

Does Space Produce Fear or Does Fear Produce Space?

Theories and practices on urban safety from a gender perspective. – The analysis of city experiences through the eyes of Nairobi women.

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Statement of authenticity of material

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any institution and to the best of my knowledge and belief, the research contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text of the thesis.

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Berlin, February 1st 2018

Female violence in public spaces is an everyday discussion. Additionally, from traditional crimes such as theft and murder, women have to cope with sexual violence, harassment and stalking, being some of them not considered punishable crimes under some jurisdictions. Access, use and behaviours within the built environment contrast greatly between men and women as gender is just one of a multiplicity of inequalities that combines the patterns of poverty, exclusion and insecurity that is seen in the world today. Why are women often seen as victims of the public space? What intensifies the perception of fear in them? There are both physical and social aspects of places that can be experienced as frightening. Fear can be caused both by other people's presence and their absence. The purpose of the present study was to elucidate how women's fears and safety perceptions in Nairobi's public space vary not only by the spatial urban characteristics but by the social factors that structure their lives within it. The study attempts to illustrate how fear is socially constructed. While urban design can reduce fear in public, it won't 'design out fear' as women's fear of certain spaces is in fact, fear of men. The subjects of patriarchy and power relations will be discussed to facilitate the understanding. Moreover, the study also attempts to understand the strategies used by women to avoid risk within the urban city of Nairobi. The present research is based on the feminist methodology and assessed through a feminist standpoint with the use of mix methods and different primary and secondary sources.

Keywords: Power relations, patriarchy, women safety, women in public spaces, marginalisation

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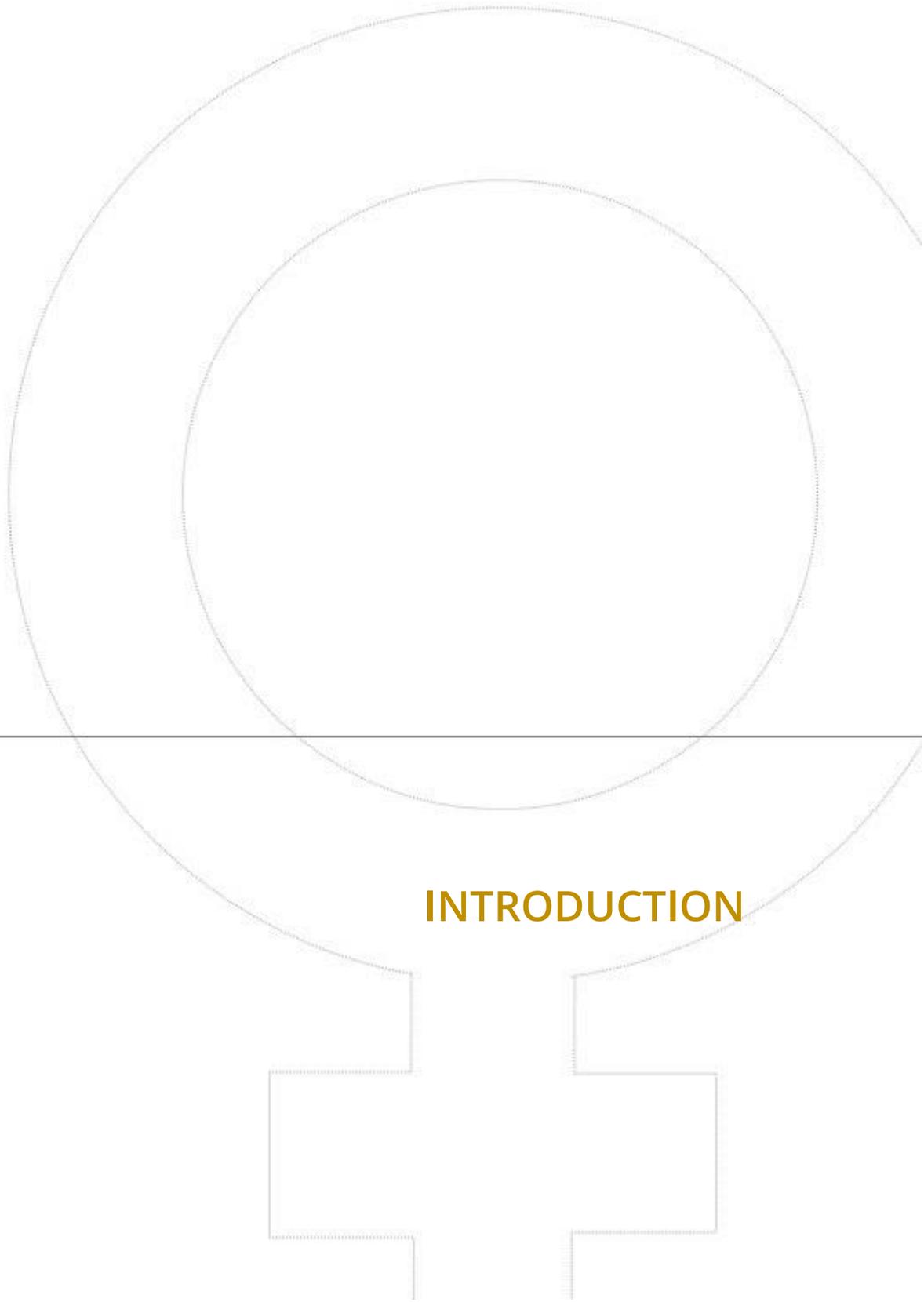
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CBD	Central Business District)
CPTED	Crime Prevention through Environmental Design
GBV	Gender-Based Violence
KSUP	Korogocho Street Upgrading Project
SOA	The Sexual Offences Act
UN	United Nations
UN-Habitat	United Nations Human Settlement Programme
VAW	Violence Against Women
WHO	World Health Organization



INTRODUCTION

1 Lefebvre's famous 'Right to the city' theorizes that those who inhabit the city should have the equal freedom to full and complete use of the urban space. However, it is known that as urbanization grows, so does inequality, exclusion, segregation, urban violence and power orders that end up generating urban areas separated by the wealthy and the poor; the citizen and the excluded; and especially, women and men. Beyond doubt, access, uses and behaviors within the built environment contrast greatly between the last, as gender is just one of a multiplicity of inequalities that is seen in the world today.

Female violence in public spaces is an everyday discussion. In addition to the traditional crimes, we have to bear with the consequences of being sexually harassed or stalked while living our everyday lives; realities that could be intensified by the different social and cultural contexts of each country and of women themselves. Thus, women safety has become a major interest in current times with international organizations on the side reinforcing this issue and bringing a wide variety of documentation on the 'proper' implementations and tools in policing, planning, and design to assure equitable, inclusive and safe public spaces for all.

In this sense, between the months of July and December of 2017, I traveled to Nairobi to engage in an internship programme at UN-Habitat that worked on city safety for women and girls. Most of their work was structured under the environmental disciplines that affirm crime can be designed out when improving the physical characteristics of the place through situational design, thus increasing women's safety. However, can women safety really be enhanced by only changing the built environment? On 2014, Kenya's capital made international news when a group of men stripped down and videotaped a woman while waiting at the bus stop at daytime in the city center, allegedly for provocative behaviors and indecent dressing. Examples like the former evidence the need to also dig in the social contexts that cause victimization and fear in order to provide solutions to this issue.

When women safety is focused purely on a criminalistics and environmental point of view, the fight for a more egalitarian city ends up being constrained by the challenges of this discourse which overlooks the power relations in the physical environment, the hierarchical

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gender relations that translates into fear, and the patriarchal power associations that shape how bodies access the urban space. To properly tackle women safety and enhance women's right to the city, it is imperative to understand what they are afraid of and what consequences does this fear bring. Such practical studies have recently been targeted by feminist academics within western developed cities, but little has been done in the developing world, especially in the African context.

1.1. Research Questions

Regarding the foregoing, this thesis will address the following questions:

Main question:

1. What are the physical and social factors that intensify fear of victimization and perception of safety of Nairobi women when using the city's public spaces?
2. How does fear of victimization and risk perception shape their everyday lives and use of the city?

Secondary questions:

3. What coping mechanisms do women use in order to challenge their fear of public spaces of Nairobi?
4. Are the current safety initiatives and policies in Nairobi improving the security of women when traversing the city?

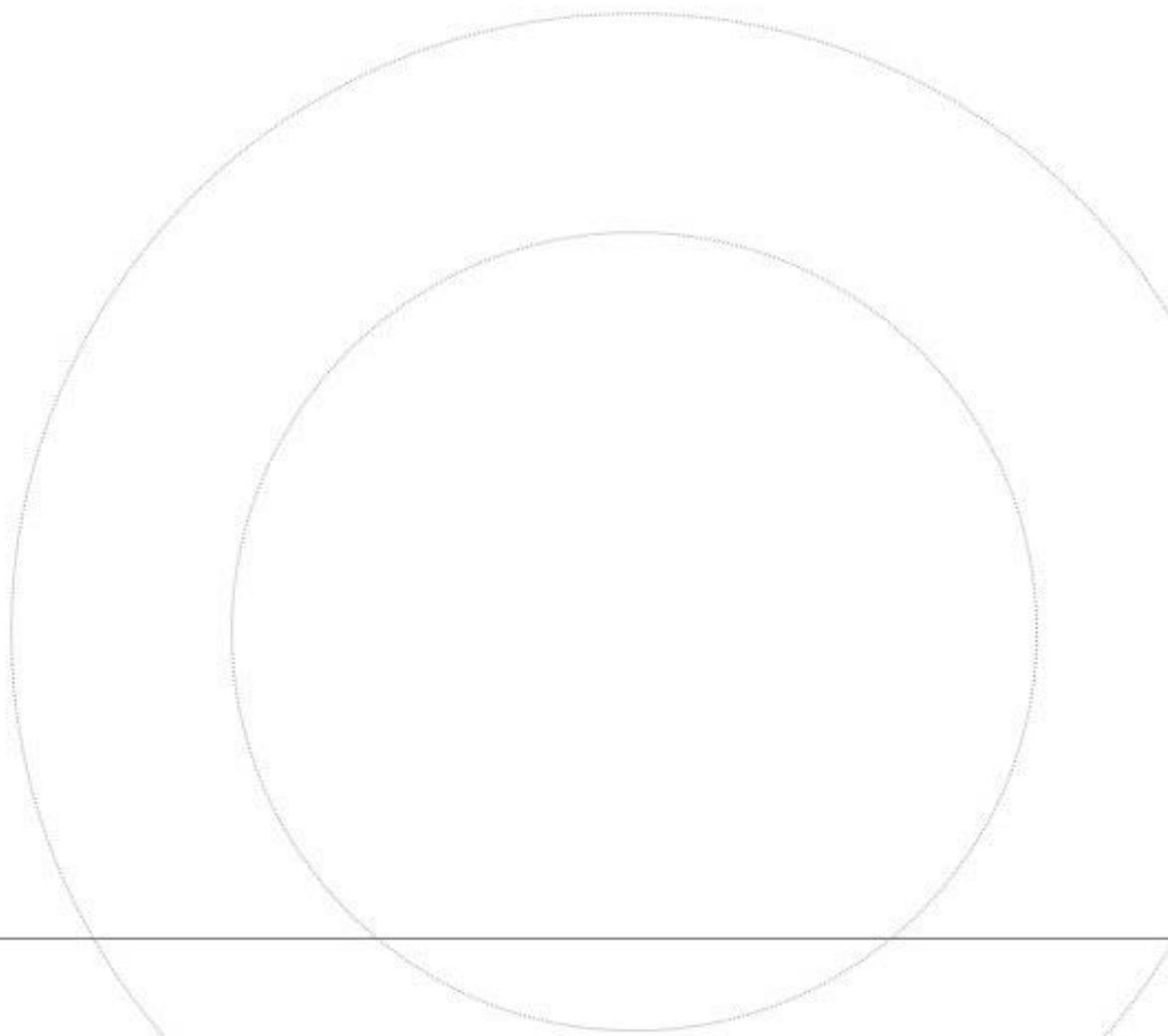
1.2. Aim of Research

The aim of this thesis is to understand how women's fears and safety perceptions in Nairobi's public space vary not only by the spatial urban characteristics but by the social factors that structure their lives within it. While acknowledging that situational design is an important factor to improve women safety in urban spaces, the study attempts to illustrate how fear is socially constructed, making the idea of 'designing out fear' a misleading strategy as women's fears are the representation of the power dynamics, being in many cases, the power of men. In addition, by identifying these factors and their repercussions, and by diagnosing the ways women cohere and construe with the implications, this study can

contribute to the formulation of future gender-based safety policies that will accurately and responsively bring solutions to Nairobi city safety, not only for women but for all residents as well.

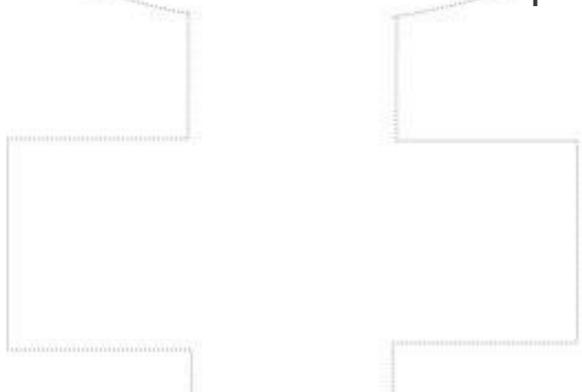
1.3. Research Structure

This research is structured in 7 chapters. After showing in chapter 1: Introduction the purpose, aim and research question of the study; this thesis is later separated in two parts, being the first one those theoretical concepts and pieces of literature that will back up the ideas in use, and the last one a real-world experience through a specific case selection. At the beginning of each chapter, a small introduction is provided to understand the focus of each section. As a general overview, chapter 2 resides on dealing with the theoretical concepts that deal with women, crime and violence in urban areas; chapter 3 will provide an in depth analysis on the studies of gender, space and women's right to the city; chapter 4 will put in evidence the current Nairobi context through a gender lens; chapter 5 will deal with the methodological implications and research design methods; chapter 6 will be based on the findings and results of the thesis; and to complete, chapter 7 will provide the concluding remarks.



PART I

Space produces fear or fear produces space? Theories behind GBV, fear of crime, and social exclusion on the urban space



2 Up to date, it is beyond any doubt how women as a social group are still allocated in the most vulnerable body of civilization. In addition of facing unequal opportunities, gender oppression, constant discrimination, and systematic exclusion in all political, social, cultural and economic spheres; women are also subjected to the many forms of violence from both modern society and their male counterparts, which intensifies their “second-rate” status. In this sense, “Part I” of the thesis will address all those concepts, notions, and previous research the study is based upon concerning women in the urban space. To begin with, the following chapter will provide an understanding of the relationship between women and the city touching upon issues of victimization and crime and its correlation to fear and insecurity.

2.1. Introductory concepts on Gender-Based Violence and Violence Against Women

Ever since the battered women’s movement¹ in the late 1960’s and early 1970’s, feminism as a theoretical and social movement, has opened a widely spreading discussion to define and redefine Gender Based Violence (GBV) and Violence Against Women (VAW) through a social and political lens; and recognise the reasons behind its existence. For over the past four decades, such literature though having different approaches and considerations, tend to share the common understanding that both patriarchy and the world’s status quo are the motives behind this reality. Some examples can be found in the work of Moser (2004) which understands that much of social violence is gender-based and linked with the power relations and constructions of masculinities. Others, such as Smaoun (2000), states how social context encourages VAW with cultural practices and a patriarchal system that exacerbate women’s subordination and define their needs in accordance to men. Additionally, Watts and Zimmerman (2002) explain how VAW serves to maintain the unequal power balance in society with women’s consent on the accepted norms that

¹ Battered Women’s movement represents the number of organisations working against women’s and children’s violence.

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exaggerate their vulnerability to violence, which fosters the abuses perpetrated against them.

With scholars bringing a variety of explanations and theories surrounding the causes of its existence, creating a common universal understanding of the term and defining its complexity is still a difficult task to strive as interpretations can vary from one place to another, depending on the diverse social, cultural and national perceptions. With that said, world international organizations have still endeavored to elucidate the concept and distinguish it as a human right issue paving the way for the rise of gender sensitive and inclusive standards in human rights protection (Ertürk, 2009).

The most relevant recognition came then, during the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women in 1993 by the UN, which defined it as "any act that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion arbitrarily deprivations of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life². Additionally, other universal accepted classification comes from The World Health Organization (WHO) as "the violation of human rights and a form of discrimination against women that result in physical, sexual, psychological or economic harm or suffering to women" (Krug et al., 2002, cited in Whitzman, 2008). All in all, there seems to be a general understanding that GBV is specifically directed against women; a misleading association as men and children can also suffer from it; and an acknowledgement that women's abuse, GBV, and VAW, are synonyms, ignoring to include in its definition the violence committed by men against other men, even if it is based on conflicts over gender roles or sexuality.

Considering the concept oversees the violence perpetrated to the female population, this research will not address the whole complexity of the term as it acknowledges the broadness of its scope. In theory and practice, GBV circumscribe a wide collection of offenses and abuses in geographical and culturally specific forms; from sexual, psychological, and

² United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women. UN General Assembly, New York, 1993

emotional assaults in the family or community (Watts & Zimmerman, 2002); to child marriage, genital mutilation, female infanticide, and honour killings in different societies (UN Women, 2011). Though international surveys and reports highlights domestic violence as the most common form of GBV (UN Habitat, 2008), this research will examine the violence perpetrated towards women at the community level especially in the public sphere and elaborate how women fear of violence and crime leads to social exclusion, isolation, and restriction to their basic right as citizens.

In consideration of the foregoing, it is essential first to have a clear understanding of the concepts surrounding violence, crime, fear of crime and insecurity, to be able to distinguish VAW from any other form of viciousness. For it, the following section will explain the concepts behind each term.

2.2. Understanding violence and crime, and their relationship with insecurity and fear of crime

With urbanization growing at an exponential rate, so has the rise in urban violence that surpasses the demographic growth of cities, making violence and crime expressed through fear and insecurity, and affecting the well-being and livelihood security of citizens and their ability to access resources (Vanderschueren, 1996). Although men are more prone to experience crime in the public arena, women's fear of attack goes beyond the typical criminal activity with the addition of sexual attacks like rape, assaults generally carried out by the male gender. Moser (2004) defines urban violence as a non-static phenomenon with a complex and multi-layered nature that keeps vividly changing as new concerns enter the public sphere such as globalization, international migration, poverty and inequality, and the longstanding difficulties of exclusion. Though, before expanding on wider notions, first let's understand the general concepts behind each denomination.

On one hand, violence is defined by the Worlds Health Organization (WHO) as "the use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, that either result in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment or deprivation (Krung et al., 2007, quoted in Whitzman, 2008). The mentioned study separates violence in three different sectors: (1) Self-

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directed violence, which is the one a person administers against himself that may or may not be considered a crime depending on the legislation of a place; (2) Interpersonal violence, defined as the violence applied from an individual or group of individuals towards another person or body of persons; and (3) Collective violence, characterized by the violence inflicted by members of a group towards another individual or group to attain political, economic or social purposes. Another cataloging of violence can be found in the work of Moser and McIlwaine (2006) that separates violence in four sorts: Political, Institutional, Economic, and Social, being the last one those acts instigated by the conscious or unconscious eagerness to obtain social control, such as sexual assaults and women's abuse.

On the other hand, crime is defined as any offense that is against the laws of the government (Fay, 2005), namely, the infringement of a legal system. As straightforward as this definition can be, it creates a gap in its understanding as there are cultural differences in the labeling of crimes and the meting out of punishments. For instance, in some countries, mendicancy in the public space and adultery are considered crimes, the latest punishable with the death penalty; while in others, sexual assault within the married couple is not a violation of the law, therefore, not condemned under the court of justice.

When introducing such concepts in the urban environment new classifications emerge with the concepts of 'Urban crimes' and 'Violent crimes'. While the first address the law-punishable offences against property, which account for at least half of all offences in cities all over the world (UNICRI, 1995); the latest is defined as any act that causes a physical or psychological wound or damage, such as murder; attempted murder, assault, sexual assault, robbery, extortion and kidnapping (Vanderschueren, 1996). Depending upon the categorization used by any particular country, implicit threats of force may not matter in terms of violent crimes, leaving out violence such as harassment based on sexism, racism or homophobia, and stalking.

Though crime and violence are very different phenomena, they are both expressed through distress and insecurity making a new social problem emerge: fear of crime. Even though it's perception cannot be reflected through statistical evidence, it affects well-being and the livelihood security of the poor and their ability to access resources (Moser, 2004). Fear of crime is described as the different emotional and practical responses both individuals

and communities use to address crime issues (Pain, 2000); and as the perception of risk to be physically hurt by criminal violence in the urban space (Stanko, 1995). Moreover, it disturbs the animation and use of public spaces within the city bringing social and economic negative outcomes. While studies suggest how this concept is associated with a person's literacy, wealth, ethnicity, and age (Gray et al., 2011), gender is probably the most noticeable component when addressing the fear of crime discourse (Tandogan and Simsek, 2016), due to the fact that women experience in the city contrast greatly from men.

2.3 Women and fear of crime- The Paradox

Women's fear of crime and its relation to gender and space has been widely studied within different disciplines in sociology, architecture, geography, history and urban planning (Spain, 2014). Despite the fact that criminal victimization surveys recognize men encounter higher values of victimization risks, women fear of crime and violence is three times higher than their male counterparts (Stanko, 1992, as cited in Scott, 2003). Though this evidence seems contradictory, it is important to understand the root of this paradox.

First, as Stanko suggests, most criminology studies rely on urban crimes, excluding those that happen in the private domain (Scott, 2003). Second, women's fear differs from the ones from the male gender as they are rooted in the concern of facing a sexual assault (Warr, 1987). Third, most of the sexually violent acts against women are not only deeply under-informed to the law enforcement, but, most crime surveys tend to overlook secluded acts of violence such as harassment and stalking (Whitzman, 2008), making police reports non-realistic to the actual situation. Altogether, women's fear of victimization evidence higher figures as it is embedded not only in the concerns of traditional crimes, but the additional fear of sexual offenses, and the burden of reporting it to the authorities. Studies indicate women are 11 times more likely than men to experience molestation and sexual assaults in public or private spaces, increasing their fear of victimization in contrast to the male gender (Scott, 2003). This statistical evidence entails the power relations between male and female in the use of the physical environment.

