FROM STREETS TO SLAVERY?

Vulnerability, resilience and the risk of human trafficking

among street children in Nairobi, Kenya

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Tiivistelmä – Abstract

Human trafficking, also known as modern day slavery has gained increasing interest in research in recent years. The topic of street children has also been extensively studied around the world. The existing research has concentrated especially on how children live on the streets and how to help them off the streets. Studying the two phenomena of human trafficking and street children together, however, has not been very extensively studied. In Kenyan context, no research about the connection of the two has been done. Thus, this research aims to fill this gap by investigating the following research questions: 1.) What are the different forms of labour among the street children and does it include human trafficking?, 2.) What are the vulnerabilities and protective factors/resilience affecting the possible human trafficking of street children?, and 3.) How does a street child's gender affect the vulnerability to human trafficking?

This research is an ethnographic study conducted in Nairobi, Kenya. It draws from interview data collected with experts working with street children, both in institutions as well as on the streets. In addition, two former street boys were interviewed. Theoretically, it utilizes literature on concepts of vulnerability and resilience, which are also used to guide the analysis of the data.

The findings of this research show that there is human trafficking happening on the streets. It also shows that street children are extremely vulnerable to it due to constant dangers that street life brings as well as lack of proper protective mechanisms. As a result of the analysis, the vulnerabilities such as violence, taking part in criminal activities, substance use, sexual abuse and insufficient safety nets from the private and public sector were identified. Moreover, the elements of resilience included the ability to adapt to street life, suspicion towards outsiders and people's unwillingness to interact with street children. Street girls are even more vulnerable as their gender offers them no protection, they are constantly wanted by street boys and the best and most popular way for them to earn a living is prostitution. The best identified way of staying protected was to "marry" a street boy.

The human trafficking involving street children took different forms: street children trafficked off the streets, street children trafficked on the streets by street people, trafficked street children on the streets, kidnapping and baby trafficking, organ trafficking and trafficking of saved street children. All the categories found either confirmed information of existing cases or strong indication of trafficking possibly happening. The research concludes with a notion that street children are vulnerable to human trafficking and that they are being trafficked off the streets and on the streets.

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Tiivistelmä – Abstract

Ihmiskauppa on aihe, jota on viime vuosien aikana tutkittu kasvavissa määrin. Myös katulapsia on tutkimuksissa tutkittu globaalisti paljon. Niissä on etenkin keskitytty katulasten elämään kaduilla, sekä erilaisiin tapoihin millä näitä lapsia voitaisiin auttaa. Näiden kahden ilmiön, ihmiskaupan ja katulasten tutkiminen yhdessä on jäänyt kuitenkin todella vähälle. Keniassa näiden välistä suhdetta ei tutkijan tietämyksen mukaan ole tutkittu ollenkaan. Tämä tutkimus pyrkiin selvittämään katulasten ja ihmiskaupan välistä suhdetta; ovatko katulapset Nairobissa haavoittuvaisia ihmiskaupalle ja ovatko ihmiskauppa ja katulapset jo linkittyneitä toisiinsa. Tämän lisäksi tutkimus pyrkii selvittämään katulasten erilaisia haavoittuvaisuuksia, selviytymismekanismeja, sekä sinnikkyyden merkkejä. Lisäksi erotteluja tehdään katutyttöjen sekä -poikien välillä tapauksissa missä eroja on nähtävissä.

Tämä tutkimus on luonteeltaan etnografinen ja sen tutkimusaineisto kerättiin Nairobissa, Keniassa. Tutkimusaineisto kerättiin haastattelemalla asiantuntijoita, joista osa työskentelee katulasten parissa erilaisissa instituutioissa ja osa kaduilla. Tämän lisäksi kahta jo kaduilta pelastettua katupoikaa haastateltiin tutkimukseen. Tutkimuksen teoriaosuus käyttää hyväkseen aiempaa tutkimusta haavoittuvuuden sekä sinnikkyyden määrittelyistä ja nämä ohjaavat myös työn analyysiä.

Tutkimuksen mukaan katulapset ovat vaarassa joutua ihmiskaupan uhreiksi Nairobissa. He ovat haavoittuvaisessa tilassa johtuen katuelämän tuomista vaaroista sekä rajallisista resursseista. Tutkimuksen mukaan etenkin väkivalta, rikollinen toiminta, huumausaineiden käyttö, seksuaalinen hyväksikäyttö, sekä puuttuvat turvaverkostot tekevät katulapsista todella haavoittuvaisia eri vaaroille. Sinnikkyyden merkeiksi identifioitiin lasten kyky sopeutua katuelämään, heidän epäluulonsa ulkopuolisia kohtaan, sekä ihmisten haluttomuus kommunikoida näiden kanssa. Katutyttöjen koettiin olevan vielä haavoittuvaisempia johtuen heidän sukupuolestaan, mikä johtaa helposti seksuaaliseen hyväksikäyttöön. Tämän lisäksi katutyttöjen yleisin tapa ansaita rahaa oli prostituutio. Katutytöille kaikkein tehokkain tapa pitää itsensä turvassa oli "menemällä naimisiin" katupojan kanssa.

Katulapsiin kohdistuva ihmiskauppa ilmeni eri muodoissa: katulapsia otettiin pois kaduilta, heitä hyväksikäytettiin kaduilla muiden kadulla asujien toimesta, ihmiskaupan uhreja työllistettiin kaduilla, lapsia ja vauvoja kidnapattiin ja mahdollisesti kaupattiin ja myös kaduilta pelastetut lapset päätyivät ihmiskaupan uhreiksi. Tutkimus löysi kaikista näistä joko vahvistettuja tapauksia tai tapauksia, jotka osoittavat lasten olevan suuressa vaarassa joutua ihmiskaupan uhreiksi. Tutkimuksen johtopäätös oli että katulapset ovat haavoittuvaisia ihmiskaupalle ja he joutuvat ihmiskaupan uhreiksi sekä kaduilla että katujen ulkopuolella.

Asiasanat – Keywords	ihmiskauppa, katulapset, katutytöt, haavoittuvuus, sinnikkyys, sukupuoli

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1. INTRODUCTION

This thesis researches the connections between human trafficking, street children and their resilience and vulnerability in the contexts of Nairobi, Kenya. The topic for my research was offered to me by Awareness Against Human Trafficking (HAART Kenya) as part of my internship with them. The idea of studying the connection between street children and human trafficking appealed to me immediately as I had worked with former street boys in Kenya in the past. The more preliminary research I did, the more convinced I was of the urgent need for this research. Available research about Kenyan street children was both partly lacking and outdated, whilst there seemed to be no research on the actual connection between human trafficking and the street children of Kenya.

The original idea for this research was to only study the connection between human trafficking and Kenyan street children. However, after reading through the existing research I decided to include the vulnerabilities and resilience factors of street children within the research in order to better understand *why* street children could be trafficked. This thesis aims to identify those factors and also attempts to conclude whether street children in Nairobi, Kenya are in fact in danger of being trafficked. In order to find out this information, nine (9) expert interviews and two (2) interviews with former street boys will be used.

1.1. The current status of human trafficking in Kenya

"Trafficking in Persons is the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs"

UNODC, Article 3, paragraph (a) of the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons

Human trafficking is a crime and a violation of human rights. The victims include women, men and children around the world who are forced to work for either insufficient pay, or no

pay at all. Due to the widely hidden side of the phenomenon, estimates of its scope vary and there are no definite numbers regarding human trafficking. Estimates by ILO (2012) suggest that 20.9 million people are in forced labor globally at any given time. However, The Global Slavery Index (2016) suggests that number to be 45,8 million people. On estimate, 1.2 million of these are children (ILO, 2008). Human trafficking affects almost every country in the world (UNODC) and it is estimated to be among the top three most lucrative criminal activities in the world generating annual profits of USD 150 billion (ILO, 2014). In Africa, the profits of human trafficking are on estimate USD 13.1 billion annually. The main economic factors for trafficking are considered to be poverty, income shocks, lack of education, gender, migration and illiteracy. (ILO, 2014)

Kenya is a source, transit and destination country for women, children and men who are subject to human trafficking. The groups most vulnerable to human trafficking are women and children, and the most common forms of exploitation are forced labor and sexual purposes (National Crime Research Centre, 2014). Both internal (within borders) and external (to other countries) trafficking affects Kenya but out of the two, internal trafficking is more prominent (RMMS, 2013). In cases of external trafficking, the victims are most often taken to Europe, North America and Middle East. Trafficking affects not only Kenyans, but also migrants living in Kenya who are in great risk of being trafficked themselves due to their vulnerable situation. Other people in danger of being trafficked are internally displaced people, which designate a group of people present in Kenya due to the 2008 post-election violence that led to 300,000 people fleeing their homes (National Crime Research Centre, 2014).

According to IOM (2015), human trafficking in Kenya is estimated to be worth USD 40 million on the black market. There is very limited data concerning the quantities of human trafficking or child trafficking in Kenya due to the lack of sufficient research on the issue. In Kenya, the number of victims of human trafficking are estimated to be 188,800 (The Global Slavery Index, 2016). An estimate of 20,000 children are being trafficked in Kenya annually (Kassilly et al., 2012), although many suggest this number to be significantly higher. In most cases, the traffickers are people known to the victims such as relatives, close friends or community members (HAART, 2015b). In Kenya, there is also the presence of larger-scale

organized trafficking rings but according to research, most of the trafficking is done by smaller-scale networks (National Crime Research Centre, 2014).

The Counter-Trafficking in Persons Bill was passed in 2010 but due to the required changes, it meant that it only became operational in 2012. However, whilst the bill was designed to punish those involved in human trafficking, it has not been implemented successfully and there have been few convictions. Judges, the police and prosecutors lack training on how to implement the law and thereby human traffickers are often charged under different criminal offences. This problem also plagues the Sexual Offences Act 2006' which outlaws child sex tourism and prostitution (RMMS, 2013). In the Trafficking in Persons Report composed by the U.S. Department of State (2015), Kenya is placed in the Tier 2 list which means that although significant efforts have been done to eliminate the issue of human trafficking, the country does not meet the minimum standards set by the Trafficking Victims Protection Act's (TVPA).

Child trafficking in Kenya

Child trafficking in Kenya affects both genders and it is mostly done internally within the borders. The children are most often taken from rural areas and brought to urban and coastal areas. However, in some cases the children are taken from one rural area to another or occasionally to another country (HAART, 2015b). Children trafficked inside Kenya are typically forced to work in domestic servitude, street vending and begging, agriculture, cattle herding, fishing and in prostitution (U.S. Department of State, 2013). In addition, trafficked children can be made to collect scrap metal or plastic, work in service industries such as small shops, matatus or restaurants, take part in the production of pornographic materials, or used for organ removal (especially in the case of albinos). Early marriage (marrying children under 18 years old) is also considered a form of human trafficking and it is a custom that is culturally accepted in some parts of Kenya. Some trafficked children have also reportedly been used for the purpose of trafficking drugs and working in terrorist organizations (HAART, 2015b).

Counter Trafficking in Persons Act (2010) defines human and child trafficking (under 18 years old) in Kenya as a situation where:

1. A person commits the offence of trafficking in persons when the person recruits, transports, transfers, harbours or receives another person for the purpose of

exploitation by means of— (a) threat or use of force or other forms of coercion; (b) abduction; (c) fraud (d) deception; (e) abuse of power or of position of vulnerability; (f) giving payments or benefits to obtain the consent of the victim of trafficking in persons; or (g) giving or receiving payments or benefits to obtain the consent of a person having control over another person.

2. The consent of a victim of trafficking in persons to the intended exploitation shall not be relevant where any of the means set out in subsection (1) have been used.

3. The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of a child for the purposes of exploitation shall be considered "trafficking in persons" even if this does not involve any of the means set out in subsection (1).

4. An act of trafficking in persons may be committed internally within the borders of Kenya or internationally across the borders of Kenya.

(HAART, 2015b)

According to HAART Kenya's research (2015b), the groups of children most vulnerable to trafficking in Kenya are orphans, street children, disabled children, children left to care for others, albinos, children living in refugee camps and children living near a highway. The research also identified the factors which makes these children vulnerable to trafficking. These included factors such as poverty, lack of parental care or guidance, abandonment and abuse, cultural factors such as female genital mutilation (FGM) and ignorance towards children, lack of awareness about child trafficking, shortage of education opportunities and lack of proper ways to fight human trafficking on both the private and institutional level.

The children are often recruited through deception. The trafficker can offer gifts or a better life, a possibility for an education or work. In some cases, the children are kidnapped which happens especially in the case of albinos who are often sold for organ harvesting. The children might also be threatened, manipulated or forced to go with the traffickers. In addition to the physical, sexual and psychological exploitation, children are also denied access to an education or a salary (HAART, 2015b).

The presence of the Somalia-based terrorist organization *Al-Shabaab* has raised concerns about the trafficking of Kenyan children (IGAD, 2016). Reports have stated that one of the biggest concerns at the Dadaab refugee camp, which is located on the border of Somalia, is

the presence of Al-Shabaab recruiters who are focusing especially on the recruitment of children (U.S. Department of State, 2013). The organization is also known to systematically operate and recruit around Kenya shifting the issue also to other areas in Kenya aside from Dadaab camp. Rough estimates suggest that anything from hundreds to thousands of Kenyans have travelled to Somalia in order to join the ranks of the organization. Recently, there have been reports on the recruitment process which focuses upon girls and young women. The women who are successfully recruited are then often used as couriers. One of the reasons identified as a cause for people's radicalization is the urge to escape the poorly functioning security services in their own country. Some young women have also been reported to travel to Somalia to marry Al-Shabaab fighters or to Syria to join ISIS (IGAD, 2016).

1.2 Situation of Street Children in Kenya

The UN Committee on the Rights of the Child, which was established to monitor the implementation of the *UN Convention on the Rights of the Child* (CRC) in different countries, has stated that the increasing number of street children in Kenya is a high concern. According to them, the children lack proper access to education, health and other social services and they are vulnerable to sexual abuse and different forms of exploitation (Palmqvist, 2006). The estimates on the amount of street children in Kenya vary but the most recent figures show that the number is approximately 250,000-300,000. From that number, roughly 60,000 of them are living in the streets of Nairobi (Cradle, 2014). The backgrounds and family structures of these children vary widely and against general assumption, many if not most of these street children have living relatives. However due to different reasons, a growing number of children move to the streets and as follows, become vulnerable to different dangers such as human trafficking.

According to a study done by Awareness Against Human Trafficking (HAART Kenya), street children were identified as one of the most vulnerable groups to child trafficking. Street children are poor, they have little or no parental care or guidance, they might have been abandoned, been or are still being abused, are often ignored or avoided by bystanders, are unable to attend school and there are no proper organizations aiming to help them. Thus, according to those factors, street children can be seen as a very vulnerable group to human trafficking (HAART, 2015b). Street children are also often illiterate and they do not have proper access to information about dangers and preventative services that other children might receive through home, school, radio or printed media (Kaime-Atterhög et al. 2007).

Lack of supervision, the economic status and the stigma of street children can also make the local authorities uninterested to look into missing street children which presumably makes them easy victims for traffickers. Kenya is also missing proper services for helping street children and the work is mainly done by the private sector.

1.3. Vulnerability, resilience and gender in the context of street children

Vulnerability, resilience and gender are terms that often visit the pages of research done on street children (eg. McAdamCrisp et al. 2005; Ali, 2011; Kaime-Atterhög & Ahlberg, 2008). Out of the three concepts, vulnerability is by far the most used when describing street children anywhere in the world. Their vulnerabilities to health risks, human rights violations, psychological disorders and other dangers have been researched for years. Some research is also done about the resilience of street children, especially in the psychological field. However, street children are mainly seen as vulnerable children with little or no protection mechanisms. As follows, resilience is most often mentioned in similar research to this where both vulnerabilities and protective mechanisms are viewed. Since only 1 out of 10 street children are girls (Aptekar & Ciano-Federoff, 1999), they are also less studied. As most research points out, street girls are also less visible which makes studying them harder. There is some research about street girls in Kenya but most information can be found within research which deals with both genders.

In order to properly understand the connection between street children and human trafficking, it is important to take into consideration the vulnerabilities and resilience of street children as well as gender factors which possibly affect the trafficking of street children. As in most research done about prevention of a danger or hazard, vulnerabilities are identified in order to find the best protective measurements to help minimize or avoid negative consequences. However, looking only at the weaknesses of street children would give a distorted image of their reality as street children may also have protective mechanisms or -systems already in place. Therefore, this research also looks into the protective mechanisms and the resilience of street children in order to see the full picture of how vulnerable street children truly are to trafficking. In addition to vulnerability and resilience, gender has been separated as a key concept in this research. In this research the use of the term gender refers to girls. This is due to the fact that as vast majority of street children are boys, when talking about gender differences girls constitute as the deviation. According to the little research there is about

street girls in Kenya, gender seems to play a role in an individual's level of vulnerability. However, instead of incorporating the term under vulnerability, keeping gender as a separate concept allows the research to look at street girls and their lives in a more general way instead of just seeing their gender as a weakness.

1.4. Aim of the research

This research is part of a wider project by HAART Kenya that focuses on the prevention of child trafficking in Kenya. Previous research done by HAART in 2015, "Kenya's Child Market- Lure, Sell and Dispose " studied Kenyan children's vulnerabilities to trafficking and identified the most vulnerable groups to end up in the hands of traffickers. Street children were named as one of the most vulnerable groups. Due to the non-existing research about the connection between street children and human trafficking in Kenya, HAART provisioned for this research to be done. As the research published in 2015 aimed to identify vulnerable groups for child trafficking by studying children in general, this study aims to put a magnifying glass on street children in particular. The study aims to shed light on the connection between street children and human trafficking in order to help different stakeholders, both governmental and non-governmental, to be better equipped to assist these vulnerable children. To quote Horace Mann (1855), "Every addition to true knowledge is an addition to human power".

