

**UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI**

**DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL WORK**

**FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO COMMERCIAL SEX WORK  
AMONG UNDERAGE GIRLS; THE CASE OF DAGORETTI  
REHABILITATION SCHOOL IN NAIROBI COUNTY**

**BY**

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REQUIREMENT FOR THE AWARD OF A MASTER OF ARTS  
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## DECLARATION

### DECLARATION BY CANDIDATE

I, Mary M. Kangethe, hereby declare that this Research Project is my original work and has not been submitted for examination in any other University.

Signed----- Date-----

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### DECLARATION BY SUPERVISOR

This Research Project has been submitted for examination with my approval as the University Supervisor.

Signed----- Date-----

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DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL WORK

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## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this work to my family members, Stephen K. Kangethe, Patricia Karau, Paul Karau, Ann Karau and Kennedy Karau for their support and understanding when I was not there for them while working on this study. I also dedicate this work to my colleagues in the office for their support and encouragement throughout the course while not forgetting my supervisor for his invaluable guidance and support.

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## ABSTRACT

The main objective of this study was to establish factors contributing to Commercial Sexual Exploitation of girls. The study had four specific objectives, namely establishing factors contributing to commercial sexual exploitation of underage girls, the agents involved in the planning, organizing and execution of commercial sexual exploitation of underage girls, understanding how commercial sexual exploitation of underage girls is planned, organized, and executed by agents. The other objective of this study was to identify policy gaps in the already existing policy frameworks developed to combat Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children. The research questions were derived from the above objectives.

The research adopted a qualitative study design. The targeted population was government officers, especially those involved in child welfare programmes and girls undergoing rehabilitation at Dagoretti Rehabilitation School. Respondents were randomly and purposively sampled where a sample of twenty nine(29) keyinformants(stakeholders )and eight (8) girls from a population of one hundred and fifty two (152)respondentsand fifty (50) girls respectively selected. Interview guides were used to collect data from respondents and key informant persons. The researcher also conducted one focus group discussion of adult women who were former commercial sex workers. The data collected was coded and grouped into themes based on the objectives of the study. Interpretation was then made by thematic analysis.

The findings reveal that many factors ranging from socio-economic, situational and individual contribute to Commercial Sexual Exploitation of girls. The socio-economic

and environmental factors are processes that exist in the larger environment over which young girls can exercise only minimal control but which; nonetheless, exert a powerful influence on their lives by pushing them into sex work. They include poverty, polluted social environment, ignorance, corruption and laxity in enforcing existing laws. Situational factors as the study established are socio-behavioural and family relationship events that in one way or the other contribute to Commercial Sexual Exploitation of underage girls: These are external factors that impact underage girls directly and over which they can exert some measure of control, but which nonetheless push them into sex work. They include recruitment by family members, peer pressure, stigma and discrimination, family breakdown/dysfunction. On the other hand, individual/internal factors are cognitive and psychogenic forces that may push underage girls into sex work. These include; Poor self esteem; revenge-intentional spread of HIV, and personal drug dependency

The study also found out that three categories of agents are involved in Commercial Sexual Exploitation of girls namely; perpetrators, vendors and facilitators. Their activities and operations are highly secretive and operate using sophisticated networks, with some even using pseudo names. The study also established a number of policy gaps in the already developed policy framework which range from preventive, implementation/enforcement and legislation.

The study therefore concluded that protection programmes needed to be reviewed as a matter of urgency, besides updating the operational capacity of law enforcers and other child welfare agencies tasked with the responsibility of child rights and protection.

Efforts at protecting girls from sexual exploitation must emphasize prevention as the first priority. The study recommends the protection of girls and proper rehabilitation of victims of child sexual exploitation, and also enforceably, existing national Laws on child sexual exploitation.

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## **ABBREVIATIONS**

**AAC** -Area Advisory Council

**ACRWC** - African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child

**CCIs** óCharitable Childrens Institutions

**CP**- Child Pornography

**CSE** – Child Sexual Exploitation

**CSEC** -Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children

**CST** - Child Sex Tourism

**ECPIK** óEnd Child Prostitution In Kenya

**ILO** ó International Labour Organization

**NCCS** - National Council for Children Services

**NGOs** - Non-Governmental Organizations

**OVC** – Orphans and Vulnerable Children

**UNCRC** –United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child

**UNICEF** – United Nations Childrens Fund

**WFCL** óWorst Form of Child Labour

## CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

### 1:1 Background of the study

According to the World Congress against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children, held in Stockholm in 1996, Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (CSEC) is defined as: "*Sexual abuse by the adult and remuneration in cash or kind to the child or a third person or persons. The child is treated as a sexual object and as a commercial object*" (Clift and Carter 2000). Commercial sexual exploitation of children includes the sex trade of children, child pornography, child sex tourism and other forms of transactional sex where a child engages in sexual activities to have key needs fulfilled, such as food, shelter or access to education. It includes forms of transactional sex where the sexual abuse of children is not stopped or reported by household members, due to benefits derived by the household from the perpetrator. CSEC also potentially includes arranged marriages involving children under the age of 18 years, where the child has not freely consented to marriage and where the child is sexually abused (Clift and Carter 2000).

A child is defined as "every human being below the age of 18 years unless, under the law applicable to the child, majority is attained earlier" (UNICEF 2009:13). An estimated 10 million children worldwide are engaged in some facet of the commercial sex industry. Each year at least one million children, mostly girls become commercial sex workers. It has been estimated that about 300,000 children in the U.S are at risk every year for commercial sexual exploitation (USA Department of Justice, Dec 2007). In Thailand for instance, 10-12 year old girls serve men in the commercial sex industry. They typically

have sex with men 10-15 times daily and sometimes as many as 20-30. In South Africa; there are 40,000 child sex workers (Edmonds and Pavcnik, 2005). According to Global March, an information and advocacy group, 2009; there has been an increase in the number of child sex workers with an increase in the number of children living in the streets. In Uganda, by age 12, 30% of the girls are sexually active and by age 18, it is about 85% (Foster and Williamson, 2000).

Child sex workers are at a high risk of contracting HIV. HIV infection rates among child sex workers vary from region to region, for instance it is 5% and 17% in Vietnam and Thailand respectively. One study reported that 50% -90% of children rescued from brothels in Southeast Asia were infected with HIV. Child sex workers are also at a high risk of acquiring other STDs (Willis and Levy 2002). The same study established that the STDs rates among underage girls were 36% and 78% in Cambodia and China respectively, compared to the 5% yearly incidence of STDs in adolescents worldwide.

Child sex trade also causes serious long-term psychological harm, including anxiety, depression, and behaviour disorders. Child sex workers are at a high risk of suicide and post-traumatic stress disorder. A study conducted in the U.S established that 415 of pregnant child sex workers reported having seriously considered or attempted suicide (Willis and Levy, 2002). Child sexworkers are also at a high risk of enduring injuries and violence. The children may be physically and emotionally abused into submission, while others may be beaten to induce miscarriage. A study of 475 child sex workers in five countries found that 73% of participants had been physically assaulted while working in the sex industry and 62% reported having been raped (Finkelhor and

Korbin1998).Children in the sex industry are also often targets of sex tourists. An estimated 30,000 Kenyan children are being exploited in the sex industry and this figure is likely to be an underestimation due to the lack of monitoring and the social stigma inhibiting children from reporting abuses (UNICEF, 2006).

Child Sexual Exploitation (CSE) in Kenya exists in the form of child commercial sex, incest, early child marriages, rape, indecent assault and defilement (Zachary, 2002). Many of the children being exploited are imported from rural areas around the country. In Mombasa and Malindi it is common to see aging white men well into their 70s and 80s with girls young enough to be their granddaughters (Daily Nation News paper 29 October 2007).Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (CSEC) in Kenya is often conducted through organized networks in private houses. Mombasa, Kenya's second largest and a major port city has been identified as one of the main cities where Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (CSEC) takes place. It is a notorious location for sailors and marines who, while docking there, sexually exploit children. Reportedly, when an American Navy Aircraft Carrier docks in Mombasa, girls can come from as far away as the Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda, Burundi, Tanzania and Uganda (ECPAT International 2007).

Some 84% of girls in sex work interviewed in Tanzania reported having been raped, battered, or tortured by police officers and local community guards. At least 60% had no permanent place to live. Some of these girls started out as child domestic workers (ILO 2004).In Brazil, it is estimated that there are over 250,000 children working in the sex industry (UNICEF 2005).Other statistics show that about 12,000 Nepalese children,

mainly girls, are trafficked for sexual commercial exploitation each year within Nepal or to brothels in India and other countries (ILO 2004). In Sri-Lanka, children often become the prey of sexual exploiters through friends and relatives. The prevalence of boys in sex trade here is strongly related to foreign tourism (ILO 2004). Elsewhere, Thailand's Health System Research Institute reports that children in commercial sex industry make up 405 of sex workers in Thailand. There are also estimates that there are about 60,000 child sex workers in the Philippines and many of the 200 brothels in the notorious Angels City offer children for sex. Another shocking figure shows that 2 million children are exploited in commercial sex industry and pornography every year (UNICEF, 2006).

Commercial sexual exploitation of children is a global social problem. Commercial sexual exploitation of children is increasing alarmingly in Kenya. In a report released by the US department of International Labour affairs, in 2005, there is a high incidence of child commercial sex, particularly in Nairobi and other major cities. There are also reports of widespread commercial sex among girls who hawk or beg by day, and work as commercial sex workers by night (USA Department of International Labour affairs, 2005). Child commercial sex is outlawed in Kenya but a few statistics on the same are overwhelming. A number of agencies have reported on the growing incidences of child sex trade in the past five years, especially in major Kenya's cities. Up to 30% of all girls aged between 12-18 living in the coastal areas of Malindi, Mombasa, Kilifi, and Diani are involved in commercial sex work. As such, it is estimated that 10,000 to 15,000 girls living in these areas are being sexually exploited at irregular intervals or seasonally. Another 2,000 to 3,000 girls are sexually exploited year round in the commercial sex industry. Other estimates suggest that as many as 30,000 girls between the ages of 12 and

14 are lured into hotels and private villas to be sexually exploited. During the low tourism season, local demand sustains the sexual exploitation of children. Children involved in commercial sex, are also compelled to provide sex to locals who help them gain access to tourists, such as beach boys, bar staff, waiters, and others. These illegal activities involve tour operators, hotels, and well connected agents (UNICEF, 2006). Other estimates also show that in Malindi, Mombasa, and Nairobi, there are about 50,000 children involved in Commercial Sex Tourism (CST). Most of the customers of Commercial sex industry are Kenyan nationals as well as tourists from German, UK, US and other European countries (ECPIK, 2009). In the coastal region of Kenya, 79% of girls aged between 11 and 17 have engaged in sex for cash along the beach resorts and that most of their clients are retired European men (Robinson, 2011).

## **1.2 Problem Statement**

The government of Kenya and local NGOs have been working to stop commercial sexual exploitation of children (CSEC) for many years. The constitution of Kenya has adopted the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) definition of the child as a person under the age of 18 years. The Constitution of Kenya 2010 has a comprehensive Bill of Rights which sets out both the general rights extending to citizens in general and those of specific vulnerable groups including children, the youth and persons with disabilities.

The National Children Policy Kenya (2010) which draws its mandate from the existing international, regional and national instruments and frameworks that support the realization of the rights and welfare of children outlines policy vision, goals and

objectives based on the key pillars of Child rights as enshrined in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC), 1989. These are survival rights, development rights, protection rights and participation rights (The National Children Policy Kenya 2010).

The National Plan of Action against Sexual Exploitation of Children in Kenya (2013-2017) is yet another strategy framework developed around the areas of prevention, protection, recovery, and reintegration, coordination and cooperation, child participation as well as monitoring and evaluation. The action plan establishes a clear roadmap on how Sexual Exploitation of Children will be dealt with holistically and comprehensive community based approach to address the same. Other existing national instruments and frameworks from which this policy draws its context include; the Children Act of (2001),the Sexual Offences Act (SOA) 2006; the Orphans and Vulnerable Children (OVC) Policy addressing children made vulnerable by HIV/AIDS, Counter Trafficking in Persons Act (2010), Child Labour Policy, National Plan of Action on Child Labour (2008), the Employment Act (2007), the Kenya Free Primary Education (FPE) Policy, the Kenya Cash Transfer Programme for orphans and Vulnerable Children, the National School Health Policy (2009), District Action Plans on CSEC and the National guidelines on the Management of Sexual violence in Kenya (2009).

Kenya has also ratified a number of international conventions on the rights of children namely; the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC, 1989) ratified in 1990, the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (ACRWC, 1990) ratified in 2000. Kenya also ratified ILO Convention 182 in 2001 which

recognizes Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (CSEC) as a Worst Form of Child Labour (WFCL). However, despite all these policies and legislative frameworks in place, Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children still exist and has been increasing over the years. About 30,000 children are involved in Child Sex Tourism (CST) (UNICEF, 2006). Preventive efforts have been tried out even with big hotels where they have signed the Code of Conduct for the Protection of Children from Sexual Exploitation in the travel and tourism industry but not much achievement has been realized. Simply put Commercial Sex tourism has changed its face and has become more difficult to detect. The study shed light on the factors contributing to Commercial Sexual Exploitation of underage girls-social-economic, environmental, situational and individual. The study also sought to establish the agents involved and how they plan the same. The study also seeks to establish policy gaps both structural and legal in the already existing national policy framework developed to combat child sexual exploitation.

### **1.3. Research Questions**

This study was guided by the following research questions:

- i. What are the contributing factors to commercial sexual exploitation of underage girls?
- ii. Who are the agents involved in the planning, organizing and in the execution of commercial sexual exploitation of underage girls?
- iii. How is commercial sexual exploitation of underage girls planned, organized and executed by the agents?

- iv. What are the policy gaps in the national policy framework developed to combat Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children?

## **1.4 Objectives of the Study**

### **1.4.1 The main objective of the study**

The main objective of the study was to identify the factors that contribute to commercial sex work among underage girls and policy gaps.

### **1.4.2 Specific Objectives of the Study**

The specific objectives of this study were:

- i. To investigate factors contributing to commercial sexual exploitation of underage girls.
- ii. To establish the agents involved in the planning, organizing and execution of commercial sexual exploitation of underage girls.
- iii. To understand the process of commercial sexual exploitation of underage girls, how it is planned, organized and executed by agents.
- iv. To establish policy gaps in the already existing policy framework developed to combat Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children.