According to the Global Assessment on Women Safety (2008), women's view on violence and insecurity is the result of numerous inter-related risk factors that can take a

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number of forms, with most of its focus on family or domestic violence, sexual assaults, and women's safety in public spaces. Surveys from the publication state the most common form of GBV occurs within the private sphere with 39% in comparison to the 19% that occur in the public environment. Paradoxically, women report being more afraid of being persecuted by strangers than by someone they know (Scott, 2003), arising another contradiction as most violence is inflicted in the domestic setting and not in the public one.

These oddities have been the focus of a wide number of scholars for understanding the causes and motivations of women's fear of crime despite the statistics and figures. Feminist scholars such as Pain (1991) and Keane (1995) argue these paradoxes come from the accumulative effects of unstudied victimization acts, such as street harassment, which inhibits women's facility of movement and their right to the city. Stanko (1995) and Smaon (2000) maintain how hidden victimization and undisclosed data makes women's fear unproportional to the level of risk. Ferraro (1995) and Warr (1990) theorize how women conceive any act of victimization could result in sexual assault as fear of rape is circumscribed in their subconscious. Other theories rely on social vulnerabilities such as literacy, wealth, ethnicity and age (Gray et al., 2011); and physical vulnerabilities such as the powerlessness to resist potential aggressors. In addition, socialization tends to play an effective role on increasing women's fear of victimization as social norms, and traditional feminine ideologies epitomize women as the less aggressive and weak gender, unable to stand up for themselves (Brannon, 2004, Chapter 7). Either way, the apprehension women are exposed to clearly defines the power relation between the genders as most of the offenses are executed by men.

2.4 Women and the consequences of fear of crime

Leaving aside the factors that reinforce the different paradoxes, their repercussions ultimately deprives women's right as citizens, excluding them from the social and economic advantages of the urban space. Because of the uneasiness to traverse in public spaces, many adopt behaviors, arrangements, and specific forms of conducts such as taking shorter routes, avoiding certain areas, and controlling their body language (Listerborn, 1999), coping strategies that are mostly determined by the women's age, income and lifestyle (Valentine, 1989).

With the different mechanisms used by women to deal with fear in public spaces, such as time and space avoidance of specific sectors and groups of people (Valentine, 1989; Miethe, 1995), consequently they end up reducing women's quality of life by confining their possibility to participate in social activities and limiting their mobility choices. Eventually, as such patterns become part of their reality, they finish reconstructing behaviors and lifestyles, affecting not only their presence in social life but also restricting their choices on job and education opportunities. In addition, this adaptation of lifestyles is yet reinforced by international crime prevention strategies that fortify the idea that women should take precaution for their own safety making sexual assaults and criminal acts a fixed reality (Campbell, 2005).

Altogether, women's fear of victimization is a fixed reality which leads to severe consequences that censor their right as citizens and excludes them to fully complete use of the urban space. However, to fully understand why such current acts against women occur and why the proliferation of women's fear, it is important to address the issue through a gender lens and recognize the relationship that had bound society to maintain women's unequal status. The following chapter will address these notions and undertake the numerous forms of gender spatial expression and oppression.

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3 To recognize the relationship between gender and urban space it is imperative to apprise the coalition between women's social behaviors of their proper place; the patriarchal values built into the metropolis; gender inequalities reinforced by urban structures and the role of urban planning. Although Lefebvre's 'Right to the City' theorizes that those who inhabit the city should have the freedom to full and complete use of the urban space, as well as the right to participate in decision-making processes (Lefebvre, 1991, cited in Fenster, 2005), evidence of the dissimilar experiences between men and women in public spaces raises the question of who really owns the place.

3.1 Defining Space and Place

Upon opening this discussion, let's start by analyzing the general concept and different interpretations of what space, place and public spaces are. To begin, the conventional definition of space is a measurable abstract geometry like distance or size (Logan, 2012, cited in Spain, 2014). Advancing into the variety of definitions, Lefebvre states space is reflected by social norms that embody social relations (Lefebvre, 1991, cited in Spain, 2014); Fenster (2005) identifies it as a practical place; Löw (2006) affirms is an expression of pluralities that overlap reciprocal relations and are indefinite to future formations; and Massey (1994) describes it as socially constructed by economical and societal factors where social relations are 'stretched out'; which expresses the spheres of juxtaposition and coexistence referred as 'The Spatial'.

Place, on the other hand, is a particular geographical location that takes a tangible form through buildings, parks, cities, etc (Spain, 2014). In this sense, the urban can be correlated to a broad variety of places. Moreover, Sandberg (2011) describes a place as the unbounded areas with moments opened to social relations constructed over time; and as processes constantly reproduced in relation to other places. This indicates how places are shaped by frequent experiences at the hand of social relations.

Public Spaces have also a wide array of understandings. In a more technical definition, The Global Public Space Toolkit defines it as "all places publicly owned or of public use, accessible and enjoyable by all for free and without a profit motive" (UN Habitat, 2015, p. 24).

This publication separates public spaces into five main categories: (1) Streets, which include avenues, squares, open plazas, paths, and passages; (2) Open spaces, which includes parks, gardens, beaches, riverbanks and waterfronts; (3) Urban facilities, meaning public libraries, community centres, public sport facilities and municipal markets; (4) The 'Space of the Public' being the urban commons; and (5) The City itself, which views the city as the arena and expression of a physical and symbolic space dedicated, shared and entrusted to all.

A more conceptual definition implicates public spaces as the places where particular groups are relegated by the existence of power relations (Koskela, 1999); and as the spaces that create and preserve social positions (Pain, 1991). By this, the relationship with fear of crime comes in hand. When power is introduced into the urban core, it either restricts or intensifies the opportunities of different groups depending on who is holding control. For instance, women limit their right to use public spaces by avoiding going out at night or walking unattended due to the fear of being overpowered by dominant presences. In this sense, women's fear is not automatically linked to the place itself but the activities and interactions with the people within that space, making these a product of social relations, which in most of the cases, is represented by the preeminent male control of public space due to the patriarchal system.

3.2 Gender, Power, and Space

For Scott (1986), gender is the fundamental element of social relations based on how the different sexes are perceived; and is the most important sphere of influence in which power is articulated. By this, she identifies gender as a social construction that stands upon the edges of social organizations, normative concepts, and historic and cultural representations; and is used to build a set of references in all social life which at the end contributes to the construction of power itself. Thus, when interconnecting the idea of gender and public spaces, both women and men use urban spaces based on their social position in society.

In this sense, women's fear can be interpreted as the expression of the uneven power relations and male supremacy in the control of space. As previously seen, this not only limits women's mobility and restrain their full right to the city; but modifies their behavior in order

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to cope with the possibility of being assaulted or attacked, reinforcing the prevalence of a male oppressive urban environment. Such preventative measures and adjustment of lifestyles to ensure safety, constitute the spatial expression of the patriarchal society, where women's fitting roles and spaces are already presumed in general understanding (Pain, 2000). The constant struggle to access to the city, not only in the reproductive labour - which trespass on the time and ability to involve in extra-domestic activity - but also in relation to the "forbidden" and "permitted" use of spaces, limits social interactions and render women as "invisible" or unapproachable (Chant, 2013).

With evidence on the correlation of power relations and the patriarchal structure of society, a deeper explanation of what patriarchy is seemed necessary in this section. Defining patriarchy raised numerous debates between feminist academics ever since the term flourished in the western world during the peak of high modernism. Generally, it is described as the abstract characterization of the structures, social arrangements, and power relations in which men and men as a group, dominates and oppresses women and women as a group (McDowell, 1992; Walby, 1989; Peake, 1993). Furthermore, the institution of patriarchy is hegemonic, meaning its practice is so rooted in the political and social context, hiding the cultural construction of women and naturalizing their subordinate position in society (Ebert, 1998).

Feminist academics have raised several questions in order to comprehend what constitutes the spatial expression of patriarchy in current society, by examining if it is indeed the primary form of social inequality; by evidencing its autonomy regarding the capitalist system; and by evaluating what instruments it uses to maintain women's fear of victimization (Valentine, 1989; Peake, 1993). In this sense, to affiliate how cities embody patriarchal principles, Peake's (1993) work presents a comprehensive summary of the wide range of theories that interconnects capitalism, patriarchy, and urbanization. She locates four main areas of research.

The first area comes from those feminist academics which claim how the city has been enclosed to masculine and feminine spaces, by secluding women to the unpaid domestic and childcare chores in suburbanized space and connecting men to the salaried work of public life in the city center. By this, "male control of, and access to the city are the result of

patriarchal social relations embedded in marriage and the family" (Garmanikow, 1978, page 398, cited in Peake 1993). Such notion is mostly intensified by Marxist feminist which attributes the division of household labor - in which men produce and women reproduce- adding to the division of paid retribution - in which for men is visible and for women is invisible -, as boosters of the gender-unequal status in and out the private space (Spain, 2014)

The second area explains how social and spatial segmentation leads to unequal opportunities in the labor market with how women's burden on domestic activities restrict their access to transport means, job opportunities, and everyday services both socially and physically (Peake, 1993). Authors like Tyler May explain how suburbanization reinforced gender inequalities as most of the labor market is located in the city center, an area populated by men, thus making it a masculine one (May, 2008, referenced in Spain, 2014).

The third area belongs to the studies on the configuration of the urban environment, and how it intensifies gender inequalities not only by the designation of masculine and feminine spaces but also in planning and policy framework systems, such as child care, welfare, and housing (Peake, 1993). Spain (2014) indicates how high patriarchy is the social counterpart of high modernism in which streets and buildings were designed in relation to people's occupation. In addition, the configuration of the patriarchal urban environment is evident in the gendered urban violence associated with the neoliberal rationalities on the ground (Peake and Rieker, 2010).

The last represents those who study the social and psychological effects carried by women when trying to belong in the urban space, consequence of the fear of being victimized by men and the inability to access state's protection. Altogether, it can be said the spatial expression of patriarchy is constituted by the gender division of space in which men produce and women reproduce; the attitudes on gender norms that deny women equal power; the historical evolution of the urban space and systems that configures the urban core; and the pervasive threat of victimization which limits women's control of their own existence.

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3.3 Building upon Gender and Women's Oppression

The role of social norms represents one of the mayor oppressive mechanisms that intensify women's victimization and contributes to the spatial and social exclusion of women in all spheres. Social ecology studies recognize individual, social, structural and material factors as those drivers that preserve destructive practices and build upon exclusion (Alexander-Scott et al., 2016). In this sense, VAW is explained as the end product of different civil elements such as genetic predisposition - being past events, family dynamics, socialization, marginalization, and poverty - theological beliefs, gender regimes, and market forces (as cited in Alexander-Scott et al., 2016).

3.3.1 Social Construction of Gender

The Social construction of gender identities plays a fundamental role when addressing violence against women. When men act in violent ways towards the female gender, they are only revealing the visible representation of patriarchy in their actions (O´Toole & Schiffman, 1997, cited in McIlwaine, 2013), making this interaction deeply embedded in the masculine social structures and the most important widespread instrument of patriarchy. Usually, such constructions are produced by socialization and social norms and fortified by publicity and the media (Hollander, 2001). Social science scholars explain how this process is given by the compliance of gender roles, socialization, and opportunity structures; in which people establish relationships and obtain information and skills to properly enter the status quo by accepting different behaviors of the sexes in a particular domain and by supporting gendered norms (Udry, 1994). In other words, while men are socialized to be secure and dominant, women are encapsulated to remain soft and compliant.

According to Millet's book "Sexual Politics", gender roles and behaviors are given through three means: by cataloging boys and girls personalities in which masculine is assertive and feminine is passive; by nurturing the "right" roles for these personalities; and by the diverse status to ensure the continuity of male supremacy (as cited in Pain, 1991). In the same manner, social norms are those shared believes and expectations that define the suitable behavior in a particular group, which becomes the basic mechanism that embodies gender inequality and uneven power relations, and thus sustains VAW (Alexander-

Scott et al., 2016). In this sense, violent behaviors can be perceived as social norms when most of the shares believes are considered typical. Since most of them are based on gender, gender norms define the models on masculinity and femininity.

Alexander-Scott et al. (2016) state how gender norms shape the way men and women see themselves in their own gender, shape their sexuality and define the distribution of power and possessions. From an early age, women are taught their vulnerability from male power by a number of implicit standards that define appropriate behaviors and dress codes, sexual morals, proper lifestyle, and passivity in relationships in order to stay safe (Pain, 1993). With cultural beliefs defining urban space as a masculine one (Falú, 2010), women internalize oppressive feelings on what is considered socially inappropriate for them when being outdoors. Moreover, socialization also misinforms the conception of what safety means by placing and isolating women within their private domains, as public spaces are filled with incivilities and crimes (Valentine, 1989), an erroneous argument since most of the violence perpetrated to women occurs mostly indoors (Scott, 2003). In this sense, socialization messages end up shaping women's concerns, and perceptions of society.

With social and physical spaces being outlined by everyday assumptions, public spaces become a forum in which the dominant force (the masculine one) exceeds its freedom and dynamism while the oppressive one (the feminine one) is restricted to be second string. While several oppressive mechanisms reinforce women's inability to fully use the space and intensify their victimization status, undeniably the most important factor that shapes women subordination and fear is male violence.

3.3.2 Male Violence

...violence against women, exemplified in practices like rape and incest, is not just a collection of randomly vindictive acts, but a social institution which is crucial in reproducing male power by keeping women in a state of fear and unfreedom. This view gains credence when we look at the ways in which violence against women is covertly condoned: rape victims find their own morals on trial, battered women cannot trust police to protect them, social workers respond to incest with concern for the 'family' which may entail a girl risking further abuse within it, men who bludgeon their wives to death are praised for their 'devotion'... is the violence really aberrant, or is it somehow in tune with the workings of our society? (Cameron & Fraser, 1987; quoted in Pickup et al, 2016)

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In contrast to why women use violence, which is mostly for self-defense reasons; men's violence if performed for intimidation, punishment, and coercion towards attitudes that challenge their honor, authority or self-esteem (Loseke & Kurz, 2004). Statistics show 1 in every 3 women have been physically or sexually violated by a male companion, and 40% of all women murders are attributed to their male intimate partners (WHO, 2017). In other words, men's violence over women represents men's power over women. This is shown with acts like sexual harassment, rape, stalking, domestic attacks, and so on, which represent the male paradigmatic expression of being the dominant species.

Since 1970, the fear of men violence has been identified as the key factor of women oppression (Pain, 2001), making VAW the systematic way in which patriarchy maintains its institutionalization. Pickup et al. (2016) holds in evidence 3 branches of theories that aim to contribute to the distinction of male violent attitudes towards women: (1) The Psychological factors, which relates men abuses to emotional aspects created by early abusive conditions and violent childhoods defined as 'impaired masculinity'; (2) The External factors, which relates how social, physical, and political contexts such as poverty influence and exacerbate men causing violence; and (3) The Gender and Development approach, which states power inequalities between male and female - expressed as patriarchy - are the reason for violence as men hold political, economic, and social dominance in life.

When men use violence, not only it controls women individually, but it also reinforces their authority over the whole female gender by using it as a weapon to take over their resources and decision making in all levels of society (Pickup et al., 2016). By this, women's subordinate position makes them extremely vulnerable towards male aggression. Throughout history, evidence shows how men tend to have more predatory, misogynistic and violent behaviors toward women in urban areas in which they hold almost complete power over the labor systems (Flather, 2013).

While men use violence to structure the socio-cultural context and maintain the male favorable existing conditions (Smaoun, 2000), women have to bear with the consequences of potential threats and modify their living as a way to take control of their lives. This modification of lifestyles usually includes limitations such as not to go out when is dark nor walk alone at night, and avoid specific areas or traverse them with a male escort (Pain, 1991).

When picturing such realities in public spaces, Valentine (1989) explains how the inability of women to enjoy independence while moving supports the fact that is men who own the place, creating a vicious fear loop in which patriarchy is eternalized; and strengthening the existing powers that seek to maintain spatial exclusion (Pain, 2000).

Moreover, male violence seems to be strengthened by community attitudes with social and cultural norms. In many contexts, sexual harassment is prevalent, and male aggression expected. Such patterns end up by normalizing violent acts which ultimately contributes to the outgrowth of more male violence, and in turn, more women fear.

3.3.3 Poverty and Violence against Women

Despite evidence shows how GBV is attributed to women from any sector regardless class and socio-economic status, there seems to be a common understanding that VAW is intensified for those who live under the poverty line of the population. While previous research undeniably contemplated poverty as the major factor that intensifies criminalization in the urban space, new theories have emerged to identify the extent of this statement (Muggah, 2012). Current definitions of poverty not only centers its attention to the economic level but also to the conditions which deprive people of the possibility to obtain regular income, employment and assets; access to public services; and to be able to participate at the social and political sphere (COHRE, 2008).

To begin with, poverty as a concept cannot fall into generalizations since its effects differ according to gender and identities, but it can be defined as both the cause and consequence of marginalization and exclusion. When unequal distributions enter the urban context, material deprivation becomes a common reality not only by the absence of income, but by the exclusion of people from accessing basic social services; from participating in politics; and from lacking state protection (Vanderschueren, 1996; Young, 2001). In this sense, it can be said women as a group faces double the consequences of exclusion when coming from such environments.

In order to understand how gender inequalities, poverty, and urban areas correlate, Chant (2013) explains how a multi-dimensional, multi-sectoral, and multi-spatial approach should be taken into consideration by studying how gender is portrayed in urban

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demographics, labor and human capital; in mobility and space; and in power and rights. Most feminist studies attribute how instead of VAW be a consequence of poverty, the social constructions and gender relations of today's society are the main causals that create not only poverty but violence as well (Amnesty International, 2009). This is due to the fact that insufficiencies in resources subjects women to be particularly vulnerable to male violence as gender norms prevent them to access the labor market, classifying women as a male dependent population who can't survive on its own (Young, 2000).

When linking the idea of extreme need with women victimization, current investigations stress out how the economic deficiencies and the excluding mechanisms that rule social life prevent women to participate in society and hinder their personal autonomy. In the work "Ending Violence Against Women", Pickup et al. identify three areas in which poverty contributes to women victimization (2001). To begin with, when there is money deprivation, some women may feel obliged to undertake income-generating means that could position them in violent situations. Second, the socialization of women's poverty and constraints in autonomy and access to resources may affect their possibility to dispute the violence against them as the lack of economic independence and cultural values subject women to stay with violent husbands rather than to go against the established system. Last, poverty condition is also a negative intensifier to fight back violence when the social and political dimensions seem to be designed against women needs.

On another note, poverty seen as the lack of proper public services, serves as mayor intensifier on women's victimization as well. When infrastructure is scarce, inexistent or privatized, women who are unable to access or afford it are compelled to engage in different strategies to compensate the lack of services, exposing themselves to violent and dangerous situations. For instance, lack of garbage collection and sanitation secludes women to live around contaminated matter; inexistent water supply makes women obtain water from rivers or pay extensive amounts to private tank suppliers; lack of toilets in the household make women use shared ones exposing them to the possibility of sexual assault especially at night: poor transport connections isolates women from urban prosperity; and lack of adequate street infrastructure expose women to the dangerous encounters which can lead to victimization or sexual abuse (Chant, 2013).

Poverty and violence are both causes and consequences of women unequal status in society. When high levels of deprivation and low levels of social support interconnect, women as a group become blocked from the political, economic and social activities necessary for their empowerment, reinforcing social gender constructions, and exposing them to maintain their poverty status, as well as increasing their susceptibility to violence (Fiske and Shackel, 2015). In this sense, poverty increases women's violence as their poor condition disables them to escape from this situation, and women's violence increase poverty as it exposes them to potential risks, shame, and abandonment.

3.4 Women's Fear and the Configuration of Urban Space

3.4.1 Spatial Gender Division and its consequences

To identify the foundation of women's fear in public spaces, it is important to look at the gender historical process of the modern urban space. For it, the work of Daphne Spain seems relevant as she has largely based her theory of work on the study of gendered spaces³, city configuration and women's rights. Following her studies, she identifies three types of gendered division in the urban space: (1) Those created willingly by women for others or for themselves; (2) Those created by the public and private sector in accordance of the identified users; and (3) Those created through institutions by the public sector (Spain, 2015).

Going back, the era of industrialization is evidenced as the starting point of public gendered spaces. During the early stages of the last century, the appropriate areas in which women were accepted to be in were already preestablished in common general understanding. While this obviously comprised the private domains, gendered spaces emerged in the public sector with the creation of department stores, women clubs and beauty salons, in which women were able to visit without judgment (Spain, 2014). Later, as high modernism took control of architecture and urban design during the 1950's, patriarchy

³ Gendered spaces are the mandatory disengagement of women and men in the built environment.

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as a system flourished with men holding total economic and political control, structuring the labor division of the capitalist city (Walby 1989). In addition, suburbanization appeared situating the workplace in the city center and confining women to the suburban life intensifying gender spaces and stereotypes (Spain, 2014); a separation additionally enhanced with local policies and the implementation of zoning laws. By this, land use separation became one of the main intensifiers of the urban fragmented environment making women unable to access services and facilities as zoning laws segregated areas - of residence, workplace, leisure and commercial activities - and only interconnected them through extensive highway infrastructure unreachable to women (Malanza et al., 2009).

It was not until the 1980's when feminist scholars and activists perceived the urban spatial design as one of the causes of gender inequality (Spain, 2014). Indeed, history has demonstrated the evident male dominant presence in all sort of professions, with the planning and architecture fields facing no exception. The absence of influential female personalities in academia and urban studies has ended up fortifying female oppression in the built environment by the creation of spaces unsuitable to women needs (McDowell, 1982). Some authors such as Weisman (1992) pinpoints the problem lies on the fact that most people see the built environment as a neutral and value-free space, instead of understanding it as a background shaped by different identities and human experiences. For her, the built environment is created by a logical relationship between social, physical and metaphysical (moral and religion) aspects in which those who have power in their hands (men), end up sculpting the world creating a patriarchal symbolic universe that dichotomizes space and excludes women.

Ultimately, gender division portrays a lasting effect on the way women move around space, especially the public one. While socialization makes women navigate the city mostly during the day and make men dominate it by night (Valentine, 1989); gendered constructions of space is incentivized by the media and crime prevention strategies by intensifying the notion that women are more secure in their private domains and miscalculating the effects that victimization inside the house can bring to the outdoor environment. Altogether, this division of space only contributes to underestimate women's right to the city and reinforce male sovereignty in the public territory.

