

National Responses to a Global Issue

Stakeholder Perceptions and Strategies in Combating Human Trafficking in Kenya

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Abstract

This thesis examines the connection between stakeholder perceptions and strategies within the field of counter-trafficking efforts in Kenya. As a global phenomenon, human trafficking is a widespread issue in virtually every country with its roots deeply embedded in society. This study investigates the role of stakeholders in Kenya by analyzing what elements are perceived as driving Kenyan vulnerability towards human trafficking operations, how these intersect with stakeholder strategies, and what stakeholders perceive as being the issues and gaps within the current state of stakeholder strategies. This examination is based on a total of eight datasets; six semi-structured interviews were conducted with stakeholders located in Kenya who all currently have or have had professional experience within the field of counter-trafficking efforts; one research report affiliated with the Kenyan government; and one action plan and strategic framework of the Kenyan government's Ministry of Labour, Social Security and Services. These datasets were processed and analyzed through an iterative process of method triangulation of open coding and thematic content analysis allowed for the thematic categorization of interview data as well as document content. With the focus being on stakeholder perceptions and -strategies an abductive method of reasoning was applied to offer contextualized and theory-informed results through the use of triangulation of datasets and to a limited extent, secondary literature. Due to the formulation of interview questions, the data does not provide insight into whether strategies are successful in their implementation, but rather detailed descriptions of which strategies are implemented. Thus, this thesis does not concern itself how impactful stakeholder strategies are on beneficiaries, but rather if said strategies intersect with drivers of human trafficking. Specifically, a discrepancy was found in the intersecting nature of how and where stakeholders implement strategies to address drivers in the social environment of an individual. Furthermore, this thesis also found that both issues and future strategies of counter-trafficking focused majorly on stakeholder aspects, specifically the Kenyan government's function as well as the overall conditions of Kenyan society. Overall, this thesis contributes to existing scholarly research on drivers of human trafficking in Kenya but is unique in its inclusion of stakeholder perceptions on the matter, thereby contributing new knowledge to the field of research. This thesis recommends research to be conducted on stakeholders' pivotal role within counter-trafficking efforts as well as the stakeholder distinction that emerged concerning drivers and issues as this may have important repercussions for stakeholder strategies.

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List of Abbreviations

CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CHTEA	Counter Human Trafficking Trust-East Africa
COHF	Candle of Hope Foundation, Kenya
CTPA	Counter-Trafficking in Persons Act
CSOs	Civil Society Organizations
GOCI	Global Organized Crime Index
HAART	Awareness Against Human Trafficking
IOM	International Organization for Migration
Kenya	Republic of Kenya
MOLSSS	Kenya Ministry of Labour, Social Security and Services
NATF	National Assistance Trust Fund
National Plan of Action	The National Plan of Action for Combating Human Trafficking: Strategic Framework 2013 – 2017
NCRC	Kenya National Crime Research Centre
NGO	Non-governmental organization
NPO	Non-profit organization
NRM	National Referral Mechanism
Palermo Protocol	Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime
Thesis	Master's thesis
UN	United Nations
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
UNTOC	United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime

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1 Introduction

In the 21st century, the term ‘human trafficking’ has also come to be referred to as ‘modern day slavery’, and while the trafficking of people and slavery are not interchangeable concepts, the practice of human trafficking can indeed trace its origin back to the widespread practices of slavery. Between the 16th and 19th century, commonly referred to as the period of Transatlantic Slave Trade, African individuals were transported across the Atlantic Ocean to North- and South America for the economic incentive of engaging said individuals in exploitative labor practices (Lewis, 2024). It is estimated that a total of around 10 to 12 million African individuals were engaged in slavery during the Transatlantic Slave Trade period, bearing witness of a global organized network of enslavement which profited off of people’s labor (ibid). Despite slave trade being illegal since the end of the 19th century, the transportation and selling of people has continued and evolved on a global scale throughout the 20th and 21st century.

As with many other types of organized crime, human trafficking has been a global and complex practice for many years, which has led to varying definitions, with a widely used definition being set forth by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC). The United Nations (UN), defines human trafficking as,

“the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation”. (UNODC, n.d-a)

In essence, human trafficking is regarded by the UN as the involuntary movement of people with the intent of using said people for economic gain or exploitation. Moreover, human trafficking is defined by UNODC as consisting of practices such as child labor (herein military service or other types of labor), forced marriage, -labor, and -begging, organ removal, and sexual exploitation (UNODC, n.d-b).

The global phenomenon has left virtually no country in the world unaffected by its practices with the African continent experiencing especially high rates of human trafficking operations (Fitzgibbon, 2003, p. 82). To better track the development and occurrence of organized

crime practices, such as human trafficking, the Global Organized Crime Index (GOCI) project was created by the Global Initiative Against Transnational Organized Crime in 2019 (GOCI, n.d-a). It is through the GOCI, that Africa was found to have the second highest rates of human trafficking worldwide in 2023, while simultaneously showcasing an increase in trafficking practices since 2021 (GOCI, n.d-b). Within Africa, the East African region records significantly higher rates of human trafficking, leading to a GOCI score of 7.78 (out of 10), compared to the four other African regions (i.e., Central, North-, Southern-, and West Africa) and by extension therefore also the African average of 6.06 (GOCI, n.d-c). Within East Africa, the Republic of Kenya (Kenya) ranks as the East African country with the third highest GOCI score, 8.00, thereby exceeding the regional- and continent average (GOCI, n.d-e), with government corruption being established by GOCI as the main driver of human trafficking in Kenya.

With its geographical location by the Indian Ocean, Kenya has experienced high rates of organized crime throughout the years, especially in connection to the migrant crisis, wherein the coast of Kenya became an international hub for drug trafficking and -trade, as a more accessible entry point into the European drug market (FRANCE 24 English, 2019). It is, however, not only within the area of drug trafficking and -trade that Kenya has gained attention. According to the International Organization for Migration (IOM), Kenya has become a “source, transit and destination country” (IOM, 2018, p. 11) when it comes to both forced labor and sex trafficking, both of which are practices within the scope of human trafficking (ibid). Human trafficking occurs both as an internal and cross-border practice in Kenya, meaning that Kenyan individuals are trafficked internally, i.e., within Kenya’s geographical borders, as well as internationally, i.e., to outside of Kenya’s geographical borders. According to the IOM, the types of human trafficking Kenyan individuals are engaged in depends on whether they are being trafficked internally or cross-border, wherein internal trafficking primarily consists of sexual exploitation and forced labor, while cross-border trafficking also includes domestic servitude (ibid).

