing her from earning an income; **physical abuse**, defined as any deliberate physical assault on an individual’s body that harms the recipient in any way; **emotional abuse**, defined as any act of psychological abuse that harms an individual’s integrity, freedom of expression and well-being; and **sexual abuse**, defined as any unwanted physical or verbal invasion of an individual’s body that is sexual in nature, such as rape, harassment and incest. The questionnaire used to assess these four forms of violence against women was developed in South Africa on the basis of the opinions of 1,000 women. They indicated that they experience these four types of abuse. Additionally, the 195 abused women interviewed during the violence against women survey in Nairobi informed us that they grade sexual abuse as the most serious, followed by economic abuse as the second most serious form of violence against women. In the third place, emotional and physical abuse were graded equally serious. By assessing the four forms of abuse, the survey takes the victims’ own priorities into account.

**Women’s Safety is Urban Safety**

Various surveys conducted around the world have indicated that women experience the fear of violence more strongly than men, because of their exposure to sex crimes. Girls and women experience the supplementary problem of sexual harassment and abuse in the public sphere, which puts their sexual integrity at stake. But above all, they experience sexual and other forms of abuse in the family, much more than boys and men, which lays the foundations for feelings of insecurity and fear. These feelings end up controlling and restricting women in their social and economic activities. For these reasons and because feelings of insecurity are highest in cities, women’s perceptions and
points of view need to be incorporated into city planning and management to ensure also women can fully enjoy their rights, benefit from urban opportunities, and contribute to overall community safety.

The Key Findings
The results of the violence against women and victimisation surveys show that one in every four women in Nairobi suffer from either economic, physical or emotional gender-based abuse. Three in every five victims of violence against women suffer from physical abuse. Another three out of every five experience emotional abuse. More than half of women victims of gender-based violence sustain economic abuse and one in every three suffer sexual abuse. More than three-quarters of abused women suffer from multiple forms of abuse.

Half of all economically abused women are victims of non-payment of family maintenance by the (ex-) husband. One in every four economically abused women are forced to hand over their money, as well as the benefits and access to it, to their partner or family member. Nearly three in every four economically abused women suffer the abuse frequently. Four in every five physically abused women are being battered or hit with an object by their (ex-) partner often whilst children are watching and nearly half of them experience this abuse frequently. Two in every five emotionally abused women are insulted and humiliated by their husband or other family members, which most of the times occurs in the presence of children. Furthermore, the physical and social movements of one in every seven emotionally abused women are being limited by their partners. Two-thirds of emotionally abused women experience the abuse on an ongoing basis.

One in every four women have been sexually harassed during the last twelve months, and one in every five were
sexually harassed at their place of work or study. **One in every seven women in Nairobi experience sexual abuse.** Three out of every five sexual abuse and harassment cases involve rape. **One out of every four rape cases are gang rapes,** which is twice as often as in metropolitan areas in South Africa. For one in every five victims of sexual abuse the abuse takes place on an ongoing basis. One out of every four sexually abused women face unwanted pregnancies as a result. **One in every twelve survivors of sexual abuse contract HIV/AIDS.** Survivors of sexual abuse during childhood experience multiple forms of abuse throughout their later lives.

The majority of victims of violence against women believe what was done to them is a crime. However, two in every three victims of economic, physical and emotional abuse and one in every three sexual abuse victims still have regular contact or live with the abusers.

**Violence against women occurs in all constituencies and amongst all socio-economic groups in Nairobi.** However, police reporting is very low. The police are the least-likely institution abused women will turn to. Especially, victims of economic and emotional abuse do not report the abuse to the police. Only 7% of physical abuse victims and 6% of sexual abuse victims report the incident. In addition to the low rate of reporting, it is unfortunate that **only 12% of reported cases result in actual arrest.** Three out of every four victims of economic, physical and emotional abuse told somebody about the abuse, compared to half of the survivors of sexual abuse. Three-quarters of abused women turn to informal support services provided by their family and friends. The main reasons for abused women not to tell anyone are complacency, as “women are abused anyway”, and shame.
The vast majority of abusers are men and known to the victims. Three out of every four economic, physical as well as emotional abusers and one in every three sexual abusers are (ex-) partners. Alcohol and drugs abuse contribute to violence against women. **Two in every five abusers are under the influence of alcohol, whilst half of the physical abusers take alcohol before battering their victim. One in every ten abusers, whilst two in every five sexual abusers are under the influence of drugs.** Economic hardships do not seem to cause violence against women as the majority of abusers are employed. Most abusers commit the offence on their own (95%), but involvement of multiple abusers is most likely in sexual abuse cases (one in every four).

The city centre is perceived as the most insecure area in Nairobi. **Abused women consider their home less safe than their residential area**, which indicates that most abuse takes place in the home. There are no differences in perceptions of insecurity between victims of different forms of abuse or from different constituencies.

**If No Action Is Taken…**

If no action is taken, one in four women will be a victim of gender-based violence in Nairobi during the following year, of which 60% will be a victim of physical abuse, another 60% will suffer from emotional abuse and a further 50% will experience economic abuse. Furthermore, one in four women will be sexually harassed and at least one in ten women will be sexually abused.
Ways Forward
The victimisation survey and the violence against women survey show that many women in Nairobi suffer from serious gender-based abuse, which are not recognised as crimes and human rights violations neither by society nor by the state, and which are mainly committed at home by their partners and family members thus exposing many children to abuse and violence which perpetuates the cycle of violence and abuse of women in Nairobi. Concerning possible ways to change this situation, many abused women have lost confidence in society, the Government of Kenya and in themselves. Two in every five abused women believe there is nothing they can do to make Nairobi safer. This exemplifies the complexity and seriousness of the problem. Therefore, discussions are required involving the main stakeholders, national, provincial and local government, the police and criminal justice, civil society, and women, men and children, to discuss the problem of violence against women and propose strategies and action plans that are feasible in a Kenyan context. These discussions will take place in consultations at constituency level, which are planned for 2002.

This survey report aims to inform, guide and advise the formulation and implementation of such crime prevention strategies for the City of Nairobi.
2. Introduction

2.1 Definitions and International Declarations on Violence Against Women

Violence against women and girls continues to be a global epidemic that kills, tortures and maims. It is present in every society and cuts across culture, class, education, income, ethnicity and age.\(^1\) Violence against women is an obstacle to the achievement of equality, development and peace. It constitutes a violation of the rights and fundamental freedoms of women and impairs or nullifies their enjoyment of those rights and freedoms. Violence against women is a crucial social mechanism by which women are forced into a subordinate position compared with men.\(^2\) Traditional attitudes by which women are regarded as subordinate to men or as having stereotyped roles perpetuate widespread practices involving violence or coercion, such as abuse, forced marriage and female genital mutilation. Such practices and prejudices justify violence against women as a form of protection or control of women. Subordination of women contributes to their low level of political participation as well as to their lower level of education and employment opportunities.\(^3\)

The United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women (December 1993) defines violence against

---

\(^1\) “Domestic Violence Against Women and Girls”, Innocenti Digest No.6 June 2000, UNICEF

\(^2\) “Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women”, General Assembly resolution 48/104 of 20 December 1993

\(^3\) Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), General Recommendation 19, A/47/38, 1992
women as “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 deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life.”

The Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women within the Commission on Human Rights of the Economic and Social Council mentions that violence against women includes “all violations of the human rights of women in situations of armed conflict, and in particular, murder, systematic rape, sexual slavery and forced pregnancy, as well as all forms of sexual harassment, exploitation and trafficking in women, the (elimination of) gender bias in the administration of justice and the (eradication of the) harmful effects of certain traditional or customary practices, cultural prejudice and religious extremism”. The Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women (1993) understands this type of violence to at least encompass “Physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring in the family as well as in the general community and where perpetrated or condoned by the State, including rape, sexual abuse, sexual harassment, incest, marital rape, dowry-related violence, female genital mutilation, other harmful traditional practices, exploitation, intimidation, trafficking in women and forced prostitution”.

The scope of this study specified four forms of abuse, which are based on the above definitions: economic abuse, physical abuse, emotional abuse and sexual abuse.

---

4 Gender-based violence refers to all forms of abuse and violence used by men against women as well as those used by women against men for gender-based reasons. Violence against women is one type of gender-based violence.

5 Preliminary report of the Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women, E/CN.4/1995/42 (Brackets by the author)
Definitions of violence against women used in the survey

- **Economic abuse** involves any coercive act or limitation placed on an individual that has adverse economic implications on the woman and/or her dependants. Such acts include denial of food and basic needs, controlling her access to employment, forcing her to hand over her money and/or properties.

- **Physical abuse** refers to any deliberate physical assault on an individual’s body that harms the recipient in any way. Such acts include beating, kicking, slapping, hitting, burning, strangling, etc.

- **Emotional abuse** involves any act of psychological abuse that harms an individual’s integrity, freedom of expression and well-being. Such acts include limitation of her movements, withholding affection in an intimate relationship, constant humiliation, etc.

- **Sexual abuse** implies any unwanted physical or verbal invasion of an individual’s body that is sexual in nature. Such acts include coerced touching and kissing, rape, incest, forced oral sex, forced prostitution, forced (watching of) pornography, etc.

Civic, political, economic, social, cultural, human, children’s and women’s rights are recognised as the principles of fundamental rights and freedoms of every human being in the international human rights instruments, such as the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR, 1966), the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR, 1966), the Convention on the

---

6 “Violence Against Women in Metropolitan South Africa”, Sandra Bollen, Lillian Artz, Lisa Vetten, Antoinette Louw, ISS Monograph Series No. 41, September 1999, pp.9
Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW, 1979), the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR, 1984), and the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC, 1989). In the case of violence against women, Governments that have ratified these treaties, oblige themselves to not only protect women and girls from crimes of violence and abuse, but also to investigate violations when they occur and to bring perpetrators to justice. The participating governments are obliged to report on the status of their implementation to Committees that have been formed to assist in and assess the implementation of the conventions and treaties.

2.1.1 The Status of International Declarations in Kenya


---

8 "Domestic Violence Against Women and Girls", Innocenti Digest No.6, June 2000, UNICEF
9 To “accede” means that the respective government entered the treaty at a later stage.
To “ratify” means that parliament approved the signing of the treaty by its government’s delegation during the convention itself.
Government of Kenya stated that “the legal definition of discrimination in Kenya’s legislation does not cover all aspects of discrimination as meant by the Convention”. Kenya’s Constitution still allows for discrimination in personal law matters of adoption, marriage, divorce, burial and inheritance. Furthermore, the Kenyan Constitution does not prohibit gender-based discrimination in customary laws. In addition, the Committee stated that “customary practices, lack of awareness on legal rights, lack of capacity building opportunities, stereotyped roles and poverty still pose major deterrence on women in Kenya in attaining their full development and fundamental rights”. So far, Kenya has not incorporated into domestic law any international or regional human rights instruments that it has ratified.

The “Bill of Rights” in Kenya’s Constitution includes most basic human rights, but it also allows for these rights to be curtailed or ignored by the government in a wide range of circumstances. Section 84 of the Constitution of Kenya provides for redress before the High Court for violation of any of its provisions. However, the High Court has decided that it has no jurisdiction to enforce the human rights provisions in Chapter V of the Constitution.

To file complaints against abusers, victims are required to obtain a P3 Form (medical report) that needs to be filled by a doctor. However, often P3 Forms are not available at Police Stations nor anywhere else, or the police demand victims to pay for the P3 Form. The Kenyan Police do not have special

---

10 “Rights & Reality: Are women’s equal rights to land, housing and property implemented in East Africa?”, UN-HABITAT, M. Benschop, draft report, 2002
departments dealing with women abuse, nor does the curriculum of training for police officers include teachings and guidelines on what gender-based violence is or on how to deal with its victims and perpetrators.

Since December 2000, Kenya has been implementing a Family Court pilot project. The Family Court is located within the High Court and deals with cases of succession and inheritance, divorce, and children’s cases (such as custody). The Family Court has three full-time judges. This initiative has not been evaluated as yet.

Furthermore, a number of Bills are awaiting discussion in and approval of Parliament: the Domestic Violence (Family Protection) Bill (2001) and the Criminal Law Amendment Bill (2000). The Domestic Violence Bill seeks to allow courts to intervene in cases of domestic violence “and to provide for the grant, enforcement and variation of court orders for protection from such violence.” The Bill would for the first time recognise sexual and psychological as well as physical violence.\(^{14}\) The Criminal Law Amendment Bill aims to harmonise punishments for rape, incest and defilement and recommends a minimum punishment.\(^{15}\) Furthermore, the Equality Bill and the Affirmative Action Bill, which aim to eliminate discrimination and improve representation of marginalised groups respectively have been published in 2000. Unfortunately, these Bills are still pending in Parliament.

Finally, it should be mentioned that Kenya’s cultural practices, such as dowry, wife inheritance, female genital mutilation and discriminatory land and property rights, have internationally been recognised as violations of women’s rights that hamper women’s and national development.

\(^{15}\) FIDA Kenya, Federation of Women Lawyers, Nairobi, Kenya
2.2 International Statistics on Violence Against Women

Many studies and surveys have been conducted around the world assessing the extent and characteristics of violence against women. The table below presents a selection of key findings from internationally recognised research.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Global Statistics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Population-based quantitative studies in 40 countries indicate that 20 to 50 percent of women are victims of physical violence by their (ex-) partners and that 50 to 60 percent of these women are also sexually abused by the same men\textsuperscript{16};</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Perpetrators of violence against women are almost exclusively men\textsuperscript{17};</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Women are at greatest risk of violence from men they know\textsuperscript{18};</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Violence against women by partners cuts across socio-economic class, religious and ethnic lines\textsuperscript{19};</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• An international average of 10 to 15 percent of women report being forced to have sex with their intimate partner\textsuperscript{20};</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• 40 to 60 percent of known sexual assaults within the family are committed against girls aged 15 years and younger, regardless of region or culture\textsuperscript{21};</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• An estimated 60 million women are missing from the world population statistics due to sex-selective abortion, female infanticide and neglect of girl-children (systematic differential access to food and medical care)\textsuperscript{22};</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Traditional and cultural practices affect the health and lives of women and continue under the guise of cultural and social conformism and religious beliefs\textsuperscript{23};</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• 130 million women worldwide have suffered from female genital mutilation and each year an extra 2 million girls undergo this practice\textsuperscript{24};</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• In India, more than 5,000 women are killed every year by their husbands if dowry demands are not met\textsuperscript{25};</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• 50 countries allow marriage at 16 years or below with parental consent\textsuperscript{26};</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{16} WHO Consultation on Violence Against Women, 5-7 February 1996, Geneva, Switzerland
\textsuperscript{17} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{18} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{19} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{20} Heise, 1994
\textsuperscript{22} “Domestic Violence Against Women and Girls”, Innocenti Digest No.6, June 2000, UNICEF
\textsuperscript{23} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{24} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{25} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{26} Ibid.
National Statistics\(^7\)

- Canada: 29% of women (a nationally representative sample of 12,300 women) reported being physically assaulted by a current or former partner;
- Japan: 59% of 796 women surveyed in 1993 reported being physically abused by their partner;
- United States: 28% of women (a nationally representative sample of women) reported at least one episode of physical violence by their partner;
- Switzerland: 20% of 1,500 women reported being physically assaulted according to a 1997 survey;
- India: Up to 45% of married men acknowledged physically abusing their wives, according to a 1996 survey of 6,902 men in the state of Uttar Pradesh;
- Korea: 38% of wives reported being physically abused by their spouse, based on a survey of a random sample of women;
- Israel: 32% of women reported at least one episode of physical abuse by their partner and 30% report sexual coercion by their husbands, according to a 1997 survey of 1,826 women;
- Uganda: 41% of women reported being beaten or physically harmed by a partner and 41% of men reported beating their partner (representative sample of women and their partners in two districts);
- Chile: 26% of women (representative sample of women from Santiago) reported at least one episode of violence by a partner;
- Nicaragua: 52% of women (representative sample of women from Leon) reported being physically abused by a partner at least once;
- Russia: 25% of girls (and 11% of boys) reported unwanted sexual contact, according to a survey of 174 boys and 172 girls aged 14 to 17;
- Tajikistan: 23% of 550 women aged 18 to 40 reported physical abuse;

\(^7\)Ibid.
2.3 Urban Safety and Women’s Safety

Feelings of insecurity and fear of crime and violence are highest in large cities. However, men and women experience their urban environment differently and have differing needs regarding urban services, management and design.