3.4.2 Dealing with Women Safety in the Urban Fabric

In most cases, the spatial characteristics of particular places influence how they will be perceived, as high degrees of physical and social disorders tend to exacerbate fear and stress among residents. While quiet and clean environments appeal to visit the outdoors, physical incivilities such as abandon buildings and graffiti; open desolated areas such as parks and plazas; closed spaces with partial exit choices such as passages and subways; and social insolence such as drunks and homeless have a significant importance on the speculation of danger (Ceccato, 2012; Valentine, 1990). Moreover, lack of infrastructure and maintenance of spaces makes women feel vulnerable as they limit women's possibility to withdraw from risky situations (Day, 2001). In this sense, a great number of initiatives to fight fear and crime have focused on urban planning to produce safe public spaces, leaving aside the social construction of space and its implications in gender, class, and race.

Several programmes have been designed out to interlink urban violence, gender, and community safety through a situational approach, being the most relevant one, Crime Prevention through Environmental Design (CPTED). In the framework of women safety, this vision seeks to address numerous types of violence, including sexually driven abuses in the urban space through upgrading and renewing the physical form of the city (Moser, 2012). The whole concept basically relies on four main areas: (1) Natural surveillance, influenced by Jane Jacob's notion of "eyes on the street"⁴; (2) Access control, influenced by Oscar Newman and his "defensible space"⁵; (3) Territoriality; and (4) Image and Maintenance influenced by Wilson and Kelling's "broken window theory"⁶ (Moffatt, 1983).

Although the CPTED mechanism has evidence positive outcomes when dealing with actual urban crime (The World Bank, 2011), there seems to be less documentation on how

⁴ Use of mix-use and high-density communities to stimulate people's street traffic to improve city safety.

⁵ Environments in which physical characteristics acts as a way to enhance the ability of residents to partake in their own security.

⁶ Based on a zero-tolerance approach to minor crimes as a way to improve city safety.

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much it benefited the reduction of fear of crime, especially regarding women. Koskela and Pain (2000) explain how the idea of designing out crime flops to realize how the built environment is embedded by people's social activities and political relations, making policy designers be more aware of the built environment at the expense of social causes. The problem is located on how CPTED performs in isolation. When it is used as a tool to provide safety for women, it fails to analyze the deeper constraints in women's life projected in the public space. Because the emphasis relies on public areas and public violence, it ends up leaving behind women's victimization within the private domain, making it seen as a crude and mechanistic approach (Koskela and Pain, 2000). On the same note, as the strategy basically addresses public spaces, it limits its scope only to the city level, excluding rural areas and informal settlements in which safety alternatives cannot rely on the renewal of public spaces since in some cases, there are none. At the end, while granting safer design has the potential for obtaining a liveable and healthy city, it won't improve social inclusion and cohesion (Whitzman, 2007).



PART II

Assessing fear in public spaces: A spatial and social analysis of women's experiences in the city of Nairobi

4

Following Part I of this study, which addressed the theories behind women's victimization in urban space and the relationship between gender, space and women's right to the city, Part II will undertake in an in-depth analysis of these theoretical backgrounds through a real-world situation. To begin with, the following chapter aims to provide a general overview of Nairobi's contemporary context based on three main areas: assessment of public spaces in relation to women's needs; statistic figures of VAW; and current initiatives on women safety.

4.1 Assessment of Nairobi's Public Spaces and Women Safety

With Nairobi still working under a Master Plan created during the colonization era, proper documentation and studies on assessing the quality and safety of the city's public spaces have always stood as an illusionary goal, especially when seeing them through a gender lens. However, since 2016 some progress has been made on its evaluation, with the creation of the "Nairobi Public Space Inventory", which reports the quality and safety of the city's Open Public Spaces (OPS); the "Nairobi Safety Analysis Report" which addresses women's safety in the city streets; and the "Assessment on VAW in Public Transport in Kenya" which accounts women experiences while using public transportation. After going through the different reports and considering their wide variety of results, this thesis will only present those findings relevant to the scope of this study.

As for the Nairobi Public Space Inventory ⁷ (UN Habitat, 2016) - which was the first-ever assessment of Nairobi's OPS and created in collaboration between the Nairobi County and UN-Habitat in 2016 - the following results were obtained:

⁷ The Nairobi Public Space Inventory was based on the inventory and analysis of 7 criteria: (1) Accessibility; (2) Size and distribution of open public spaces; (3) Overall layout of public green spaces; (4) Custodianship and management; (5) Perception of Safety; (6) Pattern of Users; and (7) Designated and informal open spaces.

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- Only 8.21% of all land surface in Nairobi is classified as OPS, with only 70% of them accessible free from fees.
- 74% of them are perceived as safe during the day and 53% during night possibly due to lack of adequate street lights. The partially safe and unsafe OPS evidenced lack or no management in the areas with scattered garbage and dumping of solid waste.
- Men represented the leading group as monotype users⁸ of OPS and appear as the second majority of multitype users⁹ following children. Women represent the third group followed by girls.

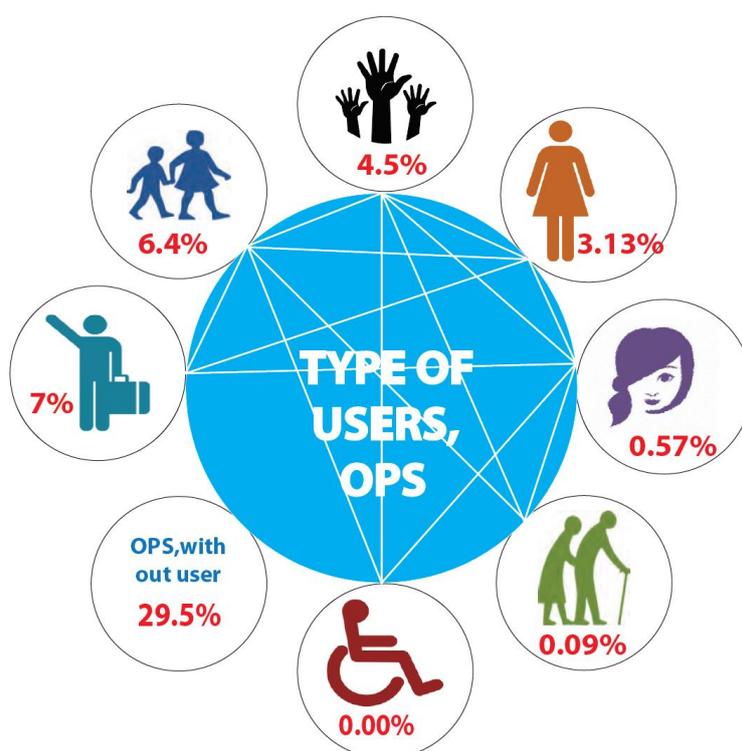


Figure 1: Type of users of OPS. Source: UN-Habitat, 2016. Community Led, Citywide Open Public Spaces Inventory & Assessment

This Inventory and assessment seem to be focused on a more general perspective of the city's OPS. Although some evidence can be found that relate the built environment and women's use of it, the report failed to separate the findings in terms of gender and to take a

⁸ Monotype users represent only one type of users at one time or the whole time. (UN Habitat, 2016)

⁹ Multitype users represent different type of users at one time or the whole time. (UN Habitat, 2016)

localist perspective, an undeniable error considering the different perceptions women and men can have over the same space, and the socio-spatial fragmentation the city is known for. Nonetheless, the report showed the general lack of presence of women from public spaces, the importance of light infrastructure for safety perception during night time, and the inability for all users to access OPS especially when there is money deprivation.

About the Nairobi Safety Analysis Report¹⁰ (Safetipin, 2016), which was a study conducted in 2016 by the city-county in collaboration with Safetipin¹¹ to assess women's safety in Nairobi's built environment, the results were the following:

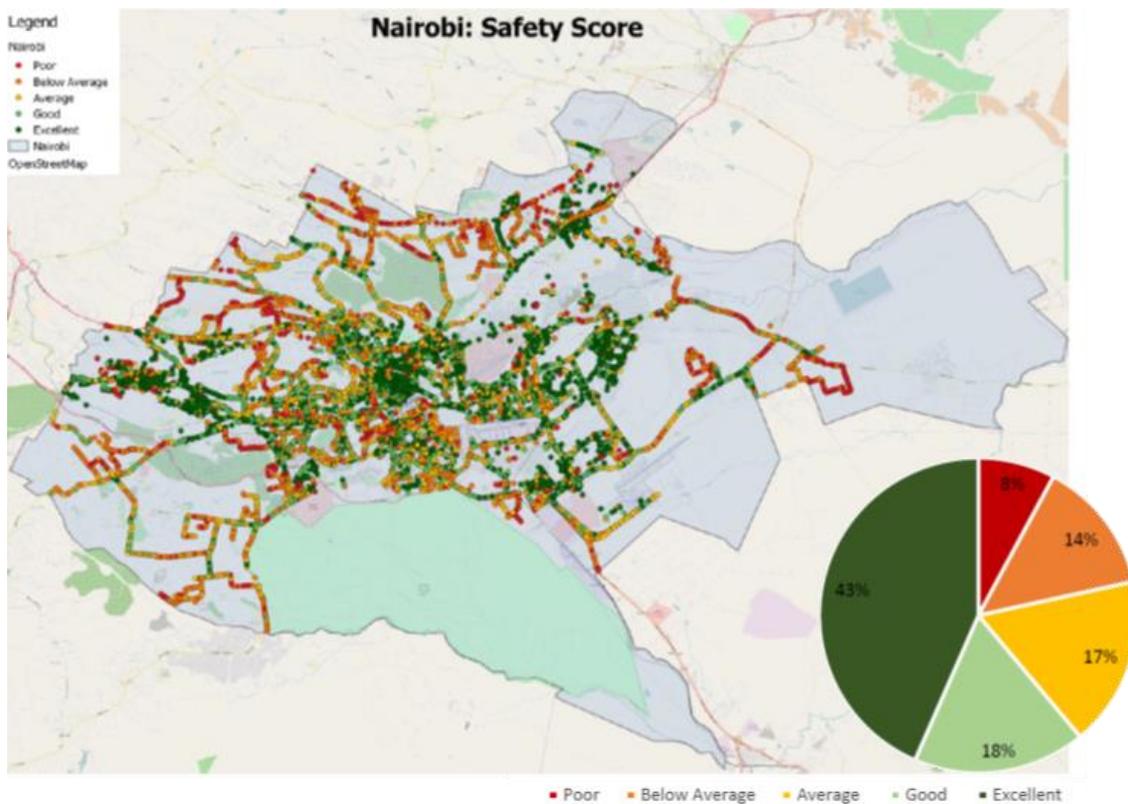


Figure 2: Nairobi safety score. Source: SafetiPin, 2016. Nairobi. A Safety Analysis Report.

¹⁰ The Nairobi Safety Audit Report was created through manual audits using participatory tools to gather information on Nairobi's urban safety based on 9 parameters: (1) Lighting; (2) Openness; (3) Visibility; (4) Crowd; (5) Security; (6) Walkpath; (7) Availability of public transport; (8) Gender Diversity; and (9) Feeling (Safetipin, 2016).

¹¹ Safetipin is a social enterprise that works to provide solutions to make cities safer for women by assessing the built environment through a map-based mobile phone application.

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- While several parts of the city were rated as very safe, the overall sense of safety was considered average especially towards women at night.
- Both security and gender usage (percentage of women and children amongst the crowd) were rated below average, especially in areas with limited public transport and lack of proper lighting.
- Lack of visibility and 'eyes on the street' was a major problem particularly in the peripheries of the urban core.

The findings portrayed that low-density areas, lack of lighting, and deficient public transport systems were all intensifiers of women's perception of insecurity. However, in the same way as the former report, it also falls into generalized conclusions considering its methodology is based on analyzing areas accessible by vehicles, leaving behind evaluating zones inaccessible to cars like low income and informal settlements.

On another note, when discussing women safety in public transportation, the current constitution of Kenya holds no regulatory framework that specifically addresses such concern despite the high incidences of violence perpetrated in this industry. While no governmental institution has gathered evidence on the victimization risk on public transportation, new studies and report have been emerging from international organizations and NGO's in recent years, especially after the 2014 widespread news of the stripping and sexual assault of women while waiting at a Nairobi bus stop (BBC, 2014).

A study conducted by the organization Women's Environment Link evidenced 85% of the participants from a sample group of 400 women have experienced violence while using the transport system. The most common forms of violence were verbal abuses by the Matatu (public bus) operators, coercion of passengers while boarding, suggestive language, and unwanted touching (Women's Environment Link, 2015). In addition, 40% of the respondents stated they have whiteness violence against other women, more than half percent of the all cases were unreported to the authorities, and those who were, ended up being dismissed by the police force for insufficient proofs.

4.2 Statistic Profile of Women Victimization and GBV

VAW in Kenya is a common given everyday problem that strikes against women and girls from all ages and backgrounds. Although national reports on statistical information of GBV in Nairobi tend to fall between the cracks with generalizations and non-disaggregated data, to provide accurate information on the degree of the situation, this thesis consulted the three most important latest reports at the national level: The Kenyan Police Annual Crime Report of 2016, The Kenyan Demographic and Health Survey of 2014, and the Gender Violence Recovery Centre Report of 2012, as well as non-governmental documents on the matter.

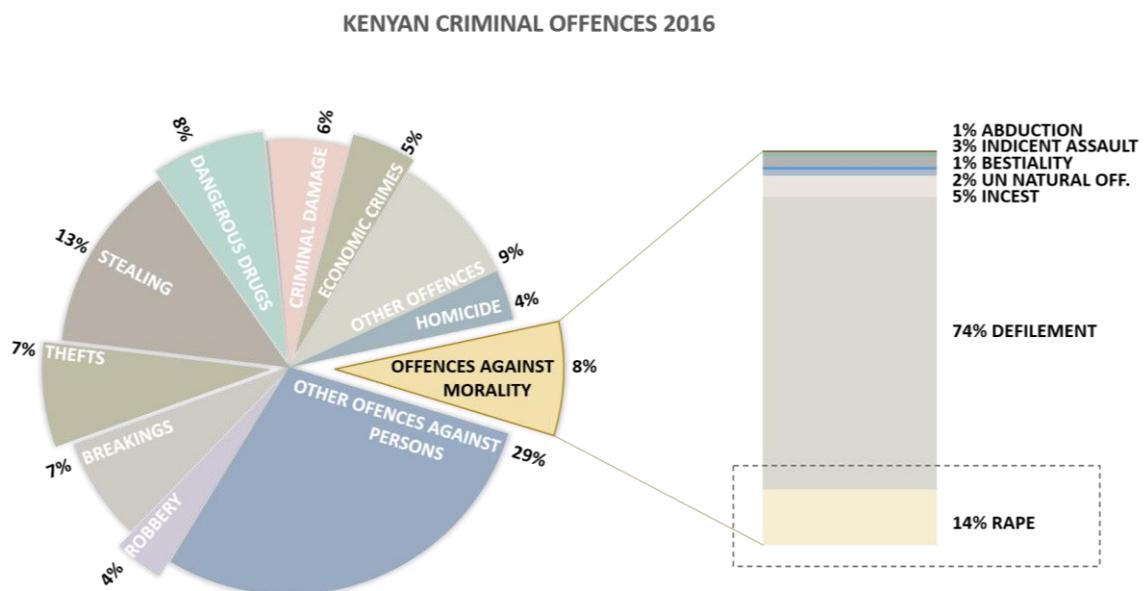


Figure 3: Kenyan criminal offenses in 2016. Source: Own design, adapted from National Police Service (2017).

When looking at official police records, it is important to first address how these reports show no sign of accountable crimes in the forms of sexual harassment or women violence, nor the data is disaggregated regarding gender in any of its categories. However, the latest annual crime report shows some non-explicit information on women's victimization. During the year 2016, out of the 17,986 criminal cases registered, 8% of them corresponded to offenses against morality, in which 14% of them (889) were rape cases (National Police Service, 2017). Nonetheless, this number is only relevant assuming all of those cases were perpetrated against women (leaving behind children and men).

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More relevant data can be obtained through the Kenya Development Health Centre KDHC. The recent available report from 2014 showed 45% of women between the ages of 15 to 49 have experienced some type of physical violence since the age of 15 (20% of them in the last 12 months); 14% of the same age group reported to experienced sexual violence sometime in their life; 39% of married women said they have been physically or sexually assaulted by their spouse; and 44% of women have wanted assistance to stop the violence from perpetrating (KNBS, 2014).

High figures of GBV can be associated to the patriarchal values, low status of women in society, male dominant structure, discriminatory laws, lack of laws on women violence, and the inaccessible justice system of Kenya (McEvoy, 2012). While McEvoy states most of the social and political factors addressed in the literature review of Part I as the key drivers of Kenyan women abuse, the high levels of deprivation of the population and a large number of people living in informal settlements play an important role as well. According to the Gender Violence Recovery Centre, during the year 2012, most of the violence on women in Nairobi was clustered in the low-income sectors of the city with 44% of the total, in comparison to the middle-class areas and high-income neighborhoods that evidenced 22% and 7% respectively (USIU, 2013).

4.3 Current legislation and practices on Women Safety

On paper, Kenya seems to have developed a gender approach vision regarding policy implementation and legal instruments on women safety. The National Policy on Gender and Development introduced in 2000 aimed to achieve gender equality by empowering women in all social, cultural, legal, and political areas of the country; the Sessional Paper No. 2 on Gender Equality and Development of 2006 introduced an action plan to provide gender desks in every ministry in the country; and the National Policy "Vision 2030" of 2008, was created to assure among many things, women equality at the economic, social and political sector (Ministry of Gender, Sports, Culture and Social Services, 2008).

Conflictingly, Kenyan legal framework still holds patriarchal structures with parliamentarians opposing on accepting bills that reinforced women's emancipation since its independence. Laws created to protect women rights, such as the Affiliation Act (that gave

women the possibility to sue their partners for child support) have been revoked and bills beneficial to women such as the law of succession Act 198 (transmission of property rights from dead to living) contains discriminatory clauses (Ndungu, 2011).

Regarding VAW, up to 2006, the Kenyan Penal Code framed its regulation by only acknowledging a semi distinction of rape, hindering its assessment¹². Nonetheless, in 2006, a revolutionary implementation occurred with the creation of The Sexual Offences Act (SOA), a law against sexual violence, management of sex offenders and treatment and protection for women who experienced GBV (Masinjila, 2013). The Act, however, has no mention of domestic violence and sexual abuse inside the marital institution; crimes that were addressed in the penal code but were later eliminated by the SOA.

Although evidence shows new policies and laws to address GBV in the country have been created in the past years, there is still a shortage of progress recorded as the government fails to deliver a practical implementation of the plans, either by lack of resources or lack of capacity and knowledge. While new models have been created to give assistance to victims of GBV by providing both medical and psychological aid, little has been done to introduce actors from the public services such as the police in this system. As an example, there is still no legal structure that accounts the criminal acts perpetrated by police officers (Masinjila, 2013). In addition, several cases have registered police unethical behaviors by turning to Section 38¹³ of the SOA to resist from sexual violence complainants; by asking for monetary compensation for their work; and by incentivizing women to involve family members and deal the problem “the traditional way” (Mc Evoy, 2012).

As for projects in the physical urban space, there seems to be little evidence of integrated programs and plans towards city safety in Nairobi. Even though sporadically implementations can be seen in different sectors of the city most of them coming from non-

¹² Former codes 147,148, 149 and 150 of the previous Kenyan Penal Code.

¹³ Any person who makes false allegations against another person to the effect that the person has committed an offence under this Act is guilty of an offence and shall be liable to punishment equal to that for the offence complained of (KLR, 2006, p.25).

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governmental institutions, they are not framework within an overall strategic city vision¹⁴. The only relevant attempt for a coordinated and community-based approach implementation to urban safety was the Safer Nairobi Initiative¹⁵ introduced in 2000 by UN-Habitat and the on-time City Council of Nairobi, however, due to political discrepancies and ongoing changes on the administration, it failed to continue after the first phase on 2002.

4.4 Women Safety in Nairobi - What is the problem?

Kenya, like many other African countries, is established through unwritten social laws in which high levels of VAW are deeply tolerated. As previously seen from the wide range of literature presented in this thesis, as well as the city context information from this section, women's fears constitute a variety of factors that if not properly identified and addressed, end up reinforcing women's danger perception excluding themselves from public life. While current reports on GBV in Nairobi are deeply alarming, there is no actual relevant documentation on addressing women's victimization in public spaces, nor their rooted problems. Although the previously mentioned report on women and public spaces represents a good starting point to assess Nairobi's built environment through a gender lens, when results are based on generalizations they become unfitted for creating gender-based safety policies, thus maintaining the current situation. In this sense, this thesis aims to identify those factors that intensify fear of victimization and perception of safety of women in Nairobi and how they limit women's use of the city and city life.

¹⁴ Sporadically projects can be found from the UN Safety through Upgrading Program, the Nairobi Place Making Org. and the Flone Initiative.

¹⁵ The idea resided on providing the Nairobi City Council the support to implement a proper crime prevention study and develop a local coalition which included a variety of stakeholders within the civil community, governmental, and non-governmental organizations.

METHODOLOGY

5

The following chapter will describe and discuss the methodological approach and research design methods that have been used throughout this thesis in order to answer the research questions in the introductory segment. The section will also provide the information on how the research data collection process took place; the rationale behind the data analysis procedure; and the problems and limitations faced during the process.

5.1 Research Methodology

The selection of the proper research methodology for this study was taken deeply into analysis considering the variety of data and information it was going to be used to accurately assess the problem. As a starting point, since the main focus is to understand those factors that intensify fear of victimization and perception of safety for women, it is evident that the most suitable way to deliver the answer would be to engage in participation and observations with a group of women, and to fall into a qualitative research methodology. In addition, due to the gender-specific focus of the study, it is logical that most of the theoretical framework used is fed with feminist theories and a feminist standpoint. On a second note, the research likewise seeks to analyze how the concept of women safety in the city is understood through the institutional lens and if the current safety debates efficiently tackle the problematic. In this sense, a discourse analysis also seems to be appropriate as a methodological option. As a result, I decided to apply a multimethod assessment using feminist research supported by narrative, visual, and discourse analysis methods.

Up to date, feminist research continues to take part in the ongoing debate of whether if it should be considered an epistemology and methodology, or just a method, with many scholars arguing it does not hold a perspective of its own and is only the confluence of principles from other paradigms (Sarantakos, 2004). However, as I have been researching on the theories behind this strategy, and since this thesis is not seeking to get into an epistemological argumentation, I came to mind that the best suitable way to analyze my study would be through a feminist methodology.