In terms of human trafficking operations’ reach, it is majorly women and children who are emphasized as being exploited in the context of sex trafficking and it is estimated that there were “between 35,000 and 40,000 victims of sex trafficking, including child sex tourism, in Kenya” (U.S. Department of State, 2023) in 2020, whereof 19,000 of said victims were found to be children (ibid). Said practice of trafficking is often found to be facilitated by either family members or through online recruitment (ibid). Furthermore, the most prevalent types of human trafficking that

occur in Kenya have been identified as labor trafficking, sexual trafficking, and child trafficking (ibid). While the strategies employed to target and entice individuals into what ultimately reveals itself as being human trafficking are diverse, the global phenomenon has many drivers in Kenya, one being the desire to earn money, as people are lured in by attractive business opportunities abroad, where they upon arrival are dispossessed of their passports and exploited (BBC News Africa, 2019). Similar to other international issues and human rights violations, the issue of human trafficking and the consequent problematics it brings on an individual, as well as a societal, level has led to several combative efforts both on a national level and in the international milieu.

Efforts to combat human trafficking are not few and far between, rather a defining effort is made by the UN, who has addressed the issue of organized crime as well as human trafficking on an international level through different legally binding policies. With the *Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime* (Palermo Protocol) as an Annex to the *United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime* (UNTOC), a legal framework was created in 2000 wherein ratifying states committed to the cause of preventing and combating human trafficking (UNODC, 2004). The Palermo Protocol has through its ratification created the foundation for many countries' own legal frameworks concerning human trafficking thus solidifying its presence as an international legally binding document. Within Kenyan legislation, the Palermo Protocol also left its mark, leading to the adoption of the *Prevention of Organised Crimes Act* (Kenya Law, 2010b) as well as the *Counter-Trafficking in Persons Act* (CTPA) in 2010 (Kenya Law, 2010a).

Besides the Kenyan government's legislative attempts to combat human trafficking, societal engagement within the field of counter-trafficking efforts has also emerged in Kenya, especially throughout the 21st century. In Kenya, societal engagement is often seen through civil society organizations (CSOs), which includes a plethora of associations, groups, and organizations that all are guided by the same type of aim - to promote a cultural, economic, political, or social issue (Kenny, 2024). Thus, a number of different organizations have been founded throughout the 21st century with the aim of promoting the issue of counter-trafficking efforts in Kenya. Within the definition of CSOs, organizational types such as non-profit organizations (NPOs), non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and grassroots organizations can be found.

NPOs are defined as organizations that do not distribute potential profit between stakeholders, but rather it is retained within the organization to further their work with the beneficiaries and outreach-community (Cornell Law School, n.d.). Furthermore, the term NPO includes a wide array of organizations that operate, in one way or another, to benefit the public, be that through awareness-creation, advocacy, community outreach or other types of community-centered initiatives (Irwin, 2024). Similarly, NGOs are defined as organizations that are driven by a mission of either advocacy or service while operating independently of the government (Harvard Law School, n.d.). However, Kofi Annan, a former UN-Secretary General, stated that the functions of NGOs have evolved, and it is not uncommon for NGOs to act “as advisors to national governments, international agencies and the UN,” (ibid) thus providing topical expertise. It is important to understand that while NGOs can fall under the category of an NPO, there do exist NGOs that yield profits from their work (Irwin, 2024). Lastly, grassroot organizations are typically defined as organizations that operate on a local level utilizing bottom-up approaches to address issues on a community-level (Bettencourt, n.d.). Due to the organizations’ immediacy to the issues they wish to address, they are often able to identify problems and propose solutions that the local community resonates with thereby gaining momentum quickly in said community (Bettencourt, n.d.). Overall, the societal engagement in Kenya concerning counter-trafficking efforts is grounded in different stakeholder efforts that seek to prevent, address, and generally combat human trafficking as a practice and its consequences for the Kenyan population.

Thus far, stakeholder efforts have, however, not meant an eradication of the harmful practices by the “uncivil society” (UNODC, 2004, p. iii), i.e., people and groups involved in criminal activity that counteract the positive impacts of civil society, both on a national and international level. Thus, posing an interesting set of questions: Why can the international society not fully eradicate human trafficking? Who or what is responsible for solving a complex and deeply rooted global phenomenon? And is that even possible? Even though these questions are seemingly impossible to offer a definitive answer to, especially within the scope and size of this particular thesis, it does not make them any less important. While this thesis is not directly concerned with these rather impossible, almost philosophical questions, it does indeed place itself within their realm. To further research that may ultimately support the answering of questions such as, why human trafficking is not fully eradicated yet, I will examine what stakeholders perceive as being the drivers of Kenyan vulnerability in relation to human trafficking and what strategies they

have implemented to combat human trafficking in Kenya in the best way they see fit. To guide this study, I will ground my research in the following research question:

What drivers contribute to Kenyan vulnerability to human trafficking, do counter-trafficking strategies intersect with said drivers, and which issues arise within these stakeholder strategies?

To support a coherent and detailed answering of this research question, the thesis is organized into six main chapters, namely a literature review, theoretical framework, methodological framework, an analysis, discussion, and lastly, an overall conclusion. The first chapter, the literature review, will explore the definitional challenges of human trafficking, the phenomenon in an African and thereafter Kenyan perspective, and lastly the counter-trafficking efforts that have been made. In the second chapter, the theoretical framework will present Urie Bronfenbrenner's Bioecological Systems Theory, while also contextualizing it in relation to this thesis. The third chapter will delve into the methodological framework, wherein methodological choices and -standpoints that have inevitably impacted the formulation and preparation of the thesis will be presented and explained. Special emphasis and focus will be placed on the research design and the data collection and -analysis. The fourth chapter will consist of the analysis of the datasets wherein both the primary and secondary datasets will play a pivotal role in the formulation of argumentation. After concluding the analysis, the fifth chapter will discuss both the findings, methods, and recommendations that spring from my research. Ultimately, the sixth chapter will conclude on the thesis with focus on major analytical findings and important points of reflection.

2 Literature Review

The following literature review presents scholarly material within the field of human trafficking to provide a common foundation and understanding of the complex nature of a global phenomenon in a regional and national context. Throughout the literature review emphasis will be placed on different areas of research that have been deemed as important for the reader, in terms of creating a collective point of departure for this thesis and has, thus, be sectioned into four sections. The first section aims to provide a conceptual overview of the phenomenon of human trafficking, the second section dives into the drivers of human trafficking in Africa, the third section in turn focuses

on research conducted specifically in Kenya, and lastly, the fourth section will review research on counter-trafficking efforts in Africa.

