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THE IMPACT OF NATIONAL YOUTH SERVICE PROGRAMME ON THE REHABILITATION OF STREET CHILDREN: A CASE STUDY OF THE NATIONAL YOUTH SERVICE (NAIROBI)

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BY

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DECLARATION

I declare that this project is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university.

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DEDICATION

To my husband Johnson Nyabira and our children Eric Moracha, David Nyabaro and Beatrice Bosibori who have been a great inspiration and encouragement.

List of Acronyms

AIDS	Acquired Immuno Deficiency Syndrome
EBS	Elder of the Burning Spear
HIV	Human Immuno Deficiency Virus
GOK	Government of Kenya
ICCB	International Catholic Children's Bureau
MOHA	Ministry of Home Affairs
MP	Member of Parliament
NARC	National Rainbow Coalition
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
NYS	National Youth Service
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Education Fund
KATC	Kenya Accountants Technician Course

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Abstract

Street children had become part of the landscape in most Kenyan cities and towns. The life of the children on the streets was miserable and difficult and it was characterized by lack of shelter, food, security, basic medical care, lack of schooling and parental love among other necessities. On the other hand the children had contributed negatively to a drastic extent towards socio-economic development of the towns and the country as a whole. The children vandalized public social amenities and were a scare to city/town visitors. Sometimes they went as far as stealing and robbing innocent unsuspecting passersby.

The National Youth Service launched a rehabilitation programme for the street children back in the year 2003. Since then, no substantive evaluation of the programme had been done to gauge its impact. The purpose of this study was therefore, to investigate and evaluate the impact of the rehabilitation programme of street children being carried out by the NYS since the year 2003.

The study utilized case study methods on four out of 20 units of NYS. These were Gilgil College Unit, Naivasha Unit, Driving School Unit and the Motor and Transport Unit. These units combined, harboured the largest proportion of the street children undergoing rehabilitation. The basic unit of the study was the street children who were undergoing rehabilitation.

The respondents consisted of the street children, the counsellors, the trainers of the street children, and commanding officers of specific units under the study.

Various research tools were used to collect data based on probability sampling techniques. Both primary and secondary data were collected in order to increase the reliability of the research findings.

Data analysis was done through descriptive statistical tools as aided by statistical package for social sciences software (SPSS). In addition, qualitative data analysis was used to analyze field group discussions.

1.0 CHAPTER ONE

1.1 Introduction

In this era of modernization and economic progress, every country needed to have a citizenry that was up to standard in every way, and that deeply understood and took its responsibilities and roles seriously. Social scientists argued that the roles and responsibilities of tomorrow would be undertaken by the youth of today. The way, therefore, they would play these significant roles efficiently and effectively would depend on how they were being socialized now. The children who were mistreated and denied their basic needs became miscreants and useless adults [UNICEF, 1986]. They lacked the basic skills and knowledge to enable them operate in an organized society.

When children were well looked after they grew up responsibly. They were orderly and disciplined. They could easily be trained and prepared to fill the various jobs in government, private sector and NGO'S, become good farmers, teachers, bankers, engineers, pilots, doctors and nurses when they became adults A good citizenry could, however, only be possible if the nation emphasized rules, norms, and patterns of behaviour and social structures that gave identity to and put the youth in line so that as they grew and became adults they could participate fully in nation building and play their roles in carrying out various and/or specific activities. This was based on the understanding and assumption that a country could not achieve full economic development goals without the full participation of all. Street children lacked the skills, knowledge and the right attitudes to make any meaningful contribution to such development hence the need to rehabilitating them. Their presence in the streets marred the picture of the country and could cause the decline of the tourism industry. It was well known that tourism was a major income earner and it was the backbone of the country's economy and any actions by individuals that negated its image could cause substantial loss while the behaviour of harassing the indigenous business people was in bad taste. Parents also feared that street children were poor role models for their children because of their irresponsible and harsh behaviour.

National Youth Service started in 1964 as a department in the Ministry of Home Affairs with the objective of training the youth to engage in tasks of national development and importance, was disciplined and patriotic as well as train in a vocation. It admitted recruits, who under went a rigorous induction course at Gilgil College, which was meant to mould and integrate them into NYS fraternity and create psychological and behavioural order. This training enabled the recruits to discover themselves in terms of endurance, self-evaluation and ability to make the right decisions and courage to logically respond to issues pertaining to national order [Rori, 1996: 2]. Rori continued to argue that the young people participated in various national activities such as road construction, clearing of bushes at airstrips, agriculture, security, escort food relief and perform cleaning duties in offices like Nyayo House and other government ministries during this time when there was lean staff every where. This is what made NYS unique in this era of social accountability and transparency when institutions can no longer rely on academic programmes alone without considering their public image.

Rehabilitation had become an important tool for any society that wanted to achieve social stability and predictability. Rori argued that a society that had many disadvantaged and deviant youths was in trouble. However, good and functional its social structures were, they must be founded upon good internal socialization and raring practices among the members of society. A nation whose levels of social internal structures were low was unlikely to produce independent, hard working youth.

Rehabilitation was the result of the effect of the sum total of effective desocialization and resocialization and other variables such as indoctrination of cultural norms, values, moral indoctrination, discipline, role taking, all interacting within the environment in order to produce a rehabilitated youth. Desocialization would involve the isolation of the youth into an insular environment where they did similar and compulsory activities and they were expected to be obedient and submissive to authority, uniformity in life style and treatment among others designed to meet the objectives of the organization that was carrying out the rehabilitation process. Desocialization targeted the unlearning of inappropriate behaviour while

resocialization equipped people with new norms, skills and patterns of behaviour to enable them cope with rapid changes in the world [Preston et. al., 189: 107 - 111].

Complete rehabilitation entailed specific indicators both to the individual who was being rehabilitated and the surrounding area. These indicators would include: the removal of all street children/families from streets of cities/towns, literally taking the street children to rehabilitation centres for training in life skills, vocational courses, moral teachings, guidance and counselling, discipline and obedience and finally releasing them back to society. The rehabilitated child was expected to exhibit change in behaviour, maturity, independence and responsibility in managing his life, conformity to social norms and determination to make his contribution to society. In other words the youth would integrate easily into society.

The desocialization technique would use various tools to rehabilitate the youth in a professional manner into a set of mature, independent, useful and self-reliant people who might occupy their rightful place in society. Among these would be to remove the children from the streets, isolate them from the rest of the world and place them in a total environment where they would be given uniform treatment, with the training taking place in the same environment, stripping them of their former identity, and brainwashing them without debasing them. This was called a process of 'death and rebirth,' [Preston, et. al. 1989: 107]. The youth would also be provided with the basic necessities like food, shelter and clothing so that they were not lacking in essential items that made life bearable. Desocialization assisted in the unlearning of past norms and behaviour patterns.

Goffman argued that resocialization was an every day experience that individuals underwent as a result of changing cultural expectations and pressures. Resocialization exposed individuals to new theories and discoveries whose demands might be submitted to simultaneously. For instance individuals were always shifting alliances. Today one could be a friend and an ally but tomorrow a bitter enemy. Today one viewed habits such as homosexuality and pornography as being pervasive but tomorrow the same person would hold a different and accommodating view. The

resocialization technique would enable the street children to relearn new norms and behaviour patterns that were socially and humanly acceptable [Preston, 1989: 111].

According to the GOK/IUNICEF [1998] there were over 110,000 street children in Kenya and in Nairobi alone, there were between 28,000 and 35,000 street children [Daily Nation 15 August 2000]. UNICEF [1985] correctly observed that the numbers of street children were on the increase and if the present trends continued there could be blight on urban civilization. Further, the street children would pose a serious obstacle to overall socio-economic development in the country.

The government of Kenya in 2003 in view of the above challenges introduced a street children rehabilitation programme to guide and provide the street children with skills to make them self-reliant. It embarked on the programme of removing the youth from the streets of Nairobi City and opened many rehabilitation centres, amongst them being the Bahati Reception Centre, Pumwani Reception Centre, Kibera's Joseph Kangethe Reception Centre and the National Youth Service all in Nairobi. Rehabilitation centres were also opened in major towns of the country to round up street children and keep them in these centres. To reform and make the street youth fit in society, the rehabilitation centres had to provide guidance and counselling to the youth, training in semi skilled trades, spiritual and physical nourishment, food, clothing and shelter among others.

It is on the basis of this background that this study sought to investigate the impact of the NYS rehabilitation programme of street children.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

This study attempted to investigate the rehabilitation of street children in the NYS. The phenomenon of street children and young single mothers in urban areas in Kenya was well documented by the following authors: [Nyarumbona, 1970; Onyango, 1988; Grant, et al 1989; Munyakho, 1989; Onyango, 1989; Clark 1991, Pallen, 1992; Gichuru, 1993; Injendi, 1996; Corrigan, 1997; UNICEF, 2002 and Kanyuithia, 2005]. The street children were associated with crime, begging and extortion, squabbles with the city council 'askaris' and city motorists. In addition their dirty and shabby outlook probably gave the general impression that Nairobi was an unsafe city. The

policy of the Government of Kenya through the Ministry of Home Affairs was to rehabilitate all street children so that they could become good citizens. This was undertaken through training in various skills, counselling as well as reintegrating the street children into society [Strategic Plan on HIV/AIDS 2002 – 2005:8].

NYS was actively involved in the rehabilitation of street children. It was the pioneer government institution in rehabilitating street children. However, little research had been carried out on the rehabilitation process in the institution and its outcomes. This study was an attempt to study and evaluate the rehabilitation-training programme offered to the street children in NYS considering that past literature on street children had focused mostly on highlighting the increasing numbers of street children but little had been done on rehabilitation training. The rehabilitation training seemed not to have been prepared well in advance. It was given as a way of fulfilling promises made by the NARC government to the people of Kenya before the 2002 general elections.

Before joining NYS most of the street children seemed to be idlers in the streets, beggars, loiterers, muggers, pickpockets, drug abusers and or/addicts, glue sniffers criminals and conduits of contraband goods. They also slept on the pavements of the streets, shop verandahs, dark alleys and garbage dumpsites, hence littering the environment. They were dirty and violent most of the time and were unaware of what was going on around them. They were desperate and depended on handouts from well-wishers for their livelihood. In addition their self-esteem had been completely eroded.

The street children seemed to lack social life skills that would enable them relate well with other members of the society. This was manifested through their anti social behaviour and violent lifestyles. In addition these children seemed to lack technical and vocational skills that would make them employable and enable them to earn a decent and honest livelihood. It was hoped that NYS through the rehabilitation training programme would employ strategies that would aim at bridging the gaps in social life skills and vocational skills of the street children and integrate them fully into society, open up opportunities for them in both the labour market, create and enhance awareness towards self-employment.

The core function of the NYS rehabilitation training programme of street children was expected to change their behaviour by inculcating into them social and moral values and a sense of responsibility, dissuading them from engaging in criminal and anti social behaviour, equipping them with both social life skills, vocational skills and making them integrable into society.

1.3 General Objective

The general objective of this study was to investigate the effects of The National Youth Service rehabilitation programme on the behaviour of street children of Nairobi City.

1.4 Specific Objectives

The objectives of this study were to:

(i) investigate the entry behaviour and difficulties of the street children who entered NYS for rehabilitation training

(ii) investigate the training activities/programme that the street children went through at the NYS

(iii) assess the impact of the rehabilitation training programme on the youth who were under rehabilitation.

1.5 Research Questions

This study sought to address the following questions.

(i) What was the original state of affairs of the street children before joining NYS?

(ii) What strategies and methods were employed in rehabilitating the street children at NYS?

(iii) What was the outcome of the rehabilitation-training programme of the street children in NYS?

1.4 Significance of the Study

The findings of this study would be of interest to:

(i) The Government of Kenya would be able to come up with better strategies and policies on the rehabilitation training programme of street children.

(ii) The NYS management and trainers would develop a rehabilitation-training programme that properly addressed and met the needs of the street children.

(iii) The researchers might wish to use the findings of this study as a basis for further research on the subject under study.