The fear of crime experienced by women is a result of a series of cultural, social and political causes. It is deeply rooted in the inequality that exists between men and women in our patriarchal societies. Fear can be defined as an emotional response to a perceived risk of being victimised. All research on fear indicates that it is an emotion felt more strongly by women than men. Fear of violence increases when perceptions of one’s vulnerability and helplessness are higher.

That women experience the fear of violence more strongly than men is explained in the literature, almost without exception, by women’s exposure to sex crimes, ranging from sexual harassment to rape and sex murder. Girls and women experience the supplementary problem of sexual harassment in the public sphere, which puts their sexual integrity at stake. But above all, women and girls experience sexual and other forms of abuse within the family, much more than men, which lays the foundations for feelings of insecurity and cautious conduct. These feelings of fear and insecurity end up controlling and restricting women in their social and economic activities. It limits their freedom and fundamental rights.

30 “Secu-Cities Women”, European Forum on Urban Safety, 1999
31 “Just boys doing business”, Tim Newburn, Elisabeth Stanko, 1994
Traditionally, criminology concentrated on violence that occurs in the public sphere, because street violence is considered “real” violence. Domestic violence and violence against women, which mainly occur in the domestic sphere, have only recently received more recognition. Criminological analyses have thus ignored the link between safety in the public space and safety in private places, which makes it impossible to understand why men appear more frequently in criminal statistics while women have a greater feeling of insecurity, whatever their social status, age or origin.\textsuperscript{33}

Incorporating women’s point of view in city design is necessary to ensure that also women can fully benefit from urban opportunities and enjoy their freedom and human rights. Furthermore, women’s perceptions are vital because as a result of their higher levels of fear they are generally more aware of those aspects of the built environment that can offer opportunities for crime and criminals and contribute to feelings of insecurity. For this reason, utilising women’s perceptions and experiences in urban design and planning will enhance overall community safety.

2.4 Causes and Consequences of Violence Against Women

There is no one single factor to account for violence perpetrated against women. Many inter-related, complex and institutionalised cultural and social factors make women vulnerable to violence and abuse. Below an overview is provided of the main cultural, economic, legal and political factors that contribute to violence against women.

\textsuperscript{33}“Secu-Cities Women”, European Forum on Urban Safety, 1999
Causes of Violence Against Women

Cultural
- Gender specific socialisation
- Cultural definitions of appropriate sex roles
- Belief in the inherent superiority of males
- Values that give men proprietary rights over women and girls
- Notion of the family as the private sphere beyond state but under male control
- Customs of marriage (dowry, wife inheritance)
- Acceptance of violence as a means to resolve conflict
- Fear of and control over female sexuality
- Changing roles of men and women as a result of the urbanization process: adverse effects of women’s empowerment in male-dominated societies.

Economic
- Women’s economic dependence on men
- Limited access to cash and credit
- Discriminatory laws and practices regarding inheritance and property rights
- Limited access to employment
- Limited access to education

Legal
- Lesser legal status of women either by written law and/or by practice
- Laws regarding divorce, child custody, maintenance and inheritance
- Legal definitions of rape and domestic abuse
- Low levels of legal literacy of women
-Insensitive treatment of women and girls by police and judiciary

Political
- Under-representation of women in power, politics, the media and in the legal and medical professions
- Violence against women not taken seriously
- Risk of challenge to status quo/religious laws
- Limited organisation of women as a political force
- Limited participation of women in organised political system

Physical
- Urban planning and design are based on male norms and needs, neglecting the higher vulnerability and fear of crime and violence as well as the differing urban needs of women and as such contributing to higher risks and fears amongst women.

---

34 “Domestic Violence Against Women and Girls”, Innocenti Digest No.6, June 2000, UNICEF
The consequences of violence against women are felt at the individual and family levels, at the city and national levels, in the medical sphere and in the political, the social as well as the economic spheres. The box below highlights the main consequences of women abuse.

### Consequences of Violence Against Women

**Denial of fundamental rights**

Women abuse and violence against women prevent women and girls from exercising and enjoying their fundamental rights and freedoms, which have been recognised under the international treaties mentioned in paragraph 2.1. As such, their quality of life is affected politically, economically, socially, physically and emotionally.

**Human development goals undermined**

The Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women (1993) acknowledges that “violence against women is an obstacle to the achievement of equality, development and peace”. As a result of women abuse, “women’s potentials remain unrealised and energies that could be directed towards the amelioration of society are curtailed…The consequence of tolerating violence in the first instance is to perpetuate a cycle of violence in the family and in society. Violence against women prevents women as well as society from realising their full potential.” By hampering the full involvement and participation of women, countries are eroding the human capital of half their populations. Furthermore, the data on the social, economic and health costs of violence leave no doubt that violence against women undermines progress towards human and economic development.

---


36 “Domestic Violence Against Women and Girls”, Innocenti Digest No.6, June 2000, UNICEF
Health impairments
Violence against women causes physical, emotional and psychological consequences, such as physical injuries, unwanted pregnancies, STD’s, HIV/AIDS, drug and alcohol abuse, fear, anxiety, low self-esteem, sexual dysfunction, depression, suicide etc. In the US, 37% of all women who sought medical care in hospital emergency rooms for violence-related injuries were injured by their (ex-) partner.\(^\text{37}\)

Impact on children
Children who witness or experience violence or abuse exhibit health and behaviour problems and often have difficulties in school. Furthermore, children’s exposure to violence and abuse can result in internalising violence as a form of conflict resolution. Exposed girls become more likely to accept violence as the norm in marriage. Children from violent homes are more likely to resort to violent behaviour both inside and outside the home as adults.\(^\text{38}\) A Canadian study shows that males coming from homes where there is spousal violence are 1000% more likely to beat their own wives than those who come from families where there is no such abuse.\(^\text{39}\) Childhood abuse and neglect increase the odds of future delinquency and adult criminality overall by 29%. Specifically, being abused or neglected as a child increases the likelihood of arrest as a juvenile by 59%, as an adult by 28%, and for a violent crime by 30%.\(^\text{40}\)

\(^{37}\) Ibid.

\(^{38}\) Ibid.


Socio-economic costs
In Canada, the state spends over US$630 million annually on services, including police, criminal justice, counselling and training. For the United States such cost estimates range between US$5 and 10 billion US$ annually. These studies did not however address the human costs of violence. The socio-economic costs of violence against women can be categorised as follows:

1. **Direct costs**, that take into account expenditures on counselling, medical treatment, police services, criminal justice, shelters and social services;
2. **Non-monetary costs**, by way of increased morbidity through homicide, suicide, HIV/AIDS;
3. **Economic multiplier effects**, through decreased female labour participation and reduced productivity, and through effects on the future capacity of children. In the US, 30% of abused women lost their jobs as a direct result of the abuse;
4. **Social multiplier effects**, that include the inter-generational impact of violence on children, erosion of social capital, reduced quality of life and reduced participation in democratic processes.

2.5 Perceptions of Violence Against Women
Violence against women and gender-based violence cut across all cultures, religions, social-economic classes and races. Violence against women is acknowledged to be the result of a power imbalance between women and men. Furthermore, it has been acknowledged that this violence also sustains that imbalance. Therefore, all human societies have characteristics

---

41 “Domestic Violence Against Women and Girls”, Innocenti Digest No.6, June 2000, UNICEF
in common in relation to the positions and roles they ascribe to women. Most human societies are patriarchal and male-centered, which implies that these societies traditionally mainly cater for the rights of men. The Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women (1993) recognises that “violence against women is a manifestation of historically unequal power relations between men and women, which have led to domination over and discrimination against women by men, and to the prevention of the full advancement of women, and that violence against women is one of the crucial social mechanisms by which women are forced into a subordinate position compared with men”. Violations of women’s rights are often sanctioned by cultural practices and traditional customs. The root causes of violence against women are embedded in institutionalised social and cultural factors, which keep women vulnerable to violence. Cultural ideologies, both in industrialised and developing countries, often provide legitimacy for violence directed against women. For instance, the physical punishment of women has been sanctioned under the notion of entitlement and ownership of women and girls. Men’s control over family wealth places decision-making authority in their hands, leading to male dominance and proprietary rights over women and girls. Furthermore, the concept of ownership legitimises control over women’s sexuality, which in many law codes is deemed essential to ensure patrilineal inheritance. The notions of male superiority and suppression of women are perpetuated by the role models of male dominance and (violence against) subordinated women, which are omni-present in the environments in which children grow up. As such, socially and culturally constructed perceptions lead to the acceptance and tolerance of violence against women amongst men as well as amongst women.

44 “Domestic Violence Against Women and Girls”, Innocenti Digest No.6, June 2000, UNICEF
To ensure the definitions used in this survey comply with the understanding and perceptions of the respondents, they were asked to define women abuse and to provide examples of ways in which women can be abused. These definitions are shown in the table below. Violence against women is clearly understood as human rights violations against a woman’s physical, economic, emotional and sexual integrity.

### Understanding of the respondents (N = 195)

**What is women abuse?**
- Emotional abuse (insults, humiliation, lack of respect) (102 women)
- Anything done to a woman against her will (use of force against women) (95 women)
- Violation of human and women’s rights (58 women)
- Physical abuse (42 women)
- Sexual abuse (24 women)

**What types of women abuse do you know?**
- Physical abuse (139 women)
- Emotional abuse (infidelity, lack of respect) (116 women)
- Rape and sexual abuse (114 women)
- Violation of human and women’s rights (32 women)
- Exploitation (24 women)
3. The Violence Against Women Snapshot Survey

3.1 Justification and Needs Assessment

A city wide victimisation survey was undertaken in Nairobi between April and July 2001. The victimisation survey provides for an in-depth analysis of the priority categories of crime in Nairobi. The survey determines the extent of these crimes in the city, identifies the populations most at risk, clarifies the nature of crimes, measures public perceptions of crime, safety and service delivery, and identifies possible ways forward. The Victimisation Survey is the best available tool for collecting information on crime through first-hand experiences. The results of the victimisation survey indicated that violence against women is perceived as a serious problem by many Nairobians. Therefore, the team of experts conducting the victimisation survey decided to conduct a separate qualitative survey on violence against women. The results of the surveys were presented and discussed during a Restitution Workshop held on 27 November 2001 at the Charter Hall in the Nairobi City Hall.

This chapter explains the findings of the Victimisation Survey that justified the Violence Against Women Survey. Furthermore, this chapter explains the methodology used for the Violence Against Women Survey and compares the sample with the sample of the Victimisation Survey to assess the representativeness of the former.

3.1.1 The Findings of the Nairobi Victimisation Survey

The victim survey consisted of a street scan, a household survey and a commercial survey. During the street scan nearly 8,500
residents of Nairobi were interviewed amongst whom were 1,210 women willing to answer questions regarding women abuse and violence against women. This survey involved a representative sample, arrived at through an at random selection, that corresponded with the Census data for Nairobi.

Main Findings of the Victimisation Survey:

- 25% of the respondents claim to have been emotionally, economically or physically abused during the past twelve months;
- Women either living alone or with family are more likely to be physically, economically or emotionally abused (27% and 30% were victimised) than those residing only with one partner (of whom only 17% were victimised);
- Students are least likely to be a victim of physical, economic or emotional abuse (only 5% are victimised compared to an average of 30% amongst employed and unemployed women);
- 23% of the respondents claim that at least on one occasion during the last twelve months they have been sexually harassed;
- Women living alone are found to be targets of sexual harassment to a much larger degree (41% are victimised) than those living with a partner (19% victimised) or family (20% victimised);
- 14% of the respondents assert that they have been sexually abused during the past twelve months;
- Women living alone or with family are more likely to be victims of sexual abuse (12% and 7% are victimised respectively) than those living with a partner (2%);
- 17% of the respondents have experienced sexual harassment at their place of work or study during the past one year;
- Sexual harassment is highest amongst working women and students.

---

1 It is important to highlight that the street scan of the victimisation survey involved a completely different sample and survey from the Violence Against Women Survey.
2 Sexual harassment is defined as “unwelcome sexually determined behaviour, such as physical contact and advances and sexually coloured remarks, whether by words or actions” (CEDAW, general recommendation 19, A/47/38)
3 Sexual abuse involves forced penetration, rape, sodomisation, incest and bestiality
3.2 Study Design

3.2.1 Objectives
The Violence Against Women survey is designed to shed light on a hidden problem and fill in the information gaps that persist on this subject. Violence against women is deeply rooted in
social, cultural and traditional practices and therefore often remains hidden. As a result, knowledge about the frequency, the types and extent of such violence is lacking. Victimisation surveys and gender-violence research have also yielded under- estimations and inaccurate results for a variety of reasons:

1. Women who have been victims of gender-based violence rarely feel in a position to discuss this violation in public or with a stranger. Embarrassment, self-blame, fear of not being believed, fear of retaliation, trauma of official action, secondary victimisation by state officials, are other reasons similar to those that make victims reluctant to report to the police as well.

2. Insensitivity of police and government officials regarding gender-based violence, especially regarding domestic violence.

3. The legal framework is often too narrow. Definitions used, within the laws and within government and police systems, effectively exclude a number of acts that women do experience as abuse.

Therefore, the specific objectives of this violence against women survey are to find out:

● from which types of abuse women in Nairobi suffer;
● the socio-economic characteristics of both the victims and the perpetrators;
● the impacts of abuse on the victims;
● the types of services and assistance that victims turn to;
● their suggestions to improve these services;
● their suggestions for government action;
● their suggestions about what they can do themselves to make Nairobi a safer place.
3.2.2 Methodology
The aim of the survey was not to establish what percentage of women in Nairobi suffer from gender-based abuse and violence, but rather to identify the types of violence and abuse women in Nairobi suffer from, as well as the characteristics of the abusers and of the victims, and victim’s suggestions regarding support services, the police, the justice system, government authorities, etc. Therefore, the survey only interviewed women who have been and/or still are victims of gender-based violence. The resulting information allows governments, the police, the justice system and civil society to design close-focused strategies and interventions to tackle women’s abuse, on a qualitatively well-informed basis.

In order to reach its objectives, this survey has attempted to alleviate many of the methodological problems mentioned in paragraph 3.2.1. Firstly, the definitions used move beyond legal understandings. The questionnaire was based on a questionnaire used in similar surveys in South Africa and Tanzania. The questionnaire developed in South Africa was based on inputs from 1,000 women who informed a team of experts that they not only suffer from physical and sexual abuse but that their experiences of emotional and economic abuse affect them just as seriously. Based on first-hand advice and experience the questionnaire for Nairobi therefore included all four types of abuse. Such inclusive in-depth qualitative surveys capturing economic, physical, emotional as well as sexual abuse have so far only been conducted in South Africa, Tanzania and Kenya. With a team of experts on gender issues in Kenya, non-governmental organisations working on these

---

4 As explained under paragraph 3.1, women don’t easily talk to strangers about the abuses they have suffered from. For this reason, a quantitative assessment of this problem is very difficult. It is known from studies conducted around the world that many women live in abusive environments. However, information on the characteristics of the abuse, the victims and the perpetrators is lacking. This survey aims to fill in these gaps.

