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Towards Dismantling Patriarchy in the Kibera Slum, Kenya: Narrative Accounts of Victims of Intimate Partner Violence

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Abstract
Kibera is the largest informal settlement in Nairobi, Kenya, and Africa's largest urban informal settlement. It is a community plagued by poverty and unemployment. In response to the social disorganization common to informal settlements, criminal activity is rampant, particularly in assault and sexual violence cases. Patriarchal beliefs fuel power imbalances which consequently perpetuate violence. Kenyan societies tend to be traditionally patriarchal and characterized by male privilege and female subservience. This article explores the narrative accounts of female victims of intimate partner violence (IPV) to overcome patriarchy in Kibera, Kenya. Through a qualitative inquiry, 32 female victims of IPV were interviewed, and the data obtained were thematically analysed. The findings established that patriarchy is sustained in Kibera through control, dominance and violence. Additionally, salient partakers in advancing patriarchy are family structures and authorities. Moreover, strategies to dismantle patriarchy and IPV are proposed through these narrative accounts.

INTRODUCTION

Gender-based violence (GBV) is known as one of the world's most predominant human rights violations. It includes physical, sexual, psychological and economic abuse, and threats of violence, coercion and deprivation of freedom (United Nations Children's Fund 2020). GBV is manifested in many ways, such as sexual violence, child marriage, trafficking for sexual exploitation and intimate partner violence (IPV). IPV is a major health concern, and its prevalence and nature are studied across the globe (Chatterji et al. 2020; Min, Lee, and Kim 2020; Zaman et al. 2021). IPV statistics indicate that women bear the brunt of violence in abusive relationships (Boden, Fergusson, and Horwood, 2012; Heise and Fulu 2014; World

Health Organization 2013). According to the World Health Organization (2021), 35% of women worldwide have experienced some form of violence by an intimate partner. Moreover, the prevalence of IPV is particularly present in low- and middle-income countries (Turner et al. 2020), such as Kenya, where underprivileged women are thus likely to be assaulted by their male partners (Heise and Fulu 2014).

There is increasing concern that IPV has a significant public health impact and violates human rights (Coker et al. 2002; Peltzer, Davids, and Njuho 2011; World Health Organization 2021). In Kenya, many incidences of IPV cases are reported (National Police Service 2018). According to the National Crime Research Centre (2014), physical harm by a man against a woman is the most common form of IPV reported. Nairobi is the capital city of Kenya and has a large population, with the majority of low economic status. This is likely to lead to crime because of the significant socio-economic inequalities among the population (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics 2019). Nairobi reported the fourth highest prevalence of IPV (42.1%) among 14 cities in Kenya (National Crime Research Centre 2014).

The World Health Organization (2010) defines IPV as "behaviour within an intimate relationship that causes physical, sexual or psychological harm, including acts of physical aggression, sexual coercion, psychological abuse and controlling behaviours". Physical violence involves using physical force or objects to cause bodily injury to an individual. Behaviours include but are not limited to shoving or slapping and brutal acts such as hitting with a fist or a hard object, kicking, choking or even using a knife to hurt someone (Merrill, Wardell, and Read 2014). According to Pinto et al. (2010), if a woman is assaulted, she is also likely to be raped or experience other sexual violence from her partner. Sexual violence denotes violent or coercive behaviour and induces shame, fear or mental suffering in the victim (Makayoto et al. 2013).

Harming a partner during sex or forcing her to have sex without protection is also a form of sexual abuse. Sexual violence also involves the sexual abuse of children of the victims. Psychological violence involves actions that harm the psychological well-being of an individual through harassment, threats and intimidation (Heise et al. 2019). Psychological violence typically includes acts aimed at humiliating and controlling another person publicly or privately. Verbal abuse, constant criticism, embarrassing statements and blackmailing are forms of psychological abuse. Restriction of economic independence, threats and isolation of an individual from social activities are also psychological manipulations characterized by emotional abuse (Follingstad and DeHart 2000). Psychological violence may not necessarily involve physical harm but aims at making the victim feel worthless (Cunradi, Todd, and Mair 2015). Victims of IPV report enduring chronic psychological conditions such as paranoia, stress, recurring trauma, stalking, depression and suicidal thoughts (Zaman et al. 2021).