This research will mainly focus on street children living in Nairobi. The interview questions were designed to find out about both the vulnerabilities and protective factors of street children in consideration to human trafficking, the different forms of labour and whether that includes human trafficking and the role of gender within this issue. HAART was also interested to know why the ratio of street boys and street girls seems to change after the girls come to a certain age and if it is connected to human trafficking.
Therefore, my thesis aims to answer the following research questions:

> 1. What are the different forms of labour among the street children and does it include human trafficking?
> 2. What are the vulnerabilities and protective factors/resilience affecting the possible human trafficking of street children?
> 3. How does a street child's gender affect the vulnerability to human trafficking?

I will answer these questions by means of qualitative interviews. Nine (9) experts and two (2) former street boys were interviewed for this research. The experts were people working closely with street children in orphanages, safe houses, rehabilitation centres and outreach programmes. The experts were located mainly by using snowball sampling, as identifying them online was not effective enough. The former street boys were interviewed during a visit to one of the safe houses for an expert interview. The interviews were then analysed by using a theme analysing methodology where the interview findings were divided under certain themes.

1.5. The structure of the report

In Chapter 2 the context of this research will be opened further. As the introduction gave an initial view on human trafficking and street children in Kenya, the next chapter will aim to open the topic further by looking into previously done research about Kenyan street children, human trafficking of street children and gender differences.

In Chapter 3 the theoretical concepts of vulnerability and resilience will be explained and connected to this topic. Chapter 4 is about the methodology of this research. It will explain why and how the study was done, what issues were faced during the process and how the interviews were analysed. In Chapter 5 the findings are presented under different subsections designed to best answer the research questions and to clearly present the findings of human trafficking cases among street children.

Chapter 6 will draw together the conclusions of the research, and also discuss the limitations this research had as well as recommendations for further research aiming to find answers to these questions.

2. DESCRIPTION OF THE CONTEXT

In this Chapter, the description of the context in Kenya will be discussed by examining previously done research about the topic in hand. The chapter will begin by explaining the current situation of street children in Kenya, why they are on the streets, how they have been categorised in previous research, what forms of labour and ways of getting a livelihood there are and what is known about the bases they reside in on the streets. After this, some previously identified vulnerabilities are viewed such as substance use, sexuality, violence and the lack of strategies to address the problem of street children. In the last part, previous research about street girls is viewed to draw comparison to the general information about street children. This will include reasons for girls being on the streets, their ways of getting a living and the vulnerabilities that are associated with their gender. As this research aims to look at the situation of street children in Nairobi, most of the previous research is either about all of Kenya or case studies from different towns in Kenya. For this reason, this chapter will include all research done in Kenya to get the widest picture possible of the phenomenon.

2.1 Street Children in Kenya

Street children are children who spend most of their time on the streets. UN has defined street children as "*any girl or boy who has not reached adulthood, for whom the street -- has become her or his habitual abode and/or sources of livelihood, and who is inadequately protected, supervised or directed by responsible adults*" (UNICEF, 2001). The number of street children in the world can only be speculated but different estimates suggest it to be between 30 to 170 million. However, the number is expected to grow drastically and by 2020 the global number of street children is estimated to be up to 800 million (McAdam-Crisp et al., 2005).

In Kenya the same growth prevails. In 1992 the number of street children living in Kenya was estimated to be around 25,000, in 1997 the amount was already 40,000 and the most recent numbers are between 250,000 and 300,000. As stated in the introduction, approximately 60,000 of them live and work in Nairobi (Cradle, 2014). However, getting a definite number of the amount of street children is hard due to the different definitions of who is considered to be a street child as well as the difficulty of locating them due to their mobile lifestyles (Railway Children, 2012). Most of the visible street children in Kenya are

boys aged between 5 and 16 (Kaime-Atterhög & Ahlberg, 2008) and it is estimated that nine out of ten of Kenyan street children are boys (Aptekar & Ciano-Federoff, 1999).

Why are Street Children on the Streets?

There are many reasons for why children are living on the streets of Nairobi. Aptekar and Ciano-Federoff (1999) have argued that there are two common hypotheses made on why street children exist. One suspects that modernization has led to breaking of families, and another explains the problem of street children with abnormal families where children are abandoned, neglected or abused (Aptekar & Ciano-Federoff, 1999). However, the literature gives a more multifaceted picture of the reasons. The underlying reasons for children being on the streets can also be found in poverty, rural to urban migration, AIDS, regional conflicts and the changing of family structures (McAdam-Crisp et al., 2005). Poverty can result in parents removing their children from school due to their inability to pay school fees or using the children to generate extra income (Kaime-Atterhöt et al., 2007). Alcohol use by guardians, domestic violence, maltreatment and both physical and psychological abuse, or just the idea of freedom when living on the streets can also lead to children leaving their homes (Railway Children, 2012). Some children are also beaten in schools which can strengthen their desire to escape to the streets (Railway Children, 2012), whilst some might run away from children's institutions where they feel too restricted (WHO, 2000). Children also often believe that rural to urban migration leads to a better life with more work opportunities and ways of getting an income (Railway Children, 2012). Due to this urbanisation, child labour has become more visible on the streets (McAdam-Crisp et al., 2005). However, unfortunately children often arrive to big cities only to find disappointment and continue to live in poverty on the streets (Railway Children, 2012).

Categorising Street Children

The research done about street children often categorises them into different groups by their backgrounds and existing family ties. Due to the various background situations of street children, separations have been made between children who *spend time* on the streets and who *live* on the streets. The following categories which are listed below are the most commonly mentioned:

"*Children on the streets*" is a category often used to describe children who have existing family ties, who live at home and who might occasionally have a chance to attend school.

They spend time on the streets because they are forced to do so by their parents, or they choose to take part in helping with the household income. In Kenya, the children are often begging or selling goods and can even contribute as much as 70% of the total family income (Ayuku et al., 2004; Kaime-Atterhög et al., 2007). They might also spend time on the streets due to overcrowding at their homes; or to spend leisure time there during the evenings, weekends and school holidays. In Kenya, "children on the streets" is the biggest category of street children (Cradle, 2004).

"*Children of the streets*" is used to describe children who live in the streets on both the social and economic level. They might also have families and homes but for differing reasons, such as orphanhood, abandonment or running away, they reside mainly in the streets. They get an income by begging, stealing or scavenging. They live with their peers in the gangs or bases and they often suffer from drug abuse (Ayuku et al. 2004).

As the two categories mentioned above are popularly used in research about street children, there are also other categories that are valid in the Kenyan context. These are *children living alone in the streets* (Railway Children, 2012), *the completely orphaned and abandoned children* who have no contact with their families (McAdam-Crisp et al., 2005) and *the children of street families* where the whole family lives and works on the streets (Cradle, 2004).

The term "street child" has been criticized for its labelling effect. It paints a picture of a homogeneous group where cultural context, different backgrounds and reasons leading to the streets are not taken into consideration. Instead of categorising all children on the streets as the same, they should be seen as individuals and foremost as children with equal rights (McAdam-Crisp et al., 2005; Railway Children, 2012). However, street children themselves often accept the term as it offers them a sense of identity (UNICEF, 2005).

Street Children's Livelihood

Street children in Kenya have various ways of earning an income. They get an income by begging, stealing, scavenging, guarding cars, shining shoes, selling sweets and flowers, robbing stores, selling drugs, or by prostituting (Kaime-Atterhög et al., 2007). They can also dust people's houses, wash clothes, empty dustbins, work in restaurants, sell shoes, carry luggage or goods, load and unload cars, sell plastic bags, collect and sell scrap metal; firewood; bottles and charcoal, find stuff from dumps to sell, fetch water and sweep floors.

Finding this sort of work can be demanding and take a lot of time so some children find begging an easier option. They are not always paid with cash but sometimes given food instead (Railway Children, 2012).

In many countries such as Kenya, street children raise fear among the bystanders as they are seen as a threat and as a source of criminal activity (UNICEF, 2005). As stealing is a used way of getting an income among street children, it is also considered very dangerous. If caught, they can be beaten badly or even killed by bystanders, guards or the police. Robbing people, pickpocketing, stealing food, clothes and side mirrors from cars are common activities and for some it becomes a profession. However, for many it is an only option in times when no money or food can be attained through other methods. Some are made to do it by older street boys and some have stopped after getting caught and being badly beaten (Railway Children, 2012).

Some research has also categorised street children according to their work tasks. A study done in Nakuru, Kenya, found that the local street boys were organized by their age and work activities. The youngest and most vulnerable boys would be begging in dirty clothes, sleeping on the streets and when having no money, eating rotten fruit and finding food from the dustbins. Another group of over 15-year-olds would sell plastic bags, share a room in a slum and eat cheap food. The oldest boys of that study, aged between 15 and 18 would help with shopping bags, push trolleys to transport luggage and keep an eye on parked cars. Some of them would live in rented rooms in a slum or some with their families helping with the household income (Kaime-Atterhög & Ahlberg, 2008). Even some children who don't stay with their families, give some money to them as they might feel it to be their duty or responsibility (Railway Children, 2012).

Street Children's Bases

When a child joins the streets, they often join a group or a gang where they are supported by their peers. *Bases* are places where a group of street children and/or street families spend time and sleep when they are not working (Railway Children, 2012). They can be strictly hierarchical and the older children are usually in charge (Löw, 1998). There might be divided tasks among the base in order to generate income and food for the group (Railway Children, 2012). The bases are often located in dark alleys or temporary makeshift shelters (Cradle, 2004). The boys have a trust, friendship and dependency with each other and they rely on

each other with work opportunities, shelter, healthcare and food (Kaime-Atterhög & Ahlberg, 2008; Railway Children, 2012). The bases and gangs offer them protection from other gangs, police or the public. They can also provide substitution for adult care and affection, a sense of security, identity and safety (Kaime-Atterhög et al., 2007; Railway Children, 2012). The children often find the base members substitutions for their real families, which in some cases can make the rehabilitation harder (Löw, 1998). Often these groups also introduce them to bad lifestyles such as smoking, sniffing glue, prostitution and gambling (Kaime-Atterhög et al., 2007).

Inside the bases, sexual abuse is common and young boys and street girls are often sexually abused and raped. The older and bigger boys can steal the smaller ones money, belongings or chase them away (Kaime-Atterhög & Ahlberg, 2008). For this reason, as a survival strategy, some younger boys have founded their own groups. Some also prefer to stay alone and fend for themselves (Railway Children, 2012).

2.1.1 Vulnerabilities

There are many elements other than the pure fact of living on the streets that add to the vulnerability of street children. Life on the streets predisposes street children to different habits and coping strategies that can leave them vulnerable to different dangers. In previous literature, the most commonly mentioned vulnerabilities among Kenyan street children are substance use, sexuality and violence which will all be briefly examined in this chapter. In addition, the strategies, or the lack of, to address these problems by the government will be discussed shortly.

Substance Use

Substance use is very common among street children. Glue, alcohol, cannabis, petrol, cocaine, heroin and paint thinner are used to make life on the streets easier (Railway Children, 2012). Especially glue is very common for it's cheap prize, wide availability and addictive nature. The glue is sniffed from plastic bottles in order to get a high (Made in the Streets). The substances help the children to gain courage while on the streets and feel bolder with the police, with stealing, begging and sleeping on the streets. It also keeps them feeling warm, keeps the hunger away, helps them to sleep, stay calm and make them forget their problems and stay happier (Kaime-Atterhög & Ahlberg, 2008; Railway Children, 2012).

However, many children fully acknowledge the dangers of drug usage and its implications on their health and safety which cautions them to stay away from drugs. Nevertheless, peer pressure, urge to be part of the group and a need to feel better drive many to use them (Railway Children, 2012). Even though the selling of glue, drugs and alcohol to children is illegal in Kenya, it is still rampant (Palmqvist, 2006)

Sexuality

Studies have shown that street children are sexually active from a young age (Kaime-Atterhög et al. 2007; Lockhart, 2002). The sexual interactions can be voluntary but there is also a great deal of sexual exploitation among street children. Being sexually exploited by other street boys is one of the biggest dangers to children living on the streets (Kaime-Atterhög & Ahlberg, 2008). The sexual abuse is mainly done by the older and bigger street boys who take advantage of the younger and smaller boys. Boys can get raped and gang-raped by other boys during the night or the day, sometimes even while they are sleeping (Railway Children, 2012; Löw 1998). Young boys have also been pressured into having sex with older boys in order to get drugs or food (Kaime-Atterhög et al. 2007). In some cases the rapists can also be outsiders such as pimps (Kaime-Atterhög et al. 2007) or bystanders (Railway Children, 2012).

When it comes to street boys having sex with girls, a study done in Nakuru, showed that street boys were mainly having sex with girls other than street girls. All the children interviewed in the study above 10-years old were sexually active (Kaime-Atterhög et al. 2007). The sexual vulnerabilities and behaviours of street girls will be examined later in this chapter.

Violence

Street children are vulnerable to violence from other people living on the streets, amongst themselves as well as from outsiders. They can get robbed or beaten by other street children due to power play, territorial claims, collection of unpaid debts, retaliation or fighting off rape attempts by the bigger boys (Railway Children, 2012).

The external threats include violence by guards, police, city council members and even community members. Especially if caught stealing, street children can face a serious beating from guards, police or bystanders. The beatings can leave the street children with cuts, broken bones and sometimes even results in them being killed. The police can also beat them,

arrest them or take their money for begging or loitering on the streets (Railway Children, 2012).

Strategies to address the phenomenon of street children

Government agencies are not doing much in Kenya to help street children due to a limited national budget and tire resources. Thus, most of the work is done by other organizations. These are non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and civil society organizations (CSOs) aiming to help street children in Nairobi through different ways of intervention (Railway Children, 2012). Outreach on the streets, vocational training, education, providing food or a chance to clean themselves are among some of the activities that these organizations practice. There are also many orphanages and rehabilitation centers that take in children from the streets. A big majority of these organizations work with deep Christian values and embracing these values is also often part of the services provided for street children. Even though some street children are successfully rehabilitated back to the society, many of them still end up going back to the streets (Kaime-Atterhög & Ahlberg, 2008).

2.2 Human trafficking of street children in Kenya

In 2015 HAART Kenya had a research (2015b) done to better understand child trafficking in Kenya. It drew attention to street children as one of the most vulnerable groups to human trafficking. While there is no previous research done specifically about the human trafficking of street children in Kenya, some research about street children, as well as research about human trafficking, mention cases and facts that seem to provide useful information for this study. However, as the connection of the two have not been stated in this previous research, it cannot be confirmed that the following cases are indeed cases of trafficking street children. Additional difficulty is brought by the fact that defining something as human trafficking requires the recruiting, transporting, transferring, harbouring or receiving of the victim. As street children are constantly mobile, it is sometimes hard to define what movement is counted as human trafficking. In these uncertain cases, these questions and ambiguities are voiced.

The vulnerability of street children to human trafficking has been stated also in other research in addition to HAART Kenya's (National Crime Research Centre, 2014; Terre des Hommes, 2014). However, as findings on the subject are very thin, there is existing knowledge about child labour that could include cases of human trafficking. A comment by an officer at the

International Labour Organization (ILO) states that using children as domestic work labour thrives because of the high amount of street children vulnerable to it (National Crime Research Centre, 2014). According to UNICEF (2005), orphaned children are more vulnerable to work in agriculture, domestic servitude, in street vendor and commercial sex, than non-orphaned children are. These statements talk about child labour and not trafficking per se, but it does show that street- and orphaned children are known to work in jobs known to employ victims of child trafficking in Kenya. Also, as the consent of a child is irrelevant in child trafficking, if the child is taken from one place to another and they are in any way exploited, the "employment" is defined as child trafficking. One assumed form of labor among trafficked street children is forcing them to beg. A study made about human trafficking in Senegal shows that religious teachers made children beg for food and money on the streets (National Crime Research Centre, 2014). Studies done in Kenya also show that one form of labor done by children who have been trafficked is street begging (HAART Kenya, 2015b; Terre des hommes, 2014).

Child labour is not enforced only by outsiders but also by other street children. According to Railway Children's report (2012), begging and stealing are forms of labour street children are made to do by their peers on the streets. The bigger boys send the younger and smaller ones to beg and if they resist, they are beaten. The money will be given to the forcer, and if one refuses, they will be attacked and the money will be taken from them by force. Another example in the report, states that some of the boys are made to steal. A street boys' testimony states that once he had declined to steal, he was beaten. As these cases cannot be confirmed as human trafficking cases, it is clear that forcing other street children to do things is happening and this could include cases of human trafficking if the children are taken or forced to go from one place to another.

As street children have to be careful in order to stay safe, they are prejudiced towards outsiders. However, in some cases the children might be lured with false pretext which can lead them into dangerous situations. Especially street girls, as they are identified as being very vulnerable to trafficking (National Crime Research Centre, 2014). One of the biggest dangers for them is getting raped. In Railway Children's research (2012), an 11- year-old street girl was approached by a man who promised to provide her and her brother shelter. When she went with him, he attempted to rape her. Fortunately she escaped. Even as this case

is not defined as human trafficking, it shows that street children can be tricked to go with strangers. In a case presented by National Crime Research Centre (2014), an orphaned teenage girl living on the streets of Kakamega, Kenya, was promised work as a house girl in Nairobi by a strange man. As she was brought to Nairobi, she found herself taken to a brothel where she was forced to work as a prostitute and where she faced continuous rape and beating. This case can be classified as a case human trafficking, as the girl was taken from one place to another under a false pretext and with the motive to exploit her.

Among missing people in Kenya, girls make the biggest number of missing persons. Most of them are under sixteen years old (Kassilly et al., 2012). The reason for the disappearance of these girls is unknown and it is worth considering that some of them could be victims of human trafficking. In the previous research found, all of the examples of street girls being possible victims of trafficking were cases of prostitution. Different research has found girls being used for prostitution by other street children, gang members (WHO, 2000), pimps (Kaime-Atterhög et al. 2007) or unidentified men (Kaime-Atterhög & Ahlberg, 2008). In these cases the girls can be sent out by their "boyfriends" to sell themselves to men (WHO, 2000) or their movement can be controlled by their pimps (Kaime-Atterhög et al. 2007) or by other men (Kaime-Atterhög & Ahlberg, 2008). This information shows that some street girls are not in charge of their own lives and they are being controlled by other people. It cannot be said whether these cases involve trafficking cases, but it shows that the girls are vulnerable to being used or exploited by others. The vulnerability for the girls to be trafficked and used for prostitution could therefore be seen as an existing possibility.