2.1 The Definitional Challenges of Human Trafficking

In the 21st century, several researchers have stated that the challenge of examining human trafficking lies in the lack of a universally agreed upon definition of what the phenomenon includes and how it can be measured (McCarthy, 2014; Weitzer, 2014; Jones et al., 2007). Lauren A. McCarthy (2014) explained that human trafficking affects debates in areas such as border governance, transnational organized crime, women's- and human rights, health, and economics and is thus seen as a complex issue that manifests itself differently in different environments (pp. 222-223). Although many countries have signed the Palermo Protocol from 2000 and have included its definition of human trafficking, or elements of it, into their own national legislation, many countries have expanded the definition to include specific practices in defining what constitutes human trafficking (ibid). For example, the United States of America also included the inclusion of persons under 18 in commercial sex as human trafficking and Qatar and Israel have made it illegal to traffic people for the purpose of, respectively, pornography and surrogacy (ibid). These differing definitions have led to incomparable statistics when countries compare cases of trafficking thus also resulting in a significant number of individuals be classified as e.g., illegal immigrants instead of victims of human trafficking (ibid). Furthermore, Loring Jones, David W. Engstrom, Tricia Hilliard, & Mariel Diaz (2007, p. 110), McCarthy (2014, pp. 224-225), and Ronald Weitzer (2014, p. 8) emphasized how these differentiating and often broad definitions tend to blur the lines between human trafficking and smuggling, two practices that already share many similarities, thus creating the potential for implications on a social- and political level.

Interestingly, contrasting viewpoints emerged regarding methodological approaches for studying human trafficking. While Weitzer (2014, p. 21) advocated for localized research to identify high-risk areas of trafficking, the prosecution of perpetrators, and how to assist victims properly, Jones et al. (2007, p. 119) argued that a global perspective within social work is crucial as purely local and national perspectives are not able to reflect the complexity and reach of the global phenomenon. Although a consensus can be found in the research of Ella Cockbain & Kate Bowers (2019), McCarthy (2014), and Weitzer (2014), who all claimed that data-driven research

of human trafficking is the most suitable approach to ultimately create effective public policies, the method to collect said data invited contrasting viewpoints.

Within the definitional challenge of human trafficking, a general consensus can also be found in scholarly research about the harmful effects of the debate on human trafficking having been focused primarily on sexual exploitation also known as sex trafficking (Cockbain & Bowers, 2019, p. 10; McCarthy, 2014, p. 222; Weitzer, 2014, p. 7). Albeit conducted on the case of human trafficking in the United Kingdom, Cockbain & Bower's (2019) research found that the Palermo Protocol's emphasis on women and children has, due to its ratifying nature, been carried over into many countries' national legislation and has also been utilized within scholarly research (p. 10). This has resulted in a "historic tendency to conflate human trafficking with sex trafficking," thereby excluding trafficking types such as labor exploitation and domestic servitude from the debate on human trafficking (Cockbain & Bowers, 2019, p. 10). Cockbain & Bowers (2019, p. 12) furthermore suggested a shift towards acknowledging human trafficking as a phenomenon that has also penetrated the labor market—a shift they illustrated through the UN's Sustainable Development Goals from 2015 wherein human trafficking is explicitly mentioned in the goal of 'Decent Work and Economic Growth'. McCarthy (2014, p. 222) and Weitzer's (2014, p. 7) observations emphasize a predominant focus on sexual exploitation within the discourse on human trafficking. Despite growing recognition in the scholarly community, McCarthy (2014, p. 222) and Weitzer (2014, p. 7) supported the claim that research concerning labor trafficking remains limited, highlighting the need for further research to further understanding, and acknowledgement, of the occurrence of labor trafficking.

McCarthy (2014) observed that the debate on human trafficking has led to young women within the practice of sex trafficking being the face of human trafficking thereby overlooking the presence of men and boys in trafficking as well as the practice of internal trafficking (p. 227). Similarly, Cockbain & Bowers' (2019) research found that a lot of the approaches to combat and ultimately eradicate human trafficking have been developed to address the issue of sexual exploitation of women and girls thereby not making them suitable for the one-size-fits-all approach that is currently being utilized (p. 27).

In summation, scholarly research on how to define and perceive human trafficking does not amount to a consensus concerning one universal definition of the phenomenon. Furthermore, the research reflects the tendency for both scholars and the public, to equate human trafficking

with sexual exploitation, thereby leading to a skewed perception of what human trafficking is and which individuals are affected by it.

2.2 The Drivers of Human Trafficking in Africa

In the scholarly literature on human trafficking within the African continent, debate and contrasting viewpoints can be found in the determination of factors influencing the continuous occurrence of human trafficking practices. Kathleen Fitzgibbon (2003, p. 82) initially states that African countries are involved in all stages of the human trafficking process, i.e., the countries serve as destination, transit, and origin countries. Reflecting the African continent's involvement in all stages of human trafficking, the debate in determining factors influencing the phenomenon itself is thus often constructed around so-called push-pull factors (Fitzgibbon, 2003; Onuoha; 2011) or endogenous-exogenous forces (Njoh & Ayuk-Etang, 2012). These essentially all represent the elements, which are referred to in this thesis as drivers, that make African individuals vulnerable to being trafficked and that create desire within said individuals to seek fulfillment e.g., through migration.

In their research, Ambe J. Njoh & Elizabeth N.M. Ayuk-Etang (2012) found that while both exogenous and endogenous forces drive human trafficking in Africa, the exogenous forces were the main drivers (p. 34). They posited that the traditionally emphasized endogenous forces of impoverishment, civil war and violence, child labor, the importance of kinship in African culture, and the enduring impact of the Transatlantic Slave Trade and colonial rule are not the sole forces of human trafficking (Njoh & Ayuk-Etang, 2012, pp. 37-39). Rather, they emphasized exogenous factors such as globalization that ultimately has created a demand-driven global market wherein commercial sex and cheap labor is high sought-after (Njoh & Ayuk-Etang, 2012, p. 39). Njoh & Ayuk (2012) pointed out that these characteristics of globalization were already imbedded in the colonial era, as the economic development of colonial powers ingrained the practice of migrant labor and by extension forced labor, in the plantation-, infrastructure-, and transportation projects (p. 40). In East Africa, this was evident when individuals were moved from Burundi, Rwanda, and Uganda to Kenya and Tanzania, a trend seen throughout Africa where inland countries sent labor to coastal countries, a geographical practice which still remains today (Njoh & Ayuk-Etang, 2012, pp. 40-41). A central finding of Njoh and Ayuk-Etang's (2012) research is

that when exogenous forces increase, the efforts to combat human trafficking decrease due to the external forces' concomitant capitalist interest in maximizing profits through cheap labor (p. 42).