Seminal and current research establishes patriarchy as a major contributing factor to IPV (Abouelenin 2022; Bagai and Faimau 2021; DeKeseredy 2021; Dery 2021; Dobash and Dobash 1979; Heise 1998; Ince-Yenilmez 2020; Lelaurain et al. 2018; Ozaki and Otis 2017). Patriarchy denotes a system of social structures and practices in which men dominate and oppress women (Akgul 2017). Furthermore, patriarchy is associated with violence against women and abuse of women's rights (Bettman 2009). Research on IPV and patriarchy is carried out

across the globe. Progressively, research on IPV and patriarchy within the African context is being emphasized (Abouelenin 2022; Bagai and Faimau 2021; Dery 2021; Nwoke and Nwosu 2020; Obwanda 2014). However, very little attention is given to empirical insights into overcoming patriarchy within the context of Kenyan informal settlements. This paper addresses this gap by providing narrative accounts of female victims of IPV living in Kibera as a step towards dismantling the patriarchy.

This article explores the narrative accounts of female victims of IPV as a means to overcome patriarchy in Kibera, a slum in Kenya. Through a qualitative inquiry, 32 female victims of IPV lived in Kibera during their victimization. It is organized as follows: an exposé on the theoretical context of the paper is reviewed and applied to the Kibera milieu. The study's methodology is outlined, followed by its findings and discussion. Against this backdrop, this article proposes strategies for dismantling patriarchy in Kibera.

THEORETICAL CONTEXT

Theories explaining the nature and causes of IPV are important in understanding the phenomenon and how it can be reduced or prevented. Several theories have been developed to explain the causes of IPV. Power, feminist and social disorganization theories are applied to contextualize IPV in the Kibera milieu. The theories are based on the wider framework of a socio-cultural perspective of IPV.

Power Theory

Rollins and Bahr (1976) define power as social interaction in their seminal work on power relationships in marriage. They look at power dynamics when conflicts arise and argue that perceptions influence authority, power, and resources in a relationship (Rollins and Bahr 1976). According to Rollins and Bahr (1976), relative authority and resources increase relative power in a relationship. Power is the ability to influence. Mpondo et al. (2019) argue that the sources of power in intimate relationships involve coercion, rewards, persuasion and patriarchy that are likely to be misused by the partners. According to Copp et al. (2016), all forms of abuse have, at their centre, the exploitation of a power difference. The dynamics of power in an intimate relationship are based on the cultural set up of the family. Nyberg, Enander, and Krantz (2016) opine that IPV is not only based on culture but also on the family structure.

Sources of power include income, education and gender. IPV is largely caused by a gender-based power imbalance in an intimate relationship. Education level and unity are protective measures against physical IPV for men and women (Mpondo et al. 2019). Copp et al. (2016) maintain that gender roles and socialization dictate how men and women should behave in a relationship. Typically, men dominate women in African societies by controlling resources and making household decisions (Kambarami 2006). Copp et al. (2016) stated that IPV is likely to happen in male-dominated partnerships because women are required to submit to men who are deemed to be the heads of the households. In many African societies, similarly to Kenya, the husband has a right to punish the wife or demand sex (Anderson and Umberson 2001; Mathews, Jewkes, and Abrahams 2015). This is

likely to lead to IPV if the man views the woman as usurping his authority (Nyberg et al. 2016). Conversely, the change in gender roles, such as women being educated and gaining power, threatens males who may resort to violence to restore their masculinity (Nybergh et al. 2016).

Feminist Theory

Male violence in intimate relationships is based on historical and cultural power differences that make women subordinate through control. This is perpetuated through economic, psychological and sexual abuse. Male entitlement, intimidation and violence are entrenched in society such that women are kept subordinate to men (Dobash and Dobash 1979). The theory challenges the notion that IPV is a private family matter. The political, social and cultural context supports the intimidation and abuse of women in all relationships and social interactions (Dobash and Dobash 1979). Feminist theory examines the socio-cultural context in which intimate relationships occur. The theory argues that gender inequality and sexism within patriarchal societies are the leading causes of IPV (Bell and Naugle 2008). The theory suggests that women are naturally non-violent, while male counterparts are usually stronger and more violent. Bell and Naugle (2008) opine that IPV is more of a problem of men meting out violence against women, primarily as a result of patriarchal beliefs and rules that encourage men to dominate and women to submit. Supporters of this theory, such as Arroyo et al. (2017), argue that violence is a means of exerting control and dominance over partners. Therefore, this theory aims to overturn the patriarchal social structure and prevent, reduce and eliminate IPV. According to Arroyo et al. (2017), patriarchal values significantly increase the likelihood of physical violence against female partners. In informal settlements, such as Kibera, men who are violent towards their partners may do so deliberately to maintain the status quo of patriarchy.