Forcing a child to beg on the streets is also done by their families through the threat of violence (Railway Children, 2012). As child trafficking is defined as an incident where 'a child is taken from one place to another to be exploited and where the consent of the victim does not matter,' this can be seen as a case of human trafficking. However, these cases are tricky, as in some cases the families cannot afford to put the children into school and so they are used to help to generate household income. Some girls are also sold to prostitution by their parents at a young age (Löw, 1998) which fills the full requirements of the human trafficking definition.

2.3 Gender aspect of Street Children

As mentioned in the introduction, only one out of ten street children are girls (Aptekar & Ciano-Federoff, 1999). There is very little research done about street girls in Kenya which can be due to there being both a low visibility of street girls, and due to the fact that reaching them requires different approaches (Kaime-Atterhög & Ahlberg, 2008; Railway Children, 2012). Street girls are harder to spot as they take better care of their hygiene and their clothes are often cleaner. Also, they don't usually spend time in the visible spots on the streets where street boys spend their time (Kassilly et al., 2012). Research from different countries has also found that some street girls dress as boys in order to protect themselves better (WHO, 2000).

The reason for the uneven ratio between street girl and boys has been discussed within different research. Firstly, girls usually stay longer in exploitative situations so they do not move to the streets as willingly as boys (UNICEF, 2005). Secondly, they are less likely to be abandoned since girls are culturally brought up to be more submissive and they don't have as many behavioural problems as boys. Due to this, they have less conflicts with their family members and have no need to leave their homes (WHO, 2000). However, research has found that once girls leave their homes, they are usually more unlikely to return (UNICEF, 2005). Thirdly, girls are also more likely to be picked up from the streets by authorities or individuals wanting to take care of them or exploit them (WHO, 2000). Lastly, cultural values result in girls freedom being more restricted than that of boys. There is stigma for girls living on the streets as street girls are seen to shake the gender norms, and as more vulnerable than their counterparts, they are forced to work in commercial sex work with no other alternatives (Railway Children, 2012). Still, as the number of street children seems to be increasing, the same rise is visible within the amount of girls living on the street (Kaime-Atterhög & Ahlberg, 2008).

Why are Street Girl on the streets?
Aptekar and Ciano-Federoff (1999) found that as with street children in general, street girls have different reasons for living on the streets. According to the report, some street girls are sent there by their families to collect money and then return home. However, as with many street boys, girls who end up on the streets often have a background of abuse or conflict at home. Therefore, they prefer to stay on the streets rather than in their homes. Due to poverty, children are often made to sleep in the same room as their parents and their partners. Because

of this, girls often leave home in a fear of being violated by a non-relative in the house (Aptekar & Ciano-Federoff, 1999). It is estimated, that over 80% of street girls living in Nairobi have been sexually abused (Orwa et al., 1991).

Street Girls Livelihood

According to Railway Children's report (2012), girls on the streets have different survival mechanisms in order to sustain themselves. The work done by girls differs from that of street boys. The girls may work as domestic servants taking care of children, cooking, washing clothes and cleaning the house, or they might do these tasks separately when needed. They might also do tasks such as buying glue for other children and getting paid for it (Railway Children, 2012). However, most research done about street girl's mentions prostituting as the main way of getting an income (Railway Children, 2012; Kaime-Atterhög & Ahlberg, 2008; Aptekar &Ciano-Federoff, 1999).

Vulnerabilities

Due to their gender, street girls are seen as being more vulnerable than street boys (Aptekar &Ciano-Federoff, 1999). Girls are not usually as eager to stay on the streets, but the ones who do, are in a very vulnerable situation and exposed to different dangers (Railway Children, 2012). Girls in Kenya are often trained by their mothers to stay home and take care of the household, whereas boys are trained to survive on the streets from much more early stages in life. However, when these protecting methods fail and girls find themselves on the streets, the lack of survival training makes girls quite helpless (Aptekar & Ciano-Federoff, 1999). The housework that girls do in order to earn an income while on the streets also makes them vulnerable for exploitation and sexual harassment by the employers (Railway Children, 2012). Girls can also face violence on the streets by other street children (Railway Children, 2012), or in cases of prostitution, they might get beaten or raped by their customers.

It has also been reported, that street girls do not build strong bondages with other street children or form similar groups in comparison to street boys (Aptekar & Ciano-Federoff, 1999). However, some research shows that girls and boys spend time in different groups but get together at night time. The girls might have "boyfriends" in those groups who protect them from the other boys (Löw, 1998). Some group leaders might also take "wives" who are protected and given food (Aptekar & Ciano-Federoff, 1999). Even though these relationships might not be very strong, it offers the girls a feeling of safety. Another way to feel better is to

sniff glue, which is done by some girls. However, as with boys, the drugs can make girls vulnerable to sexual abuse and other dangers (Löw, 1998).

Sexuality

As stated above, street girls are vulnerable to different dangers due to their gender. This can manifest into sexual abuse as there are much fewer street girls in comparison to street boys, and also outsiders might be interested in taking advantage of them. They might get raped by other street boys, individuals or gangs, or by outsiders (Railway Children, 2012). Some girls are forced into prostitution by their parents in order to help earn the family income (Löw, 1998). Other examples show the girls are being forced into prostitution by their boyfriends or their peers on the streets (WHO, 2000; Aptekar & Ciano-Federoff, 1999), or by pimps (Kaime-Atterhög et al. 2007). Prostituting can be dangerous as it increases the possibility of the girls being exploited or subjected to violence. Some suffer from being beaten or sexually assaulted by adults and street boys (Löw, 1998), and some can be abandoned in horrible conditions after the transaction has been performed (WHO, 2000). Sadly, as many street girls have lived this way most of their lives, some of them mistake sexual abuse for love and affection (Löw, 1998). Fortunately, some girls get proper protection from other street boys and are kept safe from outsiders and from other street children (Railway Children, 2012).

As a consequence of sexual activity, street girls have a risk of getting pregnant. As the fathers can be customers, rapists or other street children, the girls are often left alone with the problem (Aptekar & Ciano-Federoff, 1999). As a result, some girls rely on unsafe abortions, whereas others keep the babies continuing the cycle of poverty on the streets (Railway Children, 2012).

3. THEORETICAL CONCEPTS

In this Chapter, I will introduce the main concepts used in this study: vulnerability and resilience. These two were selected for this research because viewing the vulnerabilities and resilience of street children helps to get a profound picture of the overall safety situation of street children. This helps us to identify the factors that make street children weak or resilient against human trafficking thus, allowing us to see where the biggest safety gaps are located. I discuss these concepts by looking at which disciplines are known to use them, how they are defined in different contexts, how they can be measured and which definitions work best for this thesis and why.

3.1. Vulnerability

The term 'vulnerability' is used loosely in everyday life as well as within different disciplines, making it a term which is difficult to define. It is used especially in environmental and social sciences, but also in economics, information science, psychology and other disciplines. Due to the many existing rival definitions, the so called "vulnerability research" is only in the beginning of its evolutionary stage (Bogardi, 2006).

Vulnerability is seen as an indicator that looks forwards in order to prevent potential damages (Thywissen, 2006; Alwang et al., 2001). Vulnerability can be identified in advance by looking at how certain risks or hazard might affect an identified population or area (Cannon et al, 2003). In addition, it can be viewed as an ongoing state where both risks and responses are taken into consideration (Alwang et al., 2001). In turn, "Post mortem" vulnerability assessment can be used after something has already happened to assess the damages that occurred due to existing vulnerabilities (Bogardi, 2006).

Vulnerability is a communal characteristic that is present at all times, but which is only revealed in times of harm and disaster (Thywissen, 2006). According to Alwang et al. (2001), different disciplines using different definitions of vulnerability has led to various ways of measuring it. They focus on different risk components, responses and welfare outcomes. Definitions vary between and inside different disciplines, but in environmental and development studies many of the definitions can be applied to both. For instance, many natural catastrophes can affect the wellbeing of people as much as the environment. Also,

various actions done by people can make environments vulnerable to certain risks or damages.

A vague definition of vulnerability is often seen as someone, or something, being "open to harm or under threat of harm". Due to the ambiguity of this definition, it is good for general uses and it can easily be applied to different contexts (Wrigley, 2015). However, the definition needs to be clarified in order to explain what makes one vulnerable. According to Bolin and Stanford (1998), vulnerability can be caused by having little choices, or by living under certain constraints such as lack of education or employment opportunities, discrimination, illness, inability to affect political decisions, disabilities and lack of legal rights. Also, poverty correlates with the amount of vulnerability; the poorer the person, community or country, the more vulnerable it is (Chakraborty et al., 2005). With households, risky events can make households vulnerable to future deprivation of welfare leading to a life "below socially accepted norms" (Alwang et al., 2001). Vulnerability can then lead to casualties, disorder, damage, devastation or other forms of loss (Alexander, 2000).

Environmental literature views both people, as well as environments, as possible casualties of risks and disasters. With people, vulnerability emerges from them being exposed to livelihood stress due to environmental changes (Thywissen, 2006). A threat of environmental disasters can keep both people and environments vulnerable (Alexander, 2000). In economics the focus is often on household vulnerability. They often view the outcomes that follow households' response to risk. The interest is on the households' response *effect* to risk and whether the household avoids or falls to poverty as a result (Alwang et al., 2001). In sustainable livelihood literature, which is also interested in households' responses to risk, vulnerability has been split into two: external risks and internal risks. External risks include risks, stress factors and shocks that affect people, whilst internal risks are about their ability to cope with these risks by having defence mechanisms such as an ability to reduce or cope with losses (Chambers, 1989). A division between structurally vulnerable and proximate vulnerable, is also done to understand different coping abilities to stress. A household can be structurally vulnerable due to the composition of the family, for example having many old or young family members unable to perform needed tasks. Households can also be vulnerable due to their proximity to the stress factor (Davies, 1996, cited by Alwang et al., 2001).

Sociological approach to vulnerability differs from the above. According to Moser and Holland (1997), vulnerability is "the insecurity of the well-being of individuals, households, or communities in the face of a changing environment." As the poverty status of a person can change, vulnerability can be seen as a good way of measuring one's ongoing situation. The mainstream sociological research sees that in order to understand who is poor, income and consumption do not work as proper indicators (Alwang et al., 2001). Instead, Moser and Holland (1997) propose that poverty can be seen as a result of many different circumstantial factors such as capabilities, possibility of earning a living, deficiency and exclusion. To this list, Alwang et al. (2001) also adds vulnerability. Moser and Holland's (1997) factors also include the basic needs of people such as health and education facilities, and fairly paid employment possibilities. They also include the feeling of helplessness which comes with an economic crisis. In addition to poverty, sociological research tries to identify groups that are especially vulnerable, such as children who are at risk, old and disabled people and households that are headed by females (Alwang et al., 2001).

As Alexander (2000) explains, *risk* can be seen as the other side of the coin to vulnerability. As research often bundles the two concepts together, there is a difference between them. Crichton (1999), defines risk as the probability of a loss where the loss depends on a hazard, a vulnerability and an exposure which are present. If any of these elements increases or decreases, the risk increases or decreases correspondingly. Simply put, risk can be seen as the expected value of losses (Kitamoto, 2005). To put the difference of vulnerability and risk into context, this study aims to find out if vulnerable street children are at risk of getting trafficked, with the risk here being street children losing their freedom and going through exploitation, and the vulnerability signifying their characteristics such as being a child and living on the streets.

Basically, vulnerability can be seen as a way of measuring one's predisposition to loss or damage. The more vulnerable one is, the more exposed they are to loss and damage (Buckle, 2000). The nature of this research being sociological, the definition of vulnerability should also be in that nature. Vulnerability understood as "the insecurity of the well-being of individuals, households, or communities in the face of a changing environment" (Moser & Holland, 1997), is therefore an appropriate definition. Street children live in a constantly changing environment, and in insecurity, due to a lack of income. Also, as sociological

research explains, their age, gender and social status plays a big role when defining what makes them vulnerable.

3.2 Resilience Theory

As vulnerability is something that can place one at risk, the term 'resilience' is something which can keep one safe from it. Resilience is also a term used loosely in everyday life and has different definitions depending on the discipline or the context in question. The roots of the term are in ecology (Alwang et al. 2001). Ecological resilience was initially seen as the amount of disturbance an ecosystem could stand without changing its self-organized processes and structures (Gunderson, 2000). Currently, resilience is also studied in environmental research where climate change and environments are studied in order to identify their ability to handle pressure due to catastrophes or human actions. The concept is also used in disaster management literature, where nature's', peoples', communities' or countries' ability to survive and bounce back from catastrophes is examined. In psychology, the term is widely used to explain people's ability to overcome stress or life-threatening traumatic experiences such as violence, trauma from war, death of a loved one, natural disasters, accidents and terrorism (Southwick et al., 2014). Some disciplines, such as disaster management, replace the term resilience with terms like hazard and coping as outcomes of vulnerability (Alwang et al., 2001). In order to fully understand what resilience means, it is important to focus on the empirical data (Bonanno, 2014).

In sociology, resilience is viewed through more social lenses. Social resilience refers to a groups or communities ability to respond to a stressful situation which is caused by an environmental, political or social hazard (Adger, 2000). Social resilience is measured by one's ability to cope with or beat threats, the ability to adapt to those threats by learning from past experiences and transferring the knowledge to prevent future risks. Also, the ability to make use of socio-political assets and access assistance is viewed along with one's ability to participate in decision making which improves a community's' welfare or readiness for future threats (TransRe, 2015). In addition to sociology, economic research also studies household resilience by viewing their survival mechanisms (Alwang et al. 2001).

As this research is sociological, it will include more of a post-disciplinary approach to the term 'resilience'. This is due to the multilateral side of resilience amongst street children and

as such, the sociological definitions alone are not satisfactory. As Sayer (1999) states, post-disciplinary approach is the best way to fully understand all of the aspects of the issue being studied. Staying loyal to one discipline can lead to the misunderstanding of the social world. According to Sayer, post-disciplinary approach allows one to study the subject openly and without getting trapped in the boundaries of one's own discipline and thus, getting the fullest understanding of the issue being studied. This research will acknowledge and use the sociological aspect of resilience to some extent but it will also break through the disciplines boundaries and supplement the understanding, by using definitions from other disciplines such as psychology.

In different research, the need for resilience is often divided into two types. Most often it is studied in situations where someone faces a traumatic experience and there is a need to overcome that experience. It can also been seen as a more long-term process where people need resilience to survive their everyday life. Thus, resilience can be seen as a trait, process or an outcome depending on the situation (Southwick et al., 2014).

The first type of definition is used especially in psychology and disaster management. The American Psychological Association (2014), defines resilience as one's ability to adapt to and bounce back from adversity, trauma, threats, tragedy or large sources of stress. However, this definition leaves out the social, cultural, biological and psychological factors that affect one's ability to be resilient in times of stress (Southwick et al., 2014). Resilience is also often discussed with household responses where resilience is seen as the households' ability to endure pressure and bounce back from it (Alwang et al. 2001). The second way of studying the need for resilience is to see it as a more of a long-term process. Panter-Brick (2014), defined resilience as a long-term "*process to harness resources in order to sustain well-being*". This definition suits better situations where the risk of hazard, or the actual hazard itself, is on-going. It also leaves room for non-psychological consequences and is more open to cultural differences (Panter-Brick, 2014). In a study about street children, Sondhi-Garg (2004, cited by Ali 2011) defines resilience as one's capacity to encounter harmful events, go through hardship and overcome it while at the same time getting stronger by it.

What makes one resilient is a question with many different answers. It is often seen as a process and an interaction of different systems (Masten, 2014). There are biological factors that make some people more resilient than others, but it is also important to acknowledge the

contribution of the environment. Some of the benefitting factors for gaining resilience can be found, for example, in support systems, available possibilities and DNA (Yehuda, 2014). Studies about post-traumatic stress disorder (PSD) have also identified female gender, minority ethnicity, lack of education and younger age as risk factors for suffering from PSD (Bonanno et al., 2007). As these factors affect one being more vulnerable to PSD, it could also be a sign of these factors affecting one's' measure of resilience in a certain situation.

Especially when resilience is seen as a process, it is important to take into consideration the link between individuals and their environments (Yehuda, 2014). People have attained adaptive systems from culture and biology which are continuously created and changed. Relationships such as a bond between a child and their caregiver, can equip a child with emotional security which makes them more resilient (Masten, 2014). Resilience can also be linked with a lack of risk-management strategies as well as under-development (De León, 2006).

3.3 Vulnerability and resilience in this research

After reading through the previous chapters it can be noted that both vulnerability and resilience are terms used in many different disciplines. They can be found intertwined in environmental, disaster management, development and in many other disciplines. The two concepts have developed independently over time but have recently been more interlinked within research (Fekete et al. 2014; Miller et al. 2010). Some research sees them as subcomponents of each other, whereas some research sees them as subcomponents of other broader terms, such as risk (Fekete et al. 2014). They have also been described as different sides of a same coin (Dominelli, 2012). Basically, resilience can be seen as an answer to why systems, environments or people stay afloat in spite of high volumes of vulnerability (Hempel & Lorenz, 2014). Combining the two concepts can be very productive as they both aim to respond to stress and risk (Miller et al. 2010).

Vulnerability and resilience are also frequently used terms within research about street children. However, as there is very little research about street children and human trafficking (none in Kenyan context), it feels appropriate to use these popular concepts to study this different aspect of street children. To do this successfully, it is good to acknowledge the connection of the two concepts in previous research about street children.