5 UN-HABITAT is preparing a publication to compare these three surveys.
issues and the field team members, the questionnaire was adapted to the Kenyan context to ensure comprehensiveness and to ensure the questions raised captured the reality in which women in Nairobi live, as well as the reality of the violence they are exposed to. Secondly, the interviews were conducted in a sensitive manner that allowed the women to feel comfortable and talk freely. The interviewers were women and received training and counselling prior to the field work to ensure their understanding of the issues involved and to ensure they were able to assist the victims with basic counselling, emotional support and practical advise. To ensure all questionnaires were filled completely and exhaustively, the field team visited each respondent at least twice. This also enabled the respondents to feel at ease and comfortable while sharing their experiences with the interviewers. The victims were offered counselling afterwards when they felt the need. Thirdly, information was collected on all forms of abuse recognised through surveys conducted around the world: economic, physical, emotional and sexual abuse. Finally, women were asked to shed light on how to improve government action, the criminal justice system, service delivery etc.

3.2.3 Sampling
To arrive at a sample of women who have been victims of abuse, the networks of women’s non-governmental organisations were utilised to reach relevant victims. In turn, these victims were asked to refer the interviewers to other (possibly) victimised women. This method is called the snow-balling technique. As such, the sample includes both abused women who do and those who do not report. This technique does not ensure representativeness of the sample per se, but as the demographics of the sample will illustrate, the sample does cover all socio-economic groups and all areas in Nairobi. The survey covers the responses and experiences of 195 abused women in Nairobi. The number was considered a maximum for such an inclusive qualitative survey.
3.3 Demographics of the Samples

3.3.1 The Violence Against Women Sample
The sample consisted of 195 survivors of violence against women from all over Nairobi.

Figure 3.2 Geographic distribution of the Sample

The ages of the respondents ranged from 18 to 76 years. More than half (55%) of the respondents were younger than or equal to 30 years. The mean\(^6\) age of the sample was 32 years.

Figure 3.3 Age representation of sample

\(^{6}\) The mean is the average of a set of quantities. It is a statistically more accurate way to calculate the average, because it corrects it according to the number of times each variable appears in the data.
Nearly half of the respondents (45%) were married at the time of the interview. Nearly a quarter (22%) were single. Nearly one-third of the respondents (30%) had completed secondary education, 14% had not finished secondary education, 19% had completed primary education, while 12%
had dropped out of primary school. Nearly 18% had received post high school education.

More than 90% of the respondents lived with their families (i.e. relatives and/or husband including children). Only 5% lived alone and 2% lived with their partner.

One quarter of the respondents were unemployed at the time of the interview. One-fifth (20%) were formally employed. Nearly one-third (31%) were informally employed. One quarter

![Figure 3.7 Occupation](image-url)
of the respondents depended on family support as they were either housewives (17%) or students (5%).
Almost half of the respondents (45%) did not enjoy any monthly income at the time of the interview. One fifth (20%) earned less than 5,000 Kenyan Shillings monthly and 14% earned more than 5,000 but less than 10,000 Kenyan Shillings a month.

These demographics illustrate that any woman can be or become a victim of violence or abuse in Nairobi. The demographics of the victims interviewed cut across all income
groups, education levels, ages, residential areas and marital status.

3.3.2 The Victim Survey Sample

The sample consisted of 1,210 women who were randomly selected on the streets of Nairobi. They were asked questions on experiences of physical, emotional, economic and sexual abuse.

The respondents were young. The mean age was 30 years and nearly two-thirds were younger than 30 years. The ages ranged from 16 to 88 years old. As such, in terms of age, the sample used in the violence against women survey corresponds with the representative sample of the victim survey.

**Figure 3.9 Age brackets of the samples**
The vast majority of the respondents were living with their family (80%). Fifteen percent lived alone and 5% were living with a partner. Also regarding living status, the sample used in the violence against women survey matches the victim survey sample, as is shown by the graph below.

The majority of respondents in the victim survey were employed (59%) at the time of the interview, of which two-thirds were in the informal sector. Almost one-fifth were unemployed (19%) and 22% depended on family support as students (8%) or housewives (12%). The graph below shows that both samples match regarding the types of occupations of the respondents.
As the above displayed comparisons indicate, the demographics of the violence against women survey sample correspond with the representative victim survey sample. As such, it can be concluded that violence against women occurs in all socio-economic strata of society in Nairobi.

3.4 Limitations of the Survey

The questionnaire used covered all types of abuse and was therefore very lengthy and qualitative, which created some difficulties in quality control and data coding. Furthermore, the topics addressed are sensitive. As a result, the interviewers had to visit the respondents twice to be able to finish the questionnaire. Sometimes, the respondents broke down and could not continue. In such cases, the interviewers made new arrangements with the respondent to finish the interview at a later stage, if she was still willing to continue. These circumstances resulted in some mistakes in the filling of the questionnaires. Therefore, quality control was essential during the process and also after the exercise had finished, the team sat together to make sure the questionnaires covered the responses correctly.

The questionnaire was based on a South African example, which was developed for a similar exercise. The questionnaire was adapted to the Kenyan context, but remained written in English. The interviews were however mainly conducted in Kiswahili, because the majority of respondents were more
comfortable expressing themselves in that language. Some Violence Against Women concepts appeared to be difficult to translate into Kiswahili without losing their meaning. The same team that adapted the questionnaire to the Kenyan context also agreed on a translation of the main concepts and expressions into Kiswahili. However, while conducting the interviews in Kiswahili and writing the answers in English, some misinterpretations might have taken place.

Furthermore, the respondents were asked to talk about very sensitive, personal and often even traumatising experiences. Although the interviewers were trained to deal with abused women, visited the women more than once and as such tried to ensure the respondents felt comfortable, some women might have decided to hide information or the truth from the survey for personal reasons.

Finally, the questions that inquired about the characteristics of the abuse and the abusers were supposed to only deal with one specific incident which the respondent experienced as the most serious abuse. Although the interviewers were urged to ensure that the respondents answer for that one specific incident, it might have occurred that the women mixed up some experiences in providing their answers.
4. The Types of Abuse

4.1 Definitions

This chapter highlights the characteristics of the types of abuse the respondents have experienced. Many respondents were not familiar with the terms economic, physical, emotional and sexual abuse. Therefore, the introductory questions aimed to assess whether or not the respondent has suffered that type of abuse. This was done using concrete examples of possible ways in which the abuse can manifest itself. For instance, it was asked if anyone ever forced her to hand over her money, to check victimisation of economic abuse. These questions were followed by a request to share the most serious incident of that form of abuse in a narration in order to focus the interview for the subsequent questions.

The respondents were asked to narrate the abuse of which they felt was the most serious incident. The definition of what is “serious” was left to the interpretation of the respondents in order to ensure they would discuss the abuse that affected them most so that the impacts and need for support services could be assessed.

The questions thereafter enquired about the circumstances, perpetrators and impacts of that specific most serious incident. For the majority of respondents, it was the first time to disclose an experience of abuse and for many women the narration of it overwhelmed their emotions. Therefore, many respondents were visited twice and many used the offer to go for counselling after the interview.
Main Findings:

- **77%** of the respondents suffered from **more than one form of abuse**;

- **60%** of the respondents suffered **physical abuse**;
  41% of the respondents sustained beatings from their husbands while the children are watching;

- **57%** suffered **emotional abuse**;
  23% of the respondents are insulted and humiliated by their husbands and family members in the presence of their children;

- **52%** suffered **economic abuse**;
  27% of the respondents sustained neglect of their family and/or the family upkeep by the husband;

- **34%** suffered **sexual abuse**;
  24% of the respondents experienced **rape**;

- The **most serious form of abuse** is considered to be sexual abuse followed by economic abuse and thirdly physical and emotional abuse.

- **All victims of sexual abuse** during childhood experienced multiple forms of abuse in their lives: they appeared to be more vulnerable.

- Economic abuse : **70%** suffer it frequently
- Emotional abuse : **64%** suffer it frequently
- Physical abuse : **47%** suffer it frequently
- Sexual abuse : **21%** suffer it frequency
Main Conclusions:

- Women in Nairobi suffer sexual harassment and abuse at home, on the streets, at work and in school, which makes them live in continuous fear.
- Men in Nairobi often do not consider women as equal human beings;
- Men in Nairobi can resort to alcohol abuse and violence when they fail to economically provide for the family;
- Men in Nairobi can show abusive tendencies when a woman earns a higher salary, has economic assets and is economically independent;
- Men in Nairobi can behave in an irresponsible manner when it comes to impregnating a woman, having children and raising and maintaining a family;
- Women in Nairobi do not properly implement family planning;
- Women in Nairobi often have low self-esteem;
- Women in Nairobi have limited awareness of their rights;
- Women in Nairobi do not act against abuse because of complacency (“women are beaten anyway”) and isolation (“there is no one to turn to for help”);
- Children in Nairobi grow up learning that women are lesser beings and abuse and violence against women is normal behaviour, which perpetuates the cycle of violence.¹

¹ A lot of research has been done on the effects of exposure to domestic violence during childhood. The main effects are: anxiety, low self-esteem, shyness, depression, suicide attempts, withdrawn, stress reactions, anger, sadness, self-blame, physical and health problems, school problems, social incompetence, low empathy, poor non-violent problem solving skills, acceptance, poor cognition, aggression, alcohol and drug use (in: “Family Violence across the Life span”, Ola W. Barnett, Cindy L. Miller-Perrin, Robin D. Perrin, 1997, pp. 141-142).
4.2 Economic Abuse

Economic abuse involves any coercive act or limitation placed on an individual that has adverse economic implications on the woman and/or her dependants.

The most common types of economic abuse from which the respondents in the survey claim to have suffered are listed in the table below. The table shows the five concrete examples of economic abuse to which the highest numbers of women replied they have been a victim.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Most common types of economic abuse</th>
<th>Percentage of the sample (N = 195)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prevented from knowing about or access to the family income</td>
<td>34.4%   (67 women)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband/father of her children refused to help with the family upkeep</td>
<td>31.3%   (61 women)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forced to be the sole breadwinner</td>
<td>28.2%   (55 women)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forced to hand over her money</td>
<td>27.2%   (53 women)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prevented from earning an income</td>
<td>26.2%   (51 women)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.2.1 Most Serious Economic Abuse

More than half of all respondents (52%) claim to have gone through a serious form of economic abuse: 101 of the 195 respondents narrated their serious economic abuse experience. The data that follows below and in the following chapters is based on the information provided by these victims of serious economic abuse. Therefore, the following percentages are based on a total of 101 women. More than half of these 101 women (52) who have suffered from a serious form of economic abuse relate the abuse to neglect of or refusal to contribute financially to family support and upkeep by the husband or father of her children. More than a quarter (25.7%) were forced to hand over their money as serious economic abuse. Thirteen women (12.9%) mentioned being prevented from earning an income and ten (9.9%) women mentioned being forced to work for less or without pay.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Most serious economic abuse</th>
<th>Percentage of the economic abuse victims (N=101)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Neglect of or denial to contribute to family upkeep by the husband</td>
<td>51% (52 women)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Her money taken by force</td>
<td>26% (26 women)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prevented from earning an income</td>
<td>13% (13 women)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work for less or without pay</td>
<td>10% (10 women)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (N = 101)</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
More than half of these victims (52%) were in the presence of other people at the time of the most serious economic abuse. Most often these involved children (in 58% of the cases), who were mostly too young to understand what was happening or started to cry (46% and 15%). Close to three-quarters of victims (69.3%) suffered this abuse frequently, but even more women (91.1%) claimed that the abuse took place over time. Only fifteen women (14.9%) suffered from serious economic abuse once.

Nearly two-thirds of the victims of serious economic abuse, also suffered serious physical abuse (64.4%). Another two-thirds also suffered serious emotional abuse and more than a quarter of the economic abuse victims also suffered sexual abuse (26.7%).

From the experiences narrated by the respondents it became clear that many men in Nairobi show irresponsible attitudes towards family maintenance. The husbands of more than half of the victims refuse to pay for the basic necessities of the family, such as education, food and rent. Besides the 26% of women who were forced to hand over their money, a further 5% of respondents had their property taken from them by force.

---

Case study 1
A 28-year-old woman is married to a man who abuses her economically and physically. To her the economic abuse is worse than the physical abuse. Her husband is a drunkard and uses their money to buy alcohol, which leaves her to manage the family alone. Because he does not pay the school fees on time, their children were sent home from school a number of times. As a result, she suffers from depression.

---

2 The children were too young to understand according to the respondents. However, research has shown that abused women tend to underestimate their children’s exposure (in: “Family Violence across the Life span”, Ola W. Barnett, Cindy L. Miller-Perrin, Robin D. Perrin, 1997, pp. 137).
4.3 Physical Abuse

Physical abuse refers to any deliberate physical assault on an individual’s body that harms the recipient in any way.

The most common types of physical abuse from which the respondents in the survey claim to have suffered are listed in the table below. The table shows the five concrete examples of physical abuse to which the highest numbers of women replied they have been a victim.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Most common types of physical abuse</th>
<th>Percentage of the sample (N = 195)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Slapping and hitting</td>
<td>55.4% (108 women)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kicking</td>
<td>44.6% (87 women)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punching</td>
<td>43.6% (85 women)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pushing and shoving</td>
<td>43.6% (85 women)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Throwing objects at you</td>
<td>41.5% (81 women)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.3.1 Most Serious Physical Abuse

Out of every ten respondents, six claim to have suffered from serious physical abuse (116 of the 195 interviewed women, which equals 60%). The data that follows below and in the following chapters is based on the information provided by these victims of serious physical abuse. Therefore, the following percentages are based on a total of 116 women. The vast majority of victims (68.1%) of serious physical abuse were beaten, punched or hit. Fifteen women (12.9%) were hit with an object, while ten women (8.5%) had an object thrown at them and ten other women (8.5%) were choked or strangled.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Most serious physical abuse</th>
<th>Percentage of the physical abuse victims (N=116)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beaten, punched, hit</td>
<td>68.1% (79 women)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hit with an object</td>
<td>12.9% (15 women)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Choked, strangled</td>
<td>8.5% (10 women)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thrown at with an object</td>
<td>8.5% (10 women)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total (N = 116)</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nearly three-quarters (71.6%) of the victims were in the presence of other people when the most serious physical abuse occurred, the majority of which (73.3%) were children. Most of the children were crying, were too young to understand what was happening or were afraid (40%, 22%, 15%, respectively). Two-thirds of the respondents (63.8%) suffered bodily harm due to the physical abuse: 30 women lost functions and 25 women needed to be hospitalised. Nearly half of the victims (46.6%) go through this abuse frequently and more than a quarter (27.6%) suffered from it once, though three-quarters claimed that the abuse occurred over time.

Nearly two-thirds of the victims of serious physical abuse also suffered serious emotional abuse (62.9%). More than half of the victims of serious physical abuse also suffered serious economic abuse (56.0%). A quarter of the victims of physical abuse also suffered sexual abuse (25.9%).
From the narrations of these women it is apparent that violence is a common practice in many homes in Nairobi. Many men in Nairobi beat their wives in front of the children, which teaches children at a very tender age that violence and women abuse are normal practice and as such the cycle of violence is perpetuated in Nairobi’s society.

**Case study 2**
A 40-year-old woman experiences frequent physical abuse from her husband who often comes home drunk and then starts beating her in front of their children and even when she is having visitors.