1.5 The Scope

The study focused mainly on the rehabilitation training of the Nairobi street children under going rehabilitation at NYS. It investigated such concepts as language spoken by the youth, composition of street children and factors that caused street children, gender distribution of street children, educational levels, family backgrounds, age composition, and the challenges street children faced.

1.6 Definitions of Terms

Rehabilitation: It means to prepare a disabled or disadvantaged person for employment, as by vocational counselling, skill training or both. It also means to restore the good name or to reinstate in good repute.

Desocialization This is the process through which the individual unlearns inappropriate behaviour.

Resocialization It is the process through which an individual acquires (relearns} new and appropriate behaviour, cultural norms, skills, and values, roles and self-image that are quite different from the previous ones.

A Deviant This is a child who engages in behaviour that violates accepted social norms and set standards of behaviour.

Deviance It can be described as any behaviour that violates accepted social norms and expectations.

A Deliquent Any young person who does wrong or fails to perform a duty.

Deliquence The art of doing wrong or neglecting duty by the young persons.

A truant A child who stays away from school without a good reason and may be found roaming in the streets and engaging in antisocial behaviour.

A juvenile Any young person who breaks the laws.

Juxtapose Placing or living side by side as of the poor living in close proximity of the rich.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter focused on the literature review. The researcher thoroughly reviewed the secondary data through intensive reading of the existing literature and other relevant written materials such as development plans, major contemporary textbooks, scholarly journals, newspapers, magazines, web pages of the internet and papers presented at conferences on the topic under study. The literature was reviewed under the following themes:

(i) The composition of street children and the factors that forced children into the streets

(ii) The behaviour the street children of Nairobi displayed

(iii) The treatment the Nairobi street children received

(iv) The challenges the Nairobi street children faced

(v) The magnitude and character of the street children phenomenon

(vi) The Role of NYS in rehabilitation street children

(vii) The reactions of street children to the NYS rehabilitation training programme

2.2 The Composition of the street children population and the factors that forced the children onto the streets

This section sought to give a description of the composition of the street children population and to highlight the reasons that forced the children into street life and whether rehabilitation training could restore them to normal life.

A street child was defined as any child who loitered, lived or thrived in the streets of any town, city, market or urban area. Street children could also be described as those children who had probably rebelled and left home for a life in the streets. They could be deviants or juvenile delinquents that left school or home because of cold, rigid and coercively restricted parenting styles, which made them feel insecure, resentful and rebellious and thus preferred truanting on the streets, initially as a way of escape and eventually as a home, a working environment and a way of life. Alternatively a street child could be described as one who carried out commercial activities on the streets alongside his/her parent(s) to supplement family incomes. The street children could also be in the company of other street children or on their own.

The street children comprised of: orphans whose parent(s) had died or were incapacitated due to pandemic diseases such as HIV/AIDS, children from single parented homes, deviants and juvenile delinquents who had rebelled against parents/guardians and eventually dropped out of school, the neglected, abused and abandoned children, the physically disabled, mentally derangement or retarded. They could also easily be those children whose mothers had been arrested and sent to prison and had no responsible adult to supervise and provide for their basic needs. Such children went to the streets to scavenge for food, companionship and a place to sleep near their stamping ground [UNICEF, 1990: 102; Corrigan, 1979: 123 - 125; Clark, 1991: 200 and Preston, 1989: 99; Makokha, 1992; Munyakho, 1989].

The age of the children on the streets ranged normally between 6 - 15 years of age but there were instances when the composition included much older or much younger children depending on the circumstances. The age of 6 - 15 years was significant because, this was when children began to react to any negative action manifested in the form of abuse or deprivation of their basic needs. The child was at this age aware of his environment and was capable of manipulating and exploiting it to survive. If the child's basic needs were not met at home it would go out of the home to seek ways and means of meeting them, no matter which ways were employed. The result was street boys and girls who while on the streets engaged in various forms of antisocial activities such as hawking wares like paper bags, horticultural crops, directing motorists, picking from dustbins and dumpsites, pick pocketing or stealing and begging [UNICEF, 1990: 102; Munyakho, 1989: 67 - 68; Palen. 1992: 179; Injendi, 1996: 2]. Kanyuithia, in her magazine argued that as street children matured into young adults they became unruly and criminal minded because street youth had little care for the law and they could steal/mug people plus use very crude and unconventional methods of coercion such as smearing their victims with stinking human excrement in order to force them to part with alms.

Street children were a global problem. It was a problem that was as old as the cities of the world themselves. The street children problem was said to be resulting from various changes worldwide and it was caused by poverty amidst modern development [Gichuru, 1993: 1; Injendi, 1996: 1; Smyke 1989: 24]. According to authors like Injendi the street children were not a unique phenomenon to urban areas in many developed and developing countries. It was a problem that was just as prevalent in Kenya's urban centres as it was elsewhere in the world [Gichuru, 1993: 1; Grant et. al., 1989: 24; ICIHI Report 1986: 13]. The authors continued to

say that this phenomenon, though not a recent one had never before become so widespread, nor affected so many millions as it did presently. Hence, the need to pay attention to this problem that was harassing governments and individuals. Despite efforts to address the street children problem by various individuals, governments and NGO's, the problem seemed to persist and to get worse by the day.

Those who have looked at the street children problem worldwide said that by 1996 there were an estimated 100 million street children in the world [Mafupa, 1994: 5]. Most of them were in the South America, Latin America and the Asia regions [Munyakho, 1989: 9]. These regions were believed to have the largest number of street children. This situation was attributed to the changes that were taking place worldwide. Munyakho argued that Africa, whose population was currently growing more rapidly than any other region, was going to have the greatest number of destitute children by the year 2000. As at 1988 there were sixteen million children below the age of 16 who were working and an additional three million street children on the streets of African cities. Out of this number, Kenya was going to have three million street children by the year 2000. This was attributed to the emergence of the nuclear family and the breakdown of traditional family structures that cared for and protected the child in an African setting [Onyango, 1988].

In Kenya the causes of street children were seen to be due largely to poverty as well as neglect and abuse. Injendi, [1996] argued that street children beyond primary school in Kenya needed to be equipped with "Jua Kali" artistry and be given loans to set up self employment. However from the researchers' observations such training had been given at a very limited scale as compared to the number of street children that needed it. Undugu Society of Kenya and approved schools had been offering skills training for a long time. Few street children had benefited from such training. There was, therefore, need for this study to find out why a large number of street children had not been exposed to rehabilitation training and whether NYS would manage to rehabilitate a large number of the street youth

Palen, [1992: 178] argued that the U.S.A. in the 1970's and 1980's experienced an upsurge of adult homeless people who poured onto the streets and lived in the street corners. That homeless population was made up of adults unlike Africa where children currently made the largest number of street people. The adult population was made up of older persons, possibly alcoholics, skid men with acute personal problems, bag ladies who had been discharged from

a psychiatric hospital and left to pick through the refuse bins, parents with children, single men and single women, and female headed households of the African Americans. A number of factors were said to have contributed to produce an adult street population in the U.S.A. These were said to be: neglect of the disabled, mentally sick, alcoholics, old and teenage girls who became young mothers and were chased out of home by their families [Palen, 1992: 178]. In developing countries in Africa such as Kenya and Nairobi City in particular the presence of street children was attributable to the hard economic situations being experienced by African countries. Observations made included the fact that there was widespread unemployment. Economic crises throughout the world had spelled doom for children. For example, the economic recession that hit the Philippines in the 1980's resulted in a large number of children going to the streets, markets and public places as regular haunts and in some cases as their permanent living place [Nyarumbona, 1976: 5, 32; Gichuru, 1993: 2; Suda, 1994: 281; Injendi, 1996].

India was known to have many street children and people as a result of shortage in housing made worse by rampant poverty. In Calcutta, particularly, a third of the ten million people were said to live in packed slums or bustees [Harisson, 1984; Worsley, 1984]. Here entire families' crowded into single rooms and majority could not afford even to rent space in the slums and they lived in makeshift camps and hovels. Others lived and died in the streets [Calhoun, et. al., 1995: 472].

Some other world cities like Brazil and Mexico had high populations of street people. The street families and their children were extremely poor. In Mexico City, for example, there were many beggars who lined the road from the airport to the main city with women and their children, begging or selling meagre handicrafts. In every street corner or Public Park, women sat silently watching their children tug on the elbows of tourists and men hoping for a handout explained [Calhoun, 1995: 472]. Calhoun argued that Calcutta too had a large population and families crowded into small single rooms.

Studies in other countries revealed that children were mostly employed in industries to provide cheap labour. They worked in industries such as the wood and clothing industries [Gatchalian, 1988: 80], gold mining in Peru [Morroquin, 1988: 66], leather tanning in Cairo,

Egypt [Abdalla, 1988: 32]. Onyango argued that children worked in glass, carpet, rubber and construction industries in various parts of the world to supplement family income.

In Juarez, Rio de Janeiro, Columbia, Peru and the Dominican Republic, children willingly went to the streets to work and make money because there wasn't much at home [Injendi, 1996: 18]. Calhoun depicted poverty and affluence in third world cities as being juxtaposed. Skyscrapers towered over slums and shanties sprung up next door to luxurious villas and apartments.

Injendi continued to argue that the Democratic Republic of the Congo had girls as young as 14 years old working in full employment in trade free zones to supplement family incomes. They left home very early and left work very late, as orders had to be filled and in the process they were likely to meet abusers who violated and abused them. In South Africa, discriminative and oppressive apartheid policies during the struggle for independence created social, political and economic sanctions that gave rise to the ghettos and the street children problem.

In Africa a variety of factors had led to the creation of street children. The factors differed from one country to the other while other factors cut through all the countries. In South Africa, the apartheid policy that perpetuated discrimination and oppressed the indigenous people economically, socially and politically was responsible for the street children and street gangs. The indigenous people retreated into ghettos and some onto the streets where they frequently clashed with the Boers as they aired their resentment and dissatisfaction at being ruled and discriminated against right in their own country [Africanews, 63 June 2001:1 – 4; Disasters January 2004:15 - 16].

Civil wars and ethnic clashes in the African continent have been enhancing and increasing street families. Countries like Somalia, Ethiopia, Sudan, Angola, Burundi, and Rwanda have had ethnic conflicts leading to displacement of families from their traditional homes Some of the displaced people moved into either streets in their own countries or foreign countries where they had founded families and homes and carried out limited trade to survive [Africanews, 63 June 2001:1 – 4; Disasters January 2004: 15-16].

Severe and acute famine due to frequent droughts or flooding leading to crop failure and food shortages in most countries in the African continent had complicated the street population problem. The helpless people went to city streets to beg for food and money and solicit for any help they could get from the public. Some of the countries mostly affected by famine included Ethiopia, Eritrea, Niger, Sudan, Zimbabwe and Somalia and now Kenya [Africanews, 63 June 2001:1 – 4; Disasters January 2004:15 - 16].

Poverty was a factor that cut across all countries in the African continent. Most street children were in the streets because of poverty. For instance in Kenya, those children on the streets were there because they came from very poor families, particularly from slum dwellings. Some of them were born on the streets and raised there. Others sold items like paper bags along side their mothers to supplement the family income. They also solicited for financial help by pulling all sorts of tricks on the streets. Some were used by criminals to run errands for a fee [Munyakho, 1989: 67 – 68; Makokha, 1989; Bwibo, 1971; Bilingslay, 1970; Gichuru, 1993: 2; Injendi, 1996: 1].

It has also been established that the land less people pitched tent at street corners and alleys in which they could survive as long as it lasted. When such a person or family was evicted from one part of the street they moved to another part where there was temporary solace. Land lessness that was compounded by poverty and lack of skills or employment opportunities was a major cause of street children [Calhoun, et. al., 1995: 472].

The researcher observed that diseases like HIV/AIDS had caused many deaths to breadwinners of families and left small children helpless, without skills and vulnerable. Such children had found their way into the streets and other inappropriate activities to access their own livelihood and that of their siblings [Kanyuithia, 2004:14]. Some children in Kenya including the mentally sick and the disabled were experiencing neglect, abandonment just as children in the first world countries did in the 1970's and 1980's. This predisposed them to street life quite easily [UNICEF, 1990: 101; UNICEF, 1986: 1].

