Baseline Assessment on Gender Mainstreaming and Safety in Public Transport Services in Mombasa City, Mombasa

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Baseline assessment on gender mainstreaming and safety in public transport services in Mombasa City, Mombasa County

This assessment report was compiled by Paul Wafula.

We would like to thank the Mombasa Public Transport Organizations and especially Shakir H. Omar from Experia SACCO for all the support during this study. We would like to acknowledge the invaluable contribution of Paul Wafula and Mary Mwangi who led the survey process. We offer our gratitude to all the enumerators especially Martin Nguru for his support in mobilizing in the study, trade unions, Tuk-tuk Associations and riders, and to all the drivers and conductors operating in Mombasa. This survey would not have been possible without the financial support of Ashoka, and for that we remain very grateful.

The report was edited by Mary Mwangi, Susan Goodwillie and Naomi Mwaura.
Public transportation industry in many cities, African cities included, has been overwhelmingly male-dominated. Women entering the industry are faced with myriad challenges associated with their gender and representation remains particularly low.

The main purpose of this study was to understand the situation on gender equity, safety and inclusivity in the organization, management and operation of public transport services in Mombasa City, Kenya.

It is evident in this report findings that traffic, transport policies and infrastructure have not responded equally to women’s and men’s mobility needs.

The findings of this study will be of great important to investors in the public transport industry as it will inform them of the key factors affecting the performance of their businesses. Government officials and other relevant policy and compliance agencies will get vital information with regard to the enforcement of policies for the sector. The findings will also create awareness among Public Service Vehicles (PSV) SACCOs on actions to take to provide better services and workplaces.

Flone Initiative remains committed to the creation of safe, sustainable and accessible public transportation spaces and invites like-minded NGOs and government agencies to collaborate. This collective approach to work will elevate the inclusion of vulnerable group needs in public transport and urban planning to a new level, with even better prospects for enforcing policies and implementing evidence-based interventions.

Lastly, I wish to thank the collective efforts of dedicated persons who came together to make this report happen; your contributions were invaluable to the whole exercise and meaningfully shaped the findings in this report.

We remain very grateful to all our partners for the support they give towards actualization of our vision towards creating a safe and professional public transport industry.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FOREWORD</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF FIGURES</td>
<td>viii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF TABLES</td>
<td>ix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS</td>
<td>ix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXECUTIVE SUMMARY</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1. Background of the Study</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2. The Study Area</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3. Purpose of the study</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4. Specific Objectives</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5. Significance of this Assessment</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.6. Limitations of the Study</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.7. Assumptions of the Study</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.8. Definition of Terms</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1. Introduction</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2. Inclusive Public Transport</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3. Gender Equity in Public Transport Operations</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4. Safety and Sexual Harassment</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5. Literature Review Conclusions</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1. Introduction</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.2 Study Design .................................................................................................................. 34
3.3 Study Respondents ........................................................................................................ 34
3.4 Sampling Design ............................................................................................................ 34
3.5 Data Collection Instruments ......................................................................................... 36
3.6 Data Collection and Management .................................................................................. 36
3.7 Data Analysis .................................................................................................................. 37
3.8 Ethical Considerations ................................................................................................. 37

CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS .................................................................................................. 39

4.1 Demographic Information of Respondents .................................................................. 40
  4.1.1 Respondents Gender Distribution ............................................................................. 40
  4.1.2 Respondents Age Distribution .................................................................................. 42
  4.1.3 Respondents Level of Education ............................................................................. 43
  4.1.4 Respondents Working Duration in the Industry ....................................................... 43
  4.1.5 Operators Child Care Responsibilities ...................................................................... 44
  4.1.6 Characteristics of FGD Participants ......................................................................... 44

4.2 Organization of the Public Transport Sector in Mombasa ........................................... 45
  4.2.1 Organization of the PSV Matatu Sector .................................................................... 45
  4.2.2 Organization of the Tuk-tuk Sector ........................................................................... 46
  4.2.3 Organization of the Tuk-tuk Unions; BOTAX and TODA ........................................ 47

4.3 Entry and Motivation to Work the Public Transport Sector ......................................... 48
  4.3.1 Entry into the Sector .................................................................................................. 48
  4.3.2 Motivation to Work in the Public Transport Sector .................................................. 49

4.4 Job Satisfaction for Workers in the Public Transport Sector ....................................... 50
  4.4.1 Reasons they would stay in the industry ................................................................... 50
  4.4.2 Reasons they would leave the industry ..................................................................... 51
4.5 Working Conditions ................................................................................................. 52
4.5.1 Working Hours .................................................................................................. 52
4.5.2 Remuneration ................................................................................................... 53
4.5.3 Suggested Improvement on Working Conditions ............................................. 54
4.5.4 Challenges of Working in the Public transport sector .................................... 55
4.5.5 Suggested Solutions to Challenges in Public transport Industry .................... 57
4.5.6 Workforce Welfare Organizations ...................................................................... 58
4.5.7 Suggested Welfare Support Services for Workers in the Industry ..................... 58
4.5.8 Measures to encourage women into public transport ........................................ 59
4.6 Safety and Security Issues in Public Transport sector .......................................... 60
4.6.1 Meaning of Sexual Harassment ........................................................................ 60
4.6.2 Prevalence of Sexual harassment in Public Transport ...................................... 61
4.6.3 Frequency of Sexual Harassment ...................................................................... 64
4.6.4 Common Forms of Sexual Harassment ............................................................. 65
4.6.5 Common Locations Sexual Harassment Occurs .............................................. 66
4.6.6 Perpetrators of Sexual Harassment ................................................................. 68
4.6.7 Age most targeted by Perpetrators of Sexual Harassment ............................... 68
4.6.8 Responses to Sexual Harassment ...................................................................... 69
4.6.9 Measures to be taken to address Sexual Harassment ....................................... 70
4.6.10 Considerations for Female Commuters and Special Categories of Customers .... 72
CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS .................................... 75
5.1 Conclusion ............................................................................................................ 76
5.2 Recommendations ............................................................................................... 76
5.2.1 PSV Operators (Drivers and Conductors) ....................................................... 76
5.2.2 Tuk-tuk Owners, Drivers and Stakeholders ...................................................... 77
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5.2.3</td>
<td>Commuters</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2.4</td>
<td>The Traffic Police Department</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2.5</td>
<td>PSV SACCO Management</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2.6</td>
<td>Kenya Ferry Services Management</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2.7</td>
<td>County Government and Policy Makers</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2.8</td>
<td>Flone Initiative</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFERENCES</td>
<td></td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 2: A map of Mombasa County. Source: Wikivoyage................................................................. 9
Figure 1: ILO Career Cycle Approach (ILO, 2013) ............................................................................. 25
Figure 3: Respondents’ Gender Distribution ....................................................................................... 40
Figure 4: Respondents’ Age Distribution ............................................................................................ 42
Figure 6: Working Duration in the Industry .......................................................................................... 43
Figure 5: Respondents’ Level of Education ......................................................................................... 43
Figure 7: PSV Operators’ children care responsibilities......................................................................... 44
Figure 8: Distribution of operators' entry into the public transport industry ....................................... 48
Figure 9: Reasons operators chose to join the public transport industry. ........................................... 49
Figure 10: Reasons Operators would stay in the industry given an alternative ................................. 50
Figure 11: Reasons for leaving the public transport industry given a second chance. .................... 51
Figure 12: Distribution of working hours per day ............................................................................... 52
Figure 13: Distribution of working days per week. ............................................................................. 52
Figure 14: Distribution of gender differences in remuneration. ......................................................... 53
Figure 15: Prevalence of sexual harassment in the public transport industry..................................... 61
Figure 16: Frequency of sexual harassment in public transport the industry. .................................. 65
Figure 17: Common forms (types) of sexual harassment in the public transport industry................. 66
Figure 18: Common locations where sexual harassment occurs in the public transport industry. ..... 67
Figure 19: Main perpetrators of sexual harassment in the public transport industry........................ 68
Figure 20: Age most targeted by perpetrators of sexual harassment in public transport industry. .... 69
LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: PSV operators Respondents per SACCO................................................................. 35
Table 2: Information on PSV SACCO management, staffing and operations ...................... 41
Table 3: Suggested Improvements on Working Conditions.................................................. 54
Table 4: Challenges of working in the sector ........................................................................ 55
Table 5: Suggested Support Services for workers in the industry ......................................... 58
Table 6: Measures to encourage women participation........................................................... 59
Table 7: Responses to Sexual Harassment............................................................................. 70
Table 8: Suggested Measures to address Sexual Harassment................................................. 71

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

BOTAX  Kenya Boda boda Tuk-tuk and Taxi Workers Union
FGD  Focus Group Discussion
GDP  Gross Domestic Product
GII  Gender Inequality Index
ILO  International Labour Organization
IMT  Informal motorized transport
KFS  Kenya Ferry Services
KII  Key Informant Interview
NGOs  Non-Governmental Organizations
NHIF  National Hospital Insurance Fund
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NSSF</td>
<td>National Social Security Fund</td>
</tr>
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<td>NTSA</td>
<td>National Transport and Safety Authority</td>
</tr>
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<td>PSV</td>
<td>Public Service Vehicle</td>
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<tr>
<td>PWD</td>
<td>People with Disability</td>
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<td>SACCO</td>
<td>Savings and Credit Cooperative</td>
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<tr>
<td>SDG</td>
<td>Sustainable Development Goal</td>
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<tr>
<td>SPSS</td>
<td>Statistical Package for Social Sciences</td>
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<td>TODA</td>
<td>Tuk-tuk Owners and Drivers Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US</td>
<td>United States</td>
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<tr>
<td>WEF</td>
<td>World Economic Forum</td>
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<td>WEL</td>
<td>Women Empowerment Link</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PUBLIC SERVICE VEHICLES (PSV) in Kenya provide service to millions of people each day and are essentially one of the main contributors to the economic system in Kenya. Transport plays an important role in integrating various sectors of the economy. Informal motorized transport vehicles (mostly 14-seater vans and minibuses, locally known as matatus) account for 80% of the total public transport in the country (Republic of Kenya, 2002). This report presents findings of a baseline assessment carried out by Flone Initiative on gender equity, safety and inclusivity in the organization, management and operation of public transport services in Mombasa City, Kenya and makes recommendations that could provide an intervention framework for Flone Initiative, other civil societies and the government to better public transport services in the city.

i. Study Objectives
The specific objectives of the study were to; (1) Assess the situation on gender equity in the organization, management and operation of public transport services in Mombasa, (2) Establish the safety situation...
with regards to prevalence, nature of, response and measures in place to address sexual harassment on workers and commuters in the public transport industry in Mombasa, (3). Establish the situation on inclusivity and measures in place to consider special categories of commuters in the public transport sector and (4). Utilize the recommendations made to contextualize the “Gender Sensitive Mini-Bus Services and Transport Infrastructure for African Cities Toolkit” for the betterment of the situation for public transport workers and commuters in Mombasa.

**ii. Methodology**

The study was conducted in selected routes in Mombasa specifically within Mvita and Likoni Sub Counties targeting PSVs that operate around the Likoni Ferry, Buxton and Coast Bus stages. The assessment utilized a descriptive survey that sought to collect important information from the respondents. The study was carried out in three phases: In the first phase, three Public Service Vehicles Savings and Credit Cooperative (PSV SACCO) managers and two Tuk-tuk Unions Representatives took part in key informant interviews. The second phase involved a survey with 100 operators (drivers and conductors). The third phase involved focused group discussions (FGDs) with six Tuk-tuk drivers and 12 female commuters who use mini-buses, 14 seater vans or (matatus), tuk-tuks and motorbikes (boda boda). In each of the phases, deliberate efforts were made to ensure that as many female respondents took part in the assessment. However, it was noted that there were very few women working in the industry either as SACCO managers, PSV operators or Tuk-tuk drivers.

Both quantitative and qualitative data were collected. Secondary data was also collected through desk research of related literature and publications in the Kenyan and global contexts. Quantitative data was collected through a survey with operators while qualitative data was collected through key informant interview with PSV SACCO managers and tuk-tuk union officials as well as FGDs with tuk-tuk drivers and female commuters.

**iii. Findings**

In summary, the findings reveal that there are very few female PSV operators working in the public transport industry in Mombasa City in spite of the fact that PSV SACCO managers believe that they make good workers. However, none of the SACCOs have put in place specific measures in place to facilitate women’s entry and retention into the industry. Police harassment and poor working conditions are among the main challenges facing workers in the industry. To improve working conditions, majority of PSV operators’ requested for professional
development programs and benefits including allowances, leave and medical covers.

In the tuk-tuk sector, respondents mostly requested for support in acquiring licenses and training in road safety and traffic rules as a way of improving their working conditions. Female respondents stated that more women could be encouraged to join the sector if the situation on gender equity improves, receiving more support from men already in the industry, believing in themselves, being provided with friendly working environments and being made aware about the women who have made it in the sector.

Incidents of sexual harassment according to the findings were quite common and widespread as confirmed by majority of respondents 73% in the operators’ survey that had heard of or witnessed incidents of sexual harassment in their respective routes. All female commuters FGD participant also stated that they had experienced or witnessed cases of sexual harassment. Conductors were cited by majority of respondents in the survey, interviews and FGDs as the most common perpetrators of sexual harassment. The most common forms of sexual harassment as cited by respondents were physical and verbal. This was also confirmed by respondents in the interview and FGDs.

The most common response to such harassment was inaction as revealed by 87% of PSV operators who said they take no action when they witness or experience such cases. This is confirmed by respondents in the interview and FGD who also take no action. It is evident that specifically, commuters and female operators feel helpless. They have no confidence that reporting to duty bearers such as the SACCO or Ferry Services management or police could be a solution as revealed by respondents in the FGDs. Little is being done to prevent or respond to cases of sexual harassment since there are no clear reporting mechanisms in place and none of the PSV SACCOs assessed have a sexual harassment policy in place. These findings were confirmed by results of the SACCO managers’ interviews and both FGDs. It also emerged from the commuters FGD findings that sexual harassment incidents are most common in the ferry.

iv. Main Recommendations

- Improved professionalism for PSV operators and tuk-tuk drivers through training them on customer service, gender mainstreaming and etiquette
- Improved working conditions for all workers in the industry coupled with opportunities for personal and professional advancement
- Better organization of the tuk-tuk sector controlled by the government so there may be clarity on the required licenses and modes of operation as well as improved security for drivers and commuters.
- Commuters should take action in case they witness or experience harassment by reporting to the SACCO officials, security personnel or the police so that the issue may be taken seriously. Inaction is never a solution to sexual harassment.
- Duty bearers such as the SACCO management, Kenya Ferry Services, and the police department should provide hotlines for reporting sexual harassment and expeditiously pursue and address such cases and inspire confidence for the public to report when they witnesses or experience sexual harassment. This could include raising awareness on the hotlines and posting them on the matatus, tuk-tuks, ferries or associated spaces.
- Affirmative action and increased gender equity measures to encourage women to join the lucrative transport industry as workers and investors.
- More collaboration among players in the public transport service sector.

Flone Initiative can initiate efforts aimed at promoting stakeholder collaboration, harmonizing and boosting collaborative activities.

v. Report Structure

This report is comprised of six sections. The first section entails the preliminaries of the document, including the title page, forward, acknowledgement, table of contents, list of tables and figures, acronyms and abbreviations. The second section will be the first chapter of the assessment. The chapter will commence with a background, study objectives, limitations and assumptions of the study.

Chapter two will review literature related to the assessment to identify gaps in knowledge. The third chapter will present the assessment methodology. The chapter will comprise of the research design, study respondents, sampling procedure, research instruments, data collection, data analysis procedures and ethical considerations. Chapter four will entail presentation of findings and chapter five will be conclusion and recommendations. The sixth-part of this report contains references and appendices.
1.1. **Background of the Study**

The transport industry has significant effects on the economic growth and development of a nation (Weisbrod & Reno, 2009). In addition to creating incomes for investors and owners, it creates employment for millions of people including PSV operators like conductors, drivers and stage attendants as well as service providers like mechanics, spare part dealers, insurance companies and fuel stations. However, the contribution of the public transport sector to economic growth notwithstanding, it is of great importance is that the sector provides safe, inclusive and efficient services (Alistreri, Rutherford & Tarr, 2009).

Historically, the public transportation industry in many African cities has been overwhelmingly male-dominated. Women entering the industry are faced with myriad challenges associated with their gender and representation remains particularly low. According to the World Economic Forum (WEF, 2017), to build future economies that are both dynamic and inclusive, we must ensure that everyone has equal opportunity. WEF scores Africa gender parity at 60-68% which is below the global weighted average of 68%. When women and girls are not integrated economic participants, the global community loses out on skills, ideas and perspectives that are critical for addressing global challenges and harnessing new opportunities.