### 4.4 Emotional Abuse

*Emotional abuse involves any act of psychological abuse that harms an individual’s integrity, freedom of expression and well-being.*

The most common types of emotional abuse from which the respondents in the survey suffered are listed in the table below. The table shows the five concrete examples of emotional abuse to which the highest numbers of women replied they have been a victim.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Most common types of emotional abuse</th>
<th>Percentage of the sample (N = 195)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Threatened to be physically hurt</td>
<td>38.5% (75 women)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humiliated in front of others</td>
<td>36.4% (71 women)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prevented from communicating and socialising with others</td>
<td>32.3% (63 women)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Was denied help in time of need</td>
<td>32.3% (63 women)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Her movements outside the house were (being) limited/trailed</td>
<td>30.8% (60 women)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.4.1 The Most Serious Emotional Abuse
More than half of the respondents (111 of the 195 respondents, which equals 57%) claim to have suffered from a serious emotional abuse. The data that follows below and in the following chapters is based on the information provided by these victims of serious emotional abuse. Therefore, the following percentages are based on a total of 111 women. The narration of the emotional abuses suffered mainly involved humiliations and insults. The table below shows the most common types of serious emotional abuse.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Most serious emotional abuse</th>
<th>Percentage of the emotional abuse victims (N=111)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Humiliations, insults</td>
<td>40.5% (45 women)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limitations of her movements</td>
<td>13.5% (15 women)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threatened to be killed</td>
<td>9.9% (11 women)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neglected(^3)</td>
<td>9.9% (11 women)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (different types of mistreatment and threats)</td>
<td>26.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total (N = 111)</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At the time of the most serious emotional abuse, 66 women (59.5%) were in the presence of other people, mainly children (72%). According to the respondents, the children were either too young to understand what was happening or started crying.

\(^3\)Neglect here refers to personal neglect, in case the abuser refused to help the victim in time of need.
Two-thirds of the victims (64.0%) had to go through the emotional abuse frequently, although even more victims (77.5%) claimed that the abuse happened over time. Seventeen women (15.3%) experienced the emotional abuse only once.

Two-thirds of the victims of serious emotional abuse also suffered physical abuse (65.8%). More than half of the victims of emotional abuse also suffered serious economic abuse (58.6%). More than a quarter of the victims of emotional abuse also suffered serious sexual abuse (28.8%).

From the narrations on emotional abuse it follows that many women in Nairobi are insulted, neglected and humiliated by their husbands or other family members. Many men in Nairobi apparently feel the need, in dealing with their struggles in life, to suppress and humiliate women. This type of abuse often happens in front of children, which again teaches them that to be violent against women is acceptable.

**Case study 3**
A 36-year-old woman suffered frequent emotional abuse from her husband. She separated from him because she could not bear it any longer. Her husband used to bring other women to their house, even in her presence. One day he came home in the middle of the night with a woman. He ordered her to sleep on the floor, while he and his mistress took the matrimonial bed. She was forced to experience her husband’s infidelity “live”.

### 4.5 Sexual Abuse

*Sexual abuse implies any unwanted physical or verbal invasion of an individual’s body that is sexual in nature.*

The most common types of sexual abuse from which the respondents in the survey suffered are listed in the table below.
The table shows the five concrete examples of sexual abuse to which the highest numbers of women replied they have been a victim.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Most common types of sexual abuse</th>
<th>Percentage of the sample (N = 195)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Her body kissed or touched without her consent</td>
<td>24.1% (47 women)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attempted rape</td>
<td>23.6% (46 women)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rape</td>
<td>23.6% (46 women)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Her private parts touched with hands or mouth without her consent</td>
<td>14.9% (29 women)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forced to touch his private parts</td>
<td>14.4% (28 women)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.5.1 Most Serious Sexual Abuse
More than one-third of the respondents (66 of the 195 respondents, which equals 34%) claimed to have suffered from a serious sexual abuse. The data that follows below and in the following chapters is based on the information provided by these victims of serious sexual abuse. Therefore, the following percentages are based on a total of 66 women. The narration of the sexual abuses suffered mainly involved rape, in 53% of the cases. Thirteen women (20%) mentioned they were raped (or suffered an attempted rape) by more than one person in a single incident, thus implying a gang rape. The table below shows the most common types of serious sexual abuse.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Most serious sexual abuse</th>
<th>Percentage of the sexual abuse victims (N=66)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rape</td>
<td>53% (35 women)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gang rape</td>
<td>20% (13 women)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical sexual harassment</td>
<td>13.6% (9 women)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbal sexual harassment</td>
<td>6.1% (4 women)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>7.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (N = 66)</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nearly a quarter of the victims were in the presence of other people at the time of the most serious sexual abuse, who were mostly friends (38%), secondly children (31%) and thirdly colleagues and relatives. In case children were present, they were most often asleep when the abuse took place. The vast majority of the victims were alone during the abuse (75.8%). The majority of victims experienced the abuse once (64%, 42 women). However, close to a quarter of the victims (21%) experience sexual abuse frequently and close to half of the victims (48.5%) mention that the abuse took place over time. The main weapons used during the abuse are the penis (in 53 cases, 80%), fingers (in 19 cases, 29%), the mouth (in 9 cases, 14%), and a gun or knife was used in eleven cases (17%).

**Case study 4**
A 24-year-old woman made love to her boyfriend. Immediately after he had left the room a guy came in whom she did not know. He found her naked because she had no time to cover herself. He then raped her.
Women in Kenya risk sexual abuse and harassment any time and place: at home, at work, in school and out on the streets, whether a child, an adolescent or a grown woman. As a result, women in Kenya live in fear throughout their lives. Nairobi experiences exceptionally high rates of gang rapes: 20% of the sexual abuse cases involve multiple offenders compared to 13% in South African cities.4

4.5.2 Betterment Abuse in School and at Work
Fifteen respondents (8%) were asked for sexual favours by a teacher or lecturer when they were students. These betterment abuses involved sexual harassment and sexual relationships with the teacher in exchange for good marks and other favours. The victims were between 13 and 23 years old. Eleven respondents (6%) have experienced sexual harassment by their bosses. They were threatened to be sacked or not promoted if they would refuse sex. These women were aged between 20 and 37 years when it happened. These percentages are low when taking into account that a majority of the respondents said sexual harassment at work and in school are common. This could be explained by the fact that the definition of betterment abuse does not cover all forms of sexual harassment, but only those forms committed by a superior using extortion and blackmail.

4.5.3 Sexual Abuse During Childhood
Eleven respondents were sexually abused during childhood (5.6%). The perpetrators were known to the victim in two-thirds of the cases. In over a third (36%) of the cases the abuser was a family member. In more than a quarter (27%) of the cases the perpetrators were neighbours. All of these victims

Survivors Speak

narrated a serious sexual abuse as well. Three women mentioned circumcision as a form of sexual abuse during childhood. The victims of sexual abuse during childhood appear to be vulnerable to various and multiple forms of violence against women. According to the data, all these victims have suffered at least two types of abuse, almost half of these victims have experienced three different types of abuse, and 18% of the victims went through all four types of abuses.

**An interesting account:**
A 30-year-old woman tells:
“There are some Nairobi City Council askaris\(^5\) who ask for sexual favours from hawkers.\(^6\) In case the hawkers refuse, they arrest them and take them to the police cells. Here the askaris bring in street boys who rape the women and sodomise the men. Many hawkers therefore prefer to have sex with the NCC askaris than to sleep in the cells and encounter the street boys.”

### 4.6 The Most Serious Type of Abuse

The respondents who suffered multiple forms of abuse were asked to indicate which type of abuse was the worst experience according to them. These respondents clearly graded sexual abuse as the most serious type of abuse. The vast majority (61%) of those who also suffered from sexual abuse indicated

\(^5\) Askari = guard or watch man
\(^6\) Hawker = a person informally selling food and/or other household commodities on the streets
that to them that abuse was the worst. On the contrary less than half of the victims who also experienced the other forms of abuse graded those forms of abuse as the worst. The second most serious type of abuse was considered to be economic abuse, closely followed by emotional and physical abuse.

4.6.1 Victims of Multiple Forms of Abuse
More than three-quarters (77%) of the respondents suffered multiple forms of abuse. Two of every five respondents suffered from two types of abuse (37.9%). Almost a third of the respondents suffered from three types of abuse (31.3%), whilst 8.2% suffered from all four types of abuse. The victims of multiple forms of abuse had some characteristics in common. Compared to victims of one type of abuse, victims of multiple abuse were more often married and more economically independent. The graphs below show these characteristics.

Case study 5
A 47-year-old woman has suffered all four forms of abuse by her husband. Her husband wanted her to vacate the house, which she owns herself, so that he could sell it. She refused and ever since he is terrorising her and uses all possible means at his disposal to ensure his success. He has put a gun and cocaine in her house and ensured the police found out and arrested her. He forced her to swallow poison but he failed. He tried to strangle her with his hands. He has removed all furniture and household equipment from the house. He kicked out four of her teeth with his boots. He prevented her from earning an income by having her sacked from her job and by chasing away her tenants. He sodomised her by force. She has lost weight, is confused and depressed, has problems with her memory, and suffers from high blood pressure.
Figure 4.1 Marital status of victims of multiple forms of abuse

Figure 4.2 Economic status of victims of multiple forms of abuse
4.7 Comparisons

The main characteristics of the four types of abuse are shown in the graph below:

**Figure 4.3 Comparing the types of abuse**

In the majority of economic, physical and emotional abuse cases children are witnesses. Economic, physical and emotional abuses are most often experienced frequently. Sexual abuse mainly takes place once and when the abuser(s) and the victim are alone.
5. The Victims

The questions asked in this section enquired about the living status, economic status, marital status and age of the victims at the time the most serious abuse took place. The victims had no difficulties in answering these questions, although a few women could not exactly remember how old they were when it first happened. In such cases, the age used is an approximation.

Main Findings:

- Victims of economic abuse were in their late 20’s and mainly married;
- Victims of physical abuse were in their late 20’s, mainly married and unemployed;
- Victims of emotional abuse were also in their late 20’s, mainly married and unemployed;
- Victims of sexual abuse were in their early 20’s, mainly single and students or housewives;
- 77% of the victims suffered multiple forms of abuse;
- Economic and physical abuse were often accompanied by emotional abuse.

Furthermore:

- Sexual abuse of children mainly occurred in higher socio-economic groups: their levels of education were remarkably higher as well as their income levels;
- Women from all socio-economic groups can be victims of gender-based abuse, though: higher educated women were more often emotionally and sexually abused, and lower educated women were more often physically and economically abused.
- In all constituencies in Nairobi women suffer from the same types of abuse to the same extent.

Main conclusions:

- Young women are more vulnerable to women abuse;
- Although victims of violence against women come from all socio-economic groups, they are often economically weak or dependent.
5.1 Economic Abuse (N = 101)

Economic abuse involves any coercive act or limitation placed on an individual that has adverse economic implications on the woman and/or her dependants.

The victims of economic abuse were aged between 8 and 75 years at the time the abuse took place. The mean age is calculated at 28 years, which is four years younger than in the sample. The fact that victims of economic abuse were younger is also clearly shown by the higher percentage of women who were younger than 30 years when it first happened (69.3% compared to 54.9% in the sample).

The vast majority of these victims were married (78.2% compared to only 45.1% in the sample).
The types of occupations of the victims showed one remarkable difference from the sample, besides the fact that slightly more economic abuse victims were unemployed. Victims of economic abuse were half as likely to be supported by the family as housewives or students as the sample indicates (11.9% against 24.6%). This can possibly be explained by the fact that one can not extort money from someone who does not have it.

The level of education of victims of economic abuse was slightly lower. Especially a smaller percentage of these women had finished secondary school (26.7% against 33.3%).
The income levels were slightly higher. Victims of economic abuse were less likely to be without any income (33.7% against 44.5% in the sample are without any income).

About two-thirds of the economic abuse victims were also victims of either physical or emotional abuse. No differences were found between women from different constituencies.

**Case study 6**

A 27-year-old woman used to be a teacher until her husband forced her to quit because she was earning as much as he was. She resisted, but he beat her until she gave in and resigned from her job.
5.2 Physical Abuse (N = 116)

Physical abuse refers to any deliberate physical assault on an individual’s body that harms the recipient in any way.

The victims of physical abuse were aged between 12 and 43 years, with a mean age calculated at 27 years at the time the abuse occurred, which is five years younger than in the sample. The fact that victims of physical abuse were younger is also clearly shown by the higher percentage of victims aged below 30 years (75.7% of the victims of physical abuse compared to only 54.9% in the sample).

![Figure 5.6 Victim’s age during physical abuse](image)

The victims of physical abuse were mainly married (67% compared to 45.1% in the sample).

![Figure 5.7 Marital status of victims of physical abuse](image)
The victims of physical abuse were mainly unemployed (36.5% compared to 24.6% in the sample). Furthermore, victims of physical abuse were half as likely as in the sample to be housewives or students (13.9% compared to 24.6% in the sample).

![Figure 5.8 Occupation of victims of physical abuse](image)

The levels of education of these victims were slightly lower than in the sample. A smaller percentage finished secondary education (31.9% compared to 33.3%) and received a diploma (5.2% compared to 7.2%).

![Figure 5.9 Level of education](image)
Their monthly incomes were however slightly higher. A smaller percentage did not have any income (40.5% compared to 44.5% in the sample) or earned less than 5,000 Kenyan Shillings (14.7% compared to 20.3% in the sample).

Nearly two-thirds of the victims of physical abuse were also victims of emotional abuse and more than half experienced economic abuse. No differences were found between women from different constituencies.

**Quote 1**

“In Kenya, wife battering is a normal practice.”

A victim of physical abuse
5.3 Emotional Abuse (N = 111)

Emotional abuse involves any act of psychological abuse that harms an individual’s integrity, freedom of expression and well-being.

The victims of serious emotional abuse were aged between 17 and 75 years, with the mean age calculated at 28 years, which is four years younger than in the sample. The fact that victims of emotional abuse were younger is also clearly shown by the higher percentage of victims aged below 30 years (71.2% compared to 54.9% in the sample).

The majority of victims were married at the time of the most serious emotional abuse (66.7% compared to 45.1% in the sample).
Furthermore, many victims were unemployed at the time of the abuse (37.8% compared to 24.6% in the sample). Also victims of emotional abuse were less likely to be housewives or students than in the sample (15.3% compared to 24.6% in the sample).

Their levels of education were slightly higher than in the sample. A higher percentage had completed secondary school (38.7% compared to 33.3% in the sample) and have obtained a degree (11.7% compared to 10.3% in the sample).
The monthly incomes did not show remarkable differences, though a smaller percentage were without any income (41.4% compared to 44.5% in the sample).

Many victims of emotional abuse were victims of multiple forms of abuse: two-thirds also suffered physical abuse and more than half of the emotional abuse victims also experienced economic abuse. No differences were found between women from different constituencies.

On asking where the victims drew strength from to cope with the abuse, 43 women mentioned religion (God, praying, etc.), 28 women gained strength from their friends and 13 women from their family (39%, 25% and 12% respectively).

**Quote 2**

“I regret ever being born a woman”

A victim of emotional abuse
5.4 Sexual Abuse (N = 66)

Sexual abuse implies any unwanted physical or verbal invasion of an individual’s body that is sexual in nature.

The victims of sexual abuse were aged between 10 and 46 years, with the mean age calculated at 24 years, eight years younger than in the sample. The fact that victims of sexual abuse were younger is also shown by the higher percentage of victims younger than 30 years at the time the sexual abuse occurred (81.8% compared to 54.9% in the sample).

More than half of the victims were single at the time of abuse (54.5%).

Figure 5.16 Victim’s age during sexual abuse

Figure 5.17 Marital status of victims of sexual abuse
The majority of victims were economically dependent at the time of abuse. 65.2% of the victims were either unemployed (28.8%) or dependent on financial assistance from their family as students or housewives (36.4%), compared to 49.2% in the sample.