Children were known to run a way from home to escape from abuse and violence meted against them by their parents, caretakers and relatives. Children generally needed to be trained to take care of themselves and to report their abusers to the relevant authorities [Makokha, 1992: 125]. They needed to be empowered with communication skills and certain

knowledge in order to protect themselves. They needed training in identifying their abusers, avoiding situations of abuse and reporting. The children also needed to be assured of protection against cruel guardians, otherwise on their own they were helpless. Makokha also argued that parents also needed to be counselled and sensitized on alternative methods of disciplining children without injuring them fatally. They also needed supportive services such as finances and cheap housing that were noted as triggers that made parents stress their children [Makokha, 1992: 136]. Peer pressure also had been found to play a big role. Children who were already streetwise lured others to the streets with the promise of plenty of food, money and other material things on the streets.

It was in the light of the above suggestions that the researcher wished to investigate how rehabilitation training, provided to the street children by NYS could help to rehabilitate the said children and change their behaviour so that they could easily fit into society.

Observations by the researcher indicated that although the authors predicted that street children would become a big problem to the Kenyan society as early as 1969 not much attention was given to this problem. There had been widespread unemployment, retrenchments, and calamities like famine and hunger brought about by unfavourable weather conditions that diverted the little resources that could be used to make the children's lives comfortable. HIV/AIDS had wrecked havoc as it was causing the deaths of breadwinners and leaving thousands of children orphans [Makokha, 1992]. The researcher noted that at the time these predictions were made, pandemic diseases like HIV/AIDS were unknown or non-existent. These pandemic diseases had depleted resources for families and relegated children to beggars on the streets. Press reports indicated massive corruption that had dealt a brow on the economic state of the country. Donors were now withholding development funds. There was therefore need for a policy framework that ensured employment was kept at reasonable levels. Stiff laws that criminalized corruption and the plundering of public resources as well as providing comprehensive medical treatment and counselling services to those infected and affected by HIV/AIDS for the sake of the children [Makokha, 1992: 139].

The Children and Young Persons Act enacted in 1963 and revised in 2001 for the protection of children had remained unrevised for a long time and when it was revised it did not emphasize and enforce the rights of children. It was very silent and the street children

continued to suffer negritude, abandonment, abuse and poverty and even to be bundled and kept in the same prison cells with adults whenever they broke the law.

However, in 2003, the government reacted by instituting measures that might solve the street children problem in the long term. The street children were rounded up and taken to reception centres. Every body lauded this as a grand, noble and well-meaning project. The pilot group was selected from those street children in reception centres like Pumwani, Bahati and a few from various towns doted around the country. Three hundred were sent to NYS - Gilgil in April 2003 and another group of 500 followed soon after in October 2003. This was a step in the right direction.

Individuals like father Fabio, Grol identified parking boys in major towns of Kenya as a problem that needed every body's concern very early. It was on that basis that the Undugu society was established in 1975 in order to equip the parking boys with knowledge, skills and attitudes and to reintegrate them within their communities. The number was overwhelming for a single NGO to handle [Onyango, 1988; UNICEF, 1985]. Onyango, [1988] agreed that awareness on children in difficult circumstances issues in African countries and Kenya in particular was detected very early and so were the efforts to curb the problems but 25 years down the line the problem of street children has become pandemic. This study is intended to find out how this trend could be reversed by offering rehabilitation training to the youth.

The causes of street children in the city of Nairobi and its periphery were basically like those of cities of other developing countries. They range from poverty, ethnic clashes, disease, landlessness, immigration, neglect, abuse, violence and abandonment, loose and weaker family structures/ties due to nuclear family syndrome in urban settings as well as little knowledge about communication resources, social deprivation, broken homes, inadequate parenting practices, environmental strain, teenage and unplanned pregnancies and murderous disciplinary attacks led to most forms of child abuse that predisposed children to street life said [Makokha, 1989; Bwibo, 1971; Giovannoni and Bilingsley, 1970].

The street children menace has also been attributed to forces of social change that had broken down many traditional structures that protected children and given room to all forms of child abuse and street children who are now an issue that the government and people of

Kenya ought to address themselves to [Makokha, 1989 and 1992; Bwibo, 1971; Giovannoni and Bingsley, 1970].

Children who were assaulted, abandoned, neglected, dangerously exposed or had unnecessarily suffered physical or psychological injuries leading to loss of a limb, hearing or mental derangement became delinquents easily [UNICEF, 1990: 102]. UNICEF continued to argue that children were forced into an errant life principally by the neglect of their parents. UNICEF argued that between 0 – 5 years old children might not react or defend themselves against any form of abuse. At that age they were too young to deviate. They were little angels and if well managed and brought up they would form a valuable human resource in any country [UNICEF, 1986:1; UNICEF, 1990: 27].

Various authors gave various reasons why children went to work and live on the streets. They said children liked to go into the streets to truant because the street offered a high degree of freedom away from the forces of control, which were almost inescapable in the home and at school. In the streets ideas of juvenile delinquency were born and adopted and the children dropped out of school ending being recipients of compulsory education. [1979: 129; UNICEF 1990: 101]. Corrigan argued that truanting usually began as an innocent activity and hobby [Corrigan, 1979: 123 - 125]. He stated that:

> The boys prefer the streets as a venue of action. It is free in both commercial terms and in terms of social control. The possibility of a range of actions is great in the street. It is in the street where boys can decide what they want to do when they want to do it, and when they want to stop it more than any other place.

Children have had to leave school due to the devastating effects of HIV/AIDS in order to care and fend for ailing parents/relatives and their siblings. Orphans whose parent(s) succumbed to HIV/AIDS related illnesses often became guardians of their siblings as the pandemic took toll on those who were supposed to provide the care and security to the children. This had led to an increase in child-headed families. After the pandemic struck the children drifted to

urban areas or industrial sites to make a living. Once on the streets, children found no option but to fend for themselves [Kanyuithia, 2004: 14].

Makokha, [1992: 4] argued that even if the street children were vulnerable on the streets, it was the adults who were contributing to their destruction. They were the ones who sold the gum and petrol these children sniffed as well as the bhang they smoked. Some children on the streets were used by their parents/guardians or even hired out to beg for not only money but also other consumable goods such as "mkate". Others loitered around the market and streets selling paper bags alongside their mothers or alone while others carried luggage for a fee, [Kanyuithia of Disasters Vol. 5 May, 2004: 14].

2.3 The behaviour the street children of Nairobi displayed

The Nairobi street boys are known by the name, parking boys [Munyakho, 1989: 65]. This term was particularly used for Nairobi's street children and it was derived from one of their once popular activity, which was directing motorists to available parking space along the crowded kerbs during peak hours. The children then guarded the vehicles until the owners returned and tipped them. The Nairobi street children had in recent times become more ferocious, daring, disrespectful, gormless, unruly and threatening to motorists and the public. They demanded parking fees from motorists alongside the city council fee collectors and when motorists refused to give them the parking fee, the street boys resorted to stealing the vehicle accessories such as side mirrors, wheel caps, tires and car lights. The Nairobi street children also involved themselves in a chronology of crimes near and around Uhuru Park and anywhere on any street. These included mugging, pick pocketing and stealing from pedestrians or from those visiting and taking a nap in the park. They raided and stole stored merchandise from business premises, beat and killed people. The streets that were popular for such activities were Koinange, Muhindi Mbingu, Mama Ngina, Wabera, Kimathi and Moi Avenue [The Standard April 8, 2005: II; Munyakho, 1989: 65].

The street children behaved dangerously towards tourists, women and the public whom they robbed openly and then they ran and disappeared into the alleys. This gave a bad image about our country and particularly to the tourism industry. Their dirty and unkempt appearance and criminal behaviour of daringly robbing women and tourists gave the impression that Nairobi was insecure. From time to time the Nairobi street children used a

lot of coercion when begging for alms. They usually targeted well-dressed men and women on the streets and threateningly asked for money and other material things. If one failed to produce some alms, they were smeared with dirty, stinking human faeces. This frustrated and created fear in the public. It could no longer tolerate the activities of these children.

The behaviour exhibited by the Nairobi street children has earned them the label delinquents, and as such they were regarded as being out of the control and discipline of their parents and guardians. They do not attend school. They were habitual truants, traffickers of contraband goods, beggars and inducers of alms [UNICEF, 1990: 101]. They were known to abuse a variety of drugs like "bhangi," glue, cocaine, and alcohol and were therefore viewed by many as being a bad example to the youth. In addition street children were vulnerable because of their poverty status and could be easily misused by bad elements. They could be recruited into guerrilla and other terrorist's movements to destabilize the country from within and without [Fletcher, 1988: 191 – 195; Onyango, et. al., 1991: 150].

This study, therefore wished to find out how the behaviour of the street children could be changed through rehabilitation training.

2.4 The treatment the Nairobi street children received

This section wished to investigate how street children were treated and whether this treatment could improve if they rehabilitated and changed their behaviour. The communities, in which the street children lived and operated, did not readily accept them because of their naughty and criminal minded behaviour, bad language, poor self-image and sometimes, violent reactions to situations. Generally people feared and mistrusted them. The following instances were indicative of the treatment meted on street children worldwide: The literature authentively established that in most countries the street children had been violated and even murdered for petty crimes and naughty behaviour [Aptekar, 1994: 196]. In Bombay under "operation beggar," street children were forcibly evicted from the streets and taken to indebted solitude [Aptekar, 1996: 196]. In Brazil, street children were intentionally run over by cars or gunned down by death squads. Death squads were normally paid to kill the homeless and the urchins found on the streets. For example, in 1990 alone 1,397 street urchins were violently killed in collusion with street authorities in Brazil. In Khartoum City streets, the treatment of street children had not been different. Street children have been rounded up in the past by the government and sold to farmers [Aptekar, 1994: 196]. While in

South African, enforcement officers and private vigilante groups and street gangs were said to have handled street children inhumanely [ICCB, 1982: 58]. There were over 2,000 street children currently awaiting trial in South African prisons and 1,800 were serving sentences for petty crimes.

The street children were misused sexually and as a result they tended to get conditioned to engage in prostitution. There was also rampant prostitution in cities like Nairobi, Bang Kok, Thailand, Rio de Janeiro and Brazil because there were men with money to spend and women with few alternatives. [Calhoun, 1995: 472; Aptekar, 1994: 196; Makokha, 1989; Bwibo, 1971; Giovannoni and Bilingsley 1970].

The Nairobi, street children from time to time experienced police and city council harassment and harassment from among themselves and the public probably because of their uncouth behaviour. The streets had become unsafe for children and women. For instance, the residents of Mombasa City and its public had appealed to the government to remove these children from the streets, as they had become a security risk and threat to their young daughters and wives. This was now the same case in Nairobi. The street children were jostling and fighting for space with taxi drivers, pedestrians and motor vehicle mechanics in various parts of the city.

With the introduction of free primary education street children needed to be in school like their counterparts but it had been found that they preferred to be on the streets. The children had become a threat to security and the government of Kenya needed to do something about them. It had actually taken the government thirty-eight (38) years to recognize the street children problem. When the government, finally did appreciate that a street children problem did exist, it initiated and supported a comprehensive street children rehabilitation programme in Nairobi in 2003.

The street children were rounded up and taken to reception centres. The pilot group was selected from those street children in reception centres like Pumwani, Bahati and a few from various towns doted around the country. These were then sent to NYS – Gilgil in 2003 and another group followed a few months later. This was a step in the right direction. It emphasized that the importance of children in any given society could not be overlooked.

Today's children will be tomorrow's adults who will fill the ranks of tomorrow's, parents, casual workers, politicians, professionals, administrators, farmers, manufacturers and teachers. As such it was imperative that they be cared for, protected, and be properly socialized into adult roles now [UNICEF, 1990: 27].