Women’s roles and positions in society have diversified over the years with more women taking on traditionally male roles. The conditions for women around the world vary and the way they have to “juggle domestic responsibilities, marital relationships and paid work” is affected by various constraints (Tacoli & Satterthwaite, 2013, p. 6). In cities all over the world, there are growing numbers of women that are working or studying further away from home than ever before and there is a great need to improve conditions for women’s mobility and meaningful participation in productive economic development activities around equitable access and utilization public transport services for women as investors, policy makers, commuters and workers.

From a gender perspective, it is also evident that traffic, transport policies and infrastructure have not responded equally to women’s and men’s mobility needs (Moser & Moser, 2005; SIDA, 2005). More in-depth knowledge about women’s needs and the problems they face when travelling will be useful for designing of policies that address more than simply the harassment of women. More inclusive urban access would enhance conditions for women and enable them to make choices according to their needs. However there have only been a
select few projects that have mainstreamed gender, despite women comprising half of the urban population, (Mika and Aimee, 2007).

According to the United Nations (2015), a third of women globally will experience some form of public sexual harassment at some stage in their life. Violence against women and girls, or the threat of violence both in the private and public, remains a key limiting factor to women’s mobility and engagement in processes of development, (Sarah, Joshua and Benita, 2013).

There is limited research exploring women’s needs and issues concerning public transportation use in developing countries (Kash, 2014). This poses a barrier for transportation planners and stakeholders who cannot effectively target policies and interventions to reduce the mobility and accessibility gap between men and women. Moreover, women tend to be underrepresented in the transportation-related jobs, from decision-making and planning roles, to operators of public transportation (Duchéne, 2011; Kunieda and Gauthier, 2007; Peters, 2006) which many argue may contribute to and reinforce gender biases in transport systems, and propagate systems developed towards men’s needs (Peters, 2006). As a consequence, women in many developing countries continue to have reduced access to safe and adequate public transportation, which may potentially limit their mobility and accessibility to economic opportunities.

Flone Initiative is implementing a capacity building and advocacy program targeting public transport operators. This program is intended to promote gender equity, inclusivity and safety in public transport and leverage on existing partnerships to strengthen policies aimed at creating a better public transport sector in Nairobi and Mombasa Counties. The main problem the project seeks to address is the fact that female commuters experience various forms of violence as they use public transport. Additionally, female workers in the industry do not economically participate on an equal footing with their male counterparts. Measures ought to be in place for a safe and inclusive environment that allows women and girls be they workers in the sector or commuters to fully participate. As a preliminary, Flone Initiative conducted a baseline study with the aim of establishing the initial situation of the program’s beneficiaries and key stakeholders. The study was centered on the public transport and connected spaces in Mombasa, Kenya.

The findings of this assessment will be used to make recommendations with the view to customize the current “Gender Sensitive Mini-Bus Services and Transport
Infrastructure for African Cities Toolkit” to the Mombasa public transport setting and pave way for informed program implementation and evaluation based on baseline findings.

1.2. The Study Area

Mombasa is a coastal city along the Indian Ocean. It is the country's oldest and second largest city in Kenya, lying on the Indian Ocean and is the center of the coastal tourism industry. The original Arabic name is Manbasa; in Kiswahili it is called Kisiwa Cha Mvita (or Mvita for short), which means "Island of War", due to the many changes in the Island’s ownership and the battles that brought about the changes in ownership. Its indigenous occupants include Arabs, Mijikenda and Swahili people but over the centuries there have been many immigrants, from the interior of Kenya who moved to the area in search for employment opportunities. According to the 2009 Population and Housing Census, the total population of Mombasa County was 939,370 persons of whom 486,924 were male and 452,446 were female. The total population was projected to be 1,266,358 persons in 2018 and will rise to 1,433,689 persons by 2022 (County Government of Mombasa Second Integrated Development Plan 2018).

Administratively, the County is divided into six sub-counties: Mvita, Nyali, Changamwe, Jomvu, Kisauni, and Likoni and thirty county assembly wards. Mvita forms the central part of the city, which is an island in a river delta and accessed by bridges and from the south by ferries operating around the clock. It is a very cosmopolitan place which hosts the County administrative quarters. Changamwe is the gateway to the city if you’re coming from Nairobi and hosts the Moi International Airport, part of the port and oil and chemical industry plants. Changamwe is connected to Mvita by Makupa Bridge. Kisauni is often called the "north coast" and hosts the largest slums of Mombasa as well as the sand beaches of Nyali, Bamburi and Shanzu, all bordered by luxury hotels and vacation houses. It is connected to Mombasa Island by Nyali Bridge and to the neighboring village of Mtwapa by Mtwapa Bridge. Likoni is often called the "south coast" and like Kisauni it has a large sand beach and it is connected to Mvita by ferry (County Government of Mombasa Second Integrated Development Plan 2018).

Mombasa is an important node for all forms of transportation. It is the end of the Trans-African Route 8 from Lagos and of the railway to Uganda. The most common means of public transport around the city are matatus (minivans carrying a maximum
Figure 1; A map of Mombasa County. Source: Wikivoyage
of 14 passengers) of which there are about 3500 which charge an individual fare of between Ksh 30-50 depending on the distance covered, weather conditions and traffic situation. Other means of transport include tuk-tuks (three wheeler taxis) and boda-bodas (motorcycle taxis). The tuk-tuks seemed to be a major means of transport within the city and could be seem all over. The price for a tuk-tuk ride is Ksh 50-100 and boda-boda around Ksh 50. From general observations, it was evident that majority of tuk-tuk riders were male. Official and unofficial taxis are also available. Taxis don't have taxi signs on the roof, but license papers stuck to the windshields. A ride from the airport to central Mombasa costs Ksh 1000-3000 (2018). The Moi International Airport Mombasa, serves the city of Mombasa, and is the second most important airport in Kenya after Jomo Kenyatta International Airport in Nairobi.

There is no bridge between Mombasa Island and south coast. For this reason, the distance is served by ferries from Kilindini and Mtongwe to Likoni in south coast. Mombasa is the principal seaport of Kenya and is one of the most modern ports in Africa and also serving landlocked neighboring countries. The port of Mombasa is linked with all the world's major ports with over 200 sailings per week to ports in Europe, North and South America, Asia, the Middle East, Australia, and the rest of Africa.  

According to the County Government of Mombasa Second Integrated Development Plan 2018, the labour force age 15-64 years was enumerated at 612,807 persons during the 2009 Population and Housing Census report. This population was projected to increase to 846,044 in 2018 and it constitute 66.81 per cent of the total County population, 904,066 in 2020 and 971,170 in 2022. The proportion of the male population within the county labour force constitutes 52.87 per cent due to the high number of male migrants from other parts of the country in pursuit of wage employment in the county.

The Gender Inequality Index (GII) reflects gender-based disadvantages in three dimensions-reproductive health, empowerment and the labour market. The index shows the loss in potential human development due to inequality between female and male achievements in these dimensions. It varies between zero (0), when women and men fare equally and one (1) where one gender fairs poorly in all measured dimensions. Kenya has an overall GII of 0.651 (Draft 7th Human Development Report). Improving equity in gender issues and reducing gender disparities will benefit all sectors and thus
contribute to sustainable economic growth, poverty reduction and social justice.

1.3. **Purpose of the study**

The main purpose of this study was to understand the situation on gender equity, safety and inclusivity in the organization, management and operation of public transport services in Mombasa City, Kenya.

1.4. **Specific Objectives**

1. Assess the situation on gender equity and mainstreaming in the organization, management and operation of public transport services in Mombasa City.

2. Establish the safety situation with regards to prevalence, nature of, response and measures in place to address sexual harassment on workers and commuters in the public transport industry in Mombasa in selected routes in Mombasa City.

3. Establish the situation on inclusivity and measures in place to consider special categories of commuters including, expectant women, the elderly and persons with disability in the public transport sector.

4. Utilize recommendations of the assessment to contextualize the “Gender Sensitive Mini-Bus Services and Transport Infrastructure for African Cities Toolkit” for the betterment of the situation for public transport workers and commuters in Mombasa.

1.5. **Significance of this Assessment**

The findings of this study will be of great importance to investors in the PSV industry as it will inform them of the key factors affecting the performance of their businesses. Government officials and other relevant policy and compliance organs such as Transport Licensing Board (TLB) and the National Transport and Safety Authority (NTSA) will get vital information with regard to the formulation and enforcement of policies for the sector. The findings will also create awareness among management (supervisors and managers of PSV SACCOS) and employees (primarily matatu drivers and conductors) on some of the challenges that they face as a sector and the actions that they can take to overcome those challenges.

1.6. **Limitations of the Study**

Initially, there were concerns that some of the respondents especially PSV (conductors and drivers) would be reluctant to provide sensitive data about the SACCO management because of fear of being victimized by their bosses. This limitation was countered by giving assurances that anonymity would be adhered to, by treating the information provided with utmost confidentiality and committing it to the project team only.
Similarly, there were concerns that the management of PSV SACCOs would also be reluctant in providing and granting access to the sensitive information relevant to this study. This limitation will be overcome through vivid explanations on the purpose of the study and the embedded significance of the findings gathered in the betterment of the SACCO performance.

Thirdly, while initially, the assessment intended for female transport workers to form a larger proportion sample size compared to male workers, it was not possible to get a significant number in spite deliberate efforts to get them since there are very few women employed in the sector both in the PSV operators and Tuk-tuk drivers. This was further confirmed by results of the survey that indicated dismal proportions of women employed in the sector.

It was a challenge accessing several of the SACCO managers due to their busy schedules as they are not located in a central point. Most of them were often on the move during the assessment and could not spare time for the interview.

Lastly, getting secondary data was problematic that there is no consistent data available regarding matatus operating in Mombasa. The best way to obtain this information is through the SACCOs but not all the SACCOs have a central location and overall information is scarce. The lack of data made it difficult to fully comprehend the complexity of the transport system in Mombasa City.

1.7. Assumptions of the Study

Though the transport industry is broad, this study was limited to the public road transport and associated spaces in selected routes within Mombasa City. It was assumed that there would be women workers employed in the industry and that registered PSV SACCOs would be accessible and willing to share information. It was further assumed that that sampled respondents would be available and willing to give truthful and accurate information that would contribute to credible findings and conclusions, generalizable to the entire County and contribute to the betterment of the welfare of PSV operators especially women workers and commuters in general.

1.8. Definition of Terms

Matatu: This refers to privately owned minibuses and vans that are used to transport members of the public as shared transportation or shared taxis. The term “matatu” is commonly used in East Africa (Koimur, Kangogo & Nyaoga, 2014). Matatus are the most used public modes of transport within urban areas in Kenya used for mass transport of persons and goods.
**Boda boda:** This refers to motor-cycles and bicycles that are used to transport people and goods in Kenya at a fee (fare) – usually over relatively short distances (Nabende, 2010).

**Tuk-tuk:** term most commonly used in Thailand referring to a three-wheeled motorized vehicle used as a taxi (Urban Dictionary)

**PSV Operators:** These are the drivers, conductors and stage attendants under the PSV SACCOs whose functions are to drive and collect fares from the passengers during the course of the trip. It may also include route controllers who are employed by vehicle owner (s) to coordinate, control, supervise and monitor the level of services on routes, on a daily basis in order to facilitate the operations of public transport with ease.

**Tout:** This is a group of people who are not employees of the PSV SACCOs that are located at various pick-up points to bring people on board at a fee and are paid instantly. They call up or attract passengers at bus stops and road sides. The term “tout” is commonly used in Kenya (Koimur, Kangogo & Nyaoga, 2014).

**Professionalism:** Professionalism is defined as the strict adherence to courtesy, honesty and responsibility when dealing with individuals or other companies in the business environment (Kelly, Mullan & Gruppen, 2016).

**Regulation:** this is an abstract concept of management of complex systems according to a set of rules and trends employed in controlling, directing, or managing an activity, organization, or system (Ogonda, 1992).

**Public Transport Service:** Public transport, also known as public transportation, public transit, or mass transit) is a shared passenger-transport service which is available for use by the general public, as distinct from modes such as taxicab, carpooling, or hired buses, which are not shared by strangers without private arrangement (Graeff, 2009). For this study it will imply a means of travel intended for general public use, travelling from one location to another for various activities and for which fare is paid.

**Baseline:** An analysis describing the initial state of an indicator before the start of a project/programme, against which progress can be assessed or comparisons made.

**Squad:** A squad is a pool of drivers and conductors ready to be hired whenever an opportunity arises in the matatu sector. The word is also used to mean a partial or a complete trip given to a squad driver or
conductor to relieve a regular worker. This is usually given during tea break and lunch hours.

**Squad Drivers and Conductors:** These are qualified drivers who have a driving license but do not have specific vehicles they drive on a continuous basis. Squad conductors are on the other hand, a pool of conductors who are not attached to any specific matatu. Most of the time, they are stationed at specific terminus and can be sourced by any operator to relieve regular conductors who are not on duty for various reasons including taking a break from the tiring work.

**Cartels:** Conventionally, cartels refer to a group of parties, factions or a nation united in a common cause, a bloc. (Connor, 2001) In this study, cartel is a group of people who have come together with a common cause, have a set of activities and are largely unknown. Most often they are not registered with any public authority and therefore their activities are viewed as illegal.

**Route:** The origin-destination distance along which the public modes ply.

**Terminus:** This refers to the point of embarkation where commuters pick the transport modes or where they alight. Bus-stop can also be used to refer to termini. However, the termini usually have the other role as points where the passengers can take some form of refreshment as they wait to board.

**Trip:** This is defined here as a single journey made by an individual between two points by a specified mode of travel and for a defined purpose.

**Sexual Harassment:** Any repeated (depending upon the severity of the act) unsolicited, unwanted, unwelcome behavior of sexual nature like physical contact or advances, a demand for sexual favors, sexually colored jokes and comments on appearances, suggestive looks, gestures, showing pornography, pornographic graffiti, and other unwelcome physical, verbal or non-verbal conduct of sexual nature like character assassination, spreading rumors that may threaten a woman’s career/job security, and create an intimidating, stressful and hostile environment that is harmful to a woman’s physical and psychological health hampering her potentials.” (Choudhury 2005).

**Informal public transport:** compromises mostly small-vehicles, privately operated low-performance services that in most cases apply to people who do not possess car and have low income. Generally speaking, the informal public transport is made up of self-employed entrepreneurs,
who work long hours in very competitive places, often for low salary.

**Gender Equity;** refers to “fairness of treatment for women and men, according to their respective needs. It does not mean that women and men have to become the same but that their rights, responsibilities, and opportunities will not depend on whether they are born male or female (ILO, 2000).
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW
2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a review of the available literature related to the assessment nationally and globally.

2.2 Inclusive Public Transport

Transport problems in the cities of most emerging economies often seem overwhelming or even insurmountable (Thynell, 2003). National and local policies vary widely but in general they stress the role of transport in economic development and modernization, as illustrated by the policies in China and Vietnam (Thynell, Tran, & Schlyter, 2010). Urbanization is often associated with increasing opportunities for women and girls, but “most urban women experience profound disadvantages compared to men in their daily life” (Tacoli & Satterthwaite, 2013, p. 3). With its Western technical background, the transport sector tends to become gendered through various mechanisms relating to socio-economic conditions, traditional ways of life, religion, women’s legal status, their position in the labor market and their role in decision making (Thynell, Tran, & Schlyter, 2010).

Since few women are employed in the transport sector in the developing world, masculine norms tend to become inherent and taken for granted. According to the political scientist Kronsell “institutions that historically have or are male dominated reflect masculine norms which have normative power over its agenda” (Kronsell, 2005 in Kronsell, 2015, p.7). Peters, D (2013) examined gender and sustainable urban mobility in both developed and developing countries and found that urban mobility is not gender neutral. Contrary to the long existing assumption that urban transport is gender neutral, various researches have revealed a gendered nature of not only transportation systems but also the transport planning policy making, which is dominated by male decision-makers.

The role of urban transport in facilitating access to employment opportunities becomes even more relevant in contexts of rapid urban growth, where the increase in the value of centrally located land has pushed lower income and vulnerable populations to move to the outskirts of cities in search of affordable housing. As urban planning mechanisms are fragmented, urban peripheral growth tends to be sprawling, informal, and lacking in adequate transport infrastructure services. This, in turn, tends to increase both the monetary and time cost of transportation for the poor, and exacerbates the already low level of access to jobs and other economic opportunities among these vulnerable populations (Carruthers, Dick, and Saurkar, 2005).