As a general overview, to understand why a research could be catalogued as feminist, the feminist methodology conducts research on behalf of women and other oppressed groups (that might include men as well) with aims of exposing the subjugated knowledge that devalues ways of thinking to dominant and patriarchal forms; promoting social change and justice (Hesse-Biber, 2012). In addition, feminist research theorizes the world as socially constructed; is experimental and open to emotions as experiences; add women backgrounds as indicators of reality into the analysis; is primarily guided by feminist theory; it recognizes the need for cross-disciplinary inquiry; is connected to social policy questions; and attempts to represent human diversity (Sarantakos, 2004; Harding, 1987; Reinharz, 1991). Moreover, this methodology is often characterized by the use of triangulation with multiple methods of assessment (Doucet & Mauthner, 2000).

5.2 Research Methods

While qualitative methods are usually seen in feminist investigations, Webb (1993) suggests feminist methodology is known to adopt an eclectic stance of methods from other social sciences and adapt them to the feminist concerns, with each researcher choosing the method they feel is more suitable. In this sense, to gather the necessary information and analyse the consequential findings following the feminist methodology, three types of methods were used in the research design: (1) Narrative thematic analysis as the main method with the use of semi-structured in-depth interviews; and (2) Visual and (3) Discourse analysis as supplementary methods with the use of observation and field notes, and secondary data.

For the narrative method, this research will follow a thematic analysis as it highlights the theme of the story and finds similitudes between the different versions told by participants giving them direction and purpose (Reissman, 2005). As a tool, face to face semi-structured in-depth interviews - often viewed as the paradigmatic feminist method (Kelly et al, 1994, cited in Doucet & Mauthner, 2000) - were conducted to a sampling group of women (Group 1) following an interview guide (see Appendix A). This guide was divided into 3 sections, addressing general background information; open questions that described typical days in their life; and specific question on the themes of mobility patterns, the perception of safety, urban space and ideas on gender.

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As visual tactics for data collection, a spatial analysis was done through observations and field notes using photographs to capture the behavioral and physical conditions of space, and direct observation of the field. For the discourse method, text analysis was done to governmental available reports on women safety in Nairobi, plus supporting semi-structured interviews with institution representatives as the second sampling group following an new interview guide (see Appendix B).

5.3 Data Collection Process

Selection of Participants

Sampling participants were separated in two different groups: (1) A cluster of women willing to contribute in the research by sharing their experiences and thoughts when using public spaces in Nairobi; and (2) A number of organization representatives in governmental or non-governmental institutions that could provide the answers on initiatives for women safety in the city.

The women selection was a critical element to focus on since most of the research outcomes were to be based on their unique stories. Following the theories in Part I, it is known women perceptions when using the city are affected by an assortment of interdependent factors such as economy, culture, and social relations, which makes them experience urban space in different ways (O'Leary and Viswanath, 2011). In this sense, female Nairobi narratives face no exception considering the economic fragmentation and social inequalities the city is known for. Taking into account that the most vulnerable group to face violence in public spaces are poor and marginalized women (ActionAid, 2013), and having more than 60 percent of Nairobi's population living in slums; it felt adequate to focus my target participants in the lower sectors of the community. Moreover, this also provided the opportunity to merge both sampling groups since much of the non-governmental organizations working on women safety are effectively focused on lower income areas.



Figure 4: Poster of exhibition event of campaign Through the eyes of a Women

After an extensive networking process, I spotted the organization Hope Raisers¹⁶, a community-based initiative that works with young people from informal settlements on violence prevention and social transformation through art, cultural expression and urban sports. One of the cities programs that catch my attention was Dadas Connect, a project working to fight gender inequality in Nairobi through cultural activities. Interestingly, one of their running campaigns - achieved in collaboration with Architects Without Borders Sweden¹⁷-

¹⁶ Hope Raisers started in Korogocho slum Nairobi in 2005, when a group of young men created a music band. Due to the positive response from the community, the group decided to use this tool to inspire young people and change Korogocho negative reputation. As from 2007, Hope Raisers registered as a community art-based organization promoting safer communities and sustainable development and currently hold programs on sports, arts and music, education, advocacy and entrepreneurship. Source: Hope Raisers (2016). We are the Helping Hands, Retrieved from: <http://hoperaisers.net/about-us/>

¹⁷ Architects Without Borders Sweden is a Swedish organization formed by a group of architects, planners, designers, engineers and artists that works on sustainable construction environment projects both at the local and global scale.

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was “Through the Eyes of a Women”, a creative platform for young women from Korogocho¹⁸ and surrounding areas to express their perspectives on the city with the use of art.

With the evident resemblance to my line of work, I decided to get in touch with the organization and informed them about my study. After showing a positive interest, they introduced me to the different women participants of the program and kindly gave me the power to access their establishment as many times as needed. Moreover, both representatives from Hope Raisers and Architects without Borders Sweden agreed to be interviewed as part of the second sampling group of this research.

	Age	Relationship Status	Level of Education	Employment Status	Area of Residence	Lives with
Anna	20	Dating	University Student	Not Working	Korogocho	Mom and brothers
Judith	22	Single	University Student	Not Working	Kariobangi	Mom and 7 siblings
Lucy	21	Single	High School	Not Working	Luckysummer	Sister and nephews
Jane	34	Single	Bachelor Degree	Full Time	Kasirani	Alone
Sharon	31	Married	Bachelor Degree	Part Time	Korogocho	Husband and daughter
Hellen	21	Dating	College Student	Not Working	Mathare North	Mom and brother
Rita	21	Dating	High School	Not Working	Korogocho	Parents and brother
Grace	20	Single	High School	Not Working	Baba Dogo	Sister
Nora	25	Single	Bachelor Degree	Full Time	Kasirani	Parents and son

Table 1: Background information of women participants

A total of 9 young women gave their consent to participate. Their age group fluctuated between 20 to 34 years old, which effectively represents the women portion of the population who is most vulnerable to be victimized (UN Women, 2017). All of the participants were Kenyan citizens and have lived in Nairobi in the last 5 years. All participants have

¹⁸ Korogocho is the 4th largest slum of Nairobi located at the northeast of the city centre. Together with the areas of Baba Dogo, Luckysummer, North Mathare, and Utalii, it conforms the constituency known as Ruaraka.

finished secondary school with some of them currently attending higher education and others holding a bachelor's degree. Background information regarding their age, relationship status, level of education, employment status and area of residence can be found in Table 1. Their names were changed in order to protect their identities.

As for the second sampling group representing governmental or non-governmental institutions working on women safety in public spaces, the present study was only able to get in touch with those outside the public sector due to the political instability during the timeframe of the data collection, consequence of the 2 consecutive presidential elections during the months of October and November of 2017 and the implications they brought in national public safety. Thereby, different non-governmental institutions were contacted through electronic mails and social media providing them with information on the study purpose and requesting their participation in the research.

A total of 22 establishments were reached out between charities, advocates for women's rights, international organizations, activist groups, women centers, and NGOs. Although many requests remained unanswered, eleven showed their interest to contribute. After further online communications and bearing in mind the scope and time limitations of the thesis, a total of 4 organizations were selected to schedule a face to face meeting based on their type of work and the geographical locations of their current projects. Information on the different institutions can be found in Table 2.

Table 2: Information on Participants Organizations			
Name of Org.	Type of Org.	Area of work	Location of projects
Baraka Women	Women Help Center	Women Empowerment	Mathare and Kibera
Flone Initiative	Women led Organization	Safety in Public Transport	Nairobi
Hope Raisers/ Architects Without Borders Sweden	Community based Initiative	Community Safety	Korogocho and surrounding areas

Table 2: Information on Participant Organizations

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Interviews

All interviews were face to face, audio recorded, took place in private locations, and were conducted between the months of October and November of 2017. For the first sampling sector, the meetings were scheduled in Bega Kwa Bega¹⁹, a cultural center in Baba Dogo²⁰ where Hope Raisers currently carries the Dadas Connect program (see Figure 1). Prior the interviews, I visited the installations and engaged with the participants in their different activities and workshops to know them better and have informal conversations on their understanding of the city and their neighborhoods.



Figure 5: Women participants in jewelry workshop in the outer area of Bega Kwa Bega, Baba Dogo. November 13, 2017

¹⁹ Bega Kwa Bega is a Cultural Centre located in Baba Dogo Slum Nairobi which currently holds the Dadas Connect program of the Hope Raisers Initiative.

²⁰ Baba Dogo is an informal settlement in Nairobi's Eastland area. Together with the areas of Korogocho, Luckysummer, North Mathare, and Utalii, it conforms the constituency known as Ruaraka.

Before each interview started, participants were asked to sign a consent form in which it stated the purpose of the study, informed them the answers were to be treated confidentially, asked their permission to be audio recorded, and gave them the chance to remain anonymous if asked (see Appendix C). All interviews followed the interview guide (see Appendix A) and time length was determined by each participant according to their thoughts and experiences. All interviews were in English, audio recorded and lasted between 30 to 50 minutes.

For the second sampling sector, the interviews took place at different moments giving the participants availability and conducted at their different institution's installations. In the same way, each representative was asked to sign the consent form with positive answers to be recorded and not hide their identities. Equally, interviews followed a prepared interviewed guide (see Appendix B), were in English and lasted between 20 to 30 minutes.

Observations and field notes

Observation and fieldnotes were carried out during October and November of 2017 to assess the physical space of the sampling area, and the social activities that could be found in the surroundings. During my visits, the organization provided me with 3 male companions currently involved in Hope Raiser's programs. This coping strategy was not requested on my behalf but arranged by the organization representative Mutura Kuria²¹, stating the high level of crime in the neighborhoods, plus my "Mzungu²² condition" will be on my disadvantage when entering the slums. Timeframes varied between noon and 5 pm following the working hours of the organization. In every walking assessment, my phone was in possession of my companions and only gave to me for photographic purposes. Although I did not felt any particular danger or threat in the area beside the ongoing racial shootouts towards me; at

²¹ Mutura Kuria is the administrator of Hope Raisers and one of the initial members of the group.

²² A common used term from east African that emerged in the 18th century to describe a person from European descent. In current times it is generally use to address any white skin person.

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the long run, these safety precautions raised my sense of insecurity especially when walking the 3 blocks from the establishment to the public transport stage when I had to leave the place.

5.4 Data Analysis Process

Data analysis was done in 3 different phases based on the different methods used with the Thematic Analysis as the main one and Visual and Discourse Analysis as supplementary ones (see figure 6).

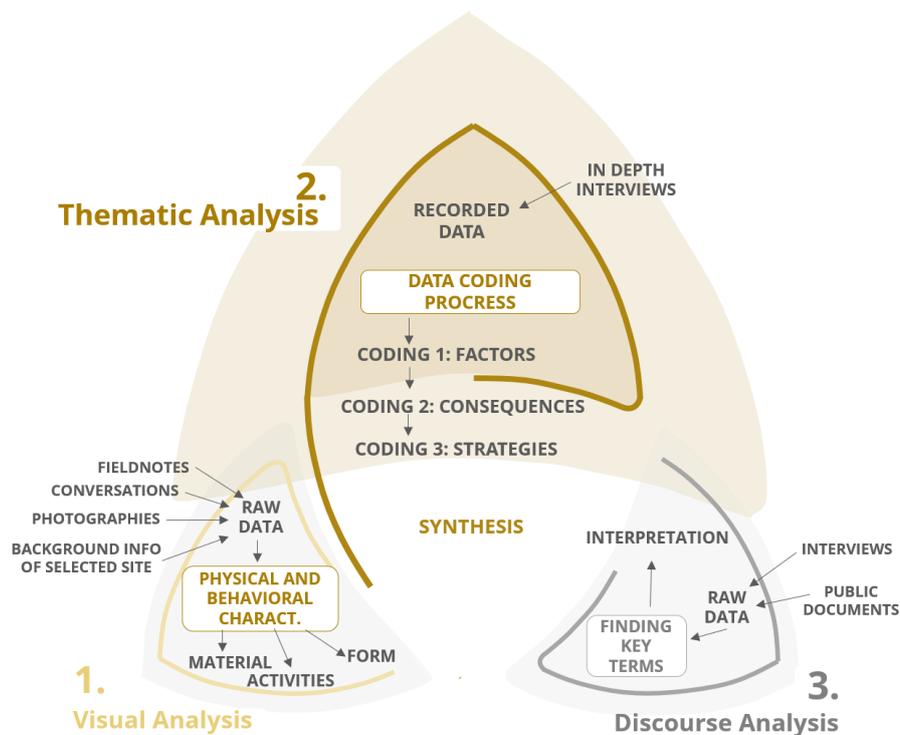


Figure 6: Data analysis process. Source: Own design

Phase 1: Visual Analysis (supplementary method)

The first phase was to understand the characteristics that surround the area of Bega Kwa Bega, especially in relation to Baba Dogo (the area where the Dadas Connect Workshop takes place) and Korogocho (the area where most of Hope Raisers Initiatives are performed). Although not all the participants come from these neighborhoods, they do spend a considerable amount of time there as these areas hold all of the activities of the organization.

Assessing the physical and social characteristics of the area was a key factor for me to recognize the space and establish a relationship with the future narratives from the women participants. A spatial assessment was considered to identify the form and material aspects of the urban space by assessing equipment, vegetation, streets and open public spaces; and the behavioral aspect evidencing activities, flows, and identification of women in outdoor events. Background information on the sites, informal conversations, observation and field notes, and a photographic assessment were carried out, to later be translated into maps and images for further understanding.

Phase 2: Thematic Analysis (main method)

A narrative thematic analysis was carried out to understand patterns, identify resemblances and variances, and interconnect women stories using different stages of coding. To begin with, the audio recorded interviews were transcribed manually and organized in a table based on the subjects addressed in the questionings. With the transcription in place, answers were analyzed through thematic coding in 3 different stages (see figure 7):

1. The first stage of coding was to identify the different factors and characteristics that intensify women's fear and feelings of insecurity and safety when using the city. These factors were coded with the use of numbers and colors and organized in different categories under common similarities. Such procedure helps to recognize the different families of causes that enable women's sense of security, and to understand how not only physical but also social and political factors jeopardize the female sense of belonging in the city.
2. The second stage of coding was to identify the different consequences that unfold from the previously detected factors and to understand the implications they bring to women when using public spaces and how it constrains their daily life activities and state of mind. In the same way, the coding was organized in different groups regarding actual evident consequences and cultural coded meanings.
3. The last stage of coding was to examine how these women construe and cohere these complications, and how they handle the problem. Being able to understand women's

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actions towards the situation will provide the answers to the actual social situation and how they reinforce or reduce the existing power relations in space.



Figure 7: Interviews coding process

Phase 3: Discourse Analysis (supplementary method)

As the second supplementary method, the third phase is based on a qualitative text analysis on public documents that tackle gender equality and women safety. Hardy et al. (2004) states that discourse analysis is implemented to evidence a social phenomenon and involves examining documents usage of words and the context that they are being used. In this sense, the document selected for consultation will be obtained in the frameworks of national plans and legal outlines previously addressed in the former chapter. Considering this thesis is focused on a gender perspective within public spaces, this phase will assess the national policy Vision 2030.

5.5 Reflections, Problems, and Limitations

One of the limitations that came across this research was the subjective nature of the study. To begin with, the observations phase - which was based on my experience in the

place - was conducted during day time and while being accompanied by local people, which could influence in the understanding of the area. In addition, limitations were also found because of language barriers as it was identified during the interview some of the women felt more comfortable using Swahili expression which they later tried to translate to English, however losing the implicit meaning of the phrases.

During the data collection process, a few problems were encountered as the research was taking place. During the interview period of the sampling group 1, I evidence many of the participant's uneasiness when I asked their sexual orientation, causing me to withdraw this question from the guide for the following women. Moreover, although no particular issue happened during the observation assessment, on one of the visits, two local male residents from Korogocho started following me and the Hope Raisers team and aggressively demanded I leave the area stating I was an outsider and this was not my place.

Another problem encountered during the data gathering process was the implications that came with the 2 times presidential elections during the months of October and November. Throughout both months, several disorders were evidence in Nairobi, especially in the slum areas and the CBD (Central Business District) with reports of blocking of highways, protests, unrest, civil disturbance, communal tensions, fires and murders. The area of Korogocho was deeply affected by violence making me cancel some schedule visits for security reasons.

6

After clarifying the methodological framework, chapter 6 will put in evidence the findings and results of the study. As a starting point, an explanation of the area of field research will be given, followed by the data breakdown analysis from the different materials in use. All the findings and results will be addressed separately following the three methods previously explained to later be merged in an overall explanation in the summary of the results section.

6.1 General overview of research area

Although the study seeks to identify the different factors that contribute to women's fears of victimization and risk perceptions in public spaces in the city of Nairobi, since the participant from the Sampling Group 1 were obtained through the Hope Raisers Organization, which locates its activities in the Korogocho slum; it is necessary to examine this neighbourhood to understand the surroundings the women spend most of their day in. Considering most of the outcomes of the thesis will be obtained by the evaluation of the narratives from the female interviewees, this subsection will only provide a general description of the socio-economic characteristics of the area to support the visual analysis method and understand the women stories. In addition, the context of Nairobi altogether has already been explained in chapter 4.

To begin with, the program locates most of the sport-related activities in the streets of Korogocho, and the art and expression workshops in the Bega Kwa Bega Center located in the Baba Dogo slum. Since 2006, this center has also provided the space to manage the organization resources and plan future activities; and has been the accommodation to gather cultural exchange events and open learning spaces (Hope Raisers, 2017). Although the Bega Kwa Bega center is not located mainly in Korogocho, due to its proximity to the border's district, most of the description will be on regard of the last (see figure 8). It is also important to note that while not all the participants necessarily come from this neighborhood but also from the nearby districts (see figure 9), as they are engaged in the activities from the organization they spend most of their daytime in the mentioned area.

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Figure 8: Map of Nairobi showing the locations of the city centre, Baba Dogo Slum, Korogocho slum and Bega Kwa Bega centre. Source: Own design.

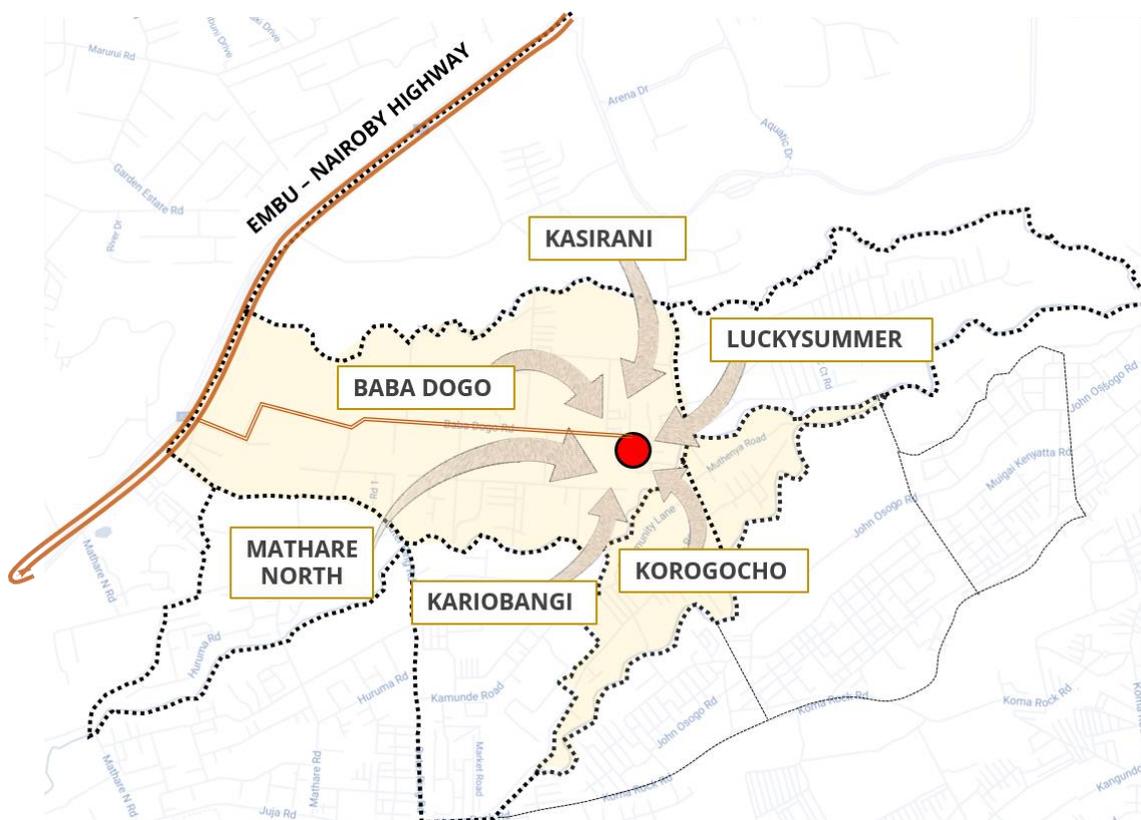


Figure 9: Map of Nairobi showing the locations the Bega Kwa Bega center and the residential areas of the 9 participants of the research. Source: Own design.

Korogocho

Korogocho is an informal settlement located on the north-east side of Nairobi, 11 km away from the city center. It is the 4th biggest slum of the capital with an estimated population of 42 000 people (UN Habitat, 2012); and is classified as the densest district, with 6 inhabitants per household and 250 house units per hectare (The World Bank, 2011). In the seven villages that make up the district - High Ridge, Grogan, Ngomongo, Ngunyumu, Githaturu, Kisumu Ndogo, and Korogocho - three social tiers can be found, the poorest cluster representing 19% of the population; the middle group with 56%; and the wealthier sector with the remaining 25% (The World Bank, 2011).

As most of Nairobi's slums, deficient access to water and sanitation, lack of proper infrastructure, and insufficient health and educational centers are characteristics of this neighborhood. According to the Korogocho Socio-Economic Survey conducted on 2010, only 7.5% of the population has access to proper sanitation; and health services can only supply to 7.4% of the residents (UN Habitat, 2012). House infrastructure is mostly made from corrugated-iron or mud and timber walls, and waste tin cans are used as the construction material for roofs (Neumark, 2017). In addition, the lack of proper public spaces in the area has resulted in the use of the streets for public and private activities.

High rates of unemployment are a common problem as well. Evidence show how 30% of the male population aged 18 upwards are currently unemployed (Ndikaru Wa Teresia, 2011); and 50% of the women inhabitants from the same age group had no income generating activity (The World Bank, 2011). This high level of recession from the labor market is also evidenced by the ongoing raising degree of victimization and criminality in the area. From the year 2001 to the year 2006, police reports recorded an increase of 21% of criminal activity in the forms of assaults, murders, thefts and robberies.

Gender-based violence is also a perpetrating problem in the area, with most common examples of men raping and sexually harassing women, and wife battering in both domestic and public spheres (Oxfam, 2015). In a study conducted in Korogocho during 2011, out of the 381 women participants from ages 14 to 21, 25% stated they have been sexually abused in the previous year, with 50% of them by their onetime partner (Mc Evoy, 2012).