2.5 The challenges the Nairobi street children faced

This portion described the challenges the street children on the streets of the City of Nairobi faced. Observations by the researcher indicated that street children faced a number of problems. Street people lacked suitable living quarters. India for instance had many street children and people. The City of Calcutta, particularly had a third of the ten million people living in packed slums, bustees and make shift camps or hovels [Harisson, 1984; Worsley, 1984; Calhoun, et al., 1995: 472]. While in Nairobi the street children slept on shop verandahs, street pavements, dark alleys and dumpsites.

Some third world cities had very high populations that over stretched resources. For example, the City of Mexico had a very high population of street people. The street families and their children were extremely poor. As a result, there were many beggars and the children and women lined the road from the airport to the main city, begging or selling meager handicrafts. In every street corner or Public Park, women sat silently watching their children tug on the elbows of tourists and men hoping for a handout [Calhoun, 1995: 472]. In connection with poverty, street children were known to experience a lot of hunger. They were known to sleep on empty stomachs as the order of the day. That was why some philanthropists like Sisters of Mercy, the Undugu Society who understood the dilemma of these children fed them on the streets at night. The high populations of street people made it eminent that they engage in crimes such as petty thefts pick pocketing, rampant prostitution in cities like Nairobi, Bang Kok, Thailand, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil [Calhoun, 1995: 472; Aptekar, 1994: 196; Makokha, 1989; Bwibo, 1971; Giovannoni and Bilingsley 1970].

The street children were constantly evicted from the streets. In some countries like india street children were badly treated. Bombay had an operation that targeted and arrested street children and took them to indebted solitude [Aptekar, 1996: 196]. In Nairobi, street children were forcibly evicted from the streets by the City Council "Askaris" but they retreated into the alleys where they hid until the heat settled down and then they resurfaced. In Brazil, street children were intentionally run over by cars or gunned down by death squads. Death

squads were normally paid by the businessmen and wealthy people to kill the homeless and the urchins found on the streets. For example, in 1990 alone 1,397 street urchins were violently killed in collusion with street authorities. In Khartoum City, street children were rounded up by the government and sold to farmers [Aptekar, 1994: 196]. It was quite clear that most governments and individuals did not like the presence of street children and this had led to their being violated, mistreated and even murdered for petty crimes and naughty behaviour.

The street families lacked the basic facilities in life such as of privacy and good hygienic conditions in which to raise children properly. Despite this, they were not willing to accept rehabilitation in forfeiture of the few coins they earned in the streets [Kanyuithia, 2004: 15].

Palen, [1992: 179] argued that street children faced social isolation and being endemic among the homeless as most of them had minimal relations with their families and relatives, others were from single parent households. They also tended to abuse drugs. The girls were usually sexually exploited. Palen said that the combination of drug use and unsafe sex practices among street people made the HIV/AIDS infection a major concern since most street women on drugs carried out prostitution as the major source of income. In addition, they also suffered from sexually transmitted and water borne diseases.

In Kenya, between 1984 and 1985 the level of awareness on the problems affecting "children under difficult circumstances" began to rise said Onyango, [1988]. In 1985 UNICEF organized a workshop where the problems affecting children in difficult circumstances were discussed. However, the researcher noted that despite the awareness and level of knowledge that street children existed, not much had been done in Kenya to eradicate street children problem. Mr. Eliud Ngala, the then Chairman of Nairobi City Commission sensed and agreed that the problem of street children was 'serious' and needed to be looked at carefully by individuals and organizations who felt that the dimensions were getting out of control.

2.6 The Magnitude and character of Street Children phenomenon

This section discussed the consequences of street children of the city of Nairobi and the effects their behaviour had on the image of the city and the country in general and how rehabilitation training could contribute to changing the behaviour of such children.

Available literature revealed that street children were an old problem that affected many urban centres in both developed and third world countries [Gichuru, 1993: 1; Grant, et al., 1989: 26; ICIHI Report, 1986: 13]. In Kenya the phenomenon of street children was said to date back to the early 1960's and 1970's when there were only a handful of them on the streets of Nairobi [Wainaina, 1977 and 1981; Dallape, 1989]. In 1969 there were only fifteen street children in Nairobi. Their number, however, went up to 3,000 by 1994 and it was predicted to grow by 10% per annum to 30,000 by the year 2000 [Wainaina, 1977 and 1981; Dallape, 1989; Nyarumbona, 1976: 4; Onyango, et. al. 1991; Munyakho, 1992, Munyakho, 1986: 66, KNA, 1993: 13; Gichohi, 1994]. Studies revealed that major urban centres such as Nakuru, Mombasa, and Kisumu had large populations of street children too [Injendi, 1996; Onyango et. al., 1991; Suda, 1994;]. Other minor centres had not been spared of the street children menace said Injendi [1996]. Of all the centres documented, the City of Nairobi tended to have the largest number of street people and children. The trend of street children in Kenya and in Nairobi in particular was attributed to various factors such as its strategic position geographically, economically and politically. It was also the capital city of Kenya to which many families moved in search of jobs in the various industries.

The following were seen to be the consequences of street children:
Congestion: Street children were found to greatly add to the population of idle people in the streets who congested the streets and pavements and thus hindered the free movement of pedestrians and obstructed businessmen going around their daily businesses.

Lack of skills: The street children lacked basic knowledge, skills and proper attitude for survival and these predisposed them to illegal activities such as begging and coercing for material items from the public and tourists, pick pocketing, picking items from dumpsites. Street children also developed delinquent behaviour by copying the behaviour of other delinquent children on the streets such as stealing and prostitution as a way of earning a living, [Makokha, 1992: 94]. In addition lack of skills was seen as perpetuating the concept of dependency and hence poverty. For instance coercion created a bad image for the city: The street children portrayed a negative image of the country and created fear among tourists regarding their security while in the country.

Drug and substance abuse was rampant among street people in an effort to find meaning and identity in life, dispel squalor, alleviate hunger and even gain a sense of boldness. The lack of knowledge and skills made the street children vulnerable and predisposed towards illegal activities such as abusing drugs. Research showed that substance abuse was not unique to Nairobi only [Palen, 1992: 179; Injendi, 1996: 2]. Thus the Nairobi street children like their counterparts throughout the world were known to abuse drugs [Palen, 1992: 179, Injendi, 1996: 2]. A document from Undugu Society titled, 'rehabilitation process' stated that street children abused drugs in large numbers in an effort to find meaning and identity in life, dispelling their squalor, alleviating hunger [Onyango, et. al. 1994: 214; Gichuru, 1993: 7; Dallape, 1987; 101; Suda, 1994: 30]. The inhalants were assumed to cause cognitive deterioration and personality dysfunction this could not be clearly demonstrated. Drugs also gave street children a false heightened sense of self-esteem and boldness that enabled them to engage in criminal activities Aptekar [1994: 214].

The street children in Kenya like in the rest of the world were viewed by many as a source of state insecurity and instability. They could easily be recruited into guerrilla movements and terrorists groups. They were a vulnerable group that could be easily manipulated politically and used by terrorist gangs and guerrilla movements to destabilize the country from within [Fletcher, 1988: 191 – 195; Injendi, 1996: 15].

The researcher argued that street life was usually difficult and hard life for older people, therefore, it must be very hard for the young children who had neither knowledge nor skills for survival.

2.7 The Reactions of Street Children to the NYS rehabilitation-training programme

Reactions could be explained as the way those being rehabilitated perceived the rehabilitation programme. This study wished to find out the reactions of the youth to the rehabilitation training that they had received in NYS. Many boys in the Bahati rehabilitation centre said they were happy and that they had greatly improved since they were brought to the centre. They were taken to hospital when they fell sick and the government provided them with clothes. The boys were looking forward to being sent to NYS for training. In fact one of the boys wanted to learn either motor vehicle mechanics or driving at NYS. A volunteer at Bahati told IRIN that it was like the street children had been waiting for the NYS training programme [www.tve.org: 1 of 4].

2.8 A Rehabilitation Policy

This section discussed the rehabilitation strategies for people in difficult circumstances. According to Duffee, [1973: 73 – 75] there were three basic strategies that had been used to rehabilitate people throughout the world. These were the milieu, reintegration and reform strategies. These strategies might be used to treat people who suffered mental and psychiatric problems, various trauma, to change criminals, to induct those who wanted to train in the army and even those children who deviated from the norm for example the street children.

2.9 The Role of NYS in rehabilitation street children

This section discussed the role of a rehabilitation centre in imparting knowledge and skills to the youth to empower them to perform various activities in society. It explained further the various methods NYS used to rehabilitate the youth and how effective these methods were in changing/transforming/reforming the behaviour of the street youth. It was established that the street youth learnt various skills and material in NYS.

Basically a rehabilitation centre was known to equip those being rehabilitated with new skills, knowledge and attitudes to enable them cope with the rapid social change in the society [Calhoun, 1995, 121; Preston et. al., 1989: 107 – 108; Makokha, 1992: 125]. From the above rehabilitation has been described by Calhoun as an intensive, insidious and deliberate strategy intended to equip anyone undergoing a rehabilitation programme with new skills to cope with rapid changes in the world [Calhoun, 1995: 121 - 122; Preston et. al. 1989: 107 - 108]. Rehabilitation could be achieved through desocialization and resocialization strategies. Through desocialization the individual unlearned inappropriate behaviour and through resocialization an individual acquired new and appropriate cultural norms, skills, values, roles and self-image that were quite different from the previous ones [Preston, et al. 1989: 111]. NYS used various methods to rehabilitate the youth and these included:

Allocating labour and agricultural skills: Here the youth were allocated some work to do such as cleaning, fetching water, watering plants, clearing utensils. They performed those defined activities in the company of others.

Vocational training: The youth learnt skills such as tailoring, carpentry, wiring and fabrication, among others.

Spiritual teaching: The youth attended spiritual lessons in the religion of their choice to enrich their moral values.

Extra curricular activities: The youth were engaged in a variety of games such as soccer, athletics, choir practice, acrobatics that were aimed at keeping them busy and fit.

Schooling: Some of the youth who wanted to go back to primary school were admitted to attend classes within the institution where they learnt literacy and arithmetic.

2.10 The Rehabilitation Process

This section tried to explain a rehabilitation process. The Webster New Dictionary defines rehabilitation as the process of preparing a disabled or disadvantaged person for employment by vocational counselling or training. It also meant to restore the good name or repute of or reinstate in good repute and/or normal or optimal state of health, constructive activity by medical treatment and physical or psychological therapy.

NYS had admitted a group of 300 street children in April 2003 and another batch of 500 was dispatched there in October 2003. NYS would try to rehabilitate them in accordance with both its vision and mission and those of its parent Ministry - Ministry of Home affairs. Goffman argued that rehabilitation by total institutions had always succeeded and achieved the set objectives. The goal of any total institution was always clear and was often achieved: It transformed the prisoners [Gecas, 1981: 191 – 195]. It was the hope of this research that if rehabilitation was well applied, it could succeed in changing the street children behaviour as was intended.

The MOHA Strategic Plan [2002 - 2005: 12] said that there were 23 rehabilitation centres in the country carrying a capacity of 6,000 children amongst them, mostly teenage boys and girls who were at risk of HIV/AIDS infection. These were mostly children who had been orphaned, neglected and abandoned and others were truants and street children. The rehabilitation of street children was in line with MOHA's core function and strategic objective of rehabilitating social deviants and providing care and protection to disadvantaged children [Strategic plan 2002 - 2005: 8] as a way of addressing issues affecting children living in poverty and difficult circumstances.

However, the researcher noted that these centres had not been very effective given the increasing number of street children who were roaming the streets. There were complaints from children housed in some rehabilitation centres in the city, that such centres lacked basic amenities such as food, qualified staff and good management to guide and educate the youth in various activities rather than just acting as sleeping quarters. Hence, an institution with adequate infrastructure would probably be more ideal for rehabilitation purposes. NYS was likely to live to the task, as it was also an institution that was known to train and prepare the youth for national building and para-military roles. The rehabilitation programme in NYS for the street youth and other destitute children was aimed at helping the youth to discover hidden talents as well as equipping them with the necessary skills that would prepare them for salaried and/or self-employment and for life [Strategic Plan on HIV/AIDS 2002 – 2005].