This baseline assessment focuses on the transport situation faced by women in rapidly growing cities like Mombasa in which the number of motor vehicles is increasing. It explores this from the perspective of
development and gender research. A gender analysis of women’s travel needs, priorities, opportunities, constraints and factors such as income, age, health and ethnicity all need to be understood in the local context in order to inform the design of appropriate transport policies (World Bank, 2010).

In 2015, the United Nations (UN) launched the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and drew attention to the pressing need for inclusive mobility. Goal 11 seeks to ‘Make cities inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable’ and transportation is a key development issue described in target 11.2: “By 2030, provide access to safe, affordable, accessible and sustainable transport systems for all, improving road safety, notably by expanding public transport, with special attention to the needs of those in vulnerable situations, women and children, persons with disabilities and older person”’ (United Nations Chronicle, 2015). However, although this points to the crucial role played by transport in fulfilling the SDGs, ministries of transport, environment and city administrators often find it difficult to translate international recommendations into effective policies.

Most agencies lack the requisite knowledge about local needs to address the gender aspects of mobility (World Bank, 2010), and they also tend to lack the capacity to guide governments in their efforts to establish equality in public transport. Policies are embedded in socio-spatial contexts and unsubstantiated beliefs about social inequality or gendered mobility are not helpful for designing effective public transport systems. The current knowledge gap needs to be bridged and tools will have to be designed using information about how women act and interact with transport systems, the natural environment and the socio-economic and traditional context. This means that experiences gained from parts of the world that became motorized earlier, such as the US or Europe, are not necessarily applicable to developing countries.

The complex nature of mobility requires that we look beyond physical factors of traffic and transport and explore ‘how’ and ‘why’ the gender order influences women’s mobility. The challenges associated with urbanization (climate change, growing inequality, rapidly changing cities) have introduced new understandings of the importance of urban development and traffic conditions in developing countries. Today’s focus on sustainable development opens a window of opportunity for considering new ways of proceeding, and the notion of sustainable transport includes the issue of ‘transport equality’, which means considering road safety and security factors that are often of particular concern for women.

The gender mainstreaming of transport systems is at the core of several transport recommendations made by the United Nations
Gender has become integrated into development research together with the notions of empowerment/disempowerment, strategic life choices, resource management and agency. Achieving transport equality involves ensuring that the perceptions, interests, needs and priorities of both women and men are given equal weight in planning and decision making (SIDA, 2005). Earlier gender-sensitive initiatives that targeted various aspects of women’s roles in development (poverty reduction, social cohesion, sustainability) have also tended to share a concern with women’s mobility and equal access in cities, albeit for varying reasons. However, this kind of initiative has so far failed to create equality of access to transport or enhanced women’s urban mobility in developing countries. The possibilities and obstacles for achieving more inclusive and female-friendly transport systems thus need a more in-depth exploration.

The differences in men’s and women’s travel behavior and attitudes were recognized long ago. A number of scholars in geography, sociology, feminist and urban studies have added to the growing body of findings and highlighted the cross-cultural features of gendered mobility. The notion of inclusive mobility refers to physical, social and culture aspects of travelling (Hanson, 1996, 2010). The values that guide attitudes and behavior may therefore differ radically between continents. Mobility also refers to the ability to move between different activity sites, such as between home and school (Hanson, 1996, p. 4).

The major reason that women travel is to get to work or a place of education (Tara, 2011). Their travel behavior therefore relates to the location and forms of available employment—formal, informal, part-time, unskilled, self-employment (Hanson, 1996; Hanson & Pratt, 1995). Research has also shown that variables such as gender and employment status have a greater impact on the travel behavior of individuals than does social class (Hanson, 1996). Work opportunities may be decisive for the number of trips undertaken per week, the distance travelled, the means of transport chosen and the cost of travel. Other factors that influence women’s mobility are responsibility for caring for children or elderly or infirm relatives (Camstra, 1996; Hanson, 1996). Women often make more frequent but shorter trips than men and often at off-peak hours. Notably, the gendered order is related to household practices, their position in the labor market and their access to vehicles (Law, 1999; Rosenbloom, 2004; SIKA, 2007).

Sustainable Development Goal 11 states “When compared to men, women move about cities at different times, for different reasons, in different ways, and have fewer financial resources; they are less able to afford many of the transportation options available to them” (United Nations Chronicle, 2015). In general
women depend more on public transport than men do. Women often try to work closer to home than men do, even at the expense of better work or higher incomes (Turner, 2012). Uteng (2011) states that dismal road conditions affect all users but there may be differences in what possibilities people have to handle the problems. Social and economic differences between women and men play a significant role in travel behavior, making gender one of the most important demographic determinants of travel patterns (Curtis & Perkings, 2006; Wachs, 1996). For example, women tend to work close to their home to facilitate household related travel (Sermons & Koppleman, 2001). In addition, as women tend to oversee multiple household responsibilities, they make more stops and more chained trips than men (Taylor & Mauch, 2000), and report making a considerable number of trips for family and personal business (Schintler, Root, & Button, 2000). Women also make a higher proportion of their trips by public transport- and walking, even when a private vehicle is available in the household (Peters, 1999; Peters, 2013). In addition to having different transport needs, women also frequently report feeling unsafe when using public transport systems, with sexual harassment and robbery being some of the key issues (Gardner et al., 2017; Gekoski et al., 2017). According to a 2018 Flone Initiative Gender Equity Assessment report conducted in Nairobi, Kenya, affordability is the key determinant of how women choose to travel.

This is in spite of the knowledge that sometimes the most affordable option is not safe i.e. women will choose affordability over safety – this may show that violence against women and girls has become deeply normalized in public transport

The UN presented the Sustainable Development Goals in 2015 where the different needs of women and men were recognized in the following way: “unfortunately, the transportation systems in cities are often built to address the needs of men with little consideration of the needs of women. When compared to men, women move about cities at different times, for different reasons, in different ways, and have fewer financial resources; they are less able to afford many of the transportation options available to them”. The notion of empowerment is helpful in understanding how urban mobility is gendered: “to be disempowered means to be denied choice, while empowerment refers to the processes by which those who have been denied the ability to make choices acquire such ability” (Kabeer, 2005). The concepts of empowerment, risk and agency may therefore be employed to inspire change that will result in the ‘equal access’ and sustainable transport systems demanded by the United Nations Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (2014). Thus, we find that the international and global perspectives all agree on the importance
of supporting women’s free movement in the cities.

According to a 2018 Flone Initiative Gender Equity Assessment report conducted in Nairobi, Kenya, women’s travel patterns conducted in Nairobi, Kenya are different from men’s, and these differences are characterized by deep and persistent inequalities. Women also undertake activities that require far more complex travel patterns than those of men as they not only tend to take care of domestic chores, children, the elderly or sick people, but also participate in other productive economic activities. For such reasons, women tend to value flexibility over time saving in their travel choices.

Public transport is a crucial element of sustainable transport and of efforts to reduce urban inequality. The social parameters of public transport policies may be summarized as the five A’s: Affordability, Availability, Acceptability, Accessibility (Carruthers, Dick, & Faukar, 2005) and Appropriateness (Thynell, Punte, & Arora, 2009). Accessibility refers to the opportunities for means of transportation available within a certain distance or travel time, and appropriateness is related to local meanings and cultural gender norms. A nearby bus stop might not be accessible because of insecure streets, heavy traffic, a lack of shelter from the sun or rain or lack of seating. Hence, accessibility is related to the overall transport environment and it begins with the public transport facilities themselves and how policy and planning respond to gender norms. It is well-known that public transport is often preferred by women if it is safe. Structural discrimination against women and children from low-income families means they are more exposed to risks when moving around the city. And “for a very large number of women in urban areas the constant threats, from verbal harassment to outright violence whenever they leave the home are an unwelcome reality” (Tacoli & Sat-terthwaite, 2013, p. 5). In Kenya, the commuter is an under-represented stakeholder in the industry. A representative from the Commuters Welfare Association, stated that the main issues for commuters are the amount of time spent on the road, fares and accessibility (Chitere, 2004).

Paterson (2007) explains this as a result of norms of masculinity—freedom and autonomy being related to the ecological and cultural economy of the automobile. In other words, motorized vehicles have become part of masculine identity and what it means to be a modern man. Mobility is therefore associated with identity. Transport equality is partly about the realization of female values since the way they are reflected in transport behavior is known to be environmentally beneficial (Kronsell et al., 2015). There thus appears to be a transformative potential in the values evident in women’s mobility choices. This could be used to enhance transport equality and
sustainable transport. The mainstreaming of women’s needs in transport policies and urban planning could enhance women’s safety in the transport system and in public space more broadly. This could give rise to greater cultural acceptance of mobile women and thus contribute to women’s empowerment (Uteng, 2011).

2.3 Gender Equity in Public Transport Operations

The significance of employment creation within the transport sector in employment creation cannot be underestimated (Omolo, 2010). The sector is among the largest contributor of formal and informal sector employment in Kenya (Republic of Kenya, 2011a). The matatu industry has a huge employment creation potential arising from both direct and indirect avenues for employment generation. The employment capacity of the industry is increasing due to the reforms that are being implemented in the industry. These include institutionalization of the industry through formation of SACCOS and companies to manage the industry, and streamlining the employment relationships. (Luchebeleli, 2009).

The PSV sector in Kenya is organized into Savings and Credit Cooperative Organizations (SACCOs) to facilitate orderly operations and accountability of PSVs owners. Friman and Fellesson (2009) sought to determine the performance of PSVs, understand the levels of satisfaction among public transport users in respect to interest or societal expectations and establish how levels of satisfaction in public transport services affected the performance of the PSVs sector. The findings indicated that the performance of PSVs remained low. Key factors affecting customer demand and performance of the PSVs included: accessibility, convenience, capacity, smooth and fast integration, safety, timeliness, orderliness, and efficiency.

Unequal labor force participation between women and men is also a reality and it is more sharply observed in developing countries. While a myriad of socio-economic and overlapping factors affect the decision and ability of women to engage in the labor market including the level of economic development of cities, individual educational attainment, social dimensions (such as social norms influencing marriage, fertility, and women’s role outside the household), and institutional settings (e.g. laws, protection, benefits) (Verick, 2014), access to transport is increasingly emerging as a key issue affecting women’s labor force participation. A recent report by the International Labor Organization finds that limited access to safe transportation is the greatest challenge to labor force participation that women face in developing countries, reducing their participation probability by 15.5 percentage points (ILO, 2017). Furthermore, due to wage inequality and a higher prevalence of part-time work, women tend to have lower earnings.
Article 41 of the Constitution on Labour Relations grants all persons the right to fair labour practices. It also guarantees every worker the right to: fair remuneration; reasonable working conditions; and the ability to form, join or participate in trade union activities and programmes. Similar rights are also accorded to employers. Article 43 of the Constitution provides for economic and social rights, which includes the right to social security (Omolo, 2013). The Constitution also provides for equality in access to employment opportunities. The Constitution, therefore, advocates for decent work, where freely chosen productive employment is promoted simultaneously with fundamental rights at work, adequate income from work, representation and security of social protection (Omolo, 2012).

Kenya has five core labour laws that regulate employment relationships; (International Labour Organisation, 2011). The Employment Act (2007) declares and defines the fundamental rights of employees, provides basic conditions of employment, and regulates on employment of children. It sets minimum terms and conditions of employment, prohibits forced labour and outlaws child labour as well as sexual harassment and discrimination in employment (Mathiu, 1999). The Act also puts a cap on casual employment and provides for 21 days’ annual leave for all employees as well as three (3) months’ maternity leave for female employees and 2 weeks’ paternity leave for male employees. It safeguards workers’ dues in the event of employer’s insolvency, and ensures that workers whose employers do not contribute to provident funds do not lose their benefits for years worked, among other salient provisions (Luchebeleli, 2009).

Casualization of jobs and other contemporary forms of employment more often than not do not facilitate the workers to enjoy the fundamental rights at work. Such rights include freedom of association and collective bargaining, right to paid leave, and the right to social protection as provided under the National Social Security Fund (NSSF) and the National Hospital Insurance Fund (NHIF). Even though the NSSF and NHIF have expanded their membership base to include casuals and other workers, only a few of the workers may have joined the schemes. Such forms of employment if not well checked, impair labour relations and erode worker protection. They also transfer additional responsibilities, such as social and trade union protection, job security, and wage negotiations to the worker. This may, however, be at the expense of productivity, national competitiveness and employment creation (Ogonda, 1992).

Graeff (2009) noted that job security is a major concern especially for Matatu crews and support staff. This concern stems from their casual employment status and verbal employment contracts. Poor job security begets reckless driving and overcrowded Matatus as
drivers and conductors must meet the daily revenue marks or risk being fired. Significantly, basic employment policy in Kenya does not cover Matatu workers. Kalsi (1997) analyzed the terms and conditions of work in the Matatu industry in Kenya. He discovered that Matatu employees work under different conditions. The workers are generally hired on temporary basis and earn wages on daily basis. Chitere et al (2004) observed that 90% of the employees worked on contract/casual terms and had been with their present employers for a few months, worked for long hours and did not belong to any Matatu association.

The World Bank’s ‘smart economics’ has reduced the role of women to that of facilitating economic growth. This means that “women are enlisted as foot soldiers to serve in battles whose aims are not related directly to their interests” (Cornwall & Molyneux, 2006). This economic and top-down perspective over-looks the complexity of the relational and structural factors inherent in the transport sector. ‘Smart economics’ has therefore been viewed as the “business case for gender equality [that is] concerned with building women’s capacities in the interests of development rather than promoting women’s rights for their own sake....To increase equality in traffic and transport the primacy of gender justice and rights will have to be reasserted in a manner which eschews the notion that it is only worth investing in women if they can ‘fix the world’” (Roberts & Soederberg, 2012, pp. 527, 954).

Only a few countries have made real efforts to put women in public transportation roles at all levels. Yael and Marianna, (2011) examined current trends and initiatives in Sweden, Great Britain, France, Canada, and the United States and found that political committees in the transport industry sector are dominated by men. Their review showed that women had less than 15% membership on most boards and the same trend was evident in national related committees. According to their findings, women constitute 9% of transportation workforce in Israel, and that only 10% of public transportation drivers in Europe are women.

Harrison (2012), by way of comprehensive literature review and interviews with human rights experts, examined the transport challenges faced by women in South Asia, as well as existing theories around women’s access to public transport and public space. The research found that women working in the public transport sector - including women taxi drivers - have made heavy sacrifices to co-exist with men in the industry, including stigmatization, sexual harassment, and even death.
Alluding to research done in Nairobi slums, Peters D. (2013) also emphasizes the need to develop policies that aim to address the mobility constraints faced by women and children which can be made possible by incorporating women’s perspectives in decision-making. Key departments like the police and public transport as well as mechanisms of public transport planning, are dominated by men. This dynamic makes it hard for women needs to be considered (Harrison, 2012). Based on an interview with Action Aid’s International Manager, Vijeyarasa Ramona, women’s underrepresentation prevents them from obtaining much needed justice and attention.

In 2013, the International Labor Office (ILO) published a comprehensive report on “Women in the Transport Sector”, which detailed the ingrained gender biases and pervasive culture of violence against women that exists in the transport industry worldwide. This report documents the various challenges that women face when trying to enter and grow in transport careers and offers specific recommendations on how organizations can address some of these barriers. In particular, the ILO Career Cycle Approach offers a useful guide for how to increase women’s participation in the transport sector. This chart focuses on working conditions and how human resource policies of transport providers can mainstream gender. It describes opportunities for success and advancement, while also recognizing the barriers faced by women in regard to education, training, and the level of social support available to women who work in the transport sector.

With increased opportunities for women to thrive in the public transport sector, there is need to encourage them to join the industry.

Figure 2: ILO Career Cycle Approach (ILO, 2013)
Most importantly, women must have a safe, fair and healthy working environment. This will be possible by addressing the important issues that limits women involvement in the industry. Such issues includes sexual harassment and violence in the workplace, challenges of balancing family and work, long working hours, health and safety, poor facilities and informal and precarious work just to mention a few (Mbugua, 2013).

The role of transportation in shaping economic opportunities for women has not been explored in much literature to-date, and to the best of our knowledge, there are no causal studies looking at the effects of these investments on women’s labor market outcomes. This study thus seeks to contribute to empirical evidence on the impacts that improved urban transport systems can generate for women.

2.4 Safety and Sexual Harassment

Women’s use of public space or public transport is often contested. A study from Delhi shows that 85 per-cent of women reported having faced harassment or violence in public spaces (Jagori & UN Women, 2011, p. 14). In 2012, the rape and murder of a woman on a bus in New Delhi brought the media’s attention to the traditional treatment of women (Roychowdhury, 2013) in public transport. In New Delhi, 54 percent of women reported feeling unsafe when using public transport (Jagori & UN Women, 2011, p. 16). Another problem is that the frequency of bus services, route options and stop locations may not respond to women’s needs and the affordability of public transport is a major concern for women in low income settings. For passengers without travel options—so-called captive riders the fare price, safety and reliability are important (Carruthers et al., 2005).