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Additionally, women from the area must bear the consequences of marginalization and poverty. Most of them persist at the edge of the informal market of the city and live with insufficient economic contributions from their male spouses, making them seek income from domestic work jobs in wealthier homes, with extremely precarious retributions (Neumark, 2017).

6.2 Visual Analysis

Considering the dimensions of Korogocho, the scope of the study, and the fact that the visual analysis is an supplementary method, this phase assessed the physical and behavioural characteristics of 8 specific places in the area, being the first one inside the Bega Kwa Bega Centre, and the next 7 around the mentioned neighbourhood (see figure 10).



Figure 10: Map of the sites for the visual analysis phase. Source: Own design adapted from google earth.

Inside Bega Kwa Bega Centre

Figure 11: Bega Kwa Bega open-air areas, Baba Dogo. November 5, 2017. Source: Own photo.

The center provides the space for different activities to happen, not only to those involved in the Hope Raisers' projects but to the public in general. The open-air areas of the center are accessible during the whole day despite the schedules of the different workshops, giving free access to the nearby residents to stay and use the installations, working as one of the few useful "open" public spaces in the neighborhood and areas around.

Visually, the center is perceived as a vivid and creative place due to its colorfulness, graffiti walls, art installations, and use of recycled materials, which contradicts dramatically to the general physical aspects of its surroundings. The expanse serves as a playground, tire seats provides the space for socializing, and the open kitchen allows residents to use and engage in income generating activities by selling their products. Despite the attractiveness of the place, I identified during my visits that most of the users were found to be children and women (see table 3). While some young men were seen during certain times, most of them hanged out behind the front door of the complex as if it was forbidden to trespass the fence.

Table 3: Users at Bega Kwa Bega			
GROUP 1	GROUP 2	GROUP 3	GROUP 4
Participants of the Workshops	Young Women	Adult Women and their children	Children

Table 3: Identified group of users at Bega Kwa Bega.

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Inside the center, I engaged in informal conversations with the women participants of the different workshops (most of them young adults age 18 to 23) as I learned about their views of what is like to live around the sector and how they wish their city should be like. While talking, I found interesting their choice of location to perform the assigned activities with both the dance and fashion teams favoring to be in open areas despite the inside facilities of both workshops were well kept and more efficient in terms of acoustics and neatness (see figure 12 and 13).



Figure 12: Dancing team practice at Bega kwa Bega, Baba Dogo. October 27, 2017. Source: Own photo



Figure 13: Participants from fashion workshop. Dance studio inside installations, Baba Dogo. October 27, 2017. Source: Own photo.

This selection of space evidenced their sense of belonging and safeness within the center. While the lack of male individuals can be considered a projection of the Kenyan

patriarchal society in which men go to work while women stay with the kids, since the activities that take place in Bega Kwa Bega are only directed towards the female population, it can be said that the high number of women in the complex has gendered the centre's open areas despite the fact of its public nature. Consequently, men are implicitly being banned from the space.

Contrary to the former groups, participants from the art workshops spend most of their time in the inside facilities as they defined them as cleaner and more silent. Most of them expressed how difficult it is to engage in cultural activities in Nairobi not only because they are women or their socio-economic status, but because of the obligations within their homes. They voiced their gratitude on the organization to create women-only workshops (the Dadas Connect project) and provide a safe space where they can express themselves since the other programs of Hope Raisers which rely on sports and music (performed in the streets of Korogocho) have been overtaken by men. It was later found that in fact, the Dadas Connect project was created to empower women due to the small female participants in the other activities of the group:

We started the academy for girls. Because, after doing all these activities, all these arts and sports, we realized many women are shying of from these activities. Many women don't want to come out and express themselves in a way. It is something we are trying to understand. We tried to figure out. Last year we started Dadas Connect, which is really targeting these issues, and also try to involve more girls and try to discuss why, because all activities are open for everyone but still there seems to be something that hinders the girls from participating [Mutura Kuria, Hope Raisers Administrator]

Walking around Korogocho

Before performing the walking assessment, I identified the most relevant places in the neighborhood thanks to the informal conversations with the different participants and organization representatives. A total of 7 sites were selected: The bridge, the market, the wastewater plant, the stadium, St. John school, the dumping site, and Kwa Chief street. As I walked around the mentioned areas, I evaluated the different aspects and characteristics of each place and discussed them with my 3 male companions allowing me to get a casual perspective of the male vision of the place. The following section will provide a summary of the most important findings from the walking assessment.

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As a general observation, while going through the sites it could be seen that maintenance, poor quality of roads and lack of street illumination were one of the most evident physical aspects of the area. Although some of the important avenues have already been paved as part of the Korogocho Street Upgrading Project (KSUP) of UN-Habitat²³, other streets from the same hierarchy and most of the secondary streets and alleys were spotted to be dusty, muddy and having no signing nor proper walking paths. In addition, the Market road, being the most important area of commercial activity, is deeply congested by pedestrians and vehicles (private and cargo) as they both go through the same road since sidewalks have been appropriated by vendors making the space unsafe for the public and especially children. (see figure 14).



Figure 14: Market Road, Korogocho. November 11, 2017. Source: Own photo.

Moreover, the lack of waste management is a deep problem in the surroundings. The space beneath the Ngomongo bridge is piled with garbage as people were spotted throwing waste into the river while crossing, and the areas near the wastewater plant are agglomerated with trash despite the closeness of the dumping site (see figure 15).

²³ The Korogocho Street Upgrading Project (KSUP), an initiative from the UN-Habitat Slum Upgrading Programme was done in 2007 to improve the living and working conditions of the Korogocho residents by improving the main streets of the area providing them with drainage, pavements, streetlight and beautification.

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Figure 17: Girls playing in Korogocho streets, Korogocho. October 27, 2018.

Yet, other areas were found to be desolated with little activity on its surroundings like the Korogocho Stadium due to the long high brick wall that delimits the building (see figure 18). Blind walls threats security as there is no direct “eyes on the street” nor activities that could benefit to the vitality of the place, especially during the night. Adding to this, the lack of proper roads and no streetlights makes the space perceived as abandoned and cautionary.



Figure 18: Outside the Korogocho Stadium, Korogocho. November 11, 2017. Source: Own photo.

The neighborhood does not hold many open public spaces, however, there are many open spaces with no public. Most people - especially kids and the youth- use the St. John School’s open yard for recreation and leisure even though the school is closed during weekends. The Kwa Chief Street- also part of the KSUP- that aimed to be used as a recreational area is very physically attractive but still deserted besides the residents that live on that street (see figure 19).



Figure 19: Talking walls from KSUP of UN-Habitat in Kwa Chief street, Korogocho. October 27, 2017. Source: Own photo.

Public hangouts for women were found around the hair salons and water point facilities in the market zone. Although the first one comes in no surprise as beauty areas are one of the most common examples of gendered spaces, the last one evidenced that since it is usually women who stand in a queue to collect the water, the space has been unconsciously transformed into a place for women to socialize (see figure 20).



Figure 20: Women in water point at Market Road, Korogocho. November 11, 2018. Source: Own photo.

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As for income generating activities besides those from the market sector, all the street vendors found in the walks were in fact women, usually selling groceries and food-related goods. Female recyclers were also observed in the Dandora dumping site²⁴, however, I was advised not to go not only because of health issues, but because as the site is not officially within Korogocho, we would need to be accompanied by someone of the area for protection matters.

During the visits, I engaged in informal talks with the guys who escorted me to see also their ideas on the city and place. As we were talking and walking, they kept constantly harassing the ladies passing by our side, telling them if they wanted to join us in the walk or addressing how beautiful they looked now. None of the women replied. When I expressed my discomfort, they responded by laughing stating they all are friends from their neighborhoods and are just messing around.



Figure 21: Looking over the Dandora Dumping site, Korogocho. November 11, 2017.

²⁴ Officially, the Dandora dumping site belong to the area of Dandora in the limiting border with the Korogocho district

6.3 Thematic Analysis

The narratives that came from the women participant's interviews were studied through a Thematic Analysis and developed in three levels of coding, to understand patterns, identify resemblances and variances, and interconnect their stories. In this sense, the first codification step was to recognize the different characteristics that intensify women's fears, and feelings of insecurity when using and traversing in and around the city of Nairobi. This section will provide extracts of some of their stories as the complete transcript can be found in the appendix section (see Appendix D).

Coding 1: Identification of Factors

The findings were grouped in different categories according to their similarities, leaving the following results: (1) Infrastructure and Public services; (2) Symbolic spaces; (3) Sexual harassment; (4) Marginalization and poverty; and (5) Local social control.

Infrastructure and Public Services

Many of the participants specified how the weak forms of infrastructure in the city are a major factor in safety and fear when using public spaces. Most of the mentioned elements were regarding light standards, quality of roads, garbage collection and maintenance of the space. To begin with, Hellen and Lucy explained how the lack of proper streets in their localities and in the city, triggers their sense of security:

I would like roads, big roads. Because in my area there are a lot of corridors. Cars can't pass those corridors. If something happens, no one can enter to help. Especially now during elections. [Hellen]

You know, in the city it is very crowding, you find that the same road the cars are crossing, people are crossing, even at the same time. It is dangerous because the matatus don't care for you and just cross. But there is no area to walk. And if you cross some of the traffic police they arrest you and you are not doing nothing. [Lucy]

Both examples expressed the importance of road infrastructure for safety risk sensation in different ways. The statements denote how deficient or absent streets and sidewalks inhibits mobility choices through public space; obstructs the options on security

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help; and reduce their right as citizens. Hellen's concern on the privation of roads for motorized vehicles is intensified by the political driven disturbs the slums are known for as no police or rescue team would be able to assist her. On the other hand, Lucy explains that due to the absence of proper footpaths, she must walk through non-pedestrian streets, not only exposing herself to the dangers of being hit by the public transport, but to the consequences of infringing the law, which diminishes her sense of citizenship as she feels has no power in this decision.

Street lights were also a recurrent determinant, with mixed responses as not all participants felt such implementation would increase their sense of protection. Some of the positive answers come from Judith, and Rita considering illumination an essential patron for safety:

(...) If there would be so much light. It is not easy for people to behave badly at night if there is enough light, so they can be seen what you are doing. That would make me feel safer, and also cameras. [Judith]

Like this road that I use to come here, the lights should be put in that road so that there may be no darkness and people may walk at any time and feel secure. [Rita]

Both cases reveal the relationship between luminosity and community safety, presuming no danger could occur if the right amount of illumination is introduced into public space; a common argument in the CPTED discourse. However, some less favorable answers express how light implementation will not necessarily increase the perception of safety:

It will help to some level [Lights], but most important is changing the attitude of the people perpetrating the violence. Women have been stiped in broad daylight, so it is not a matter of only more lighting or CCTV. The only solution is to change the mentality of men towards women regarding on the way they dress and look. [Sharon]

Let's say this place has more lights, right? But there are no people. What if someone come from the bush? From nowhere? He will just assault you, even kidnap or even kill you and leave you next to the garbage. There have been cases. To me, I don't believe in the lights. [Jane]

In the previous quotes, it is specified that although this mechanism could help to some extent, it would not address the whole of the problem since there are multiple factors that contribute to women's victimization such as lack of provision of activities and socialization.

Likewise, Jane also discloses the lack of maintenance, a frequent response when addressing the complications of the city:

I was going to my brother of my grandparents in Kibera. That place it is not secure...there anyone is a theft. That environment did not please me because there was garbage everywhere. That place has no sanitation and you can get diseases at any time and if I get sick, what do I do? We don't have money for doctors. [Grace]

When I have to go to town the vehicles drop you there in downtown around Muthurwa [bus terminal area]. There is a big market there. It is usually crowded and there is mud everywhere. The market also sells fruit so there are disposing leftovers everywhere, people step on them and it becomes dirty, so I don't really like it. It is usually smelly, and people try to pass, and there is a big road also. I don't really like it but the other matatus are more expensive. [Judith]

Judith explains how the lack of cleanness of the terminal makes her visit to town unpleasant, stating that to detach from this experience she should spend more money and take a different route. Conversely, Grace sees the lack of sanitation in some neighborhoods as a problem that could risk her well-being due to the deficient provision of health facilities in case she is jeopardized. Considering Grace lives in Korogocho, it is important to understanding the root of her concern as evidence shows only 5 medical centers can be found in the neighborhood for the 42 000-people that live there (The World Bank, 2011).

Responses to hygiene and maintenance were often correlated to inefficient or inexistent water supply networks as shown below:

[About her neighborhood] Oh, it is really dirty, really dirty! You know, sewage, from the toilets they spoil the area, that's leading to be feces everywhere. [Rita]

Oh, Mathare! There is no toilets. I went there because my brother married a lady and their home is there. If you want to go to the washroom, there is no washroom. There is one far and you have to pay 10 shillings [Kenyan currency]. If you don't have 10, you can't go to the toilet. The worst part is they take a shower in open areas. Like people are passing here, you put a curtain and you take a shower. Oh! It is the worst. Here [Korogocho], every plot has a toilet. It is not like Mathare. [Judith]

The inadequacy of proper toilets and showers creates vulnerability when women try to satisfy their basic needs. Both in Korogocho and Mathare, as well as in most informal settlements in Nairobi, this lack of service provision can be justified as the consequence of

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years of omission from the government to acknowledge the slums in city planning, living standard conditions and enforcement of domestic laws (Amnesty International, 2010). Although Judith separates her locality's situation with those from other slums stating in Korogocho every plot has a toilet, evidence shows how water network conditions in this district are minimal, with basic drains and water points shared between 40 families (The World Bank, 2011).

Other factors identified, were open spaces, green areas and its relationship to the urban core. Here, both Nora and Sharon indicate how the evidence and denial of parks in the community perpetuate their sense of protection or danger:

I love the Citypark, I just go to relax there. There are a lot of monkeys, so I just go there with my kid, get the fresh air, and then come back. It is very secure, there are families and kids playing in the park. [Nora]

Those neighborhoods with big fencing walls, I also feel unsafe because in case something happens, whom do I shout for help? It feels lonely. It is pretty but there is no one, no parks. The parks are inside the houses [laughs]. [Sharon]

For Nora, green areas bring in families and kids, making spaces secure for leisure and amenities. For Sharon, the deprivation of such spaces creates desolated and insecure sectors, even in the “best neighborhoods”.

Other identified factors that contribute to the enhancement of women's fear in public spaces where lack of urban public equipment, poor quality housing conditions, and lousy traffic congestion management. To sum up, these stories evidence the deep effects urban landscape and service quality and supply have on women, and how they are transformed into spatial obstacles that compress their everyday life.

Symbolic Spaces

As Koskela (1999) points out, during people's common day practices, space is not just the setting for interaction, but also produced by this interaction. Fear of public spaces is well connected not only to the physical elements of the environment but to the social bonds and perceptions that come from the individuals using the space. Cognitive interpretations

introduce social meanings to places by defining the material and social boundaries which structures the behaviors and actions in the use of the city (Chant, 2013). These “invisible” elements were identified from the women’s narratives to understand how the physical structure is soaked with meanings and values outlining the construction of their life identities.

The first element recognized from the answers was the significance sense of belonging has on security and perception of safety. How familiar (or not) women are with certain places derived in the ability to fully use public space and mobilize within the city as they often feel no danger when they know the area and the people around:

I feel safe here [In Bega Kwa Bega] because I am used to people here. At least, I know the people around. I always talk to people, I smile, I laugh, so I know a lot of people. Somebody robbing me around here? he won't do that. But in the CBD [city center], I don't think I'm safe. [Jane]

Being well familiarized with the residents of specific areas expands women spatial confidence facilitating their sense of safety as they perceive no hazard will occur due to the deep connection to the place. In parallel, such feelings can also be imperiled by particular events that may transform the views of the already well-known spaces:

I used to take the route where the girl was stripped [referring to the 2014 sexual assault case in a Nairobi's bus stop], but not anymore. There are other routes that I feel very safe due to the reputation of the operator. It depends on the route and the time. [Sharon]

Even though Sharon did not suffer any altercation while using her everyday matatu, the danger message she received from different sources placed her confidence at risk, redefining her mobility patterns to what she felt a more trustworthy alternative. This shows how trust and mistrust are fundamental points in question in the creation of symbolic spaces, and how they can be created both by tangible elements and by the people around. In this sense, gender plays an essential role as evidence in Hellen’s response:

I prefer walking or moving in places where there are women because It is hard for a woman to do bad things to me. I mean, there are cases of women thieves, but these are usually because they are being used by maybe their boyfriends. [Hellen]

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The example illustrates the links between criminalization, gender, and space. Fenster (2005) explains how physical spaces mutate to places of compiled subjective significance by the people who frequently mobilize through it. By this, women tend to feel more secure in areas where the presence of other women is evident, as they feel safer and more entitled to use it. This symbolic element can also be seen in the opposite end, when those who occupy the space are groups perceived as dangerous, diminishing their sense of belonging:

In the matatus, it depends on the seat and the friend you are sited with. Mostly I love sitting with women. With women, I can trust anyone. But if I see the car has a lot of men, I just come out and wait for the next matatu. I don't trust men. [Lucy]

[Talking about the smoking zones in Nairobi city center] *When women pass there, they don't even like to look that way because there is usually just men standing there smoking. It is already perceived as a men zone. Even when there's a woman selling those cigarettes I think she is also uncomfortable. The probability of her being harassed is high. It would be nice to have also a place only for women... but not for smoking. [Judith]*

When masculine dominance is found in a place, many women exclude themselves from such areas as they feel it can create situations in which “women should not be”. Both examples illustrate the power relations between the genders, and the feminine lack of entitlement to the city, with Lucy distinguishing the public transport as a male-hostile environment that she refuses to be in, and Judith’s strong desire for segregated women-only spaces in order to feel safe.

Sense of identity is also evident through the connection of the built environment to its figurative meaning. For some participants, public space is associated with community activities and social integration, conditions they can only find in the places they hold an attachment to:

I love Koch [Korogocho], it is really cool, with people around having fun, the dancing. You can't find something like that in Runda [high-income neighborhood]. You can't find people there. People there are busy in their houses watching television. What I really like about ghetto, is people from ghetto have talent, they really do have talent, they only don't have the money to make them be where they want to be. I can't say I would leave Koch. I know it's tough but it's my place. [Anna]

For Anna, Korogocho is the place where her spatial liberties are allowed. When comparing her neighborhood to some of the “better” ones, she states how the lack of

personality and resident's life choices from the former would hinder her personal development. Although she knows the living conditions tend to be arduous due to the lack of opportunities in her district, it is evident how internalized her sense of belonging and place attachment are.

To summarize, the narratives indicate the way in which space is not only created by the physical characteristics but also the cognitive, behavioral and emotional feelings attached to it. The way the participants relate and belonged to particular spaces affected their ideas and views on how to contest fear and avoid risks.

Sexual and Street Harassment

The power relations in society in which men holds superiority over women is frequently manifested through the naturalization of the prevailing acts of sexual harassment and sexual assaults (ActionAid, 2015). These forms of GBV inhibits women mobility choices, intensifies their sense of vulnerability, and contributes to the oppressive reality women face in the male-dominated space. Staring, stalking, verbal abuses and unwanted touching were some of the common experiences the participants faced in the streets and while mobilizing through the city.

While all the interviewees stated they have been sexually harassed at some point in their lives, most responses corresponded to situations while using the public transport system. The following quotes explain the nature of these aggressions and how they contribute to feelings of vulnerability and intimidation:

I was sitting next to the conductor. I didn't have my bra on and... [laughs] I don't know what happened to this guy but he started putting his hand like [makes a gesture of pressing her breasts] you know? He was sitting next to me and he was doing this, and I felt so bad about it I wanted to shout, but I just do this to his hand [makes a gesture of pushing hand away] From that time I don't like sitting next to the conductor. It affected me. [Jane]

Mostly in my case, it has been unwanted touching. At the moment, I tried to push the man back, but I was scared. Reason being no one else came to my defense when I complained. You can imagine being in a matatu with over 10 people, but then no one is speaking out. You get intimidated [Sharon]

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Unwanted touching deeply affects participants sense of security, enhancing feelings of anxiety, vulnerability, and helplessness. The fact that these women felt had no control on addressing the situation, either because they would be physically overpowered by the attacker or because of people's uncaring attitude to provide aid kept them silent and ashamed, reinforcing male sovereignty and unconsciously creating symbolic spaces. This absence of speech can be associated with the normalization of such behaviors and the lack of importance of addressing the problem. Despite the often sexual assaults perpetrated in Nairobi's public transport sector, little has been done on studying the reasons and consequences of Kenya's VAW in this domain (Women's Empowerment Link, 2015).

In the same way, street harassment- evidenced mostly by catcalling²⁵, staring, and verbal abuse -was also mentioned as a typical daily event in which women felt had no control over:

There is always the staring, you can feel the stare. So, I look, and then I turn away. Me personally I don't respond. What am I going to say? "Why are you looking at me like that? You make me uncomfortable" [laughs]. But it really does. Sometimes I ask myself, Is it really intentional? Maybe they cannot help it because they are men. Sometimes I think is in their background and nobody really thought them there is a level of respect. [Judith]

I was walking in town and there was this guy. He was like "Hey, hey "[makes whistle sound]. So, I was trying to ignore him, and he started shouting in Swahili like "you think you are so high class for turning", but in Swahili is more like an insult. So... it's not like if he is going to tell me something important. I'm busy, I'm going somewhere. Why would I stop? So, he can say hi? Do I really have to be dealing with this? So, I tried to avoid that area, but then again, I can't avoid all of Nairobi. [Rita]

Both women internalized and questioned why they must deal with this type of attitudes. Although they did not sense greater harm will occur, feelings of discomfort when insulted were evident. While Judith justified the action as "men will be men", Rita's first instinct was avoidance, however, due to the regularity of this encounters, in the end, the only coping mechanism left is to ignore and move along. In addition, other responses showed physical violence did occur when the participants remained un-respondent. Most of these

²⁵ Catcalling is commonly defined as the act of men commenting on women's body in the public space.

situations, however, were rationalized with the fact that the person in question was either drunk or doing drugs, hence, unaware of their actions:

One day, my mom sends me to buy something and I was with a friend. So, another guy called me and started talking to me, and you know... usually these boys say we don't like them, we don't like ghetto, we only like people rich. Me just assumed he was drunk. So, I was just walking and thought, I won't answer this man because he is drunk, he don't know what he is saying. So, I walked. He came in front of us, and guess what? I was hit here [points to face]. So, I didn't respond, and I went home, and I was crying. I don't go to the Koch market no more. [Anna]

[About a man on the street] He was drunk, then I was just passing by. He slept and then he woke up and kicked me in the back. I just looked at him. So, if he decided to kick me its ok. He was drunk, so I just understood him, and I left. [Lucy]

The former answers exemplify how harassment and violent acts not only are perceived as invasions of their physical space but of their mind and psychological well-being. The fact that “they are women” makes them perceive themselves as helpless, ashamed and vulnerable to the power control men carry in the urban space and holds a reminder that there are situations women are not meant to be, nor go against.