The rehabilitation process would be through training in various vocations, life and social skills such as communication, human etiquette, counselling, academic education, moral education, co-curricular activities, discipline, learning appropriate norms and values and HIV/AIDS. It was hoped that NYS would provide an enabling environment. It would give the children shelter, food, clothing and various other basic necessities. It hoped that the children would rehabilitate well and be reintegrated into society as responsible citizens as highlighted by the MOHA's Strategic Plan.

The first intake for the reform programme comprised of 300 street youth and this group reported at NYS camp - Gillgil on 26 April 2003 and was warmly received by the Vice President and Minister for Home Affairs, Honourable Moody Awori, EBS, MP under whose Ministry NYS fell. Both the public and the government mooted the rehabilitation programme as one of the most grand and well-meaning projects that was initiated by the NARC government. The second batch comprising of 500 street youth was enlisted in October 2003. The street children were expected to undergo training in different courses at the National Youth Service after which they would be employed or start their own income generating activities [www.tve.org: 2006]. The street children whom National Youth service has given the name-reformed youth would undertake their basic training at National Youth Service - Gilgil.

2.11 The contents of The NYS rehabilitation training programme

This section discussed the contents of the NYS rehabilitation training programme that it offered to the street children to facilitate their change in behaviour. Rehabilitation training involved: orientation, marching drills, counselling and HIV/AIDS education, management of body and environmental hygiene, moral education, schooling, vocational training, teaching of new norms and patterns of behaviour, discipline through the enforcement of rules and regulations, mob control, vocational training and fire fighting among others. This type of training was compatible with that offered in other rehabilitation organizations [Gecas, 1981:191 – 195; An untitled document by Undugu Society; MOHA Strategic Plan on HIV/AIDS 2002 – 2005].

2.12 Theoretical framework

The research topic was explained through three major theories. These were:

(i) Exchange Theory

(ii) Behavioural Theory.

(iii) The Goffman Theory of Symbolic Interaction

2.12.1 The Exchange Theory

In everyday life individuals from time to time gave to and received things from one another. This process of giving and taking was termed as exchange. The exchanges would be composed of tangible items or non-tangible items or both. The tangible items might include money, food, clothing and cards while the non-tangible ones might consist of greetings, appreciative glances, attention and love. For example, the appreciative glances between friends/lovers or even attention like in class where learners listened to the teacher and then carried out instructions given in order to become educated. In a market economy the exchanges would include goods and services offered for sale at a profit.

The proponents of the exchange theory were George C. Homans, Peter Blau, and Scheneider. These social scientists had helped define the social exchange theory. Homans definition of the exchange theory was more elaborate and it encompassed all activity regardless of whether rewards were accepted or not. While Peter Blau's

definition of the exchange theory was limited to reward, cost and profit [Turner, 1991: 310].

The rational action theory and the exchange theory were usually used concurrently. Particularly the rational action theory was embedded in the theory of exchange and behavioural psychology. The two theories borrowed most of their principles from classical economics and behavioural psychology. They were used to explain the fact that individuals chose their actions rationally, thus rationalizing the actions of individuals. The researcher viewed rational action as the actions that people carried out in order to achieve a specific goal by applying the means at their disposal, which they saw as being rational and fit. In that case rational action was meant to bring ends and means into line. For example, a perpetual criminal and robber might decide to stop committing robberies and criminal activities and start a legitimate business. This is a rational action. A professional might decide to go back to college after working for several years in order to improve on his knowledge and skills and enhance chances of promotion at his work place or getting a better paying job elsewhere. Alternatively a group of people might wish to acquire property by borrowing from cooperative societies or banks in order to raise the down payment. A parent might use a cane to discipline and socialize the child in the right way. All these are rational actions and are viewed so by the persons involved. The street children after being inducted into new norms and patterns of behaviour might decide to learn these new norms and patterns of behaviour in order to acquire new skills and patterns of behaviour to help them cope better in life and integrate easily into their societies. To obtain these skills the youth would be exchanging their environment and freedom in the streets for a strictly controlled environment.

Thus the exchange theory could be applied to rehabilitate the street children as it was being done by NYS where it had removed a number of children from the streets and brought them to its rehabilitation centres. The exchange theory made several assumptions. For instance the theory emphasized face-to-face interaction by focusing primarily on the limited and direct exchanges among individuals and recognizing that social structures were created and sustained by the behaviour of individuals. In all this, Homans and Schneider argued, that people behaved the way they did because of anticipated economic gain. The exchange theory thus incorporated the axiomatic and utilitarian/economic concern [Turner, 1991: 310].

The rational choice theory was also based on the principle that people weighed the gains to be made from a particular action against the costs to be incurred, and only when they perceived that the gains out weighed the costs did they adopt the behaviour [Calhoun, 1995: 18]. Homans argued that needs were satisfied by other people and that people rewarded and punished each other. He was saying that human beings constantly gave and took or exchanged rewards and punishments. As human beings interacted and exchanged rewards and punishments, they also rationally calculated the long-term consequences of their actions as in a market place to maximize their material profits in their transactions. Homans agreed with Calhoun that people were always calculating about various alternative lines of action. Individuals perceived or calculated the value of rewards that might be yielded by various actions. But they also tempered this calculation in terms of the perceptions of how probable the receipt of rewards would be [Turner, 1991: 313].

The researcher argued that as per Homans and Schneider, the social structures and behaviour of street children could not be sustained by face-to-face interaction (counselling) alone. This is because the social structures that created and sustained their good behaviour were already impaired and hence made them behave the way they did. Hence through rehabilitation their good social structures and behaviour could be recreated and sustained to enable them become productive in society and eliminate the notion of dependency.

The other principle in the social exchange theory was reciprocity which was viewed as the most basic form of human interaction. The social exchange theorists Blau [1964] and Homans [1974] argued that a wide range of social behaviour were composed of processes of exchange [Calhoun et. al., 1995: 85]. Most forms of social exchange whatever forms they took were usually guided by the principle of reciprocity [Gauldner, 1973]. The purpose of reciprocity was to strengthen the social bond and keep the interaction alive by creating new social obligations. Peter M. Blau argued that mutual reciprocation being the basic form of human interaction, it could be observed everywhere:

> Not only in market relations but also in friendship and even in love (. . .) as well as in many social relations between these

> extremes of intimacy. Neighbours exchanged favours, acquaintances courtesy, children toys, colleagues assistance; politicians concessions, discussants ideas, housewives recipes [Blau, 1964: 88].

In addition, Blau and other social exchange theorists saw reciprocity as partly giving social life order and predictability [Calhoun et. al, 1995: 85]. Following this line the researcher argued that by rehabilitating the street children, such children benefited by becoming better members in the society by using the society's resources well and effectively. At the same time, the society would benefit by eradicating the bad social elements such as robbery, begging, and violence among others. There would be social order and predictability.

A combination of the rational choice theory and operant conditioning helped shape many patterns of social interaction [Calhoun, 1995: 86]. Social exchange theorists focus on how social exchange interaction is guided by the principle of reciprocity. This means that two or more parties each got the equivalent of whatever they gave. For example the Kwakuit Indians of the Pacific were socially integrated through ceremonies called patches, in which guests received gifts from their hosts. The host was paying his guests for the service of witnessing his high social status, and the guests by accepting the gifts, validated that status [Colhaun, 1995: 86]. This might look one sided on the surface but it was not so as both parties were benefiting.

According to Homans and other exchange theorists costs of having the street children on the streets were much higher than the benefits, hence the need for rehabilitation. Thus the rational action theory also stressed the role of individual decisions in shaping social facts [Coleman, 1990]. Individual decisions (social action) were seen to add up, to the benefit of the organization of the whole society [Adam Smith, 1976]. For example, Homans argued and felt that although human needs were much more difficult to ascertain than those of laboratory birds and rats and despite the fact that humans interacted in groupings that defied experimental controls, the principles of operant conditioning could be applied to explain human behaviour in both simple and complex groupings [Turner, 1991:310].

The voluntary individual decisions by the street children to be rehabilitated were more important than if they were coerced to being rehabilitated. This made rehabilitation easier and faster. The government was assured of succeeding since the street youth were willing to be rehabilitated in order to change. Thus the rational action theory incorporated the key concept of functional integration, where society was seen as a self-regulating system, in which many different parts, all acting in their own interest, were meshed together through market forces to form an integrated whole that functioned for the common good.

The rational choice theory studied the individual choices people made, what a rational actor could do given certain interests, abilities and conditions and it compared actual behaviour to cultural patterns and, if they led actors astray by obscuring their true interests or were in accord with what unbiased rational actors would choose.

The rational choice theory also held that human beings everywhere were motivated to obtain pleasure and avoid pain argued Jeremy Bentham. Bentham continued to say that people tried to evaluate different experiences so as to act in ways that maximized pleasure over pain.

The rational action theory, does not explain some apparent emotional behaviours like 'love', which often entailed self-denial in pursuits of someone else's welfare [Emerson, 1976]. Why some close friendships and marriages survived over long periods even when one of the partners was unable or unwilling to reciprocate. However, sociologists turned to psychologists to explain habitual aspects of social interaction through the behavioural perspective. They said that according to the principle of operant conditioning, people tended to repeat behaviour for which they had been repeatedly rewarded in the past and to avoid behaviour for which they had been punished.

The persistence of an unreciprocated relationship is not dependent upon the rational calculation of anticipated gains ratio, it is shaped by past patterns of reinforcement. For example if a couple had a good courtship and a honey moon that continued through their early marriage, they were likely to stay together during periods when

one of them didn't have much time or energy to devote to the other. Old friendships could endure separations, lapses in "good manners," and even occasional quarrels. Past rewards kept those relationships going [Calhoun, 1995: 86]. In addition, the regularly battered and abused woman might remain in an abusive relationship despite the violence probably, due to the financial benefits that she might be getting, the prestige of being married to a socially and economically able person, the children and the time she had invested in the marriage.

2.12.2 The Behavioural Theory

The study focused on the role of the behavioural theory in explaining how behaviour could be changed. The layman usually explained behaviour by distinguishing between good and bad behaviour, helpful and useless behaviour, normal and abnormal and/or strange behaviour, conforming/compliant and deviant and delinquent behaviour. He/she thus would define behaviour according to what was observed of an individual's actions. In this sense then, he/she would define behaviour as all those specific patterns of observable actions, which were either positive or negative. The layman would lay emphasis on upbringing as a major contributing factor to the way an individual behaved. This was easily supported by two verses from the Bible found in the book of Proverbs that advised parents on good parenting habits. The verses said:

> 'Train a child in the way, he should go and when he is old he will not turn away from it.' 'Spare the rod and spoil the child' [Proverbs Chapters, 22: 6 and 13: 24]

The Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary defined behaviour as manners that may be good or bad and there was a wise English saying that stated that 'manners maketh a man.' This definition also concurred with what the proponents of this theory, John Krumboltz, and Carl Thoresen [1966] and Pavlov had to say about behaviour. The behaviourist approach or reinforcement theory was said to be derived from the early work of Pavlov and Watson [Preston, et. al., 1989: 89]. They argued that behaviour was basically composed of observable elements of personality and that the behavioural theorists should be concerned with these observable elements of personality in order to explain behaviour and not mental processes such as memory,

perceptions, attitudes and emotions, which were internal processes which could not be observed and studied scientifically. John Krumboltz, Carl Thoresen [1966] and other theorists defined behaviour as the function of interaction of heredity and the environment. Thus they argued that both the environment and heredity had a role to play in shaping a person's behaviour.