## **1.5. Justification of the study**

Various national policy and legislative frameworks have been developed to fight Child Sexual Exploitation (CSE) but no major achievements have been made so far. The

National Children Policy Kenya (2010) outlines policy objectives based on the key pillars of Child rights as enshrined in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC), 1989 which include survival, development, protection and participation rights (The National Children Policy Kenya 2010). The National Plan of Action against Sexual Exploitation of Children in Kenya (2013-2017) developed to operationalize the National Children Policy revolves around the areas of prevention, protection, recovery, and reintegration, coordination and cooperation, child participation as well as monitoring and evaluation.

Despite efforts by the government and Non-governmental organizations to address commercial sexual exploitation of children, Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (CSEC) activities continue to rise. Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children is increasingly metamorphosing and becoming complex. There is need therefore to explore the factors contributing to commercial sexual exploitation of underage girls in order to develop effective intervention strategies. A good understanding of this is significant for an effective response. There is also the need to investigate the agents involved, and explore how they plan, organize and execute the same. The study is also helpful in establishing policy gaps in various national policy and legislative frameworks developed to protect children and as such, provide a foundational platform for policy makers to review the existing legal and policy framework on preventive and in the fight against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of underage girls.

## **1.6 Scope and Limitations of the study**

The study sought to examine the factors contributing to Child Sexual Exploitation among underage girls in Kenya and policy gaps. The study was confined to Dagoretti Rehabilitation School in Nairobi, which is the only government rehabilitation centre for girls in Nairobi. Nairobi, being the largest and the capital city of Kenya has for the last decades witnessed rapid growth and urbanization. These structural changes have resulted to major social issues, such as sex work among underage girls, urban poverty and unemployment. In a report released by the US department of International Labour affairs, in 2005, there is a high incidence of child commercial sex, particularly in Nairobi and other major cities.

This study confined itself to collecting views, experiences and perceptions toward sex work by former girl sex workers undergoing institutionalized rehabilitation. The researcher adopted qualitative techniques and methods in the design owing to the sensitivity of the study subject as opposed to quantitative research methodology. This design was limited in the sense of measurability of facts and collection of requisite information.

The limitation of the study is that it neither investigated the prevalence rate nor measured how various factors individually contribute to Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children.

## 1.7 Definition of terms

**Child:** Persons under the age of 18 years, under the law applicable to the child, majority is attained earlier (United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989: article 1)

**Child Sexual Exploitation (CSE):** A practice by which a person, usually an adult, achieves sexual gratification, financial gain or advancement through the abuse or exploitation of a child's sexuality by abrogating that child's human right to dignity, equality, autonomy, and physical and mental wellbeing, i.e trafficking, prostitution, prostitution tourism, mail-order-bride trade, pornography, stripping, battering, incest, defilement, and sexual harassment (Hughes, 1999).

**Commercial Sexual Exploitation Of Children (CSEC):** The Sexual exploitation of a Child (SEC) entirely, or at least primarily, for financial gain or other economic reasons. The economic exchanges involved may be either monetary or non-monetary (i.e. food, shelter, drugs) but in every case it involves maximum benefits to the exploiter and an abrogation of the basic rights, dignity, autonomy, physical and mental wellbeing of the children involved (Hughes, 1999).

**Child pornography (CP):** Films, videos, magazines, writings, photographs, computer images, or other materials produced by either adults or children, or both, that contain sexually explicit images of children and youth under the age of 18 years. Child pornography has considerable commercial value; typically though, child pornography is traded and exchanged between paedophiles rather than sold.

**Sex tourism:** Commercially organized travel and related services (e.g. hotel and transportation) usually across international borders, for persons seeking to engage in sex with citizens of other countries including children of those countries.

**Survival Sex:** Exchange of sex for money or other considerations e.g. food, shelter, and/or drugs.

## **CHAPTER TWO : LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

### **2.1 Introduction**

The purpose of this literature review and theoretical framework was to set the study subject in a broader spectrum through review of relevant literatures, other studies and theories. Areas covered in the literature review include; commercial sexual exploitation of children, categories of commercial sex workers, characteristics of child victims of Child Sexual Exploitation and sex trafficking, statistics on Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children, child commercial sex in Kenya and the statistics and the national policy framework developed to fight Child Sexual Exploitation in Kenya. The theories used in this study are social learning theory, social exchange theory and conflict theory.

### **2.2 Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children/Sex Trafficking**

The commercial sexual exploitation of children is a global problem that could be happening right in your neighborhood. The commercial sex industry victimizes girls, boys, and transgendered youth. Commercial sexual exploitation of children occurs when individuals buy, trade, or sell sexual acts with a child. According to the U.S. Victims of Trafficking and Protection Act of 2000, sex trafficking is "the recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for the purposes of a commercial sex act" (U.S. Department of State 2011). Children who are involved in the commercial sex industry are viewed as victims of severe forms of trafficking in persons, which is sex

trafficking in which a commercial sex act is induced by force, fraud, or coercion, or in which the person induced to perform such an act has not attained 18 years of age (U.S. Department of State 2011). A commercial sex act is any sex act on account of which anything of value is given to or received by any person (Estes and Weiner, 2001).

Commercial sex is the selling of sexual services. Child Commercial Sex is the practice whereby a child is used by another for sexual activities in return for remuneration or any other form of consideration. Research has been done on this topic and it's appalling that many teenagers (mostly girls) are exploited through sex trade. Learning a bit about this subject can be useful for parents since girls recruited into and who turn to sex trade can come from anywhere and from any type of family. Commercial sexual exploitation of children is both a domestic and international problem. One count estimates sex trafficking to victimize more than 200,000 children in the United States annually (Bryan 2014; The Polaris Project 2012). An additional 244,000-360,000 children in the United States are at risk each year of being trafficked and sexually exploited (Bryan 2014; Adams, Owens, and Small 2010). In the United States, children are most likely to be sexually exploited by their families or family friends for monetary gain (US National Institute of Justice, 2007).

Commercial sexual exploitation manifests in numerous forms, such as brothels, sex trafficking, mail order brides, sex tourism, pornography, prostitution, stripping, lap dancing, and phone sex companies. The most common forms of child commercial sexual exploitation are sex trafficking, child pornography, and child sex tourism (Women's Support Project 2014). One source estimates a child sex trafficker can make as much as much as \$650,000 annually exploiting four children (Walker, 2013). Exact estimates of prevalence and monetary gain, however, vary extensively because true numbers

and figures remain unknown due to lack of awareness about the issue, general underreporting of the crime, and the difficulties associated with identifying victims and perpetrators (Greenbaum 2014).

Sex trafficking is a form of human trafficking, also known as trafficking in persons or modern day slavery (President's Interagency Taskforce to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons 2014, 5). Human trafficking can appear in several other forms, including forced labor, bonded labor, involuntary domestic servitude, child soldier recruitment, and debt bondage among migrant laborers (U.S. Department of State 2011). Recent estimates by global organizations suggest that around 27 million people worldwide are current victims of human trafficking (Williamson 2012). Sex trafficking is most common in Europe, Central Asia, and the Americas (Greenbaum 2014).

Governmental and nongovernmental organizations define human trafficking as the exploitation of another person through the use of fraud, coercion, or force. The U.S. Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000 (TVPA) states that any commercial sex act if the person is under 18 years of age, regardless of whether any form of coercion is involved, is defined as human trafficking (U.S. Department of State 2011, 8). Therefore, if the victim is considered a minor, then force, fraud, or coercion do not need to be established; the sex act is automatically sex trafficking.

Although exact numbers are not clear, it is estimated that there are more than 300,000 teenagers in the United States who are being exploited sex industry. Many believe these numbers are much higher. The average age at which a girl enters sex trade is 14 years old - this age appears to be dropping and there have been reports of girls as young as age 6

being exploited through commercial sex. There is not one single factor which makes a teenage girl vulnerable to be recruited into the life of commercial sex; however, there are certain factors which are believed to increase one's risk. These include: coming from a broken home, a history of abuse, having a mother who is promiscuous, poor relationship with parents, truancy and a history of running away which is the biggest factor which can lead to one becoming involved in the life of sex trade. Two thirds of girls who run away are exploited in the sex industry and girls who run away are likely to be approached by a pimp within forty eight hours of being on the run (Vincent, 2008).

The earliest indications of juvenile sex trade 'problem' can be found in the mass media, but academics were also involved from the very beginning (Deisher *et al*, 1969). In addition, since the late 1960s there have been a number of moral panics about child abuse in North America and Western Europe. Thus interest in juvenile sex trade has come in waves, eclipsed at times; by concerns about 'battered children' or more recently 'satanic' or 'ritual' abuse (La Fontaine, 1990, Jenkins, 1992, Joseph, 1995). Thus, there have been few long term studies of juvenile sex workers, but rather a flurry of papers and articles at times when interest in the issue is high. Currently, concern is focused on young male sex workers, because they are seen as vectors for the spread of HIV and research into their lives is conducted along bio-medical models that are concerned with certain areas of behaviour and particular attitudes (Pleaket *al*, 1990, Snell, 1995). Both academics and journalists have remained interested in the issue of delinquency and deviancy psychology, which it is assumed many young sex workers share but, again, this is linked to bio-medical models with particular perspectives and limited range (Baizerman *et al* 1979, Davidson and Loken, 1987). Western journalists have a major role in disseminating

information about the commercial sexual exploitation of children. Articles on young male sex workers, often referred to as 'rent boys' in the English language press, as well as young female sex workers, remain an occasional feature of many newspapers and women's magazines and are presented as campaigning or investigative journalism, while revealing prurient details designed to shock and sensationalize.

In the USA, the source of a good deal of the literature is part of the university sector that specializes in 'objective' non-judgmental studies of AIDS awareness and/or delinquent psychology (Baizerman *et al* 1979, Davidson and Loken, 1987, Widom and Ames, 1994).

In the USA much emphasis is placed on the 'runaway' phenomenon, first noted in the 1960s and now closely tied to the sex trade discourse (Lloyd, 1977, Sereny, 1984, Schaffer and Deblassie, 1984). The current sex trade problem continues to be seen as having its roots in the alternative culture movements of the late 1960s, with a special emphasis on the hippie communities in San Francisco (Weisberg 1985). It is claimed that many children ran away to join these communes but, on leaving them, found themselves unable to make any money other than through prostitution (Schaffer & Deblassie, 1984).

In the United Kingdom, the stress is on boy sex workers. 'Rent boys' have become a staple of the British media and even the more serious academic studies, have tended to concentrate more on boys than on girls, despite the smaller numbers of boy sex workers. The West Midland Police, which covers Birmingham where there is a major red light district, commissioned a report on young male sex workers and came up with a report based on a sample group of less than 20 (Donovan, 1992). While the police have concentrated on boy sex workers, the advocacy groups discuss young children of both

sexes; highlighting the problems they experience when they leave institutional care and the lack of support they are given. NGOs such as the Children's Society in the United Kingdom have published papers and articles suggesting that it is both lack of institutional care and the brutalizing effect that many children's homes have on their inmates that contribute to their recourse to sex trade when they are discharged or escape (Lee & O'Brien, 1995).

A further contributory factor stressed in Western literature is the role of broken homes (Finkelhor, 1979, Sereny, 1984, Weisberg, 1985, Lowman, 1987, Gibsonainyette et al, 1988, Campagna and Poffenberger, 1988). Many of the juveniles surveyed have suffered sexual and physical abuse within the family and many are runaways from abusive situations (Finkelhor, 1979, Weisberg, 1985, Lowman, 1987, Snell, 1995). In Britain, the emphasis is placed more on children who have been in state institutional care rather than those from abusive families, yet the literature remains framed within the discourse on dysfunctional families (Lee and O'Brien, 1995). Throughout almost all the books and articles on the subject in the West, runs the theme that these children are outside society, and that reasons have to be found for their deviancy. Their life histories are presented in terms of theories of deviancy. There is a notable absence of views of the children themselves or, when literature does include their opinions, this is often countered by an authorial voice giving reasons why they are wrong.

The researcher finds it very interesting that the authorities and concerned stakeholders look at the child sex worker, and they say the problem is sex trade. They forget the problems of theft, drugs, or just general exploitation of youth on the street. Sex trade is a

symptom of a greater problem that these children have experienced that put them on the street in the first place (Bell, 1987).

Many publications stress degrading aspects of child commercial sex, including being forced into being sex workers, raped by pimps, terrorized by gang members and becoming dependent on drugs (Sawyer, 1988, Tate, 1991). There is constant reference to the apparently inevitable links between sex work and heroin use. Yet there is little information about the long-term effects in adulthood because there is no systematic research on the results of sex trade in childhood, simply the impression from reiterated assumptions that juvenile sex workers end up either dead or living worthless and useless lives (Campagna & Poffenberger, 1988). Some accounts of the lives of boy sex workers suggest that the average length of time as a sex worker is between two and seven years (Donovan, 1986, Snell, 1995) but longitudinal studies seem not to be carried out.

A further concern for those writing about young girl sex workers is the part played by males who live off their earnings, with far more attention paid to this than to the role of female adult exploiters. Pimps are almost always portrayed as vicious and evil psychopaths, and the fact that many girls speak fondly of their 'protectors' is explained as co-dependency. Even though not all sex workers work for pimps and some men living with sex workers are part time sex workers themselves, the overwhelming impression given of pimps is that they are older, manipulative men (Lowman, 1987). The assumption that all girl sex workers must be controlled in this way is, of course, a reflection of overall societal assumptions about the vulnerability of women and the need to police their sexuality.

Literature on the poor psychological health of young sex workers also seems to take for granted that they suffer from low self-esteem, suicidal tendencies and the inability to form relationships, generally without exploring scientifically the causal relationships involved (Finkelhor, 1979, Baizerman et al, 1979, Davidson and Loken, 1987). The assumption is that low self-esteem results from prostitution, rather than that some juveniles become sex workers because their self-esteem is low.

### **2.3 Categories of Commercial Sex Workers**

Several types of sex workers exist. At the bottom of the sex trade hierarchy are streetwalkers (also called street sex workers), who typically find their customers, or are found by their customers, somewhere on a street. They then have a quick act of sex in the customer's car, in an alleyway or other secluded spot, or in a cheap hotel. This category compose only about one-fifth of all sex workers (Weitzer, 2012).