Women were also found to be more reliant on informal motorized transport (IMT) modes in urban centers. IMT modes assume different forms in different cities ranging from motor cycles, tuk-tuks and mini vans. IMT modes are generally associated with overcrowding, unsafe riding conditions, unregulated fares and sexual harassment by the operators and preferential boarding being given to male passengers (Peters, D, 2013).

Drawing from findings from a social assessment for urban project in Ashgabat, Turkmenistan, (Peters D, 2013) found that women - whose earning were found to be 30% lower than men - relied heavily on cheaper and less reliable transport modes. Less desirable public transport is characterized with high levels of sexual harassment. In regard to safety and security, the study points out that the existing safety policies disproportionately affect women. Alluding to a survey by Tokyo Metropolitan Policy and East Japan Railway Company, Peters D, (2013) found that two thirds of female passengers between the ages of 20-39 had been groped while using public transport.
According to Harrison (2010) women experience a wide variety of unpleasant consequences as a result of harassment such as negative psychological impacts including lowered confidence and self-esteem, feeling of blame and mistrust of men.

Radha (2011) investigated how masculinity reinforces the occurrence of violence in public transport in Nepal. Her findings indicated that most women considered themselves physically weak, insecure and powerless while travelling in public transport especially during peak hours. They also act to protect themselves from violence when they are in an enabling environment and feel secure; during the day or with a group of friends.

Jagori (2010) in a survey to investigate harassment faced by women in Delhi, India states that establishing the extent to which sexual harassment occurs in public transport and connected spaces or estimating is somewhat difficult. It is also argued that rates of harassment might be underreported because many women are conditioned to accept harassment as 'normal' and do not report it. Nevertheless, whichever view one subscribes to, there is no doubt that harassment prevails in public transport and connected spaces.

Various researchers have sought to identify different forms of sexual harassment that are likely to occur in public transport. Chesney, M. (2013) reports that leering looks, offensive gestures, and unwelcome physical contact are among the most common forms of sexual harassment in public transport. According to a 2016 Geo Poll flash survey conducted among 194 Nairobi commuters who use mini-buses or *matatus*, a vast majority have experienced harassment of verbal and physically nature. Many of these cases go unreported as most Kenyans do not think anything will change once they report even to the police.

Harrisson, J. (2012) attempts to find out why sexual harassment occurs in public transport modes. She states that the reasons for sexual harassment include overloading of vehicles as well as increased urbanization. In handling of such cases, there has been consistent victim-blaming for instance by claiming that the victim had dressed provocatively. This further exacerbates the continued occurrence of sexual harassment. According to Gomez, (2000), women’s mode of dress contributes to exposure to verbal abuse and harassment. Women are forced to wear only “appropriate clothing” when using public transport. When it comes to physical strength, women are perceived as less able to defend themselves. In this case women are forced to travel in groups and only board vehicles that are not full.

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

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

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

Sexual harassment on board the Mombasa ferry is also quite common. Regular female users of the Likoni Ferry in Mombasa County have protested following rampant cases of men who sexually harass them while on board the vessel that serves commuters to and from the island city of Mombasa and the mainland town of Likoni. It emerged that some male commuters take advantage of the congestion on the transport facility to engage in indecent acts like standing closely behind targeted women and when the ferry begins to move, they start pleasuring themselves by rubbing themselves against the women. As it turns out, some of these perpetrators spend the better part of the morning and evening rush hours, shuttling to and from the island as they satisfy their sexual urges.

Local women are now proposing that Kenya Ferry management divides the ferry into three sections for men, women and children in a bid to avoid such vile acts. It is not just women who are alarmed by the disgraceful behaviour. The ferry management has also confirmed that such cases happen and that plans to put measures in place that ensure women and children have their own ferry in a bid to stop the indecent acts. Kenya Ferry Service (KFS) has promised that as soon as they get new ferries, the women will
be boarding a different ferry from men. Management is also taking action against the indecency through occasional public addresses which caution against such harmful behaviour.

https://www.sde.co.ke/article/2000201979/mom-basa-women-cry-foul-over-influx-of-sexual-perverts-on-likoni-ferry

While many people acknowledge experiencing and witnessing sexual harassment, very few report these cases to law enforcement. According to FIA Foundation (2017), neither men or women tend to report cases of harassment, which in turn makes it difficult for law enforcers and public transport service providers to measure whether existing strategies are working or not. There is widespread lack of trust in reporting mechanisms in three Latin American cities, and people don’t have clear information on what they ought to do when they experience or witness a sexual harassment incident.

Women face overwhelming challenges in public transit which can be attributed in part to lack of sexual harassment policies, laxity in holding perpetrators of harassment accountable, and constant male domination in public transport management. Chitere et al (2004) examines the effects and limitations of reforms in Kenya public transport. These reforms include a requirement for transport operators to obtain a certificate of good conduct, conductor and driver uniforms and other forms of professionalization of the industry. These reforms are meant to enhance safety for commuters, ensure responsibility, accountability and competence of transport operators, and vehicle identification facilitation. It is worth noting that a relative reduction of crime rates and road accidents can be attributed to these reforms.

With regards to security, there are concerns about crime at matatu staging areas and terminals. The matatu industry is considered an “open” sector and as such, there are many unemployed youth who loiter, creating havens for anti-social activities such as drug use, petty theft, prostitution and violence (Khayesi, 1999). Security issues due to the presence of cartels and gangs affect the entire industry. Clashes for control of routes and termini threaten innocent bystanders, commuters, crews and stage workers and create a dangerous working environment (Chitere, 2004). Matatu owners and drivers repeatedly complain that the police harass them and pull them over and yet they have done nothing illegal. Instead of pulling the vehicle off the road, the crew pays off the traffic police officer (Ndungu, 2004).

Deike Peters (2013) mentions that unregulated informal motorized transport may develop certain challenges with strong gender bias. Various countries have adopted certain measures to deal with these challenges including women-only public transport (Boros, 2014). However, such measures are seen as a
short-term solution. According to the World Bank 2014, there is need for modification in behavior and attitude of society.

Much of the literature on gender issues and transport in developing countries has explored women’s perception of accessing and using transport systems, finding that sexual harassment is one of the main issues that affect women who use public transportation (Schulz & Gilbert, 1996; Gwilliam, 2003; Zermeno et al., 2009; Kash, 2014; Neupane & Chesney-Lind, 2014). Specifically, women report frequently feeling unsafe walking to a transit stop/station, waiting for the bus or train, and traveling within the system.

The prevalence of harassment and violence against women in public spaces has led to the emergence of women-only taxi services. Dunckel-Graglia and Army (2013) examined women-only transport in Mexico City, to understand how “pink” public transport has changed public perception of women’s mobility. Using both quantitative and qualitative methods, they divided the study in two portions; the first portion contextualized women-only transport by drawing on statistics of violence against women in public transport. The second portion analyzed empirical data on women-only transit systems in Mexico City for a period of three years. The study found that, due to cultural stigmatization of women as household figures, women in Mexico City are fearful of being “a woman in public”. They found a clear gender divide in public opinion towards women-only transportation, where about 70% of women respondents attributed their fear of public transport to issues related to gender. 50% of the women respondents said they always use women-only transit while 77% of the women feel that women-only transit would not exist if men were taught to respect women. It is worth noting that the Kenyan public transport sector is a highly masculinized arena and female entrants often meet with a number of barriers that have been raised to obstruct women.

Sexual harassment issues experienced by women in transit include staring, unwanted comments on physical appearance, men touching or rubbing against women, and groping (Gomez, 2000). While in developed countries sexual harassment in public transport has been reported to be more verbal than physical, subtle groping and unwanted touching are common during rush hours (Hsu, 2011; Gekoski, et al., 2015). In developing countries, this pattern is more pronounced (Zermeno, Pacido, Soto, & Yadin 2009).

A handful of studies examine these security issues in informal versus formal public transit. For example, in a study conducted in Mexico City, female respondents said that the informal transport service was the most unsafe mode and that higher-quality public transportation (scheduled service, defined stops, cleaner buses) lead to safer trips (Tudela Rivadeneyra et al., 2015). In Bogotá and Arequipa, riders of
informal transportation services identified crime as one of the principal problems with the system, which was tied to crowding during peak hours. In Bogotá, women were significantly more concerned about crime than men (Kash, 2014). Women in the slums in Delhi identified themselves as targets of sexual harassment while traveling to work, especially when walking to the stops of informal and public transportation, which in some cases affected their ability to retain jobs in distant areas from their homes (Anand & Tiwari, 2007).

In some countries, men and women travel separately in taxis and on public transport. Some big cities offer women-only services, or ‘pink solutions’ and provide buses or metro cars exclusively for women and children. It is now used during rush hours in mega-cities such as Mexico City, Cairo, Tehran, Dhaka and Tokyo. However, while ‘pink solutions’ may solve acute problems of harassment, humiliations, theft and so on, they also reinforce the gender order and “perpetuate divisions and differences between the sexes rather than comprehensively addressing the deep rooted gender biases inherent in current transport planning and policy making” (Peters, 2013, p. 35). Thus separation of sexes in public transport spaces is only a temporal solution.

Most of the strategies to create equal and fair access to public transportation for women have been focused on improving women’s personal security. Formal surveillance, with the presence of on-site security personnel, has been found as the most effective strategy to reduce sexual harassment at transit stations (Gekoski, et al., 2015; Loukaitou-Sideris, 2008). Other security measures that have been rated positively are good lighting at bus stops and adjacent streets, request-stop programs (which allow women to get out of the bus closer to their destination), public awareness campaigns denouncing sexual harassment, policing (in vehicles and stops), and public education (Zermeno et al., 2009; Loukaitou-Sideris, 2008). Some authors have also found benefits in women-only vehicles3 (Zermeno, Pacido, Soto, & Yadin, 2009). However, this short-term solution does not necessarily change the behavior of the perpetrators and might be perceived as a segregation tool against women (Gardner, Cui, & Coiacetto, 2017).

2.5 Literature Review Conclusions

This literature review deduced the following synthesis; the transport sector is not gender neutral since female workers and commuters face numerous challenges within the industry, which is evidently male dominated. The literature also revealed that women rely on public transport more than men due to the socially assigned gender roles they assume such as shopping for the household and taking care of children. Women often experience high levels of harassment and violence both as commuters and workers in public transport. The literature reveals that duty bearers such as law
enforcers do little to address cases of harassment reported. In Kenya, PSV SACCO’s largely lack grievance mechanisms to ensure harassment cases are reported promptly. There is very little literature that specifically addresses the issue of public transport in Mombasa, especially regarding the issue of sexual harassment and the participation of women.

Public transport workers do face immense challenges coupled with poor working conditions and casual terms of employment which may influence how they treat customers. Particularly, gender equity and mainstreaming is still very minimal. There is very little literature on public transport in Mombasa, especially regarding the issue of sexual harassment and the participation of women in the industry. Moreover, there is very little literature on issues such as the connection of working conditions of transport service workers and customer service. The literature studied also reveals a gap in the effectiveness of formal complaints mechanisms with regards to customer service.
CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY
3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the methodology and procedures that were used in carrying out the study. It describes the study design, respondents, sampling design, data collection instruments, data collection and management, data analysis techniques and ethical considerations.

3.2 Study Design

The study adopted a descriptive and exploratory design that sought to collect detailed information through description of experiences and opinions held by the respondents. Data was mainly collected from primary sources but secondary sources were also reviewed. Both quantitative and qualitative methods were used for data collection and analysis.

3.3 Study Respondents

The respondents included public transport service providers namely; PSV SACCO Managers, tuk-tuk union officials, PSV operators (drivers and conductors) and tuk-tuk drivers. Working in the public transport industry in Mombasa was the main consideration for inclusion in the study. There are several PSV SACCOs operating in Mombasa that are registered under the Cooperative Act 2012 and regulated by National Transport Service Authority (NTSA). These PSV SACCOs have employed managers who are in charge of day to day operations including recruitment and supervision of operator (drivers, conductors and stage attendants) who work for the PSV SACCOs. Therefore both SACCO managers and PSV operators were targeted for the study.

Of special interest to the study was also the tuk-tuk sector which is organized mostly under private ownership and is comprised of owners who are also drivers or have employed others to work for them as drivers. The owners and drivers have formed unions which usually advocate for their welfare and therefore, tuk-tuk Unions officials based within Mombasa Island also took part in the study. To corroborate the results of the PSV operators surveys and SACCO managers interviews, two focus group discussions (FGDs) were carried out with tuk-tuk drivers including representation from boda boda riders who are based in Mombasa Island and Likoni and female commuters who regularly use public transport and ferry services.

3.4 Sampling Design

Non-probabilistic (purposive) sampling procedure with a random element was adopted, based on an inclusion criterion that reflects characteristics which maximally captured information of the target population. Seven PSV SACCO managers were purposively sampled to take part in a
key informant interview but only three PSV SACCO managers (all male) representing Xperia, Kwale and Munawar SACCOs based in Mombasa Island, Kwale and Malindi respectively actually participated due to circumstances beyond the study team’s control.

Semi structured questionnaires were then administered to them by trained enumerators to a sample size of 100 PSV operators (96 male, 4 female) comprising of drivers, conductors and stage attendants were randomly accessed by our enumerators in three terminuses purposively selected for the assessment namely; Buxton, Ferry and Coast Bus. They represented a total of 24 PSV SACCOs as summarized in the table below;

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NO.</th>
<th>PSV SACCO</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Al Wahim</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Munawar</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Faulu</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Jemedari</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>MOKIMA</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>MOMARKS M.T</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>2 TS</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>One Desire</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>TATAMA</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>2 ML</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>WOMERI</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>3M PORT</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Bambu</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Safiri</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Kwale</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Likoni MO</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>MOM</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>GENO</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Mtwapa</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Kisiwani</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>SOCOMO</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>South Coast Conveyors</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Xperia</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Benk Safaris</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>96</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: PSV operators Respondents per SACCO

While initially, the assessment intended for female transport workers to form a larger proportion sample size compared to male workers, it was not possible to get a significant number in spite deliberate efforts since there are very few women employed in the industry. Consequently, male
workers formed the largest proportion of respondents. As an important secondary population, the male workers were able to provide important information with regards to gender equity issues in the sector particularly challenges and gaps that bar women from entering and working in the sector. The respondents were accessed at their work locations and at their convenience.

Two tuk-tuk unions’ officials; a female and a male from BOTAX and TODA respectively that operate within Mombasa Island also took part in the study. To corroborate the results of the PSV operators surveys and SACCO managers interviews, two focus group discussions (FGDs) were carried out with six tuk-tuk drivers (3 male, 3 female) who are based in Mombasa Island and Likoni and twelve female commuters who regularly use public transport and ferry services. The FGD participants were also purposively but randomly selected to take part in the study.

3.5 Data Collection Instruments

In line with the objectives of the study, draft data collection instruments were developed. In designing the instruments care was taken to use simple language as much as possible to subsequently ease communication with the sample respondents. In addition to a semi structured operators’ survey for quantitative methods, two qualitative methods were used including FGD guides for tuk-tuk drivers and female commuters and Key Informant Interview (KII) guides for SACCO managers and union officials. As well as providing broader contextual information, these methods also enabled triangulation of the baseline data through assessment of consistency between quantitative and qualitative findings. They also supported interpretation of the survey data and crucial analysis of ‘how and why’ questions. Qualitative data collection methods are often more effective at enabling participants to discuss extremely sensitive topics such as their experiences of sexual harassment and the qualitative data played a crucial role in highlighting areas of possible under-reporting in the baseline survey. The instruments were reviewed by Flone Initiative staff and several research experts associated with the organization. After validation, the research team pretested and reviewed the instruments with a team of enumerators during their training. This ensured understanding of the protocols and thereby quality of the final data collection process.

3.6 Data Collection and Management

The survey was overseen by a lead researcher with the support of Flone Initiative staff and enumerators who formed
the data collection team. The team was taken through training to familiarize themselves with the survey tools and plan for the data collection exercise. Issues relating to the instrument, particularly ways of collecting quantitative and qualitative data and rapport building were tackled.

The data collection team personally contacted and accessed respondents and obtained the desired information fairly and accurately by explaining the objectives of the study to the respondents and following the methodology of research. The PSV operators’ surveys were conducted at respective terminuses and at the convenience of respondents. PSV SACCO manager interviews were conducted in respective offices or locations of their convenience. During data collection, the lead researcher was available to give clarifications and instructions as well as address any difficulties encountered during the exercise. The completed protocols were also reviewed and validated during daily debriefing sessions that were held daily ahead of the data analysis.