Education levels were slightly higher in secondary (34.8% compared to 33.3% in the sample) and higher education (19.6% compared to 17.5% in the sample).
No significant differences in income levels were found.

![Bar chart: Monthly income of victims of sexual abuse](image)

Nearly half of the sexual abuse victims also suffered from either emotional, physical or economic abuse. No differences were found between women from different constituencies.

### 5.4.1 Sexual Abuse During Childhood (N = 11)
All victims of sexual abuse during childhood, experienced multiple forms of abuse. The majority of these victims depended on family support as students or housewives, and were either single or single mothers.

![Bar chart: Marital status of victims of sexual child abuse](image)
Survivors Speak

Sexual abuse of children mainly occurred in higher socio-economic groups: their education levels were remarkably higher as well as their income levels.

Figure 5.22 Occupation

Figure 5.23 Level of education
Case study 7
A 26-year-old woman was on her way home after having visited her friends, when she was confronted by a group of men whom she did not know. They claimed to know her and told her to come with them. She refused after which they started beating her. They took her to a house and raped her. She was forced to touch their private parts with her mouth. After that they inserted a bottle with Changa’ a (a local brew) into her vagina. She went to report this incident to the police, who instead of helping her made fun of her.
5.5 Comparisons

The common characteristics of all victims as compared to the sample are presented in the graph below.

The differences with the sample in levels of income are not as remarkable amongst victims of economic, physical and emotional abuse. This can possibly be explained by the high unemployment rates in Kenya, which are close to 30% (October 2001). The data shown in this chapter indicate that victims of violence against women come from all constituencies and socio-economic groups, but are mostly married and economically weak.
6. The Abusers

The questionnaires inquired about age, gender, personal, social and economic characteristics of the abusers. For most victims it was not difficult to answer these questions as the majority of perpetrators were well-known to the victims. However, victims of sexual abuse did have some problems providing these data, because nearly half of sexual abusers were strangers.

Main Findings:

- 92% of the abusers were men;
- 85% of the abusers were known to the victims;
- 73% of the economic, physical and emotional abusers were (former) spouses or boyfriends, compared to 31% of sexual abusers;
- On average, the abusers were eight years older than their victims;
- 39% of the abusers were under the influence of alcohol at the time the abuse took place;
- Physical abusers were most likely to be under the influence of alcohol (49%);
- 11% of the abusers were under the influence of drugs at the time the abuse took place;
- Sexual abusers were most likely to be under the influence of drugs (20%);
- Economic, physical and emotional abusers were married (76%), employed (81%) and in their mid 30’s;
- Sexual abusers were divorced or single (60%) and in their mid 30’s;
- 67% of economic, physical and emotional abuse victims still had regular contact or lived with the abusers, compared to 34% of sexual abuse victims;
- The involvement of more than one abuser was most likely in sexual abuse (23%), compared to 5% of the economic, physical and emotional abuse cases;
- Secondly, after (former) spouses and boyfriends, family members and friends were most likely to commit violence against women;
- Abusers rarely got arrested or charged.
Main Conclusions:
- Economic hardships do not seem to cause violence against women;
- Alcohol and drugs do seem to contribute to women abuse;
- Men tend to abuse women who are close to them on a regular basis;
- Women abuse seems to be socially, culturally and politically accepted as almost none of the abusers have been arrested or charged.

6.1 Economic Abuse (N = 101)

*Economic abuse involves any coercive act or limitation placed on an individual that has adverse economic implications on the woman and/or her dependants.*

The vast majority of the victims knew the abuser (93%). Specifically, in 77.3% of the cases the perpetrator was the (former) spouse or boyfriend. In nearly 8% of the cases abusers were colleagues or bosses. In 7% of the cases family members were the perpetrators. Friends were abusers in 4% of the cases. There were not many cases of second and third abusers. In only 6% of the cases a second abuser was involved and in 2% a third abuser was involved as well. More than one-third (37%) of the victims believed the abuser was under the influence of alcohol at the time of the most serious economic abuse. Only 5% of the victims believed their abusers were under the influence of drugs. However, 56% of the victims were convinced that the perpetrator was sober. The ages of the abusers ranged from 11 years to 59 years. The mean age is calculated at 35 years, which is considerably older than the mean age of the victims (28 years). This age difference also becomes apparent in the percentages of abusers and victims aged below 30 years: 34% of the abusers were younger than 30 years at the time of the abuse, compared to 69.3% of the victims.
The vast majority of abusers were male (88.1%), employed (85.1%) and married (82.2%). However, 39.6% of the perpetrators were expected to suffer from economic problems. More than two-thirds of the victims (68.3%) still maintained regular contact with the abuser, of which 77% still lived with the abuser.

6.2 Physical Abuse (N = 116)

Physical abuse refers to any deliberate physical assault on an individual’s body that harms the recipient in any way.

The vast majority of the victims knew the abusers prior to the incident (89.6%). Only in 10.4% of the cases were the abusers strangers. Most abusers were (former) spouses or boyfriends (71.3%). Other abusers were family members (8.7%) and friends (5.2%). Again not many victims were abused by multiple perpetrators. There were only seven cases of second abusers and four cases in which a third abuser was involved. In 49.1% of the cases the victims believed the perpetrator was under the influence of alcohol at the time of abuse. Nine women believed the abuser was under the influence of drugs (7.9%). More than one-third (36.8%) of the victims were convinced
The abusers were sober at the time of the most serious physical abuse. The main weapons used by the abusers were their own body (in 83.5% of the cases), a stick (in 27% of the cases), and furniture (in 10.8% of the cases). Some abusers used more than one weapon. The abusers were aged between 14 and 60 years, with a mean age calculated at 34 years, which is seven years older than the mean age of the victims (27 years). This age difference is also illustrated by the percentages of abusers and victims aged below 30 years: 41.1% of the abusers were younger than 30 years at the time of the most serious physical abuse, compared to 75.7% of the victims. This shows that the perpetrators were significantly older than the victims.

The vast majority of abusers were male (94.8%), married (67.8%) and employed (74.8%). However, 25.2% of the victims believed the abusers were suffering from economic problems. Nearly two-thirds of the victims (63.4%) still had regular contact with their abuser, of which 69.9% still lived with the abuser. Only one abuser had been arrested and charged.
6.3 Emotional Abuse (N = 111)

Emotional abuse involves any act of psychological abuse that harms an individual’s integrity, freedom of expression and well-being.

The vast majority of abusers was known to the victims (98.2%). In 71.5% of the cases the abuse was committed by (former) spouses or boyfriends. Other perpetrators were family (18.8%), friends (3.6%) and colleagues (1.8%). Approximately as many abusers were sober as under the influence of alcohol at the time of abuse (44.1% and 40.5% respectively). Twelve women (10.8%) believed the abuser was under the influence of drugs. Also emotional abuse appeared to be committed by perpetrators on their own: only in four cases second abusers were involved. Cases of third abusers did not occur in this sample. The abusers were aged between 20 and 55 years, with the mean age calculated at 36 years, which is eight years older than the mean age of the victims (28 years). The abusers were considerably older than the victims at the time of abuse, which is further illustrated by the percentage of abusers who were below the age of 30 (32.7%) compared to 71.2% among the victims.

Emotional abusers were mainly male (88.4%), married (78.6%) and employed (83.0%). However, in 32.1% of the cases the victims believed the abuser was coping with economic problems. More than two-thirds of the victims (69.6%) still had regular contact with their abuser, of which 69.2% still lived with them.
6.4 Sexual Abuse (N=66)

Sexual abuse implies any unwanted physical or verbal invasion of an individual’s body that is sexual in nature.

The majority of perpetrators was known to the victims (58.5%), of which more than half involved (former) spouses (55.6%). In 15.4% of the cases friends were the abusers and 9.2% were family members or colleagues. In nearly one-third of the cases (30.3%) the abuser(s) were under the influence of alcohol. In thirteen cases (19.6%) the abuser(s) were believed to have been under the influence of drugs (as well). More than one-third (36.4%) of the abusers were thought to have been sober. Sexual abuse was more often characterised by multiple abusers. In 23.1% of the cases second abusers were involved (of which 86.7% were cases of gang rape and 13.3% involved forced circumcision). In 15.4% of the cases third abusers were involved. The vast majority of these second and third abusers were strangers, explained by the gang rapes which were mostly committed by strangers. The few cases with second and third abusers who were known to the victims involved circumcisions. Circumcisions were forced by female family members. There was one case of a woman gang raped by men known to her. Because many sexual abusers were strangers, compared to the other types of abuse, many victims (32.3%) did not know the approximate age of the abuser(s). Of the remaining cases in which the victims did know the approximate age of the abuser(s), 45.5% were younger than 30 years and 36.4% were aged between 31 and 40 years. The perpetrators were between 16 and 60 years old, with the mean age calculated at 34 years, compared to 24 years among the victims.
All abusers were men, except for the circumcision cases (3%). More than one-third (35.4%) of the victims did not know the marital status of the perpetrator. In 41.5% of the cases the abusers were divorced and in 18.5% of the cases they were single. In nearly half of the cases (46.2%), the abuser was employed at the time of the abuse, although in more than one-third (33.8%) of the cases the victim did not know the work status of the perpetrator. The majority (63.1%) of victims did not know whether the abuser(s) had any economic problems. More than one-third (33.8%) of the women still had regular contact with the abuser(s), of which 40.9% still lived with them. Only one first, one second and one third abuser had been arrested and charged. To 81.3% of the others nothing had happened.
6.5 Comparisons

Economic, physical and emotional abusers had a lot in common. They are often known to the victim and commit the offence on their own. Sexual abusers however were more often strangers and in the presence of other abusers while committing the abuse.

![Figure 6.5 Main characteristics of perpetrators of violence against women](image)

Women abusers are furthermore mostly male and employed.
Abusers are often sober as under the influence of alcohol. Drugs abuse is most prevalent amongst sexual abusers.
7. Impacts

After discussing the incident and the characteristics of the abusers, the victims were asked how they felt after the abuse took place, in what ways they were affected and whether they talked about the abuse to other people or institutions. These questions were asked to identify the ways in which abuse affects women in their daily, economic and social lives, the reasons that prevent these women from reporting and ways to improve reporting. For many women the abuses have been very traumatising. As a result, some respondents broke down in tears while answering these questions. The interviews were aborted if necessary in order to proceed some other time if approved by the respondent.

The key findings are:
- 85% of the respondents suffered from anger as a result of the abuse;
- 74% suffered from changed sleeping patterns;
- 69% suffered from depression;
- 61% lived in fear, which was generally perceived as the most serious impact;
- 61% lost self-esteem/self-confidence;
- 59% suffered from changed eating patterns;
- 51% suffered from self-blame;
- 80% believed what was done to them is a crime; yet the majority still live with the abusers.
- An average of 70% of economically, physically and emotionally abused women told somebody about the abuse;
- Only 48% of sexually abused women told somebody about what happened;
- 43% of the respondents who told somebody talked to their family;
- 33% of the respondents who told somebody talked to their friends;
- 7% of the physical abuse victims went to the police;
- 6% of the sexual abuse victims went to the police;
- None of the victims of economic and emotional abuse reported the abuse to the police;
- The main reasons for not telling anyone were the belief that it is useless to tell because nothing will happen as no one would believe it and as women are abused anyway (35%), and shame/embarrassment (32%);
- 24% of sexually abused women faced unwanted pregnancies as a result;
- 8% of sexual abuse victims contracted HIV/AIDS as a result of the abuse;
- In total, only two of all the abusers had been arrested and charged.
The main conclusions are:

- Women in Nairobi live in constant fear of being abused;
- Abused women mostly do not report to the police although they know what was done to them is a crime;
- Perpetrators of violence against women are rarely arrested;
- Abused women mainly turn to their family and friends for emotional and practical support.
- Most abused women feel forced to stay in the abusive relationship.

7.1 Economic Abuse (N = 101)

Economic abuse involves any coercive act or limitation placed on an individual that has adverse economic implications on the woman and/or her dependants.

The vast majority of victims (90.1%) claimed the economic abuse affected them in some way. Of these, 64.9% referred to financial constraints as a consequence, 10.6% became stressed and 8.5% lost her job or career. The main psychological impacts mentioned by victims of a most serious economic abuse are listed in the table below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Main impacts of economic abuse</th>
<th>Percentage of victims</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Feels anger</td>
<td>89% (89 women)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changed sleeping patterns</td>
<td>82% (82 women)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changed eating patterns</td>
<td>71% (71 women)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suffers depression</td>
<td>67% (67 women)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
When asked to indicate the most serious impact of the economic abuse suffered, financial constraints were mentioned most often (18.8%), followed by divorce or separation (11.9%) and depression (11.9%). The vast majority (86.1%) of victims believed that what was done to them is a crime. However, 68.3% of the victims still had regular contact or lived with the abuser and 26.7% did not tell anybody about it. More than half of the victims (51.5%) told somebody about the abuse immediately after it had happened, 14.9% told somebody at least a month later and 5.9% told somebody more than a year later. Of the ones who did share their experience with somebody, 44.6% had turned to family members and 27% had talked to friends. None of the victims went to the police. A further 9.5% had talked to their partner (husband or boyfriend). The main reasons for not telling anybody about what had happened was shame and feelings of embarrassment (32.4%), and finding it useless to tell because nothing will happen, no one will believe it or women are abused anyway (35%).

7.2 Physical Abuse (N = 116)

Physical abuse refers to any deliberate physical assault on an individual’s body that harms the recipient in any way.

As mentioned earlier, 64.3% of the victims of physical abuse suffered bodily harm. Nearly two-thirds of these victims (63.4%) still had regular contact or lived with the abuser, although 84.3% believed what was done to them is a crime. The main psychological impacts of the most serious physical abuse suffered by these victims are listed in the table below:
Living in fear was identified by the victims as the most serious impact the physical abuse had on their lives (20.7%), followed by divorce or separation (16.4%) and health impairments (10.3%). More than half of the women told somebody about the abuse immediately after it had happened (54.8%). A further 10.3% of the victims decided to tell somebody more than a month later, of which nearly half more than a year later. More than one-third of the victims (34.9%) never told anybody about the physical abuse they suffered from. The main reasons for not telling were shame (35.7%), the belief that it is useless to tell anyone as nothing can be changed because “women are beaten anyway” (19.0%), and fear of reprisal (14.3%). Of the women who did talk about the abuse, 46.8% turned to their family, 31.2% turned to their friends and 6.9% went to the police. To the vast majority of perpetrators nothing happened after the abuse (75.3%). Only one abuser was arrested and charged.