The remaining 80 percent of sex workers generally work indoors. Call girls work as independent operators in their homes or fairly fancy hotels and charge a lot of money for their services, which include sex but also talking and dining. Their clients are typically businessmen and other wealthy individuals. Many call girls earn between \$200 and \$500 per hour, and some earn between \$1,000 and \$6,000 per hour or session (Weitzer, 2009).

Escorts work for escort agencies, which often advertise heavily in phone books and on internet. They may operate out of an apartment rented by their agency or come to a client's hotel room or other location. Although they may actually act as an escort to a dinner or show, typically their services include sexual acts. They too, are generally well

paid for their work, but do not earn nearly as much as call girls because they have to give at least 30 percent of their earnings to their agency. Call girls and escorts rank at the top of the commercial sex hierarchy (Weitzer, 2009).

Brothel workers, as the name implies, are sex workers who work in brothels. Massage parlour workers, as the name also implies, work in massage parlours. Many massage parlours, of course involve no sex work at all, however, some massage parlours are in fact fronts for prostitution, where the sex worker masturbates a man and brings him to what is often termed a -happy ending. A final category of sex workers involves those sex workers who work in bars, casinos, or similar establishments (bar or casino workers). They make contacts with a customer in these settings and then have sex with them elsewhere. The lives and welfare of streetwalkers are much worse than those of the five types of indoor workers (Weitzer 2012). "Many of the problems associated with sex work are actually concentrated in street sex trade and much less evident in the indoor sector" (Weitzer 2012). In particular, many streetwalkers are exploited or abused by pimps, use heroine or other drugs, and are raped, robbed, and /or beaten by their clients. A good number of streetwalkers also began their sex work careers as runaway teenagers and were abused as children.

In contrast, indoor workers begin their trade when they are older and are less likely to have been abused as children. Their working conditions are much better than those of streetwalkers, they are less likely to be addicted to drugs and have STDs, they are better paid, and they are much less likely to be victimized by their clients. Studies that compare indoor sex workers and non sex workers find that they have similar levels of self-esteem,

physical health, and mental health. Many indoor sex workers even report a rise in self-esteem after they begin their indoor work (Weitzer, 2012).

## **2.4 Characteristics of Sexually Exploited and Sex Trafficked Children**

Identifying victims of Child Sexual Exploitation and sex trafficking, can be difficult because of a general lack of public awareness about the issue; the reluctance of many exploited children to identify themselves as victims; and extreme measures taken by exploiters to hide their victims and their crimes (Walker 2013; President's Interagency Taskforce to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons 2014). On average, children first fall victim to child sexual exploitation between ages 12 and 14 (Adams, Owens, and Small 2010; Greenbaum 2014). Many youth victims of Child Sexual Exploitation tend to come from vulnerable populations with a serious history of previous abuse. Some research suggests victims are now increasingly younger because exploiters are worried about contracting HIV or AIDS from victims (Adams, Owens, and Small 2010). Research on people who are trafficked shows that victims (juvenile and adult) come from all backgrounds, sexes, nations, and economic levels. In a 2011 report by the US Bureau of Justice Statistics on the characteristics of suspected human trafficking incidents, almost 95 percent of sex trafficked victims were female. Over half (54 percent) were 17 years of age or younger. About one fifth of the victims were white, one fifth of Hispanic/Latino origin, and one third were black/African American. The vast majority of sex trafficking victims were U.S. citizens or permanent U.S. residents (approximately 77 percent), while less than 15 percent were undocumented or qualified aliens (Banks and Kyckkelhahn 2011).

The degree of dramatization experienced by commercial sexual exploitation victims is well documented. Sexually exploited persons suffer from high rates of posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD), Stockholm Syndrome, memory loss, aggression, fear, depression, anxiety, hostility, anger issues, sexually transmitted disease/infection (STD/STI), physical trauma from beatings, and emotional and psychological trauma from engaging in unwanted sex (Greenbaum 2014; Cohen, Edberg, and Gies 2011; Raymond and Hughes 2001; Hughes 1999). Furthermore, minors exploited through prostitution are 70-90 percent more likely than non-exploited youth to have been victims of child abuse and they are also 28 times more likely to be arrested for prostitution in their lifetime. Commercial sexual exploitation victims often suffer extreme shame about their experiences and they may face the stigma associated with being "sexually promiscuous" (Walker, 2013).

Although research has indicated that most victims of child sexual exploitation tend to be girls, in recent years the literature has expanded to recognize the victimization of men and boys. While research is limited on male victims of commercial sexual exploitation, new studies suggest that the number of boys and girls involved in child sex trafficking is likely to be similar in numbers (Walker 2013; Greenbaum 2014). A study in New York City found that 40 percent of commercial sexual exploitation of children cases in the city involved male victims (Bryan 2014). The gender disparity in awareness and research could be due to the fact that boys are less likely to be identified as commercially sexually exploited or at risk for victimization (Walker 2013; Bryan 2014). Currently, very few organizations provide services for boys and young men who are victims of sexual exploitation. Consequently, few resources provide valuable information about

exploitation of boys and young men. It is known that many CSE boys are homeless or runaways and are significantly less likely than girls to have a pimp or other adult exploiting them (Walker 2013). Boys and young males likely share many of the risk factors for involvement in CSE as girls, such as child maltreatment and family violence (IOM and NRC 2013).

## **2.5 Statistics on Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children**

An estimated 10 million children worldwide are engaged in some facet of the commercial sex industry. Each year at least one million children, mostly girls become commercial sex workers. It has been estimated that about 300,000 children in the U.S are at risk every year for commercial sexual exploitation (USA Department of Justice, Dec 2007). In Thailand for instance, 10-12 year old girls serve men in the commercial sex industry. They typically have sex with men 10-15 times daily and sometimes as many as 20-30. In South Africa; there are 40,000 child sex workers (Edmonds and Pavcnik, 2005). According to Global March, an information and advocacy group, 2009; there has been an increase in the number of child sex workers with an increase in the number of children living in the streets. In Uganda, by age 12, 30% of the girls are sexually active and by age 18, it is about 85% (Foster and Williamson, 2000).

Child sex workers are at a high risk of contracting HIV. HIV infection rates among child sex workers vary from region to region, for instance it is 5% and 17 % in Vietnam and Thailand respectively. One study reported that 50% - 90% of children rescued from brothels in Southeast Asia were infected with HIV. Child sex workers are also at a high risk of acquiring other STDs (Willis and Levy 2002). The same study established that the

STDs rates among underage girls were 36% and 78% in Cambodia and China respectively, compared to the 5% yearly incidence of STDs in adolescents worldwide.

Child sex trade also causes serious long-term psychological harm, including anxiety, depression, and behaviour disorders. Child sex workers are at a high risk of suicide and post-traumatic stress disorder. A study conducted in the U.S established that 415 of pregnant child sex workers reported having seriously considered or attempted suicide (Willis and Levy, 2002). Child sex workers are also at a high risk of enduring injuries and violence. The children may be physically and emotionally abused into submission, while others may be beaten to induce miscarriage. A study of 475 child sex workers in five countries found that 73% of participants had been physically assaulted while working in the sex industry and 62% reported having been raped (Finkelhor and Korbin, 1998). Children in the sex industry are also often targets of sex tourists. A UNICEF report of 2006 estimated that some 30,000 Kenyan children are being exploited in the sex industry and this figure is likely to be an underestimation due to the lack of monitoring and the social stigma inhibiting children from reporting abuses.

Child sexual exploitation in Kenya exists in the form of child commercial sex, incest, early child marriages, rape, indecent assault and defilement (Zachary, 2002). Many of the children being exploited are imported from rural areas around the country. In Mombasa and Malindi it is common to see aging white men well into their 70s and 80s with girls young enough to be their granddaughters (Daily Nation News paper 29 October 2007). Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (CSEC) in Kenya is often conducted through organized networks in private houses. Mombasa, Kenya's second largest and a

major port city has been identified as one of the main cities where Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (CSEC) takes place. It is a notorious location for sailors and marines who, while docking there, sexually exploit children. Reportedly, when an American Navy Aircraft Carrier docks in Mombasa, girls can come from as far away as the Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda, Burundi, Tanzania and Uganda (ECPAT International 2007).

Some 84% of girls in sex work interviewed in Tanzania reported having been raped, battered, or tortured by police officers and local community guards. At least 60% had no permanent place to live. Some of these girls started out as child domestic workers (ILO 2004). In Brazil, it is estimated that there are over 250,000 children working in the sex industry (UNICEF 2005). Other statistics show that about 12,000 Nepalese children, mainly girls, are trafficked for sexual commercial exploitation each year within Nepal or to brothels in India and other countries (ILO 2004). In Sri-Lanka, children often become the prey of sexual exploiters through friends and relatives. The prevalence of boys in sex trade here is strongly related to foreign tourism (ILO 2004). Elsewhere, Thailand's Health System Research Institute reports that children in commercial sex industry make up 405 of sex workers in Thailand. There are also estimates that there are about 60,000 child sex workers in the Philippines and many of the 200 brothels in the notorious Angels City offer children for sex. Another shocking figure shows that 2 million children are exploited in commercial sex industry and pornography every year (UNICEF 2006). In the coastal region of Kenya, 79% of girls aged between 11 and 17 have engaged in sex for cash along the beach resorts and that most of their clients are retired European men (Robinson, 2011).

## **2.6 Child Commercial Sex Work in Kenya and statistics**

Commercial sex is as old as man. In Kenya, it plays an integral part in the cycle of poverty. Very few girls are able to break out of it yet some use it as a tool to greater prosperity. The normal traditional life pattern of a sex worker is that they are born into a family which in most cases is poor. They grow up watching their parents get into any form of business in order to sustain her siblings and soon learn from them that at times the ends justify the means. Sadly, due to the lack of a proper parental guidance and an abundant idle time out of the unavailability of meaningful social activities, they get into sexual relationships as part of the self-discovery process and to kill boredom' only to find themselves with child. Their parents very annoyed and stunned that their children did not learn from their own mistakes, chase away the girl from the family stating that they already have enough problems of their own including their large family size and do not need any additions, only reductions. The lonely girl, normally in her teens, with a child is then forced to live on her own and look for a means of survival (Muga, 1975).

Being a school dropout and under age, commercial sex becomes the easiest and most enjoyable way to earn an income for the young girl and to feed her little baby especially having learnt from her parents that at times the ends justify the means. She discovers that she now has the freedom to continue with her self-discovery process without the watchful eyes of her parents. In fact, this now becomes a very potent tool for rebellion against her parents but that slowly turns into expression of rebellion against society - a society that now frowns upon her new found status and imprisons her to a life of shame. After some time the initial enjoyment and pleasure derived from the sexual act slowly turns to a

mandatory survival routine exercise clouded with guilt and shame that now overwhelm the girl.

Nguru (2002-2009) observes that the young girl constantly wishes that she could stop selling her body to men who don't care or value her most important asset- her body which she loves to adorn with jewellery and ointments, and her precious womanhood. Years later, she resigns into a life of hopelessness and totally feels valueless. Her only hope lies in her child, whom she hopes will break out of the circle of a miserable and at times poor life, choose to go to school and become a respectable and successful member of society. Unfortunately the child knowing no other better life and example to follow, finds herself leading the same life as her mother continuing the cycle to the next and next generation.

Doctors and human rights groups say that sex trade and sexual exploitation in Kenya are on the rise in the wake of the 2007 post-election violence, which killed more than 1 000 people, eviscerated the economy and forced tens of thousands of children to leave school. Although no firm figures are yet available, medical experts say they fear the increase in young workers - known in various Kenyan towns as "twilight girls" - will undermine the country's recent gains in the fight against Aids (KNHCR, 2008).

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Commercial sexual exploitation of children is increasing alarmingly in Kenya. There is a high number of child sex workers, particularly in Nairobi and other major cities, with reports showing widespread commercial sex among girls who hawk or beg by day, and work as commercial sex workers by night (USA Department of International Labour affairs, 2005). Child commercial sex is outlawed in Kenya but a few statistics on the same are overwhelming. A number of agencies have reported on the growing incidences of child sex trade in the past five years, especially in major Kenya's cities. Up to 30% of all girls aged between 12-18 living in the coastal areas of Malindi, Mombasa, Kilifi, and Diani are involved in commercial sex work. As such, it is estimated that 10,000 to 15,000 girls living in these areas are being sexually exploited at irregular intervals or seasonally. Another 2,000 to 3,000 girls are sexually exploited year round in the commercial sex industry. Other estimates suggest that as many as 30,000 girls between the ages of 12 and

14 are lured into hotels and private villas to be sexually exploited. During the low tourism season, local demand sustains the sexual exploitation of children. Children involved in commercial sex, are also compelled to provide sex to locals who help them gain access to tourists, such as beach boys, bar staff, waiters, and others. These illegal activities involve tour operators, hotels, and well connected agents (UNICEF, 2006). Other estimates also show that in Malindi, Mombasa, and Nairobi, there are about 50,000 children involved in Commercial Sex Tourism (CST). Most of the customers of Commercial sex industry are Kenyan nationals as well as tourists from German, UK, US and other European countries (ECPIK, 2009). In the coastal region of Kenya, 79% of girls aged between 11 and 17 have engaged in sex for cash along the beach resorts and that most of their clients are retired European men (Robinson, 2011).

## **2.7 .The National policy framework**

The government has developed a number of policy frameworks with regard to children welfare. This section will specifically look into two key policy frameworks namely the National Children Policy Kenya 2010 and that national Plan of Action against Sexual Exploitation of Children in Kenya (2013-2017).

### **2.7.1 The National Children Policy Kenya 2010**

This policy was developed in the year 2010 to shed light on the various rights of children in Kenya. These policy document outlines these rights as survival rights, development rights, protection rights and participation rights as enshrine in the children act Of 2001. This policy draws its context from existing international, regional and national

instruments and frameworks that support the realization of the rights and welfare of children. Key among these include; The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989), The African Charter on the Rights and the Welfare of the Child (1990), The Children Act (2001), National Early Childhood Development Policy Framework, The Refugee Act (2006), The Hague Convention (1993), Employment Act (2007), ILO Convention number 182, minimum Age convention number 138, Refugee Convention (1951), and the Disability Act (2003). Other relevant frameworks include the Kenya Health Policy Framework (1999), the National Health Sector Strategic Plan II (2005-2010), The Water Act (2002), the National Early Childhood Development Service Standard Guidelines (2006), Sexual Offences Act (2006), Food and Nutrition Policy (2007) and the National Hygiene and Sanitation Policy (2007).

