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## Factors That Contribute to Everyday Violence among Women Pursuing Livelihoods in Mathare Slums, Kenya

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### **Abstract:**

*Life in most slums is riddled with insecurity, which plays a big role in determining the nature of livelihood engagements women in the area engage in. The insecurity leads to many incidences of violence, the majority of which go unreported and are normalized as part and parcel of the slum life. Residents in these slums must earn their livelihood. The majority opt to adopt relevant survival tactics to deal with the violence in their endeavor to earn their livelihoods. The assaults, evident through a myriad of 'everyday violence' incidences, get normalized. The study sought to establish the factors that contribute to everyday violence among women pursuing livelihoods in Mathare slums. The study was guided by the social exclusion theory, which explains how, because of everyday violence, women experience exclusion from participating in socio-economic activities within the communities. Purposive sampling was used to identify three villages out of the thirteen in the Mathare Slums for study. Data was collected from 381 women through questionnaires and focus group discussions. This was supplemented with key informant interviews with target key informants: police officers, administrative chiefs, non-governmental organization (NGO) workers, and microfinance organization staff. The collected data was both qualitative and quantitative. Qualitative data gathered narratives and experiences of participants, while quantitative data depicted how widespread insecurity was felt by women who pursue livelihoods in these slum spaces. Findings from the study indicate that women pursuing livelihoods in Mathare slums have normalized violence as they engage in their daily activities. Given that they have very little time to engage in livelihood opportunities after spending the bulk of it in domestic work and childcare, the women accommodate several incidences of violence in order to earn their living. The study recommends that the national government, with the support of NGOs, should develop community programmes to help women in childcare have adequate time for meaningful earning of livelihood outside the home. This would reduce their need to normalize violence in pursuit of livelihoods.*

**Keywords:** *Insecurity, women, livelihoods, slum spaces, normalization of violence*

### **1. Introduction**

According to UN-Habitat (2016), insecurity has become a major problem bedeviling residents in urban areas, significantly within slum areas. Insecurity affects how communities are able to engage in livelihood activities within and outside their homes. Dike (2010) points out that the lack of security in the lives and property of citizens is a major deterrent to the economic development of a society. A climate of fear frightens domestic and foreign agencies interested in carrying out development programmes or investments. Insecurity has far-reaching consequences for women in slum areas, given their vulnerability and their multiple roles in many societies. Women assume multiple roles within the community; mother, producer, home-manager, community organizer, worker, business owner, and consumer (Ndirangu, 2017). Women's access to economic opportunities and earnings suffers in the wake of violent incidents since they are often forced to take time off work to reconstruct their lives and find ways to continue with their regular household and care responsibilities (Bhatia & Singh, 2019).

In Mathare slums, the study location for this research, women have reported high incidences of rape, robbery and physical attacks (Jones & Wangui, 2016). These assaults are tied in with a range of security factors. Key among them is the vulnerability of the women due to the fact that the majority are identified as female single parents and lack adequate living infrastructure. This is made worse by the fact that the houses are made of *mabati* (corrugated iron sheet) which are very fickle and can be easily accessed and damaged. There is also the absence of sanitation facilities inside the homes or near the homes of the residents. This requires residents to leave their houses at inconvenient hours to use them. This is a security risk as women in Mathare become more vulnerable to violent incidents such as sexual assault (Jones & Wangui, 2016). These security challenges hinder their ability to participate in livelihood opportunities within the slum. The study

was instrumental in identifying the various causes of insecurity in slum areas and how it affects women running small businesses in Mathare slums.

## 2. Statement of the Problem

Women-owned enterprises make a significant input to the Kenyan economy, accounting for 20% of Kenya's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and contributing towards job creation. In Kenya, out of the 462,000 jobs created annually since 2000, 445,000 jobs emanated from the informal sector, 85% of which are driven by women (Makena et al., 2014). Women in the slum areas account for a large population of these entrepreneurial women, given the fact that most have lower levels of education and are only able to be absorbed in the informal job market through running small businesses and livelihood opportunities.