Much of the research done about street children seeks to identify different strengths and weaknesses of the children. This can include research about the children's' physical, emotional, social and cognitive development and how these are connected to their vulnerability, their ability to cope, or adapt their resilience (Le Roux & Smith, 1998b). Some research connects children's vulnerability and resilience with their homes. The questions have been about whether it is the child's vulnerability or resilience that drives them to the streets in the first place (Ali, 2011), and whether it is vulnerability or resilience that is most affected when starting a life on the streets (McAdam-Crisp et al. 2005.; Ali, 2011). According to Ali (2011), the struggles of street children emerge from the shift from one vulnerable situation to another, and this should be more studied by using the concepts of vulnerability and resilience. However, more often research concentrates on describing the embodiments of vulnerability and/or resilience of street children rather than on how the actual shift from vulnerability to resilience happens (Ali, 2011; WHO, 2000).

In the chapter about vulnerability, Moser's and Hollands (1997) sociological definition of vulnerability was adapted to this research. They defined vulnerability as individuals, households, or communities' insecurity of well-being in changing environments. However, in this research the definition of resilience has been influenced by a mix of different disciplines. Street children need resilience to stay alive, to stay sane and use previous situations to their advantage in order to stay safe from dangers like human trafficking. As life on the streets is a continuous situation for many, street children need resilience in everyday life for long periods of time in order to *sustain* their well-being. Street children can also go through a combination of different traumatic events that can either be the reasons for them being on the streets or those experienced on the streets. Being able to bounce back after these traumatic events is important in order to sustain one's well-being, and hopefully, it will also lead to one becoming stronger as Sondhi-Gargs (2004) definition of resilience promises. However, as Sondhi-Gargs definition is used in a context of street children, it fails to identify the long-lasting nature of street life. In fact, in the case of street children, both types of definitions of resilience prevail. Street children need resilience in order to overcome isolated incidents on the streets, but as street life is a long-lasting (and in some cases even permanent) way of life, their life in general should be viewed as a long-lasting hazard that requires resilience.

Thus, in this research the different definitions of resilience will be merged, which is illustrated in Figure 1 below. Panter-Brick's (2014) definition of resilience as a "*process to harness resources in order to sustain well-being*" is used in this research to explain the on-going lifestyle of street children (red area in Figure 1). The American Psychological Association's definition will be then included to describe the resilience needed to overcome the isolated incidents within street life, such as sexual abuse and violence (blue areas in Figure 1). From Sondhi-Garg's (2004) definition we will take the part about getting stronger after overcoming these traumas, and it will be used in order to reflect street children's ability to learn from previous incidents in order to stay safer in the future. (also blue areas in Figure 1). To sum this all up, in this research resilience needed by vulnerable street children is seen as a combination of two ways of defining resilience. The street life in general requires resilience that helps these children to "harness resources in order to sustain well-being" and thus, make sure they get food, they stay healthy and above all that they stay alive. As they also encounter isolated risks and hazards such as sexual abuse or violence, they need resilience in order to adapt or bounce back after these traumatic events and hopefully come out stronger than before. The reason why these two definitions of resilience should be separated, is to better understand the best practices to help street children.

Figure 1: Reasons for and types of resilience needed by street children
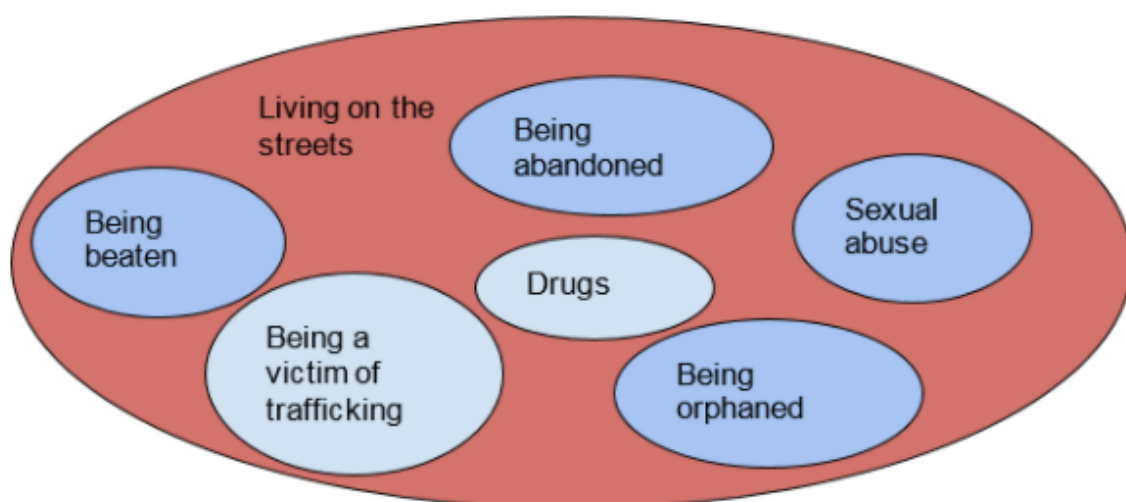
Red: where long-term resilience is needed and where resilience is used to sustain well-being.
Blue: where short-term resilience is needed and where resilience helps one to bounce back and get stronger after a traumatic experience.

Source: Constructed by the author on the basis of Panter-Brick's (2014), The American Psychological Associations and Sondhi-Garg's (2004) definitions of resilience.

In this Chapter the different definitions and ways of using the concepts of vulnerability and resilience were presented. In addition, the best definitions for this research were picked but also built. For vulnerability, Moser's and Hollands (1997) definition was seen as a good option as it was. However, defining resilience for this research was built by combining Panter-Brick's, The American Psychological Association's and Sondhi-Garg's definitions so that both long lasting and more sudden situations could be taken into consideration. In the next Chapter, I will discuss how I investigated vulnerabilities and resilience in this particular context and how conducting this research was executed.

4. METHODOLOGY

4.1. Methodological approach of the research

In our joint planning of the methodology with HAART staff, we decided on a qualitative approach as it was seen as the best way to find information about the topic in hand. With very little research done on the topic, we felt that new information should be gathered in order to get an apprehensive picture of the phenomenon. As we first talked about how to collect data for this research, we had a very ethnographic research in mind. Ethnography is a diverse qualitative research approach that studies the culture. (Patton, 2002). Ethnography observes the social reality in its natural environs and its roots are in anthropology. Ethnographic researcher is thus to describe and understand different types of operational practices typically by taking part of the situations themselves and to describe it comprehensively and deliberately. (Eskola & Suoranta, 1998) Typically ethnographic researcher takes part of the research objects life by watching, listening and asking. It is central to gather information that describes the object of the study as precisely as possible. (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995)

To follow the set of directives given above, we had an idea of interviewing both experts and street children and in addition to do some observations on the streets. However due to lack of time we had to narrow down the ways of collecting data. This will be further discussed in the next section "4.2. Data collection". The research started more as an ethnographic research where different data-collecting methods were meant to be used, but it ended up being a more of a straightforward expert interview research. Previous research about street children in Kenya was also used in order to get as a comprehensive picture of the street children and human trafficking, as possible.

I decided that the interviews would be done by using semi-structured interview questions. Semi-structured interviews allow the interviewer to have a set of questions or topics, but it also gives them a freedom to stray away from the predetermined questions if needed (Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, 2008). As human trafficking is a phenomenon that is not well known among people in Kenya, it felt safer to be able to step aside from the questions if it would become evident that the person being interviewed had false assumptions on what human trafficking is. This way, follow-up questions could be presented if needed. The two interviews I did with the former street boys were done using an open interview method. This was because these interviews were in fact not planned before but as the possibility rose while

interviewing one of the experts, we did not want to decline this offer. In an open interview the interviewer tries to make the situation feel as natural and open as possible making it feel more like an ordinary conversation. The questions have not been defined beforehand and the conversation flows naturally around the research topic making the interviewee feel comfortable to talk about their feelings, experiences, opinions, memories and justifications (Saaranen-Kauppinen & Puusniekka, 2006). Both of the interviewing methods worked well in the interviews.

4.2 Data collection

Deciding who to interview was a big decision when planning this research. As stated above, due to lack of time we decided that street children living on the streets could not be interviewed. Previous research as well as some experts told us that getting street children to talk to us would require a lot of time and effort. This would require visiting them almost daily and for a long period of time. Doing observations was also found to be tricky, as finding places on the streets were street children spent time and where it would have been seen natural for a foreign young girl to be spending time was difficult. Due to time limitations, together with HAART staff involved, we decided to leave the observations and street child interviews from this research. However, we kept an option open for interviewing former street children. We were told that we could interview former street boys in one of the safe houses whose director was also to be interviewed as an expert for this research, but unfortunately due to some incidents happening at that safe house, we were denied access to the boys after all. Still, we managed to talk to two former street boys in one of the other safe houses. In the rest of the places the experts were unwilling to let us talk to the children in fear of re-traumatizing them with the questions. This we accepted with no hesitation as causing no harm to the children is also our aim.

As such, the interviews were then mainly done by interviewing experts who work with street children in one way or another. Their ways of helping street children will be further discussed later in this Chapter "4.2.1 Caretakers, caregivers and street children". Experts can be defined as people who hold knowledge of a specific social phenomenon which they have gathered by learning or training. Expert interviews are a method of collecting data about their expertise from the experts themselves. As such, as a data collecting method, expert interviews include all forms of qualitative interviews done with defined experts (Gläser & Laudel, 2009). Expert

interviews have been used in social research for a long time. They have been popular due to their effective way of giving the researcher good results quickly, which offers a less time-consuming way of gathering the knowledge (Bogner et al., 2009). However, Gläser and Laudel (2009) also point out that there are "good" and "bad" experts as people's knowledge and abilities vary and they can describe their experiences differently due to their different perceptions. For this reason, the two researchers urge one to consider the quality of the available experts in the planning phase of the interviews so that the data will not be affected. Expert interviews have also been used in other street child research, often to gather complementary information in addition to that which has been gathered from street children themselves. As much of the research -and common sense- states, that street children themselves are a good source of information about their lives, interviewing experts also has its advantages. With experts the knowledge is more often objective, and subjective rationalities such as emotions don't affect their perception on the phenomenon as much (Morrow, 2009). In this research we took these issues into consideration and chose different types of experts (caregivers, caretakers and former street boys) in order to get as wide expertise as possible.

Next step for this research was to find the experts. For this, with a help of HAART staff we used snowball sampling as a method of collecting people to be interviewed. Snowball sampling means finding one or two people to be interviewed and asking them to provide new names to be interviewed (Statistics How To, 2014). According to Bogner et al. (2009), the added bonus of doing expert interviews is that in some cases they can also help the researcher to gain access to the circle of experts in that field. We started our contacting of experts by calling orphanages, safe houses and organizations working with street children that were already known to HAART. We started by meeting with a director of a safe house and school for street boys who gave us two names to contact. We managed to reach them and scheduled interviews with both of them. From them we got new contacts and so on. In addition to snowball-sampling, we also used the internet to find different organizations that were working with street children in Nairobi. As there are not many organizations in Kenya whose sole purpose is to help street children, we were able to locate and contact most of them. All the interviews were scheduled via phone. All in all, 11 experts were interviewed in nine (9) different occasions as two interviews had two experts present. The 11 interviewees came from seven (7) different organizations. In addition, we were able to interview two (2) former

street boys in one of the safe houses where this option was initiated by an employee of the orphanage. All in all, 13 people were interviewed.

All of the expert interviews were done in the workplaces of the interviewees. Though English is the second official language in Kenya, we felt that having a local person with me would be a good idea in case we needed a translator. I conducted all but two interviews in English with the presence and help of a local HAART employee. One of the remaining interviews was done in both English and Swahili due to a partial language barrier and another was done alone by a local HAART member in Swahili. The expert interviews took an hour in average and the two former street boys interviews were about 15 minutes each (See Appendix 1). They were all recorded and later transcribed by employees of HAART.

The expert interviews included questions about the experts working history with street children, general information about street children and their life in Nairobi, how the children make a living and if this includes possible cases of human trafficking and how they feel that gender affects the life on the streets. In addition, some questions were asked about how bystanders, the police, and city council treat the children and what the experts would wish them to do more. The interview questions for experts can be found in the Appendix 3. As the former street child interviews were done with an open interview method, we had no questions ready for them. The themes of the interviews were about their life on the streets, dangers that they faced and possible trafficking cases on the streets.

4.2.1 Caretakers, caregivers and street children

The experts interviewed worked with both former street children as well as with children still residing on the streets. For this reason they were divided into two namely categories; *caretakers* and *caregivers*. *Caretakers* include people who take care of former street children in different institutions such as orphanages, safe houses and rehabilitation centres. Several of these places were open to children from different backgrounds and street children were only one group that were catered for. Each caretaker had a varied amount of knowledge about the backgrounds of the children. Some of them had very little knowledge about the children's past on the streets and what it included whereas others knowledge was very extensive. The other group, the *caregivers,* were people who did outreach with street children. They seemed to have more information about the lives in the streets and gave great input to this research.

The organizations doing outreach were all working exclusively with people living on the streets, most of them concentrating on street children. From all of the professionals being interviewed five (5) were caretakers, four (4) were caregivers and two (2) were caretakers who had also worked as caregivers in some point. One of them was still doing both. In addition, one of the caregivers was a former street child himself.

Two former street boys were also interviewed. After finishing one of the interviews with an employee of a safe house, he asked two former street boys who had been successfully rehabilitated from the streets to come in. The employee assured us that the boys were very open about their past and would not be re-traumatized by talking about it and both of them would be over 18. As this was not planned beforehand and we could not use the questions designed for the caretakers and caregivers, we did open interviews with both of the boys separately. We were able to establish a comfortable atmosphere and both boys seemed relaxed in the situation. Both of them also confirmed our suspicion that getting interviews from children still living in the streets would have been extremely hard and time-consuming due to their lack of trust towards outsiders.

4.3 Ethical issues

As we wanted the interviewees to be in ease when talking to us, both the interviewer and translator signed a confidentiality agreement. It stated that identifying the interviewed people would not be possible from the research, neither would the information be distributed to anywhere else. The agreements were always showed in the beginning of the interviews and any questions about them were answered. The agreement also clearly stated what the interview was about and that the interviewee was not expected to say anything that would make them feel uncomfortable. Respecting confidentiality is a very important part of research ethics. With confidentiality agreements people are in more ease to talk about sensitive issues and without it risks are that people refuse to take part in the interviews or they leave out information. That is why confidentiality enhances the quality and validity of the data collected. (Ogden, 2008)

One of the ethical issues we faced was with talking about the children's experiences with the caretakers and caregivers. Some of the experiences suffered by the children are very sensitive and private and for this reason the identity of the children were held strictly secret even while doing the interviews. Some of the experts did mention names but none of them were written

down to secure the children's identity. Still some caretakers and caregivers felt that some of the experiences faced by the children in their care were too private and confidential to share even for research purposes. As we had presented a signed confidentiality agreements, most often we got the answers we needed in the end. However, the ethical question still remained; was it all right to discuss the children's experiences without their consent? There have been arguments by some researchers that consent doesn't have to be obtained if the public benefit overweights the harm caused by lack of consent (Israel & Hay, 2008). Also according to LeCompte (2008) secondary participants' consent is not required from them if even the researcher cannot identify them themself. As we have been very careful with keeping the identities of children discussed safe, we came to the conclusion that as this information is used in order to stop other children of going through the same experiences, continuing with the research was okay. All the recordings were also deleted after transcribing them.

4.4 Validity and credibility of the research

In order for a research to be trustworthy, the seeking of information needs to be done so that the findings are considered valid and reliable. Validity in a research expresses how well the used research methods measure the examined phenomenon. In practice, this is ensured by designing and implementing the research questions and choosing the interviewees carefully so that the right questions are answered. (Drost, 2011) Validity is an indicator of research quality together with reliability, objectivity and generalizability (Miller, 2008). Credibility of the research is measured by how well the whole research is designed and implemented so that the findings of the research are seen as credible. The different parts of the research, such as picking the right participants, asking the right questions and making the right conclusions from the gotten answers affect the credibility of the research. If the research is done in a consistent way and the findings and conclusions can be seen as coherent, the research can be seen as credible. (Jensen, 2008)

Interviewing people about human trafficking did have some small problems. Because of the subject of the study being quite sensitive, we encountered some issues that felt important to be mentioned here.
The biggest issue when interviewing people is the lack of understanding about what human trafficking is. After conducting the first interview, it was found necessary to start the rest of the interviews with a small introduction on what human trafficking is. The problem still

remained since many had a strong opinion already on what human trafficking is and many saw it as something that is mainly done by criminals and criminal organizations. Seeing that in Kenya the majority of traffickers are relatives or people known to the victims, there was a chance that not all cases of trafficking were actually revealed.

Additional problem emerged after explaining to the interviewees what human trafficking is. In some cases there is a danger that the interviewees start to tell stories that their think you as a researcher might be looking for. This information might then not be completely trustworthy and hence questions the reliability of the study. However, in some interviews where this was observed, we were able to take these statements with caution. How this was usually observed was when someone told about a case of trafficking but then could not explain the answer any further.

This then brings us to another problem that was faced. People have a tendency of telling stories that they have heard from someone else or read in magazines and then tell them as their own observations. Again in these cases it was often revealed after the researcher asked further questions and the person being interviewed admitted hearing the story from somewhere else.

Last problem to be mentioned was about people's misunderstanding that human trafficking is mainly involved with professional criminals, gangs and mafias. We felt that there was a possibility that some information was held back by some of the interviewees due to being afraid. This we tried to prevent by making sure that the interviewees understood the confidentiality agreement that we had signed and by emphasizing that no information would be shared about the identity of the person being interviewed.

Also when previous research about street children was used in this research, it had to be done carefully seeing that none of them actually identified the cases as human trafficking. In each mentioning this fact was and will be pointed out.

All in all, most of these problems could be addressed already before starting the interviews due to HAART staffs vast experience of doing research on human trafficking, and thus the interview questions and confidentiality agreements were designed so that these problems

would not arise too strongly during these interviews. Thus, the reliability of the research can be seen strong.