### **2.7.2 .The National Plan of Action against Sexual Exploitation of Children in Kenya (2013-2017)**

The development of the National Plan of Action against Sexual Exploitation of Children in Kenya dates back to the First World Congress against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (CSEC) held in Stockholm, Sweden, in 1996. As a follow up to the Stockholm agenda, the National Council for Children Services (NCCS) initiated discussions with relevant stakeholders on the development of the National Plan of Action against Sexual Exploitation of Children in Kenya.

The National Plan of Action against Sexual Exploitation of Children in Kenya has been developed around the areas of prevention, protection, recovery and reintegration, coordination and cooperation, child participation as well as monitoring and evaluation

## **2.8. Theoretical Framework**

All empirical studies should be grounded in theory (Singleton, et al 1988: 40). A theory is a body of knowledge that attempts to explain a given social reality. A theory strives to get meaning out of a disturbing situation. It outlines the causal relationship between variables with the aim of explaining the issue being studied. The study observed that there are various theories advanced that specifically explain commercial sex as a social problem. In understanding and analyzing commercial sexual exploitation of underage girls, the study was be guided by social learning theory, social exchange theory, and conflict theory.

### **2.8.1. The Social Learning Theory**

The proponent of this theory is Albert Bandura (1977). Bandura's social learning theory posits that people are capable of learning vicariously by observing the behaviour of others as well as its consequences and by imitating that behaviour. Albert Bandura postulates that people learn from one another through imitation, observation and modelling. The aspects include; observing, retaining, motivation and imitation (Bandura, 1969).

This theory postulates that an individual's identity is not the product of the unconscious (such as the belief of psychoanalytic theorists), but instead is the result of modelling oneself in response to the expectations of others. Behaviour is not only a product of beliefs and reinforcements or punishments that individuals receive, it is also a product of

the behaviour of those around us. Individuals often model or imitate the behaviour of others.

In spite of its value in explaining social behaviour, the social learning theory has shortcomings; Because of the complex structure of social learning theory, it is often difficult to implement in total. Because social learning theory posits a dynamic interaction between the environment and the individual, it supposes that one is largely determined by one's situation and that changes in that situation will thus change behaviour. However, it has been argued that for many people, behaviour is much more consistent regardless of situation and that simple changes in environment do not always lead to changes in behaviour.

This theory however, has substantive relevance and offers a useful insight into social behaviour and institutions. As such, it was chosen to guide the study in content that sex trade as a behaviour, is socially learnt and imitated from the social environment and those around us. This study sought to verify these propositions by qualitatively researching on the causes that sustain this particular behaviour of sex work.

### **2.8.2 Social Exchange Theory**

The proponents of this theory include Homans (1961, 1974), Blau (1964, 1987) and Emerson (1962, 1972). Central to social exchange theory is the idea that an interaction that elicits approval from another person is more likely to be repeated than the one that elicits disapproval. We can thus predict whether a particular interaction will be repeated by calculating the degree of reward (approval) or punishment (disapproval) resulting

from the interaction (Anderson and Taylor, 2009). If the reward for an interaction exceeds the punishment, the interaction is repeated.

The basic formula for predicting the behaviour for any individual in any situation is: **Behaviour (profits) = Rewards of interaction - Cost of interaction** (Witt, 2011). Rewards come in many forms. Some examples include: money, recognition, gifts among others. Punishments also come in many forms, from extremes like public humiliation, beating or execution.

In its attempt to explain social behaviour, the theory too, has its inadequacies: Katherine Miller outlines several major objections to or problems with the social exchange theory as developed from early seminal works: The theory reduces human interaction to a purely rational process that arises from economic theory. The theory assumes that the ultimate goal of a relationship is intimacy when this might not always be the case.

This theory however, is relevant and was applied by the researcher to verify the perceptions that young girls engage in commercial sex trade in exchange for other rewards. The theory was applied to investigate commercial sex work among girls as behaviour from the broader perspective of social exchange.

### **2.8.3. Social Conflict Theory**

The proponent of this theory is Karl Marx (1818-1883), who saw the society as fragmented into groups that compete for social and economic resources. The social conflict theory advances the following arguments; that those practicing certain behaviours are *labelled* by those in power or the dominant class, that society is

characterized by conflict, dominance and oppression in social life, groups and individuals try to advance their own interests over the interests of others, power and resources are unequally divided and some social groups dominate others for economic gains.

Conflict theory would assert that the main reason why commercial sex still exists is due to the fact that women have not had access to economic opportunity and have had to rely on economic support from men (Women have had to exchange sexual availability (a resource they control) for this support (a resource controlled by men)).

According to social conflict theory, commercial sex reflects the economic inequality in society and arises from women's poverty in a patriarchal society. It also reflects the continuing cultural treatment of women as sex objects who exist for men's pleasure. Many poor women feel compelled to engage in sex trade because of their lack of money; because wealthier women have many other sources of income, the idea of becoming a sex worker is something they have never to consider (Barry, 1966).

The social conflict theory as well in trying to explain social behaviour has shortcomings; it presumes that everything only benefits the ruling class; it presupposes that the working class does not realize their subordination; it also posits that the working class does not rebel against the norms and values set by the ruling class; it doesn't explain how the individual is affected and is very deterministic.

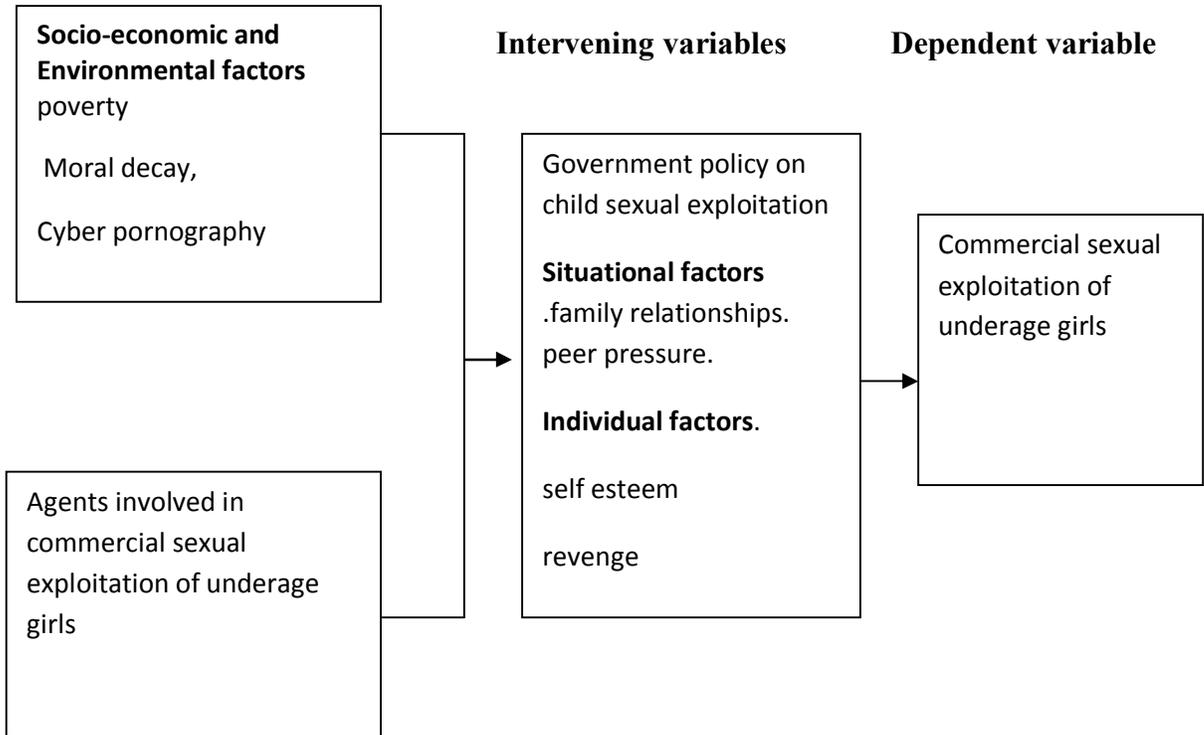
Nevertheless, this theory has academic relevance and was chosen by the researcher to guide the study in depths that commercial sex is a form of oppression or exploitation in some form or another in our capitalist society.

## **2.8 Conceptual Framework**

The conceptualization of this study led to the understanding of the factors contributing to Commercial Sexual Exploitation of underage girls and policy gaps. The conceptual model illustrates the main variables of the study. A concept is an abstraction, a symbol, a representation of an object or one of its properties, or a phenomenon (Nachmias and Nachmias 1996). The conceptual framework is an illustration of key variables and their interconnection/relationship.

**Figure 1: Conceptual Model**

**Independent variables**



**Source: Author (2014)**

This researcher employed three major variables in the study: dependent, intervening and independent variables. According to Mugenda (1999), an independent variable is a variable that a researcher manipulates in order to determine its effect or influence on another variable. It is also called a predictable variable in that it predicts the amount of variation that occurs in another variable. The dependent variable, on the other hand attempts to indicate the total influence arising from the effects of the independent variable (s). In this study, the independent variables were socio-economic, environmental factors that promote and sustain commercial sex work among underage girls, agents

involved in child sexual exploitation. Intervening variables included government policy on child sexual exploitation, situational (socio-behavioural and family relationship factors) and individual (cognitive & psychogenic factors).The dependent variable in this study was commercial sex work of underage girls.

## **CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

### **3.1 Introduction**

This chapter seeks to provide an overview of the methodology and research design used in acquiring and analysing the data collected. The areas addressed in this chapter are; research site selection and description, research design, target population, sample size and sampling procedure, research instruments, data collection procedures as well as data analysis.

### **3.2. Site Selection and Description**

The study was conducted at Dagoretti Rehabilitation School, the only government rehabilitation centre for girls in Nairobi established in 1965. It is located within Dagoretti Sub-County, the West lands part of Nairobi, about, 16 kilometres from City Centre.

The Institution holds young girls ranging from those in conflict with the law to those in need of care and protection. Dagoretti girls Rehabilitation School is one of the institutions in the children department. The department is headed by the Director of Children Services. It is one of the departments in the Ministry of Labour, Social Security and Services. The School is run by children officers and other social workers. The institution was selected because it is the only government Rehabilitation School in Nairobi. The site is also accessible to the researcher who resides in Nairobi.

### **3.3 Research Design**

This is the structure of a research. It is the glue that holds all the elements in a research project together. The study used qualitative research design. The reason for adopting this design is the idea that qualitative research gathers in-depth understanding of events, behaviours and occurrences in the society and the reasons for such behaviour. Sex work is a behaviour and the choice of qualitative design was strategic. An understanding of what individuals do is therefore based on why they believe they do. By use of qualitative data collection techniques and tools such as observation, focus group discussions, in-depth interviews, and content analysis of documents, the researcher was able to collect rich information about child commercial sex workers in a natural setting without intentionally manipulating the environment.

### **3.4. Target Population**

Mugenda (1999) defines population as the entire group of individuals, events, objects, having common observable characteristics. In this study, the target population of interest was the fifty (50) former girl sex workers undergoing institutionalized rehabilitation at Dagoretti Rehabilitation Centre. Probation officers, administrators, Officers Commanding Police Stations (OCSs), juvenile court prosecution counsels, children officers, social workers involved in the rehabilitation of former girl sex workers, formed the pool of secondary respondents because of their knowledge and involvement in children matters. They also possess a rich knowledge of the broader victimization of children because of their occupational and professional orientation. According to official government records from the respective departments, Nairobi County has 25 probation officers, 39

administrators from the rank of assistant County commissioner, 36 Officers Commanding Police Stations (OCSs), 10 Juvenile court prosecution counsels, 34 children officers and 8 social workers working at Dagoretti Rehabilitation School. All the seven categories sampled had a total population of 202.

### **3.5. Units of analysis and Observation**

According to Singleton et al (1988) the unit of analysis is what or who the researcher wishes to analyse. Mugenda and Mugenda (1998) opine that in majority of studies, the unit of observation is also the unit of analysis. According to Mugenda and Mugenda (2003:40) units of analysis are units that are designed for the purpose of aggregating their characteristics in order to describe some larger group or abstract phenomenon. The units of analysis and observation in this study were the girls.

### **3.6. Sampling Procedure**

The study used random purposeful technique to select respondents. Respondents from these seven different categories were picked by random purposeful technique from among probation officers, administrators, law enforcers, juvenile court prosecution counsels, children officers, social workers, and former underage girl sex workers undergoing rehabilitation. From the population of 202 government officers involved in children welfare programmes and 50 girls undergoing rehabilitation, 29 officers and 8 girls undergoing rehabilitation were sampled. In the category of former underage girl sex workers, respondents were chosen from among the fifty (50) who are undergoing institutionalized rehabilitation for the purpose of the study. To interview the girls, their

consent as well as that of the Ministry of Labour, Social Security and Services was sought.

**Table 3.1: Sample Size**

<b>CATEGORY</b>	<b>NUMBER</b>	<b>RESPONDENTS</b>
Probation officers	25	5
Administrators	39	6
Law enforcers	36	5
Juvenile court prosecution counsels	10	4
Children officers	34	6
Social workers	8	3
Girls sex workers undergoing rehabilitation	50	8
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>202</b>	<b>37</b>

### **Key Informant Persons and Organizations**

Key informant persons were selected for the purpose of this study from key government departments and organizations on matters of policy. Key informants were selected using purposive sampling method from each of the following government departments: The National Council for Children’s Services (NCCS), department of children services,

probation department, Office of the Director of Public Prosecution (ODPP), and Office of the Inspector General of Police. The researcher also selected key informant persons from the following Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs); the East Africa Centre for Human Rights (EACHR), the CRADLE, GOAL Kenya, CEFA and ESVI, bringing a total of ten(10) key informants.

### **Focus Group Discussion.**

The researcher also conducted a focus group discussion of former adult women sex workers who provided the researcher with in-depth information on who the agents were, how they planned, organized and executed commercial sex with underage girls. The Focus group comprised of nine (9) respondents who were conveniently sampled by wilful consent from a rehabilitation centre for former adult women commercial sex workers.