Social Disorganization Theory

Social disorganization theory, developed by Shaw and McKay (1942), argues that crime is not evenly dispersed across geographical locations, but rather is concentrated in certain areas. The patterns of crime in certain areas are attributed to neighbourhood dynamics and not necessarily the attributes of the individuals in that area. Such dynamics include social control and group norms that develop when individuals live together for a long time and are familiar with each other (Shaw and McKay 1942). Social disorganization theory posits that the concentration of neighbourhood crime results from the clustering of socio-economic challenges, which leads to a breakdown in social control and the cultural transmission of deviant values (Bellair 2017; Lopez and Gillespie 2017; Piscitelli and Doherty 2019). The theory's key tenet is that socio-economic circumstances, values and social control contribute to IPV. This means that the higher the levels of economic problems in a society, the higher the chances of IPV due to family set-up challenges. The theory views IPV from a community context and states that contextual factors influence IPV perpetration and victimization (Bellair 2017). In slum areas, such as Kibera, individuals move in and out very often because of changes in their economic and social

circumstances; thus, they are unlikely to be familiar enough with each other to develop social norms and community bonds.

According to the theory, low economic status, residential instability and concentrated living arrangements increase the chances of IPV in a community (Piscitelli and Doherty 2019; Sampson 2019; Shaw and McKay 1942). This could be attributed to a decreased capacity to exert formal and informal social control (Piscitelli and Doherty 2019). The nature of life and residential mobility in informal settlements makes it difficult for social cohesion to form and increases the level of anonymity among neighbours, making it difficult for the community to exercise social order by enforcing norms, rules and laws (Bellair 2017; Sampson 2019).

The critical social processes between neighbourhood residents are collective efficacy, cultural norms and social ties. Collective efficacy refers to the degree of social cohesion among neighbourhood residents and their willingness to intervene on behalf of the common good of the community (Sampson 2019). Collective efficacy is shared expectations that mediate the relationship between IPV and structural advantage. Therefore, if residents are unwilling to take collective action for the greater good of their community, crimes such as IPV are likely to increase. In an informal settlement, such as Kibera, such collective action may be difficult to take, especially when it comes to family-related issues. This is because people living in informal settlements come from diverse backgrounds and may not have a close relationship with neighbours and, in addition, face numerous socio-economic problems. Consequently, neighbours do not have an incentive for intervening during incidences of IPV.

Social ties refer to the personal connections between neighbours and include attending community activities, local networks and recreational activities among residents (Bellair 2017; Piscitelli and Doherty 2019). Ideally, social ties should reduce incidences of IPV by increasing the residents' capacity to exert social control over their neighbours through communication and supervision (Bellair 2017; Sampson 2019; Sampson, Wilson, and Katz 2018). According to Warner (2006), social ties help in the transmission of cultural values which support or desensitize IPV in such communities. On the other hand, cultural norms reflect a common set of rules and values that govern a community (Sampson 2019). The norms in a community, such as an informal settlement, may normalize IPV as it may be viewed as a normal conflict in a family. According to Hewitt et al. (2018), residents living in disadvantaged neighbourhoods, such as informal settlements, have limited contact with others from mainstream society and are therefore likely to experience cultural isolation, which eventually leads to weak community-level opposition against IPV (Sampson 2019). Cultural isolation may therefore hamper efforts by the government and other stakeholders from reaching informal settlements and mainstreaming values that disapprove of IPV.

METHODOLOGY

The paper forms part of a larger study conducted by the first author (Kariuki 2021). The paper sought to explore and describe the narrative accounts of female victims of IPV as a means to overcome patriarchy in the Kibera slum, Kenya. Thus, it is guided

by the following research question: How can the narrative accounts of female victims of IPV assist in overcoming patriarchy in the Kibera slum, Kenya? The research on which this article is based used a qualitative approach as the method of inquiry (Harper and Thompson 2011).

A case study research design was employed. A case study is defined as an in-depth study of a particular phenomenon (Mangal and Mangal 2013). The case under study was situated in Kibera, an informal settlement in Nairobi, Kenya. Local community workers and leaders introduced the first author to the only official IPV support group in Kibera. The study's purpose and nature of participation were explained to the potential participants. The only requirement to participate in the study was that the participants had to have experienced IPV while living in Kibera. Those who wanted to participate in the research were requested to inform the first author accordingly. Although the research did not intend to exclude males from the sample, no male victims of IPV could be located. In all, 32 female victims of IPV (see Table 1) who lived in Kibera were interviewed in the first author's office situated there over three years (2018–2020). The prolonged data collection process was necessary to obtain the participants' trust and achieve data saturation. Data saturation refers to the discontinuation of data collection because the data collected are sufficient (Bachman and Schutt 2015). The first author conducted the interviews in Swahili, the national language spoken in Kenya, especially among people living in informal settlements. The interviews were guided by a semi-structured interview schedule and took approximately 30 to 60 minutes each. The participants are referred to as "victims" instead of "survivors" since most of the participants who took part in this study were still in abusive relationships when this study was conducted.