4.5. Analysis of the data

Before starting the analysing process, all the interviews had to be transcribed. This resulted in 87 pages of transcribed interviews. From 87 pages, 78 pages were expert interviews and 9 pages former street boy interviews. When analysing and interpreting research data, it needs to be gone through systematically. For this an analysing method needs to be picked. (Saaranen-Kauppinen & Puusniekka, 2006) I chose to use a theme analysing method in this research. According to Saaranen-Kauppinen and Puusniekka (2006) the themes are usually constructed by looking through the data to find different themes that connect the different data together. However, theme analysis can also be more theory- driven where the themes are pre-set by theory or frame of reference. With pre-set themes, the same themes are then more likely to be found in all of the interviews. In this research the themes were indeed pre-set which can also be seen in the way that the interview questions were structured under different themes (Appendix 3). The themes were predetermined to make sure that all the research questions would be answered as there were different themes in the research questions.

From the research questions, five themes were picked. These themes were: (1) forms of labour among street children, (2) vulnerabilities of street children, (3) strengths and signs of resilience among street children, (4) gender differences within street children and (5) cases of human trafficking related to street children. However, as the analysing process started, it became obvious that some of these themes would require subcategories as the interviews revealed too much information to be put just under one category. Thereby in the end there were the above-mentioned five (5) main themes, three (3) of them got subcategories under them resulting in 15 subcategories and additional four (4) codes. All the themes, subcategories and additional codes are presented in a table in Appendix 2.

In order to get all the findings under the right themes and subcategories, they had to be divided in an effective way. Coding is a method to connect findings under same themes. Findings from the data are divided under different themes so that everything mentioning a certain theme is in one place. (Saaranen-Kauppinen & Puusniekka, 2006) This method was used in this research by having different colours for each theme and underlining the transcribed interviews using these colours. After this, everything underlined with one colour

were merged together combining all the finding from the interviews under certain themes. This is also when the subcategories were created after some of the themes seemed to be too wide to be kept as just one theme. All the interviews were read through carefully and everything to do with each theme, subcategory or code was picked and moved to their own group. These findings are presented in the next chapter.

5. FINDINGS: VULNERABILITIES AND RESILIENCE OF STREET CHILDREN

In this Chapter the findings of this research will be presented. The Chapter will be divided into sections and subsections, which are based on the categories, subcategories and codes discussed in the previous chapter (presented also in Appendix 2). Each section will include all the relevant findings gathered from the interviews, with quotes from the interviews and discussion about them. The next Chapter will then discuss the overall findings. The Chapter will first begin by looking at the more general information of street children (5.1). This includes finding about the street children's background, life on the streets and living in a base and their ways of getting an income while on the streets. The next section (5.2) will then look at different factors that make street children vulnerable. The third section (5.3) presents the findings on the resilience and protective factors that street children have on the streets of Nairobi. Next (5.4) street girls, their ways of getting an income, their vulnerabilities, resilience and protective factors as well as their exit from the streets are discussed. In the last section (5.5) findings about human trafficking will be presented.

5.1 Street children in Nairobi

In this chapter findings about the more general information about street children are viewed. The first subsection present the findings about the backgrounds of street children, including information about what their family set up is, why they are on the streets, where they are from and how they arrived to Nairobi. The second subsection focuses on the life on the streets as living part of a base. The third subsection concentrates on how street children earn money while on the streets.

5.1.1 Background of the street children

According to the expert interviews, most street children have one or two parents alive. Some of them are orphans but most of them have some remaining relatives left. Some are even from well-off families but for a reason or another they have ended up living on the streets. Many come from families where one of the parents has remarried and this has caused the reason for leaving home.

Most of the expert named Western Kenya as a major source of street children in Nairobi. Another big source was the slums in Nairobi but as some pointed out, the residents in the

slums are often from outside Nairobi and many are originally from the Western part of the country where they have left to find work and opportunities in Nairobi.

As the research is focusing on the point of human trafficking, one of the questions asked was how the children come to Nairobi. It seems that most come on their own by hanging onto trucks or in case they have some money, paying for a bus. However, many also said that some are brought to Nairobi by their relatives to work and when the children start feeling abused, they run to the streets. This will be further discussed later in section "5.5 Cases of human trafficking".

The reasons for children being on the streets were many. The one most stressed by the experts being interviewed was changing family structures. Many examples given were cases where a parent had remarried and the new partner had abused, neglected or thrown the child out of the house.

> *"-- in families where one of the parents dies and the other remarries, the kids from the previous marriage are pushed out of the family. There is a rise in this because people are remarrying and sometimes the step parent doesn't want to take care of their step children and the parent then have to chase the child away. And usually you find out that in that setting there is a lot of poverty so the other parent is forced to comply with that request" (Exp6)*

This reason seemed to be poverty-related which was also named as a major factor on why children go to streets. Parents inability to feed their children and take care of their other necessities were named as major factors to why street children opt to go to the street.

> *"Out of experience one is broken family and the other is poverty. Normally once one is unable to access basic amenities they end up looking for them somewhere else." (Exp10)*

Abuse and neglect were also named as big contributors. Experts saw that parents alcohol and drug abuse, beating, mistreatment and making the child work affected the child's own decision to leave to the streets. Also abuse by relatives was named as a contributor.

> *"Eventually when they know they are being abused, they run away. Because even where they are taken to work, they are abused. So abuse where he is working at and then abuse at home, they end up running away."*

> *"They usually feel rejected and even people who are very close to them, end up hurting them." (Exp9)*

Other two reasons that came up in many of the interviews were peer pressure and desire to be free. The wanting of freedom seemed to be connected to getting away from the insecure situation at home, both poverty and safety related.

> *"They left to find freedom and do whatever they want and whatever security they had at home was not satisfying for them." (Exp2)*

Peer pressure seemed to be based on ones wanting to be free but also to drugs. As the drug use of street children is well known fact, it seems that for some children drug use is actually the reason for being on the streets either from their own will or in some cases by their family's wish.

> *"maybe the mom can't take care of the boys so there is a lot of discipline issues so they tend to meet other boys on the streets and eventually they end up on the streets. They don't go to school for a certain time and they are able to get money and drugs on the streets and so they just decide to stay. But we also have cases of kids who are coming from well-off families and in those cases these children just get mixed with bad company and are influenced in to going to the streets.-- some parents after some time they are not able to control their kids. – 'cause a lot of drugs are also getting into our school system. People are becoming more accessible to that and so sometimes they are doing drugs and want to do them in the group so they don't want to go back to school or stay with their families." (Exp6)*

Other mentioned reasons for a child being on the streets were being an orphan and having no one to take care of you, conflict, fighting or political unrest in their own region, and leaving due to familys' or communitys' banishment due to something bad the child did.

According to the experts interviewed, reasons for children being on the streets of Nairobi are many. Majority were seen as children from broken families where they have left for the streets due to changing family structures and issues that have arisen from those changes. With no other place to go, they end up at the streets. As one of the experts said:

> *"They have nowhere to go so they pile on the streets." (Exp4)*

5.1.2 Life in a base

As it has been explained in the 2nd chapter of this research, street children reside in "bases". The definition of a base seemed to vary between each person being interviewed. Some made a difference between bases and street families, whereas some explained that street families reside in bases. For some bases were gang-related, only for boys and heavily connected with

criminal activity whereas some had experienced it just as a place to go to sleep every night. This also came up with previous research where different research seems to have very different understandings of what a bases were. After asking about this more, the reason seemed to be simply that as there are so many street people in Nairobi, there is a variety of different types of bases. The sizes of the bases were estimated to be between 10-50 people. What was shared knowledge between the experts, was the existence of a hierarchy in these bases. According to the experts, each base has a leader. The older boys are usually higher in the hierarchy and according to couple of experts, they are usually around 20-30 years old. The power that the leader has, seems to vary a lot between bases:

> *"There are some who are organized who have the governors and governance and give some money to the leader to be kept--- so you have your own money and you have the communal money." (Exp1)*
>
> *"I didn't really know them that well because I would just sleep in there and in the morning you would go. So we would just meet for the night." (FSB2)*

In many bases it seems that at least a portion of the money is shared. The smaller boys are also sent to work in order to get money which is then taken from them or shared:

> *"the older ones don't want to go, so they say "go beg or you'll be kicked out of the base". So the younger ones are usually then the ones that are made to beg."*
>
> *(Exp7)*

There seems to be also a lot of substance use, violence and fighting in many of the bases. The reasons for fighting were most often about money and girls. Street girls often "get married" to a street boy to get protection from others and if someone is weak, others might take the girl from them. Money and belongings are also easily stolen in bases which is why some children take their money to shop keepers who keep it for them.

> *" I remember I bought a radio, a small radio, it cost me around 600. Because I used to keep something in a shop, there was a lady who we give our money and she give to us what is ours. -- I bought a radio myself. Then I could've listened to music. So one day my radio was gone, it happens, they tend to steal or maybe take from the small ones by force sometimes." (FSB1)*

Another widely acknowledged fact about the bases was the sexual abuse. This was pointed by all the experts, except for one as well as by a former street boy. As there are much more street boys than girls, the girl and young boys can go through extensive sexual abuse. The

"unmarried" girls and the defenceless young boys are shared possession and they can be used constantly to ease the urges of the older boys:

> *"In the streets if you have a bread, it's not my bread, it's our bread. So apply that to human life. It's not your girl, it's our girl." (Exp4)*

> *"Sometimes they will take advantage of the younger children and tell that if they want to remain in the base, you have to give me a certain amount of money so that we can protect you as a family. And sometimes they also have to pay with their bodies. There is a lot of sodomy in the bases so especially for the younger boys that happens a lot." (Exp6)*

5.1.3 Working on the streets

Once a child comes to the streets, they need to earn money or food in order to survive. The most common ways of getting money were collecting recyclables, begging and criminal activities. Collecting recyclables included plastic, metal, copper, garbage, cardboards, wood and used charcoal, which the children would then sell to people or to factories for a small fee. Begging was also common but mainly done by the smaller boys. Criminal activities included stealing, snatching bags and phones, pickpocketing, removing side mirrors from vehicles and tricking people to give money. The most mentioned illegal way to earn money, however, was ferrying drugs:

> *"The most easiest thing to do especially for the young ones who do not engage in the criminal activities themselves but who are used by the older guys to ferry things like that. Marijuana, moonshine, they are told that you carry these things from a certain place. It's kind of hard for the police to imagine a young child carrying something like that. They're dirty and stuff so they just shoot them off but they're actually being used to carry those kind of things." (Exp7)*

There is also many odd jobs that they can do, such as carrying bags at the stations, guarding parked cars, selling goods, cleaning plots, carrying trash, carrying water or groceries or in some cases helping in households.

The different methods for girls to get money on the streets is discussed in the later section but it is still good to bring up prostitution. The reason why this is discussed also here is that according to couple of experts, male prostitution is also becoming a way to earn an income:

> *"there is also a new trend where you find that the men and their younger counterparts are now involved. Let's say the young men end up being sodomised, then they end being male*

prostitutes and it's quite hard because the younger ones end up falling victims to the older ones." (Exp11)

According to couple of experts and a former street boy, a good day's profit would be around 100-500 Ksh (USD1-5). In most of the cases the children get to keep the money they've earned or at least part of it after sharing the rest with the base. They might also be paid with food or with drugs by other street people. In case they do not earn enough, they can go to the market places to look for leftover food or rotten fruit that has been thrown away.

5.2. Vulnerabilities of street children in Nairobi

"When you are in the streets it is dangerous because anything can happen. Someone can just come and tell you to do this or this or even lie to you that they will take you somewhere safe and then you accept because you don't have an option. You only go there and you'll do whatever they want with no options. So it is dangerous living on the streets." (FSB2)

The quote above illustrates well the vulnerability of street children. In this section different vulnerabilities and factors that make street children vulnerable are drawn together. In the first sub-section general vulnerabilities are presented, such as violence, substance use and so on. The second sub-section looks at the findings on how street children are approached in order to lure them. In the third sub-section comments on how street children go missing are presented and in the fourth sub-section the available help for street children is looked at.

5.2.1 General vulnerabilities of street children

The structure and way of functioning of bases was presented in the previous section. Some of these factors inside bases affect street children making them vulnerable. Many experts agreed that there is a lot of exploitation and abuse in the bases. It is done by older street boys who are higher in the hierarchy. The older street boys might force the younger ones to surrender their possessions in order to keep them safe, keep them as part of the base or for no reason at all. There is also a lot of violence in the streets and fighting happens inside the bases as well as between bases.

"They can be threatened by the senior street boys who --- force them to give them their money. If you don't give, you are threatened to be killed." (Exp5)

"with especially the street children there is also a tendency of the older children taking advantage of the younger ones and taking whatever they have by force" (Exp6)

From the influence of older street boys and gang members on the streets, crime is a way for many to earn an income. The different criminal activities were presented in the last chapter and all of them make street children vulnerable due to the culture against crime in Kenya. When someone is caught stealing, people have the right to use "mob justice" which means permission to beat the accused, in some cases even to their death. Same is often done by the police.

> *"they're not being beaten by pedestrians except if they steal."*
> *"You can even be beaten (by police) in front of the public if it's stealing." (Exp9)*

However, for many the risks are worth it. They don't care what happens to them or they don't see any other options.

> *"They feel like they have nothing to lose no matter how risky the business is, they feel that they have already lost"*
> *"This person has adapted to this life, so unless you kill me I will continue what I started." (Exp4)*
> *"I don't think they like doing it (stealing). It's just because they have no education or work, that's why they do it." (FSB2)*

Street children become vulnerable also due to their substance use which is rampant on the streets. The most common way of using drugs is sniffing glue which is cheap and gets you high fast. Others are marijuana, alcohol, jet fuel and other hard drugs available. The drugs make life seem easier on the streets:

> *"Not because they want to (use drugs) but because they want to forget. They want to be in their own world."*
> *"So you might find a young boy who has not eaten for like a day or two but he takes drugs and they make him forget his life and he believes he is okay. -- running away from reality. That is how they survive." (Exp4)*

As the drugs might make the street children feel more confident and safe, they also lead them to situations that make them vulnerable:

> *"A lot of them are lured because of the drugs they are using and they are addicted."*
> *"So some of them will tend to lure these girls with these places where they can come and stay in exchange of sex or drugs."*

"And so in exchange for them you tell them you have to steal stuff and give them to me or for the ladies, you have to be ready to have sex with the people I bring so you can have the drugs you need and want." (Exp6)

The biggest vulnerability inside bases, seems to be sexual abuse. According to the expert and one former street boy, sodomy is rampant and many suffer from it in one point or another while living on the streets. The abuse can be validated by promising something in return:

"Sometimes they will take advantage of the younger children and tell that that if they want to remain in the base -- sometimes they also have to pay with their bodies." (Exp6)

However, mostly there seems to be no requirements to justify the act:

"There are also cases of sodomy, where the young boys are forced by the big ones. So all these things are happening and the little ones are suffering. Because if you speak to most of them many of them caught an experience like that on the streets." (Exp1)

"Because the girls are less and when they aren't around, they take advantage of the little ones (boys)" (Exp1)

As all bases don't have this abuse occurring, there are still other sources where sexual abuse can reach street children. One expert said that the street children can sometimes be taken and used for sexual purposes by outsiders, another one talked about cases when on the street you can find groups that rape the young street boys and one talked about how in some cases children end up working as male prostitutes after being sexually abused for so long that they are oppressed to continue it as a way of earning an income.

"the young men end up being sodomised, then they end being male- prostitutes and it's quite hard because the younger ones end up falling victims to the older ones." (Exp11)

In addition to sexual abuse, street children can go through some sort of labor abuse when on the streets. As street children rarely have ID's, it is very hard to find proper jobs. As the cases of human trafficking will be discussed later, it will be just shortly mentioned here that there are ways street children are being exploited workwise. According to the experts, people take advantage of them by paying them too little or not paying them at all:

"(someone) say that this person wanted to steal from us. And they've already worked so who are we going to believe, a dirty street child or (non-street person) - the street child ends up being denied their fund or their money. And they have what options?" (Exp7)

As they sell the collectable recyclables and sell them to the factories, they might also be tricked there and paid less than what they deserve:

> *"-- where they weight them and I'm sad to say that even the dealers try to rip them off. It's like they will come with certain amount of kilos but then you see them moving the kilos, saying this is not good and then they want to weight the rest so the kid ends up getting less than what they should." (Exp7)*

As one expert said:

> *"When you are limited in the terms of knowledge, then you just get exploited" (Exp10)*

One threat mentioned in several expert interviews was also the presence of Al-Shabaab in Nairobi. Four experts told that they had knowledge of Al- Shabaab recruiting street children and children having disappeared at those times. However, none have actual proof of this other than rumours and stories from the children:

> *"--especially when the Al-Shabaab thing was happening, a good number of kids just disappeared. To this date no one knows, there are just rumours that some of them were taken to Somalia. -- during that time we got quite a bit of kids who no one knows where they went or where they are." (Exp7)*
> *"They are easily recruited by the Al-Shabaab also because the community and the government offer them no help." (Exp4)*

5.2.2 Luring of street children

There seems to be many factors making street children vulnerable. A case to be considered human trafficking, there needs to be movement from one place to another. As street life is more or less constant movement, defining cases on the streets can be hard. When experts and the two former street children were asked about street children going with strangers, most of the answers were about how street children are very cautious to go with strangers. However, as some of the street children are successfully taken from the streets to orphanages and rehabilitation centres, there is evidence that in some cases they do leave the streets trusting the people to help them. The experts saw this as a vulnerability in some cases:

> *"For sure they can be trafficked because they are in need and they are desperate -- they are looking for help and shelter -- once they are promised these thing it is easier for them to go" (Exp9)*

There were cases where children had gone with people who were to help them but who got tricked:

> *"They will tell these kids that they want to take them to find a job in another town and that they need to raise a certain amount of money, so you bring all this money and we will take you. Then they will come and only rent a vehicle and then they don't take them to that town but just to place like Arboretum or City park (places close by) and tell them that the money they raised ended here and that's it." (Exp7)*

The two former street boys interviewed both said that street children have a hard time trusting outsiders, but when they were asked why they decided to leave the streets with the people offering help, they said:

> *"He asked me if I wanted to go to school and I said yes. -- I just decided to trust him."*
> *(FSB2)*
> *"There were many people who wanted to take me to school, the reason being, I didn't take drugs because I was little and I knew the dangers of it. So I had many people coming to me telling me to go to school--" (FSB1)*

5.2.3 Missing street children

There were not so much knowledge of cases where children had actually gone with strangers, so the experts were asked about children going missing. There was a unanimous answer to the question. All the experts saw that a lot of street children go missing constantly. Issues with knowing whether one is actually missing or not also rose to discussion. First of all, as many do not visit their parents or relatives often, they would not know if they are missing. Also bases often keep changing locations so they might just get lost from the group.