Despite efforts by the Kenyan Government to set up women's economic programmes such as Women Enterprise and UWEZO funds, there still exists widespread poverty among women in slum spaces because women are unable to maximize their earning potential through small-scale trading. This has been attributed to an additional hidden barrier that exists in the form of everyday insecurity, especially for women who reside in slum spaces. In the course of running their businesses, women are vulnerable to insecurity within the slums due to the prevailing physical and social characteristics within urban slums. The study, therefore, set out to analyze the factors that lead to everyday violence among small-scale traders in Mathare slums.

## 3. Literature Review

United Nations Program on Human Settlements (UN-HABITAT) defines a slum as a sprawling settlement where the inhabitants are characterized as having inadequate housing and basic services. A slum is often not recognized and addressed by public authorities as an integral or equal part of the city (United Nations Human Settlements Programme, 2016). The slum environment poses a key source of violence for women's livelihoods. Fragile housing, overcrowding and lack of access to adequate water and sanitation facilities are some of the prevailing conditions in slum areas. Women living in slum areas are considered the most vulnerable to violence. According to Mcilwaine (2013), the conditions in slums expose women to the risk of violence, and they are vulnerable because they often do not have the resources to remove themselves from violent situations. Living in slums leads to "stress-induced violence" which is made worse by the housing situation consisting of makeshift dwellings. This kind of housing situation makes women vulnerable to burglary, theft and rape, which remains unreported and unaddressed either formally or informally. These violent incidents affect women physically, emotionally, psychologically and economically, hence, unable to be productive and contribute to livelihood pursuits.

The slum environment is also characterized by a lack of proper infrastructure, such as lighting, which may pose a security risk to women engaged in livelihood activities. A study conducted by Wrigley-Asante et al. (2019) in Nima, Ghana, was able to link how people perceive violence in low-income neighbourhoods with the availability of street lighting in the neighbourhood. The study by Asante et al., which targeted women and young ladies in the Nima neighborhood of Ghana, highlighted that one of the biggest challenges in terms of neighbourhood security was the absence of street lights as it provided a conducive environment for perpetrators to rob the community members of their valuables. The result of the study showed that those who had functioning streetlights were more likely to be safe when walking alone in the neighborhood at night, at the transport terminal at night and at the public toilet vicinity during the night compared to those who had no street lighting. Women from the slum areas will experience violence as they carry out their business or when travelling to and from work due to poor street lighting within their neighborhoods. This hampers their ability to earn their livelihood as they may be robbed of their business goods, capital or salaries.

When women are denied permission to work outside the home, this also constitutes economic violence. Kristensen (2016) looks at the main security threats to Afghan women before the Taliban took over the country in 2021. These included marginalization in society, lack of economic and political empowerment, freedom of mobility and limited access to education. These threats limited women from fulfilling their potential and engaging in economic activities outside the home. Cases have been reported of women who have received threats, violent attacks, and even killed for holding jobs that require them to leave home and are not in line with cultural perceptions of the kind of work women are supposed to hold. These further scare other women who would want to break out from traditional roles.

Women in urban areas are also prone to insecurity and violence because of being "empowered" and challenging existing patriarchal roles when it comes to earning money and engaging in livelihood opportunities. In Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, there are reports that more economically successful women have encountered more frequent and vehement cases of domestic violence against them (Feuerschütz, 2012). This is because persisting gender norms are often flexible in cities, allowing women more freedom to make decisions within their households.

Women in urban areas also have more access to economic opportunities. Mcilwaine (2013) puts forth that increased participation of women in the labour force is associated with urbanization. This is important for women's voices at the household level because women who earn their own money are able to make decisions and can easily remove themselves from harmful situations within their homes. However, there is a counter effect of this kind of empowerment for women as women who earn their own money may also suffer from "backlash" violence from their male partners or family members who may feel threatened by the empowerment women get. This has been observed in the Philippines, where cases of women who earned more than 50 per cent of their household income reported more domestic violence than those who earned less. Female empowerment within such kind of a household becomes a source of violence for

women who want to earn their livelihoods as they are constantly in danger or victimized due to the fact that they are earning money, which is seen as a threat to the men within their communities.