The collected data were analysed using the six-step model of thematic analysis by Braun and Clarke (2006). The data were coded after they were broken down into various elements, and keywords were then identified and categorized into themes that emerged from the expressions and experiences of participants. The research obtained ethical clearance from the University of South Africa (UNISA). Moreover, the first author was cognizant of being empathetic and respectful of the participants' lived experiences during the interviews.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Most of the participants were below 40 years old, married, and had at least one child. Their educational levels were limited, and their occupations and their partners' occupations generated low incomes. The most common abuse form was psychological ($n = 31$), followed by physical abuse ($n = 26$). Of the participants, 11 identified that they experienced a combination of physical, psychological and sexual abuse by their partners. Many ($n = 27$) participants reported that their partners were intoxicated during the abuse.

Patriarchal beliefs fuel power imbalances that perpetuate violence (Dobash and Dobash 1979). Kenyan societies tend to be traditionally patriarchal (Chiang et al. 2018; McKinley 2020), characterized by male privilege and female subservience (Kalunta-Crumpton 2017). A distinction should be made between a patriarchal structure and ideology. The former is a hierarchal system that attributes positions of power to men while women are afforded subordinate roles. The latter endorses

Table 1. Demographic Profile of Participants

Research Participant	Age in Years	Marital Status	Number of Children	Level of Education	Participant Occupation	Partner Occupation
Anyango	32	Separated	3	Secondary	Small business owner	Employed
Ruth	37	Separated	5	Secondary	Casual worker	Self-employed
Wafula	26	Married	2	Primary	Housewife	Casual worker
Njeri	52	Divorced	2	University	Small business owner	Small business owner
Nabwire	24	Married	2	Secondary	Small business owner	Employed
Mercy	30	Married	3	Secondary	Small business owner	Employed
Pamela	31	Separated	3	Secondary	Small business owner	Casual worker
Abdallah	28	Separated	2	Secondary	Casual worker	Casual worker
Owili	23	Separated	3	Primary	Casual worker	Self-employed
Trumbo	25	Married	3	Primary	Casual worker	Casual worker
Beatrice	26	Married	3	Primary	Casual worker	Casual worker
More	26	Married	2	Primary	Casual worker	Casual worker
Nanjala	36	Married	4	Primary	Small business owner	Casual worker
Gladys	39	Separated	4	Tertiary	Employed	Employed
Mwende	28	Married	3	Primary	Housewife	Employed
Serah	24	Married	2	Primary	Housewife	Employed
Muthoni	34	Married	4	University	Businesswoman	Businessman
Chebet	28	Separated	2	Secondary	Small business owner	Unemployed
Jane	44	Married	2	Secondary	Small business owner	Casual worker
Luba	40	Married	2	Primary	Casual worker	Casual worker
Leah	38	Married	4	Secondary	Casual worker	Casual worker
Wangari	35	Married	2	Secondary	Employed	Casual worker
Nyambura	32	Married	2	Primary	Housewife	Casual worker
Kaya	31	Married	2	Primary	Small business owner	Casual worker
Much	40	Separated	4	Tertiary	Employed	Businessman
Mary	30	Separated	1	No formal education	Casual worker	Casual worker

(*Continued*)

Table 1. (Continued)

Research Participant	Age in Years	Marital Status	Number of Children	Level of Education	Participant Occupation	Partner Occupation
Wacha	34	Separated	3	Primary	Employed	Casual worker
Grace	52	Separated	1	Secondary	Casual worker	Casual worker
Fatuma	34	Married	3	Primary	Small business owner	Casual worker
Nida	40	Separated	2	Secondary	Casual worker	Employed
Judith	41	Widowed	5	Primary	Casual worker	Not applicable
Vanilla	24	Separated	2	Primary	Housewife	Casual worker

Note: Pseudonyms were assigned to the participants representing common names used in Kenya.