3.7 Data Analysis

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

Throughout the data analysis process, the aims and objectives of the research were used to guide the organization and interpretation of data. The data derived from the various methods and instruments was triangulated to make the common theme and interpretation. Triangulation involves the use of several and different sources, methods, investigators and theories to shed light on a theme or perspective (Creswell, 1998, p. 202).

3.8 Ethical Considerations

The confidentiality of all respondents was observed. They were informed that their participation was voluntary and they were required to give consent to participate. Respondents were also allowed to decline to answer any question at any point. With regards to anonymity, responses were recorded on the questionnaires without identities but rather survey numbers for the purposes of labeling the questionnaires.
Respondents were provided with contact information of relevant offices where they would get assistance in case of additional queries or clarifications. Enumerators were also instructed to maintain professional standards and decline from disclosing respondent's personal issues outside research setting.
CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS
This chapter presents the key findings of this baseline assessment as follows;

4.1 Demographic Information of Respondents

4.1.1 Respondents Gender Distribution

There are very few female PSV operators (drivers and conductors) working in the public transport industry in Mombasa City. According to the survey findings, 96% of respondents were male while only 4% were female.

Of all respondents in the PSV operator’s survey, 48% comprised of drivers while 50% were conductors. Of the four female respondents, three work as conductors while one works as a stage attendant. Other positions in general including stage attendants represent 2%.

In the key informant interviews, there were three SACCO managers; all of whom are male representing Xperia, Kwale and Munawar SACCOs which are based in Mombasa Island, Kwale and Malindi respectively. Two Tuk-tuk Union officials; (1 male, 1 female) representing Kenya Boda boda Tuk-tuk and Taxi Workers Union (BOTAX) and Tuk-tuk Owners and Drivers Association (TODA) respectively both based in Mombasa Island. All SACCO managers confirmed that there are very few or no women employees in their SACCOs in spite of the fact that according to them, women make good workers and all of them are willing to employ women. They reportedly believe women to be trustworthy, professional and safe as conductors or drivers hence attracting more customers. They also point out that very few women have expressed interest in working in the sector due to lack of safety, lack of professionalism (poor image) and perception that it a man’s job. However, none of the SACCOs have put clear specific measures in place to facilitate women’s entry and retention into the sector.

According to PSV SACCO managers, the number of women employed in each SACCO at the time of the interview were as follows; Kwale - 5 (3 full time, 2 part time), Xperia - 3 (all full time) and Munawar - 8 (2 full time, 1 part time). In Munawar SACCO, all women work as booking staff. In Xperia SACCO, they are distributed among
different roles while in Kwale SACCO, they all work as conductors. All PSV SACCOs have women represented in senior level management or board as follows; Manwar SACCO has 3 women in senior management (0 board members), Xperia SACCO has 8 women in leadership (4 as senior management and 4 board members) while Kwale Line SACCO has 3 women in leadership (2 as senior management and 1 board member). Table 2 summarizes PSV SACCO management, staffing and operations.

Tuk-tuk Unions; TODA and BOTAX have employed one woman each in their management teams. It should be noted that slightly more women prefer the tuk-tuk sector as workers. According to the interview with Tuk-tuk Unions officials, it emerged that there is high membership of women tuk-tuk owners.

Under the Tuk-tuk Unions; BOTAX has 6 women in leadership (2 as senior management and 4 board members) while TODA has 3 women in leadership (2 as senior management and 1 board member). The female Tuk-tuk official is the secretary general of BOTAX while the male official is the chairperson of TODA. Both unions draw membership from Tuk-tuk owners and drivers in Mombasa. BOTAX has a membership of 1500 registered members with 250 being Tuk-tuk owners and drivers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SACCO</th>
<th>Type of vehicles</th>
<th>Total No.</th>
<th>Routes Plied</th>
<th>Total No of female staff</th>
<th>Total No of female in board or senior management</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Munawar</td>
<td>Minibuses (30-40 seater)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Mombasa-Malindi-Lamu</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Minivans (14 seater)</td>
<td>147</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Buses (60 seater)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xperia</td>
<td>Minibuses (30-40 seater)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Within Mombasa Island</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Minivans (14 seater)</td>
<td>420</td>
<td>(Bamburi and Kiembeni)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Buses (60 seater)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwale</td>
<td>Minibuses (30-40 seater)</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Kwale-Lungalunga-Kinango and Likoni</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Minivans (14 seater)</td>
<td>140</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Buses (60 seater)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
and the rest being boda boda and taxi drivers while TODA has a membership of 300 registered members all of who are Tuk-tuk owners and drivers.

4.1.2 Respondents Age Distribution

Based on the PSV operators’ survey, most of the respondents are between the ages of 40 and 44 years which represent 23% of the workforce, followed by those aged between 35 to 39 years represented by 19%. Those aged between 25 to 29 years constituted 15% while the age group of 45 to 49 years represented 11%. Age brackets of 18 to 24 years and above 50 years represented 8% and 7% respectively.

Two of the four women interviewed are between 30 and 34 years, one is between the ages of 35 to 39 years while another one is between the age of 40-44 years. It can thus be concluded that the age bracket of above 50 years was the least represented while the average age in the respondents in the operator’s survey is 34 years. Majority of the women interviewed are within the child rearing age and are thus likely to have some domestic obligations.

In the SACCO managers’ interviews, one is in the age bracket of 30-34 years; the second one is within the 40-44 years while the third one is above 50 years. Both tuk-tuk union officials are within the 40-44 age bracket.

![Figure 4: Respondents' Age Distribution](image-url)
4.1.3 Respondents Level of Education

65% of the PSV operators interviewed have primary level education, while 33% have secondary level education. Operators with Certificate and Diploma education represent only 1% in each case. See table above. Out of the four women who took part in the survey, three have primary level education while one has secondary level. It can thus be concluded that a majority of workers have primary level education. The SACCO managers have primary, secondary and diploma levels of education respectively. One tuk-tuk official (male) has a diploma while another one (female) has a degree.

4.1.4 Respondents Working Duration in the Industry

40% of the PSV operators have been in the industry for 2 to 3 years, followed by those who have been in the industry for less than 1 year (27%). Those who have been in the industry for 4 to 6 years represent 13% and 10% have been in the industry for 7 to 9 years. Those who have stayed in the industry for 10 to 12 years and above 15 years are represented by 4% each while 2% of the PSV operators have been in the industry for 13 to 15 years. See table 1 above. It can thus be concluded that the
majority of respondents have been in the industry for 2-3 years. Of the four female respondents, three have worked below one year while one has worked 1-3 years.

Among the three SACCO managers, the manager from Xperia has been in the industry between 4 to 6 years, the manager from Kwale SACCO has worked between 7-9 years while the Munawar SACCO manager has been in the industry longest; between 13-15 years. While the BOTAX union official has worked in the industry between 1-3 years, the TODA union official has worked longer for 4-6 years.

4.1.5 Operators Child Care Responsibilities

90% of the operators interviewed have children while 10% do not. While at work, 71% of the male operators leave children under the care of their spouses. 22% leave their children under the care of grandparents, while 6% do not organize formal caregiving because the children are old enough to look after themselves. Only 1% state their children are taken care of by house help (nannies). See figure 5 below. All the four female respondents have children who they leave under the care of a house help (nanny), grand parents or by themselves if they are old enough. None of the female respondents leave their children in the care of their spouses.

In terms of support for operators who have children, results from the SACCO managers interviews indicated that only one SACCO (Munawar) provides support with school fees payment by giving small loans or advance pay for workers with children who are in need. None of the tuk-tuk Unions offer any form of support to their members with children.

![PSV Operators' Child Care Responsibilities](image)

**Figure 7: PSV Operators’ children care responsibilities**

4.1.6 Characteristics of FGD Participants

There were two focus group discussions conducted; one for female commuters and another for tuk-tuk (three-wheeler) drivers. There were 12 participants in the female commuters’ focus group discussion and 6 participants (three women and three men) in the tuk-tuk drivers’ focus group discussion.
Tuk-tuk Drivers
The drivers were a heterogeneous group consisting of female tuk-tuk drivers and one male participant representing the boda boda (motorbike) riders. One participant is within the 18-25 years bracket, another one is within the 26-32 years bracket, two are within the 33-39 years bracket while the other two are within the 40-49 years bracket. All participants operate within the Mombasa Central Business District and Likoni areas but can go further depending on customer demands. Four have worked in the tuk-tuk industry for 3 to 7 years while one has been in the industry for 1 year and 2 months.

The boda boda riders’ representative has been in the industry for less than a year. He is a young man whose mother is a tuk-tuk owner and driver herself and bought the boda boda for him to provide a livelihood after secondary education. Among the participants, one female tuk-tuk driver is employed as a driver while the rest are owners. The tuk-tuk drivers stated that they make an average daily income of between Ksh 1500 – 3000 from their business.

Female Commuters
The participants were a homogeneous group consisting of 12 female commuters drawn from Mombasa CBD. All participants were young women aged between 18-25 years who regularly use PSV matatus, tuk-tuks and Boda bodas which ply different routes within the Mombasa CBD. They use public transport to go to school, work or carry out other errands. They also often use the Likoni ferry (Likoni Ferry crossing channel serves commuters to and from the island city of Mombasa and the mainland town of Likoni.

4.2 Organization of the Public Transport Sector in Mombasa
4.2.1 Organization of the PSV Matatu Sector
The PSV matatu sector in Mombasa City is run by SACCOs, most of which are enterprises but registered under the Cooperatives Societies Act 2012. They are regulated by National Transport Safety Authority (NTSA) and operate under the county government bylaws on transport and infrastructure. There are several SACCOs registered on the National Transport Safety Authority (NTSA) records but a few have a larger market share due to their high membership, income turnover, political influence and number of vehicles they own. PSV SACCOs operating in Mombasa Island seemed to demonstrate these aspects more than those operating in Likoni, Kwale and Malindi.

The PSV SACCOs have membership consisting of investors (vehicle owners) in the sector. Most SACCOs engage operators on a casual basis without
providing permanent contracts. The majority of SACCOs own second hand 14 seater matatus since, according to one of the managers, they are not allowed to purchase new ones, due to government-issued regulations under NTSA Legal Notice 179 of December 31, 2014 to stop licensing of 14 seater matatus. As much as there seems to be regulation from NTSA and the county government, there is less enforcement and operations have remained largely informal.

The SACCOs have management teams that run day to day operations and boards that make decisions on behalf of the members. It was noted that there are efforts to have representation of women into the senior management and the board but their numbers are still low. There seem to be more women investing in the transport industry as owners than those working as drivers and conductors.

4.2.2 Organization of the Tuk-tuk Sector

The tuk-tuk industry in Mombasa City is run through private ownership where vehicle owners either drive or hire drivers who have driving licenses. According to NTSA, the riders must also hold a valid driving licence issued by the National Transport and Safety Authority (NTSA) under rules similar to those governing public service vehicles (PSVs). In 2018, NTSA rolled out new rules for driving schools, driving instructors and issuance of driving licenses in accordance with the updated Traffic Act. The rules define new driving license categories that specify the class of vehicles that a license holder can drive. This new classification includes more vehicle categories compared to the old driving license and comes with stricter requirements. As per the new classifications, tuk-tuk drivers fall under a category called A3. They are also required to have a minimum age of 21 years. Ideally the county government should provide owners with stickers of different colors showing the routes they should ply but this has not been well coordinated in some areas.

It is worth noting that in many places, there are no designated stages or terminuses for tuk-tuk drivers to pick or drop passengers. A similar situation applies to taxis drivers and boda boda riders. However, in some areas like Bamburi and Likoni, there are designated stages assigned and one is only allowed to pick passengers at one’s stage. In Likoni, each stage has its officials who are elected by tuk-tuk drivers themselves. The stage officials are also tuk-tuk drivers but have an office secretary who does administrative work and addresses complaints. In Mombasa Island CBD, there are no designated stages and drivers pick and drop passengers anywhere. Tuk-tuk s work both as matatus (carry passengers
heading to the same route for a fee) and as taxis (hired to provide personalized transport services).

In terms of gender equity in decision making, women drivers are included in areas where there is some sort of organization at terminus level. For instance, one FGD participant stated that in Likoni, women are usually given one automatic post among the tuk-tuk stage official and currently, their treasurer is a woman. Additionally, one of the female drivers FGD participants holds the post of a secretary for a certain group of tuk-tuk and boda boda riders.

With regards to whether formalizing the tuk-tuk sector would better the situation for drivers - especially women; there were divergent views with the majority of participants being for formalization only if it is well coordinated and by the county government. They felt that if it would not be well coordinated, cartels and gangs would arise and create barriers of entry by monopolizing stages and introducing unrealistic rules or unfairly hefty levies. They also worried it would restrict their freedom to operate on a freelance basis.

Those who welcomed the idea of formalizing the industry felt it would help in curbing crime and increase accountability. They stated that eventually, this is where the industry is heading and the sooner they accept the better.

4.2.3 Organization of the Tuk-tuk Unions; BOTAX and TODA

Officials of two tuk-tuk unions were represented in this baseline assessment, namely Kenya Boda boda, Tuk-tuk and Taxi Workers Union (BOTAX) and Tuk-tuk Owners and Drivers Association (TODA). BOTAX draws its membership from boda boda, tuk-tuk and taxi drivers while TODA draws membership mainly from tuk-tuk owners and drivers operating within Mombasa. According to the figures provided during the interview, BOTAX has a membership of 1500 with 250 being tuk-tuk drivers and owners. TODA has a membership of 300 tuk-tuk drivers and owners.

Both unions have officials that are elected by the members themselves. They have measures to ensure gender balance in their elections as they reserve specific posts to be vied for by women only. They are also formally registered entities with main role is collective bargaining to advocate for the rights of boda boda, tuk-tuk and taxi owners and workers. They also provide other support services where possible such as trainings on traffic rules, health matters, insurance, savings and investments among others.
4.3 Entry and Motivation to Work the Public Transport Sector

4.3.1 Entry into the Sector

Respondents were asked to say how they joined the public transport industry. Findings indicate that 56% of PSV operators sought the work themselves while 31% were introduced into the industry by their friends. 11% joined through family members. 1% started working in the industry because they owned a vehicle and those who joined for other general reasons represented another 1%. See figure 6 below. Regarding the four female respondents, one entered the sector because she wanted to use her driving license while the others applied for work in the industry.

![PSV operators entry into the public transport industry](image)

From results of the SACCO managers and Tuk-tuk Unions officials’ interviews, it emerged that most of them joined the sector either as investors or were driven by the desire to bring positive change into the sector.

Findings from the female Tuk-tuk drivers FGD, revealed that majority of the respondents introduced themselves into the sector while others were introduced by relatives and friends. One participant said that she is currently employed by her relative as a driver. When asked to mention entry challenges they experienced when joining the tuk-tuk sector, the following views were expressed and unanimously agreed upon by all the FGD respondents:

- Inadequate information on market dynamics such as pricing, routes, timing and competition.
- Being bullied by those who had been in the industry longer
- Feeling unsafe while serving customers who may be rough and stubborn
- Police harassment and questioning
- Discouragement from friends and relatives who feel public transport sector is not for women

In spite of these entry challenges, the respondents stated that they received encouragement and support from friends, relatives and other friendly drivers who had been in the sector longer. In addition,
several friendly police officers, passengers and male tuk-tuk drivers were very supportive because they admire women who work hard in decent undertakings rather than staying idle or engaging in prostitution. They were also encouraged by female passengers who said they feel safe in a tuk-tuk driven by women.

When asked whether the support they received made their entry into the business easier, they all agreed and stated that they were able to know the routes, timings and pricing for rides and felt motivated to push on with the work. One of the female tuk-tuk drivers said that on her first day, the tuk-tuk rolled over and male tuk-tuk drivers came to her aid.

4.3.2 Motivation to Work in the Public Transport Sector

The respondents were asked to state why they chose to work in the public transport sector. Results indicated that 47% joined due to unemployment while 20% have a passion for public transport work. 17% had limited options to do other kinds of work. 11% are working in the industry just to earn a living while 3% feel that due to their level of education they don’t qualify for others jobs. 2% were motivated by other general reasons. See figure 7 below. Among the four female respondents, one joined because she likes driving while the others joined because they did not have an alternative means of livelihood.

![Figure 9: Reasons operators chose to join the public transport industry.](image)

PSV SACCO managers and tuk-tuk union officials stated that they had been motivated by the desire to make things better for workers and investors in the industry and that is why they formed the SACCOs or Unions.