This literature points to the different gender perceptions between men and women and the marginalized position that women find themselves in due to these perceptions. Women are often viewed as if they are to play a subordinate role to men, and this affects how they are able to participate in the economic spaces within slum areas. These gender perceptions also contribute to a culture of violence when women are denied opportunities to earn a livelihood or face violent repercussions when they engage in livelihood activities outside the home.

The kind of work that women engage in, whether informal or formal, maybe a factor that contributes to insecurity. The risk factors for formal and informal employment are quite different. African cities tend to have a large percentage of workers in the informal sector. This number includes many of the women who earn their livelihoods through petty trade since they cannot access white-collar jobs due to their low education levels. These traders are often viewed as a nuisance and harassed by urban city officials, hence causing a source of violence, especially for women (Feuerschütz, 2012).

According to Abebe (2016), the informal sector in developing countries is the main source of employment for many of the poor people living in slums. A majority of the informal sector labour are women who specialize in street vending. Many of the women in slums, such as Mathare, earn their livelihoods as informal traders, particularly street vendors. Women face violence from the local city authorities, who take advantage of the lack of formal business premises to physically harass, beat and confiscate goods from the women street vendors without any warning. Women are particularly vulnerable as they carry the children to work and may not be able to outrun the municipal authorities with the children in tow. Research was carried out by Mupedziswa and Gumbo (2001) on women informal traders in Harare and how they go about earning their livelihoods in an environment of economic reform. The report showed that women informal traders always face the risk of being robbed or even being assaulted. This is by virtue of them being considered an easy target due to their physical vulnerability as women.

#### 4. Theoretical Framework

The study was anchored on the social exclusion theory, a concept that Bellani and Fusco (2018) refer to as a state of multidimensional disadvantage and the process through which an individual or group progressively becomes marginalized in society. The theory explains that there are different ways in which individuals or groups may be discriminated. Some of the categories include age, gender, colour/race and class, among others. Because of these kinds of discrimination, individuals or groups are unable to participate fully in the economic, social and political spheres of society. This theory is key in this study because it explains how, because of everyday violence, women experience exclusion from participating in socio-economic activities within the communities. The theory adequately explains the factors that contribute to "everyday violence" for women as they pursue livelihoods. The exclusion results in marginalization, vulnerability and discriminatory gender roles. This leads to their exclusion from opportunities to excel economically, thus leading to a cycle of poverty, as Sen (2000) avers.

#### 5. Research Methodology

The study employed a feminist paradigm/lens to examine the experiences of physical violence among women in Mathare slum, with a specific focus on understanding how these experiences influence their livelihoods. It used a mixed-methods research design that integrates both quantitative and qualitative data collection and analysis. The study site was Mathare slums, which comprises thirteen (13) villages across a land of roughly three square miles. The study focused on a diverse and comprehensive population, primarily comprising females engaged in small businesses within the Mathare area. The study population extended to include administrative chiefs and their assistants, numerous local and international non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and community-based organizations (CBOs) dedicated to supporting slum women, microfinance organizations, and law enforcement officers.

Non-probability sampling strategies were employed to identify study respondents. This enabled subjective judgement by the researcher in selecting the most information-rich and relevant study respondents, as advised by Dubey and Kothari (2022). Women participants from the three villages in Mathare were chosen through quota sampling, categorizing them into three groups representing the most prevalent livelihood opportunities in the slums: selling second-hand clothes/shoes, street vending of vegetables, and cooked food vending. These categories were identified as the most prevalent women-owned businesses in Mathare slums based on findings from the pilot study. For the staff from NGOs, CBOs, Microfinance institutions, administrative chiefs and their assistants, and police officers within Mathare, a purposive sampling technique was utilized to enable the identification of study respondents with special characteristics of interest to the study as Mweshi and Sakyi (2020) advise. The category was considered to possess specific information relevant to women in Mathare due to their close involvement in financial and security matters. To ensure representativeness for small populations (fewer than 1,000), a minimum ratio of 30 percent was selected, following Neuman's (2007) recommendation. This resulted in a sample of three villages with a population of 13. Three villages were thereafter purposively selected: Mabatini, Mlango Kubwa and Mathare 4A. This was because of their different demographic characteristics. According to KNBS (2019), Mlango Kubwa village has the largest number of inhabitants and hence an information-rich location; Mabatini village is ethnically diverse and has ample ground to get diverse experiences from women of different ethnic backgrounds, while Mathare 4A, which had undergone slum upgrading was appropriate in providing useful insights for analyzing whether the women in the location had a different experience of the slum economy due to the upgraded status.