and legitimizes this structure (Hunnicutt 2009; McKinley 2020). Thus, patriarchal systems are sustained through their cultural acceptance and are maintained by victims of IPV, as many African and Kenyan women attribute their IPV victimization to their social positioning and cultural context (Akinsulure-Smith et al. 2013; Dubber 2005; Nwoke and Nwosu 2020; Izugbara, Duru, and Dania 2008). From the participants' viewpoints, it is apparent that patriarchy is characterized by control, dominance and violence. The following excerpts display the use of control and dominance by the participants' partners:

My husband has low self-esteem and is jealous of me because I am hardworking and social with people. I am the one who pays school fees for the children, even those additional children he has brought to our family. (Ruth, 37 years old, separated)

I wanted to start a small business selling fish, but he wanted me to stay home and take care of the children and home. We differed bitterly, and, after the beating I got, I ran away for six months. (Nabwire, 24 years old, married)

My husband projects his work problems and frustrations on me. He is not happy that I have a small business and wants me to stay at home. He is jealous of me talking to my customers and suspects I am unfaithful with them. (Mercy, 30 years old, married)

He refuses to let me talk to other women, work, or even leave the house. I was a prisoner in my husband's house. (Pamela, 31 years old, separated)

My husband is rude to me most of the time and does not allow me to express myself. He also beats me and slaps me. (Moraa, 26 years old, married)

I was married for 10 years; my husband was an idler and would come to my food kiosk to demand money for drinking. If I did not give it to him, he would beat me in the presence of my customers. (Chebet, 28 years old, married)

He calls me a witch, and, when he is drunk, he does not like me asking for money or asking a question. If I do those things, I am beaten mercilessly. However, he beats me if he asks me a question and I do not answer it correctly. (Luzeba, 40 years old, married)

Control and dominance are recurring themes in power, feminist and social control theories. Control and dominance are manifested in power theory through men controlling resources and exerting most of the decision capacity in the family. Ruth, Nabwire, Mercy and Pamela's narratives illustrate how control and dominance are exercised. This includes controlling the participants' income and business ventures, whom they spend their time with and their whereabouts. A significant contribution of feminist theorizing is the view that male violence against women is a consequence of male power and privilege. IPV is, therefore, a reflection of the larger patriarchal structure that functions to control women (Arroyo et al. 2017). This is expressed through the humiliation, insults and assault experienced by Moraa, Chebet and Luzeba. Additionally, the above extractions highlight the absence of social control in Kibera.

Violence is a tool used to maintain patriarchy, as voiced by the following participants:

My husband is a very violent man; he would beat me with his fists, step on me with his feet, chasing the children and me with a sword. (Anyango, 32 years old, separated)

He beats me with a stick all over my body. He cut me with a panga on my head, leaving a deep cut. Since I was carrying our baby when he attacked me, the eight-month-old baby also had a cut on her forehead. He pulled my hair extensions from my head and often sent me away from our home with the children at night. He sexually assaults our seven-year-old daughter and insults me. (Owili, 23 years old, separated)

When I started working, he would come home drunk before I did, with a watch waiting for me at the door to explain the route I took home. He would slap me repeatedly, calling me a liar and accusing me of being with boyfriends. (Gladys, 39 years old, separated)

He would beat and slap me, throwing objects at me and hitting me with a stool. He would also insult me using abusive words. He would sexually force himself on me while drunk. A fight would ensue if I declined. (Chebet, 28 years old, married)

He beat me with a big stick, and the children were not spared. One of my fingers is deformed because of the beatings. He insults me in front of the children and embarrasses and intimidates me. He forces me to have sex, and when I decline, he beats me and accuses me of infidelity. (Luzeba, 40 years old, married)

Power theory maintains that violence is normalized in a family, leading to the likelihood of developing and maintaining IPV. According to Mpondo et al. (2019), when violence is a normal way of settling disputes in society, partners in intimate relationships may employ force as a means of settling conflicts in their relationships.

Subscribing to traditional gender roles is commonly adhered to in Kenyan families and communities (Abouelenin 2022; Dery 2021; Kalunta-Crumpton 2017; Memiah et al. 2021). A primary concern is that Kenyan and African society generally views women as property belonging to men. The wife's identity is thus rooted in her husband and their marriage. Consequently, leaving her marriage results in her losing her identity and social standing in society (Izugbara et al. 2008; Memiah et al. 2021). The participants' narratives showed that family structures contributed toward normalizing patriarchy, as denoted in the following verbatim accounts:

> After cutting the baby and me, my husband was arrested and charged with grievous harm. Later that day, when I went back home, my in-laws chased me away for reporting my husband and having him arrested. (Owili, 23 years old, separated)

> I have learned to distrust men, even my brothers and father. I have tried to get revenge by being with other men, but this has not brought happiness to my life. (Muchau, 40 years old, separated)