A contrasting perspective emerged in the research of Browne Onuoha (2011) wherein he stated that the interconnected phenomena of globalization, the international economy, and demands for cheap labor are all second-order pull factors (p. 150). Instead Onuoha (2011) attributed the widespread practice of human trafficking to mainly be due to the push factors of "welfare rights [and] the basic human needs," as African governments were found not be in a favorable position of meeting these rights and needs (p. 155). Furthermore, Onuoha (2011) paid great attention to the high level of corruption in African governments and claimed that when corruption by political leaders removes money from development projects and gives it to private actors, then human trafficking inevitably gets a foundation to become increasingly cemented into African societies (p. 159-60). While not focusing on which forces were the primary drivers of human trafficking, Fitzgibbon (2003) too attributed the presence of corruption as being detrimental within the context of human trafficking, as corruption within law enforcement and government officials facilitates traffickers' ability to continue their operations (p. 88).

To summarize, the presented scholarly research on what this thesis refers to as drivers of human trafficking displays the overall contradicting viewpoints on whether human trafficking is grounded in internal or external factors. Furthermore, this section also presented the presence of elements such as historical events, globalization, human rights, and corruption in the discussing of what fuels human trafficking.

2.3 The Debate on Human Trafficking in Kenya

Similar to research on human trafficking in the African continent overall, much research on human trafficking in Kenya also focuses on the drivers of this phenomenon. In their research on human trafficking in the Murang'a South Sub-County in Kenya, Stephen Mburu Munania, Elijah Onyango Standlause Odhiambo, & Sussy Namaemba Kimokoti (2022) found that poverty was perceived as the primary driver of human trafficking, with ignorance, education level, lack of control from the government, and organized crime as the other big drivers of human trafficking, in that particular order (p. 17). Traffickers were found to emphasize the economic opportunities in Saudi Arabia to coerce individuals into agreeing to travel abroad for work and a better life (Munania, 2022, p. 23). An interesting finding of Munania et al.'s (2022) research was that the

victims of human trafficking frequently were found to have personal ties with the traffickers themselves (p. 2). This finding is analogous to the research of Radoslaw Malinowski & Mario Schulze (2019) who found that, in the context of environmental disasters, trafficking is often facilitated by local individuals who see an opportunity for economic gain (p. 147). Both Munania et al. (2022) and Malinowski & Schulze's (2019) findings can furthermore be put in parallel to the findings of Stacey Diane A. Litam, Dakota King-White, Kathryn C. MacCluskie & Julia C. Phillips's (2020, p. 104) research, where they stated that traffickers will utilize their knowledge of societal and cultural norms to facilitate their operations within a community.

In the study of whether climate disasters, such as drought, in Kenya are connected to increased levels of human trafficking, Malinowski & Schulze (2019) found that while not solely a Kenyan issue, pro-longed periods of drought bring with it a threat to food security which increases the vulnerability of individuals who rely on e.g., agricultural practices or livestock either for private consumption or for economic gain (pp. 144-146). Furthermore, Malinowski & Schulze (2019) found that there in certain areas indeed does exist a relationship between human trafficking levels and vulnerabilities brought on by droughts in Kenya, however this does not apply to all types of human trafficking (p. 160). Individuals in e.g., Samburu and Mandera, whose profiles are majorly farmers and pastoralists, are often more vulnerable during droughts as they often do not have access to the formal labor market, thereby making them more susceptible to trafficking (Malinowski & Schulze, 2019, pp. 162-163). However, practices such as child marriage, a cultural and traditional rite in certain parts of Kenya, are delayed and postponed during droughts as the drought affects the ability to e.g., pay the dowry (Malinowski & Schulze, 2019, pp. 160-161). Notably, Malinowski & Schulze (2019) also posited that the international focus among policymakers on sexual exploitation has led to these more local and regional occurrences of human trafficking going unnoticed, thereby resonating with the definitional challenges presented in *2.1 The Definitional Challenges of Human Trafficking* (p. 147).

Further supporting the reviewed definitional challenges, E.O.S. Odhiambo, J. Kassilly, L.T. Maito, K. Onkware, & W.A. Oboka (2012) claimed that the definition of a problem dictates the solution or recommendations that are proposed (p. 76). In studying the legal frameworks surrounding child trafficking in Kenya, Odhiambo et al. (2012) found that while the trafficking of children is criminalized under Kenyan law, the Kenyan Constitution negates the criminalization of child trafficking in various Acts such as the 2010 CTPA through the following formulation:

“Citizenship by birth 14. (4) A child found in Kenya who is, or appears to be, less than eight years of age, and whose nationality and parents are not known, is presumed to be a citizen by birth” (p. 82). Odhiambo et al. (2012, p. 80) argued that the phrasing encourages cross-border trafficking of children, an argument supported by their finding that despite Kenyan laws on human trafficking, the internal trafficking of babies is rising in Kenya as well as the fact that of missing people in Kenya, girls under 16 constitute the biggest group, the latter also being supported by the research of Litam et al. (2020, p. 105). In this regard, Odhiambo et al. (2012, p. 83) supported Onuoha (2011, p. 159-60) and Fitzgibbon’s (2003, p. 88) claims of the presence of corruption in human trafficking, as they argued that corrupt government officials and border officers utilize this so-called loophole in the Kenyan constitution to legitimize the trafficking of individuals under 18, especially babies and young children, a practice that is most common as a cross-border operations in Kenya.

A contrasting viewpoint to Jones et al.’s (2007) finding of the cruciality of a global perspective when working with human trafficking, emerged in the research of Litam et al. (2020, p. 104) who stated that impactful responses to human trafficking can only be developed when understanding local contexts, thus focusing their research on perspectives of mental health workers in Kenya. Litam et al. (2020) furthermore stated that trafficking practices in Kenya generated “an estimate worth of \$40 million USD on the black market” (p. 105) and found that drivers such as abject poverty, political factors, and cultural and traditional practices influence human trafficking in Nairobi, Kenya (p. 109). Furthermore, Litam et al. (2020) established that the intersecting nature of drivers are what put Kenyans at even more risk of human trafficking (p. 109). Specifically, as also presented by Fitzgibbon (2003, p. 82), children are vulnerable under cultural and traditional practices, where practices of kin fostering and placement of children can lead to exploitative circumstances and the engagement in sexual practices with a virgin can prevent or cure sexually transmitted diseases such as HIV or AIDS (Litam et al., 2020, p. 106; 112). The aspect of kin fostering and child placement is found to be linked to poverty, as additional income or better opportunities for work and education are sought which inevitably also places girls at risk of sexual exploitation, thereby putting children, and especially girls, at risk of human trafficking (ibid).