To conclude, sexual offenses perpetrated on women while using public spaces not only is evidenced by an intrusion of their physical form but to their mental and psychological entities. This alternatively construes in fear and oppression, weakening their right as citizens and reinforcing a masculine urban environment.

Marginalization and poverty

Since colonization, Kenya holds a historical background on women marginalization in all political, economic and social spheres. With crime and violence being common characteristics of modern cities, the threat on women intensifies when contexts of cultural minorities and low economic status are part of their reality (ActionAid, 2013). In this sense, those living in poverty are usually the ones most exposed to criminalization and violence as the sensitive conditions they are living in restrain them to renounce from such environments (Kabeer, 1999, quoted in Mcilwaine, 2013). The following narratives express how monetary restrictions affect safety perception as well as exacerbate vulnerabilities in the urban space:

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Most of the times I walk. Fare is some kind of problem for me, I can't afford it. Taking a Matatu is safer than walking, because when we walk we pass through areas that can be dangerous. [Hellen]

I plan to go to university, but the problem is a financial problem. That's why I'm still not going to school and living here. If I had money I would study hospitality management and move to Karen [High-income neighborhood]. That place is secure and clean so one cannot contaminate diseases. There is control of garbage and people are happy. It is not like here in slum areas. [Rita]

Hellen explains how lack of capital deprives her of the possibility to take a more secure mobility choice, consequently, being exposed to potentially dangerous encounters as a pedestrian. As for Rita, she links poverty with deficient educational opportunities and low living standards. While for them, affluence is a synonym of security and well-being, recent research suggests urban violence is promoted by the power in income inequalities and uneven distribution of opportunities among groups, rather than by poverty itself (Muggha, 2012). This misconception can be attributed to marginalization. Literature states how economic scarcity is the main reason for marginalization as it excludes people from political decisions, service provisions and social participation (Young, 2000). When lack of money impedes women from joining social life, not only they are marginalized as a group but deprived of social aspects. In addition, by seeing conditions that might look better than their own, social deprivation increases, as their marginalized status disables them to see beyond the physical aspect of the idealized lifestyle.

Some of the participants also expressed how in order to overcome monetary issues, they were subjected to take job positions that threatened their well-being and perception of safety:

When my dad lost his job, he was a chief in those big hotels... then I was struggling. My younger sister got sponsored and went to school, so I stayed with my brother and my mom. I had to struggle and help them. I had to go to this hotel, and wash utensils and I'll be paid 150. It was a lot of work. When coming home I was tired and afraid because I came home late. But, I had no choice, we needed to eat. That's the worst thing I have ever lived. [Hellen]

The economic situation Hellen was living in compelled her to take a job that exposed her sense of security as she had to travel back home during night time in addition to the insignificant money retribution she obtained from it (the equivalent to 1.20 euros). As

previously seen, night activity is usually perceived hazardous, as lack of infrastructure combined with night related users (mostly men) tempts women's fate in public spaces.

Other answers pointed out that the high rates of unemployment in their communities- especially in relation to male youth -was the key problem of victimization:

What they need most to do [the government], are jobs for those guys who are robbing people. The moment they introduce a job, I think there would be few who would be stealing or bothering us. At least they could earn something to come and help their people. [Anna]

Like when a guy approaches you... I ignore them and they start abusing you like saying they will get me pregnant. These guys... if you see them, you can't imagine. They do drugs, from Monday to Friday. You never find them focusing on something. If they had something to do, they wouldn't be abusing me. I always ignore them. If there is a guy who focuses in life, then he can be my friend. [Lucy]

Most participants related idleness to use of drugs and criminal activities with many thinking rape, harassment, substance abuse and criminalization are reinforced by boredom and the male exclusion from the labor market. Interestingly, none of the answers addressed women's repression from job opportunities. Although participants mentioned their hopes and dreams of being independent successful women, most of the narratives were filled with future instead of present ideas, as many of the stories portrayed the dependency they hold to the private sphere, with cleaning, cooking, and attending their siblings. In this sense, it was observed how the patriarchal oppressive mechanism that secludes women from the public domain is still projected even unconsciously.

To summarize, fear of crime and perception of safety is an assortment of different conditions such as environment, planning, gender and social and economic problems, in which marginalization and exclusion play a fundamental role of women's safety consciousness.

Local Social Control

Feminist criminologists express how women victims of abuse, violence, and crime prefer to address the issue through several coping mechanisms rather than to report it to the authorities, especially when those acts are of physical and sexual nature (Scott, 2003;

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Whitzman, 2008). In most sub-Saharan countries such as Kenya, law enforcement is seen as a dishonest, brutal, and corrupt system, considering the police as one of the major transgressors of institutional violence. In a study conducted in 2016 on Nairobi's slums, results showed how members of the settlements viewed the police force as the secondary perpetrators of community violence with 19% of the answers, after gang groups, (Plural Security Insights, 2016). In this sense, participants shared their views and concerns on the police both in their neighborhoods and city, as well as their ideas on local social control. To begin with, the following quote expresses Nora's assessment of the importance of police security for local safety:

Security should be enhanced in this place. Maybe more police because they are always there... they stay there at the police station, they don't come here to at least patrol, to see how people are living. They are just sitting there. What is the point of having police if they are not moving around? They should be told to patrol here and to help if it is needed [Nora].

For Nora, police inspections in her neighborhood are inexistent as most of the men in charge are secluded at the station. The lack of patrolling makes her question the fact of having law enforcement in the area if they cannot provide efficient control on criminal activity, making her fearful and unprotected as a civilian. Some responses attributed this carelessness to their poverty status:

Then police... mmm, I don't trust them much, especially here in the slums. It's not like in other areas where they are always patrolling. You see, if they put gates all over, then the watchman is there. So, if you want to go somewhere, they are there looking and can call the police if they see people they don't know. And the police could go easily. [Hellen]

The previous quote puts in evidence not only the mistrust of the police force but the glorification of private securitization. Hellen relates how safety could be enhanced if policemen were supported with private security in her area, a presumed reality that happens in high-income neighborhoods. However, literature suggests that in fact, the use of private guards not only are strategies to further security in rich income areas due to lack and mistrust of police and general public but end up enhancing social exclusion by implicitly defining those areas without such measures as dangerous (Caldeira, 2000). In the same manner, mistrust was a common answer:

[While talking about CCTV] *But, remember there are thieves. They come, remove the CCTV and begin robbery. They normally do that. The police even join them, and then they go remove it and share the money* [Lucy].

I don't trust any policeman around. No! [laugh]. *Kenya policemen are very corrupt. If a man robs you and you report it, sometimes with the police they go half-half.* [Jane].

Both women expressed their absence of faith in police roles, as they perceive them as mercenaries and a corrupted institution that engages in criminal activities for their personal benefit instead of helping resist civil disorder. Such apprehension was not only stated due to the illicit activities police engage but also because of their indifferent behaviors when reached by the community:

There was a guy, and I was with my friend coming from school, then the guy slapped the girl and then the police was near. We told the police; the girl told the police "that man has slapped me" and the police told her "Why is it that you women never slap back?". So, we told the police to follow the man and the police said it was too late, but the man was just sitting there. I felt very bad [Lucy].

Lucy's quotation exemplifies a significant problem for women when trying to access assistance from security state services. When police must deal with cases in which women's physical and sexual integrity have been jeopardized, they tend to underestimate the aggression and blame the victim for the offense. In Kenya, policies on GBV through a law enforcement lens are scarce. Kenya's National Guidelines on the Management of Sexual Violence only addresses medical and psychological responses leaving behind police actions (ActionAid, 2013), which end up contributing to the apathy and ignorance from officers when they are reached by the victims.

Moreover, this is also intensified by the unfitted laws from the juridical system, making women remain silent to sexual or physical assaults as they feel it is pointless to report them considering the lack of help from the state, people around, and the inability to demonstrate the accusation:

If a man touched you wrongly and you go to the police, what evidence is there? If there is no evidence, how can it be proven? Unless there is someone to testify and, how many people are willing to do that? Nobody will leave their normal day live activities to go with a stranger to testify. So what use is there to go to the police then? [Sharon].

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To conclude, this first level of coding exposed that the factors that contribute to women's urban fear can be seen on all physical, societal and political levels. Both infrastructure and maintenance become central points in women's demands as poor lighting, lack of availability and quality of roads and sidewalks, inexistent open and green areas, and weak access to water and sanitation reinforce women's exclusion in the city. Additionally, marginalization and poverty, sexual harassment, social identity and lack of trust to the police are all intensifiers for victimization in which at the end, translates into women's fear and segregation of the public life, hence, diminishing their right as civilians.

Coding 2: Consequences for Women

The second level of the thematic analysis consisted of identifying the consequences women face from the factors previously addressed. The findings were grouped in different categories according to their similarities, leaving the following results: (1) Reduced participation in outdoor activities; (2) Restriction in freedom of movement; (3) Lack of security and dignity; and (4) Reinforcement of gender socialization and masculine urban environment

Reduced participation in different activities

When fear interferes in women's life - particularly fear of being assaulted or victimized-avoiding mechanisms appear, which eventually enhance the creation of what was previously explained as symbolic spaces. These evading methods not only seclude women from specific events or times of the day but at the end, transforms on the loss of rights to participate in several activities in the outdoors due to fear. Because of fear, women eventually limit their involvement in society by restricting their social, leisure and mobility patterns (Miethe, 1995). In this sense, many of the participants expressed how they felt where constrained to carry out some activities as they perceived them dangerous:

At school sometimes, they give us projects. There was one where we will be given a camera, so, you must come with a critic project. It was some kind of competition, so your creativity will make you come out. I found it difficult because they wanted a story within your area like Mathare, and Mathare is a very risky place. When you go there to take some photos men might even kill you because some of them don't like photos. They think you are going to sell their photo. Another thing, the camera can be snatched from you. So, I couldn't participate. [Hellen].

Hellen explains how the unsafe conditions of her neighborhood in addition to the male-hostile environment make her decline to participate in the competition. Like her, many women fear to engage in different outdoor activities as they believe they could be victimized, curtailing their confidence to move freely around space, their autonomy and right as civilians, and their possibilities to engage in educational and job opportunities:

If the public spaces would be better, I would enroll in my evening classes in Nairobi and travel back home every evening. But I can't because I cannot feel safe. So now, I have to wait for a situation for when I can get resources to study and live near the university area. Most of us who are working can only attend night classes. If you live far it becomes very difficult because it is unsafe to use public transport. It is a challenge to many of us [Sharon].

Sharon states how she is unable to advance in her education because her employed condition narrows her choice to only access night classes, a setting she deeply rejects due to the unsafe public transportation system of the city. Such fear cannot be underestimated considering matatus have been identified as one of the most misogynistic and sexist's economies in Nairobi (Vallve, 2015). A recent study on Nairobi's public transport system showed how 85% of women have had some kind of violent experience in Matatus, with 45% of them in the form of sexual abuse (Women's Environment Link, 2015).

In addition, many participants expressed the difficulties women face to engage in sport-related activities as they are often male perceived:

I play football here in Baba Dogo, but there is only one playground and is full of boys, so it is difficult sometimes because they say it is a boys' thing. Girls are not much cared for. People don't care about our games, they don't come. It is not fair because girls might not go like in other countries to play, but boys can go because they only want to see them play [Grace].

Grace explains that despite the existence of a women football team in her neighborhood they are unable to play since the only playground available has been controlled by the male presence and because her team has no support from the residents as they are girls. Just like Grace, stories evidence the problems participants faced when trying to engage in different sports that have been socially constructed as male ones. The accumulated memory that some sports are recreational activities within the male environment, translates in lack of belonging not only by women themselves but for those who see them.

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Other examples of limited participation were regarding night related activities. Women restraining themselves from going out at night was evidenced in all the participant's stories in one way or another as some expressed these were unsafe and money consuming, and others stating they would but do not like it:

When someone tells me "oh we are going to have a celebration somewhere, you want to come" I don't like that because sometimes something bad may happen. And if it happens, everyone will run to its own. If a riot begins. I'll be like, "I don't know any direction, I don't know what to do" so, I can even be kidnaped, or someone can force me or can kill me. So, I would normally tell them I am not going out [Lucy].

I don't go out. I don't go clubbing because I don't like it and find it risky. How will I come back? Matatus are dangerous and to go in a taxi you must have money [Grace].

Even though some of the participants said they have attended a social event at night (dance show or art exhibition) all 9 women did not refer to any type of activity performed after the sun goes down, excluding those related to the Dadas Connect program. Like in Lucy's case, many of them associated nights with leisure and social event portraying their fear of the unknown. The fact that she says she would not know what direction to go in case something happened put in evidence her distancing from any passed daylight doing as we were not discussing a specific place in mind. Such responses are not uncommon since women are often advised by different means to evade specific areas, be accompanied by male escorts and especially avoid going out at night as precautionary measures to reduce violence and sexual harassment (Campbell, 2005).

Restriction in freedom of movement

Restriction of free movement is one of the most evidential consequences of women's fear in public space. Embracing with the theories of Koskela (1999), the participant's stories showed how women mobility choices in the distribution of the physical space were not individual selections, but products generated by social power relations. By this, women tend to change the way they travel through space based on what they know, what they experienced, and what they heard, which generally translates in the evasion of specific routes and means of transportation:

Many times, I had to change the route because I don't feel safe. Women who are not worried would feel ok anywhere, even in closed spaces. It depends if you have been a victim of sexual harassment and where it happened. That inflicts some kind of fear on you [Sharon].

There are many ways to go back to my house. If I feel it is too late, then I take the long way. Ok, there are shortcuts, but they are dangerous... there, you might be robbed, you might be raped, stuff like that. It has happened, not to be but I know cases. [Hellen].

When I was working in the Koch mural, I wanted to buy chapatis [Indian bread] across the road, but the guy who was with told me "Don't even cross that road, this is not your home", and I was like, "I'm just getting a chapati" and he was like "this area is not safe, they will rape you in broad daylight if they don't know you". Then he told me I was targeted, so every time I had to go to work I had to go all the way around not pass the area. All of it because I wanted chapati [Nora].

All three cases indicate women's spatial mobility is dictated by fearing the possibility of being victimized or being victimized again. Like the last two quotes, many of the women restricted their mobility voluntarily either because they were warned of a possible attack, or because of the reputation of the place, which in both cases, was dictated by the fear of men. Both cases show how spatial movement is not a free controlled choice but restricted by self-imposed behaviors due to external factors that reinforce women's vulnerabilities making it seem as if they are surrendering to space.

Stories demonstrated mobility is often controlled by space symbolisms where women's lack of free movement is a normal and accepted condition (Fenster, 2005; Koskela, 1999). By changing directions or means of transport they heavily preserve the burden in their lives, as they have no power nor control over this choice.

Lack of security and dignity

Lack of security and dignity were identified as the silent consequences of the previously mentioned factors. When women encounter scenarios in which their sexuality is insulted through offensive behaviors, they often lose confidence in themselves and in others, profoundly affecting their social reality and unbalancing their quality of life (Painter, 1992, quoted in Koskela, 1999). The participant's stories put in evidence how lack dignity is usually projected when women feel unable to respond to some situations, disturbing their self-esteem and sense of belonging. In this sense, the following quotes portray how showing

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some kind of disapproval reaction towards their aggressor could further the consequences of being physically attacked making them powerless over their personal space:

First of all, I am a girl. I am a young woman. So, when I walk, sometimes we may meet boys somewhere. Then they start talking to you ugly. If you reply [against it], they might beat you. So, I rather choose to keep quiet and walk away [Hellen].

I've seen a lot of this [women being sexually harassed]. No one really cares, no one really wants to talk about it. No one does anything. You just let it happen and move along. What else can we do? [Sharon].

Harassment not only shapes women's mentality but their use of public spaces retracting them to enjoy the city life. Often, the idea of refuting such behaviors is perceived as challenging since they could involuntarily activate reactions that could threaten even more their personal space. In most cases, women demonstrate a forced indifference to these events by remaining silent, which can have damaging effects on their life, security, and well-being. By remaining unspoken to these events, women unconsciously reinforce male dominance in the urban area as well as their inferiority, which are evidence in a general constant apprehension while doing any activity outdoors:

I bought my home theatre, not so long ago. So, I was just carrying it through the avenue to get my bus to my place around 4 pm. And you know what? I normally have the fear, I'm always walking in the fear in the CBD [Central Business District]. So, I just felt ... somebody was looking at me, somebody must be following me. This thing is very expensive! So, I look, and I see someone, so I cross the next street and then he crosses also. So, I walk and walk, then I cross again because of my bus and then he crosses again. Where is this guy going? So, I run and then I get into my bus. [Jane].

There was a time when the matatu I used dropped me a few miles from where I was going. So, I had to walk. I realized a high number of men were walking outside and almost no women only a few. The men were just there, walking with no fear, but women were rushing, so I had this instinct that I had to do it as well to get to the other stage [Judith].

Both cases illustrate how women constantly live in alert mode chased by the idea that at any given moment they could be attacked regardless of what the situation is. These types of behaviors are mostly portrayed while commuting since women have no control of the environment around them or the people in it. Many of the stories showed how women's personal space was invaded by men especially when using public transportation. The few

cases in which they did speak up against the uncomfortable situation, were often taken-for-granted and ignored:

It's the simple things like, you know like when a guy comes and sits next to you in the matatu. I notice that most of them they sit, and then they like, spread their legs, so you are forced to like [gesture of squeezing], invade my personal space. I don't know if they see that... I'm sure that if you sit straight, you still will be comfortable. Most of the times I say something like if I had a long day I say "dear you can move your legs, so I can also sit", and he is like "ok it's fine" and moves, but later they move again. I don't know, it's like in their head or something. I don't think its intentional [Nora].

Like the previous quote, such forms of protests to the unwanted intrusions were often disregarded by the invader, fortifying women's inferior condition in society and lowering their self-respect. Like for Nora, many women end up unconsciously justifying these type of behaviors portraying despair as they believe they have no choice but to tolerate and understand them.

Reinforcement of gender socialization and masculine urban environment

As previously seen, the physical characteristics of space and the social interactions that happen in it is still a reflection of women's inferior status in comparison to men. The effects of socialization and gender division of space are often perceived by unequal opportunities, with women's difficult access to employment and resources, and a masculine society in which built environment correspond directly only to men's requirements. In this sense, many of the stories indicate how the overall physical aspect of the city continues to benefit the needs of men making it difficult for women to access, move and belong in the space around:

The city is made for men. The simple thing, have you ever realized that the street lights it is a stickman of a dude? Also, the road signs. If it is like no walking zone it is usually a caricature of a man because it is a man and people think it is correct because we have been seeing it since we are young, and we have grown with it, so it is normal. Imagine if it was a woman who made the signs, the street lights, the stop sign, she would probably put a lady there with a skirt. They were totally designed by men [Judith].

So, I also think, there should always be, like social amenities, places where sometimes pregnant women can rest... there are, but just like open to like everyone and people don't

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care. I think social amenities should be well designed for pregnant women. Sometimes you want to rest, sometimes you want to sleep, you cannot sleep there because you fear you can get attacked. You can't find places only for women in the city [Nora].

Connections between the urban space and hegemonic masculinities were evident from the stories, even in the smaller details. When public spaces, transport infrastructure, and city planning take a gender-neutral design approach, women end up detaching from the urban space and losing their sense of belonging. As responses showed a city structure imperceptible to women's requirements, ideas on further separation of masculine and feminine were addressed with the creation of safe areas only for women reinforcing the idea that the city just belongs to men.

Regarding the foregoing, lack of attachment and space separation only continues to support social norms and gendered codes. In many of the participant's answers, ideas of "appropriate women behaviors" were identified through vestment selection and general conducts:

It hasn't happened to me, but I know cases [unwanted touchings]. Maybe because they don't dress well when they go to places, then they are being harassed. They are wearing clothes like prostitutes, like short clothes. I don't wear that clothes. I prefer clothes like long pants. Clothes that are secure. Because, when you wear short thing, people see that you have immoral behaviors [Rita].

To me, if a girl wears a mini skirt, and then she goes... let's say for example she has something that dropped down and she will pick, the skirt will come up. Now, she is the one who wants to be kidnaped or to be sexually abused, because of the dressing that she is wearing [Lucy].

These type of answers are generally connected to the gendered norms and victim blame ideas from societies that makes women believe safety is an individual responsibility in which they have to take prudent actions on the way they dress and behave in order to stay safe. Such social norms were found as women identified they are unable to perform certain activities because of their gender, a typical statement influenced mostly in their private domains through family members or intimate partners:

My husband is worried about me when I am out. Not him, he is a man. Any man can survive anywhere. A man can walk from one street to another without anyone saying a word

towards him, but a woman? Before you make it to the same place several people will had try to approach you in one way or another [Sharon].

I live with my parents and they don't like for me to stay out late. If I am going out, they would be like "hey, where are you going, it is night" but my brother, he can do that. But for girls, it is not really common [Judith].

Female restrictions to go out by partners and relatives are not uncommon, as since childhood, women are always taught home is the safe place to be (Gardner, 1990). In Judith's case, her parent's time constraints during night time are based on their offspring's gender regardless of the age (considering she is 22 and the oldest child) portraying the idea that she cannot go out because "she is a girl". In other cases like Sharon's, these attitudes only contribute to women's fear by consenting the fact that dangerous encounters can happen when they decide to navigate the city, especially at night and without a man.

To conclude, women's fear to navigate and use urban space results on isolation, immobility, diffidence, burden, and vulnerability which ultimately unbalance their quality of life and right as citizens.

Coding 3: Coping Strategies

The last stage of coding was to identify how women construe and cohere these complications and handle the problem, as a way to recognize the social situation and if they themselves reinforce or reduce the existing power relations in space. In this sense, the following section will provide the most evident coping mechanisms diagnosed from the stories, being (1) Acceptance and avoidance; (2) Self Protection; and (3) Resisting.

Avoidance and Acceptance

Considering coping mechanisms can range from individual actions to collective strategies (The World Bank, 2011), the women's narratives portrayed a clear tendency towards an individualistic scenario as no answers identify tackling the problems through a community approach. That being said, the most persistent strategy from the stories was avoidance.