7.3 Emotional Abuse (N = 111)

*Emotional abuse involves any act of psychological abuse that harms an individual’s integrity, freedom of expression and well-being.*

According to the table below, the majority of emotional abuse victims were affected by the abuse. However, only 70.3% of the victims believed what was done to them is a crime and

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Main impacts of physical abuse</th>
<th>Percentage of victims</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Feels anger</td>
<td>91.4% (106 women)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changed sleeping patterns</td>
<td>75.9% (88 women)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suffers from depression</td>
<td>70.7% (82 women)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lives in fear</td>
<td>68.7% (79 women)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
69.6% still had regular contact or lived with the abuser. The main psychological impacts that the most serious incidence of emotional abuse had on the victims are listed below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Main impacts of emotional abuse</th>
<th>Percentage of victims</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Feels anger</td>
<td>78.4% (87 women)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changed sleeping patterns</td>
<td>73.0% (81 women)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loss of self-esteem/self-confidence</td>
<td>72.1% (80 women)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lives in fear</td>
<td>68.5% (76 women)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suffers from depression</td>
<td>68.5% (76 women)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Loss of self-confidence and self-esteem was perceived as the most serious impact of emotional abuse on its victims (15.3%), followed by divorce and separation and living in fear (both 9%). More than two-thirds of the victims (70.3%) told somebody about the abuse they had experienced, of which the majority (67.9%) told somebody about it immediately after it had happened. In 43.2% of the cases in which the victims did talk about it, they shared it with their family. Nearly half (40.7%) of the victims shared it with friends. None of the victims went to report the emotional abuse to the police. The main reasons for not telling anybody were not seeing the use of telling, since nothing will change, no one will believe it and women are abused anyway (40.7%), and shame (21.9%). A further 9.4% decided not to tell anyone, because they believed women are normally abused anyway.
7.4 Sexual Abuse (N = 66)

*Sexual abuse implies any unwanted physical or verbal invasion of an individual’s body that is sexual in nature.*

The vast majority of victims of sexual abuse believed what was done to them is a crime (78.5%). However, 33.8% of the victims still had contact with their abuser(s), of which 41% still lived with them. As a result of the abuse, 15.2% contracted a sexually transmitted disease (STD), 24.2% had unwanted pregnancies, 7.6% contracted HIV/AIDS, 10.6% were considering an abortion of which 42.9% actually had one done, and 7.6% had become unable to have children. The main psychological impacts of the sexual abuse on the victims are listed below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Main impacts of sexual abuse</th>
<th>Percentage of victims</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Feels anger</td>
<td>80.3% (53 women)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suffers from depression</td>
<td>68.2% (45 women)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changed sleeping patterns</td>
<td>63.6% (42 women)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self blame</td>
<td>53.0% (35 women)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loss of self-esteem/self confidence</td>
<td>47.0% (31 women)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The most serious impacts of sexual abuse were considered to be living in fear (18.2%) and the loss of confidence in men or people in general (16.7%). Less than half of the victims told somebody about the abuse (47.7%), but almost all of these women (96.8%) told it to somebody immediately after the incident. Of those who did share the abuse with someone, 35.5% turned to their family, 32.3% talked to their friends, and 6.1% went to the police. The main reasons for not telling anybody were finding it useless to tell because nothing will change as no one would believe it and...
women are abused anyway (48.6%), and shame (37.1%). Only one abuser was arrested and charged.

7.5 Comparisons

The information provided in this chapter is summarised and presented in the graphs below.

Although survivors of violence against women know that what happened to them is a crime, they remain in the abusive relationship for social and economic reasons.

**Figure 7.1 What happened after the abuse**

The majority of victims talk about the abuse, although they mainly turn to informal support services, such as their friends and family.

**Figure 7.2 What happened after the abuse**
The respondents were asked about their experiences with formal support services (the police, the medical care system, the court system, legal assistance, counselling) and informal support services (from family and friends). These questions sought to establish the extent and kind of use of support services by abused women.

The key findings are:
- 61% of all respondents turned to informal support services (family and friends) for assistance;
- Less than 9% of all cases were reported to the police;
- Only 1.5% of all cases resulted in arrest;
- 12% of reported cases resulted in arrest.

The main conclusions are:
- Support to victims of abuse is mainly offered by family and friends, which shows the need for public awareness raising and sensitisation; to make informal support more effective;
- The police are the least favourite support service, which indicates the need for police training and sensitisation regarding violence against women and women abuse.

The main types of help sought by the victims of violence against women are listed below.
Informal support from the family was clearly favourite amongst all respondents (34.9%). Although sexually abused women turned to medical service just as frequently (28.8%). The second most utilised support service was also informal: support sought from friends (20.5%). However, physically abused women turned to medical support in the second instance (25%). The support service sexually abused women turned to in the third instance was the police (10.6%), economically and emotionally abused women turned to medical services (16.9% and 19.8% respectively) and physically abused respondents

1 The difference between this percentage and the percentages mentioned in chapter 7 on the police can be explained as follows. The questions asked for chapter 7 did not specifically enquire whether the victim went to the police. The question was to whom the respondent talked after the abuse. Obviously, the police were not the first to be talked to.

2 These percentages are high, which can be explained by the fact that they have not been corrected for victims of multiple forms of abuse, which means some of these victims will have gone for medical assistance as a result of another type of abuse.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Support service</th>
<th>% of respondents (N = 195)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>34.9% (68 women)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical service</td>
<td>21.0% (41 women)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends</td>
<td>20.5% (40 women)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Counselling service</td>
<td>9.2% (18 women)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police</td>
<td>8.7% (17 women)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legal service</td>
<td>4.6% (9 women)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 The difference between this percentage and the percentages mentioned in chapter 7 on the police can be explained as follows. The questions asked for chapter 7 did not specifically enquire whether the victim went to the police. The question was to whom the respondent talked after the abuse. Obviously, the police were not the first to be talked to.

2 These percentages are high, which can be explained by the fact that they have not been corrected for victims of multiple forms of abuse, which means some of these victims will have gone for medical assistance as a result of another type of abuse.
Survivors Speak

11.2% of physically abused women, 10.6% of sexually abused women, 8.1% of emotionally abused women and 5.9% of economically abused women went to report an abuse.\(^3\)

**Figure 8.1 Support services used according to abuse**

For each support service utilised by the respondents, they were asked questions about the service provision and they were requested to suggest ways to improve the service. These findings are presented below.

\(^3\) These percentages have not been corrected for multiple forms of abuse suffered, which means that the percentages will include victims who went to the police for a different type of abuse.
8.1 Informal Support Services: Help Sought From Family and Friends (N = 109)

The main help these 109 victims sought from their family and friends involved practical advice (37.3%) and emotional support (25.3%). Often the helping persons warned, counselled or talked to the abusers (14.7%). The vast majority of women (81.1%) were satisfied with the assistance received, because the person who assisted them was understanding and gave helpful and successful advice.

8.2 The Medical Care System: Hospitals and Private Doctors (N = 41)

The majority of these 41 women were either referred by the police or decided to go themselves (both 27.3%). The majority of victims arrived at the hospital at least two hours after the incident (54.3%). Most of these women did not have transport, money or anyone to take them (55.5%). The majority were brought by family or friends (51.4%), or came by themselves (40.0%). A further 8.6% were brought by the police. The vast majority (71.4%) of the doctors were male and in 55.9% of the cases, nobody else was present. All respondents who received medical assistance had to pay, of which 45.5% paid less than 1,000 Kenyan Shillings and 21.2% paid more than 1,000 Kenyan Shillings (6.1% paid more than 10,000 Kenyan Shillings). Most of these women were satisfied with the service received from the hospital (94.3%), because the treatment was good (60.0%) and the doctors were understanding (37.2%).
8.2.1 Medical Service Sought by Victims of Sexual Abuse (N = 15)

More than one in five victims of sexual abuse (22.7%) went to see a doctor after the serious sexual abuse took place. Most of these women voluntarily told the doctor the truth about what had happened (86.7%). More than half of these victims were attended to in the presence of other people (53.3%). The doctors assisting these women were more often male (53.3%) than female. The vast majority of victims (86.7%) were satisfied with the service they received from the medical personnel, mainly because they were examined, tested and treated well. The main suggestions of these victims on how to improve the medical care system are listed below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suggestions to improve medical services</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Improve equipment and training of medical personnel (20%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female doctors should attend to victims of sexual abuse (20%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charges for STD and pregnancy tests should be reduced (13%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In none of the domestic violence cases, did the partner accompany the victim to the hospital.
8.3 Counselling Service (Social Workers, Women’s Organisations) (N = 18)

Counselling services were sought by 18 women who turned to professional counsellers, social workers, religious people and support groups. Unlike the medical services, the majority of women who went for counselling did not have to pay (75%). These women felt that the counsellor understood her (93.8%). Counselling services were used for long as well as short periods of time: some went once (18.8%), others went for more than one year (25.0%). The majority of women stopped going for counselling when it was no longer needed (73.7%). The vast majority (93.8%) of the women were satisfied with the counselling service they received, because of the understanding, the emotional recovery, the practical advice and the financial assistance. The women expressed the need for more counselling centres in Nairobi. In addition, awareness needs to be created on the importance of counselling.

8.4 The Police (N = 17)

Most of the 17 women who went to the police (94.1%) were attended to by a male police officer. However, 68.8% would have preferred to be assisted by a female police officer. Most of the women felt the police officer believed her (88.2%). The majority of the victims were attended to in a private room (70.6%). Two out of five women were not given a case number. In more than half of the cases (58.8%), the victims were not given the names of the officers who were dealing with their cases. Nearly half (44%) of the victims were not informed of their rights and did not feel comfortable with the police
Most (70.6%) victims were not offered any protection, although 82.4% felt they needed it. In only three cases, the abuser was arrested, and in another three cases the abuser was warned. A further three cases were still being processed, but to six reported abusers nothing had happened. Slightly more than half (52.9%) of the victims who had gone to the police were satisfied with the service they received. One client had to pay for police service (Kshs.200 = 2.5 USD). The table below shows the changes to the police service suggested by these victims:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suggested changes in Police Service</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>More specialised police women (35.3%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eradicate corruption (17.6%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Better equip and train the police (11.8%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**8.5 Legal Advise (N = 8) and the Courts (N = 1)**

The majority of these eight women went to see a private lawyer (62.5%) or a legal aid centre (25%). In 62.5% of the cases, the advice was perceived to be successful, although only in 12.5% of the cases did the abuse actually stop. Three-quarters of the respondents who received legal assistance paid for this service. The amounts paid varied from 1,000 to 120,000 Kenyan Shillings.

Only one respondent went to court. She did not meet the prosecutor before trial, but the court procedure was explained
to her, she was shown the statement beforehand and told that it was possible to make changes. She was not asked to pay. Neither the prosecutor nor the police informed her about the outcome of the trial. According to the respondent, the prosecutor treated her with insensitivity and the defense attorney accused her of wanting a divorce. The victim was not satisfied with the court procedure. She would like the government to enact laws that enable a quick divorce.

### 8.6 Comparisons

The following graph shows the use of support services by female victims of violence and their levels of satisfaction: The police are the least favourite support service.

![Figure 8.2 Utilisation and satisfaction of support services](image-url)
The main concerns regarding the treatment of (abused) women as expressed by the respondents:

- They should be given due respect, listened to and taken seriously
- They should not be blamed for what happened
- They should be economically empowered
- Perpetrators should receive harsher penalties

According to survivors of violence against women, these offences are not recognised as crimes and human rights violations, neither by society nor by the State.

Case study 8

A 41-year-old woman suffers multiple forms of abuse from her husband. He never took care of the family. Now he has even deserted the family completely. She is a mother of eight children, most of whom she has conceived out of rape by her husband.
9. Feelings of Safety

Finally, the respondents were asked about their perceptions of insecurity in three main areas of the city: place of residence, place of work and the city centre. It is not only victimisation that affects the behaviour of people, but also the fear of becoming victimised, feelings of insecurity and the fear of crime and violence influence people’s behaviour. These feelings limit a person’s movements and freedom, and hence have a negative impact on personal, social and economic development.

**The key findings are:**
- The city centre is perceived as the most insecure place in the city, mainly at night (92%); followed by the areas of work at night (76.9%);.
- Thirdly, the residential areas at night (69.5%);
- And at fourth, the city centre during day time (51.3%);
- No significant differences in perceptions of insecurity could be found between victims of different types of abuse;
- Women felt more safe in their area of residence than at home, explained by the fact that abusers were most often husbands;
- 40.5% of all respondents believed there is nothing they can do to make Nairobi safer.

**The main conclusions are:**
- At night, all areas in Nairobi are considered unsafe, which indicates the need for street lights and police patrolling after dark;
- Domestic violence needs to be addressed as women feel very unsafe at home, which means that also children are surrounded by fear and violence while growing up, which increases the likelihood of them developing abusive and criminal behaviour themselves;
- Women have lost trust in society and in the Government of Kenya.
9.1 At Home and in the Residential Area

The vast majority (84.4%) of the respondents felt safe in their area of residence during day time. However, only 72.8% of the respondents felt safe at home. Apparently, these women felt safer in their neighbourhoods than at home, which is explained by the fact that the majority of the abuses occurred in the home.

Figure 9.1 Residence area day time

![Figure 9.1 Residence area day time](image)

Figure 9.2 Feelings of safety at home

![Figure 9.2 Feelings of safety at home](image)

The respondents who did not feel safe at home, would feel more safe if their husbands would change their behaviour, if government would arrest abusers and if the general security of the home premises would be improved.

---

1 No significant differences were found between women from different constituencies.
The feelings of safety in the residential area dropped to 29.5% at night, as the graph below illustrates:

Figure 9.3 Residence area at night

9.2 The Place of Work

The majority (77.9%) of the respondents felt safe while at work. The ones who felt unsafe, would feel better if the general security would be improved, if their place of work would move altogether, or if discrimination against women would stop in their place of work. This percentage dropped to 20.7% at night.

Figure 9.4 Place of work day time

Subjects indicated no significant differences between women from different constituencies.
9.3 City Centre

Less than half (47.7\%) of the respondents felt safe downtown during day time. This dropped to only 6.9\% at night. Close to a quarter (22.3\%) of the respondents also admitted that the area where they felt most unsafe is the city centre. The second most feared place was home, where the majority of the women lived with the abuser.
9.4 Comparisons

The information discussed in this chapter is summarised in the graphs below. Clearly, the city centre is considered least safe, both during the night and the day.

Figure 9.8 Feelings of safety during the day

Figure 9.9 Feelings of safety during the night
9.5 Suggestions to Make Nairobi Safer

The respondents mentioned the following actions that are required to make Nairobi a safer place for everyone.

**Government should:**
- Protect human and women’s rights
- Ensure harsher punishments for abusers
- Economically empower women
- Educate the public and create rights awareness
- Be sensitised on women’s issues
- Promote women leaders and recruit more women police officers
- Eradicate corruption

**Women should:**
- Fight and lobby for human and women’s rights and create rights awareness
- Report abusers to the police or government
- Join women’s organisations

However, 40.5% of all respondents believed there is nothing they can do or do not know what they can do to prevent or reduce violence against women. This means that many have given up or have lost trust in society, the government and themselves. Nairobi has a patriarchal society which does not listen or attend to the opinions, perceptions and needs of women. Women are underrepresented in politics, government and the criminal justice system. As a result, Bills to open the way for and create gender equality in Kenya are endlessly pending in parliament.
In this male-dominated society, violence against women and domestic violence are deemed to be a private family matter which should remain beyond State control. As such, women and their needs and perceptions remain socially, politically, economically and culturally paralysed and excluded. Society and governance in Kenya as such perpetuate the violation of women’s rights, leaving them with a feeling of powerlessness and hopelessness, as well as perpetuating the cycle of violence.

The extent to which people feel valued, respected and recognised by society determines the extent to which they themselves value society in return. Therefore, actions to improve overall safety and especially women’s safety should take women’s opinions and experiences into account.

As presented in the box above, according to abused women the focus of a violence against women prevention strategy should be on:

1. Awareness creation and sensitization of government, police, justice, general public, especially men.
2. Political and economic empowerment of women.
3. Law reform to ensure and enforce the protection of women, human rights and proper legal action against women abusers.
10. Conclusions and Ways Forward

Violence against women is a hidden problem. It occurs in private and personal spheres that women can not easily talk about - within the family and at home. As we have seen, the perpetrators are known to the victims and very often they are husbands and boyfriends. The emotional bond between the victim and the abuser, which is often a characteristic feature of women’s abuse cases, complicates the situation and magnifies the impacts of the abuse on the victim. The victims often feel forced to stay in the abusive environment, because of the children or because of economic dependency. Furthermore, the victims tend to feel responsible for the behaviour of the abuser and blame themselves. They often show complacency with the man’s behaviour, because “women are abused anyway”, out of fear for men or the abuser, or because of fear of stigmatisation of single women/mothers.