Participants in the tuk-tuk drivers FGD stated that they were motivated by various reasons including; being encouraged by friends and relatives already in the sector and the desire to make it in the male dominated industry. The industry also provides for self-employment where one works independently and can afford flexible
working hours. There are also fewer chances for quid pro quo sexual harassment and demand for sexual favors since you are independent and self-employed (these challenges exist for women working in the matatu industry, whose employment often depends on being hired by men).

They were also motivated by the fact that there were fewer women working in the sector and the work provides for a decent way to earn a living and take care of their families. They stated that most commuters prefer women tuk-tuk drivers as they perceive them as safe and professional. They would encourage other women to take up work in the industry rather than stay at home or engage in indecent occupations. Unlike the matatu sector, where there are very few women operators, results from the tuk-tuk union officials’ interview reveal that there are more women working in the tuk-tuk sector as both drivers and owners.

### 4.4 Job Satisfaction for Workers in the Public Transport Sector

#### 4.4.1 Reasons they would stay in the industry

Given an alternative, 57% of PSV operators interviewed would choose a different job while 43% say that they would still work in the industry. Those who would stay would do so due to the following reasons: 23% only if terms improved (better pay, loaning services among others), 20% fear changing jobs, 16% because it provides a daily income, 13% because they anticipate promotion, another 13% because they like the job, 5% due to lack of other options and another 5% because of their education level as they would not qualify for any other job. See figure 8 below. All the four women interviewed would still work in the public transport industry because they are satisfied with the pay.

![Figure 10: Reasons Operators would stay in the industry given an alternative](image)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>If terms improved</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fear changing jobs</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provides daily income</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anticipates promotion</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Like the job</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No other option</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level of education</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.4.2 Reasons they would leave the industry

For those who would chose to leave the sector they would do so due to the following reasons; 27% due to low pay, 20% due to the job’s temporary nature, 19% feel there are better opportunities in other industries, 8% feel the job has no guarantee in case of emergency, and 8% due to challenges that comes with the job. 7% of respondents do not like the casual payment associated with the job, 5% feel the job lacks pension benefits, and 5% don’t like public image associated with the industry. See figure 5 below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons they would leave the sector</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Poor public image</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No pension</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casual payment nature</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Challenges associated with the industry</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No guarantee in case of emergency</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Better alternatives in other industries</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporary nature</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low pay</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 11: Reasons for leaving the public transport industry given a second chance.**

Drawing from the PSV operators’ survey, only 3% have a formal contract while 97% do not, further indicating the informal nature of the industry. The PSV SACCO managers’ interviews also confirm most of these facts since, apart from Kwale SACCO, all other SACCOs confirmed that their workers don’t have formal contracts. In terms of policies and operational procedures, none of the SACCOs have leave policies or staff benefits. All three PSV SACCOs have customer service charters, route information sheets and a code of conduct for all workers but none have a sexual harassment policy. In terms of female workers turnover in the past five years, two female workers have left Munawar SACCO; one has left Kwale SACCO while none left Xperia SACCO. The turnover has been largely attributed to death, financial constraints and elections.

In the tuk-tuk drivers FGD, it was also noted that tuk-tuk s operate mostly under private ownership which tends to be very informal. Most of the drivers stated that they own the tuk-tuk s they drive - only one was employed by a relative. This driver doesn’t have a formal contract since their work relationship and terms are mostly based on trust.

From the results of the tuk-tuk drivers FGD where most participants were women, the majority of respondents stated they would choose to stay in the industry even if provided with alternative work because it provides for self-employment and can afford
flexible working hours. The work also provides a decent way to earn a living and take care of their families. They were motivated by the fact that there are fewer women working in the sector, however they noted some challenges associated with working in the tuk-tuk sector such as harassment from police and being bullied by male counterparts at work.

4.5 Working Conditions

4.5.1 Working Hours

From the findings of the PSV operators’ survey, 54% said they work every day of the week, while 35% work between 4 to 5 days a week. 10% of the operators work 2 to 3 days while 1% works for an average of one day per week. See figure 6 below. Results from the four female respondents indicate that two work every day while the other two work 4-6 days a week.

55% of the PSV operators work for 11 to 14 hours per day, while 28% work for 7 to 10 hours per day. 13% works for 3 to 6 hours per day usually as squad drivers and/or conductors (licensed as public service driver/conductor but does not have a designated vehicle) while 4% works for 15 to 18 hours per day. See the distribution in figure 7 below. With regards to the female respondents, two of them work 7-10 hours a day, one works 3-6 hours since she is a squad conductor while the other one works 11-14 hours a day. It is worth noting that the structure of work seems quite taxing for the women who have additional domestic obligations.

When asked whether the numbers of working hours for female operators are any different from those of male operators, 87% said there is no difference, since the SACCO doesn’t determine working hours based on gender. 13% said working hours are different since women are allowed time for other domestic obligations and may not put up with long hours like men. Only one
female respondent from One Desire SACCO stated that women’s working hours are different from men’s.

Results from the SACCO managers’ interviews showed that all the three PSV SACCOs allow working in shifts. Munawar and Xperia SACCOs offer morning and afternoon shifts while Kwale SACCO offers shifts as per workers’ convenience. None of the SACCOs provide for different working hours for women since they want to treat all workers the same way.

In the tuk-tuk drivers FGD, participants state that since most of them are self-employed, they work every day of the week but their working hours are flexible. Tuk-tuk drivers who are employed stated that working hours depend on the agreements (informal/verbal agreements) made with the owner of the vehicle. This flexibility may explain why there are more female workers in the tuk-tuk sector than in the PSV matatu sector.

4.5.2 Remuneration

When asked whether there is a difference in remuneration between male and female operators in the same work level, 63% of respondents said there is no difference because they all work the same number of hours doing the same duties. 4% say men’s remuneration is higher since they tend to work more hours. 33% of the operators did not know whether there is a difference in remuneration between men and women working in the industry but added that it depends on the employment terms. See figure 12 below. All the four female respondents also agreed that there is no difference in remuneration between male and female operators.

Remuneration by gender

Don’t know, 33%

Same for Men/Women, 63%

Men pay is higher 4%

Figure 14: Distribution of gender differences in remuneration.

From the PSV SACCO managers’ results, there is no reported difference in remuneration between male and female operators since they all do the same type of work under similar circumstance and hence there is no need to treat either gender any differently.

In the tuk-tuk drivers FGD, participants stated that since most of them are self-employed, the remuneration depends on a person’s luck, hard work and the number of customers one gets. There is therefore no difference in remuneration between male and female tuk-tuk drivers who are also owners since it depends on the daily income.
one makes. However Tuk-tuk drivers who are employed said that remuneration depends on work agreements (informal/verbal agreements) with the owner of the vehicle. If a driver exceeds the daily cash target laid out by the owner of the tuk-tuk, they get to keep the extra cash for themselves as a commission.

4.5.3 Suggested Improvement on Working Conditions

When asked how SACCOs could improve working conditions, respondents in the PSV operators’ survey suggested the following; 37% requested for career development programs such as promotions, while 22% asked for benefits including allowances, leave and medical covers. 15% requested road safety measures while 9% asked for trainings and skills development. 7% requested for flexible work shifts. Paid maternity/paternity leaves and equal pay for men and women were ranked at 5% each. See table 2 below. The four female respondents suggested equal pay, increased sensitization of women in the sector, and additional vehicles to allow for more women workers and skills training.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suggestion on better working conditions</th>
<th>Frequency n=100</th>
<th>Percenta ge %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Career development for instance</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: Suggested Improvements on Working Conditions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suggestions on better working conditions</th>
<th>Frequency n=100</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Promotions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benefits like allowances and medical covers</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Road safety measures</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trainings and skills development</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equal pay for men and women</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leave and flexible work shifts</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paid maternity/paternity leave</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In terms of the measures to support workers, PSV SACCO managers revealed that there were training programs on saving, insurance, cleanliness, management and conduct. It was however pointed out that the SACCOs are usually unable to afford such programs since most of their members fail to pay subscriptions and don’t appreciate the importance of professional development programs for their employees.

As for the tuk-tuk Unions, only TODA offers proficiency courses on driving, financial literacy and customer service for their members.
In the tuk-tuk drivers FGD, participants suggested the following support services that would improve their working conditions:

- Training on road safety
- Facilitation of refresher courses on driving
- Open a school specifically for tuk-tuk drivers
- Educate tuk-tuk drivers on traffic rules and their rights
- Create awareness on sexual harassment in public transport spaces
- Provide training on savings and financial management skills
- Standardization of fares to be agreed upon by all drivers
- Improved security for public transport workers
- Documentation and licensing support (most tuk-tuk drivers don’t have the NTSA required categories of license but use the BCE driving licenses).
- Training on the requirements and processes of acquiring the right documentation to operate on the road.

Respondents said that most drivers and owners are taken advantage of due to limited information on the process to acquire the right documentation.

4.5.4 Challenges of Working in the Public transport sector

According to results from the PSV operators’ survey, the following are challenges they face as they work in the industry; harassment by police and county officials (50%), dealing with difficult passengers (15%), insecure working terms (9%), corruption and bribery (7%), discrimination, and competition for few passengers and disturbance by touts (5% each). Accidents and lack of legal documentation both accounted for 2% each.

See table 3 below. Challenges cited by the four female respondents included; harassment by police and drunken passengers, bullying by colleagues, verbal abuse, being negatively labeled, financial challenges and tight competition among SACCOs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Work Related Challenges</th>
<th>Frequency n=100</th>
<th>Percentage %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Harassment by police and county officials</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dealing with difficult passengers</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insecure working terms</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corruption and bribery</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discrimination</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Competition for few passengers</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disturbance by touts</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of legal documentation</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
According to PSV SACCO manager and tuk-tuk Union officials interview results, harassment from police and county government officials was also highlighted as a major challenge. Other major challenges included business rivalry among SACCOs, unfavorable working conditions, corruption and bribery, lack of legal representation, unfavorable policies by the County Government, difficulty accessing permits and licenses, poor pay of subscription by investors in the SACCO, poorly maintained roads, ignorance on workers' rights, inadequate knowledge on savings, investment and social security, unruly passengers, ignorance on road safety, poor documentation and selective enforcement of the law by authorities. 

It is worth noting that the biggest challenge facing the PSV matatu sector especially in Mombasa Island is the lack of designated stages or terminuses. Apart from the Buxton and Coast bus stage, there are no other stages in the expansive CBD including at the ferry station. This challenge is also experienced by commuters because there is nowhere to wait for, pick and drop passengers or pack vehicles. PSV operators usually pick and drop passengers on the go and in hurry. This may be quite unsafe for persons with disability, the elderly, children, the sick, expectant women and those travelling with luggage. Additionally, PSV operators are forced to drop or pick passengers at the risk of being arrested by traffic or county police and must pay hefty bribes or fines to get out. This may further explain why police harassment was rated as a major challenge for the public transport sector in Mombasa. Though not captured in the survey or interviews, this challenge was well highlighted by both PSV operators and managers.

On specific challenges for women, all SACCO managers and tuk-tuk Union officials included; stereotypical perception that the industry is too rough, inability to maintain work-life balance due to domestic obligations and the lack of safety and security while operating in the industry.

Findings from the tuk-tuk drivers’ FGD revealed that there are various challenges they face as women in the tuk-tuk sector and that may hinder entry of more women into the sector. They are as follows:

- Harassment by the police and county government officials
- Difficulties with licenses and documentation
- Safety concerns especially as a woman riders

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Accidents</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Cartels and gangs which manage stages especially for boda boda riders usually charge hefty fees and should be regulated.

Balancing work and domestic obligations

Sexual harassment mostly verbal and physical from customers

The sector is poorly regulated and one may be easily exploited by cartels

Gender discrimination and discouragement by those already in the industry.

Ridicule by family and friends as a woman in the industry

Inadequate knowledge of market dynamics especially for new drivers

Some drivers don't stick to standard fares. A female tuk-tuk driver said that some drivers charge a small fee to beat competition and this affect their work.

4.5.5 Suggested Solutions to Challenges in Public transport Industry

According to survey results, 44% of the suggestions centered on fairness by police and county officials who should also stop taking bribes. 7%, centered on better pay and permanent contracts for workers, 7% was on SACCO support for workers. All the other solutions took a representation of 5% and below and include;

- Assistance to get the right Legal documents
- Improved workers welfare services
- Adherence to set fares before the trip starts
- Professionalism; employing disciplined drivers and conductors
- Better roads
- Awareness and trainings on traffic rules and rights
- Legal representation
- Mutual respect between passengers, operators, owners and the police
- Designation of stages/bus stops

Among the four female respondents, one suggests sensitization on the needs of women working in the sector while the others feel nothing can be done.

According to PSV SACCO managers training and awareness creation on traffic rules and rights will be critical in solving the current challenges. Secondly, women should form their own unions to bargain for their welfare in the industry. Thirdly, county government should exercise fairness and develop favorable policies for workers and investors in the public transport sector. They should also provide better roads, terminuses and security. The issue of harassment and bribery from the police and County Government officials should be addressed.
According to the tuk-tuk drivers FGD, solutions to the challenges they face could include but are not limited to;

- Training and awareness on traffic rules and regulations
- Clarification on the type of licensing and documentation required for tuk-tuk sector
- Standardization of fares among the drivers
- Improved security mostly at nights
- Better treatment by the county government officials and police

4.5.6 **Workforce Welfare Organizations**

When respondents were asked whether there are organizations that take care of PSV workers welfare in Mombasa, 20% said that such organizations exist which offer financial services such as linkage to NHIF/NSSF, saving and loaning services. Others assist drivers and conductors in obtaining the required documents. 58% said such organizations do not exist while 22% said they did not know whether such organizations exist. According to the four female respondents, there are no organizations that cater for their welfare.

In the tuk-tuk drivers FGD, participants acknowledged the presence of welfare organizations and gave an example of BOTAX which is a trade union that is fighting for tuk-tuk workers right. They also mentioned others which train tuk-tuk drivers on savings and observing traffic rules. This was confirmed by results of the tuk-tuk Union officials’ interviews.

4.5.7 **Suggested Welfare Support Services for Workers in the Industry**

According to the results of the PSV operators’ survey, financial support services ranked the highest welfare support service needed at 28%, followed by training of workers on their rights at 19%. Advocacy for better working conditions represented 16% while advocacy against sexual harassment and respect for human rights represented 11%. Legal services scored 11% and license facilitation was at 8% while medical support represented 7 %. See table 4 below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suggested Support Services</th>
<th>Frequency n=100</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Financial support services</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training of workers on their rights</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advocacy for better working conditions</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the tuk-tuk drivers FGD, participants requested for support with training on savings and observing traffic rules. They also suggested support in license facilitation since there are no schools that purely train tuk-tuk workers and hence they don’t have licenses that are recognized by county government. This was confirmed by results of the tuk-tuk Unions officials’ interviews.

4.5.8 **Measures to encourage women into public transport**

When asked for suggestions on how to encourage more women to join the public transport industry, 30% of PSV operator respondents suggested training female drivers. 23% of respondents felt nothing could be done since working in the industry is a personal choice. Awareness on women working in the sector and equal job opportunities for men and women took 11% representation each. 7% represented views that women should not venture into the industry. Better safety and security was represented by 6%, while offering formal contracts and reducing police harassment represented by 4% each. Reducing route distance, offering flexible working hours, government intervention and support for married women who work in the industry had 1% each. Some of the operators said that women cannot operate in public transport if they are married. They alluded to the toughness of the job and family-work balance which is hard to maintain if the woman is married. See table 5 below.

According to the four female respondents, women could be encouraged to join the sector by ensuring level ground between men and women, receiving more support from men already in the industry, believing in themselves, more female-friendly working environments and learning about the women who have made it in the sector.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measures to encourage women to join the sector</th>
<th>Frequency n=100</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Training female drivers</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nothing can be done</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Awareness creation on women working in the industry</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equal job opportunities for men and women</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6: Measures to encourage women participation
According to the PSV SACCO managers’ interviews, women should be encouraged to apply for work as advertised by SACCOs, but the choice to pursue and succeed in transport jobs depends on them. Tuk-tuk Union officials suggest that women should be encouraged through creating a better image of the transport sector and addressing challenges currently being faced in the industry.

According to female tuk-tuk drivers FGD participants, the following could be done to encourage women to join the tuk-tuk industry;

- Support for those already in the sector
- Community sensitization through the media on successful women in the sector
- Support and mentoring new entrants into the industry
- Sponsorship for more women into driving school
- Establishment of special tuk-tuk and boda boda driving schools

Female commuters also gave their views on the issue by stating that the image of the industry should be improved and young girls and women should have the confidence to apply for work in the industry since it offers a decent earning compared to other degrading endeavors such as prostitution.