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Avoidance as a coping mechanism was acknowledged when the participants spoke about not going out after sundown, evaded crossing through areas considered threatening, and restrained from activities due to the presence of certain group of individuals, as previously seen. In the same way, acceptance was also evidenced persistently through the narratives:

Let me tell you, any man can give you a slap, but Kenyans? They don't do that, they decorate your face. They beat you up. If another man sees you like that, he won't like you. If I slapped him it would be just worst. [Anna].

Although acceptance can be seen as a form of submission instead of a coping mechanism, when women are victimized- especially in sexual ways - doing nothing is a common alternative to keep the situation from escalating into a more dangerous one, systematizing the dealing of reality. As fear limits women's mobility and their participation in different activities, by choosing both means to deal with these complications, women end up disempowering themselves and constraining from the city and the city life, reinforcing the gender unequal rights to move and use public spaces.

Self-Protecting Initiatives

Valentine (1989) specifies three types of coping strategies: time/space avoidance, environmental awareness and physical defence. In this research however, none of the responses corresponded to the latest classification of Valentine's work, though another form for negotiating fear was evidenced by the addition of self-protecting strategies when traversing into public space. Between them, the most evident one was the use of male protection:

There was this time when I was coming from school, and it was almost like 10:30pm, so my friend was like going to the opposite side from where I was going so, so I was just like "dude" ... he is a boy... "can you please escort me". I don't know why I said it, but I think, if we were two, maybe a potential mugger or potential bad person could be avoided [Judith].

This example illustrates how rooted gender arrangements are in a city with women having the need and pressure to feel more secure with a man by their side. Like Judith, many of the participants expressed in many occasions of asking male relatives or friends to accompany them in their different activities or while mobilizing in the city. Other ways came

from those women who were financially more capable to contract private security for their safety, either by having a personal driver or renting accommodation in other places, especially when night time came:

I have a personal Boda Boda [colloquial name for the public motorbikes]. The Boda Boda waits for me to get inside my house. He doesn't just leave me there. [Nora].

Like the previous quote, few examples placed in evidence that when money deprivation is not a problem, women's security was enhanced by their own means which ends up on reinforcing the idea of marginalization.

Such answers, in a way, evidence the conflicting mentality to the alternatives from the previous coping mechanisms. Instead of just accepting the unequal realities women live in and secluding themselves due to fear, many of them opted for different ways to be able to maintain their presence in space either by reinforcing the idea of men's superior condition in the city or by financial resources.

Resistance

Resistance strategies were rarely seen in the finding however not invisible. A small number of the interviews expressed different defiance approaches to deal with the problem with the use of body language, physical looks, or state of mind:

If somebody is trying to harass me or bother me I change my emotion. You have to show him that you don't want him. So, I look at him with my eyes and then send that "this guy doesn't have nothing that she wants", and then he leaves me alone [Lucy].

When I walk, I don't put that mind of I'll be robbed, or I'll be raped. I just walk. If I had that mindset, I would be robbed. If a place is not safe and you put that mindset, nothing will happen to you. [Anna].

The different patterns of resistance identified from the narratives placed in evidence women's challenging attitudes towards the patriarchal structure of public spaces. Such attitudes show the will of women to reclaim power and reclaim the space by showing courageous attitudes despite how vulnerable or afraid they might feel.

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6.4 Discourse Analysis

After identifying the factors, consequences, and coping strategies of the Thematic analysis, the last stage corresponded on analyzing if the current national safety implementation directed to the female gender effectively target the problems. This stage, which serves as a supplementary method in the same way of phase 1, will provide a general overview of the safety-related policies, verifying which factors from the women narratives are being considered in the national guidelines, as well as serving as a starting point for further analysis if the research is continued. In this sense, key concepts were extracted from the most important national document Kenya Vision 2030 - the new national policy plan for the next 13 years - in order to identify their discourse on women safety and women rights. The following section will provide a summary of the most important findings.

On Safety and Gender

Considering the Vision 2030 national policy is structured under a framework based on obtaining a “society free from danger and fear” (MPNDV, 2012, p. 26), safety and security are widely discussed in its reports. The strategy portrays security mainly as a pillar for economic growth and to attract investment. Between the described specific goals and initiatives, it was found: adjusting the ratio police population, reinforcing monitoring through ICT, modernizing of equipment, and the implementation of CCTV. Despite the extent of the national policy and the details strategies for safety implementation, in no part of the document, safety was addressed through a gender lens nor through a social point of view despite its aims of “providing a high quality of life to all its citizens by 2030 in a clean and secure environment” (Kenya Vision 2030, 2014, p.2).

Conflicting ideas emerge from the report as all of the outcomes seems to benefit middle and high-income residents particularly evidenced by the allocation of CCTV cameras, leaving aside those living under marginalization and poverty conditions. It is known that the use of security camera surveillance also reinforces the city social inequalities of the city as with them come new “normative” ideas of surveillance due to the private status of the operators (Borges, 2010). The latest Vision 2030 report stated that during the year 2012 the Kenyan government assigned more than 6 million euros on CCTV coverage in Nairobi and other 2 cities (Kenya Vision 2030, 2014).

Infrastructure and gender

Regarding gender and infrastructure, Vision 2030 plan does identify in its framework the importance of water and sanitation provision in women's lives by stating, "Women and girls who spend a large portion of their day fetching water are denied the opportunity to engage in other economic activities and schooling" (MPNDV, 2012, p. 120). As the planned initiatives expand through the different areas of water management, the main goal that specifically targets women is the flagship project to increase 'water supply and sanitation in urban areas and rural settlements'.

"Under Vision 2030, a research and development project will be commissioned on improvement and application of improved toilets and community sanitation. Promotion of the use of ventilated and improved pit (VIP) latrines and septic tanks in rural areas will target schools adhering to the ratio of one toilet for every 35 boys and one toilet for every 25 girls. This initiative will boost the achievement of improved access to safe sanitation. In addition, the Government will encourage planned rural and informal urban settlement" (MPNDV, 2012, p.121)

However, when evaluating the different projects mentioned, there seems to be an over specificity to enhance water and sanitary provision for those rural towns that can promote tourism activities, and a generalized description when particularly talking to Nairobi's informal settlements. The flagship projects are mostly located outside the capital of the country and rural areas. There is no precise project that tackles neither Korogocho, neither the other Nairobi slums, however, it is vaguely mentioned.

Gender and equality

Equality among men and women was widely addressed in the Vision 2030 plan with detailed gendered disaggregated data on the socio-economic characteristics and differences of both genders. Most of the flagship projects were regarding equality of participation in all spheres of society, with flagship projects focused on the political one. In this sense, the Vision 2030 plan of "30% of female representation in all levels of the political implementation" were put in operation during the previous elections.

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6.5 Final state of results

After presenting the different result from each method in use, the findings were brought together to be analyzed as a whole and interlink their main concepts (see figure 22). The following discoveries were obtained:

The weak forms of infrastructure serves as a major intensifier for women's fears in public spaces, with most common examples regarding light standards, quality of roads, water and sanitation provision, and maintenance of areas. Despite some of the examples looked upon on cases within the city level, much of the ineffective systems were perceived at the neighborhood level and where though as a normal condition for low-income settlements. In this sense, many of the participants understood how areas with higher earnings do not hold such infrastructural constraints, thus, being secure spaces for women to be and move. Such thoughts only contribute to women's inability to feel safe, dignified and entitled, not only due to their gender but also their socio-economic condition, making it seen as streets being 'threatening for women, but fatal for the poor'.

Inadequate or lack of provision of services also enhance women's frustration and vulnerabilities when trying to meet basic needs such as using public toilets or holding access to water, exacerbating their sense of exclusion and marginalization, and exposing them to the fear being of sexually harassed or attacked. In this sense, marginalization, lack of infrastructure provision, and sexual street harassment hold a deep connexion as they work through mutualism. Areas in which deprivation is present are usually forgotten by the state, thus, having inefficiencies of basic rights, which mostly underwrite to the implicit creation of spaces and places where sexual attacks can occur. Moreover, unemployment was identified as a key driver for violence and gender criminalization. Many of the participants correlated how lack of male job opportunities was projected through substance abuses, idleness and women violence; and where additionally intensified with the poor physical aspect of the neighborhoods and inexistent state support on providing better living standards. In the same manner, such connection can be evidence of the inefficient transport infrastructure of the city, consequence of the lack of state presence in its management.

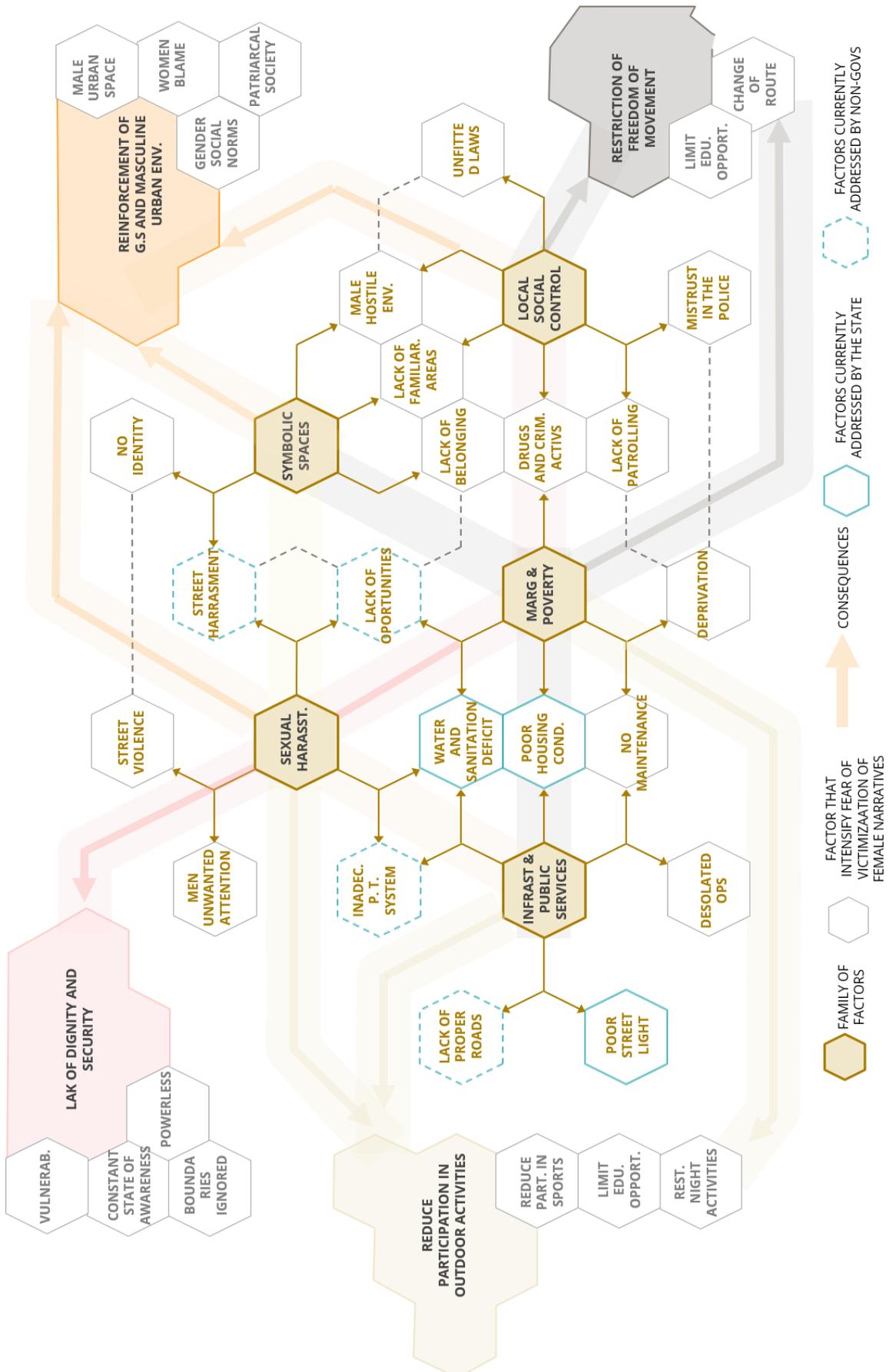


Figure 22: Overall Findings. Source: Own Design

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As for sexual harassment, it was not only portrayed in areas with inadequate infrastructure but in all context of the city. Stories showed how both streets and buses were seen as potentially dangerous spaces in which unwanted male attention and behaviors were consequently experienced, instilling feelings of vulnerability and impotence as it implicitly establishes who own power in space. In addition, when constantly having to face such apprehensions, women lose the option to walk freely in space without having to remain aware of not only their surroundings but the people (men) in it. Many participants end up feeling vulnerable with no control over their personal space and opted to remain silent in case of abusive events, unconsciously reinforcing male dominance in the urban area as well as their inferior right to the city.

The stories also evidence the symbolism behind each place, being in most cases, the symbolism that men create around. As symbolic spaces varied between lack of belonging, no familiarity, the absence of women, and lack of identity for the complications of women's spatial liberties, it was also discovered how symbolic spaces coping mechanisms are usually addressed differently in term of the magnitude of a place. For instance, while for a woman the absence of other women in a place at the city level is automatically schematized with avoidance, for the same example but at the neighborhood level, she would use the coping strategy of acceptance.

Symbolic spaces are usually connected to the normalization of sexual violence- mostly evidenced by the public sexual harassment perpetrated by men-, which ends up reinforcing its progress. In a way, they are also the response to the weak forms of social local control considering the lack of faith in police and justice systems. In this sense, coping mechanisms were identified as the response to the necessity to deal with victimization considering the inefficient local public forces, especially when regarding physical and sexual violence. Lack of trust in the state administration ends up intensifying further abuses, and segregating women from the public life, hence, diminishing their right as civilians. Such attitude can be observed in the Vision 2030 framework which gives no specification of a female- male ratio in the number of new police officers nor any specific point that tackles alternatives to enhance women safety with them.

When fear interferes in women's life it generally transforms on the loss of their right to participate in several activities in the outdoor due to danger perception and limit their involvement in society by restricting their social, leisure and mobility patterns. Many of the narratives expressed how unsafe conditions of the neighborhoods plus male-hostile attitudes towards them threatened their autonomies and right as a civilian, keeping them secluded to the private space. The fear of moving safely around the city hinders the possibility to advance in the education or professional fields, engage in leisure or sports activities, and involve on night related events.

Fear victimization is ultimately understood as a product generated by social power relations in space. The narrative showed how spatial movement is not a free controlled choice, but a restricted by self-imposed behaviour in relation to external factors. In this sense, mobility is often controlled by space symbolisms where women's lack of free movement if a normal and accepted condition. This generates and reinforces an urban space that embodies only male needs and contributes to the reinforcement of social norms and gender behaviors. Many of the participants unconsciously blamed themselves or women in general for not exposing themselves to unwanted situations because of either their dressing code or general conduct was improper, and felt women, in general, were unable to do certain activities and act in certain ways because of their female condition.

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7

The following chapter will give the final thoughts of the present study. This section will provide information on the overall research purpose and design, and the most important findings of the study. In addition, the concluding section will provide information on the strengths, limitations and directions for possible further research on women safety in the Nairobi context.

7.1 Overall Discussion

This research study aimed to understand how a group of Nairobi women view, use, and move around their neighbourhoods and city's public spaces, and comprehend how different factors, both at the physical and social level, can contribute to intensifying their fear of victimization and consciousness of safety, which ultimately will modify their relation to the urban space and right to the city. As this study theorized on how fear is a social construction, and how women's fears in public space are also the representation of the power dynamics that places men on top of the social pillar, the research questions proposed were the following:

1. What are the physical and social factors that intensify fear of victimization and perception of safety of Nairobi women when using the city's public spaces?
2. How does fear of victimization and risk perception shape their everyday lives and use of the city?
3. What coping mechanisms do women use in order to challenge their fear of public spaces of Nairobi?
4. Are the current safety initiatives and policies in Nairobi improving the security of women when traversing the city?

By framing the research based on the feminist methodology of feminist research and by using a thematic narrative analysis to assess the question in support with supplementary methods of visual and discourse analysis, this research presents the key findings of the study:

It was found out that there were not only social and physical characteristics that intensify on women's fear, but also political. The availability, access and quality of the built environment influence significantly on women's perceptions on public space as low standards of them are usually linked with victimization and risk perception in the public areas. In addition, the narratives explained how lack of availability of proper infrastructure such as road quality, street lights, open and green spaces, and cleanliness of the areas inhibits women mobility choices through public space; obstructs the options on security help; increase their fear when traversing the urban core and reduce their right as citizens.

The deep effects urban landscape and service quality and supply have on women are transformed into spatial obstacles that compress humans' everyday life. Inadequate infrastructure and lack of provision of services enhance women's frustration and vulnerabilities when trying to meet basic needs such as using public toilets or holding access to water, exacerbating their sense of exclusion.

Deprivation and marginalization are important elements that influence how women mobilize, use and feel in the public space. Most of the storytelling identifies unemployment as a key driver for violence and gender criminalization. Many of the participants correlated how lack of male job opportunities was projected through substance abuses, idleness and women violence; and where additionally intensified with the poor physical aspect of the neighborhoods and inexistent state support on providing better living standards.

Sexual harassment, impede women their use of public areas and have negative consequences for their general well-being. Stories show how both streets and public transportation are seen as potentially dangerous areas in which unwanted male attention can instill feelings of vulnerability, demonstrate who holds power in the built environment and reinforce women's seclusion in the private space. Powerless woman image enhances the oppression-especially sexual and verbal abuse- of women in public areas.

Women's free use of space is hindered by the symbolic barrier embedded in the built landscape. Lack of faith in police services and justice system intensify women's perception of unsafety in cities. Lack of trust in the administration of the state to tackle

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women's victimization end up serving as intensifiers for further abuses, segregating women from the public life, hence, their right as civilians are diminished.

When fear interferes in a woman's life it generally transforms on the loss of their right to participate in several activities in the outdoor due to danger perception and limit their involvement in society by restricting their social, leisure and mobility patterns. Many of the narratives expressed how unsafe conditions of the neighborhoods plus male-hostile attitudes towards them threatened their autonomies and right as a civilian, keeping them secluded to the private space. The fear of moving safely around the city hinders the possibility to advance in the education or professional fields, engage in leisure or sports activities, and involve on night related events.

Women's spatial mobility is dictated by the fear of being victimized which at the end is understood as a product generated by social power relations in space. In this sense, mobility is often controlled by space symbolisms where women's lack of free movement if a normal and accepted condition showed when they change routes and means of transport and evade going through specific areas.

Sexual harassment not only shapes women's mentality but their use public spaces. Women's fear of sexual assaults not only affects their wellbeing and quality of life, but also their equality with men. When constantly having to face the possible consequences of being assaulted or gaining unwanted attention, women lose the option to walk freely in space without having to remain aware of not only their surroundings but the people (men) in it. Many participants end up feeling vulnerable with no control over their personal space and opted to remain silent in case of abusive events, unconsciously reinforcing male dominance in the urban area as well as their inferior right to the city.

Urban space as the place that embodies only male needs. This lack of belonging and preference to create a man urban space reinforce social norms and gender behaviors. Many of the participants unconsciously blamed themselves or women in general for not exposing themselves to unwanted situations because of either their dressing code or general conduct was improper, and felt women in general, were unable to do certain activities and act in certain ways because of their female condition.

Women coping mechanisms to deal with the mentioned problems were identified mostly at the individual level with acceptance, avoidance, self-protecting initiatives and resistance. Most common strategies included keeping silent and un-respondent, relying on male protection and private security, and at a very small degree challenging the oppressive spaces, patriarchal structure and overall fear of space through the use of body language, state of mind and physical looks.

7.2 Government Failure?

This study showed the need for better urban quality of life for women in Nairobi, especially, those who come from marginalized and deprived areas of the city. The narratives and visuals presented in the thesis demonstrated how functional, structural and social influences impact women experiences of security, spatial confidence and lack of power in their own city and own lives. All factors previously address reinforce and perpetuate the multi-layered power structures that fence the equality of rights, same opportunities and access to live prosperity that women must face in comparison to men.

With the state administration trying to deal with the problem by absorbing UN Habitat's crime prevention approach in which aims to improve urban safety through the CPTED strategy, most of the initiatives have either fallen short on continuing their development as the different administrative periods change or failed on refining women safety and reducing gender-based violence. The most significant programme, the Safer Nairobi Initiative stopped at the diagnosis level and failed to continue or provide any time for practical solution to the problem even though, it is still functioning. The multi-stakeholder platform with different partners and coalitions it created ended up being only used for political and global development interests.

On the same note, another CPTED initiative from the city government was the implementation of streetlights and CCTV in the city as a was to enhance women and kids' safety, also with failed results. Although such initiatives do help in lowering the criminal activities in the areas, it has a lower effect on lowering women's perception of risk and fear.

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This is because fear has been constructed as a social reality in which the introduction of more lights or CCTV would not play a significant role in women's perception of unsafety.

While it has been also documented how there has been some improvement from the government sector to provide the necessary services for women and their need in the city, at the end most of these initiatives where been left without state administrative financial, medical, or legal support, having those programmes to rely only from donations of private funded NGOs or providers from limited funding (McEvoy, 2012).

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Appendix A: Interview Guide 1**Background**

1. Age _____
2. Sexual orientation Heterosexual Lesbian Bisexual Other: _____
3. Relationship status Single Dating Married Divorced Widowed
 Other: _____
4. Education level Grade school High School Bachelor Master/PHD
 Other: _____
5. In which area of Nairobi do you live? _____
6. Do you live alone? If not, with who? _____
7. Employment status: _____

Part 1: General Questions

1. Why did you engage in the institution?
2. What do you want to get out from this experience?
3. Tell me about a typical day in your life during the week
4. Tell me about a typical day in your life during the weekend
5. What activities do you like to do in your free time?

Part 2: Detailed Questions**Mobility**

1. What is your most used means of transport?
2. Have you ever felt unsafe while using your method of transportation? Why?
3. Have you ever been afraid or been uncomfortable with the people around?
4. Have you ever been harassed when travelling to or from one place to another?
5. Have you ever seen someone become the victim of a crime or be harassed while mobilizing from one place to another?
6. Have you ever changed your mobility route because of fear?
7. How do you keep safe when mobilizing?

Public Open Spaces

8. What are your favourite areas of your city? Why these areas?
9. What are your least favourite areas of your city? Why?
10. What kind of socialising or leisure activities do you do in the public space?