> Whenever I was beaten, I would go to my sister's place, other times, to my mother-in-law, who would tell me, "Life is like that. You have to be patient with your husband." Eventually, I learned to live with it until his death. (Judith, 41 years old, widowed)

The family structures are linked to social disorganization theory. The higher the levels of economic problems in a society, the higher the chances of IPV due to family challenges. The theory views IPV from a community context and states that contextual factors influence IPV perpetration and victimization (Bellair 2017). In slum areas, such as Kibera, individuals move in and out very often because of changes in their economic and social circumstances; thus, they are unlikely to be familiar with each other enough to develop social norms and community bonds.

Land ownership is a contentious issue in Africa, often equating to wealth and independence (von Fintel and Fourie 2019). For example, a woman's right to own or inherit property can be forfeited when she leaves her husband. This is alluded to by Anyango below:

> Before the beating, my brother-in-law would rant, "You are a useless woman, good for nothing, you only know how to give birth to many children, and your interest is for them to inherit all our family land." (Anyango, 32 years old, separated)

In Kenya, female land ownership is still sporadic, and women are commonly dispossessed of their land if their husbands are not available (Akinola 2018).

Additionally, custody of the children is likely to go to the father and his family (Chika 2012; Kalunta-Crumpton 2017). Intuitively, women who find themselves in this position are unlikely to leave their husbands.

In African communities, family members function as instigators and partakers of IPV. Patriarchy is normalized as in-laws are deemed entitled to "discipline" a woman. In a study conducted on the attitudes towards and solutions for IPV by Nigerian immigrant women living in the United States of America, participants recommended female submission, acceptance and respect for their partners as resolutions of IPV (Kalunta-Crumpton 2017). These resolutions are from African women living in and exposed to a developed country. In comparison, Kenyan women living in the Kibera slum, who are not exposed to the same degree of equality and freedom, are left powerless and defeated. In African communities, older women are often perceived as wise, experienced and able to advise younger women. These older women inadvertently perpetuate patriarchy due to their strong patriarchal beliefs. For example, Judith was advised by her mother-in-law to be patient with her husband. Additionally, research in African countries indicates that violence can be viewed, by both genders, as an act of care and a means to correct inappropriate behaviour (McKinley 2020). It is thus evident that the journey towards combatting patriarchal structures and ideologies commences with breaking down regressive mindsets.

Patriarchal belief systems are maintained by both government and civil authorities (Dubber 2005). This is evident when police do not provide adequate support to victims and further contribute to victim-blaming. Although there is Kenyan legislation to govern and police GBV, many women in Kibera are not afforded justice when reporting incidents of IPV. This is largely due to a corrupt system, which does not necessarily cater to the needs of the victims but to those of the perpetrators. In fact, domestic violence can be viewed as gender persecution in Kenya (Razack 1995). Of the participants, 20 shared that they reported the abuse to the police, and none of the participants received a positive or helpful response from the police. Those who choose to report their partners may face persecution and threats of violence from their perpetrators, family members or community. In a recent study conducted by Mengo, Sharma and Beaujolais (2021) on the informal and formal systems of care for IPV victims in Kenya, it was found that 55.5% of the women did not seek help. Women who sought help chose to use informal support services, whereas only 5.5% of the victims sought legal support services such as the police.

Hope (2019) reports that police corruption is a criminal problem in Kenya. Corruption syndicates are mostly conducted through higher-ranked officers. Furthermore, police corruption highlights the failure of governing bodies as ethics and integrity are not enforced (Hope 2019). Participants who attempted to report their victimization were not taken seriously by the police. In some cases, the police were bribed by the perpetrators, and, in other incidences, the victims were sent away unassisted as their requests for assistance were regarded as a domestic matter. In a study conducted on 18 countries in sub-Saharan Africa, it was determined that the odds of reporting incidents of IPV were very low among women without decision-making capacities (Ahinkorah, Dickson, and Seidu 2018). A lack of authoritative guardianship and intervention coupled with the powerlessness of women living in the Kibera slum contribute to maintaining patriarchy and, subsequently, IPV.

By exploring the narrative accounts of the female victims of IPV, the embedded patriarchy instituted in the Kibera slum milieu can be understood. Once these patriarchal structures and ideologies are practically exposed, strategies to dismantle patriarchy can be mobilized.