As a result, many women remain in a cycle of abuse without institutions knowing. Additionally, women who do talk about the abuse or report to the police fail to have their cases effectively addressed, as was shown by the fact that only 2 abusers out of the 195 cases examined in this survey were arrested and charged accordingly. Apparently, the criminal justice system fails to take proper action, not only because of limited reporting, but also because the criminal justice system is ill-equipped and not well trained to deal appropriately with cases of women abuse.

This survey has shown that violence against women is not taken seriously. Men deny it, women hide it and authorities neglect it. It is a widespread problem that endangers the lives of many women and children who are often exposed to multiple forms
of domestic violence. Research has shown that children’s exposure to violence and abuse hampers their intellectual and social development and contributes to abusive, anti-social and criminal behaviour,\(^1\), thus perpetuating the cycle of violence.

Therefore, activities and strategies to address violence against women should involve all key actors: men, women, children and youth, the police, the justice system, local, provincial and national governments, non-governmental organizations, religious groups, the media and the general public.

To address the issue of violence and discrimination against women, it is essential that everybody takes responsibility and learns to understand the links between women’s safety and overall community safety. Furthermore, a shared sense of responsibility among government and civil society is required. Ideally, partnerships must be formed between government and civil society to set up and implement a strategy to tackle violence against women. Such a partnership is also key to winning back the confidence of the people. Especially the police and the criminal justice system have lost the confidence of women in relation to the protection of their rights expressed in the low levels of reporting. A sensitization and training campaign and the development of a partnership have to involve police and justice to bridge the gap between government, criminal justice system and society.

In order to be credible priorities should correspond with the most urgent problems perceived by the public, particularly women in these case.

Below possible ways forward have been identified based on the perceptions and experiences formulated by abused women in Nairobi. They are presented as actions to be taken by key stakeholders in contributing to the alleviation of violence against women.

These suggestions should be discussed in consultations at constituency level among the key stakeholders in Nairobi to translate them into action plans that are feasible in the Kenyan context. These consultations are scheduled to take place in 2002.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key Stakeholders</th>
<th>Action Points</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Women            | ● Women should report abusers.  
                    ● Women and girls should be trained on human and women’s rights.  
                    ● Women should advocate for human and women’s rights.  
                    ● Women should openly debate gender issues.  
                    ● Women should build and promote rights awareness, self-confidence and self-reliance amongst girls and daughters.  
                    ● Women should be economically empowered.  
                    ● Abused women should be offered counselling. |
### Men
- Men and abusers should be counselled on their behaviour and on how to deal with their emotions.
- Men and boys should be sensitised on gender issues.
- Men and boys should be trained on human and women’s rights.
- In all discussions on gender issues men should be involved.

### The Police
- The police require training on human and women’s rights.
- The police need to be sensitised on gender issues.
- The police need to recruit more police women and train more female police officers to specifically work on women abuse and gender issues.
- The police need to establish a department specialised in dealing with women’s abuse cases.
- The police need to be brought closer to the public through community policing and Community Police Forums.
- The police need to offer protection and shelter to abused women.
- The police need to offer abused women services they might require, such as professional counselling and medical care.
Justice

- Magistrates, Chief Justices, Prosecutors and Attorneys need to be sensitised on gender issues.
- Women’s abuse cases need to be dealt with swiftly so as to minimise the risk that many abused women are exposed to because they live with the abuser.
- The justice system needs to ensure protection of abused women.
- The justice system needs to inform the government on laws that require implementation to better protect women.

Government

- Government officials as well as politicians need to be sensitised on gender issues.
- Government officials require training on human and women’s rights.
- Government needs to promote women leaders and women in strategic positions within its structures.
- Government needs to promote economic empowerment of women.
- Government needs to enact laws to better protect (abused) women.
- Government needs to enforce and implement laws that protect human and women’s rights.
Government needs to contribute to and facilitate public education and rights awareness creation.

- Government should offer shelter and protection to abused women.
- Government should improve the availability and accessibility of professional counselling for abused women.
- Government should offer legal advice and assistance to abused women and/or make it easier, accessible and affordable.
- Government is required to improve the general security in Nairobi by installing street lights and ensuring regular police patrols in all areas of Nairobi.
- Government is to implement a campaign against alcohol and drugs abuse.
- Local Administration, chiefs and District officers, should be sensitised on violence against women and gender issues to in turn create awareness in their local communities.
### Key Stakeholders

#### The Education System

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Action Points</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- Teachers should be trained and sensitised on gender issues, human and women’s rights.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Teachers should be trained so that they can identify cases of domestic violence and they should be enabled to act in order to prevent it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Teachers should contribute to rights awareness amongst children and youths, especially girls.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Teachers should discuss domestic violence, women abuse and male and female role models in the classrooms for purposes of sensitisation and to allow children who experience violence or abuse to come forward.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Teachers should invite police officers and experts on gender issues and human rights to assist in the discussions and bridge the gap between the public and the police.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Teachers should stimulate girls to actively participate in the classroom and in extra-curricular activities to boost their self-confidence and self-reliance which are required in later life.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Schools should facilitate discussions on causes and consequences of drugs and alcohol abuse.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Key Stakeholders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **The Media**    | ● The media should contribute to public education and rights awareness creation through radio, television and the newspapers.  
● The media should facilitate a public debate on gender issues and domestic violence.  
● The media should facilitate in bringing the key stakeholders together to formulate strategies to address women’s abuse. |
| **Non-Governmental Organizations (including Religious Groups)** | ● NGOs should contribute to public education and rights awareness creation at the community and neighbourhood levels.  
● NGOs should offer counselling, shelter, legal and other practical advice to abused women, but also to men and married or cohabiting couples. Counselling should include reference of rape victims to baby adoption centres to avoid abortion which is itself an abuse of innocent lives.  
● NGOs should assist in training and sensitising police officers, magistrates, prosecutors and government officials.  
● NGOs should collaborate with the media for purposes of public education and sensitisation and bringing the key stakeholders together.  
● NGOs should sensitize the public on causes and consequences of drugs and alcohol abuse. |
This survey is an assessment of the extent and types of violence against women in Nairobi. It aims to inform, guide and advise the formulation and implementation of crime prevention strategies and action plans for the City of Nairobi, which should incorporate women’s needs as a priority component.

If deemed necessary, additional research to further assist strategy development could focus on:

- Collecting quantitative data on women abuse in Nairobi to assess the scope of the problem;
- Assessing the perceptions, behaviours and understanding of men, boys and male abusers on violence against women;
- Assessing the social and cultural environment in which young girls in Kenya grow up and the effects of the environment on their lives, behaviours and perceptions;
- Assess the capacities and needs of the police and justice systems in terms of addressing violence against women;
- Assess the capacities and needs of government authorities in terms of addressing women’s abuse.
References

- An Update on the Cycle of Violence, National Institute of Justice, US Department of Justice, February 2001
- Domestic Violence Against Women and Girls, Innocenti Digest No.6, June 2000, UNICEF
- “Secu-Cities Women”, European Forum on Urban Safety, 1999
- Violence Against Women in Metropolitan South Africa, Sandra Bollen, Lillian Artz, Lisa Vetten, Antoinette Louw, ISS Monograph Series No. 41, September 1999
- Consultation on Violence Against Women, World Health Organisation, 5-7 February 1996, Geneva, Switzerland
- Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women, General Assembly resolution 48/104, December 1993
- Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women, General Recommendation 19, A/47/38, 1992
- Kenya, The Magic Land, Mohamed Amin, Duncan Willets, Brian Tetley, 1988
WOMEN ABUSE IN NAIROBI:
SURVIVORS SPEAK 2001
QUESTIONNAIRE

1. PERSONAL DETAILS

1.1 Date of Interview
1.2 Name of Interviewer
1.3 Place of Interview
1.5 Race of Respondent
1.6 Age of Respondent
1.7 Name of area that respondent lives in:
1.8 Does the respondent or their family own or rent the house where they reside in, or do they live on the street?
1.9 What type of house do you live in?
1.10 What do you do for a living?
1.11 Name of area that respondent works / studies in:
1.12 What is your Marital status currently?
1.12a What is the highest level of education you personally have achieved?
1.13 How many people live in your household?
1.13.1 How many people in your household are migrants?
1.13.2 How many children do you have (including children in your care/foster children) living with you?
1.13.3 How many sleeping rooms are there in your household?
1.14 Do you live…?
1.15 Do you or any other members of your household wherein you live (the one mentioned in 1.14 above) own any of the following vehicles?
1.15.1 Could you please tell me what your gross monthly income is?

2. FIRST, I WOULD LIKE TO KNOW YOUR THOUGHTS ABOUT ABUSE GENERALLY.

2.1 Please tell me what you understand about woman abuse.
Please give examples.
i. Understanding
ii. In what ways can a woman be abused (physical, sexual, emotional, early marriage, incest, economic etc)?
I am now going to ask you questions about different types of behaviour that people often speak about as being abusive. You might not feel that everything I ask you about is abusive - that is ok.

3. ECONOMIC ABUSE

Has anyone ever deliberately...
3.1...forced you to hand them your money?
3.2...forced you to ask others for money, food or clothing?
3.3...prevented you from knowing about, or having access to the family income?
3.4...prevented you from earning an income?
3.5...forced you to be the sole breadwinner when you could have shared responsibilities with other/s?
3.6...taken money from your purse without your consent?
3.7...withdrawn money from your bank account without your knowledge or consent?
3.8...forced you to work, without being paid?
3.9...forced you to work for less pay?
3.10...refused to help you with family upkeep?
3.11...forced you to sell your belongings?
3.12...forced you to steal?
3.13...others (please specify)

Now I’d like you to tell me about the most serious case of economic abuse that you have experienced
3.20  Please tell me what happened.

I would like to ask you some questions about yourself at the time of the most serious incident of economic abuse.
3.21  How old were you when this first happened?
3.22  Marital status at the time of the most serious incident of economic abuse.
3.23  How did you support yourself at the time of the most serious incident of economic abuse?
3.24  Were you alone with the abuser/s or in company when the most serious incident of economic abuse happened?
3.25  If in company at the time of the most serious incident of economic abuse, who were they?
3.26  If children were present, how did they react?
3.27  How many times were you abused in this manner?
3.28 When the abuse happened, or if over time it was happening, were the abuser/s under the influence of alcohol or drugs?
3.29 Did it happen over time (days, months, years), or within the space of one day?
3.30 Did/Does the economic abuse affect you?
3.30b If yes to 3.30, how did it affect you?
3.31 Was the abuser known to you?
3.32 From what you have told me, many women who go through this experience suffer from the following…. Have you suffered from them?
3.32.1 Changes in sleeping patterns
3.32.2 A change in your eating patterns
3.32.3 Depression
3.32.4 Nightmares
3.32.5 Thoughts about killing yourself
3.32.6 Tried to kill yourself
3.32.7 Being very irritable
3.32.8 Panic attacks
3.32.9 Feeling very angry (at self or abuser)
3.32.10 Flashbacks
3.32.11 Loss of Confidence/self esteem
3.32.12 Guilt, (feelings of guilt)
3.32.13 Fear
3.32.14 Other (specify)

I would like to ask you some questions about the abuser/s. Remember we are talking about the most serious incident of economic abuse. These questions all relate to the time of that incident.

Abuser/s relationship to you at the time of the incident
Approximate age of abuser/s at incident
Sex of abuser/s
Marital status of abuser/s at the time of the incident
At the time, did the abuser/s work?
At the time, did the abuser/s have economic problems or debts?
Do you still have any contact with the abuser/s?
3.40 Do you believe that what was done to you is a crime?
3.41 Did you tell anyone about it?
3.42 If Yes in 3.41, whom did you tell?
3.43 If No in 3.41 why did you not tell anybody about the incidence:
3.44 What would you consider might have been or is the biggest impact that this has had on your life?

4. PHYSICAL ABUSE

Has anyone ever deliberately...

4.2 ...throwing something at you that could harm you?
4.3 ...pushing or shoving you?
4.4 ...twisting your arm?
4.5 ...pulling your hair?
4.6 ...slapping/hitting you?
4.7 ...kicking you?
4.8 ...punching you with a fist?
4.9 ...choking, strangling or suffocating you?
4.10 ...hitting you with some object?
4.11 ...burning or scalding you on purpose?
4.12 ...using a knife or gun on you (threatened, attempted to, or actually injured you)?
4.13 ...banged door, throwing things at you or around/banging things?
4.14 ...other (please specify)

Now I’d like you to tell me about the most serious case of physical abuse that you have experienced

4.20 Please tell me what happened.

I would like to ask you some questions about yourself at the time of the most serious incident of physical abuse.

4.21 How old were you when this first happened?
4.22 Marital status at the time of the most serious incident of physical abuse.
4.22b How many living children did you have when this happened?
4.23 How did you support yourself at the time of the most serious incident of physical abuse?
4.24 Were you alone with the abuser/s or in company when the most serious incident of physical abuse happened?

If in company at the time of the most serious incident of physical abuse, who were they?

4.26 If children were present, how did they react?
4.26b Did the physical abuse lead to any form of bodily harm?
4.26c If Yes in 4.26b What was the result of the injury?
4.27 How many times were you abused in this manner?
4.28 When the abuse happened, or if over time it was happening, were the abuser/s under the influence of alcohol or drugs?
4.29 Did it happen over time (days, months, years), or within the space of one day?

Did the abuser(s) ever use any of the following to hurt you?

From what you have told me many women who go through what you have told me suffer from the following...Have you suffered from them?

4.31.1 Changes in sleeping patterns
4.31.2 A change in your eating patterns
4.31.3 Depression
4.31.4 Nightmares
4.31.5 Thoughts about killing yourself
4.31.6 Tried to kill yourself
4.31.7 Being very irritable
4.31.8 Panic attacks
4.31.9 Feeling very angry (at self or abuser)
4.31.10 Flashbacks
4.31.11 Loss of Confidence/self esteem
4.31.12 Guilt, (feelings of guilt)
4.31.13 Fear
4.31.14 Other (specify)

I would like to ask you some questions about the abuser/s. Remember we are talking about the most serious incident of physical abuse. These questions all relate to the time of that incident.

Abuser/s relationship to you at the time of the incident
Approximate age of abuser/s at incident
Sex of abuser/s
Marital status of abuser/s at the time of the incident
At the time, did the abuser/s work?
At the time, did the abuser/s have economic problems or debts?
Do you still have any contact with the abuser/s?
4.39 Do you believe that what was done to you is a crime?
4.40 Did you tell anyone about it?
4.41 If Yes in 4.40 whom did you tell the episode?
4.42 If No in 4.40 why did you not tell anybody about the episode?
If you told someone, what happened to the abusers?
4.44 What would you consider might have been or is the biggest impact that this has had on your life?

5. EMOTIONAL ABUSE

Has anyone ever deliberately...
5.2 ...prevented you from communicating with others, e.g. using phone, or attending women group meetings or from seeing relatives – isolation (in the home or outside)?
5.3 ...limited your movements outside the house and trailing your movements (after age 18)?
5.4 ...humiliated you in front of others? E.g. abused you infront of your neighbours, friends, children, etc.
5.5 ...called you crazy or possessed and threatened to take you to a mental hospital or traditional healer?
5.6 ...threatened to hurt you?
5.7 ...threatened to harm your children or other family members?
5.8 ...threatened to damage any of your belongings? E.g. clothes and shoes.
5.9 ...threatened to kill you?
5.10 ...threatened to kill your children
5.11 ...threatened to commit suicide if you don’t do what he/she wants?
5.12 ...(husband) refused to have sex with you?
5.13 ...withdrawn help in time of need? E.g. death, sickness, etc.
5.14 ...persistently insulted your physical attributes? E.g. disability, your looks, your hair, your dressing, etc.
5.15 ...persistently insulted your intellectual attributes? E.g. for knowing nothing on a subject
5.16 ...persistently insulted your capabilities? E.g. your cooking, dressing, etc.
5.17 ...threatened to tell your boss to sack you from your job?
5.17 b ...threatened to fire you/sack you from your job?
5.18 ...threatened to evict you or take your house?
5.19. ...other (please specify)

Now I’d like you to tell me about the most serious case of emotional abuse that you have experienced
5.20 Please tell me what happened.
I would like to ask you some questions about yourself at the time of the most serious incident of emotional abuse.