When experts were asked what happens to the street children, there was no certainty but many assumptions. Some said that they get killed due to stealing, fights, accidents, gang and base related problems, by police, cold season freezing them and sometimes they can even kill themselves. When killed, their bodies are often not found:

> *"city council picks them up and they end up in the mortuary but no one knows. They end up just being gone" (Exp7)*

Other reasons for street children going missing were relocating, recruitment by militia groups, being jailed or being taken.

"So in that movement, they get lost. So they can be taken advantage of." (Exp6)

"If they do a crime somewhere, no one will know. If they are taken, no one will know. -- Street children are prone to many different dangers." (Exp4)

As street children might be close with each other or they might have existing relationships with their parents or relatives, many still go missing without anyone asking after them:

"in the streets you can never be sure if they have gone missing"

"Sometimes there is no accountability, they are groups but they are not families that can take care of each other, people who can mind each other. So if you're missing in the streets, maybe you have changed your location." (Exp8)

"You can hear one say that they used to have a friend who they don't know where he went. They keep changing their location so it's hard to keep track of them. Many have friends who they don't know where they are." (Exp9)

When the experts were asked what they had learned from street children who had come back after going missing for a long time, the answers was unanimous:

"They don't come back."

5.2.4 Help available?

When the experts were asked how street children are treated in Nairobi, it became obvious that bystanders would not be helping street children in stress. Out of eleven experts interviewed, only one expressed positive treatment towards street children by bystanders. According to him:

"They used to harass the children a lot, and they used to harass the people a lot. These days it is better.-- They (bystanders) are being encouraged to help them and to talk to them and to help them feel like human beings. That really has helped. " (Exp9)

Others expressed the bystanders' treatment of street children in a very negative way:

"Stigmatisation. They don't belong to our community. Beaten, chased, useless and abused, mocked.-- Most people just don't care" (Exp5)

"they are still treated as thieves, as dirty, as unwanted and as not belonging. Most people only need them when there is something that needs to be thrown or some place that needs to be cleaned. When they have a way to use them that is when they want them basically." (Exp7)

In many cases also fear seemed to be a reason for not interacting with or helping street children:

> *"a lot of people in the society fear the street children. Because they see them as people who are dirty or people who come and steal from them. So they are very hesitant to bring them into their families or influence their children to go to the streets or get them to use some of the drugs." (Exp6)*

When the expert were asked how the street children feel about the way they are treated by bystanders, the answers varied quite a bit:

> *"They know they are part of society, they know they are citizens. All they need is opportunities." (Exp10)*

whereas another said:

> *"I think a lot of the street children feel neglected, rejected, uneducated, thieves and they really feel that they don't fit in the society" (Exp6)*

As street children are a group of individuals, they live in different realities, understanding and feeling the world differently. Thus it would be narrow minded to think that they all feel the same about their life on the streets.

One of the former street boys interviewed answered as the following when he was asked how he felt like about the bystanders:

> *"I was just "let me just live my life". I used drugs, I collect plastics, I sleep every day, that was my routine. Not even thinking of anyone. -- I didn't even go to someone for help. It was just me." (FSB2)*

The other boy also demonstrated a type of helplessness about his situation when on the street:

> *"--I had no destination, I had no hope." (FSB1)*

The actions of the police in Nairobi will also be further discussed later in the results, but as their treatment towards the children was seen in the interviews as something that sets street children vulnerable, few points will be made here. As the police system in Kenya is highly corrupted, street children are very vulnerable in their hands.

> *"--unless they are arrested and then the police make them do things" (Exp2)*
> *"There was a case I heard that even the police use them to traffick things. You know, it's very corrupted." (Exp5)*

"So there is bad blood between the police and street children." (Exp6)

As the police violence towards street children seems to have decreased from before, there is still some violence and fear towards the police:

" -- there is a lot of roughing or being beaten, chased away or told not to be in this place (by the police) " (Exp6)

"Most of the street kids are afraid of the police." (Exp7)

In Nairobi, the City Council is the main responsible to take care of the street people and help them off the streets. However, most of the experts interviewed agreed that the places where they are taken were not good for the children:

"they get abused, beaten, they put so many kids in one place in small areas so they get all types of diseases and go through sexual abuses and they are not given enough food. -- are afraid of those places." (Exp6)

Unfortunately the private sector doesn't seem to be able to make up for the lacking of public services either. As we started looking for organizations to contact for interviews, we were surprised how little organizations there were working exclusively with street children. For this reason we visited also orphanages that take street children in among other vulnerable children. However, some felt that taking in street children would require rehabilitation centres intended only for street children. This is why one of the orphanages had stopped taking street children in:

"It is difficult to bring in other street children because it takes a lot of time and a lot of effort to rehabilitate them. If we take in a new group of street children it will affect the other rehabilitated children in a negative way. We then saw it fit to focus on other vulnerable children who have been exposed to really tough circumstances." (Exp2)

Unfortunately we were also told about orphanages that had abused street children. All in all we heard about four closed orphanages and one which was still open that had abused street children sexually. In addition, as we were to go and meet a director of a safe house for street boys, we found out that he had been arrested due to same charges and thus was not able to be interviewed. According to the experts, this is done by both locals and foreigners who use the vulnerable situation of the children to their own gain:

"So he was sleeping with boys. He used to whip them until they surrender, then he would take them to his bed." (Exp5)

"I know of foreigners who started a home and eventually the home changed and they started harass these kids sexually. They used to raise a lot of money with these kids but it did not go to those kids. " (Exp9)

There was also discussion about why people are more eager to help girls than boys:

"I think for boys what makes the difference is everyone expects them to be men. They don't think they need help, they don't need to be cared for or that their needs don't need to be addressed. " (Exp9)

5.3. Resilience and protective factors of street children in Nairobi

To counterbalance the vulnerabilities of street children, it is good to look at the resilience and protective factors that street children have in Nairobi. Just the fact that some children opt to go to the streets from their own will either because they want to or because they feel that the streets offer them more than home, is already a sign of resilience.

As the experts were asked about different survival mechanisms in the streets, most seemed to think that the children adapt to the streets quite easily and they can take care of themselves. This too is a sign of resilience. Especially the boys were said to be able take care of themselves:

"The street life is very rough, so you find that the boys they find that they can cope with the roughness of the streets" (Exp11)

"-- once they are on the streets I think they adapt. It is hard for someone to easily manipulate them and in event that they try to, they just know their way out, they'll just find a way."
(Exp2)

The strongest indicator of resilience seemed to be the fact that street children do not trust outsiders. When the experts and former street boys were asked about how easily the children could be lured to go with strangers, all of them said that it would be very hard. In order to gain the trust of street children, a lot of time is required.

"that's why even if you have sponsors who want to take street kids to school, most of the time they will refuse."

"Now if you go to the street and tell you want to take them to school, some of them will refused because maybe they have experienced that. They tell you that they want to take you to school and then they take you to somewhere and you start working. So they run and go back to the streets." (FSB2)

55

"Yes they are very suspicious. When you go and talk to them, they can't be free so you have to keep going to them.-- you can have a group where it takes 3 months. But there are groups who will trust you in a week." (Exp9)

Funny enough, the biggest protective factor according to the expert interviews was people's unwillingness to interact with street children. They seemed to think that street children are safe from people trying to lure them due to their appearances, habits and trustworthiness:

"Nairobians are more afraid of the street children than the children are of them. --I don't think anyone can walk up to a street child and start harassing them, they are not so kind."
(Exp2)

"people attend to fear the boys because of the stealing and being abusive or just not being appealing, being dirty and (using) glue and all that. So they tend to stay away from the boys."
(Exp6)

"This (taking street children to work) will never happen because in Kenya we have this perception that street children might steal from you or even harm you while working" (Exp8)

Another strong protective mechanism which also helps to build resilience is the social network street children share. Many studies also mention social relationships with peers as something that helps children to adjust to the life on the street and offer them protection into some extent (Le Roux & Smith, 1998a; Kaime-Atterhög & Ahlberg, 2008; Railway Children, 2012;). As they often have close friends or "street siblings", they share information and help each other:

"they take care of each other even when they are sick. -- their group is a also a good security system" (Exp2)
"The boys stay in bases and can therefore help each other with all these problems and they can take care of each other" (Exp6)
"So when I am a stranger (new boy), they welcome you there.-- since I didn't know any ways of making money, I had to look what the others were doing. -- In the base you get used to your partners so everyone knows you and you create friendships, you are like brothers" (FSB1)

It seems that according to the experts, the strongest sign of resilience is the children's ability not to accept help from anyone offering it but staying strong and untrusting. They are then also protected by people's unwillingness to interact with them and thus the experts felt that street children should be quite safe from the dangers of people luring them for their own uses.

It is also good to note that as there were numerous vulnerabilities identified affecting street children, resilience and protective factors were not so many. If the strongest protection street children have is their distrust towards strangers and strangers distrust against street children, it can be reasoned that the children indeed are vulnerable to being trafficked and/or exploited. For a trafficker, changing a child's clothes and washing them is surely not a breaking point and as for the children, as many of them are successfully taken to rehabilitation centres and orphanages, their trust can be won.

However, some of the vulnerabilities could also be protective mechanisms when looked from a different perspective. For example, taking drugs can make a child vulnerable since being under the influence can weaken their ability to defend themselves. However, looking from a trafficker's perspective, taking a child who is strongly addicted to drugs will require a lot of work. To get that child into a shape where he or she can be used for any kind of labor will be time consuming. Unless the work is prostitution or other forms of exploitations that can be done under the influence of drugs, the children need to be rehabilitated to a mental and physical state where they can do the required tasks. Also, the social circles of children can be a vulnerability as some children opt to go to the streets to join their friends, but when on the streets these same friends also provide the child with protection. As a conclusion, looking at the vulnerabilities, resilience and protective factors of street children, they are definitely in danger of being trafficked. As there is no one to look after them or no one to report them missing, they are truly dependent on themselves and each other.

5.4 Street girls in Nairobi

Street girls are considerably less than street boys in Nairobi and due to their gender, their life on the street varies of those of street boys. In this chapter the forms of labor, vulnerabilities, resilience and protective factors of street girls will be viewed. Lastly, the exit strategies of girls from the streets will be discussed to further understands what happens to them after certain age as the older street girls seem to disappear from the street view.

5.4.1 Forms of labor available for street girls

The labor opportunities for street girls in Nairobi seem grim. All of the experts interviewed agreed that getting an income is much harder for street girls than for street boys. This is because the girls are more vulnerable to being abused and exploited, they have a harder time

keeping themselves safe and they lack the physical abilities that boys have. Due to these issues, work opportunities for street girls are less.

The most mentioned way for street girls to earn an income was prostituting. According to the experts, it is a very common way for street girls to provide for themselves:

> *"they may use their bodies to survive because they really don't have other ways of getting quick money than using their body."*
>
> *"-- prostitution. That's the only easy way to make money. The physical ability is not as much as the boys." (Exp4)*
>
> *"The boys have more income than the girls because unless a girls prostitutes she will not have money but a boy can collect waste and pick pockets" (Exp8)*

According to the experts, there are many ways that the prostituting happens. Girls can be selling themselves on the streets or they might be working in alcohol dents in the slums where illicit brew is sold and where demand for girls is high. They can also be working through cartels or brothels where the business is more structured but where girls are also required to be more presentable. For this reason, most street girls have to do it more as free agents:

> *"on the streets no one has the time to clean the girls, to style them up, to classy them up" (Exp2)*

After prostituting, begging was mentioned as the only other good option for girls to get money. Experts saw that street girls appeal to bystanders more and thus more people take pity on them compared to street boys. The girls can also grow their appeal to strangers by using "props":

> *"Along major highways you will see small girls carrying babies and will go round begging" (Exp2)*
>
> *"They might borrow other people's children and say "let me have your child" and then I beg and then I will give you something too." (Exp7)*

In addition to begging, the following forms of labor were mentioned as something that some of the girls might also do but which are not so common: working for small businesses, selling goods, collecting garbage or recyclables, washing clothes, doing household duties, ferrying drugs, stealing or taking part in other criminal activities initiated by gangs or base leaders.

However, as it will be discussed next, street girls are very vulnerable to different dangers on the streets. That is why, according to the experts, they prefer staying in the bases. In many bases, the boys try to support the girls, keep them and also show that they can take care of their "wives". Some bases however might require fees from each member of the base and thus make the girls go and prostitute to collect the needed money.

> *"When we rescue the girls, the boys sometimes gang up against us because to them we have taken away their wives and even source of income." (Exp8)*

5.4.2 Vulnerabilities of street girls

As girls are often globally seen as more vulnerable to dangers than boys, the same applies to street children. As life on the streets is tough, the expert seem to agree that life on the streets is much harder for street girls. Due to their gender, the girls are seen more vulnerable to different forms of exploitation and abuse than boys. All the experts interviewed agreed that street girls are much more vulnerable than street boys and they are easier to take advantage of:

> *"for the girls there's no place to run, which ever place you go, there's always somebody who's thinking that how can I use this person." (Exp7)*
> *"The girls are more vulnerable and a lot of the boys tend to take advantage of them." (Exp6)*
> *"made to do things they don't want to" (Exp4)*
> *"But as long as you are a man at least you have the security of your own. It's not like a girl." (Exp8)*
> *"for the girls it (life on the streets) becomes a nightmare and a big challenge" (Exp11)*
> *"(street girls) are not strong enough to hold on to their money 'cause the boys will take it." (Exp2)*
> *"Some of them bed and get money but the boys take it from them." (Exp2)*

The inability of street girls to do the same type of work than boys makes them vulnerable due to the options they have to choose from. The experts interviewed also recognized this:

> *"Street girls are more vulnerable due to self defence and work opportunities not available to them -- they are suffering more" (Exp4)*
> *"the female children are more vulnerable than the male because the work that involves them getting money is difficult for a girl -- they are not as strong physically as the boys;" (Exp2)*

As prostituting is the main way for street girls in Nairobi to get an income, it is also connected to the biggest vulnerability street girl's encounter; sexual abuse and exploitation.

When the experts were asked about the biggest vulnerabilities the girls in the streets face, different stories about them being sexually used were without doubt the most common form of vulnerability mentioned.

> *"girls are much more vulnerable. Especially because of rape which happens almost on a daily basis" (Exp7)*

In addition to being sexually exploited by outsiders and customers, the experts see that street boys are the biggest threat for the girls when it comes to sexual exploitation. As the bases consists mainly of boys and consequently the girls are a minority, they have less means for defending themselves:

> *"In the streets they usually say that "hakuna cha bure", "nothing is for free", and usually that means that they have to pay with their bodies." (Exp6)*
>
> *"In the streets if you have a bread, it's not my bread, it's our bread. So apply that to human life. It's not your girl, it's our girl." (Exp4)*
>
> *"they are vulnerable because if the ration (in the base) is 1:4 then of course even at night they are not safe. They are susceptible to sexual abuse from the base leaders and also from other boys" (Exp2)*
>
> *"The girls in that base are used by the same boys-- there are more boys in bases and they all have urges." (Exp4)*
>
> *"If not owned by the master of the base -- everyone else in the base can have whatever they want with them, they're tools" (Exp7)*

Even when a street girl has protected herself with a "husband", the boy might need to be paid for their protection with sex. The boys can also change partners if new girls are available.

> *"The boy (husband) will defend you and take care of you in exchange for sex." (Exp6)*

The sources of sexual abuse or exploitation is not only restricted to street boys but also outsiders take advantage of the street girls. This disposition is due to their gender but also the fact that they often work with prostitution:

> *"when some of those men pass, they ask them to go work for them. When they get there they are told that it's sex and sometimes out of fear they end up having sex with them" (Exp7)*
>
> *"some of them will tend to lure these girls with these places where they can come and stay in exchange for sex or drugs --The girls said that if they stay in the streets they tend to feel more threatened there so when that opportunity arises they will go because they tell themselves there's security in this job she think it's okay. -- They will come and tell them that they have a*

place where they can take care of them but the girls are then kept so that men can come and access them sexually." (Exp6)

"In Mathare which is near to us, there is a lot of cases where the girls are taken advantage of. Maybe they are paying housing for them and then sleeping with the girls or bringing people to sleep with them." (Exp6)

"When girls go to beg, someone will tell them that I will give you money if you'll sleep with me" (Exp7)

Especially girls that are new to the streets were reported to face a tough beginning comprising of mistreatment and exploitation. The interviews revealed that girls entering the bases easily become victims of the boys and are even fought over due to superstitious beliefs:

"a girl who is coming fresh to the streets -- she has not been contaminated -- Usually they (street boys) want to take advantage of her sexually -- if she's a virgin, I'll get cured of the diseases I have like HIV-- she's clean, she doesn't use drugs -- they even fight over her" (Exp6)

"Sometimes the boys from the base rape them. Mistreat them alot, alot, alot. Especially if they are new, wow, it's tough" (Exp9)

One factor that makes street girls vulnerable to sexual abuse and exploitation is substance abuse. As the girls take drugs, they become unable to protect themselves but also their addiction can be used against them:

"To be able to work in that situation, they can't be sober. They will drink and then they will be used by street boys or someone." (Exp4)

"Guys get high and drunk and the girl is also high and drunk (about how the boys in the base rape them)" (Exp7)

"you have to be ready to have sex with the people I bring so you can have the drugs you need and want. -- A lot of them are lured because of the drugs they are using and they are addicted." (Exp6)

One vulnerability mentioned was also getting pregnant which is a major risk for street girls whose sex life is very active due to their work or the sexual exploitation they encounter. It can also make leaving the streets more difficult because more money is now required to take care of the child/ren.