Given that, according to KNBS (2019) Population and Housing Census, the population of the Mathare Sub County was 206,550 persons, 74,967 households and a density of 68,940 persons per sq.km, the study arrived at a sample size of

381 female respondents using Fisher's formula for getting sample size of populations greater than 10,000 (Vogel & Draper-Rodi, 2017). Primary data from the women was gathered using questionnaires and focus group discussions (FGDs). Quotas were assigned to each village based on its population and the type of business the women were engaged in. Neuman's (2007) guideline was used to get the 30% sample size from the population of NGOs, CBOs and Microfinance institutions, administrative chiefs and their assistants, and police officers within Mathare slums. Data collection from the category was done through key informant interviews (KIIs).

Data collection tools were piloted in Kosovo, one of the 13 villages within Mathare. It was chosen because it shares characteristics similar to those of the three selected study locations, particularly in terms of conflict and violence dynamics related to settlement and politics. The tools were administered to 5% of the total study sample target, in line with Vogel & Draper-Rodi (2017), who advise that a sample size for a pilot study typically ranges from 1% to 10% of the total study sample. The pilot study showed that the language level for the questionnaire was too technical. Revisions were done accordingly. Validation of the tools among experts from the researcher's faculty, supervisors and academic peers in the Department of Development Studies revealed the need for a review of the questionnaire to improve respondent-friendliness and ease of completion. The review enhanced the content validity of the tools to ensure their effectiveness in measuring the intended constructs within the scope of the study.

On the reliability of the tools, the study utilized the test re-test technique. This involved the administration of the same instrument to the pilot group and repetition after one week so that the factors within the construct do not change much, as Gay et al. (2013) advise. To ensure that the same groups were tested twice, their names were recorded and retained. Pearson Product Moment Correlation Coefficient analysis was used to compute the responses from the two tests. The correlation co-efficient was 0.7, which was a positive relationship. This showed that the results from the two tests conducted were close to each other, and thus, the information derived from the instruments was deemed reliable, in line with Senthilnathan (2019), who avers: the correlation coefficient value is between  $0 < r > 0.30$  the relationship is low; if it is between  $0.30 < r > 0.70$ , the relationship is medium; if it is between  $0.70 < r > 1.00$ , the relationship is high; and 0.70 is ideal.

Data analysis consisted of cleaning the data collected in the study from the questionnaires and interview schedules. This involved checking for errors and completeness of the responses. This was followed by coding and grouping the information into meaningful and relevant themes, categories and patterns. The responses generated from the data collection instruments were then translated into specific categories and themes, and a code label was assigned to each question. Qualitative and quantitative approaches were employed in the analysis of data. Qualitative data obtained from the research instruments were analyzed according to themes and patterns formed. They were presented as narratives with verbatim quotes. Quantitative data was summarized using descriptive statistics, which were also used to identify patterns. Characteristics distribution frequency ranges and percentages characterized these statistics, and data was subsequently interpreted and presented using inferential statistics, frequency graphs, tables, charts, cross tabulation and percentages. The study made appropriate provisions to safeguard ethical considerations, which, according to Lo (2011), revolve around informed consent, the right to privacy, the protection of information and professional misconduct and protection from harm. Relevant permissions were obtained, and respondents were adequately advised of their rights as voluntary participants.

## 6. Findings and Discussion

The women were asked to indicate the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with a number of statements regarding the factors that contribute to everyday violence. The questions were geared towards identifying factors that contribute to their insecurity in the course of earning their livelihoods through small-scale trading. The objective of this set of questions was to establish the causes of violence in Mathare slums. Table 1 summarizes the findings.