While scholarly work on human trafficking in Kenya differs in the emphasized aspects of, and their approach to, the phenomenon, the recommendations of each study show great cohesion in the types of strategies needed. Based on their findings, Munania et al. (2022, p. 23), Malinowski

& Schulze (2019, pp. 167-168), and Odhiambo et al. (2012, pp. 85-86) all recommend increased government responsibility in relation to awareness and education campaigns and proper implementation of policies on human trafficking. Specifically, Malinowski & Schulze (2019, p. 167-168) relate government responsibility to the context of policy creation and counter-trafficking efforts focused on climate change and drought-affected communities, whereas Odhiambo et al. (2012, p. 86) focus on strengthening and properly implementing laws that criminalize human trafficking and prosecute the traffickers as well as ensuring that counter-trafficking efforts properly acknowledge and address the effect of macroeconomic policies in countries worldwide that ultimately lead to the generation of human trafficking drivers. Furthermore, both Malinowski & Schulze (2019, p. 168) and Litam et al. (2020, p. 114) emphasized the need for further research and recommend that it be conducted, respectively, on the relationship between different types of climate disasters and different types of human trafficking and the disintegration of Kenyan families, the possible help of training families on human trafficking, and how to differentiate between human trafficking and traditional practices.

In summation, factors such as poverty, cultural and traditional practices, and drought were found to increase the vulnerability of many Kenyan individuals to human trafficking operations which are often found to be facilitated by more local traffickers. Similarly, the Kenyan constitution was also found to be encouraging child trafficking through its vague formulations concerning the citizenship of unaccompanied children under 8 years of age. Furthermore, the presented research showcases the ongoing discussion if human trafficking is best addressed in a global or local setting.

2.4 The Execution of Counter-Trafficking Efforts

When scholarly research discusses various counter-trafficking efforts, the debate is often grounded in the *3P paradigm* and the later expansion to a *4P paradigm* (Bryant & Landman, 2020; Davy, 2016; Derby, 2021). The 4P paradigm consists of the four primary overall strategies in countering and combating human trafficking, specifically “*prevention (...), protection (...), prosecution [*, and as added later,*] (...) partnership*” (Davy, 2016, pp. 488-489). Deanna Davy contended that these four strategies signal the need for holistic approaches and solutions in combating human trafficking, as focusing solely on e.g., the prosecution of traffickers and effective implementation of legislation will not eradicate human trafficking in its totality (ibid). Katharine Bryant & Todd Landman (2020), however, noted that while the 3/4P paradigm is widely recognized in counter-

trafficking efforts, its effectiveness remains debated, with scholars highlighting the need for additional components such as economic empowerment and research (p. 123). In the study of Davy (2020), it is stated that while programs are often set within the same areas of the 4P paradigm, high levels of diversity are still detected through differences in e.g., geographical focus and reach, the duration of the program, the target audience, and the inclusion of one or more 'Ps'. Within the context of the African continent several of these overall strategies emerge in the respective scholarly works of Nathaniel Umukoro and Derby (p. 490).

In studying how to combat human trafficking in Africa, Umukoro (2021) found that the strategies employed to combat human trafficking should directly or indirectly address the drivers of human trafficking, a finding that Derby (2021, p. 153) can be said to have supported through the suggestion that legislation on human trafficking should align with the realities that individuals and society are faced with. Specifically, Umukoro (2021, p. 80-81) exemplified this with the finding that as poor economic conditions have been a long-standing driver of human trafficking and change to said conditions has to take place through e.g., vocational and technical educations that could not only decrease unemployment rates but also drive productivity and development in the given country thereby leading to economic empowerment. A similar viewpoint also emerges in Derby's (2021, p. 153-154) research, who identified education as a critical strategy to combat human trafficking. In contrast to Umukoro's (2021) perception of the importance of vocational and technical education, Derby advocated for increasing educational accessibility through the implementation of free education, as an increase in enrollment would simultaneously decrease the availability of children for labor exploitation (2021, p. 153-154).

Furthermore, Umukoro (2021) emphasized the significance of public enlightenment campaigns, especially since the use of e.g., social media platforms serve not only as preventative measures for the vulnerable youth but also as a way to foster partnerships among stakeholders (p. 81). These examples of Umukoro's (ibid) approach to economic empowerment and public enlightenment campaigns showcased his finding that combating human trafficking demands a holistic, well-rounded approach. Thus, when discussing seemingly one-sided approaches of local task forces, social protection, and effective implementation of legislation, Umukoro (2021, p. 82) underlined the importance of centering the approaches around how ultimately to build up human capital in at-risk individuals. Similarly, Derby's (2021, p. 151) research supports Umukoro's (2021) findings as she emphasized the importance of human development. Derby (2021, p. 151)

identified the government's efforts as instrumental in this regard as the allocation of economic resources by the government can determine the likely success of a counter-trafficking program and addressing the living conditions of citizens can aid in mitigating drivers of human trafficking.

In determining the overall success of a country's fight against human trafficking several tools of measure have been utilized. Interestingly, Derby (2021, p. 150) claimed that due to the foundational differences between countries in e.g., Africa, Europe, and North America, the most optimal ways in which to combat human trafficking is largely contingent on the factors and circumstances surrounding the individual countries and regions, thereby potentially leading to misleading evaluations if not taken into considerations. It is, however, not only Derby (2021) that critically studies the different manners in which human trafficking measures can be evaluated. In the works of Bryant & Landman (2020, p. 120; pp. 129-131) it was found that the illicit and complex nature of human trafficking results in great difficulty in conducting comprehensive and satisfactory evaluation on a given program, which Davy (2016, p. 491) contended to be due to the hidden population that springs from its illegality, thereby making numbers on human trafficking unreliable. Both Bryant & Landman (2020, p. 135) and Davy (2016, p. 500-501) concluded that evaluations are not able to give proper insight into the impact of counter-trafficking programs, what type of programs work, which do not, and whether human trafficking had been reduced at the times of their research.

In summary, the 4P paradigm serves as a framework for stakeholders to address various aspects different aspects of counter-trafficking. According to the reviewed scholarly research, holistic approaches to counter-trafficking that address the established drivers of human trafficking are to be prioritized. Moreover, evaluations on counter-trafficking programs have been found to not offer proper insight into what does or does not work, due to foundational differences between regions.

The pre-existing scholarly research on human trafficking provides insight into the complex nature of the phenomenon as well as the drivers of human trafficking on both an African and Kenyan level. Furthermore, scholarly research has been conducted on counter-trafficking efforts and how the ultimately incongruent evaluations conducted on said efforts have resulted in an inability to definitively claim if the current strategies of organizations, institutions, or governments are successful in their implementation. This thesis places itself with this larger field of scholarly

research on human trafficking, its drivers, and the counter-efforts. While research has been conducted in this area, this thesis addresses a gap in scholarly knowledge, specifically the inclusion of the organizational perceptions of human trafficking. Currently, as can be deduced through the above review of literature, extensive research has yet to be done into the perceptions of organizations within the field of counter-trafficking efforts. I have deemed this as being crucial to the expansion of understanding counter-efforts to human trafficking in Kenya, as organizations, as established in the *I Introduction*, play an instrumental role in the country's overall counter-trafficking efforts. Therefore, by researching what stakeholders deem as being at play within the phenomenon and the organizational field in general, it is possible to gain a deeper insight into the complex question of why human trafficking still occurs in Kenya.