"These things happen to very young girls are pregnant and that one can tell you a lot." (Exp1)

"many of the children we've worked with have had children and have become street families" (Exp8)

Health concerns were also brought up in the interviews. In addition lack of hygiene, STI's and diseases were mentioned as vulnerabilities:

"The girls need sanitary towels and when they can't find some, they will use mattresses and pieces of clothes which are very unhygienic." (Exp4)

5.4.3 Resilience and protective factors of street girls

The stories the experts told made it quite clear that for a girl to stay in the streets, resilience is definitely needed. According to the experts, for girls to choose to live on the streets usually means that their home situation has been so unbearable that even street life seems like a more safe option. It could then be concluded that if a girls decides to stay on the streets, in case other options are available, they already show a great sign of resilience just by staying on the streets.

Through the interviews the main signs of resilience among street girls were their decision to stay on the streets and to be able to go through the sexual abuse. In addition to those, only few protective factors came up.

"Marriage" inside a base seemed to be the best way for a girl to ensure their security at least to some extent:

"when the girl joins the streets she usually creates relationships with the boys for protection, she doesn't want to be raped. So she gets "married" to get a partner who will protect you from other boys." (Exp8)

"The girls will attach themselves to a certain boy and be their wife and that will give them a sense of security" (Exp6)

"If a man has decided that this is their wife, no one will torment her" (Exp5)

According to some experts street girls being dirty could protect them from rape or other abuses in some cases:

"I haven't had cases where girls are forced to have sex because that person must be a clean and attractive" (Exp1)

Other protective factors and mechanisms mentioned were: motherhood, getting tough and standing up for themselves, keeping in groups, building a commotion if someone tries something and having birth control to prevent unwanted pregnancies.

> *"Maybe they're raped and they don't want to give birth -- to use family planning methods-- so if that (rape) happens, I won't be at risk (of getting pregnant)." (Exp4)*

Before moving to the next part discussing about what makes the street girl leave the streets, there were some examples on what makes saving street girls from the streets hard, but also what makes them more protected while on the streets. Street girls as well as the boys are suspicious of strangers:

> *"There is a lot of suspicion when they see new people especially when we want to bring in girls to our program, the husbands or masters are so suspicious. We have to do a lot of going back and talking to them and telling them that the need for this person to change and the need for this person to learn- and that way a they have seen that for period of time they are kind of okay for us to take the kids." (Exp7)*
>
> *"To rescue the street girls it requires a lot of energy because the girls hide themselves, they don't come out openly." (Exp8)*

5.4.4 Where do the street girls disappear to?

In the planning phase of this research a question about older street girls' whereabouts was raised as a question. Among young street children, the division between the sexes is smaller than when they are older. You can see many small girls walking and working on the streets of Nairobi but as they grow older, they disappear. Thus one of the interview questions was designed to find out what happens to street girls after a certain age.

As the previous sections show, the balance between the vulnerabilities that street girls are subjected to and the protective factors is in imbalance and it is clear that street life for girls is extremely hard. If possible, many opt to go back home:

> *"The environment on the streets is very tough and they may forget what drove them to the streets and some of them return home." (Exp2)*
>
> *"For the girls it's also easier for them to go back to their families. -- for example witnessing their mom coming home every day with a new man, sometimes it does not affect girls as much as boys." (Exp9)*
>
> *"Girls are more close to mothers and more protected -- That is why there are fewer street girls that street boys. " (Exp8)*

Many of them are also saved from the streets by organizations aiming to help street children. The reality of the street girls are known to most who work with street children and thus they are often the first ones to be taken off the streets. However, it should be mentioned here, that in Nairobi there is only one organization working solely with rescuing and rehabilitating street girls.

> *"Many people help the girls more than the boys -- most people have soft spots for girls so they can be more easily rehabilitated or adopted than boys. There are those whose heart goes out for the girls" (Exp9)*

However, what happens to those who cannot go back home and who are not saved from the streets by organizations aiming to help street children? There seemed to be no unambiguous answer to this question by the experts. Many assumed that since street girls often get pregnant in one point or another, many of them end up getting married and starting a family with either someone from the streets or outside the streets. If they have enough income, they also sometimes rent a place from the slums where they then live with their family. The ones who don't have enough money, end up living on the streets as a street family.

> *"They will be married when they are young. They become mothers when they are girls."*
> *(Exp4)*
> *"Over the years, there's been street families coming up, where your parent went to the street, stayed in the street, got married on the streets and stays on the streets and then they get children. So a lot of the kids come from that setting. So they come from the street families and they are second or third generations." (Exp6)*

Some of them also get work at small businesses and with the support that the money brings, they can move off the streets. Some of them also continue with prostitution to get off the streets and to keep supporting themselves:

> *"prostitution is an exit strategy" (Exp4)*

Some experts also mentioned some of the girls being taken as "sidekicks" for married men:

> *"You might be a sidekick to a family so the man keeps you in another house" (Exp4)*
> *"we would find men who have a family up in the country place and he stays in the city and sends money to the family. So some of them will tend to lure these girls with these places where they can come and stay in exchange for sex or drugs" (Exp6)*

Other than the last comment above, the assumption that some girls might be taken from the streets for exploitation such as human trafficking was not supported. However, in the next chapter the findings about street children and cases and possible cases of trafficking will be discussed.

5.5 Cases of human trafficking

Human trafficking is an unknown subject to many in Kenya. The knowledge of experts on the issue varied quite a lot hence during the interview the concept was opened for them. The research questions were then designed in a way that different aspects of human trafficking were broken down. The experts were asked about whether they had heard of cases of forced labor, forced prostitution, forced begging or selling of goods, or organ removal among street children. Some could name cases that were obviously cases of trafficking whereas some described situations where the nature of the forced labor could not be confirmed as human trafficking. However, most of these cases were situations that could be trafficking cases and thus even if these cases could not be confirmed as such, it did show that street children could be vulnerable for those type of trafficking situations. For this reason with these results, it will always be mentioned if the case presented is confirmed or unconfirmed as a human trafficking case.

Also, since street children differ from non-street children due to their constant mobility, defining trafficking cases can be difficult. A case to be defined as child trafficking, it requires the victim to be moved from one place to another in order to exploit them. As street children are more or less constantly mobile, defining this sort of movement can be tough. This issue will also be recognized in the following sections.

In this chapter I will present the findings that came up in the interviews about human trafficking of street children. In addition, some cases that might not be confirmed as trafficking but could be viewed as possible cases are also presented here. The chapter is divided into sections according to the categories that were created during the analysing process. Those categories were divided into five (5) sections in this chapter leaving out the non-street child cases and integrating the general information on trafficking and family cases into the other categories. To keep this research consistent, gender differences are always mentioned in the end of each section so that they are separated from the overall findings.

5.5.1 Children trafficked off the streets?

This theme was the starting point of this research. The question was whether street children are taken from the streets and trafficked. However, the expert interviews revealed very little about this. Many experts seemed to think that as street children are dirty, not well behaved, addicted to substances, not trustworthy and suspicious against outsiders, taking them off the streets to be exploited would be very hard. However, as the previous findings of this research show, street children have knowingly left the streets with people offering and thus are vulnerable to being tricked. One of the experts had heard of such cases, which can be categorised as a trafficking case:

> *"It happens where a woman comes and tells that they will take you to school but eventually they just take disadvantage or child labor in their homes or in shambas (fields)." (Exp5)*

Also one of the former street boys had heard of such cases:

> *"you find some who've been forced to work or do something for someone. But I've heard such cases from different people.-- Maybe like housework or work in the shambas (fields) and they get no payments." (FSB2)*

Other cases mentioned were cases of exploitation and forced labor. However, confirming them as human trafficking cases would require more knowledge on the actual cases such as if the children had been moved in any point for the purpose of exploitation or if they had been denied appropriate compensation. Still, as there is a possibility that these could be trafficking cases, it felt good to mention them:

> *"there are others that use them for drugs or ferrying weapons, criminal activities. There's a lot of that." (Exp6)*

With girls the examples provided by the experts were all about sexual exploitation. The following could be defined as a case of human trafficking as the girls were lured with false pretext and taken from one place to another:

> *"They will come and tell them that they have a place where they can take care of them but the girls are then kept so that men can come and access them sexually." (Exp6)*
> *"They will tell them that they will earn a lot of money and they take care of them so that they will have security. So since they might have a lot of difficulties on the streets, they end up accepting only to find out what they were promised isn't what they got. A lot of them are lured*

because of the drugs they are using and they are addicted. -- Sometimes they are lied to and once they move out from the streets and into that setting, they are forced to continue that life (prostitution)." (Exp6)

Some of the experts also mentioned the girls being used as prostitutes. These cases could not be confirmed as trafficking cases as there was no knowledge on whether the girls got to keep the money themselves, if they were made to move from one place to another or if they were forced:

"In Mathare there is a lot of cases where the girls are taken advantage of. Maybe they are paying housing for them and then sleeping with the girls or bringing people to sleep with them. Otherwise it's been maybe in the alcohol dens where there is a lot of illicit alcohol brewing that's been consumed so girls are touched in there. And sometimes, not even from strangers, but their own family members like their mothers are the ones selling the alcohol and since they have a daughter she starts selling the daughter to the men so that the men will come. So there are cases that we have come across with. " (Exp6)

As the experts had very little knowledge about street children being taken from the streets for the purpose of exploitation, the statements mentioned above prove that some children are trafficked from the streets to be exploited. When asked if the children got paid for their services, most said that often it was less than what they were promised, which then also supports the assumption that human trafficking could be happening. To gather more information about this would seem to require more interviews with street children themselves.

5.5.2 Street children trafficked on the streets by street people?

Many experts seemed to have more knowledge on what happens *on* the streets and some examples came about the exploitation that happens on the streets by other street people. There seems to be exploitation of different sorts happening on the streets. However, these cases are hard to define as confirmed cases of human trafficking as street children are constantly on the move. As follows, the following cases can't be defined as definite human trafficking cases but as cases that show that exploitation happens and that if moved the children could also be considered as victims of trafficking. This sort of examples rose especially from inside the bases:

"When they join together there are some people who use them. There are gangsters and criminals that use them. There are some traffickers, drug traffickers -- maybe by their base leaders but not by outsiders -- to distribute the drugs." (Exp1)

"The older ones sometimes follow them and once they sell they will be the ones to collect the money and instead of giving them the full amount they will only buy them something small. And if they try to argue about it, they will be beaten or chased from a certain base or street and they don't want that so some of them prefer to just keep quiet or sell in secret or something like that." (Exp7)

"So the older ones don't want to go so they say "go beg or you'll be kicked out of the base". So the younger ones are usually then the ones that are made to beg." (Exp7)

Without more information, the following example is either pimping or a case of trafficking:

"the master or the big guy of the base who would tell some of the boys or girls in the base that you will go and bring in the money. Or sometimes they would agree with someone and that person would come and take the child and they would not pay them but pay the master of the base." (Exp7)

For girls, one of the experts also mentioned older street women working the street girls. Again, this example would need more information to confirm it as a case of human trafficking:

"(older street women) making them serve the men (sex), have the girls serve in a brewery like food so they use them to facilitate or do the small chores so that they can engage in these businesses. And sometimes also send them to beg ." (Exp6)

5.5.3 Trafficked street children on the streets?

From the expert interviews the biggest findings were under this category. The interviews revealed that a reason for some street children being on the streets was actually them being victims of trafficking. First of all, when the experts were asked about street children being trafficked, over half of them mentioned those types of backgrounds as the reasons why street children ended up on the streets in the first place:

"if the parents died, they (relatives) bring them to be househelp and then they exploit them. Then later on, the kids just decide to take off and stay in the streets. So there is a lot of kids from that arrangement." (Exp6)

"sometimes the girls are being trafficked from the rural areas to Nairobi and made house helps and eventually they run-away and end up on the streets because they have nowhere else

to go. Like the story I was telling you of the girl from Rwanda she was brought to Kenya and became a house help and after being abused for a long period of time she ran to the streets"
(Exp8)

"They were brought into Nairobi (by auntie) with a notion that we will help you to go to school and going to take care that you're happy. But once they get here they find that the uncle isn't who they were told about and he/she can't even take care of them, they are not even able to feed them, they starve and they turn into househelps which is not what they wanted. So anytime they ask about schooling they end up getting beaten so most of them decide that I will rather run away and fend for myself." (Exp7)

"Because how did that child end up on the streets? Many of them are trafficked to Nairobi. So they end up to the streets. Then it's a whole other business to save them from the streets and rehabilitate them again. They were trafficked." (Exp8)

Secondly, there were cases where children had been trafficked and made to work on the streets:

"one child who came from a neighboring country. Apparently the mother gave him up to come and beg in the streets -- was brought in as a small begging child and because the police/authorities were well aware of the situation they were trying to round-up people who were trafficking kids across the borders. -- Maybe the mother did this for a fee or something or got a percentage -- when he was brought into Kenya he thought that he was going to be helped. " (Exp2)

"Some people came saying that they will take children to school but they ended up giving them work that they don't deserve since they are very young. -- The woman was taking children telling them she would take them to school and give them money but it wasn't so. They were giving them illegal things to go and sell.-- made to beg -- they were found in the streets and brought back here." (Exp3)

"There was a woman in the slums -- she was lying to the community members in a village that she wanted to help needy children, to bring them to Nairobi. -- The children are brought to Nairobi, they would walk around saying the children were orphans. -- So the boys opened up and told us that they live in a slum with about 60 children. They said that they were told to say that the old lady is their granny and their parents are dead, that is their grandmother and that they are all siblings.-- some of them were made to beg for money -- would also use disabled children" (Exp4)

" there are some people who have made it a business. They use those street children to beg. They place them on some streets, including the disabled children. They drop them very early in the morning, these children collect the money on their behalf and then they come for them

later in the evening. They place them under a certain shelter and they do daily collection from

them.-- they use and house them and feed them meagerly. -- They don't get to go to school at

all." (Exp10)

There were also other cases which could not be defined as definite trafficking cases, but which are cases of exploitation of street children. These cases are also good to acknowledge in this context as it shows that the street children are used in different ways on the streets:

"They don't go to school-- You find them selling peanuts and other goods but they don't keep

the money. There must be somebody who has contracted those children, then they go off and

sell. " (Exp8)

"witchcraft is being used to help kids steal then they take what they have gotten directly to the

person who casts the spells. -- we actually have a boy -- He used to work for a witch. He

would go to the streets to greet people and get money then take it to him. The witch cast a

spell so he can't run away and he can't use that money. So his work was to get that money

and bring that money to that person. -- that witch was using that boy to beg. You are forced to

beg, eventually you find out that you don't benefit, you are being used." (Exp9)

5.5.4 Kidnapping and baby trafficking

Kidnapping a child and putting them for illegal adoption is not really seen as a case of human trafficking unless the child is exploited after being taken from their real family. As baby trafficking does not really fall under human trafficking, this section could have been left out. However, firstly as the overall topic of this thesis has also been about the vulnerabilities of street children these findings felt fitting to be mentioned. Secondly, as there is no knowledge but only assumptions of what happens to the children taken, there is a possibility that some of them are trafficked. As the children are taken from their own parents by force and their right to know their own family is taken and the people trafficking the children benefit financially, there could be grounds for defining some cases as child trafficking. For this reason, this section was also included in this research.

The cases that arose from the expert interviews were all about street girls whose children or babies had been taken from them. As some had been able to keep their children in the end, some had never found them:

"In some bases you find a lot of girls with babies so there are people who come and trick

them and say "oh, we have a place where you can take your baby". And usually they take the

baby and sell the baby. So there was just a case recently where a young mother from one of

the bases came across a young lady who came telling that I have work for you so you can

come and work with the baby with you and I can also take care of your baby. They went to a hotel but the lady had put something in her food and she slept and then the baby was gone. So there is a lot of that happening. " (Exp6)

"There is a lady who still come here who got into a matatu (bus) with her two babies, she's a street girl and then a lady decides to help her and carry one of the children. The next thing she noticed is that she is dropped at Karura forest and told that the woman who has her child is gone. She goes to the police and tries to report but they say that they can't help. Luckily she sees the matatu that had carried her the previous day and she says "I was in this matatu" and the people in this matatu knew that woman. Long story short, after 2-3 years the child is traced--. She's told that the child will be given back but she shouldn't say anything about it. She apparently got her child back so she was lucky. But other might go missing completely." (Exp7)

"And there is a girl, a certain street girl she was residing at high-rise – near the shop where they sell cd's, her child disappeared. She had one kid. She was sleeping with her kid there and in the morning she was nowhere to be found. A very beautiful kid about 3 months or 4 months probably." (Exp11)

5.5.5 Organ trafficking

The experts were also asked if they knew about street children being subjected to organ trafficking. As organ trafficking is often connected to organs being taken to black market as transplants, in Kenya a known reason for organs to be taken is for witchcraft purposes. Especially albinos in Eastern Africa are in grave danger of falling for victims of organ trafficking. As street children would seem like a vulnerable group for this sort of use, none of the experts had faced such cases. However, many had heard of rumours and stories told by the street children:

"There was a time when there was an issue of getting organs from people in Kenya. So a lot of street kids would end up missing. Even in our programmes you would see somebody disappear and you never see them again." (Exp6)

"There hasn't been much of that but a couple of times we've heard those who go to get drunk on moonshine and stuff. Some of them have missing their breasts or their private parts, we've had incidents like that. - it's just hearsay- Maybe people involved with witchcraft and sorcery." (Exp7)

"mostly in Kenya it is about cult where someone wants to grow rich and they are asked for certain body parts of a child. It's witchcraft. That's why they used to disappear. Or you would hear that a street child would be seen somewhere without a hand or certain things. But it's rituals. It has reduced, we have not heard about that now anymore." (Exp8)

"I've heard about two cases but mostly linked to rituals, they are the ones who abduct

children, ritual killers. Especially children with disability and disabled" (Exp11)

In the next chapter all these findings are drawn together and discussed in order to draw the overall conclusions of my study. This will be done by combining the above findings into an overview and comparing those findings to previous literature. Lastly, the limitations of this research and recommendations for further research are discussed.