TOWARDS DISMANTLING PATRIARCHY IN KIBERA

Globally and locally, IPV tends to be gender biased (Mukamana, Machakanja, and Adjei 2020). Women's empowerment should commence at a young age and be sustained throughout a woman's lifetime. Women's empowerment creates a safe space for women to have equal rights to make their own decisions. Moreover, it advocates for women to be given the confidence to act upon those rights. It increases women's spiritual, social, political, educational and economic power in their communities (Kuuder et al. 2020; Odok 2020; Sanger and Kacker 2020). Women's empowerment is fundamental in developing the economy as it improves males' and females' quality of life, their families and the community (Jansen van Rensburg 2021).

Moreover, Sanger and Kacker (2020) advocate that women's empowerment is pivotal in crime reduction. However, women's empowerment alone can also trigger IPV (Vyas and Watts 2009). Thus, women's empowerment should be strengthened by increasing women's decision-making capacity in their families and communities (Ahinkorah et al. 2018). Once young girls and women know and recognize that IPV is harmful, they can avoid entering a relationship with an abusive partner. A study conducted in Uganda found that providing young girls with vocational training, sex education and information concerning intimate relationships and marriage yielded positive results. Post-intervention, the girls were found to be more likely to be self-employed.

Additionally, the rate of teen pregnancy and entry into early marriage or cohabitation also declined. The study also revealed that sexual violence also decreased (Bandiera et al. 2020). Women's empowerment should be instilled in educational campaigns and localized and mobilized within local communities.

The participants, who took part in the study, took the first step in overcoming their experiences of IPV by joining a support group. The support group equips victims of IPV to become financially independent and socially empowered. Victims of IPV can find support in similar groups. Online support groups should be encouraged. A study conducted by Tarzia et al. (2018) found that female victims of IPV deemed the online support they received to be effective. These support groups may also enhance trust as anonymity can be ensured. However, the authors note that this type of support system may be restrictive to the local women in Kibera due to data and connectivity challenges even though 44.29% of Kenyans use social media platforms, such as Facebook (Statcounter 2021), which runs a support group for IPV victims.

THE COMMUNITY'S RESPONSIBILITY

The findings of this paper establish Kibera, Kenya, to be rooted in patriarchal and cultural value systems. Power, feminist and social disorganization theories provide

relevant and applicable explanations for the occurrence of IPV in communities such as Kibera. Thus, to decrease or prevent IPV, the local community needs to take responsibility and appropriate actions. Graham and Brickell (2019) believe that victims of IPV should always be consulted about initiatives to restore their safety and security. Thus, based on the findings of the larger study (Kariuki 2021) as well as the recommendations put forth by the participants, as a point of departure, the local community of Kibera can partner with victims of IPV through the following initiatives:

- Hosting community workshops to break down patriarchal and harmful cultural belief structures and ideologies.
- Widespread marketing campaigns against IPV and patriarchal structures.
- Development of safe community forums (inclusive of men and women) to assist victims of IPV.
- Partnership with local authoritative role players on how they can effectively support and service victims of IPV.
- Conflict management courses should be introduced, and participation encouraged for men and women.
- Empowerment and awareness campaigns for young boys and girls explicitly detailing the harmful effects of patriarchy and IPV.
- Economic empowerment of women through government incentives for businesses and opportunities for employment.
- Use of government and religious institutions to create awareness of the adverse effects of IPV.

CONCLUSION

Health and wellness are reliant on harmonious interpersonal relationships. Violations that occur within these interpersonal relationships have adverse effects on the victims, the community and the economy. Patriarchy ignites power imbalances that consequently perpetuate IPV. Through the narrative accounts of female victims of IPV, strategies specific to the context of the Kibera slum were developed towards dismantling patriarchy. This article acknowledges limitations in terms of sample size. However, empirical case studies provide rich insights as palpable in the detailed narrative accounts voiced by the participants. The evidence from this article suggests that further studies need to be done concerning patriarchy and IPV within the African context. These studies should use theoretical and empirical research to inform practice, and customized implementation plans specific to the context under study.

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TRANSLATED ABSTRACTS

Abstracto

Kibera es el asentamiento informal más grande de Nairobi, Kenia, y el asentamiento informal urbano más grande de África. Es una comunidad plagada de pobreza y desempleo. En respuesta a la desorganización social común a los asentamientos informales, la actividad criminal prolifera, particularmente en casos de agresión y violencia sexual. Las creencias patriarcales alimentan los desequilibrios de poder que, en consecuencia, perpetúan la violencia. Las sociedades de Kenia tienden a ser tradicionalmente patriarcales y se caracterizan por el privilegio masculino y el servilismo femenino. Este artículo explora los relatos narrativos de mujeres víctimas de violencia de pareja íntima (VPI) para superar el patriarcado en Kibera, Kenia. A través de una encuesta cualitativa, treinta y dos mujeres víctimas de VPI fueron entrevistadas y los datos obtenidos fueron analizados temáticamente. Los hallazgos establecieron que el patriarcado se sustenta en Kibera a través del control, la dominación y la violencia. Los participantes destacados en el avance del patriarcado son las estructuras familiares y las autoridades. Además, a través de estos relatos narrativos se proponen estrategias para desmantelar el patriarcado y la violencia de pareja íntima.