The researcher decided to use the behaviour theory to explain that behaviour was usually acquired both within the culture in which the individual was born into and raised and that behaviour was also taught by schools, churches, peers and copied. The behaviour theory could explain how man learnt what he learnt from society by focusing on organism learning. This was what shaped the behaviour of individuals. The way people behaved depended on how they acquired their responses. People were always responding to something either directly, indirectly, mentally or physically. The behaviour theory incorporated the response-stimuli concepts that helped explain further that an individual was a social self (mask) and could not afford to be a true self. If one were living in society, one ended up doing what others wanted. The street children needed to understand that they could not be different from the rest of society and co-exist well. They needed to behave and do things like the rest of society. In addition the behavioural theory incorporated the concept of reinforcement, which made interaction complete between human beings. The behaviourists have techniques of making people conform. Reinforcement was one of such techniques. Reinforcement was any event that strengthened the probability of a particular response. The response could either be positive or negative. What informed any response was the knowledge one had. For example one could decide to take the child to school because of the long-term advantages education had on an individual and the trickle down effects it could have to the family while another parent might decide it was a waste of money to educate a child. The street children needed to be equipped with knowledge and skills that would enable them make informed choices about their lives.

The behavioural theory uses various mechanisms and social controls to modify, influence, shape and change behaviour by various agents. It has shown that it was possible for bad behaviour to be unlearned and new and good behaviour relearned

through the concerted efforts of the learner, the trainer and the environment. The environment had a lot to do with the kind of behaviour displayed by various individuals as well.

The behaviour theory also incorporated concepts such as learning, rewards and punishments that facilitated and promoted the learning and internalization of cultural norms and suitable behaviour as well as inhibited deviant and unacceptable behaviour.

The street children lacked the necessary knowledge and skills to cope with life normally like other people as a result of being alienated from society. They applied the law of the jungle to survive either because they were not properly socialized as children into the societal norms and standards of behaviour or in the process of staying in the streets they had picked up whatever deviant behaviour and attitudes that they exhibited from other street children. They needed help to recognize that the methods they applied to survive on the streets were totally wrong. Therefore, by putting them in a rehabilitation centre under qualified counselling and training staff they would receive counselling through discussions in which they would participate as individuals or in groups. These counselling sessions were intended to enable them recognize that the life they had been leading was dangerous and their methods of survival were illegitimate and irrational. Counselling would help them to unlearn the old ways of life and equip them with coping skills as well as methods of solving problems. The trainers would teach them knowledge and skills through vocations. These vocations would eventually enable these children to go into business or become employable and integrate easily and earn their living through conventional methods [Western, 1979: 13; Palmer, 1997: 10; Anderson, 1947: 38; Davis, 1947: 139; Glazer, 1990: 19 - 37].

The behaviour theory was excellent in facilitating the learning of habits through social interaction. The tendency for repetitive actions or chores over and over again enabled learners to internalize behaviour, particularly behaviour that was repeatedly rewarded in the past tended to recur while that which had been punished tended to be avoided and was eventually eradicated. The argument here was that as the street children interacted and got exposed to training intended to rehabilitate them, they would repeat

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behaviour that was rewarded and avoid behaviour that was punishable. With time and repetitions, acceptable behaviour would come to them naturally as it did to other normal children.

The behaviourists argued that behaviour could be taught and the learners could learn. This learning was said to be due exclusively to conditioning and reinforcement through the use of rewards and punishments. Conditioning had to do with punishments that ensured undesirable behaviour was avoided and not repeated while rewards and reinforcements encouraged desirable behaviour to be adopted and to be repeated until it was automatic for the individual to perform it. The researcher argued that the observable elements of an individual's behaviour constituted the criterion against which counselling outcomes could be assessed even when counselling was carried out at individual level. Other theorists included Krauss [1965: 77 – 125] who argued that human behaviour/actions were shaped by rewards and punishments - conditioning. He said that human beings responded to external stimuli. Human beings were not actors who created their own behaviour. However, the greatest proponent of the conditioning theory was psychologist B. F. Skinner. B. F. Skinner argued that all human behaviour could be understood as learned responses to environmental events and that behaviour was conditioned.

A basic principle of behaviourism was hedonism. Hedonism is a principle that explained that people sought to derive pleasure (rewards) from their activities and avoided pain or punishment. Thorndike argued that when pleasure stamped in, pain stamped out. Hedonism learning took place, as certain behaviours were associated with reward while others were associated with punishment. The particular pattern of rewards that produced learning was known as reinforcement [Preston, et. al., 1989: 89].

There were criticisms to B. F. Skinner's Theory of conditioning. Those who opposed it said that it could only work in a model society where individual behaviour would be engineered and controlled by the principles of reinforcement. They argued that: conditioning could only produce a nation of robots capable only of serving their

leaders interests. Programming through reinforcement could only lead to totalitarianism.

Secondly, many social scientists argued that rewards and punishments were not sufficient to explain the breadth of what humans could, and do, learn. Therefore, the mind and its internal processes and perceptions were important. Human maturation and active experimentation were the keys to learning [Preston et. al., 1989: 91].

The social theorists also argued that the learning of any behaviour whether appropriate or not was a process and this process was termed as socialization. Socialization was a process that shaped the personality of an individual actor. It was a process through which human beings became social beings. It was a process by which individuals learned the culture of their society [Haralambos, 1983: 12; Davis, 1947: 13; Western, 1979; Glazer, 1990]. These theorists argued that children learned behaviour from other people and the environment through the socialization process. The attitudes, values, norms and rules for behaviour were learnt [Glazer, 1990: 193; Davis, 1947: 139].

The socialization agents included parents/care givers, older siblings, teachers, employers, churches and other cultural surrogates whom the person might come into direct contact with. For instance television effectively teaches people long range. Thus a child would go through primary socialization during which time it learnt many of the basic behaviour patterns of its society. The family bore the responsibility of primary socialization. As the child grew and moved into the wider society, the child went through secondary socialization during which it learnt from a wider range of persons and institutions [Haralambos, 1983: 12]. Thus in both developing and modern industrialized countries, schools and churches played an important part in secondary socialization. The peer group was an important agent of social control. It was composed of members of similar age. Most members of peer groups such as teenage gangs and children playgroups wanted to be accepted in their group so they would conform to peer norms. If they did not, they risked rejection by the group. The behaviour of the workers of Hawthorne Electrical Company in Chicago was a good example of how norms set by a group were applied and their effectiveness in controlling the members' actions/ behaviour [Haralambos 1983: 25].

Religion or belief in some form of supernatural being and its power to assist or harm man was an effective mechanism of social control. It promised rewards such as everlasting bliss to those who followed its teachings and punishments or eternal damnation for those who did not. Religion thus had several values to which people conformed: Religion strengthened and reinforced the values of society. The religious beliefs may also helped maintain the structure of society [Haralambos, 1983: 23].

The mass media, including television, radio, newspapers, comics, books, films, advertising bill boards were another major source of information and ideas that shaped people's attitudes and to some degree directed their behaviour. They were instruments of social control and in particular they supported and reinforced the status quo, the established order in society and opposed any threat to the order [Haralambos 1983: 28].

Parents have been known to be very effective in socializing their children in social norms and cultural values. Upon their immediate family, the parents have had considerable power to direct and influence their children's behaviour. Thus the family became a powerful mechanism of social control. During socialization the children learnt cultural norms and values and as a result were much more likely to conform and commit to their culture and they might experience guilt and remorse when they deviated. In so doing they developed a conscience, which was rather like an inner policeman, preventing or punishing behaviour that deviated from accepted patterns with feelings of remorse and guilt. A child's behaviour would be guided, therefore, by internal, "the voice of conscience."

Haralambos argued that the parents were powerful in developing the conscience of the child. They used a wide variety of techniques for controlling the behaviour of their children. These included use of rewards. They rewarded good behaviour. They also used teasers and threats to discourage certain habits. Children's behaviour could also be shaped by copying/identification when the children imitated or copied their parents. Boys could copy their fathers and girls their mothers. By identifying with their parents, children wanted to be like them. Lessons learnt during early times often

lasted a lifetime [Haralambos 1983: 22]. Haralambos said of children quoting Goodman [1967: 128]:

> "Everyday society is submitted to a terrible invasion:
> Within it a multitude of small barbarians is born.
> They quickly over throw the whole social order and
> institutions of society if they are not well disciplined
> and educated."

Psychologists B. F. Skinner, Thorndike, agreed with Haralambos that people behaved the way they did because of anticipated economic gains. B. F. Skinner argued that all human behaviour could be understood as learnt responses to environmental events and that behaviour was conditioned. The learning process was easy when children were young but as they became older the learning of new habits became a slow and difficulty process. Punishment was one of the most important methods used to extinguish undesired habits and impel the individuals to new behaviour. With time individuals, came to anticipate punishment in new learning situations.

Cognition was important to children and the development of cognitive abilities including a whole range of intellect - the capacity to process information, manipulating symbols, thinking, problem solving, using language, imagining were all major outcomes of socialization [Preston et. al: 1989: 91]. Children played an active role in their development, by actively trying to understand the world and modifying and organizing their experiences. They don't just absorb information. Piaget argued that there were four stages of development. Erickson gives 8 stages, [Preston 1989: 92].

The behaviour theory according to John Krumboltz and other social scientists was true in saying that the behaviour of the street children was the function of interaction of heredity and environment. By putting these children in centres and rehabilitating them, it would mean that they were in a good environment that would change their behaviour.

2.12.3 Symbolic Interaction, Erving Goffman

Symbolic interaction was concerned with how people created or negotiated their self-image. It was a sociological perspective that argued that the way people perceived themselves, and even their ability to recognize and label their emotions was influenced by those around them. Mead argued that symbolic interaction was how people learned from practical action by defining or understanding the situation the way they perceived it. For example a child who was constantly called "bad" by his parents was likely to see himself as bad while a child whose anger made his parents uncomfortable and unhappy might eventually fail to acknowledge even to himself when he was angry. In other words children learnt who they were by looking at themselves in the reflection of other people's eyes [Western, 1996: 688; Turner, 1988: 249; Calhoun, 1995: 22; Merton, 1968].

This discussion was based on symbolic interaction from Erving Goffman's view point [Goffman, 1961]. Goffman argued that society forced people to present certain images about themselves. He said that society forced people to switch back and forth between many complicated roles and somehow made them somewhat untruthful, inconsistent and dishonourable [Ritzer, 1996: 355]. He saw people as actors on stage who were always putting on a performance. He said that people tried to present an idealized picture of themselves while at the same time hiding things that they were engaged in before the performance such as drinking alcohol that were incompatible with their performance. He also said that actors might want to conceal errors that had been made in the preparation for the performance as well as steps that had been taken to correct the errors. He continued to argue that actors might find it necessary to show only end products and to conceal the process involved in producing them. Actors might also find it necessary to conceal dirty work that was involved in the making of the end products. Similarly in giving a certain performance, actors might have to let other standards slide. Finally actors might find it necessary to hide any insults, humiliations or deals made so that the performance could go on [Ritzer, 1996: 354].

Goffman discussed total institutions as being very precise in rehabilitation and they always succeeded. They had a clear goal that was often achieved and that was to transform the individuals. To him the method did not matter. What was important was the end product. He argued that total institutions forced people to abandon their customary freedoms and routines. This permitted the relearning of new norms and patterns of behaviour. The individuals who

entered total institutions were subjected to uniform treatment whether entry was free or forced: For transformation to occur the individual was required to engage in activities that were incompatible with his or her self-concept whether he liked it or not, or whatever the form or source of the indignity heaped upon him/her [Gecas, 1981: 191 – 195; Goffman, 1961:14 – 35]. According to Goffman, the following features made relearning of new norms possible:

All activities such as eating, working and sleeping occurred in the same place and were under the control of the same authority. The inhabitants lived in the same place with the same people who were directing their lives with a small staff managing a large group of people under a strict chain of command. All aspects of daily activities took place in the company of others in the same circumstances. The participants had no privacy and contact with the outside world occurred under conditions set by those in charge. The authorities following a formal routine set the activities. They determined meal times, bed times, type of clothing to wear, what work one did and what recreation one enjoyed. The person might be stripped of personal possessions and be deprived of identity kits and be subjected to physical punishment and humiliations, including beatings and branding and shock therapy among others. Finally the goal of all activities in controlled environments was meant to fulfil the purpose of the organization. [Goffman, 1961: 14 – 35; Glazer and Glazer, 1990: 63 – 65].