### 4.6 Safety and Security Issues in Public Transport sector

#### 4.6.1 Meaning of Sexual Harassment

When asked to explain the meaning of sexual harassment, 57% of respondents were unable to provide a definition, while 43% of PSV operators said they understood its meaning. However, from their responses, it was clear that most had varied ideas of what the term means and most related it to the use of force over another person.

Responses included;

- Violation of women rights
- Being forced into sex
- Touching any part of your opposite sex without consent
- Relating with minors
Asking for sexual favors

In contrast, it was evident that all the PSV SACCO managers and tuk-tuk Union officials have an idea of the meaning of sexual harassment as they relate it to physical and verbal violation on the basis of sex. Views from the tuk-tuk drivers and female commuters FGDs also indicate they have an idea of the meaning of sexual harassment. According to them, “sexual harassment” means inappropriate physical contact, asking for sexual favors and using vulgar language.

Borrowing from a Bangladesh Safe City Program Baseline Report 2014, an operational definition of sexual harassment is quoted from Choudhury (2005), as: “Any repeated (depending upon the severity of the act) unsolicited, unwanted, unwelcome behavior of sexual nature like physical contact or advances, a demand for sexual favors, sexually colored jokes and comments on appearances, suggestive looks, gestures, showing pornography, pornographic graffiti, and other unwelcome physical, verbal or non-verbal conduct of sexual nature like character assassination, spreading rumors that may threaten a woman's career/job security, and create an intimidating, stressful and hostile environment that is harmful to a woman's physical and psychological health hampering her potentials,”

In summary, the findings indicate that all respondents have an idea of the meaning of sexual harassment.

4.6.2 Prevalence of Sexual harassment in Public Transport

While 73% of PSV operators interviewed have either experienced or witnessed sexual harassment in their line of duty, 27% have not. See figure13 below. Three of the four female respondents have witnessed or experienced sexual harassment.

Have you witnessed or heard of Sexual Harassment?

![Figure 15: Prevalence of sexual harassment in the public transport industry.](image)

From the manager’s interview, it is evident that sexual harassment is common since all of them stated they had witnessed or heard of such cases in their work. Tuk-tuk union officials also confirmed that sexual harassment is quite common as they have witnessed heard of and received such reports from their members. All participants in the tuk-tuk drivers FGD said they have
experienced witnessed and heard of sexual harassment in their line of work.

All the participants in female commuters FGD said that they do not feel safe commuting on public transportation. Most of them have experienced harassment especially in matatus and on boda bodas. However, they also reported feeling safer using PSV matatus because they are in the company of other passengers unlike in tuk-tuks or boda bodas, in which they are alone. They also reported feel unsafe using the ferry due to congestion and high prevalence of sexual harassment and theft.

Sexual Harassment is common on public transport in Mombasa. One of the FDG participants (female commuter) narrated an incident as follows:

One day, I was travelling on boda boda (motorbike) and it was a little dark. The motorbike rider was male. Midway during the journey, he started asking me personal questions like whether I am married, which I felt very uncomfortable responding. He started saying that he is really attracted to me and requested that I accompany him to his house and cook for him a meal. I vehemently resisted his advances and stated clearly that I am not interested and that I needed to get to my destination soonest. Suddenly, he changed the route which I was to travel on and took a different turn. He then stopped in an isolated place and started to force his way into me. I got really scared and did not say anything but gave him a blank look. When he persisted, I told him that my house was nearby and that we should go to my house. He requested me to hold his genitals as we ride to my house. I obliged as he had made it clear that he was going to force it if I resisted. And I knew I had to buy some time. Soon we got to some shops and I told him we were here. I then got off the boda boda and threatened to scream. Luckily, some passersby started noticing what was going on and before they could get to where we were, the rider saw them and took off. I told them what happened and they were really surprised but couldn’t do much since the man had disappeared. I was really scared…
It also emerged that most sexual harassment cases are common on board the Likoni ferry especially during pick hours due to the crowds.

A follow up exercise that involved in-depth discussions with ferry staff was carried out and majority of them felt that sexual harassment is quite common. They attribute it to several factors including congestion, mixing men and women in the ferries, lack of public awareness on sexual harassment and mode of dressing as stated by one staff who shared a story of an incident he witnessed.

There was a night a few years ago when girls from upcountry came to Mombasa. They were wearing very tight dresses and were crossing the ferry late at night. They were stripped naked by a group of men. The women had to be brought to the wheelhouse and given coverings, but KFS didn’t really know how to deal with the situation. Many of the people who are assaulted/harassed are visitors who don’t know how to report when such assaults occur. ‘KFS staff’

Few staff members felt that sexual harassment is not a serious issues since most commuters don’t retaliate or report it and therefore condone it. Moreover, there is no clear evidence of sexual harassment taking place on the ferry since it is not reported. “If it’s not being reported then it’s not a problem.” However, it was noted that most commuters do not report due to personal reasons such as fear of embarrassment or religious reasons.

There are others who were neutral about the issue since they attributed occurrence of sexual harassment to provocative dressing. They also feel that it is a normal human behavior that is subject to multiple interpretations.

All the ferry staffs agree that sexual harassment impacts negatively on the image of KFS especially visitors and most survivors may feel degraded and depressed by it.

However, there seems to be a gap in terms of how sexual harassment cases are addressed by ferry authorities since there are insufficient mechanisms for getting evidence on the incidents being reported. There are also unclear reporting mechanisms and documentation of sexual harassment cases and commuters have very little awareness on them. This therefore means that there is very little or no data about sexual harassment to build a case on the problem and convince authorities and policy makers about it.
The company lacks a sexual harassment policy that would provide a structured and well-coordinated framework of addressing the menace for both staff and commuters.

KFS has taken the following actions to address sexual harassment; Segregation of men and women on the waiting bay, installation of CCTV cameras on all ferries and these have been working well as a deterrent for bad behavior (pickpockets), additional security officers, public address announcements and awareness creation for commuters, customer service desk and deploying vessels on time to avoid crowding/congestion.

It was pointed out that there are very few women working in KFS and it was felt that more women working in the ferry service would help reduce cases of sexual harassment as more women feel comfortable to report!

They also suggested that all KFS staff need to be trained on response to sexual harassment including the board and senior management and the need to improve on the reporting mechanism and redress process.

Notably, it was also stated that PSV operators often target young secondary school girls and give them free rides in exchange for sexual favors. No action is taken to stop them. It is thus evident that sexual harassment in public transport and associated spaces has become a usual part of daily commutes and little is being done to address the issue.

The female commuters FGD participants were asked for their views on why they think sexual harassment usually occurs in public transport. According to them, most matatu conductors are on drugs, and there is little respect for women. They also stated that there is little done after reporting sexual harassment incidents.

4.6.3 Frequency of Sexual Harassment

41% of PSV operators said they witness or hear of sexual harassment on a daily basis while 26% witness or hear of sexual harassment cases once a week. 14% of the operators have witnessed or heard of sexual harassment occurring once per month. 6% of the operators believe sexual harassment happens once every three weeks and another 6% have never
witnessed or heard of sexual harassment. See figure 14 below. Two of the female respondents reported witnessing or experiencing sexual harassment daily while one witnesses or experiences such incidents on a weekly basis.

Frequency of sexual harassment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Everyday</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Once a week</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Once in 3 weeks</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Once a month</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 16: Frequency of sexual harassment in public transport the industry.

SACCO managers believe that sexual harassment is frequent but they have never witnessed or received any reports of it. Both tuk-tuk officials reported witnessing and hearing about sexual harassment at least once per week. All female tuk-tuk drivers and commuter’s FGD participants said that they witness, experience and hear of sexual harassment on a daily basis. This confirms that sexual harassment is a daily occurrence as majority of PSV operators also shared the same views.

4.6.4 Common Forms of Sexual Harassment

From the PSV operator’s survey, 43% of all the sexual harassment cases were physical in nature, while 27% were verbal. Suggestive gestures and innuendos accounted for 20% of sexual harassment while 10% was reported in the form of demands for sexual favors. See figure 15 below. Three of the four female commuters have witnessed or experienced sexual harassment in the form of gestures and innuendos, verbal and physical as well as demands for sexual favors from colleagues and customers.

All PSV SACCO managers and tuk-tuk union officials identified sexual harassment of a physical and verbal nature as being very common.

However, only one SACCO manager reported receiving such complaints during the PSV SACCO supervisors meetings. He always takes disciplinary measures including dismissing the concerned perpetrators and usually instructs the supervisors to ensure such cases don’t recur. The rest have never received any complaint. This could be attributed to the
fact that most of the SACCOs lack a mechanism to report such complaints.

**Common forms of sexual harassment**

![Graph showing percentages of different forms of sexual harassment]

- **20%** Gesture and Innuendos
- **10%** Asked for sexual favors
- **27%** Verbal harassment
- **43%** Physical harassment

**Figure 17: Common forms (types) of sexual harassment in the public transport industry**

Tuk-tuk driver FGD participants mentioned demand for sexual favors, as well as verbal and physical harassment as common forms of sexual harassment. Additionally, they highlighted that some commuters refuse to pay the fare as agreed upon and also theft from criminals who pose as passengers. They also stated that they are often bullied by male tuk-tuk drivers who block them or cut them off while driving. One participant mentioned how she experienced harassment inside her tuk-tuk when some male passengers kept using foul and vulgar language ostensibly targeting her.

Commuter FGD participants mentioned demands for sexual favors, unwelcome physical contact, suggestive gestures and abusive languages as the major forms of sexual harassment. It also emerged that matatu conductors, especially those on shift holder basis, usually target female high school girls and ask for sexual favors in exchange for free rides. It can thus be concluded that the most common forms of sexual harassment include unwelcome physical contact, verbal and gesturing as well as demand for sexual favors.

### 4.6.5 Common Locations Sexual Harassment Occurs

Sexual harassment incidents occur at several points within public transport vehicles and associated spaces. From the results of the PSV operator surveys, 42% of respondents said that incidents occur in several locations (at the stage, at the vehicle entrance and inside the vehicle), while 34% said it commonly occurs at the stage or terminus. 16% say most cases occur inside the vehicle while only 3% claim it mostly occurs at the vehicle entrance. About 5% said it occurs in other places such as the ferry, streets and offices. See figure 16 below. According to all the female respondents, most harassment occurs at the bus stage.

According to results from the SACCO managers and tuk-tuk union official interviews, most sexual harassment incidents occur at the stage and inside vehicles.
Female commuters said that most sexual harassment happens at the entrance of and inside of vehicles. Other spaces mentioned include when boarding, onboard or alighting the ferry. They also noted that majority of those who board the ferry are women at any time of the day.

Tuk-tuk drivers reported that most cases of sexual harassment happen inside tuk-tuks and at the ferry. It is thus worth noting that sexual harassment occurs in many locations within the public transport sector but mostly inside vehicles and at the ferry due to congestion.
4.6.6 Perpetrators of Sexual Harassment

According to the results of PSV operators’ survey, 41% of respondents identified touts as the main perpetrators of sexual harassment. Touts are people who usually play the role of ushering in commuters and announcing destinations and fares. However, they work with little or no regulation as they are not employed or recognized by the authorities or PSV SACCO management. 36% mentioned conductors while 11% cited male passengers as the main perpetrators. Drivers and female passengers were each mentioned by 5% of respondents while 2% of the respondents believed that all the above are perpetrators. See figure 17 below. According to the four female respondents, touts, drivers, conductors and male passengers are among the main perpetrators of sexual harassment.

PSV SACCO managers identified touts and conductors who work on a shift holder basis as the main perpetrators of sexual harassment, while tuk-tuk union officials mentioned male passengers and touts.

![Figure 19: Main perpetrators of sexual harassment in the public transport industry.](image)

Both tuk-tuk drivers and female commuter FGD participants identified male commuters in vehicles and at the ferry, male conductors on shift holder basis, and touts as the main perpetrators of sexual harassment. It is thus evident, according to the diverse views expressed, that touts and conductors are the most common perpetrators.

4.6.7 Age most targeted by Perpetrators of Sexual Harassment

According to findings from the PSV operators’ survey, 64% of respondents stated that women aged 18 to 24 years are the most targeted while 19% are of the view that it is those aged 25 to 29 years. 9% identify those below the age of 18 years while 5% said that it is those aged 30 to 34 years that are mostly targeted. The rest (3%) said that perpetrators mostly target women between the ages 35 to 39 years. See figure 18 below. All the female
respondents identify women aged 18-24 and 25-29 as the most vulnerable to sexual harassment.

Ages most targeted by perpetrators of sexual harassment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>35-39 yrs</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34 yrs</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29 yrs</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-24 yrs</td>
<td>64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Below 18</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 20: Age most targeted by perpetrators of sexual harassment in public transport industry.

According to SACCO managers and tuk-tuk union officials, all age groups are targeted. According to tuk-tuk drivers FGD participants, sexual harassment is targeted to all age groups and is not just limited to women.

Female commuter FGD participants, most of who were aged between 18-25 years, feel they are the most targeted. This confirms results from the PSV operators' survey where the majority of respondents felt that women aged 18-24 followed by those aged 25-29 year are the most targeted by perpetrators of sexual harassment.

4.6.8 Responses to Sexual Harassment

Most PSV operators do nothing to address sexual harassment in public transport. From the findings, 87% of operators take no action when they witness sexual harassment. They report that they would rather mind their own business and would only assist if the victim asked for help. 4% of the PSV operators will warn the perpetrators of sexual harassment to stop, while 2% would report harassment to the police. Only 2% of respondents said that they would report harassment to SACCO management. See table 6 below. Female operators said they would do nothing, shout or report the case to a male colleague.

The actions taken had the following results; those who reported to the police said the perpetrators were arraigned in court and those who reported to the SACCO management say the perpetrator (who was an employee with the SACCO) was fired. Another case did not receive any action from SACCO management.

PSV SACCO managers and tuk-tuk union officials said they would fire the perpetrators if proven guilty. They also said that they would report the case to the police but showed little confidence that any action
would be taken. It is worth noting that none of the PSV SACCOs or tuk-tuk union officials have a sexual harassment policy or a clear reporting mechanism for sexual harassment cases.

Table 7: Responses to Sexual Harassment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response to sexual harassment</th>
<th>Frequency n=100</th>
<th>Percentage %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Take no action</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warn the perpetrator</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Report to the SACCO management</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Report to the police</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stop the vehicle</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Report to a colleague</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other actions</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most tuk-tuk drivers said they usually take no action. They said that even if they were to report the issue to the police, it would either be trivialized or no action would be taken. They said that police do not take appropriate action to address issues of sexual harassment when they are reported.

All participants in the female commuter FGD said that they never take action because issues of sexual harassment reported to the police are either trivialized or not addressed. None of the female commuters would intervene if they witnessed another person being sexually harassed; they would just want to mind their own business. None of them would report the issue to PSV SACCO management because they don’t know where the SACCO offices are located and there is very little information on where and how to get help. Additionally, they feel no action will be taken by SACCO management. Other reactions by female commuters include; verbally attacking the perpetrator, ignore the perpetrator and informing perpetrators that what they are doing is wrong. In spite of this situation, female commuters said they would still continue to use public transport since they don’t have an alternative. Harassment is a normal part of their commuting.

It is evident that most respondents feel helpless and have little confidence in duty bearers such as SACCO management and the police with regards to addressing issues of sexual harassment.

4.6.9 Measures to be taken to address Sexual Harassment

PSV operators suggest the following measures to address sexual harassment; setting tough rules and policies on sexual harassment (29%), improved justice and support for victims (18%) and increased community involvement (8%). Reporting to the police, employing staff with good professional conduct, training operators on sexual harassment and employing stage managers accounted for 6% each. Introducing a complaints office at the
terminus accounted for 2% while installation of CCTVs accounted for 1%. The response rating was based on the number of time the theme (solution) was mentioned as opposed to the number of respondents. See table 7 below. Female respondents suggested that their SACCOs should take stern action against perpetrators and educate them to respect women.

In the managers’ interview, one respondent suggested that police should receive mandatory training on sexual harassment and how to address it. Others suggested that commuters should report issues to SACCO management for action to be taken. Tuk-tuk union officials suggested that criminal elements should be eliminated in the industry and that there should be improved security for tuk-tuk drivers who work late.

According to tuk-tuk driver FGD participants, sexual harassment has been normalized even among duty bearers like police, vehicle owners, and SACCO management. There is need for sensitization about the issue. They also suggest improved security provision by the police and prompt action by duty bearers. According to female commuters FGD participants, a couple of measures should be put in place. These include; increased security by police on the roads, installing CCTVs in the ferry, clear reporting systems and posted signage with complaint mechanisms in vehicles and on the ferry, introducing toll-free hotlines for reporting cases, training drivers, conductors, tuk-tuk drivers and boda boda riders on sexual harassment and customer service as well as taking stern action on perpetrators of sexual harassment.