Statement	N	Mean	Std. Dev.
I am considered stubborn and proud because I run a business	340	2.2053	.97514
Running my small business is considered an excuse not to do housework	340	3.3576	1.00229
Doing my business in an open-air environment greatly exposes me to physical violence	340	3.3775	1.05034
If I lived in a permanent house, I would be less exposed to violence	340	2.8411	.88764
I am more likely to encounter violence than a man when coming from work	340	1.0397	.85542
Lack of street lighting makes it easy for muggings at night	340	1.3311	.64002
I feel that overcrowding in Mathare leads to violence	340	2.5563	.61791

Table 1: Factors that Contribute to Everyday Violence for Women

From the analysis in table 1, the respondents strongly agreed that lack of street lighting made it easy for muggings at night ( $M=1.3311$ ,  $Std=.64002$ ) and that they were more likely to encounter violence than men when coming from work ( $M=1.0397$ ,  $Std=.85542$ ). The women agreed that they were considered stubborn and proud because they ran businesses ( $M=2.2053$ ,  $Std=.97514$ ), that they would be less exposed to violence if they lived in permanent houses, and that. Overcrowding in Mathare led to violence ( $M=2.5563$ ,  $Std=.61791$ ). The respondents disagreed that running the small business was considered an excuse not to do housework ( $M=3.3576$ ,  $Std=1.00229$ ) and that doing business in an open-air environment greatly exposes them to physical violence ( $M=3.3775$ ,  $Std=1.05034$ ).

Establishing that most women perceive the lack of proper lighting as an additional factor that makes Mathare slums unsafe is similar to findings by Wrigley-Asante et al. (2019) in Nima slums, Ghana, who links the availability of street

lighting to violence in a neighbourhood and the perception of safety within the neighbourhood. Women perceive themselves to be safer when there is the presence of street lighting. The findings that showed that many of the women agreed that if they lived in a permanent house, then they would be less exposed to violence strongly corroborated the interviews with police officers. The police officers pointed out that the houses in Mathare were mostly made of *mabati* (tin) structures and were unsafe since people could easily break into them. The fact that toilets and bathroom facilities are outside the house and sometimes far away from the residence made it unsafe for women to go in and out of these sanitation facilities at night. The women reported that the slums set up exacerbate violence. They identified the issue of building houses close together with little personal space and overcrowding within a small area as leading to friction between people and occasionally leading to violence. The findings of the survey also show that women in Mathare consider overcrowding as a source of insecurity within their neighbourhoods. This corresponds to the study done by Govindaraju (2012) in India, showing that the slum environment itself is a source of violence and insecurity for women. According to the study, the women in India lived in makeshift huts (*jopdis*) which were highly unsafe and insecure as they would be demolished time and time again by administrative authorities because of being illegally built. The kind of dwellings the women lived in were uncomfortable and suffocating, and generally, the standards of living were quite low. The socialization of people in the slum environment also emerged as a factor contributing to violence; violence has been normalized, and the children grew up seeing violence as an everyday occurrence; hence, the thought of being violent or being a victim of violence was not considered unusual.

Although the statistical data shows that women do not feel vulnerable being in open-air markets, the police and NGO workers in the area highlighted that women vendors, especially those with open-air stalls along the streets, were at risk because of the traffic (both vehicles and motorbikes) that pass along the streets. Women strategically chose these locations for their business because they wanted to attract customers to their wares, but this also made them vulnerable to incidents and accidents. Any small accident can maim the women, hindering their ability to work. Incidents within these open-air stalls, such as a riot, can render them jobless and cause them to have no capital to start again. In the slum areas, there is always tension and incidents due to the large population. Women's businesses suffer from looting during commotions within the slum areas. These women also had to be very cautious when leaving their businesses and even using the toilets, as this could also provide opportunities for petty theft. A microfinance worker who helps women traders save and finance their businesses described the precarious nature of roadside vending.