### **3.7 Data Collection**

The study used both primary and secondary data. Primary data was obtained directly from the sample population. The researcher identified respondents and requested them to answer questions. Face to face interviews using interview guides were conducted to identify respondents in their convenient set up to collect in-depth information. The researcher employed in-depth interview guides, key informant interviews, observation and reflection field notes and focus group discussions to obtain primary data from the respondents.

Secondary data was also crucial in this study. The secondary data on commercial sex among underage girls was reviewed. This was gathered from publications on the subject. This type of data was collected by analyzing published and unpublished materials such as books, government reports, policy documents, internet sources, newspapers, and reports from organizations like End Child Prostitution in Kenya (ECPIK), the CRADLE, UNICEF, and the Ministry of Labour, Social security and Services which domesticates the department of children services.

### **3.8 Methods and tools of data collection**

The instruments that the researcher used in this study included the following:

**3.8.1 In-depth interview guides** Two different interview guides were developed for stakeholders and underage girls undergoing rehabilitation to enable the researcher collect in-depth data from these target groups. The interview guides guided the researcher to administer open-ended questions to respondents based on the study questions and objectives.

**3.8.2 Key informant Interviews** This tool was used to collect data especially on matters of policy from key informants selected from relevant government departments and organizations.

**3.8.3 Observation and reflection field notes** This was useful to the researcher in picking information from the body language.

**3.8.4 Focus group technique** The focus group technique involved the researcher acting as a moderator in facilitating a small group discussion among selected individuals on the research topic. The researcher administered a series of open-ended questions to the participants who were former adult women sex workers who provided crucial information especially how sex work with underage girls is planned, organized and executed by agents.

### **3.9 Data Processing and Analysis**

The qualitative data obtained was analyzed using thematic analysis. Thematic analysis emphasizes pinpointing, examining, and recording patterns (or themes) within data. A theme represents a level of patterned response or meaning from the data that is related to the research questions at hand. Themes are patterns across data sets that are important to the description of a phenomenon and are associated to a specific research question. The themes became the categories for analysis. Thematic analysis was performed through the process of coding in six phases to create established and meaningful patterns. These phases were: familiarization with data, generating initial codes, searching for themes among codes, reviewing themes, defining and naming themes, and producing the final report. The first phase of familiarization with the data entailed interim analysis, memoing and transcription of data from field and observational notes. The second phase entailed generation of initial codes. Coding is the systematic way of organizing, and gaining meaningful parts of data as it relates to the research questions. The coding process involved the generation of inductive codes. Data reduction was done at this phase. Data reduction refers to the process of selecting, focusing, simplifying, abstracting, and transforming the data that appear in written up field notes or transcriptions (Huberman 1994).

### **3.10 Problems encountered**

The study was constrained and therefore took some time to complete due to the bureaucracies involved in most government offices. The researcher had to undergo a lot sacrifice to meet both expectations for the research project and office obligations. The study was further slowed down by the time required to collect in-depth data from respondents especially the girls because it was a qualitative research.

Some respondents also surrendered interview guides at their convenience thus further delaying the process of data analysis and presentation.

## **CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS, INTERPRETATION AND PRESENTATION**

### **4.1 Introduction**

The purpose of data presentation and analysis is to summarize the completed observations in such a manner that they yield answers to the research questions in line with the main objective of the study, which in this study was to study the factors contributing to Commercial Sexual Exploitation of underage girls and policy gaps. It is the aim of interpretation to search for the broader meanings of those answers by linking them to other available knowledge (Seltz C.J. et al 1959). This chapter focuses on the findings of the study undertaken through various methods of data collection. The presentation and analysis of the data collected from stake holders, policy makers and girls is as shown below. A total of 37 respondents and 10 key informant persons were sampled.

### **4.2. Demographic characteristics of the girl respondents**

The social demographic data of the girls was categorized into age, Level of education, family type, history of sexual abuse at home, and drug use.

#### **4.2.1 Girls' ages when first introduced to sex work**

The study sought to find out the different ages when the girls got into sex work. Some girls got into sex work as young as 10 while others got into the same at age 17. However, More girls seem to join sex work between age 13-15. This is the age when adolescence sets in and the teenagers seek to identify with their peers more than their parents.

During this period, peers become a very influential part of the child's life as they try to create their subculture. This period is hard to handle by most parents and most teenagers may find them in sex work due to peer pressure.

#### **4.2.2. Level of education**

The study sought to find out the education levels of the girls undergoing rehabilitation. It was found out that majority of the girls were class eight leavers while few were primary school drop outs. This shows that a number of girls get into sex work after class eight who for various reasons are unable to continue with secondary education. Since most of them are in their early teens, they become vulnerable to social pressure from their peers and the environment. Most girls find them taking drugs, joining gangs and even sex work because they are idle at home and their parents are always away from home.

#### **4.2.3. Family type**

On individual family types, it was discovered majority of the girls were from single parent families. Single parent families either resulting from failed marriages cause rebellion, resentment among the teenagers who often displace their frustrations by engaging in various forms of deviant behaviours. The unfavourable home environment quite often becomes an excuse for the teen girls to model along their peers and joins sex work.

#### **4.2.4 History of sexual abuse among the girls**

The study also sought to establish history of sexual abuse among the girls. It was revealed that some of the girls if not all, had experienced sexual abuse at home. Some of the girls were sexually abused at home earlier in their years. In two of the cases, the girls were reportedly sexually abused by their relatives. This became a scar in lives of these girls who live with battered self esteem.

#### **4.2.6 History of alcohol/drug abuse among the girls**

The study also sought to establish history of alcohol/drug abuse among the girls. It was revealed that a small number had a history of alcohol/drug abuse. Most of the girls however, had never abused drugs. Only a small number had abused drugs. Among the respondents who had abused drugs, some had used multiple drugs. The drugs that had commonly been abused were alcohol, and bhang.

#### **4.3. Causes and factors contributing to the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of underage girls**

The study established that a variety of factors contribute to Commercial Sexual Exploitation of girls as discussed below. These factors have been divided into three discrete groups--ranging from external factors over which individuals can exert comparatively little control to factors that are internal to the psychological makeup of exploited girls and their families:

**4.3.1. Socio-economic, and environmental factors:** These are processes that exist in the larger environment over which young girls can exercise only minimal control but which; nonetheless, exert a powerful influence on their lives by pushing them into sex work.

**(i) Poverty**

Many arguments would suggest that poverty is, itself, a reason why children are sold into commercial sex. If this was true, then all poor families would sell their children into sex work. In short, poverty alone is not the reason why children are exploited into commercial sex. At the same time, there is no doubt that poverty does play a significant role in the commercial sexual exploitation of children: A respondent from CEFA had this statement to make: *“Poverty provides a context in which families are sometimes pushed to desperate lengths when some trigger factor such as the death of a breadwinner, natural disaster, displacement, conflict or sickness adds to the already intolerable burden of poverty. Poverty is also implicated on the exploiters side of the equation when, linked with a lack of respect for the child’s rights, it contributes to the decision to recruit, abduct or otherwise force children into sex as a way of earning money”*. Poverty is a major contributor to sex work among underage girls. Urban poverty orchestrated by rapid rural-urban migration pushes some of the girls into sex work.

During the discussion with the probation officer, she identified poverty and sense of helplessness as a key factor that influences young girls to engage in sex work. She stated: *“Over the 18 year period I have worked as a probation officer, I have encountered over thirty girls working as sex workers, all of them street-based. The first girl claimed she was 16 years old. She told us that she had been selling sex on the street since she was*

10. When she was arrested she said that she needed help to get away from an abusive and poor home environment and from being sexually exploited in the streets. Through the Children's Court, she was placed on probation by the court. She was working within a walking distance of her home. She had turned to the street to earn money to buy herself clothes and food". The challenge of getting food, clothing and other basic needs force some of the girls to get into sex work most of these are not met at home and as such the girls are left to explore on their own how to meet their needs.

Another element of poverty as a contributing factor to sex work among the girls is captured in a statement by one of the girls who stated: "*Most young girls go to the "K-street" (Koinange Street) at night to look for money from men. They tell their neighbours they are employed on night shift. Most people know what work they do; looking for immoral money for their kids*". The respondent was 14 years old. She was forced to get into sex work to get money for food and other personal needs. These needs according to her were not being met at home.

Poverty was also identified as a contributing factor to sex work among teenage girls. They get into sex work for survival. A respondent from the CRADLE made the following statement: "*Some girls, especially from child headed families are more likely to engage in "survival sex" where sex is exchanged for necessities such as food or housing due to the desperate home environment*". To the girls who happen to come from desperate family backgrounds, where their needs such as food, clothing, and housing are not adequately being met, survival sex becomes the necessary evil.

Another aspect of poverty as a trigger to sex work among teenage girls was also pointed out by a juvenile court prosecution counsel who had the following statement to make: *“Whereas poverty alone may not push a girl into sex work, it only becomes a major determinant when it exists alongside other factors like peer pressure and abuse at home”*. From the above statement, it is clear that poverty is much more likely to push a girl into sex work when it exists alongside peer pressure and abusive home environment.

Poverty as a contributing factor to child sex work is manifested in a statement by a children officer had this to state: *“In my interaction with girls who are sex work victims, the element of home desperation has always featured out prominently as a contributing factor”*. Home desperation where the needs of girls are not adequately met, tend to push them to look for other sources of income. Sex work sometimes becomes trap for some girls. Similar sentiments of poverty as a major contributing factor to sex work among underage girls is also captured in a statement by a police officer had the following statement to make: *“As a police officer in charge of children and gender desk at Kamukunji police station, most girls who are either recruited or voluntarily join sex work come from generally poor backgrounds due to the pressure of urban poverty”*. Young girls from poor background generally fall prey and become easy targets for child sexual exploitation due to pressure occasioned by urban poverty which is on the rise.

Girls from poor backgrounds are lured into sex work as a source of income either by their relatives or peers who are already in sex work. A Key informant from GOAL Kenya stated: *“Young girls from poor backgrounds become victims of child sexual exploitation where they are lured by their peers or even relatives”*. Poverty becomes determinant

when it exists alongside ignorance or greed, opportunity or coercion, conflict, loss, consumer pressures, traditional practices, family breakdown or separation, migration and urbanization, and discrimination against children (especially girls) in general and specific ethnic and marginalized groups in particular. Poverty, then, was identified by almost all respondents and key informants, as a major contributing factor to the commercial sexual exploitation of children, but it is rarely the only reason why such exploitation occurs.

### **(ii) Polluted social environment**

Polluted social pressure also pushes girls into sexwork. Sociologists say that you make the society and the society makes you. They further argue that self is a social creation and that our self concepts are a creation of others. A social worker at Dagoretti rehabilitation school had this statement: *“Polluted social environment (societal moral decay that has promoted permissiveness of the behaviour and unrestricted access to social media with explicit sexual obscenity like pornography contribute to sex work among young girls. The social moral fabric has been torn so much that even sex work is viewed as normal work regardless of its moral and health implications”*. With the rapid urbanization and social media influence, the social fabric has been torn to the extent that even sex workers are agitating for their rights. This somehow has an indirect influence on young girls.

The extent of polluted social environment as a contributing factor to sex work among the girls is articulated in a statement by one of the girls who stated: *“I was first introduced by my peers into watching pornography and reading sex magazines before they recruited me into sex work*. The respondent was a 14 year old who was introduced into sex work by

first watching pornography and reading sex magazines. The environment contributed to her subsequent entry into sex work

The following remarks by a key informant from the police department bring out the element moral decay as a contributing factor of sex work among the young girls: *“Sex work among underage girls has been to a larger extent orchestrated by the evident moral decay that permits the same”*. Most girls are becoming victims of sex work due to the moral decay in the larger environment. Most of the girls are becoming the products of their environment. The remarks below by an administrator also echo the fact that environment plays a crucial role in shaping sex work among underage girls: *“Our polluted social environments where even adult prostitution markets exist seem to contribute to commercial sexual exploitation of young girls”*. Adult sex work is now happening right in City estates in the full knowledge of the young girls, who for the lure of money fall victims of child sexual exploitation.

The following statement by a probation officer also emphasizes how the larger social environment may push young girls into sex work: *“Since most of our character traits are shaped by our environment, some of these young girls fall prey to sex work due to the pressure exerted on them by their environment”*. Evidently, the effect of environment in determining whether a girl will or will not join sex work cannot be ignored

The following remarks by a key informant from CEFA point out the element of polluted social environment as a contributing factor to sex work among young girls. She stated: *“A young girl living in an environment infested with sex work activities is much more likely to engage in the same due to social pressure”*. Majority of the respondents and key

informants identified polluted social environment as another trigger factor of child sexual exploitation. Most of them noted that self is a social creation where the environment becomes a social mirror for the girls. Most respondents pointed out that sex work is even taking place in city estates, a behaviour that these young girls may copy because of their vulnerability.

### **(iii) Ignorance**

From the study findings, one of the contributing factors to Commercial Sexual Exploitation of underage girls is ignorance. Ignorance contributes to commercial sexual exploitation of children in families and communities/neighbourhoods, where educational opportunities are limited or where the messages of education about sexuality are weak or overpowered by much stronger contrary messages from the media, traditional practice or societal behaviour. A key informant from National Council for Children Services (NCCS) made the following statement: *“Often children themselves and/or their families do not realize what awaits them when a child is recruited into exploitative situations generally or into sex work in particular, or when the child is taken for less formalized sexual encounters with paying customers”*. Most girls or their relatives have got less or no knowledge at all on the wide range of risks involved in sex work

Similar remarks from another a key informant from the CRADLE point out how ignorance contributes to child sexual exploitation. He stated: *“Most families are ignorant not only of the health risks to the child but also of the severe psychological long-term harm the child can suffer when self-esteem and trust in others are destroyed. While poor educational opportunities put children from poor families at risk, children from affluent*

*families equally face the reality of persuasive messages coming from advertising, television, films, popular magazines, music and other forms of popular media - with associated peer pressure to conform*". Most girls, parents or even their relatives are ignorant of the long-term psychological effects of sex work. Some view sex work as normal work in spite of its far reaching effects on self esteem of the girls who engage in sex work

Similar sentiments were obtained from a key informant from the police department who had the following remarks to make: "*It is the ignorance about the harmful effects of sex work among young girls within communities that contributes to commercial sexual exploitation of underage girls*". Ignorance on the part of the girls, parents and relatives somehow contribute to child sexual exploitation. Some parents may view sex work as a source of income due to their ignorance about the long-term psychological effects on the girls even when they exit the habit later in life

#### **(iv) Corruption and laxity in enforcing existing laws**

Corruption was identified as a factor that contributes to commercial sexual exploitation of young girls. A key informant from the police department stated: "*One factor that has contributed to commercial sexual exploitation of underage girls is corruption where networks involved collude with law enforcers to perpetuate the practice*". Another element of corruption and laxity in enforcing existing laws was brought out in a statement a prosecution counsel. He stated: "*Corruption and weak enforcement of existing laws with regard to children matters continue to contribute to commercial sexual exploitation of underage girls*". Corruption and highhandedness in our law enforcement agencies

contribute to child sexual exploitation. The networks involved in child sexual exploitation are highly organized and sometimes collude with corrupt law enforcers to inhibit the successful fight against child sexual exploitation.