5.21 How old were you when this first happened?

5.21.1 At the time this abuse was done to you were you:

5.22 Marital status at the time of the most serious incident of emotional abuse.

5.21b How many living children did you have when this happened?

5.23 How did you support yourself at the time of the most serious incident of emotional abuse?

5.24 Were you alone with the abuser/s or in company when the most serious incident of emotional abuse happened?

If in company at the time of the most serious incident of emotional abuse, who were they?

5.26 If children were present, how did they react?

5.27 How many times were you abused in this manner?

5.28 When the abuse happened, or if over time it was happening, were the abuser/s under the influence of alcohol or drugs?

5.29 Did it happen over time (days, months, years), or within the space of one day?

5.3 From what you have told me many women who go through what you have told me suffer from the following...(Tick appropriately)?

5.31.1 Changes in sleeping patterns

5.31.2 A change in your eating patterns

5.31.3 Depression

5.31.4 Nightmares

5.31.5 Thoughts about killing yourself

5.31.6 Tried to kill yourself

5.31.7 Being very irritable

5.31.8 Panic attacks

5.31.9 Feeling very angry (at self or abuser)

5.31.10 Flashbacks

5.31.11 Loss of Confidence/self esteem

5.31.12 Guilt (guilt feelings)

5.31.13 Fear

5.31.14 Other (specify)

5.4 Where do you draw your strength? (Explain e.g. religion, friends, support groups, drinking)

I would like to ask you some questions about the abuser/s. Remember we are talking about the most serious incident of emotional abuse. All these questions relate to the time of that incident.
Abuser/s relationship to you at the time of the incident
Approximate age of abuser/s at incident
Sex of abuser/s
Marital status of abuser/s at the time of the incident
At the time, did the abuser/s work?
At the time, did the abuser/s have economic problems or debts?
Do you still have any contact with the abuser/s?

5.6 Do you believe that what was done to you is a crime?
5.6.1 Did you tell anyone about it?
5.6.2 If Yes in 5.6.1, whom did you tell about the episode?
5.6.3 If No in 5.6.1 why did you not tell anybody about the episode?

5.7 What would you consider might have been or is the biggest impact that this has had on your life?

6. SEXUAL ABUSE

Many people find the next section difficult to answer, because it deals with sexual abuse. Please let me know at any stage, if you wish to pause for a moment, so we can take a break. If you would rather not answer some or all of the questions, that is ok, just let me know.

Has anyone ever deliberately...
6.1...tried to kiss, touch or feel your body?
6.2...attempted to have sex with you against your will?
6.3...had sex with you against your will?
6.4...forced you to touch their private parts with your hands/mouth?
6.5...touched your private parts with his hands/ mouth?
6.6...forced you to read/watch phonographic literature and movies
6.7...inserted foreign objects into your private parts?
6.8...forced you to behave in a sexual way with another person while they were watching (not for money)?
6.9...forced you to have sex with another person (for money or another form of payment)?
6.10...forced you when you were a child to have sex?
6.11...forced you when you were an adolescent to have sex against your will?
6.12...forced you when you were a wife to have sex when you were
sick?
6.13…forced you to have sex soon after having a baby?
6.14…forced you when you were a child to have sex when he had an
STD
6.15…forced you when you were and adolescent to have sex when he
had an STD
6.16…forced you when you were a wife to have sex when he had an
STD
6.17…infected you with STD/AIDS
6.18…Were you sexually abused when you were a child?
6.19 If Yes in 6.18 by whom?
6.19b …other (please specify)
Now I’d like you to tell me about the most serious case of sexual
abuse that you have experienced
6.20 Please tell me what happened.
I would like to ask you some questions about yourself at the time of
the most serious incident of sexual abuse.
6.21 How old were you when this first happened?
6.22 Marital status at the time of the most serious incident of
sexual abuse.
6.23 How did you support yourself at the time of the most serious
incident of sexual abuse?
6.24 Were you alone with the abuser/s or in company when the
most serious incident of sexual abuse happened?
If in company at the time of the most serious incident of sexual
abuse, who were they?
6.26 If children were present, how did they react?
6.27 How many times were you abused in this manner?
6.28 When the abuse happened, or if over time it was happening,
were the abuser/s under the influence of alcohol or drugs?
6.29 Did it happen over time (days, months, years), or within the
space of one day?
Did the abuser(s) ever use any of the following to hurt you?
From what you have told me many women who go through what
you have told me suffer from the following…Have you suffered from
them?
6.31 Sexually transmitted diseases
6.32 Being pregnant
6.33 Having a child/ren
6.34 Having to decide whether or not to have an abortion.
6.35 AIDS
6.36 Having an abortion
6.37 Being unable to have a child/children

Since the most serious incident of sexual abuse, have you suffered from any of the following as a result of the abuse?

6.38.1 Changes in sleeping patterns
6.38.2 A change in your eating patterns
6.38.3 Depression
6.38.4 Nightmares
6.38.5 Thoughts about killing yourself
6.38.6 Tired to kill yourself
6.38.7 Being very irritable
6.38.8 Panic attacks
6.38.9 Feeling very angry (at self or abuser)
6.38.10 Flashbacks
6.38.11 Sexual difficulties
6.38.12 Difficulties relating to the opposite sex
6.38.13 Self blame/guilt
6.38.14 Loss of confidence
6.38.15 Forced you to change your movements
6.38.16 Other (specify)
    I would like to ask you some questions about the abuser/s. Remember we are talking about the most serious incident of sexual abuse. These questions all relate to the time of that incident.

Abuser/s relationship to you at the time of the incident
Approximate age of abuser/s at incident
Sex of abuser/s
Marital status of abuser/s at the time of the incident
At the time, did the abuser/s work?
At the time, did the abuser/s have economic problems or debts?
Do you still have any contact with the abuser/s?
6.46 Do you believe that what was done to you is a crime?
6.47 Did you tell anyone about it?
6.48 If Yes in 6.47, whom did you tell about this episode?
6.49 If No in 6.47 why did you not tell anybody about this episode?
If you told someone, what happened to the abuser/s?
6.51 What would you consider might have been or is the biggest
impact that this has had on your life?

REMEMBER – WE ARE SPEAKING ABOUT THE MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT OF ABUSE.

6.61 How long after the incident did it take you to go to a doctor?
6.62 If more than an hour after, was it because...
6.63 Did you voluntarily tell the (doctor/nurse/healer) who did this to you?
6.64 Did you tell the truth or give another story?
6.65 Were you alone or in the presence of other people?
6.66 If you gave another story, please explain why.
6.67 Do you think doctor/nurse/healer believed you?
6.68 Was the medical person a man or woman?
6.69 Were you satisfied with the service you received from medical personnel?
6.70 Please explain your answer in 6.69.
6.71 Do you have suggestions on the medical care system?
6.72 In case of domestic violence, were you accompanied by husband/partner?

7. SUPPORT SERVICES, POLICE AND JUSTICE SYSTEM

I am now going to ask you about your experience of seeking help. I have asked about four different categories of abuse. I would now like you to choose from the most serious abuses that you have just been talking to me about?
7. What would you regard as the most serious incident of abuse that you have been subjected to?

REMEMBER – WE ARE SPEAKING ABOUT THE MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT OF ABUSE.

Did you turn to any of the following for help?

7.1 Hospital
7.2 Police
7.3 Private Doctor
7.4 Lawyer/legal person
7.5 Psychiatrist
Survivors Speak

REMEMBER, WE ARE STILL SPEAKING ABOUT THE MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT OF ABUSE.

8: THE POLICE

8.1 Was it reported…?
8.2 Who took your statement?
8.2.1 If male – would you have preferred a woman?
8.3 Do you feel that the Police believed you?
8.4 Were you assisted in a private room?
8.5 Were you given a case number?
8.6 If you had any visible injuries, were photographs taken?
8.7 Were you given the name of the officer who took your statement?
8.8 Were you given the name of the officer who investigated your case?

Did the police inform you about any of the following rights that you have:
8.10 The right to get your medical examination done before your statement is taken
8.11 The right to have someone accompany you while your statement is being taken
8.12 The right to make supplementary statements at a later stage
8.20 Did the police take you to the Hospital?
8.21 Did you feel comfortable with the police?
8.24 Were they willing to help?
8.22 Do you feel the police understood your problem?
8.23 How was the case resolved?
8.24 Did the police at any stage offer you any form of protection?
8.25 Do you feel that you might have needed protection?
8.26 Were you satisfied with the way in which the police treated you?
8.26b Did you make any payment for the services offered at the police station?
8.26c If Yes in 9.26b, how much did you pay?
8.27 Please explain.
8.28 If you could make changes to the police system, please explain…

THINKING STILL OF THE MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT…

9: YOU SAID YOU WENT TO THE HOSPITAL…

9.1 Who referred you to the Hospital?
9.2 How long after the incident were you examined by the Hospital?
9.3 If longer than two hours, was this because you…
9.4 Did anyone explain to you why you had to go to the Hospital?
9.5 How did you get there?
9.6 Where did this examination take place?
9.7 Was the doctor a man or a woman?
9.8 If there were any other persons present, were they male or female or both?
9.10 Did the doctor give you any medical attention for Sexually Transmitted Diseases or to prevent a pregnancy?
9.11 How much did you have to pay? And how did you pay?
9.12 Were you satisfied with the way you were treated by the Doctor / Hospital?
9.13 Please explain?

REMEMBER – WE ARE SPEAKING ABOUT THE MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT OF ABUSE.

10: YOU SAID YOU WENT TO A LEGAL ADVISOR…

10.1 Who did you go to?
10.2 How much did it cost? KS
10.3 How did you pay?
10.4 Was the legal advice effective?
10.5 Please explain?
10.5b Was the atmosphere friendly?

I am now going to ask you a few questions about your court experience. Ask if the case went to trial

10.6 If the abuser was arrested, and there was a bail application, were you asked to participate in the bail application in any way?
10.7 If the case went to trial, did the prosecutor meet with you before the trial?
10.8 If so, how long before the trial did the prosecutor meet with you?
10.9 Did the person inform you about or explain to you the court procedure?
10.10 Did you see a copy of your statement before you gave evidence?
10.11 Were you told that you could discuss any changes to your statement that you might have liked to make, with the prosecutor?
10.12 Were you asked to pay? How much? How did you pay?
10.13 Did the prosecutor or police tell you about the outcome/results of the trial?
10.14 How were you treated by the prosecutor?
10.15 How were you treated by the defence attorney?
10.17 Were you satisfied by your experience in court?
10.18 Please explain?
10.19 If you could make changes to the legal or criminal justice system, please explain...

REMEMBER – WE ARE SPEAKING ABOUT THE MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT OF ABUSE.

11: YOU MENTIONED THAT YOU WENT FOR COUNSELING/SPOKE WITH SOMEONE ABOUT IT...

11.1 Who did you MAINLY go to for counselling?
11.2 Did you have to pay for the counselling?
11.3 How did you pay?
11.4 Do you feel the counsellor understood you?
11.5 Please explain?
11.6 How long did you go for counselling/Support Group?
When you stopped going for counselling, was it because…
11.8 Were you satisfied with the way in which you were treated?
11.9 Please explain?
11.10 If you could make changes to the counselling system, please explain…

REMEMBER – WE ARE SPEAKING ABOUT THE MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT OF ABUSE.

12: BESIDES ANY OF THESE, IS THERE ANY OTHER PERSON OR AGENCY YOU WENT TO AFTER …….. THAT YOU WOULD LIKE TO TELL ME ABOUT?
12.1 What kind of help did they give you? - please explain.
12.2 Do you think they took you seriously?
12.3 Did they give you advice on what you could do?
12.4 Please explain the type of advice given…
12.5 Were you satisfied with the way you were treated?
12.6 Please explain….
12.7 If you could make changes generally to the way abused women are treated after incidents such as yours, please explain…

13. SEXUAL HARASSMENT AT PLACE OF WORK/EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS
13.1 Whilst you were a scholar or student were you ever approached by a teacher or lecturer and asked to trade sexual favours for better grades?
13.2 IF YES 13.1, Describe the situation and your response?
13.3 IF YES, How old were you at the time?
13.4 IF YES, What grade were you in at the time?
13.5 Do you think that sexual harassment is common or Rare?
13.6 IF YES in 13.5, How many girls/women (out of every 10) do you think that such a thing has happened to?

IF APPLICABLE – MEANING IF THE WOMAN HAS EVER WORKED BEFORE OR IS CURRENTLY WORKING ASK QUESTIONS 13.7 TO 13.12, IF NOT GO TO SECTION 14
13.7 Whilst you were/are in employment were you ever approached by a senior, boss or owner of the enterprise and asked to trade sexual favours for either a better job or to simply retain your present one?
13.8 IF YES IN 13.7, Describe the situation and your response?
13.9 IF YES IN 13.7, How old were you at the time?
13.10 IF YES IN 13.7, What type of work were you doing at the time?
13.11 Do you think that such sexual harassment is common or rare?
13.12 IF YES in 13.10 How many women (out of every 10) do you think that such a thing has happened to?

13.13 Have you ever suffered sexual harassment when you are travelling in a public transport vehicle, e.g. bus, matatu?
13.14 Have you ever suffered sexual harassment in a market place?
13.15 Have you ever suffered sexual harassment in an entertainment place? E.g. Hotel, Bar

14. GENERAL PERCEPTIONS OF CRIME
WE HAVE FINISHED TALKING ABOUT THAT ONE SPECIFIC INCIDENT. I AM NOW GOING TO ASK YOU ABOUT YOUR FEELINGS AND THOUGHTS IN GENERAL.—THIS IS OUR LAST PAGE!

I AM NOW GOING TO ASK YOU SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT YOUR FEELINGS OF SAFETY.

14.1 How safe do you feel when you are inside your own home?
14.2 How often do you feel like this?
14.3 If unsafe... What would make you feel safer at home?
14.4 How safe do you feel when you are at work?
14.5 How often do you feel like this?
14.6 If unsafe... What would make you feel safer at work?
14.7 Where do you feel most unsafe:

How safe do you feel walking in the area where you live during the day?
14.8.1 How safe do you feel walking in the area where you live at night?
14.8.2 How safe do you feel walking in the area where you work or study during the day?
14.9.2 work or study at night?
14.10.1 mainly shop during the day?
14.10.2 mainly shop at night?
14.11.1 in the city centre during day?
14.11.2 in the city centre at night?
14.12 Is the issue of crime, particularly as it might impact on your household’s safety, one that worries you?
14.13 What should the government do to make Nairobi a safer place for women?
14.14 What do you think YOU can do to make Nairobi a safer place for women?

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR SHARING YOUR EXPERIENCES AND IDEAS WITH ME. I HOPE THAT IT WAS NOT TOO PAINFUL FOR YOU. IF YOU WISH TO SPEAK ABOUT IT SOME MORE WITH ME OR ANOTHER PERSON, I CAN HELP YOU. PLEASE LET ME KNOW SO THAT I CAN HELP YOU.