*Many of our clients have businesses along the roadside. That is how we are able to identify them to join our microfinance groups. Any small commotion within Mathare can destroy their businesses. For example, during election times, women close for long periods because they are afraid of chaos erupting between the different groups. Young men take advantage and steal from the women.* A Microfinance staff from Mlango Kubwa - Mathare (Source, Field Data, 2022)

The findings resonate with Abebe (2016), who conducted a study on women traders in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. He found out that women face violence due to the lack of formal business premises, and they endure physical harassment, beatings and confiscation of goods when they operate as women street vendors. The Focus Group Discussion findings corroborate the statistical data that empowered women within the community are seen as a threat. Women who are able to take care of themselves and their own bills become a target within the community as they are seen not to need a man to protect them. On the other hand, poverty and lack of empowerment among women also lead to violence whenever a woman is not able to defend herself or move out of a violent situation. This demography of women lacks the voice to agitate for themselves, and therefore, when they encounter insecurity, were seldom heard as society has cut off their rights. This resonates with research by McIlwaine (2013) who pointed out that women in slum areas were vulnerable to violence because they lacked resources to move out of the violent situations.

Many of the women disagreed that running their small business was considered as an excuse not to do housework. This resonates with findings derived from FGDs, where women reported that household duties were a primary concern for them. When asked to describe a normal day for them, it emerged that many of the women took on the majority of household work and responsibility alongside their livelihood jobs. Women narrated how they woke up very early in the morning to prepare food for the family and prepare their children for school. They also took on more of the cleaning and childcare around the home. The slum environment poses a lot of challenges, even in getting basic amenities such as water. Women reported having to spend a lot of time looking for water for household consumption. Some reported that it took them a whole night to fetch water. Women reported that they also had to stop running their businesses in the evening when the children came home from school to cater to them. This gave them very little time to be able to pursue their livelihood activities. With little income of their own, women were vulnerable to domestic violence at home out of the need to be dependent on men.

The findings resonate with research by Gupta (2017), who studies girls and women in poor households prevalent in Indian slums. She found out that they bore a lot of the housework and the responsibility of feeding and caring for the family. This kind of work was often unpaid, leading to a phenomenon known as "time poverty", which greatly reduces the choices women have of pursuing other opportunities away from home, which may be more productive and income-earning. A woman with little or no money for herself may be vulnerable to violence.

An interesting finding from the interviews showed that the perception of women conducting business in Mathare was normalized, especially among the educated groups. Many felt that women were the same as men in terms of their capability since they had gone to school together. Women enterprises in Mathare were vibrant and most of the women were free to engage in any economic activity. These findings deviate from findings by Kristensen (2016), who established that, among Afghan women in India, there were negative perceptions about women and their ability to work outside the

home. In some of these instances, women were denied permission to work outside the home, which constituted economic violence. However, there were marked differences between different cultural groups in terms of the perception of women in the society. In some cultures, women did not have the same rights as men, and therefore, they were supposed to be subservient to men. This bred a ripe environment for abuse as women were expected to obey what the men said. However, within this same slum, there were cultures that were female-dominated, where women had a lot of say in what went on in their families. In this setting, however, women were also viewed as very aggressive. They were considered loud, stubborn and proud, which predisposed them to violence due to their perceived aggressive nature. This corresponds with Mcilwaine (2013), who highlights the counter effect of empowerment for women as women who earn their own money may also suffer from "backlash" violence from their male partners or family members who may feel threatened by the empowerment women get and the ability of women to make their own choices. It is important to note that the perception amongst the community of single mothers in the community was that they were wayward and outcasts within the community. There exists a great stigma in the community for one being a single mother.

From the interviews conducted with staff members of NGOs, it was revealed that there was a lot of ignorance among men in terms of the rights of women. Many were not aware of what actions constituted violence for women. It was reported that outlawed cultural practices such as female genital mutilation (FGM) still occurred among some Kenyan communities. In the home, there was also the perception that women could not be economically empowered without a "godfather." Women got into a lot of trouble at home when they started becoming successful in their businesses because it was attributed to having exchanged sexual favors to get more money. Even in business circles, men still felt that women had to exchange sexual favours with men to be able to get ahead. There was a view that women were sexual objects to please men, and women who sold their wares were expected to sometimes engage in sexual encounters to get and keep their customer bases.