Palabras clave celos sexuales, propiedad sexual, feminicidio, homicidio de pareja íntima

Abstrait

Kibera est le plus grand établissement informel de Nairobi, au Kenya, et le plus grand établissement informel urbain d'Afrique. C'est une communauté en proie à la pauvreté et au chômage. En réponse à la désorganisation sociale commune aux établissements informels, l'activité criminelle est endémique, en particulier dans les affaires d'agression et de violence sexuelle. Les croyances patriarcales alimentent les déséquilibres de pouvoir qui, par conséquent, perpétuent la violence. Les sociétés kenyanes ont tendance à être traditionnellement patriarcales et caractérisées par le privilège masculin et l'asservissement féminin. Cet article explore les récits narratifs de femmes victimes de violence conjugale (IPV) pour surmonter le patriarcat à Kibera, au Kenya. A travers une enquête qualitative, trente-deux femmes victimes de IPV ont été interrogées, et les données obtenues ont été analysées thématiquement. Les résultats ont établi que le patriarcat est maintenu à Kibera par le contrôle, la domination et la violence. Les principaux acteurs de la promotion du patriarcat sont les structures familiales et les autorités. De plus, des stratégies pour démanteler le patriarcat et la violence conjugale sont proposées à travers des récits narratifs.

Mots-clés patriarcat, violence, violence conjugale, bidonvilles, victimes

抽象的

基贝拉是肯尼亚内罗毕最大的非正规住区,也是非洲最大的城市非正规住区。这是一个饱受贫困和失业困扰的社区。为应对非正规住区普遍存在的社会混乱,犯罪活动猖獗,尤其是在袭击和性暴力案件中。父权信仰助长了权力失衡,从而使暴力持续存在。肯尼亚社会传统上倾向于父权制,并以男性特权和女性屈从为特征。本文探讨了亲密伴侣暴力(IPV)女性受害者的叙述,以克服肯尼亚基贝拉的父权制。通过定性调查,采访了 32 名 IPV 女性受害,并对获得的数据进行了主题分析。调查结果表明,基贝拉的父权制通过控制、支配和暴力得以维持。此外,推进父权制的主要参与者是家庭结构和权威。此外,通过这些叙述性叙述提出了消除父权制和 IPV 的策略。

关键词: 父权制, 暴力, 亲密伴侣暴力, 贫民窟, 受害者

الملخص

كيبيرا هي أكبر مستوطنة عشوائية في نيروبي ، كينيا ، وأكبر مستوطنة حضرية عشوائية في إفريقيا. إنه مجتمع يعاني من الفقر والبطالة. ردا على الفوضى الاجتماعية الشائعة في المستوطنات العشوائية ، يتفشى النشاط الإجرامي ، لا سيما في قضايا الاعتداء والعنف الجنسي. تؤجج المعتقدات الأبوية اختلالات القوة التي تؤدي بالتالي إلى استمرار العنف. تميل المجتمعات الكينية إلى أن تكون أبوية بشكل تقليدي وتتميز بامتياز الذكور وخضوع الإناث. يستكشف هذا المقال الروايات السردية لضحايا عنف الشريك الحميم (IPV) للتغلب على النظام الأبوي في كيبيرا ، كينيا. من خلال تحقيق نوعي ، تمت مقابلة 32 أنثى من ضحايا عنف الشريك الحميم ، وتم تحليل البيانات التي تم الحصول عليها بشكل موضوعي. أثبتت النتائج أن النظام الأبوي يستمر في كيبيرا من خلال السيطرة والهيمنة والعنف. بالإضافة إلى ذلك ، فإن الشركاء البارزين في تعزيز النظام الأبوي هم الهياكل والسلطات الأسرية. علاوة على ذلك ، يتم اقتراح استراتيجيات لتفكيك النظام الأبوي و IPV من خلال هذه الحسابات السردية.

الكلمات المفتاحية النظام الأبوي ، العنف ، عنف العشير ، العشوائيات ، الضحايا

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