3 Theoretical Framework

To gain an in-depth look into the drivers of human trafficking in Kenya and how stakeholders attempt to address said drivers, this thesis will utilize Urie Bronfenbrenner's Bioecological Systems Theory. The following presentation of the theory will be based on Bronfenbrenner's 1979 book *The Ecology of Human Development: Experiments by Nature and Design* to describe the micro-, meso-, exo-, and macrosystems, as well as Edinete Maria Rosa and Jonathan Tudge's 2013 journal article *Urie Bronfenbrenner's Theory of Human Development: Its Evolution from Ecology to Bioecology* to account for the theory's later inclusion of proximal processes and the chronosystem.

Bronfenbrenner focused his academic work on human development, which ultimately resulted in him focusing his well-known research on the ecology of human development (Rosa & Tudge, 2013, p. 4). Originally, Bronfenbrenner is said to have entered the field of human development as a result of his dissatisfaction towards the methodology of psychology research concerning child development as this was often done in laboratory-settings, thus not offering insight into developmental processes in familiar settings (ibid). Furthermore, Bronfenbrenner criticized the lack of research as well as theory that took into proper account the context humans live in and its effect on their developmental process and outcome (ibid).

In 1979, Bronfenbrenner published his work wherein he, through numerous hypotheses and pre-existing research within the field, set forth a theory on human ecology which later was coined the Ecological Systems Theory. Bronfenbrenner's 1979 publication was one of the first

major works in a line of his research that all dealt with ecological human development while also offering clarifications, developments, and general reviews of the ecological approach to human development (Rosa & Tudge, 2013).

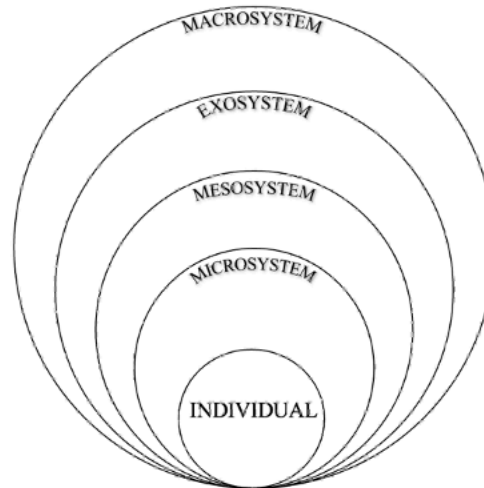


Figure 1. A depiction of the Ecological Systems Theory as set explained by Bronfenbrenner (1979) (created by the author).

As depicted in Figure 1, the Ecological Systems Theory takes its point of departure in the ecological environment, i.e., the environment that surrounds an individual much alike “a set of nested structures, each inside the next” (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, p. 3), wherein the developmental processes and -outcomes of said individual are of interest (ibid). As indicated by its name, the theoretical approach is structured around systems, namely the micro-, meso-, exo-, and macrosystem and all have distinct definitions and characteristics, and it is within these systems that development processes and -outcomes occur (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). As seen in Figure 1, Bronfenbrenner defines the microsystem as the immediate setting of an individual and emphasizes activities, roles, and interpersonal relations as being the building blocks of this particular ecological system (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, p. 22). These three elements are important within the microsystems as they are able to influence and affect behavior and thus the developmental processes and outcomes that occur within an individual’s microsystem (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, p. 23). The mesosystem, the second structure as depicted in Figure 1, is defined as “a system of microsystems,” (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, p. 25) which in other words refers to the interrelation between an individual’s microsystems, e.g., work and social life. It is important to note that a mesosystem is not a fixed system as it expands when the individual moves to a new setting and similarly becomes smaller if the individual withdraws their active participation in a microsystem

(ibid). The third ecological system set forth by Bronfenbrenner (ibid) is the exosystem, which is defined as settings wherein the individual does not play an active role “but in which events occur that affect, or are affected by, what happens in the setting” (ibid).

The last ecological system, the macrosystem, is fundamentally different than the other systems as it is defined as an overarching system wherein consistencies of e.g., subculture, culture, religion, or ideology are placed (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, p. 26). Specifically, it is within this ecological system that there exists what Bronfenbrenner (ibid) refers to as the “blueprints” (ibid) of society, meaning that the macrosystem makes societies are fundamentally made up of different e.g., cultural norms and values, belief systems, and ideologies, that all affect the societal context that individuals find themselves in. Furthermore, as with the mesosystem, the macrosystem also includes consistencies that do not yet exist in order to consider the visions of e.g., political leaders or researchers (ibid). While each system is described distinctly with emphasis on their respective unique characteristic, they are not non-related systems, rather Bronfenbrenner (1979) stated that the systems are isomorphic in the sense that they are interconnected and operate in a parallel fashion (p. 237; pp. 241-242).

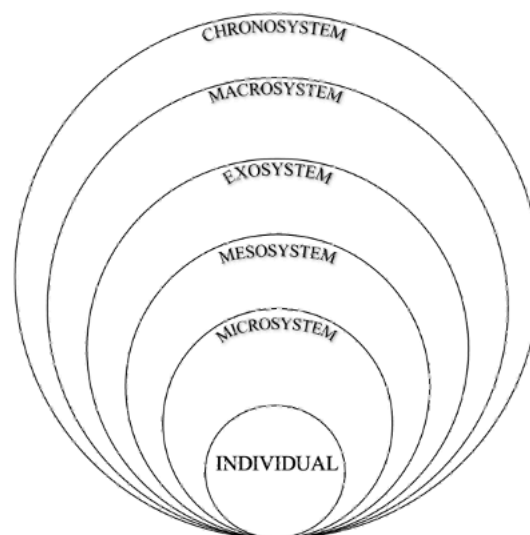


Figure 2: A depiction of Bronfenbrenner's Bioecological Systems Theory as set forth by Rosa & Tudge (2013) (created by author).

As mentioned, the Ecological Systems Theory was subject to clarifications and general review by Bronfenbrenner himself – the continuous work with the theory resulted in it being dubbed the Bioecological Systems Theory (Rosa & Tudge, 2013, p. 2). This change is largely due to two alterations to the theory; the inclusion of proximal processes and the expansion of the

ecological systems to include the chronosystem (Rosa & Tudge, 2013, p. 8; p. 12; p. 15). According to Rosa & Tudge (2013, p. 8), 10 years after his original publication of the Ecological Systems Theory, Bronfenbrenner argued for the need to place more emphasis on the personal characteristics of the individual and the people they interact with as factors such as family structure or class were found to greatly influence the process of development (ibid). Furthermore, Bronfenbrenner connected the importance of personal characteristics' influence on development with the occurrence of proximal processes (Rosa & Tudge, 2013, p. 2).