Other factors that emerged in the study include unemployment, the use of the illegal brew *Chang'aa* and women-to-women violence. Focus group discussions revealed high rates of unemployment in the slums, which were linked to violence. The idle people often engaged in criminal activities such as mugging. Insecurity in slums was also caused by rampant drug use. Drug addiction necessitated the need for the users to be on a perpetual high. Money is required to buy these drugs. Without a steady income or jobs, the drug users resorted to crime to finance their addictions. Unemployment also brought about prostitution among women as a survival mechanism to deal with the lack of money to provide for their basic needs. This survival mechanism could also result in a security threat as women may get into very dangerous environments with men when undertaking prostitution.

Many of the interview and focus group discussion respondents cited the widespread use of alcohol as a cause of violence within Mathare. The abuse of women was also fueled by drug use which limited inhibitions and caused aggression against women leading to rape. The historical genesis of Mathare has a role to play in the widespread use of the illicit alcoholic drink known as *changaa*. In the 1980s and 1990s, parts of Mathare gradually became the epicenter of the large-scale production and distribution in Nairobi of *changaa* and a booming local economy emerged (Adoyo, et.al., 2019). Alcohol, specifically *changaa*, is widely available in Mathare, widely used and it has an effect on the violence that women encounter within Mathare. The assertion is in tandem with the United Nations Drug Control Programme report in India (2002), which is associated with domestic violence, which in turn aggravates the physical and emotional distress of the family. Within the family, it is often the woman, in the role of wife or mother, who is most affected by the individual's drug use and has to bear a significant part of the family burden. Substance addiction also leads addicts to be more vulnerable to assault. According to what is called intoxication-victimization effect (Kaufman & Straus, 1987), drugs and other substances used by victims represent a risk factor which increases the risk of being assaulted: this could certainly occur, firstly, due to the cognitive alterations, such as impaired judgment, memory, misunderstanding of partner's behavior or comments, caused by the pharmacological effects of substances. From one key informant interview, one respondent corroborated this by saying:

*There is a lot of drinking of Chang'aa (illicit brew) here in Mathare. You know Mathare is the home of Chang'aa. These young men are always drunk and are always looking for quick money. They will meet you in a corner, and they will rob you just to go and buy more Chang'aa. Respondent 13a- Mlango Kubwa (Source: Field Data, 2022).*

An interesting observation from a staff member of a women's microfinance organization was on women-to-women violence at the workplace. This was brought about by jealousy when one person set up their business, and the other women came to keep her company but were not earning their own money. They could result in the sabotage of her business out of jealousy. Business rivalry among women was also a contributor to this kind of violence. Whenever customers were very scarce and a loyal customer bought from another competing business, some sort of rivalry between the women hawkers emerged.

## 7. Conclusion

Women's time is a factor that greatly contributed to the 'everyday violence' against them in their pursuit of economic activities through small-scale trading. Given that a huge chunk of women's time was spent on domestic work, they had limited time to pursue economic activities. Having spent a lot of time preparing children for school, cooking, fetching water and getting the children ready for bed, most had only about 5 hours of productive time. The situation was worse in families where the women were sole breadwinners, and they still had to do domestic chores. The lack of time to fully engage in economic activities meant that women had limited income. With this limited income, they were more vulnerable to violent episodes. Women with limited income were also vulnerable to sexual violence as they would

compromise themselves to make a sale within the limited time they had to work. The limitation of women from the economic space is a form of structuralized social exclusion. Women, in this case, were excluded from economic activities due to childcare and domestic chores within the household.

## 8. Recommendations

The Government, with the support of NGOs, should develop community programmes to help women with childcare so that they have adequate time to earn a meaningful livelihood outside the home. This would go a long way to reducing women's exposure to insecurity and the need to normalize violence in their endeavor to earn a living.

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