11. Are you comfortable doing them alone?
12. What are some of the strategies women you know use to keep safe in public?
13. Have you ever gotten someone to escort you because you did not feel safe?
14. When you use the public space, do you change your behaviour?
15. Are there some areas that you don't like to go anymore?
16. How do you keep safe in the public space?

Safety Perception

17. Where do you believe you are most safe?
18. Do you think that men and women use public spaces in the same way?
19. Do you think is dangerous to go at night? And alone?
20. Why do you think women are more likely to fear victimisation than men in public?
21. What is street harassment to you?
22. Have you ever been stalked, followed, or threatened by anyone when you were out in public?
23. Do you pay attention to possible threats of the city?
24. What makes you feel safer in public, i.e. lighting, busy streets, seeing more women in public spaces, etc.?
25. Do you trust the police? Why?
26. What recommendations for safety would you give to women?
27. How would you change your community to make safer spaces?
28. Do you think men and women should act the same way in the public space?
29. Have you been victimised in your private life?
30. Have you been victimised in your public life? If yes, please explain.
31. How do you advice your friends in cases they have been victimized?

Appendix B: Interview Guide 2

1. Please tell me about the organization. (When it started, why it started)
2. What is the organization trying to accomplish?
3. Where is the organization based and why is it there?
4. How many women participants do you have? What ages?
5. What is the reason for these women to be a part of the organization?
6. What are the main difficulties and struggles of the women in the organization?
7. How does this organization positively impact the lives of these women?
8. Does the organization receive any kind of monetary support for the local authorities or any other governmental institution?
9. How does the organization help empower women?
10. What do you think is the main problem women have to face nowadays in society?
11. How do you think women's life differ from those who live in the slums to those who live in the city?
12. What do you think is the main source of women's fear and insecurity?
13. Do you think poverty intensifies women's fear and insecurity?
14. Do you think women are scared of men?
15. Do you think women are safe while traversing in the city?
16. Do you think that society allows for all of its members to use public spaces equally?

Appendix C: Participant Consent Form

Thank you for participating in the research. Please read the following form before signing

I (full name) _____ from the organization _____, have agreed to voluntarily participate in the study being conducted by Efrosini Collazos Masanovic.

My decision to participate in this study is based on my understanding that:

- I have been informed of the purpose and nature of the research and had the opportunity to ask questions about the study.
- I understand that even if I agree to participate now, I can withdraw at any time or refuse to answer any question without any consequences of any kind.
- I will be asked if the interview can be recorded. If I agree I will sign my consent, if not, the researcher will only take notes.
- I understand that all information I provide for this study will be treated confidentially
- I understand that I have the option to ask for my identity will remain anonymous in any report on the results of this research. This will be done by changing my name and disguising any details of my interview which may reveal my identity or the identity of people I speak about.
- I understand I will be asked to talk about sensitive information and personal experiences on the challenges women face when using public space.
- With the findings, the study will aim to make policy recommendations to different agencies as a way to make the city and especially public space more egalitarian for women.

I agree to participate in the study

(signature)

(dd/mm/yyyy)

I consent the recording of the interview

(signature)

(dd/mm/yyyy)

I want my identity to remain anonymous YES NO

Thank you very much for participating in this study

Efrosini Collazos Masanovic
MSc. Candidate Urban Management

Appendix D: Women Interview Transcripts Separated by Categories

Infrastructure and Public Services

Around my neighbourhood the roads are wide so that is good. A car can cross by, but it is muddy, so it is a problem when I have to take my brother to school. Specially now when it rains there is mud everywhere, so it is not good. It is not safe. I will like real roads. Like that street [Refers to the slum upgrading project in Korogocho from UN Habitat], that street, it is very good. I love the art they are doing. I think it helps so much when you make a place beautiful. I would like so very much to see this in my neighbourhood [Rita]

I would like roads, big roads. Because in my area there are a lot of corridors. Cars can't pass those corridors. If something happens, no one can enter to help. Especially now during elections. [Hellen]

You know, in the city it is very crowding, you find that the same road the cars are crossing, people are crossing, even at the same time. It is dangerous because the matatus don't care for you and just cross. But there is no area to walk. And if you cross some of the traffic police they arrest you and you are not doing nothing. [Lucy]

(...) If there would be so much light. It is not easy for people to behave badly at night if there is enough light, so they can be seen what you are doing. That would make me feel safer, and also cameras. [Judith]

Like this road that I use to come here, the lights should be put in that road so that there may be no darkness and people may walk at any time and feel secure. [Rita]

It will help to some level [Lights], but most important is changing the attitude of the people perpetrating the violence. Women have been stiped in broad daylight, so it is not a matter of only more lighting or CCTV. The only solution is to change the mentality of men towards women regarding on the way they dress and look. [Sharon]

Let's say this place has more lights, right? But there are no people. What if someone come from the bush? From nowhere? He will just assault you, even kidnap or even kill you and leave you next to the garbage. There have been cases. To me, I don't believe in the lights. [Jane]

I was going to my brother of my grandparents in Kibera. That place it is not secure...there anyone is a theft. That environment did not please me because there was garbage everywhere. That place has no sanitation and you can get diseases at any time and if I get sick, what do I do? We don't have money for doctors. [Grace]

When I have to go to town the vehicles drop you there in downtown around Muthurwa [bus terminal area]. There is a big market there. It is usually crowded and there is mud

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everywhere. The market also sells fruit so there are disposing leftovers everywhere, people step on them and it becomes dirty, so I don't really like it. It is usually smelly, and people try to pass, and there is a big road also. I don't really like it but the other matatus are more expensive. [Judith]

[About her neighborhood] Oh, it is really dirty, really dirty! You know, sewage, from the toilets they spoil the area, that's leading to be feces everywhere. [Rita]

Oh, Mathare! There is no toilets. I went there because my brother married a lady and their home is there. If you want to go to the washroom, there is no washroom. There is one far and you have to pay 10 shillings [Kenyan currency]. If you don't have 10, you can't go to the toilet. The worst part is they take a shower in open areas. Like people are passing here, you put a curtain and you take a shower. Oh! It is the worst. Here [Korogocho], every plot has a toilet. It is not like Mathare. [Judith]

I love the Citypark, I just go to relax there. There are a lot of monkeys, so I just go there with my kid, get the fresh air, and then come back. It is very secure, there are families and kids playing in the park. [Nora]

Those neighborhoods with big fencing walls, I also feel unsafe because in case something happens, whom do I shout for help? It feels lonely. It is pretty but there is no one, no parks. The parks are inside the houses [laughs]. [Sharon]

Symbolic Spaces

When I follow this road here at Baba Dogo, people they don't know me. I come from Mathare, but at Mathare it's hard [being victimized] because many people are used to see me, so they cannot do that kind of things to me. [Hellen].

I prefer walking or moving in places where there are women because It is hard for a woman to do bad things to me. I mean, there are cases of women thieves, in fact youths, but they are usually because they are being used by maybe their boyfriends. But it is hard for a woman to come and take, unless they are professionals [laughs] [Hellen]

I feel safe here [In Bega Kwa Bega] because I am used to people here. At least, I know the people around. I always talk to people, I smile, I laugh, so I know a lot of people. Somebody robbing me around here? he won't do that. But in the CBD [city center], I don't think I'm safe. [Jane]

I used to take the route where the girl was stripped [referring to the 2014 sexual assault case in a Nairobi's bus stop], but not anymore. There are other routes that I feel very safe due to the reputation of the operator. It depends on the route and the time. [Sharon]

In the matatus, it depends on the seat and the friend you are sited with. Mostly I love sitting with women. With women, I can trust anyone. But If I see the car has a lot of men, I just come out and wait for the next matatu. I don't trust men. [Lucy]

[Talking about the smoking zones in Nairobi city center] When women pass there, they don't even like to look that way because there is usually just men standing there smoking. It is already perceived as a men zone. Even when there's a woman selling those cigarettes I think she is also uncomfortable. The probability of her being harassed is high. It would be nice to have also a place only for women... but not for smoking. [Judith]

I love Koch [Korogocho], it is really cool, with people around having fun, the dancing. You can't find something like that in Runda [high-income neighborhood]. You can't find people there. People there are busy in their houses watching television. What I really like about ghetto, is people from ghetto have talent, they really do have talent, they only don't have the money to make them be where they want to be. I can't say I would leave Koch. I know it's tough but it's my place. [Anna]

Sexual and Street Harassment

Up to date I'm still afraid of sitting next to guys in the matatus. So, there was a time I was sitting and there was traffic. Every time we hit a bump, I just feel my skirt going up, like it was full, so I am assuming it is because of the bump, so, I just pull it down. It happened like 4 or 5 times, and then someone called me, so I leaned forward to pick my phone, then I see his hand like moving away from the bag, he had this huge bag, so it was hiding his hand in the bag. I was shocked. I was like "What this guy is thinking?" But before I could say something he got off in the next stage. The place he got off is not a safe place, so I can't start calling him names, you know these guys can turn on you sometimes, so I just let him go. But I wish I did something. But I was afraid because he was a big, scary man. [Nora]

I was sitting next to the conductor. I didn't have my bra on and... [laughs] I don't know what happened to this guy but he started putting his hand like [makes a gesture of pressing her breasts] you know? He was sitting next to me and he was doing this, and I felt so bad about it I wanted to shout, but I just do this to his hand [makes a gesture of pushing hand away] From that time I don't like sitting next to the conductor. It affected me. [Jane]

Mostly in my case, it has been unwanted touching. At the moment, I tried to push the man back, but I was scared. Reason being no one else came to my defense when I complained. You can imagine being in a matatu with over 10 people, but then no one is speaking out. You get intimidated [Sharon]

There is always the staring, you can feel the stare. So, I look, and then I turn away. Me personally I don't respond. What am I going to say? "Why are you looking at me like that? You make me uncomfortable" [laughs]. But it really does. Sometimes I ask myself, Is it really intentional? Maybe they cannot help it because they are men. Sometimes I think is in their background and nobody really thought them there is a level of respect. [Judith]

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I was walking in town and there was this guy. He was like "Hey, hey" [makes whistle sound]. So, I was trying to ignore him, and he started shouting in Swahili like "you think you are so high class for turning", but in Swahili is more like an insult. So... it's not like if he is going to tell me something important. I'm busy, I'm going somewhere. Why would I stop? So, he can say hi? Do I really have to be dealing with this? So, I tried to avoid that area, but then again, I can't avoid all of Nairobi. [Rita]

One day, my mom sends me to buy something and I was with a friend. So, another guy called me and started talking to me, and you know... usually these boys say we don't like them, we don't like ghetto, we only like people rich. Me just assumed he was drunk. So, I was just walking and thought, I won't answer this man because he is drunk, he don't know what he is saying. So, I walked. He came in front of us, and guess what? I was hit here [points to face]. So, I didn't respond, and I went home, and I was crying. I don't go to the Koch market no more. [Anna]

[About a man on the street] He was drunk, then I was just passing by. He slept and then he woke up and kicked me in the back. I just looked at him. So, if he decided to kick me its ok. He was drunk, so I just understood him, and I left. [Lucy]

Marginalization and poverty

For example, I would like to maybe the young boys who are committing the crime, maybe jobs to be created for them so that they may be busy at least not to think of stealing from people. Because they steal to get money to buy drugs, and when they do drugs, they don't think properly and think rape is a normal thing to do. [Sharon]

Most of the times I walk. Fare is some kind of problem for me, I can't afford it. Taking a Matatu is safer than walking, because when we walk we pass through areas that can be dangerous. [Hellen]

I plan to go to university, but the problem is a financial problem. That's why I'm still not going to school and living here. If I had money I would study hospitality management and move to Karen [High-income neighborhood]. That place is secure and clean so one cannot contaminate diseases. There is control of garbage and people are happy. It is not like here in slum areas. [Rita]

When my dad lost his job, he was a chief in those big hotels... then I was struggling. My younger sister got sponsored and went to school, so I stayed with my brother and my mom. I had to struggle and help them. I had to go to this hotel, and wash utensils and I'll be paid 150. It was a lot of work. When coming home I was tired and afraid because I came home late. But, I had no choice, we needed to eat. That's the worst thing I have ever lived. [Hellen]

What they need most to do [the government], are jobs for those guys who are robbing people. The moment they introduce a job, I think there would be few who would be stealing or bothering us. At least they could earn something to come and help their people. [Anna]

Like when a guy approaches you... I ignore them and they start abusing you like saying they will get me pregnant. These guys... if you see them, you can't imagine. They do drugs, from Monday to Friday. You never find them focusing on something. If they had something to do, they wouldn't be abusing me. I always ignore them. If there is a guy who focuses in life, then he can be my friend. [Lucy]

Local Social Control

Security should be enhanced in this place. Maybe more police because they are always there... they stay there at the police station, they don't come here to at least patrol, to see how people are living. They are just sitting there. What is the point of having police if they are not moving around? They should be told to patrol here and to help if it is needed [Nora].

Then police... mmm, I don't trust them much, especially here in the slums. It's not like in other areas where they are always patrolling. You see, if they put gates all over, then the watchman is there. So, if you want to go somewhere, they are there looking and can call the police if they see people they don't know. And the police could go easily. [Hellen]

[While talking about CCTV] But, remember there are thieves. They come, remove the CCTV and begin robbery. They normally do that. The police even join them, and then they go remove it and share the money [Lucy].

I don't trust any policeman around. No! [laugh]. Kenya policemen are very corrupt. If a man robs you and you report it, sometimes with the police they go half-half. [Jane].

There was a guy, and I was with my friend coming from school, then the guy slapped the girl and then the police was near. We told the police; the girl told the police "that man has slapped me" and the police told her "Why is it that you women never slap back?". So, we told the police to follow the man and the police said it was too late, but the man was just sitting there. I felt very bad [Lucy].

If a man touched you wrongly and you go to the police, what evidence is there? If there is no evidence, how can it be proven? Unless there is someone to testify and, how many people are willing to do that? Nobody will leave their normal day live activities to go with a stranger to testify. So what use is there to go to the police then? [Sharon].

Reduced participation in different activities

I play sports. In my neighbourhood, there is a basketball court. And we are only like 3 girls, the others are boys. Usually in basketball there are the boys team and the girls team. So, the other girls are intimidated with boys or something like that. A girl come to me and said "oh you play basketball? And I'm like "Yes, you should come", and she was like, "No I can't,

there is too many boys". They are afraid of being objectified or mocked. So, we can't have a full girls team. The solution would be to come up with a place only for girls to play [Judith]. At school sometimes, they give us projects. There was one where we will be given a camera, so, you must come with a critic project. It was some kind of competition, so your creativity will make you come out. I found it difficult because they wanted a story within your area like Mathare, and Mathare is a very risky place. When you go there to take some photos men might even kill you because some of them don't like photos. They think you are going to sell their photo. Another thing, the camera can be snatched from you. So, I couldn't participate. [Hellen].

If the public spaces would be better, I would enroll in my evening classes in Nairobi and travel back home every evening. But I can't because I cannot feel safe. So now, I have to wait for a situation for when I can get resources to study and live near the university area. Most of us who are working can only attend night classes. If you live far it becomes very difficult because it is unsafe to use public transport. It is a challenge to many of us [Sharon].

I play football here in Baba Dogo, but there is only one playground and is full of boys, so it is difficult sometimes because they say it is a boys' thing. Girls are not much cared for. People don't care about our games, they don't come. It is not fair because girls might not go like in other countries to play, but boys can go because they only want to see them play [Grace].

When someone tells me "oh we are going to have a celebration somewhere, you want to come" I don't like that because sometimes something bad may happen. And if it happens, everyone will run to its own. If a riot begins. I'll be like, "I don't know any direction, I don't know what to do" so, I can even be kidnaped, or someone can force me or can kill me. So, I would normally tell them I am not going out [Lucy].

I don't go out. I don't go clubbing because I don't like it and find it risky. How will I come back? Matatus are dangerous and to go in a taxi you must have money [Grace].

Restriction in freedom of movement

Many times, I had to change the route because I don't feel safe. Women who are not worried would feel ok anywhere, even in closed spaces. It depends if you have been a victim of sexual harassment and where it happened. That inflicts some kind of fear on you [Sharon].

There are many ways to go back to my house. If I feel it is too late, then I take the long way. Ok, there are shortcuts, but they are dangerous... there, you might be robbed, you might be raped, stuff like that. It has happened, not to be but I know cases. [Hellen].

When I was working in the Koch mural, I wanted to buy chapatis [Indian bread] across the road, but the guy who was with told me "Don't even cross that road, this is not your home", and I was like, "I'm just getting a chapati" and he was like "this area is not safe, they will rob you in broad daylight if they don't know you". Then he told me I was targeted, so every time I had to go to work I had to go all the way around not pass the area. All of it because I wanted chapati [Nora].

Lack of security and dignity

First of all, I am a girl. I am a young woman. So, when I walk, sometimes we may meet boys somewhere. Then they start talking to you ugly. If you reply [against it], they might beat you. So, I rather choose to keep quiet and walk away [Hellen].

I've seen a lot of this [women being sexually harassed]. No one really cares, no one really wants to talk about it. No one does anything. You just let it happen and move along. What else can we do? [Sharon].

I bought my home theatre, not so long ago. So, I was just carrying it through the avenue to get my bus to my place around 4 pm. And you know what? I normally have the fear, I'm always walking in the fear in the CBD [Central Business District]. So, I just felt ... somebody was looking at me, somebody must be following me. This thing is very expensive! So, I look, and I see someone, so I cross the next street and then he crosses also. So, I walk and walk, then I cross again because of my bus and then he crosses again. Where is this guy going? So, I run and then I get into my bus. [Jane].

There was a time when the matatu I used dropped me a few miles from where I was going. So, I had to walk. I realized a high number of men were walking outside and almost no women only a few. The men were just there, walking with no fear, but women were rushing, so I had this instinct that I had to do it as well to get to the other stage [Judith].

It's the simple things like, you know like when a guy comes and sits next to you in the matatu. I notice that most of them they sit, and then they like, spread their legs, so you are forced to like [gesture of squeezing], invade my personal space. I don't know if they see that... I'm sure that if you sit straight, you still will be comfortable. Most of the times I say something like if I had a long day I say "dear you can move your legs, so I can also sit", and he is like "ok it's fine" and moves, but later they move again. I don't know, it's like in their head or something. I don't think its intentional [Nora].

Reinforcement of gender socialization and masculine urban environment

I have a problem, because I think matatus are just designed for men. A lot of Matatus doesn't have space for like, large women you know? Sometimes you find it is almost full, so you have to get to the back, and then there's this space squeezed. And it is worst when you reached your destination because you want to get down. The conductor will always say "toca toca toca get down". They are doing their work, so they have to go fast, and you are back there, and the space is squeezed so there is some pressure, some negative image. That can make a very bad day for me [Jane].

APPENDIXES

The city is made for men. The simple thing, have you ever realized that the street lights it is a stickman of a dude? Also, the road signs. If it is like no walking zone it is usually a caricature of a man because it is a man and people think it is correct because we have been seeing it since we are young, and we have grown with it, so it is normal. Imagine if it was a woman who made the signs, the street lights, the stop sign, she would probably put a lady there with a skirt. They were totally designed by men [Judith].

So, I also think, there should always be, like social amenities, places where sometimes pregnant women can rest... there are, but just like open to like everyone and people don't care. I think social amenities should be well designed for pregnant women. Sometimes you want to rest, sometimes you want to sleep, you cannot sleep there because you fear you can get attacked. You can't find places only for women in the city [Nora].

It hasn't happened to me, but I know cases [unwanted touchings]. Maybe because they don't dress well when they go to places, then they are being harassed. They are wearing clothes like prostitutes, like short clothes. I don't wear that clothes. I prefer clothes like long pants. Clothes that are secure. Because, when you wear short thing, people see that you have immoral behaviors [Rita].

Dressing code influence that. When I wear a top that you can see my stomach I am exposing myself, exposing my body. To me I feel ashamed. I believe I should not expose my body to the public. To me, if a girl wears a mini skirt, and then she goes, lets say for example she has something that dropped down and she will pick, the skirt will come up. Now, she is the one who wants to be kidnaped or to be sexually abused, because of the dressing that she is wearing [Lucy].

My husband is worried about me when I am out. Not him, he is a man. Any man can survive anywhere. A man can walk from one street to another without anyone saying a word towards him, but a woman? Before you make it to the same place several people will had try to approach you in one way or another [Sharon].

At night I am usually at home. I don't usually go out a lot. I prefer to sit and do my own things like paint or do some research. I live with my parents and they don't like for me to stay out late. If I am going out, they would be like "hey, where are you going, it is night" but my brother, he can do that. But for girls it is not really common [Judith].

I don't go out at night. If I am late, I'm supposed to be in the house at 7:30 [Lucy].

Avoidance and Acceptance

Let me tell you, any man can give you a slap, but Kenyans? They don't do that, they decorate your face. They beat you up. If another man sees you like that, he won't like you. If I slapped him it would be just worst. So, I didn't respond, and I went home, and I was crying. My friend he was scared. If my friend responded, he would have been beaten. So, we did nothing [Anna].

Self-Protecting Initiatives

I have a personal Boda Boda. The Boda Boda waits for me to get inside my house. He doesn't just leave me there. Not only human beings are threats but also animals. There are lots of hyenas over there [Nora].

There was this time when I was coming from school, and it was almost like 10:30pm, so my friend was like going to the opposite side from where I was going so, so I was just like dude... he is a boy... can you please escort me. I don't know why I said it, but I think, if we were 2, maybe a potential mugger or potential bad person could be avoided... and he wasn't really my friend, he was just also coming out of another class. I asked him "where are you going? I'm going the other side, and I ask if he could walk with me straight this area and said ok. So, we walked, and I made a friend [Judith].

Resistance

I also like going to the dumpsite. Because I meet the street boys, they are my friends. I have an advantage because of the hair and these things [shows bracelets] so they look at me and they think I am a Rasta person and I'm just cool. So I go there with 200 chillins and we buy some bread and we just chat and I bring stories. That's how I meditate. I get inspiration from those people. It is easier with the street boys. When I'm not here I just like to go to the dumpsite to get materials and they have very nice stories and then I get inspired [Jane].

If someone approaches me in the street and says hi, I always say hi back and then I go. If somebody is trying to harass me or bother me I change my emotion, you have to show him that you don't want him. So, I look at him with my eyes and then send that "this guy doesn't have nothing that she wants", and then he leaves me alone [Lucy].

When I walk, I don't put that mind of I'll be robbed, or I'll be raped. I just walk. If I had that mindset, I would be robbed. If a place is not safe and you don't put that mindset, nothing will happen to you. So many people say this place is so scary. Have you been robbed? (I answer that no) See? It is a mindset, at least at daytime [Anna].