The researcher followed the Goffman's view of a total institution as well, because of its applicability to the research topic and the institution in which the study was carried out. Goffman's theory had the ability to ensure that radical shifts in the moral career regarding changes in the beliefs the actor had concerning himself/herself and significant others occurred. This view was also applicable because the street children had gone through hard times and wrong socialization, such that tough but humane strategies needed to be applied in rehabilitating them to enable them to come out of their dilemmas.

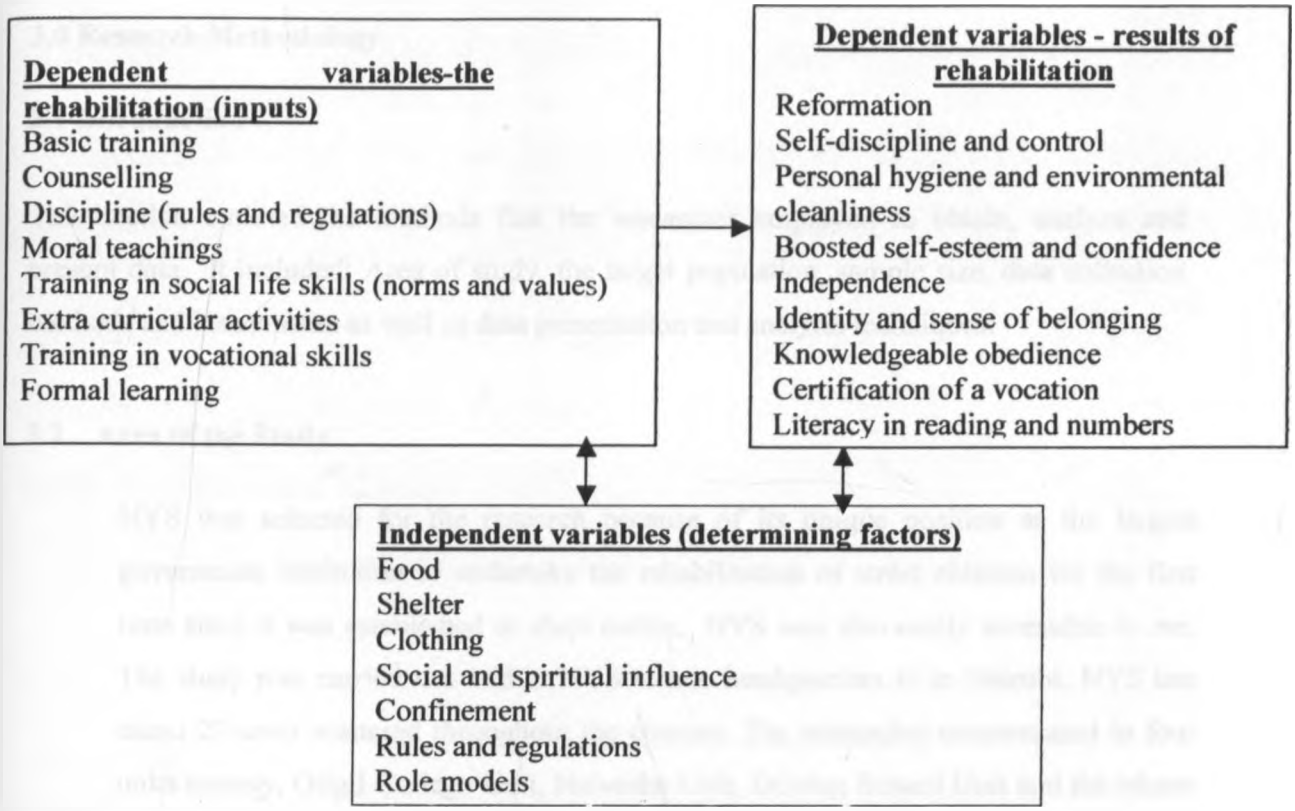
In addition, the researcher adopted the symbolic interaction theory to show that the behaviour and actions of individuals could be shaped through habitual interaction. This interaction has its basis on the type of socialization that a child went through. Social interaction equipped individuals with the ability to think, evaluate, interpret situations and select the appropriate responses. If this ability to reason was, however, impaired or was not properly developed in early childhood, it could result in misunderstanding and unacceptable actions by an individual.

Such behaviour might be decried by society and that could lead one to be alienated hence the need to correct them.

However Goffman's theory had a few shortcomings in that the rehabilitatees' were treated like robots that had no mind of their own. It did not have flexibility and it used a lot of force. There was a saying that one could take a cow to the river to drink water but the cow could refuse to do so. Hence force was likely to promote pretence while achieving little. Those that were being rehabilitated might comply for fear of being punished but out there they could revert to their old selves. Thus discipline was from without rather than from within. In this Goffman differed from other symbolic interactionists who emphasized that individuals had the capacity to think, reason out, interpret and select appropriate behaviour depending on the situation at hand. Thinking was important as it enabled them to define and give individual and shared meanings of objects such as man or mother and abstract objects such as an idea or a moral principle in the environment. For instance a tree would have different meanings to a housewife, a carpenter, gardener, and a lumberman [Ritzer, 1996: 348 - 349]. The researcher also felt that the small number of staff that managed a large group of social misfits could not truly give adequate attention to each individual.

2.13 Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework for the evaluation of the training of the rehabilitation programme of street children was intended to revolve around three major areas namely: the dependent variable (inputs) that were basic to the rehabilitation training, the independent variables that were provided as the other factors that would enhance rehabilitation training and the outcome or expected results.



2.14 Research Hypotheses

H_o There was no significant change in the behaviour of street children resulting from the rehabilitation training programme.

H_1 There was a significant change in behaviour of street children resulting from the rehabilitation training process.

H_o Street children had not acquired any new skills from the rehabilitation process

H_2 Street children had acquired new skills in the process of rehabilitation

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 Research Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This section outlined the methods that the researcher employed to obtain, analyze and present data. It included: Area of study, the target population, sample size, data collection methods and instruments as well as data presentation and analysis techniques.

3.2 Area of the Study

NYS was selected for the research because of its unique position as the largest government institution to undertake the rehabilitation of street children for the first time since it was established at short notice. NYS was also easily accessible to me. The study was carried out within NYS whose headquarters is in Nairobi. NYS has about 20 units scattered throughout the country. The researcher concentrated in four units namely, Gilgil College Unit, Naivasha Unit, Driving School Unit and the Motor Vehicle Transport Unit. This is because NYS sent out the youth to some specific units that were under it but in different locations for rehabilitation. The units listed above happened to contain the largest number of reforming youths learning and training in various apprentice courses. Since the researcher had to interview the youths, a visit to these units where they were rehabilitating was mandatory.

3.3 The Target Population

The basic unit of analysis/observation of the study was the street children who went through the effects of the NYS rehabilitation-training programme. The respondents consisted of the street children and they provided quantitative information regarding the NYS rehabilitation-training programme. Key informants such as the trainers, counsellors, the heads of various departments and the director were also interviewed to provide qualitative data. This was because they understood the challenges facing both National Youth Service as the rehabilitating agency and the street children whom their organization was involved in rehabilitating.

3.4 Sample Size

The researcher employed random sampling to select the sample for the study. 1/3 of the 300 street children in the rehabilitation centres were sampled. This was a representative sample as indicated by Bell [1993]. The researcher distributed 300 pieces of paper randomly to the 300 youths. Out of these, 100 pieces of paper were marked "Yes", while 200 pieces of paper were marked "No". The researcher identified the youths with the Yes mark and made them the respondents of the study. To the 100 youths the researcher administered the questionnaire, observed and interviewed.

3.5. Data Collection Tools and Methods

3.5.1 Data Collection Methods

The following data tools and methods were used to collect the data:

(i) The Questionnaire

A questionnaire is a data collection method that was used to collect quantitative data from the respondents. The researcher used the questionnaire to get primary information from the respondents. The researcher personally administered the questionnaires to the respondents and picked them up as soon they were filled. The researcher filled the questionnaire for those respondents who were unable to write. Both close-ended and open-ended questions were used. Questionnaires were preferred because they were easy to administer and economical to use in terms of money and time given the large sample. They also lent themselves easily to statistical analysis.

(ii) Interview Guide

This is a method of data collection used to collect qualitative data from key informants. The key informants were the trainers, commanding officers and other senior staff with knowledge of rehabilitation. The interviews were prearranged with the key informants. The researcher personally asked the respondents predetermined questions and then recorded down the appropriate responses. However, there were instances when the key informants were left with the interview guide on which they scribbled their responses. Interviews were preferred because they promoted participation and provided for intensive

probing/interrogation of the respondents and this enabled the researcher to obtain both personal detailed information and elicited in-depth feelings of the informants. It also confirmed some of the information captured through questionnaires.

(iii) Observations

This is a method of data collection where the researcher observed the respondents under rehabilitation over a given period of time in order to obtain supplementary/qualitative information. The researcher observed and recorded down the relationships between the youth and their trainers, the interaction among themselves, participation in various activities such as cleaning, class work, extracurricular activities, counselling sessions and the ability to obey instructions among others. Observations were preferred because they provided more realistic information in a natural setting. They were also intended to provide true, relevant, reliable and adequate data. In addition observations were a cheaper instrument of data collection.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 Data Presentation, Analysis and Interpretation

4.1 Introduction

This chapter examined the rehabilitation programme of the street children at NYS in terms of changing their behaviour and equipping them with the right knowledge, skills and attitudes. It then looked at what was the original state of affairs of the street children before joining National Youth service? What were the strategies and methods employed in rehabilitating the street children at the National Youth Service? What was the final product of the rehabilitation process like in terms of procuring a vocational or trade, new identity and change in behaviour, self-sustenance and independence as compared to those street children who had not been through the programme? Was the rehabilitation programme helping the street children? If not, what adjustments ought to be made to it to make it more sustainable?

This chapter has been arranged into sections and subsections to enable the study achieve the intended objectives. The presentation and analysis was in form of tables and prose formation. The use of qualitative information as well as own observations was intended to provide as much insight as possible.

4.2 Household Characteristics

4.2.1 The Age Composition of Street Children

Table 1: Age distribution

Age/ Years	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
11 - 20	4	8.0	8.0	8.0
21 - 30	46	92.0	92.0	100.0
Total	50	100.0	100.0	

The NYS street children were characterized by majority of them being adults of 19 years of age and above, so the perception of street children was misplaced, instead they were street men and women. The adult category constitutes 92% of the street children at the centre.

Street children aged between 11 and 20 years were found to be 8% of the street children in NYS centres. This trend indicated positive growth of the street children in the streets with age.

4.2.2 Street Children and Gender Composition

Table 2: Gender distribution

	Sex	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Boy	43	86.0	86.0	86.0
	Girl	7	14.0	14.0	100.0
	Total	50	100.0	100.0	

The research found out that most of the street children were male. The male street youth constituted 86% while the female street youth constituted 14% of the street children in the NYS centres. The factor attributed to the numbers of males being high than the females in the streets was the fact that some girls got married or got adopted by relatives thus preventing them from going to the streets.

4.2.3 Parents of the Street Children and their Employment Patterns

Table3: Parents occupational Status

Parent	Frequency	Percentage
Mother employed	5	10
Father employed	5	10
Mother and father not employed	40	80
Total	50	100

Based on interviews with street men, women and children the study identified that majority of the parents of the street children were not employed. This was clearly indicated from the research by the fact that 80% of the respondents indicated that both father and mother were not employed while only 10% indicated that both their parents were employed. Spearman's

rank correlation coefficient done indicated that there was a significant relationship between one being prone to street life and parents being unemployed (Rho=0.377).

4.2.4 The family size of the street children and street life

Table 4: Family size

Number of Children in the family	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
1-3	30	60.0	60.0	60.0
4-7	11	22.0	22.0	82.0
8-11	1	2.0	2.0	84.0
Blank	8	16.0	16.0	100.0
Total	50	100.0	100.0	

From the study it came out that most of the street families had 1 to 3 children. The families with 4 to 7 and 8 to 11 were found to be 22% and 2% respectively. The street households' children trends indicated a negative trend of growth of family sizes. The family sizes were relatively small to the point that their parents could provide for them. Therefore large family size was not a factor that pushed them to the streets as it had often been assumed.