**4.3.2. Situational factors:** these are socio-behavioural and family relationship events that in one way or the other contribute to Commercial Sexual Exploitation of underage girls: These are external factors that impact underage girls directly and over which they can exert some measure of control, but which nonetheless push them into sex work.

**(i) Recruitment by family members**

There are instances where young girls are recruited into sex work by their family members. One girl confirmed to have been introduced into sex work by her elder sister and cousin when she when she came to Nairobi. This was her statement: *“I was introduced to sex work by my elder sister and cousin who brought me to Nairobi. I could not refuse because of desperation. I needed money for food and clothes. I was a sex worker for three years where I would attend night discos, visit brothels and/or strip clubs for customers”*. The respondent was 12 years old when she was introduced into sex work by her sister and cousin when she joined them in Nairobi. She was right from her rural home and she needed money for food and clothing.

The following statement by a key informant from CRADLE brings out the element of family members recruiting young girls into sex work. She stated: *“Urban poverty sometimes compels vulnerable families to allow their daughters to engage in sex work for survival. Some families justify this as a lesser evil than stealing. In some cases young*

*girls are recruited into sex work by their parents, older siblings or even relatives*". Some families due to urban poverty are forced to trade their girls for sex to get money for subsistence. This mostly happens where parents or older siblings engage in sex work.

Another element of family members recruiting young girls into sex work is articulated in a statement by a children officer who stated: *"In some cases, reports have indicated that young girls are recruited into sex work by family members who view sex work as a source of income*ö. She noted in some families due to urban poverty, young girls are used as instruments for earning a livelihood.

## **(ii) Consumer and peer pressure**

Just as poverty is not the determining factor in commercial sexual exploitation, neither is it a result of the much-criticized imagery of the media. Here, again, the factors that push children and young people into sex work or less formal paid sexual activity are complex and linked. It is true that in most instances, whether the main medium is digital television or street-corner poster display, images of scantily dressed adolescents and young people in suggestive poses or situations have become commonplace.

A respondent from CEFA had this statement to make: *"The advertising industry, in particular, plays an important role not only in reinforcing consumer pressures on young girls to earn money to buy the latest clothes or gadgets, but also in contributing to competition among young people. In some cases, peer pressure is the major trigger factor. In some instances girls are recruited into sex work by their fellow peers with the promise of good returns*". Pressure from peers and social media in regard to fashion and

fads become a major trigger factor for sex work among the girls. The young girls fall victims of sex work as they desire to get money to buy latest fashion clothes, shoes and gadgets. There is usually an unhealthy competition among teenagers with regard to fashion and fads.

When asked by the researcher what motivates such young girls to sell sex, one of the girls had this to say: *“It’s two things: drugs, and to dress themselves...some of the girls are nice looking young girls, they come from poor families and there is peer pressure to have the right cell phone, to have the right kind of jeans, and they would sell themselves so that they can have those things and when they are amongst their friends they also have the cell phone with the latest ring tones and things like that. It’s either that or its drugs. One has to be like their close friends”*.

Young girls as young as 12 fall prey to peer influence. They are lured by the “success” of their peers already in sex work. This pressure is usually so intense for these girls to resist.

The following remarks by one of the girls confirm how peer pressure can be a major factor in pushing young girls into sex work: She stated: *“I was first introduced by my peers into watching pornography and reading sex magazines. Before long, we were visiting brothels and night clubs for customers. I was being paid Kshs. 200 per client. I engaged in sex work for three months before I was arrested”*. The respondent was 14 years when her friends introduced her into sex work. She was from a single parent family and the home environment was desperate.

The following statement from one of the girls also point out to the fact that peer pressure contributes to sex work among underage girls. She stated: *“My friends convinced me to accompany them to a strip club, where after having alcohol, I ended up having sex with a man who took me to a lodge. The pay was the food and beer he had bought me. It became a habit until when I was arrested after one month”*. The respondent was 15 years old when she was introduced to sex work by her peers. She was from a single parent family and the mother was also into alcohol. The home environment was hostile.

Another element of peer pressure as a contributing factor to child sexual exploitation is manifested is a statement from one of the girls who made the following statement: *“My friend requested me to accompany her to visit a friend. I did not know their plans until when I was taken to a brothel where I ended up having sex with men I didn’t know. My friend is the one who was paid. Soon I embraced the habit, since I had even been sexually abused at home by my step-father and I was rebelling from an abusive home environment. I engaged in sex work for two years”*. The girl was 12 years old when her friend introduced her to sex work. She quickly embraced the habit due to the pressure occasioned on her by her peers. She was rebelling and displacing from an abusive home environment having been sexually abused by her step-father.

The following statement from a children officer based at Dagoretti rehabilitation school points out peer pressure as a key contributor to sex work among underage girls. She made the following statement: *“Peer influence is a major factor that pushes young girls into sex work. Young girls are influenced by their peers whom they model along. Peer identity exerts more pressure on these girls more than the family values”*. Most young girls who

become victims of sex work are influenced by their peers. The peers become their role models and as such copy their behaviors.

Another remark from a probation officer confirms the aspect that peer pressure also contributes to sex work among underage girls. She stated: *“Most of the girls, who pass through our office for rehabilitation, cite social and peer pressure as having pushed them into sex work. Where a girl happens to have peers who engage in sex work whether routinely or not, the temptation to join them is very high”*. Girls who tend to have friends who are sex workers are much more likely to engage in the same because of the pressure exerted on them. The temptation is usually so much that resisting the same is so minimal.

Similar sentiments were recorded from a key informant from National Council for Children Services (NCCS) who stated: *“Peer pressure which thrives well in group mentality pushes vulnerable girls into sex work where the behavior is justified by group values and norms”*.

The CRADLE, GOAL Kenya and CESVI, all organizations dealing with children welfare programmes also identified peer pressure as a trigger factor of sexual exploitation of underage girls.

### **(iii) Stigma and Discrimination**

All the girls interviewed stated that they experienced stigma and discrimination both during and after their life in sex work. The subsequent stigma and discrimination may push some back into sex work. The intensity of the stigma is well captured in a statement from one of the girls who was 16 years old. She stated: *“Sex work takes your dignity and*

*yourself respect, but it's like an addiction. You can't get out of the life, easily even if you try. There's nothing else I can do. I haven't got qualifications; this is the only thing I know... It's a cruel life, it scares you, and you're scarred for the rest of your life... I'll never be loved. How could I ever have a relationship with anyone after this? How could any man love me if I told them? I'm not going to lie to anyone, I don't want to lie. So I'll always be alone...I don't ever have sex now, nothing turns me on. I've seen everything. There's nothing that gets me excited. I'm not interested. Sometimes I dream of being romantic. You know what I'd really like? Just to sit with a man in a nice restaurant, with a view of the world, just talking and being romantic, someone who loved me. But that's never going to happen".* Stigma and discrimination during and after sex work significantly contribute to sex work among the young girls. Stigma and discrimination isolates these girls further thus making them to always prefer sex work lifestyle because of rejection.

#### **(iv)Family breakdown/dysfunction**

The family is the first socializing unit for children. Family relationships to a greater extent determine the behaviour of any individual with regard to conformity or deviance.

In most cases children rebel from abusive homes and/or parents.

A respondent from the CRADLE reinforced the assertion that dysfunctional family set up contribute to sex work among young girls by making the following statement: *"Children who are sexually abused by someone in their own family or circle of friends are extremely vulnerable to sexual exploitation outside the family too or later in life"*. Some abused children will live with their pain until they are adolescent or adult. The findings

have shown that these victims of domestic sexual abuse, stripped of their self-esteem when they are young and confused about relationships and emotional ties, often find themselves in violent or abusive relationships again, whether it be from a spouse, partner, friend or casual acquaintance.

Another aspect of how family breakdown/dysfunction contributes to sex work among young girls is captured here below by a statement from a children officer. She stated: *“Sometimes, sexual abuse by a parent or relative drives young girls out of the family home and onto the streets, where the need to survive makes them vulnerable to pimps, traffickers, drug peddlers and other manipulators. Families are the first nurturers, educators and protectors of children and their rights. Family values are essential to the child’s perception of self and the world in which he/she lives. When, for whatever reason, the family does not fulfil this obligation and trust, the child’s first line of defence against an incomprehensible and unsafe world breaks down. Consequently, the probability of such young adolescent girls being runaways is high. This predisposes them as easy targets for sexual exploitation”*. When family units, where warmth and sense of belongingness should be experienced collapse, children are left vulnerable to any form of abuse including sexual exploitation. Young girls undergoing rehabilitation under probation programme mostly come from dysfunctional families.

**4.3.3. Individual /internal factors:** These are cognitive and psychogenic forces that may push underage girls into sex work. These include; Poor self esteem; revenge-intentional spread of HIV, and personal drug dependency. Children officers at Dagoretti

rehabilitation school identified low self esteem and sometimes personal drug dependency as individual factors that may push girls into sex work.

One girl stated this: *“I was smoking bhang alongside my peers. You have to depend on drugs to be in this work because it is not easy”*. This was a confession of one of the girls that she was in a gang also and was using drugs. They would also engage in robbery incidents. The following statement from a key informant from CEFA points out the fact that some girls engage in sex work for revenge. She stated: *“In some instances, revenge to spread HIV triggers these young girls to engage in sex work to displace their anger against the same society they perceive wronged them”*.

If there were one simple cause of commercial sexual exploitation of children, then the massed forces of public outrage, government and non-government programming, judicial and police action and civil society mobilization, all of which have grown for years since the first World Congress against Commercial Exploitation of Children in Stockholm in 1996 -- could be focused on with significant impact. But there is no single cause. Invariably children get caught up in commercial sexual exploitation through a series of inter-linked factors and events, or the conjunction of vulnerability and opportunity, supply and demand. It is important to acknowledge and map out this complexity, if the responses to it are to be appropriate and effective.

#### **4.4. Agents involved in planning, organizing and executing commercial sexual exploitation of underage girls**

Any child may be vulnerable to manipulators who promise to meet their emotional and physical needs. A trafficker, pimp, brothel madam, or pornographers' main purpose is to exploit the girl for monetary gain. Often these abusers create a seemingly loving and

caring relationship with their victims in order to establish trust and allegiance. This manipulative relationship tries to ensure that the girls will remain loyal to the exploiters even in the face of severe victimization. These relationships may even begin online before progressing to a real-life encounter. Three parties were identified by the respondents as being involved in a transaction in the child sex market: the perpetrator, the vendor, and the facilitator.

#### **4.4.1. The Perpetrators**

Perpetrators are predators who seek out vulnerable victims, particularly runaways or children experiencing trouble at home. They know these children have emotional and physical needs they perceive are not being met and use this to their advantage. They find victims at a variety of venues such as in social-networking websites, shopping malls, and schools; on local streets; or at bus stations. While perpetrators often target children outside of their family, a family member may also prostitute a child.

A children officer stated: *“These are those who partake in sex tourism and trafficking. The perpetrators include men and women who try to “rationalize their sexual involvement with children. In this category are child sex traffickers, secret recruitment agencies and old women sex workers involved in the recruitment and pimping of underage girls. The perpetrators carry their activities through sophisticated networks”.*

Key informants from the CRADLE, CEFA, National Council for Children Services (NCCS), Police amplified the above sentiments.

A key informant from children department stated: *“Perpetrators are willing to invest a great deal of time and effort in their victims to break down victim’s natural resistance and suspicion –*

*buying them gifts, providing a place to stay, promising a loving relationship – before revealing their true intent. Frequently, victims do not realize the deceptive nature of their abusers’ interest in them, viewing them as caretakers and/or boyfriends”.* The respondents stated that perpetrators use psychological manipulation (causing their child victims to truly believe the perpetrators love and care for their well-being) coupled with physical control (threats, violence, or drug addiction) that make victims feel trapped and powerless. This trauma bond is difficult to break.

#### **4.4.2. The vendors**

Under this category, are procurers like pornographers, pimps, brothel madams, brothel owners, massage parlor owners, and third party managers, owners of exclusive private villas, sex tour operators, hotel owners and strip clubs who procure young girls for sexual exploitation? Under their reign profit is maximized and trafficking itself is made possible. Adult men and women organize and promote commercial sexual exploitation businesses. A children officer stated: *“Child Pornographers or pedophiles who promote child pornography exploit the underage girls to produce and distribute sexual films. Pornographic predators may take pornographic images of children, sell those images to other child sex abusers, or use the pictures to advertise the victims for sexual purposes”.* Child pornographers target young girls to take pornographic images for sale. Some may even pose as well wishers or sponsors before they secretly exploit the young girls. The young girls may be induced with gifts, drugs, and/or manipulation.

Pimps also play a major role in the sex work with young girls. The following statement from a former sex worker in the focus group attests to this: *“Pimps play a large role in the recruitment and subsequent sexual exploitation of children. They prey upon children*

*from disadvantaged homes/settings and exploit victims through promises of love, food, money, or shelter*". Several different types of pimps participate in commercial sexual exploitation of children. The term "gorilla pimp" is used when a child has been kidnapped and held against his or her will. This type of pimp is likely to use violence and intimidation to force victims to comply. The "Romeo pimp" is also referred to as the "boyfriend pimp." He will use courtship techniques to romance girls and make them feel special and appreciated. Once he has charmed and manipulated them, he then introduces the idea of selling sex.