Bronfenbrenner regarded proximal processes as “the mechanisms that drive development” (ibid), as they are regarded as the continuing forms of interactions between an individual and the elements that exist in their immediate and more remote environments (Rosa & Tudge, 2013, p. 13). Furthermore, emphasis was put on the “form, power, content, and direction” (ibid) of proximal processes, as these were said to be contingent upon both the personal characteristics of an individual as well as the environment in which said processes take place, thereby greatly influencing the potential developmental outcomes (ibid). Rosa & Tudge (2013), furthermore, placed emphasis upon Bronfenbrenner’s realization that proximal processes could both be drivers for an individual’s positive development as well as dysfunctional development (p. 13). Lastly, Rosa & Tudge (2013, p. 15), identified the inclusion of the chronosystem, as depicted in Figure 2, as being instrumental in the formation of the Bioecological Systems Theory. In Figure 2, it is evident how Bronfenbrenner included the chronosystem as the outer most layer of the ecological systems to account for the role time plays in human developmental processes as well as -outcomes (ibid). Specifically, the chronosystem is understood as both historical- and ontogenetic time, i.e., sociohistorical context of a society and the lifespan of an individual, wherein developmental processes and -outcomes occur (ibid). Thus, it is with these changes that Bronfenbrenner’s ecological systems approach evolved to look as depicted in Figure 2.

While I have taken a point of departure in Bronfenbrenner’s original exposition of his developmental approach and -theory and relied on it for the definitions of the micro-, meso-, exo-, and macrosystems, this thesis will refer to the theory as the Bioecological Systems Theory, unless the distinction between the two is central to the point made. This choice has been made to reflect my inclusion of both the concept of proximal processes as well as the chronosystem in the subsequent analysis. Thus, it is acknowledged that while more recent expositions of the Bioecological Systems Theory may include updated definitions of the systems, an active choice

has been made to rely on Bronfenbrenner's original depiction of the four original systems and Rosa & Tudge's description of proximal processes and the chronosystem, due to an availability of literature.

3.1 Theoretical Application

Bronfenbrenner's (1979) theory was originally applied in contexts wherein it was able to offer insight on positive developmental processes and -outcomes, however this did, as shown above, change in later years. According to Bronfenbrenner (1979), the purpose of the theory is to provide a "unified but highly differentiated conceptual" tool that can be utilized to examine the immediate and remote environment of an individual with special focus on depicting and interrelating the processes and structures that influence said individual's development throughout their life (p. 11). Bronfenbrenner (1979) posited that the theory could not only be applied to offer insight on the scientific understanding of human development, but also to provide knowledge in a societal and real-life context (p. 8).

Bronfenbrenner (1979) stated that social- and public policy is intrinsically linked with science, as it, traditionally, is believed that the former is greatly influenced by the latter, thereby making it crucial to conduct research in a proper manner (p. 6). Oppositely, Bronfenbrenner (1979) argued that knowledge of social- and public policies is more crucial in developmental research as they represent "aspects of the environment (...) that are most critical for the cognitive, emotional, and social development" (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, p. 8) of an individual. Specifically, public policy is stated to cut through multiple systems, as it within the macrosystem is a determinant for properties for the systems closer to the individual (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, p. 9). It is this understanding of social- and public policy and its role in the Bioecological Systems Theory, that has led to the theory being utilized and applied in different areas such as education, health, and sports sciences (see the works of Domigues & Goncalves, 2014; Eriksson, Ghazinour & Hammarström, 2018; Zaatari & Maalouf, 2022; Tong & An, 2024).

In addition to the application of the Bioecological Systems Theory to alternative scholarly areas of research, the theory has also been subject to criticism and revisions by other scholars (see the works of Christensen, 2010; Stanger, 2011; Elliot & Davis, 2018). Relevant to the problem area of this thesis, Jonas Christensen (2010, p. 101) stated that, within organizational studies, the Development Ecology Figure (what is referred to in this thesis as the Bioecological Systems

Theory), does not properly reflect “the individual’s role in relation to other actors,” (ibid), thus necessitating a review of the ‘model’. In understanding Christensen’s critique, it is important to note that it takes its basis in what has been referred to in this thesis as the Ecological Systems Theory. Thus, while Christensen’s (2010) statement that Bronfenbrenner’s model is not able to take into consideration the effects of socio-historical events and transitions, on the individual, is considered correct in the context of the original exposition of the theory, the later addition of the chronosystem makes it possible to include such perspectives.

Christensen (2010) further argued that Bronfenbrenner’s model failed to take the capacity of the individual to be resilient into consideration, thereby failing to properly reflect on how people’s aspirations, goals, optimism, and motivation for the future play a role in their development (p. 105). Christensen (2010) argued that this lack of individual capacity made it impossible for the model to explain why individuals in negative circumstances could eventually be successful. While there certainly is validity in his argument, it is important to note that Bronfenbrenner originally intended for this theory to be utilized in the context of infant and child development, thereby making the establishment of individual mental capacities such as resilience an almost impossible feat. In consideration of the above, this thesis does indeed acknowledge the importance of mental capacities such as resilience in the context of the potential victims, victims, and survivors of human trafficking.

Another revision of Christensen’s (2010) is the model’s lack of the reasoning behind relationships individuals have, namely for beneficial and social reasons (p. 106). In the context of organizational studies, Christensen claimed that individuals in organizations give and receive in relation to e.g. other individuals or organizations (ibid.) Beneficial reasons are thus defined as “long-term relations” (ibid) and social reasons are focused on “personal factors such as emotionality” (ibid). While long-term relationships in the context of work can indeed turn into social relationships, it is crucial for the organization to go beyond the beneficial reasons and give the individual emotional reasons such as confidence and development within the organization (ibid). While organizational relationships are not within the scope of this thesis, Christensen’s critique and subsequent explanation, do provide a crucial understanding of the complexity of relationships, albeit in an organization, community, or between family members. Overall, Christensen’s critique reflects the needed acknowledgement of the complexity of individuals, a complexity that undeniably is reflected throughout this thesis.