Table 8: Suggested Measures to address Sexual Harassment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suggested measures to address sexual harassment</th>
<th>Frequency n=100</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Setting tough rules and policies on sexual harassment</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improved justice and support for the victims</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Involving the community</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reporting to the police</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employing staff with good professional conduct,</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training operators on sexual harassment</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introducing stage managers accounted for</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complaints office at the terminus</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Installation of CCTV cameras</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.6.10 Considerations for Female Commuters and Special Categories of Customers

When asked what measures could be taken to ensure safety for female commuters and other special categories of customers including persons with disabilities, the elderly, children and the sick, PSV operators said that very little could be done since most decisions depend on the SACCO management. They however do their best to cater for special needs where they are able. This suggests a need for further training of PSV operators.

According to tuk-tuk driver FGD participants, the number of female tuk-tuk drivers should increase as female commuters feel safer being driven by women. They usually serve customers with special needs which include expectant women and persons with disabilities. They stated that when serving these types of passengers, they always assist them to board, ride smoothly and drop them as near to their destinations as possible. In terms of modifications that could be made to accommodate these customers, they stated that it would be difficult to do so since tuk-tuk vehicles have very small entryways, which are too small to accommodate wheelchairs. They also have very little space for luggage.

According to female commuters FGD participants, they usually make the following considerations in their choice of public transportation in order of priority:

- Cost/Affordability – Matatus are preferred as they are cheaper compared to tuk-tuks and boda bodas.
- Accessibility – Matatus are preferred as they are easily accessible in any part of town;
- Safety – Matatus are considered safer since they carry more people and there is safety in numbers compared to tuk-tuks or boda boda motorbike where one is alone;
- Comfort – Women traveling with babies and/or luggage prefer to use tuk-tuks due to comfort and luggage space;
- Convenience during traffic – Boda bodas and tuk-tuks are preferred because they can move more easily through traffic. In fact, according to them most male commuters prefer boda bodas.

The commuters were asked if they always feel satisfied with the services they receive, majority stated that they are not satisfied because PSV matatus take a long to fill up, they are rarely cleaned or fumigated, and conductors and touts are unruly, pushy and unfair to customers as they usually refuse to
give back change. Commuters also say that matatus are congested as they carry excess passengers. The commuters usually prefer tuk-tuks since they are convenient, comfortable and offer better customer service in spite of the fact that they are a bit expensive.

They suggest that the following measures should be taken to make their commuting experience better;

- PSV vehicles should be regularly cleaned and fumigated;
- Standardization of fares to a more affordable rate especially for tuk-tuks and boda boda motorbikes. Consistency in fares for PSV matatus as they keep changing amounts;
- Better customer service, especially for PSV matatus. They should address and handle customers with respect and not refuse to return change. They should also stop using abusive language;
- All PSV vehicles should make considerations for special categories of passengers such as persons with disabilities, expectant women, women with babies and the elderly. It can be difficult to access seats in PSV matatus since they lack leg space. There is no space for luggage in PSV matatus and customers are always rushed to board and alight.

Additionally the commuters stated that tuk-tuks shake a lot, and offer bumpy rides usually breaking sharply and suddenly.

According to SACCO managers, it will be costly and time consuming to make changes to accommodate special categories due to strict regulations in place on vehicle modifications. According to NTSA regulations KS 372 on body standards for PSVs, which have also approved by the Kenya Bureau of Standards, vehicles’ body structure will be streamlined to improve the safety of passengers in case of accidents. The KS 372 standards, which were gazetted in 2014, detail what is expected of the new-look matatus - from the kind of materials used to make the body structure, who should make them, how they should be welded and by whom, to passenger comfort and safety. PSV body builders should be registered with the authority and accredited by the Kenya National Accreditation Services (KENAS).

All imported passenger vehicles are required to comply with KS 372. Welders shall be approved according to KS 1017 standards - specifications for testing of welders working to approved welding procedures. The minimum inside floor-to-
roof height for class II and III vehicles (minibuses) with a sitting capacity of 15 to 25 and 26 to 40 should be not be below 1,700mm (1.7m). KS 372 also stipulates that every vehicle should be fitted with suitable ventilation (https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2001240647/new-rules-set-to-drive-matatus-with-fancy-looks-off-the-road) It will also require involvement of vehicle owners most who may not be willing to cater for the cost that comes with the modifications. Tuk-tuks are also very small for any major adjustments to be made on them. However, they always ensure that vehicles are well maintained, are carefully driven, their staff practice good customer service and drivers obey traffic rules.
CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION AND
5.1 Conclusion

The study findings brought out important issues that will be used to inform program planning and implementation. While the findings appear to be plausible by themselves, the problems revealed seem to be large and deep-rooted, requiring solutions to consider structural, sociocultural and policy perspectives. In the absence of systematic change and change in attitudes and practices, the measures being suggested to address the issues remain mere palliatives.

This study interrogated the views of various stakeholders in the public transport industry in Mombasa about their ideas and experiences on gender equity and safety in public transport and ways in which the industry can improve the working conditions of workers and in turn commuting experience for customers. This study also documented experiences of PSV operators and tuk-tuk drivers and their struggles to overcome their problems in their work.

PSV SACCO managers and tuk-tuk union officials presented their points of view regarding the organization of public transport industry and measures to address sexual harassment which were useful in enriching knowledge about the industry. This study acknowledges that there are deep-rooted issues that compromise women’s right to free and safe mobility. At the same time it also makes the point that providing gender sensitive, efficient public services is a significant and practical way of challenging the patriarchal nature of the industry and promoting women’s right to mobility and moving towards equality and justice.

5.2 Recommendations

From the analysis, we have identified the following set of recommendations for action by various stakeholders;

5.2.1 PSV Operators (Drivers and Conductors)

- Since harassment from police and county officials was identified as a major challenge, PSV operators need to understand all traffic rules and strictly adhere to them to avoid confrontation with the police, county officials and other road users.

- Act professionally by treating customers, especially female commuters, with respect and courtesy. Specifically, they should avoid using foul language, unruly behavior and inappropriate physical contact. This will also entail understanding that customers may have diverse needs, preferences, personalities and backgrounds that must be respected.
They should look for and take advantage of opportunities for personal and career advancement within the industry despite the demanding nature of their work, since most of them would like to better their situation.

Explore avenues for collective bargaining on issues they face in the industry as well as provide legal support and important training opportunities such as savings and investments, insurance as well as training on workers’ rights and traffic rules.

Most importantly, female PSV operators should form their own unions/groups to specifically address gender equity issues in public transport.

All operators should work towards creating a conducive working environment that is free of harassment and discrimination. This will include actions to identify, prevent, and respond to such cases.

5.2.2 Tuk-tuk Owners, Drivers and Stakeholders

Establishment of an accredited tuk–tuk driving school or integration of a special tuk-tuk driving course in already accredited driving schools to make it easy for tuk-tuk drivers to acquire licenses and necessary documentation. This will encourage women interested in joining the industry to do so.

Since harassment from police and county officials was identified as a major challenge, there is need to understand all traffic rules and strictly adhere to them to avoid confrontation with the police, county officials and other road users.

There is need for some form of formal organization to ensure that the industry operates in an environment that is safe and orderly. Such formalization should be coordinated by the government in collaboration with existing tuk-tuk stakeholders to ensure that it does not block new entrants or jeopardize work in the sector. With regards to operations, it is important for employed drivers to work under specified terms and conditions where possible in order to ensure smooth working relationships and better working conditions.

Explore avenues for collective bargaining on issues they face in the industry as well as provide legal support and important training opportunities such as savings and investments, insurance as well as training on workers’ rights and traffic rules.

Most importantly, female tuk-tuk drivers should form their own unions/groups to specifically address gender equity issues in the industry.

Unions should form a cooperative society aimed at achieving not only collective bargaining power but also pooling of the
financial resources available for the acquisition of credit, instituting discipline among the members and also ensuring a harmonious operating environment. 

➢ Tuk-tuk unions should include legal representation for members so that they may get counsel and assistance when they need it.

➢ All operators should work towards creating conducive working environment free of harassment and discrimination. This will include actions to identify, prevent, and respond to such cases.

5.2.3 Commuters

➢ Take action when they witness or experience harassment by reporting to the SACCO officials, security personnel or the police so that the issue may be taken seriously. Inaction is never a solution to sexual harassment.

➢ Commuters should lobby the PSV SACCO management to address safety issues including sexual harassment in the operations for instance introducing measures to identify, prevent and respond to sexual harassment through clear reporting mechanisms of such cases.

➢ Commuters should lobby the County Government to address infrastructural issues in public transport such as establishment of terminuses, repair of roads and improvement of security.

5.2.4 The Traffic Police Department

➢ Expeditiously pursue and address cases of sexual harassment that are reported to ensure that perpetrators are charged. This will inspire confidence for the public to report such cases and discourage perpetrators from engaging in inappropriate or harmful behavior.

➢ Provide hotlines for reporting cases of sexual harassment and other security issues within the public transport and associated spaces. This could involve working with PSV SACCO, tuk-tuk drivers and ferry management to raise awareness on the hotlines by posting them on vehicles, tuk-tuks, ferries and associated transport spaces.

➢ Harassment by police and county government officials was overwhelmingly cited as a major challenge for PSV operators and tuk-tuk drivers. A detailed analysis of causes and potential solutions is beyond the scope of this report, but clearly very little can be achieved in the development of a well-regulated, efficient and safe passenger transport industry without serious action to eliminate corruption, harassment and extortion from law enforcement agencies in public transport. This also requires reform of the judicial process to ensure that matatu workers are given their rightful opportunities to defend themselves, rather than being forced to
negotiate bribes with police to avoid prosecution.

5.2.5 PSV SACCO Management

- It is important for PSV SACCO management to develop and implement policies and procedures for better working terms and conditions for workers. This begins with reviewing contractual obligations, organizational policies and regulations as stipulated in the Kenya labor laws. It would also entail providing support services such as medical and legal representation, investment opportunities, pension, educational support and insurance services.

- Address gender equity mainstreaming issues aimed at improving working conditions for female workers already in the industry. For instance work shifts especially for those with maternal obligations, paid maternity leave and longer terms of employment if possible.

- As study results have indicated, women can indeed cope with work and thrive in the transport sector. PSV SACCOs should make deliberate efforts to employ women who may be interested in joining the sector through affirmative action and ensuring that a certain number of positions are filled by female applicants. Deliberate efforts should be made to attract and recruit female workers, including the advertising of women-friendly employment policies and priority hiring for qualified female employees.

- Decision-making in the public transport industry is male dominated, with senior positions primarily held by men. The few women in the industry are often relegated to the lower rungs of organizational structures. This is problematic because, as the study shows, the professed commitment of management to include more women in their SACCOs has not translated into change. Placing more women in decision-making positions brings the added value of providing much-needed female role-models and all inclusive leadership. This will have the likely effect of attracting more women to the public transport industry.

- Provide responsive and clearly communicated complaint mechanisms to both employees and customers. For instance, posting hotlines inside vehicles or stages for commuters to easily express their views or report cases of sexual harassment or other forms of complaints. Once received, complaints should be recorded and expeditiously investigated then promptly addressed.

- Ensure that only authorized persons operate the vehicles and no unauthorized persons at the bus stations where most harassment occurs.
Measures should be in place to ensure that squad drivers or conductors act professionally at all times.

- The SACCOs should provide opportunities for training and professional development for workers based on identified skills gaps while recognizing and rewarding best performing workers.
- Sensitize staff about sexual harassment. Developing a sexual harassment policy can provide a formal framework on preventing and addressing sexual harassment. The sexual harassment policy should be signed and adhered to by all workers.
- Behavior-change communication methods (e.g., posters, cell phone applications, stickers, or social media campaigns) empowering members of the public to act and to discourage sexual harassment perpetrators could be utilized.
- Customer service is critical to the success of a business. There is need for a better understanding of the physical, operational and economic environment in which PSV SACCOs operate and improve transit implementation, operations, vehicle design and management to able to cope with the demands of the industry. This would entail developing customer service charters that set the standards on how customers should be treated including special categories of commuters such as persons with disability, the sick, children, elderly people and expectant women as well as posting route information maps, fare sheets and making stop announcements.

5.2.6 Kenya Ferry Services Management

- Additionally, the Kenya Ferry Management should increase its efforts to deal with perpetrators of sexual harassment on board the ferry by introducing a complaints mechanism with contacts for commuters to report such cases or if such a system exists, creating more awareness on it.
  - Introduce CCTV cameras/DNA testing are tools that might be necessary in order to identify who the perpetrator of harassment is so as to avoid wrongful accusations.
  - Introduce signage that prohibits sexual harassment in the ferry.
  - Utilize the public-address system in ferry stations to raise awareness about sexual harassment for example, recorded or verbal messages should be shared to highlight unacceptable behavior and to stress that sexual harassment is unlawful.
5.2.7 County Government and Policy Makers

The county government should regard public transport service providers as a critical industry involved in the provision of an important urban service. This entails:

- Providing an enabling environment through;
  i. The improvement and regular repair of roads
  ii. Improvement in road safety traffic control devices such as traffic lights, zebra crossings and speed directions to guide motorists and pedestrians.
  iii. Construction or upgrading of terminuses and stops to improve access to transportation for special categories such as persons with disability, the sick and elderly. The terminuses and stops should be ideally located where they are conveniently accessible. The study revealed that there are very few designated termini in Mombasa Island.
  Tuk-tuk drivers should be given unique stickers as a form of route identification. In addition, they should be facilitated to acquire necessary documentation and given clarity on the types of licenses approved by the traffic department
  Establishment of an accredited tuk-tuk driving school or integration of special tuk-tuk driving courses in already accredited institutions to ensure standard training that includes instruction on road safety and traffic rules and ensure that trainees easily acquire licenses to ride tuk-tuks and bodaboda motorbikes.
- Involvement of all public transport industry stakeholders - PSV SACCO management, matatu workers unions, the police, tuk-tuk owners and drivers - in discussions, policy formulation and decisions relating to their industry to ensure a harmonious co-existence among players.
- Organize seminars and conferences for public transport service providers and traffic police in order to educate them on traffic rules and the co-ordination that should exist between them.

5.2.8 Flone Initiative

- Flone Initiative, together with other development partners and stakeholders, should join efforts and build the capacity of PSV SACCO officials and operators on professionalism and mainstreaming gender rights in public transport.
- It appears from this study that there is little collaboration between players in the public transport service sector and the police department. Flone Initiative can initiate efforts aimed at promoting stakeholder collaboration, harmonizing and boosting collaborative activities.
There are very few women employed in the public transport service sector as the study revealed. This may be attributed to various barriers of entry into the sector. Therefore, Flone Initiative and other partners should design public education campaign that showcase women working in the sector and promote positive attitudes of society towards them.

Sexual harassment in public spaces is a major violation of women’s human rights and is recognized as a criminal offence according to the Sexual offenses Act 2006. However, such cases persist to the point of being normalized. Our research reveals that female commuters don’t recognize behaviors like staring, leering and groping as forms of sexual harassment. Awareness raising campaigns on the subject should be conducted through publicity materials such as posters that can be put up on vehicles and stages or short videos that can be played in vehicles. Media can also be involved in disseminating these messages and information out to people.

Relevant stakeholders such as Kenya Ferry Services, the County Government and PSV SACCO management can be involved to conduct necessary campaigns. There is need for more work to be done in terms of improving reporting and response mechanisms, advocating for policy changes and lobbying at different levels for enforcement of laws against perpetrators of harassment. Duty bearers such as SACCO management and police should be sensitized to take appropriate and effective measures to deal with complains regarding sexual harassment cases.

Training for PSV operators is needed on sexual harassment forms and how to deal sensitively with victims and complaints

For greater and more sustained impact, it is necessary that the project be implemented in a collaborative manner with the inclusion of a larger numbers of stakeholders like the PSV SACCOs, unions, traffic police, NTSA, driving schools, the county government and Kenya Ferry Services.

It is important for a project advocating for behavior change to make a sustained and consistent impact. This will ensure that participating drivers, conductors and transport owners will maintain adherence to what they learn from the project. It is advisable that an immediate post-project evaluation be conducted to gauge the actual efficacy of the project in changing attitudes or behaviors, and ensuring decent transport for women.
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Flone Initiative is a women-led organization, working towards the creation of safe, sustainable and accessible public transportation spaces for women and vulnerable groups in Africa, by influencing behavioral change, generating knowledge and movement building.

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