Pimps use tactics such as promising material comforts; feigning romantic interest; creating mutually dependent relationships between pimp and employee; using physical violence, emotional abuse, or sexual abuse; and manipulating young girls already under the pimp's control to recruit and manage other employees. A key informant from CEFA stated: *"Pimps and Madams often take a large percentage of the fee charged for the sexual exploitation of the girls. There are many different kinds of arrangements. They may take money from the customer first and give the girl a cut. They may bill the child for food, shelter and protection, or they may collect a set fee once a week. The means pimps and madams use to control girls ranges from provision of the girl's physical needs to psychological manipulation or outright violent coercion"*. Also in the category of vendors are sex tour operators who while offering tour guide services, exploit young girls for commercial sex to attract more customers. A key informant from the National Council for children Services had the following statement to make: *"Sex tour operators is another category of vendors who exploit the girls to offer sexual services to their sex tourist clients. They may advertise the jobs as tour guides only to end up exploiting these*

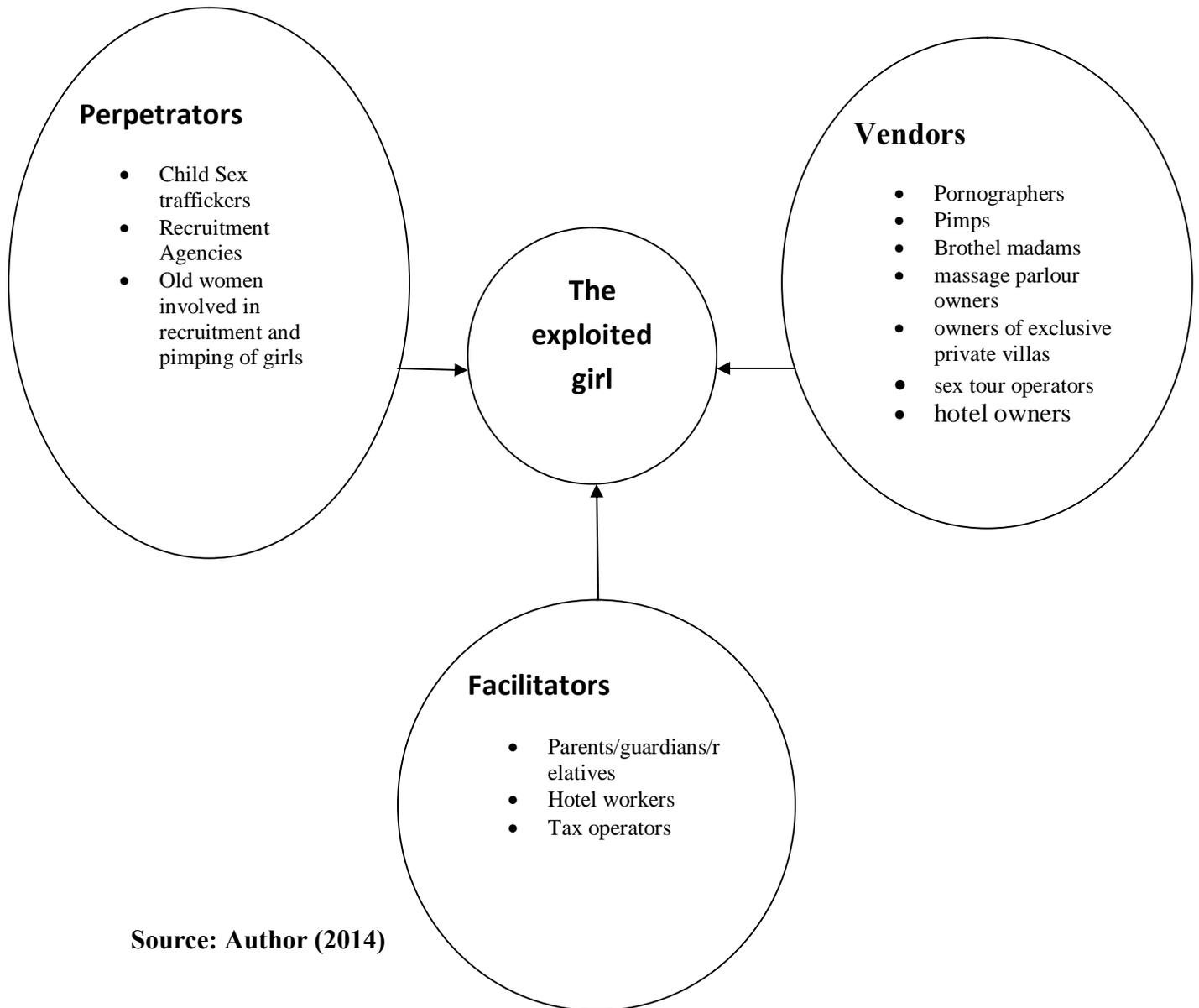
*underage girls sexually*. This category of vendors carries their activities under the guise of their normal activities and may go unnoticed.

#### **4.4.3. The facilitators**

Under this category are those who allow for child sex trafficking to occur. Parents who sell their daughters to vendors fall into this category. The facilitators directly or indirectly facilitate the transaction in the child sex market.

A prosecution counsel stated: *“There are parents/relatives who knowingly sell their girls into businesses of pornography and sex work for financial gain. In some cases, parents or relatives take money in outright exchange typifying the slave-like nature of commercial sexual exploitation of underage girls”*. Another category of people who facilitate child sex transactions is captured in the statement by a police officer. He noted that these agents use tax operators in some instances to ferry young girls to hotels, exclusive villas and even to private customers. He had this to state: *“There are tax operators who collude with brothel/hotel owners to secretly ferry the girls to exclusive and secret designated villas/hotels at a fee. Big hotel workers also fall into this category as they act as link points between sex tourists and other agents who in turn link them with young girls”*. Traffickers, pimps, brothel madams, pornographers were identified by the respondents and key informants as the main perpetrators who target vulnerable underage girls and lure them into sex work and other forms of sexual exploitation using psychological manipulation, drugs, and/or violence.

**Figure 2. Four parties identified as being involved in a transaction in the child sex market: the perpetrator, the vendor, the facilitator, and the girl**



**Source: Author (2014)**

From the illustration in the diagram above, four parties were identified as being involved in a transaction in the child sex market: the perpetrator, the vendor, the facilitator, and the girl to complete the cycle.

#### **4.5. How the agents plan, organize and execute sexual exploitation of underage girls**

The study established that agents involved in sexual exploitation of girls carry their undercover activities under very high secrecy making it very difficult to be identified.

##### **4.5.1. The use of pseudo or code names**

Most of the agents (perpetrators, vendors) involved in child sexual exploitation operate in high secrecy and organized networks. They hide their real identity by use of codes or nicknames.

A key informant from CEFA stated: *“Some use pseudo names, code names or even nick names to hide their real identity. This makes it so hard even for the law enforcers to track or unearth their activities”*. The lack of capacity among institutions tasked with child welfare programmes, and information about these agents gives them the opportunity to carry out their activities unnoticed.

##### **4.5.2. Recruitment by other girls or family members**

The agents also recruit girls using other girls or someone well known to them. A few girls interviewed revealed that they were either recruited by their friends or relatives without their prior knowledge. Below are statements by some of the girls: *“I was recruited into sex work by my elder sister and cousin who brought me to Nairobi. I could not refuse because of desperation. I needed money for food and clothes. I was a sex worker for three years where I would attend night discos, visit brothels and/or strip clubs for customers”*.

The respondent was 12 years old when first introduced to sex work by her sister and cousin. Because she needed money for basic needs, she could not refuse.

Another had this to state: *“I was 12 years old when a friend requested me to accompany her to visit a friend. I did not know their plans until when I was taken to a brothel where I ended up having sex with men I didn’t know. My friend is the one who was paid. Soon I embraced the habit, since I had even been sexually abused at home by my step-father and I was rebelling from an abusive home environment. I engaged in sex work for two years”*.

Child sexual exploitation is a complicated web that involves so many agents, some of whom happen to be family members, relatives or guardians .Young girls from families with adult sex workers are more prone to be recruited into sex work thus perpetuating the cycle.

#### **4.5.3. Recruitment through Child Charitable Institutions or other children Rescue Centres**

The activities of child sexual exploitation also happen in some of the charitable institutions though not all. There is no proper monitoring of the activities of all these institutions and as such, recruitment of some of the girls into sex work or pornographic film production may happen in these institutions.

A key informant from the police department stated: *“Child sexual exploitation of underage girls is also carried out by Child Charitable Institutions (CCIs), modelling agencies and organizations offering sponsorship programmes. Here, the girls are exploited by their employers or organizations claiming to offer them jobs/financial help.*

*Some employment bureaus and modelling agencies may advertise that they are offering jobs to these girls who end up luring them into sex work". Many unsuspecting young girls have fallen prey to some of these agents who pose as charitable organizations or modelling agencies.*

#### **4.5.4. Exclusive and high end residential areas/villas**

Some of the activities of child sexual exploitation are carried out in high end residential areas or villas thus raising the least suspicion among the community. It would high intelligence gathering and proper capacity to detect their operations in these excluded areas.

A prosecution counsel had this to state: *"Commercial sexual exploitation of underage girls is conducted in highly exclusive and high -end residential areas/villas which are usually inaccessible and well guarded making it impossible to discover and report these activities".* Similar sentiments were expressed by respondents and key informants from the children department, police, probation, GOAL Kenya, CEFA and the CRADLE.

### **4.6 Policy gaps in the already existing national policy framework developed to combat Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children**

#### **4.6.1. Protection and rehabilitation programmes are weak**

Child right protection and rehabilitation programmes are weak and lack proper co-ordination structures from national to County levels. This was the response from many of the respondents and key informants. A key respondent from CRADLE stated: *"Evidently,*

*there is no clear policy on the role of County governments in the fight against commercial sexual exploitation of children. There is also the convergence in mandates of different law enforcement agencies and limited capacity by child care and protection officers. There is also no lead agency or consortium of agencies in the fight against child sexual exploitation. The monitoring capacity of Area Advisory Councils (AACs) at Sub-County level is weak and poorly funded. There is acute lack of special schools or rehabilitation centres specifically for girls who happen to be victims of commercial sex*". Similar responses were obtained from respondents from children department, probation, prosecution, police, CRADLE, CESVI and CEFA.

#### **4.6.2. The current dispensation targets the girls for punishment and not the perpetrators**

The current dispensation targets the girls for punishment and not the adult sexual exploiters. Sexually exploited children often are re-victimized by the very agencies that have been designed to assist them. A prosecution counsel had this to state: *"The focus of law enforcement and other state authorities emphasize the apprehension of sexually involved street youth rather than emphasize the arrest, prosecution and punishment of adult perpetrators of sex crimes against children—pimps, traffickers and customers"*. She noted that in most instances no attempt is made to track and arrest the perpetrators in cases where the young girls are rescued. Most of the girls are arraigned in court where they are subsequently committed to rehabilitation schools. Her assertions were amplified by responses of respondents from the police department, probation, children department, CRADLE, CEFA, and GOAL Kenya.

#### **4.6.3. Enforcement of current laws on child rights is still weak.**

This investigation has confirmed a pattern of õbenign neglectö on the part of many law enforcement and child welfare agencies vis-à-vis sexually exploited children and youth. A key informant from the police department stated. *“Admittedly the enforcement of current laws is weak. This is largely being contributed to by collusion in some cases by law enforcers with the networks involved in child sexual exploitation”*. He went further to state that laws especially on crimes related to sexual exploitation of children are weak and not deterrent despite in spite of harmful effects of child sexual exploitation. His sentiments were echoed by respondents from probation, prosecution, children department, CEFA, CRADLE, GOAL Kenya and CESVI.

Laws especially on crimes related to sexual exploitation of children are weak and not deterrent despite in spite of harmful effects of child sexual exploitation

#### **4.6.4. Lack of an Intelligence Centre**

The current policy framework developed to fight child sexual exploitation lacks an intelligence center to monitor activities on commercial sexual exploitation of children. A key informant from the National Council for Children Services made the following statement: *“The current policy framework lacks a National Child Sexual Exploitation Intelligence Center (NCSEIC) charged with the responsibility of full-time intelligence gathering and strategic planning apparatus for monitoring national trends related to child sexual exploitation”*. She further noted that there is no state funded multi-jurisdictional task forces on Child Sexual Exploitation in all the Counties to combat child

sexual exploitation. Similar responses were obtained from respondents sampled from police, probation, prosecution, children department, CESVI, CEFA, CRADLE and the focus group.

#### **4.6.5.Lack of State-Funded Internet Crimes against Child (ICAC) Units**

It also emerged that there are no State-Funded Internet Crimes Against Child (ICAC) Units in All Counties. The current policy framework lacks State-initiated Internet Crimes against Children programmes to help in the fight against Child Sexual Exploitation and cyber pornography. This was a concern raised by a policy maker from the National Council for Children Services (NCCS).

She stated: *“In order to fight Child Sexual Exploitation of children effectively, there is need to establish state funded internet crimes against child units which are currently lacking”*.

She noted that such a strategy should be cascaded down to all counties as a preventive measure. The above sentiments were strongly reinforced by respondents from the police department, probation, children department, prosecution, CRADLE, CEFA and CESVI.

#### **4.6.6. Shortage of Child Sexual Exploitation Experts**

There is also the serious shortage in the National pool of Child Sexual Exploitation Experts and Specialists. This shortage has impacted negatively in the war against child sexual exploitation.

A key informant from the children department stated: *“There is a serious shortage nationally in the number and types of specialists in child sexual exploitation. These shortages are most apparent in the forensics area but also are manifest in judicial and prosecutorial agencies, social workers, psychologists, psychiatrists, educators, physicians, lawyers, police officers, coroners and others with special expertise in child sexual exploitation”*. She noted that child sexual exploitation activities are perpetuated by highly organized and sophisticated networks and as such, specialists in this area are urgently required. It was her strong suggestion that any future policy framework in the war against child sexual exploitation should have a strong focus in this area.

#### **4.6.7. Lack of effective public/private partnerships for combating Child Sexual Exploitation**

Lack of effective public/private partnerships for combating Child Sexual Exploitation was identified as a major policy gap in the strategic fight against child sexual exploitation.

A key informant from the police department stated: *“Commercial sexual activities with children are perpetrated by highly organized networks who secretly collude with their facilitators. As such, to effectively develop preventive and monitoring strategies, concerted efforts among relevant government departments, communities and the private sector should be encouraged”*.