4.2.5 The level of education of the street children and street life

Table 5: Educational levels

Class	Frequency	Percentage
1 - 3	2	4
4 - 6	33	66
7 - 8	5	10
Secondary	3	6
No response	7	14
Total	50	100

The study identified that 82% of the respondents were able to read and write and 4% were not able to read and write. (14%) did not respond. The highest level of education was found out to be standards 4 to 6 (66%) followed by standards 7 to 8 (10%). This indicated that majority of street children had attempted school, and therefore were school dropouts. The Spearman's rank correlation coefficient done indicated that there was a significant relationship between low level of education and street life (Rho=0.344 P>0.01).

4.2.6 Rank in Family of Street Youth

Table 6: Position of street men, women and children in the family and vulnerability to street life

Position in the family	Frequency	Percentage
1	29	58
2	4	8
3	9	18
4	0	0
5	0	0
6	1	2
7	0	0
8	0	0
9	1	2
No response	6	12
Total	50	100

The study identified that most of the street children were the first-borns in their families with 58% of the respondents indicating so. This was explained by the fact that most of them had lost their parents and had found the streets the only place where they could find a source of income to support their brothers and sisters who were not able to earn a living by themselves. Therefore it was clear that first borns were the most vulnerable to street life and this could be accounted for by the fact that they fended for themselves and their siblings.

4.2.7 Language

The study revealed that majority of the street children were multi-lingual. They spoke at least two or more languages. They spoke some English, Kiswahili and mother tongue while those able to speak Kiswahili and mother tongue only were a minority. The mother tongue languages that were predominant were Kikuyu, Dholuo, Kikamba and Luhya. The street men, women and children spoke mother tongue for ease of identity because being a street child/man/woman did not obscure their ethnic identity – just like it was the case among all urban dwellers. But curiously they were able and frequently spoke each other's mother tongues with ease. They most probably did this not only to get along with everybody else but also as a survival strategy.

4.2.8 Factors Influencing Children to go to the Streets

Table 7: Pushing factors

Pushing factors	Yes/No	Frequency	Percentage
Lack of food	No	9	18
	Yes	41	82
Lack of clothing	No	40	80
	Yes	10	20
Bad company	No	10	20
	Yes	40	80
Mistreatment at home	No	10	20
	Yes	40	80
Lack parental care	No	41	82
	Yes	9	18
Lack of fees	No	44	88
	Yes	6	12
Death of parent	No	49	98
	Yes	1	2
Begging	No	47	94
	Yes	3	6
Garbage collection	No	8	16
	Yes	42	84
Drug peddling	No	43	86
	Yes	7	14
Glue sniffing	No	44	88
	Yes	6	12
Pick pocketing	No	39	78
	Yes	11	22

From the study the following were found to have strong influence on making children lead street life: lack of food (80%), bad company (80%), mistreatment at home (80%), and garbage collection (84%). It came out from spearman's correlation coefficient that there was a significant relationship between mistreatment at home and one becoming a street child (Rho=-0.37 p=0.05) and bad company (Rho= 0.519 p= 0.05). The other reasons strongly showed negative responses as indicated by the table above. It was clear that the most alluring factors included food insecurity, inappropriate company, garbage collection, and mistreatment in the family. Therefore any intervention measures needed to target these concerns in future.

4.2.9 Mode of commuting

The study also found out that majority of the street children walked to the town centre from the slum areas where they lived. They came from Kibera, Dagoretti, Mukuru wa Kayaba, Mathare and Kangemi among others but 25 % of the respondents did not clearly indicate their mode of travelling to the town centre. From the study it also came out that most of the street children knew their families and where they lived. They frequently communicated with family members and were kept posted about family events. About 30% of them wanted to unite with their family members after completion of the course. However, 14% indicated that they wished to know where their parents lived since they had no clue.

4.2.10 The main activities undertaken by street children on the streets

Table 8: Activities street children perform on the streets

Activities street children are involved with in the streets	Yes/No	Frequency	Percentage
Snatching	No	42	84
	Yes	8	16
Begging	No	8	16
	Yes	42	84
Picking from dustbins	No	10	20
	Yes	40	80

When asked about the main activities they carried out in the streets, they indicated the following as shown in the table above: They were involved in begging, picking from dustbins and snatching as was indicated by 84%, 80% and 16% respectively. Therefore it was clearly observed that street children engaged in criminal and unlawful means of survival. Stealing, begging and scavenging for food from dustbins being common. It was also highly likely that most of them engaged in all of the above.

4.2.11 The Challenges faced by street children in the streets

Table 9: Challenges

The street children also noted that street life was not good. They noted a number of challenges they faced on the streets. Lack of food, clothing, shelter, mob justice, harassment by city council "askaris" and lack of medical treatment were identified as the most critical challenges of street life. These findings corroborate the earlier findings that many street children were engaged in criminal ways for survival, that was why they found mob justice as a challenge because in Kenya it was mainly theft suspects who were victims of mob justice.

4.2.12 Experiences of Street Children in NYS

Table 10: Experiences

Experiences in NYS	Yes/No	Frequency	Percentage
Availability of food	No	4	8
	Yes	46	92
Behaviour Change	No	6	12
	Yes	44	88
Training	No	5	10
	Yes	45	90
Availability of clothing	No	45	90
	Yes	5	10
Prospect of employment	No	9	18
	Yes	41	82
Availability of capital	No	9	18
	Yes	41	82
Job experience	No	6	12
	Yes	44	88

The street children in the rehabilitation centres in NYS were found to like being in the centres. They noted that at the NYS centres food was available (92%), and they were also being trained (90%). They did not consider clothing important. This was indicated by 90% of the respondents. The study showed that the expectations of the street children when in NYS included behavioural change and training as indicated by 88% and 90% respectively. They cited other factors such as after the training they expected to have employment (82%), while (82%) wanted to get capital to start own businesses and 88% hoped to gain experience on businesses and jobs. They visualised that if their expectations were met they could be able to earn a living thus making them live like the other people in society.

4.2.13 The activities street children were involved in NYS

Table 11

Activities street children are involved in NYS	Yes/No	Frequency	Percentage
Basic training	No	4	8
	Yes	46	92
Sporting	No	4	8
	Yes	46	92
Fire fighting techniques	No	6	12
	Yes	44	88
Crowd control	No	8	16
	Yes	42	84
Tailoring	No	6	12
	Yes	44	88

The study identified that the street Children in NYS were involved in basic training (92%), sporting (92%), and crowd control (84%), fire fighting techniques (88%) and tailoring (88%), matching drills, environmental cleanliness, body hygiene, obedience to rules and regulations and counselling sessions. They were also involved in various games such as running, football, netball, volleyball and band playing etc. The youth were also posted to various venues to control crowds during special occasions such as Madaraka Day, Kenyatta day and wherever meetings consisting of large crowds were held including show grounds. They were

further trained in fire fighting techniques and rescue operations. Finally they were offered training in technical skills such mechanics, fabrication, masonry, carpentry and tailoring. Therefore, street children were trainable and could become self-sustaining if they were exposed to training and other day today activities.

4.2.14 Street children perception of the NYS rehabilitation training programme

The study indicated that the majority of the street children were very interested in getting employment upon completion of their courses in NYS. Alternatively if no employment was forth coming they wished to be provided with capital to enable them start their own businesses and employ themselves and others. They hoped they would be able to put into practice the skills, knowledge and the experiences that they had gained in NYS. Finally they hoped to settle down within their communities and be able to earn a living and live comfortably like everybody else.

4.2.15 The street children perception of completion of training

Table 12

Perceptions/Fears on completion of training	Yes/No	Frequency	Percentage
Lack of Capital	No	17	34
	Yes	33	66
Being homeless	No	12	24
	Yes	38	76
Rejection by society	No	8	16
	Yes	42	84
Lack of food	No	10	20
	Yes	40	80
Lack of clothing	No	9	18
	Yes	41	82
Lack of employment	No	06	12
	Yes	44	88

The street children raised a number of fears that they were likely to encounter when they discharged from the NYS centres. Rejection from the society and the stigma associated with

street life was ranked first (84%). Even though and in spite of the training and rehabilitation, the prospect of lack of clothing and food was clearly shown to await them as indicated by 82% and 80% respectively, followed by being homeless and lack of appropriate shelter (76%) and finally lack of Capital (66%). They feared they might lack capital to put their training into beneficial use to society and self.

Even though most of them indicated that they did not wish to go back to the streets because life there was very difficult, they intended to utilize the skills they had gained at the NYS to earn a living. They argued that their behaviour had changed and they were reformed persons and able to behave responsibly. They also showed willingness to advise other children on the streets to join NYS and avoid dangerous living.

4.2.16 Hard cores

Majority of the street children were unrehabilitable due to excessive addiction to drugs, hence could not follow laid down regulations by NYS. Some had already become permanent thieves and they ended up in police cells for stealing and fighting either among themselves or with the public.

4.2.17 Educational background

The street children possessed low academic standards that restricted the type of training, which they could be offered. Hence they undertook courses, which could not guarantee them immediate employment. Some of these courses were dressmaking and tailoring for girls, plant mechanics, fabrication, carpentry, masonry, wielding for men.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 Conclusion, recommendations and suggestions for further research

5.1 Conclusions

The NYS rehabilitation programme of street children succeeded in managing to transform the street children from low self-esteemed and dependent individuals to youths who were self-confident, clean, and hard working people who looked forward to sustaining themselves and others. NYS was able to inculcate in the youth social and moral values as well as a sense of responsibility in dissuading the children from engaging in criminal and anti social behaviour, equipping them with both social life skills, vocational skills and making them integrable into society. The youth felt that the counselling and vocational training they had received in NYS had equipped them with knowledge, skills and even changed their attitudes and outlook towards life. They hoped to put these knowledge and skills into use. They looked forward to either salaried employment or self-employment. They treaded going back into the streets and showed great fear of lack of food, shelter and clothing after discharging from NYS.

The study found out that the street children rehabilitation program was a viable programme which if well handled, programmed and implemented would remove the children from the streets but it needed the collaboration of the government, the NGO's, the community and the civil society. This was because rehabilitation programmes were usually expensive in terms of financial, machines and equipment and human resources. Communities and society in general should be empowered to curb the street children menace by encouraging parents to take care of their children through mounting "barazas" and poverty reduction programmes

5.2 Recommendations

To improve the street children rehabilitation programme the following proposals needed to be implemented:

1. There was need for a strategic city wide and countrywide program that was well researched and could be replicated on how to manage street children in the rehabilitation centres. There was need of planning properly by the government any programme before implementation, if good results had to be achieved.

2. Many problems associated with assisting the street children related to problems of resolving support and coordination. Therefore it was recommended that the international community provide financial support for local projects that were designed to support street children.

3. NYS needed to assist the government in the formulation of policies aimed at supporting street children, given the information they had acquired from the pilot programme.

4. The rehabilitation centres needed to encourage active collaboration from the public and other existing institutions offering rehabilitation service to provide support similar to that provided by NYS for instance counselling and guidance information services to the street children in NYS centres.

5. Through government support the rehabilitation centres needed to coordinate and network with allied systems like police, civil society, NGOs and corporate organizations in looking for lasting solutions of rehabilitating street children. The government could device programs that could prevent the children from going to the streets in the first place and engaging in activities such us beggary.

6. Research into livelihoods to enable a better understanding of problems facing street children and their families, which led them to the streets. Poverty was a major root cause but other causes needed to be addressed too, (Livelihoods and household food economy work in Kinshasa and Dar-es-Salaam). The Government could address adequately the social and economic hardships that led children to the streets and provide interventions.

5.3 Suggestions of areas for further research

1. Research into livelihoods to enable a better understanding of problems facing street children and their families. Although poverty was a major root cause other contributing causes needed to be addressed too.

2. Information collection and collaboration on poor urban youth needed to be improved and new research conducted with the active participation of the children being a necessary requirement.

3. Research further into the NYS rehabilitation-training programme on the street youth.

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