5.5.6 Trafficking of saved street children

One of the reasons why street children are suspicious towards outsiders is due to the fact that some have been taken from the streets with promises of help and ended up being exploited. The cases might be of those where the organization that "saved" them ended up exploiting them in some ways. Another type of case has been where outsiders have come to an orphanage with an intention of taking and trafficking a child. These cases show that even as street children are off the streets, they can still be viewed as vulnerable to exploitation or trafficking.

"there are organizations that have used street kids in a negative ways. Like we've heard of

some of them using them for sex or selling them to whichever countries and stuff like that. --

You have both locals and foreigners who have exploited kids in terms of telling them that

since I have been sponsoring you, go and meet them and maybe they will take you to their

country. But as one goes then they never come back." (Exp7)

"A month ago we took 3 guys to BuruBuru Police station who were involved in child

trafficking. These guys knew people who told them to find them small children and they will

pay them. So they were told about this home that has small kids. One of them even said that

he wanted to see if his lost child was here. -- they told us that they take children to certain

people and they get paid. " (Exp4)

6. CONCLUSIONS: FROM STREETS TO SLAVERY?

6.1 Overview of the findings

From streets to slavery? That was the question. In addition, the research questions aimed to know what forms of labor there are among street children and if it includes human trafficking, what makes a street child vulnerable, protected and resilient in the face of human trafficking and how a street child's gender affects their vulnerability. All these questions found their answers, some with more findings than others.

The first research question was "What are the different forms of labour among street children and does it include human trafficking?". According to the findings, the most common way of getting an income was to collect different types of recyclables. Also begging and taking part in criminal activities were seen as typical ways of earning an income. The illegalities included stealing, snatching bags and phones, pickpocketing, stealing side mirrors from vehicles and tricking people to give them money. Street children also ferry drugs or other illegal things, as they don't raise suspicion easily. In addition there are different odd jobs that they can do. For both boys and girls, prostitution is also a way of getting an income. However, it is more common with street girls. Most of the children do get some type of compensation for the work they do.

The question about whether these jobs include human trafficking was also answered in the findings. However, the findings ended up including also other trafficking cases than just those connected to the forms of labor on the streets. All of the relevant findings were then included in this research. Findings connected to the labor of street children were mostly connected to exploitation done by other street people. As street children are constantly mobile, it is very hard to define the cases as confirmed trafficking cases, but they do show that exploitation is happening and if the children are moved from one place to another, they can be defined as trafficking. The findings show that base leaders make the smaller and younger children traffick drugs, beg for them or force them to prostitute. Another type of human trafficking connected to the labor of street children was trafficked children being made to work on the streets. These findings included confirmed cases of people trafficking children with promises of an education or a better life but actually placing them on the streets to beg or sell goods.

Other findings about trafficking cases connected to street children included children being trafficked off the streets. Confirmed cases prove that some street children are lured off the streets with false pretext and made to work in households or in fields. In cases of street girls, findings also show that some have been lured in order to sexually exploit them. These cases were also confirmed as cases of human trafficking. Other findings included street children and babies being taken from their mothers on the streets. As no one could know what happened to the children, it is impossible to say if they were trafficked. Also organ trafficking was a known issue to many but findings didn't reveal any cases that had happened in the recent years. Street children were also found to be in a risk of being trafficked after being saved from the streets. An interesting finding was also that quite many of the street children living in Nairobi have a background of being trafficked. It was revealed that the reason for some of the children being on the streets was that they had escaped from exploitative situations and with no other place to go or no means to get back home they had ended up on the streets.

The second research question "What are the vulnerabilities and protective factors/resilience affecting the possible human trafficking of street children?" also gathered findings. The vulnerabilities included violence from other street people, bystanders and the police. Especially stealing makes street children vulnerable to being badly beaten as in those cases "mob justice" is allowed. In addition, heavy substance use makes it easier to lure the children, they might not be paid as promised as no one will believe them and they face constant sexual abuse inside the bases. The presence of Al- Shabaab also worried the experts interviewed. Due to many wanting to leave the streets, it was also seen that some street children could be easily lured off the streets and exploited. A massive vulnerability was also found to be the insufficient safety net provided by both the private as well as the public sector. For this research we tried to contact all the organizations we could find to get interviews and were sad to see that compared to the number of street children, the number of organizations were little. Also, findings show that there are many orphanages or NGO's that have abused the children either sexually or economically after taking them in. Almost all of the experts felt that the police and city council were not doing enough to help the street children and facilities organized by the government for these children were not suitable for them.

The signs of resilience and protective factors were very little. Street children were seen able to adapt to the street life quite well and one of their strongest protective mechanisms seemed to be their suspicion towards outsiders. Also, people's unwillingness to interact with street children was seen as a good protective mechanism. Street children were also seen to build strong social networks with each other, which offers them protection from the outsiders.

The last research question "How does a street child's gender affect the vulnerability to human trafficking?" was also answered. Street girls were seen much more vulnerable than street boys. According to the findings prostitution is the most popular way of earning an income for street girls. In addition begging and doing odd jobs were mentioned as alternatives. The girls are constantly vulnerable to being sexually exploited both by street boys as well as outsiders. Other vulnerabilities were seen as substance use and getting pregnant and they were also reported to be lured off the streets. For girls, the resilience and protective mechanisms were little. Their main way of staying safe was to "marry" someone in the base. The street boys were also shown to be protective over the girls if outsiders approached the girls offering help. In conclusion, street girls can be viewed very vulnerable to different dangers, including human trafficking. The research also aimed to find out what happens to the girls on the streets, as they are not visible anymore after a certain age. To this questions the research could not offer a confirmed answer but the reasons seemed to be that they either go back home, they are saved from the streets by organizations, they get married and either start street families or succeed in getting a house or they become "sidekicks" for married men.

When looking at the vulnerabilities of street children against their resilience and the protective factors they have, it is obvious that the children are very vulnerable to human trafficking. As the strongest factors keeping them safe seemed to be their suspicion towards strangers, their dirty looks and bad manners and their substance abuse, it is clear that their protective mechanisms are lacking. As most experts saw that police and the city council officers could not offer the street children any protection but actually be just another party to be scared of, the situation truly looks grim. Even grimmer looks the life of the street girls in Nairobi. However, as some street girls seem to be able to leave the streets in a more or less safe way, that can offer us some solace.

In conclusion, the title question "From streets to slavery?" could now then be answered by taking off the question mark. In addition, we could add many more phrases to the title now,

such as "from streets to slavery on the streets" or "from slavery to the streets" as these also lost their questions marks through the findings. However, as the width of research about street children and human trafficking in Kenya is still the size of this research, I prefer keeping the question mark in the title and thus invite more researchers to answer the question. Recommendations for further research on the topic will be presented in the section end of this chapter.

6.2 Contributions of the research: Vulnerabilities, resilience and street children

Since previous research on street children and human trafficking in Kenya is scarce to non-existent, it can be said with a certainty that this study has added information to the overall field. The findings show that street children are being trafficked to some extent as well as that trafficked children end up on the streets after running away from their abusers. In this section I will briefly present the new findings this research has done as well as view the findings with the theoretical concepts of vulnerability and resilience.

In chapter 2 the previous literature was reviewed by looking into the current situation of street children in Kenya. The reasons for the children being on the streets, the forms of labor they perform, their life in bases and the different ways that street children can be categorized were reflected against existing literature. According to the findings, most of the street children living on the streets have existing family ties, thus they would go to the category of "children of the streets". As there is a lot of research done about the reasons behind street children being on the streets, in the Kenyan context it has not been mentioned that some of the children have ran to the streets after being victims of human trafficking. This is then a new addition to the research on the topic.

The way these children earn a living while on the streets was very consistent with previous literature as street children have many different ways of gathering income. However a new addition, and quite largely acknowledged way of getting an income according to the findings was trafficking drugs, which has not been mentioned in the literature previously reviewed for this research. Many experts found that street children can be easily used to take drugs from one place to another as police does not want to deal with them, they do not arouse suspicion

if moving from one place to another and people wouldn't suspect them as easily as they are only children.

The previous literature included also a section about vulnerabilities that street children face while on the streets. Substance use and sexual abuse have been identified in previous research as vulnerabilities of street children. However, as some research has argued that street boys also have sex with each other voluntarily, this research did not confirm that. Violence was also mentioned as a vulnerability and most examples were given about violence inside the bases as well as from the police and outsiders if caught stealing. Previous research suggests that the police and guards beat street children for no reason, but according to the findings of this research this does not really seem to happen that much anymore.

As stated in the beginning of this chapter, there has been no proper research done about street children and human trafficking in Kenya. Thus, all the findings about children taken to work from the streets, children being possibly trafficked on the streets and people sending children to the streets for exploitations were added knowledge to the existing research on the topic. As the previous chapter provides many examples of exploitation done to street children, many of the cases could not be verified as cases of human trafficking. However, the evidence is definitely there to support the fact that street children are being exploited on the streets and in the light of those examples, street children could definitely be trafficked while on the streets or from the streets.

Gender has also been a concept that has been in the focus of this study. The findings agree with the previous literature that girls are less due to them rather staying in the harsh conditions in their homes than going to the streets where exploitations would be guaranteed. According to the findings, street girls also have a better chance of getting picked up by people and organizations offering help as their rehabilitation is seen easier than that of boys. Previous literature also suggests that girls have different ways of getting an income in addition to prostitution, but in this research only couple of the experts mentioned these. Most of them saw prostitution as the only proper way for girls to survive. As in previous literature getting pregnant has been mentioned as a vulnerability for girls, this research found out that some girls have relied on birth control to avoid unwanted pregnancies that might follow after being sexually abused.

The theoretical concepts used in this research were vulnerability and resilience. As the section about vulnerability states, vulnerability can be seen as a preventative, constant or something that is viewed after the harm is done. With street children all these ways apply as the life on the streets is continuous and vulnerabilities need to be identified to prevent harm, to stay safe amongst the dangers and to learn from previous situations in order to stay safe in the future. There is no denying that street children are constantly vulnerable to different situations as they are under the threat of harm at all times. There are also structural and proximate vulnerability which both apply to street children who are structurally vulnerable due to their age and their peer group as well as proximately vulnerable due to them living on the streets where different dangers are present at all times. The sociological definition of vulnerability by Moser and Holland (1997) can be successfully applied to this research. According to them "the insecurity of the well-being of individuals, households, or communities in the face of a changing environment" is the best way to describe ones vulnerability. After concluding this research, this definition still prevails as the best definition to describe street children as their life on the streets is constantly changing and they live in constant insecurity.

As the vulnerabilities of street children had been studied quite widely globally, the resilience of street children had not. In the resilience- section I chose to combine different definitions of resilience to best suit this research. The definition of resilience came together as the children's way of harnessing resources to sustain well-being which means being able to feed themselves, stay healthy and most importantly, stay alive. To this, their ability to bounce back after trauma was added as they also go through traumatic experiences while on the streets. As the expert interviews identified vulnerabilities that require both of these types of resilience, the picked combination of the two definitions worked well. Getting an income and staying safe from being exploited or abused is a constant danger and as sexual abuse is rampant on the streets, the children need resilience in order to get through those experiences to be able to continue their life without falling for desperation. Thus, this combination of definitions should be recommended also to future research aiming to study street children and their abilities to handle pressure on the streets.

6.3 Limitations and recommendations

The main limitation in this study was not being able to interview street children themselves. The original research plan included interviewing street children and former street children, but due to time limitations as well as reasons that were not in my hands, I had to do with the expert interviews. Fortunately we got to interview two former street boys in the end. Why this is seen as a limitation is because talking to street children themselves would have probably given us more information on what actually happens on the streets. However, we were fortunate to find experts that had been working for a long time with street children and who had good knowledge about the life on the streets. As for the validity of the research, I strongly believe that the expert interviews achieved what we wanted and gave us answers to the questions we were asking. The street child interviews would have probably given more in depth information about what is happening on the streets, but we managed to get plenty of valid information from the people working closely with them. As such, the validity of this research should be strong.

During the process of this research many recommendations for further research emerged. The most surprising thing when starting to conduct this research was how little information or research there is about street children in Kenya even as it is seen as a major problem. Especially literature looking for solutions such as how street children could be prevented going to streets or what would be the best practices to get them off the streets, are almost completely lacking. Most of the research available concentrates on the life on the streets from different perspectives such as health of security.

Secondly, more research on human trafficking and street children in Kenya is definitely needed. This research can act as a starting point for the topic, but more knowledge is definitely needed. Street children still residing on the streets should be interviewed to acquire more information on how much they truly are approached and what are the experiences of children who have been lured off the streets for exploitation.

Another strong recommendation around the same topic is researching street girls in Nairobi. There is very little research on them and the available research is mostly from last millennium. Street girls are hard to find and identify but there is for example an organization called "Rescue Dada" (permission has been given to share the name) who works solely with

street girls in Nairobi. Thus, there are ways to get information more on street girls and also to find out more how they are exploited and possibly trafficked.

One interesting research topic that also surfaced while doing this research was about the disabled children begging around Nairobi. With a quick glance there seems to be no research done about it, but their presence has been widely noted and questioned by many of the experts interviewed. Many of them raised questions about how the children managed to get to those "begging-spots" every day and many seemed to think that someone dropped them there each morning and collected them in the evening. If this is the case, these children could be victims of human trafficking where their disabilities are taken advantage of by other people. This would definitely be an interesting issue to study further.

This research was able to produce information about the life of street children and how human trafficking is present in the streets. Hopefully this information will help both public and private sectors to build a safer environment for street children when it comes to human trafficking. I also hope that this research encourages others to study the topic of street children and human trafficking further in order to find the best practices to keep these vulnerable children safe.

> *"There can be no keener revelation of a society's soul than the way it treats its children."*
> -Nelson Mandela

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APPENDIX 1
Interviews

Interview	Title	Caregiver/Caretaker	Interview Length
Interview 1	Expert 1 (Exp1) Expert 2 (Exp2)	Caretaker Caretaker	Group interview 1h 2min
Interview 2	Expert 3 (Exp3)	Caretaker	16 min
Interview 3	Expert 4 (Exp4)	Caretaker	1h 37min
Interview 4	Expert 5 (Exp5)	Caretaker	58min
Interview 5	Expert 6 (Exp6)	Caregiver	1h
Interview 6	Expert 7 (Exp7)	Caregiver + Former street child	53 min
Interview 7	Expert 8 (Exp8)	Caretaker + Caregiver	49 min
Interview 8	Expert 9 (Exp9)	Caretaker + Caregiver	40 min
Interview 9	Expert 10 (Exp10) Expert 11 (Exp11)	Caregiver Caregiver	Group interview 1h 5min

Interview 10	Former Street boy 1 (FSB1)	15 min
Interview 11	Former Street boy 2 (FSB2)	13 min

APPENDIX 2
Categories, subcategories and codes

Original five (5) themes:

Forms of labour	Vulnerabilities	Strengths/ Resilience	Gender	Trafficking cases

Subcategories and additional codes:

Vulnerabilities	Gender	Trafficking cases	Additional codes
General vulnerabilities of street children	Gender (labour)	SC taken from the streets	Background of the Street Children
Luring of street children	Gender (Vulnerabilities)	General trafficking/ family /organs	Bases
Missing street children	Gender (Resilience)	SC ending up at the streets	Bystanders, Police and City Council
Help available	Gender (Exit from the streets)	SC trafficked on the streets by street people	Recommendations
		SC trafficked on the streets by outsiders	
		Adoption and kidnapping	
		Non SC cases	

*SC- street children

APPENDIX 3
Interview questions

About interviewee:
- What is it that you do with street children/how does your work include street children?
- How long have you worked with street children?
- How often do you interact with street children in your work?
- Do you interact with both boys and girls or just one?
- What is the age range of the street children you work with?

About children:
- In your experience, what is the family setup of street children?
- In your understanding, what are the reasons why children end up in the streets?
- Are the children from Nairobi?
    - If from somewhere else, do you know how they came to Nairobi?
    - Do you know how they ended up in the streets after arriving to Nairobi?

Human trafficking:
- What are the different ways that street children make a living on the streets?
- Do you know if they keep the money or do they give it to someone else? Have you heard of cases where they do not get to keep the money themselves?
- Have you heard of cases where someone has tried to lure children with them or to work for them?
- Have you heard of cases where the children are made to work by someone else? Have they gotten paid? In these cases, have they been allowed to go to school?
    - Have you heard of cases where children are made to have sex for money?
        - If yes, do you know by who?
    - Have you heard of cases where children are made to beg without being able to keep the money?
        - If yes, do you know by who?
    - Have you heard of cases where children are made to sell goods on the streets and not been able to keep the money?
        - If yes, do you know by who?
    - Have you heard of cases where children are made to work in households for free? (not at their own households)
        - If yes, do you know by who?
    - Have you hear of cases where children have gone missing?
        - If yes, do you know who taken them?
    - Have you heard of cases where children have been found without organs?

Gender:
- In your understanding, what are the differences between the situations of street boys and street girls? What kind of experiences do these include?
    - Do you feel that there are differences in security when it comes to boys and girls on the streets?
        - If yes, what kind?
- In your understanding, what are the different survival mechanisms for girls and boys living on the streets?
- In your understanding, how do street girls and street boys differ when it comes to getting an income?
- There seems to be more street boys after a certain age. Do you know what happens to the street girls? Where do they go?

Culture + others:

- In your understanding, how are the street children treated by bystanders?
    - If badly, why do you think this is?
- In your understanding, are street girls and street boys treated differently by bystanders?
- What do you feel is the role of the police in all of this?
    - What do you feel that they could do more?
- What do you feel is the role of the city council in all of this?
    - What do you feel that they could do more?