He noted that child sexual exploitation is a collective problem and so is the need to fight it collectively. Similar responses were expressed by respondents and key informants from the children department, probation, and prosecution, the CRADLE, CEFA and CESVI.

## **CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

### **5.1. Introduction**

This chapter focuses on the research questions as to what factors contribute to commercial sexual exploitation of girls, who are the agents involved in planning, organizing and executing Child Sexual Exploitation, how these agents plan, organize and execute the same and policy gaps in already existing policy framework developed to combat Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children.

### **5.2 Summary of findings**

#### **5.2.1 Background information of commercial sexgirls targeted in the study.**

The study findings revealed that most of the girls joined sex work between ages 10-15. It was also established that majority of the girls were class eight leavers while very few were primary school drop outs. The study further revealed that most of the girls who got into sex work were from single parent families. The study further established that some of the girls had experienced sexual abuse at home while others had history of alcohol/drug abuse.

#### **5.2.2 .Factors contributing to Commercial Sexual Exploitation of underage girls**

The factors contributing to sex work among underage girls can be categorized into three discrete groups ranging from external factors over which individuals can exert comparatively little control to factors that are internal to the psychological makeup of exploited girls and their families:

The first category comprises of socio-economic and environmental factors that exist in the larger environment over which young girls can exercise only minimal control but which; nonetheless, a powerful influence on the girls pushing them into sex works. The other category comprises of situational factors which include socio-behavioural and family relationship events that in one way or the other contribute to Commercial Sexual Exploitation of underage girls. Under this category are external factors that impact underage girls directly and over which they can exert some measure of control, but which nonetheless push them into sex work. The last category consists of Individual/internal factors which include cognitive and psychogenic forces that may push underage girls into sex work.

### **5.2.3 Agents involved in the planning, organizing and execution of commercial sexual exploitation of underage girls.**

On agents involved in child sexual exploitation activities, three categories were identified: perpetrators, vendors and facilitators. The perpetrators carry their activities through sophisticated networks and sometimes pose as employment recruiting agencies or modelling agencies.

The vendors are the procurers of young girls for sex work. These include child pornographers, pimps, madams, brothel owners, and massage parlour owners, managers/owners of exclusive private villas, sex tour operators, hotel owners and strip clubs. Under their reign profit is maximized and trafficking itself is made possible hence the perpetual cycle.

The facilitators allow for child sex trafficking occurring. Parents who sell their daughters to vendors fall into this category. The study established that in some instances parents or relatives offer their daughters to sex work for financial gain. The child is the most essential figure in this process. Tax/ tour operators who collude with brothel/hotel owners also fall in this category. The study established that they are used to secretly ferry the girls to exclusive and secret designated villas/hotels at a fee. Big hotel workers also fall into this category as they act as link points between sex tourists and other agents who in turn link them with young girls.

#### **5.2.4. How commercial sexual exploitation of underage girls is planned, organized and executed by agents.**

Agents involved in sexual exploitation of girls carry their undercover activities under very high secrecy making it very difficult to be identified. Some use pseudo names, code names or even nick names to hide their real identity. These agents recruit girls using other girls or someone well known to them.

Some of the child sexual activities are carried out by Charitable Children's Institutions (CCIs), modelling agencies and organizations offering sponsorship programmes. The study established that some girls were introduced into sex work through this method. Also revealed is that sex work among underage girls is conducted in highly exclusive and high -end residential areas/villas which are usually inaccessible and well guarded making it impossible to discover and report these activities.

### **5.2.5. Policy gaps in the already existing policy framework developed to combat Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children**

Child right protection and rehabilitation programmes are weak and lack proper co-ordination structures from national to County levels. Evidently, there is also the convergence in mandates of different law enforcement agencies and limited capacity by child care and protection officers.

The current dispensation targets the girls for punishment and not the adult sexual exploiters. The focus of law enforcement and other state authorities emphasize the apprehension of sexually involved street youth rather than emphasize the arrest, prosecution and punishment of adult perpetrators of sex crimes against children—pimps, traffickers and customers.

Enforcement of current laws on child rights is still weak. This study has confirmed a pattern of “benign neglect” on the part of many law enforcement and child welfare agencies vis-à-vis sexually exploited children and youth.

Laws especially on crimes related to sexual exploitation of children are weak and not deterrent despite in spite of harmful effects of child sexual exploitation.

The current policy framework lacks a National Child Sexual Exploitation Intelligence Center (NCSEIC) charged with the responsibility of full-time intelligence gathering and strategic planning apparatus for monitoring national trends related to child sexual exploitation.

There is no state funded multi-jurisdictional task force on Child Sexual Exploitation in all the Counties to combat child sexual exploitation. These state funded multi-jurisdictional task forces are lacking at the national and county levels.

There are no State-Funded Internet Crimes against Child (ICAC) Units in All Counties. The current policy framework lacks State-initiated Internet Crimes against Children programmes to help in the fight against CSE and cyber pornography.

There is a serious shortage in the National pool of Child Sexual Exploitation Experts and Specialists. These shortages are most apparent in the forensics area but also are manifest in judicial and prosecutorial agencies, social workers, psychologists, psychiatrists, educators, physicians, lawyers, police officers, coroners and others with special expertise in child sexual exploitation.

There is also no clear policy on effective public/private partnerships for combating Child Sexual Exploitation. The current policy framework does not have programme interventions on how child sexual exploitation should be dealt with through public/private partnership collaboration

## **5.2. Conclusions**

From the findings it can be concluded that; factors that contribute to Commercial Sexual Exploitation of girls can be categorized into three namely:

In the first category are external broad-based socio-economic processes that exist in the larger environment over which girls can exercise only minimal control but which,

nonetheless, largely push them to sex work. Situational factors is another category of external socio-behavioural and family relationship processes and events that impact girls directly and which may push young girls into sex work. In the last category, are individual/internal factors which are cognitive and psychogenic forces that influence a girl's sense of mastery over her own personal environment and the future.

From the study, it can also be concluded that child sexual exploitation activities involve perpetrators, vendors and facilitators who conduct their activities through sophisticated networks making it very difficult to be identified.

It can also be concluded that the current child right protection and rehabilitation programmes are weak and lack proper co-ordination structures from national to County levels. The monitoring structures in place are weak and lack capacity to deal with child sexual exploitation.

It can also be concluded that various policy gaps exist in the current national policy framework developed to fight child sexual exploitation. These gaps were identified in the areas of prevention, awareness creation, coordination and capacity for both structures and specialists.

Alcohol/drug abuse- What came out of the study is that some girls had the history of alcohol/abuse during their stint as sex workers. Some would use all manner of spirits and bhang without knowing the health implications. Some revealed to have been members of gangs and engaged in robbery activities during their period as sex workers.

Sexual Abuse- Cases of some girls having been abused sexually at home even by relatives were also reported. Some girls suffered sexual violence at the hands of their close relatives at very early ages.

#### **5.4. Policy Recommendations.**

The study came up with several recommendations which if implemented will help the children department in fighting child sexual exploitation.

##### *Protect the girls and ensure proper rehabilitation of victims of child sexual exploitation*

There is need and urgency in updating the operational capacity of law enforcers and other child welfare agencies tasked with the responsibility of child rights and protection to address pornography and destructive effects of social media. Efforts at protecting girls from sexual exploitation must emphasize prevention as the first priority. I also recommend that a lead agency, or consortium of such agencies, be given primary responsibility for protecting children from child sexual exploitation.

##### *Target adult sexual exploiters of children for punishment, not the children*

Sexually exploited children often are re-victimized by the very agencies that have been designed to assist them. I recommend that the focus of law enforcement and other state authorities should-emphasize the apprehension of sexually involved street girls and emphasize the arrest, prosecution and punishment of adult perpetrators of sex crimes against children—pimps, traffickers and customers.

##### *Enforce more fully existing national laws relating to Child Sexual Exploitation*

This study has confirmed a pattern of òbenign neglectö on the part of many law enforcement and child welfare agencies vis-à-vis sexually exploited children and youth. I recommend that the government assume a leadership position in encouraging both its

own agencies and those of County governments to implement fully all national laws pertaining to the protection of children from sexual exploitation.

*Increase the penalties associated with sexual crimes against children*

While no one can forecast exactly the net impact of greater or enhanced criminal penalties in reducing child sexual exploitation, there is an important logic for doing so. I recommend taking of action to tip the balance toward making the current net of child sexual exploitation-relevant statutes more consistent in severity with other acts of commensurate seriousness; and convening a multidisciplinary group of legal and advocacy experts to draft a model penal code to inform and shape child sexual exploitation-related legislation.

*Establish a National Child Sexual Exploitation Intelligence Center (NCSEIC)*

This study has demonstrated the need for a full-time intelligence gathering and strategic planning apparatus for monitoring national trends related to child sexual exploitation. To that end, I recommend that a National Child Sexual Exploitation Intelligence Center (NCSEIC) be established whose goals would include: to support national policy makers and law enforcement decision makers with strategic domestic child sexual exploitation intelligence; to support national and County counter child sexual exploitation efforts; and to conduct and report on a timely basis national and County child sexual exploitation threat assessments.

*Expand state funded multi-jurisdictional task forces on Child Sexual Exploitation into all Counties*

State-initiated multi-jurisdictional task forces on child sexual exploitation will demonstrate great promise in the Counties. I recommend that state-funded multijurisdictional taskforces on Child Sexual Exploitation be established and systematically evaluated in all Counties.

*Expand State-Funded Internet Crimes against Child (ICAC) Units into all Counties*

State-initiated Internet Crimes against Children will greatly help in the fight against child sexual exploitation and cyber pornography. I recommend that State-funded Internet Crimes against Children units be established and systematically evaluated in all Counties.

*Enlarge the National pool of Child Sexual Exploitation Experts and Specialists*

I recommend that the National Government expand significantly its current programs of continuing education focused on increasing the national pool of legal, correctional and child welfare professionals with specialized expertise in the nature, extent, dynamics and impact of sexual exploitation on children and their families.

*Promote effective public/private partnerships for combating Child Sexual Exploitation*

A successful national campaign to combat child sexual exploitation will require active participation of all the public and private stakeholders working with and on behalf of sexually exploited children and their families. I recommend the development of National and County coalitions and task forces of public and private stakeholders whose aim would be the elimination of child sexual exploitation.

## 5.5. Recommendations for further studies

The researcher suggests that there is need for more specialized studies on Perpetrators of Child Sexual Exploitation and their victims. I recommend that additional research be undertaken in the following areas:

- The aspects of Kenyan collective life that appear to contribute directly to the child sexual exploitation.
- Modes of operation of pimps and others who systematically promote the commercial sexual exploitation of juveniles
- Modes of operation of national and international traffickers of children for sexual purposes
- The nature and extent of the child sexual exploitation among youth who self identify as sexual minorities
- The nature and extent of the child sexual exploitation among girls in gangs
- The nature and extent of child sexual exploitation among Kenyan youth from low income, middle income and other comparatively well-off youth living in their own homes.

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**BACKGROUND INFORMATION**

2.(a) What type of a family do you come from?

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(b) How many siblings are you in your family?

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(c) Place of upbringing

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í  
í í í í í í

(d) Describe your parental upbringing style (Democratic, authoritative, or passive)

í  
í í í

3. (a) What is the nature of your parent (s) occupation?

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(b) Are they living together?      Yes [ ]      No [ ]

(c) If no, what is the reason?

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4. (a) How would you describe the general home environment of your family?

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----- (b) Give a description of your childhood experiences in your upbringing at home, school and in the neighbourhood/estate

í  
í  
í í í í í í

(c). Have you ever been abused at home? Yes [ ] No [ ]

(d) If yes above, please explain

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(e) What are your personal needs you feel should be met at home?

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----- (f) How are/were these needs met at home?

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**BEHAVIOURAL INFORMATION**

5. How old were you when you first joined commercial sex work?

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6. How were you introduced into commercial sex work?

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7. What reasons would you give as having pushed you into commercial sex work?

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8. How long did you engage in commercial sex work?

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9. How much did you earn on a day averagely?

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10. Describe the nature of your operation as a commercial sex worker

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11. (a) In your own experience does sex work have any effects/risks? Yes [ ] No [ ]

(b) If yes, list them

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12. (a) What is your perception of sex work?

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(b) Have you ever convinced any other girl/friend to become a sex worker?

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**REHABILITATION**

13. (a) How were you rescued from sex work?

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(b) Did you receive any counselling immediately upon being rescued?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(c) If yes, describe your opinion of the same

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(b) Have you ever come into contact with an underage girl sex worker?

Yes [ ] No [ ]

(c) If yes, describe the category/categories of such a girl/girls with regard to commercial sex work (**please note that commercial sex workers may be street walkers, call girls, escorts, brothel workers or massage parlour workers**)

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(d) Describe/state the reasons underage girls give for getting into sex work

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(e) What would you say are the effects of commercial sex work on the underage girls?

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6. (a) In your opinion, do you think there are agents involved in commercial sexual exploitation of underage girls? Yes [ ] No [ ]

(b) If yes who are they?

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(c) How do you think these agents plan, organize and execute commercial sex work with underage girls?

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7. (a) Are there policies/regulations/guidelines/laws developed in your organization specifically to fight sexual exploitation of underage girls? Yes [ ] No [ ]

(b) If yes, list them

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**APPENDIX 3: KEY INFORMANT PERSONS INTERVIEW GUIDE**

1. Which organization do you represent?

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2. (a) Are you involved in child welfare and protection programmes? Yes [ ] No [ ]

(b) If yes, please list the programmes

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3. (a) what is your understanding of Commercial Sexual Exploitation of underage girls?

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(b) What would you say are the contributing factors of sex work among teenage/underage girls?





effectiveness of various strategies being made to curb commercial sexual exploitation of underage girls?

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(e) What policy/legal recommendations would you suggest that if implemented will boost the fight against commercial sexual exploitation of underage girls?

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## **APPENDIX 4: FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR FORMER ADULT WOMEN SEX WORKERS**

1. No. of participants (between 6-11)
2. Ask them their understanding of commercial sexual exploitation of underage girls
3. Ask whether some of the participants encountered underage girls being exploited as sex workers
4. Ask them to state the reasons the girls give/gave for engaging in sex work
5. Ask them whether agents are involved in commercial sexual exploitation of underage girls
6. Ask them how these agents plan, organize and execute the same
7. Ask them to suggest ways of assisting underage girls out of sex work