3.2 Operationalization

Due to the different applications of the Bioecological Systems Theory, both in terms of providing insight into more dysfunctional development, the application of the theory in alternative fields of study, as well as Christensen's (2010) critique of it, it was ultimately deemed as a suitable theoretical framework for this thesis. Specifically, the insight into dysfunctional development provided by the theory is beneficial in determining the drivers that create and further the vulnerabilities of Kenyan individuals. Furthermore, the Bioecological Systems Theory has been utilized in this thesis as the case of counter-trafficking efforts in Kenya examines where and if drivers and strategies intersect and the manner in which issues and future strategies intersect. Thereby, due to its systematic approach, the Bioecological Systems Theory will aid in providing a more structured overview of where drivers of Kenyans' vulnerability to human trafficking occur. Similarly, when actively working towards the eradication of human trafficking practices, it is vital to know where and how strategies and efforts overall currently are, or should be, implemented. It is within Bronfenbrenner's (1979) argument that the lack of public policy-oriented research means that society is at the risk of "tolerating long-standing environmental situations that may in fact be harmful," (p. 286) and these effects may not be visible to people as long as nothing changes, this thesis found its *raison d'être*. In other words, by examining the case of counter-trafficking efforts in Kenya through the theoretical framework of Bronfenbrenner's Bioecological Systems Theory, this thesis places it-self within the field of research that ultimately seeks to explore what needs to change within the current counter-trafficking efforts.

It is, however, important to understand that the application of the Bioecological Systems Theory will somewhat differ from originally intended by Bronfenbrenner. In this thesis, I have, due to the focus of the research question and the type of data I collected, chosen not to make the individual's development the direct focal point of my research. The Bioecological Systems Theory will more so be utilized to examine what the drivers are from a stakeholder perspective, where drivers and strategies may intersect as well as the possible intersections between issues within the current counter-trafficking efforts and future strategies. Thus, while the individual's environment will still be central, this study does not research said environment from their perspective in the case of counter-trafficking efforts in Kenya. In this connection, it is important to note that while the term *individual* will be utilized throughout this thesis, it refers to either a potential victim, a victim, or a survivor of human trafficking, depending on the context within it is being utilized.

This is to eliminate confusion as to when an individual goes from being a potential victim, to a victim, to a survivor, as these lines may be blurred across the different types of human trafficking practices. Furthermore, it is through Bronfenbrenner's own revision and addition of the chronosystem and proximal processes as well as Christensen's critique of the theory, that I am able to include elements such as globalization and the complexity of individuals. However, while the element of proximal processes will indeed be included in this thesis it will, as to avoid repetitive argumentation concerning the ever-present proximal processes that drive development i.e., vulnerability, rather be mentioned in instances to exemplify how said processes represent how drivers influence Kenyan vulnerability.

4 Methodological Framework

The following section will establish the specific methods utilized throughout this thesis. Specifically, this section will initially present the scope of my research before delving into the chosen standpoint within philosophy of science and its effect on how knowledge production and -reality is understood. Thereafter, this section will introduce the different aspects of the research design and how these choices affected the creation of this thesis. Subsequently, this methodological framework will do an in-depth presentation of the methods utilized in the data collection process and how the datasets will be utilized throughout the thesis. Lastly, this section will present the chosen methods of analysis and how they have informed the processing of the abovementioned datasets.

4.1 Positionality

As part of my master's degree in Culture, Communication, and Globalization at Aalborg University, I partook in a five and a half months long internship in a community-based organization located in Kibera, an informal settlement in Nairobi, Kenya. The organization, a community-based organization, focused on empowerment of people living in Kibera, wherein I specifically worked within the Sponsorship and Community Engagement Project. This department and project focused on providing educational sponsorships for high school students and communicating the organization's activities to various stakeholders. In total, I spent six and a half months in Kenya throughout which I gained knowledge on and an understanding of Kenyan culture, history, and people. While I do contend that I gained invaluable insight into many aspects of Kenyan society

and culture that has aided me in my research process, I acknowledge that this knowledge as well as my role as a Danish researcher examining a global phenomenon localized in Kenya, does inevitably affect my research. Specifically, due to my national and regional background, I do not possess the same authentic understanding of Kenyan society and culture in comparison to a Kenyan researcher. However, as I was aware of how my own culture, bias, and values may influence my data collection, -processing, and consequent analysis, I made the active choice to employ triangulation of my datasets to increase both the validity and credibility of my analytical findings. Overall, I acknowledge my own position and influence on my research but as evident throughout this methodological framework measures have been taken to decrease said bias.

4.2 Delimitation of Problem Area

In determining the overall scope of this thesis, it was crucial to delimit the problem- and research area to a case that could successfully aid in examining the drivers that increase the vulnerability of individuals to the practices of human trafficking and the impact of efforts set in place to prevent and combat human trafficking. Through an iterative process of research and contextualizing, this research has been structured around the case of Kenya and its counterefforts to the global phenomenon of human trafficking. Specifically, this thesis examines stakeholders' perception of which drivers influence Kenyan vulnerability to human-trafficking practices within, and beyond the geographical borders of, Kenya. On the basis of determining these factors, this thesis also examines if current stakeholder strategies within Kenyan counter-trafficking efforts intersect with said drivers and ultimately, how issues within the current state of counter-trafficking efforts intersect with future strategies as expressed by stakeholders.

As showcased throughout the *2 Literature Review* and *3 Theoretical Framework*, the need for a method triangulation approach to this specific problem-area is imperative to properly research counter-trafficking efforts with the ultimate goal of addressing the issues within said systemic structure. In the initial stages of researching the chosen problem area, it was found that a majority of the thesis-level research on the area of human trafficking in Kenya thus far been grounded in the scholarly areas of human rights law and migration studies focusing on either legal frameworks or the reasoning behind certain groups of society being more susceptible and vulnerable to human trafficking (Mwenda, 2020; Waila, 2020; Ligare, 2020). However, through an iterative process of reviewing literature and relating it to the datasets, it was evaluated that through this thesis' position

within the realm of social sciences and the application of the Bioecological Systems Theory, originally developed within the field of psychology, a unique insight was to be gained into the problem area. Specifically, by considering the role of stakeholders in the environment and development of Kenyan individuals, this thesis acknowledges the interconnectedness of e.g., organizations, as stakeholders, and their target audience and beneficiaries.

4.3 Philosophy of Science

In seeking to comprehend the position, I assumed concerning how reality is perceived in thesis and how knowledge is produced within the scientific framework, it is essential to look into ontology and epistemology. This thesis takes its ontological and epistemological foundation in critical realism, i.e., a foundation wherein an external structure and, therefore, a reality within the social world is acknowledged (Bryman, 2012, p. 616). It is within said acknowledgement that a desire arises to inquire into, and examine, the mechanisms, unobservable and observable, that produced this structure and reality (ibid). Alan Bryman (2012) notably emphasized the limited and subjective understanding of practitioners in regard to the social world, meaning that researchers are limited in their perception of the social world due to their own world views, biases, and in general the complexity of the social world itself (p. 29). With a point of departure in Roy Bhaskar's work on critical realism, Bryman defined critical realism as being engaged in understanding and changing the social world through the identification of generative causal mechanisms, i.e., the structures that generate the events and discourses that make up the social world (ibid). In other words, critical realists aim to identify these underlying structures with the intention of addressing and changing the injustices and inequalities present in the social world. It is these points within critical realism that makes it the suitable ontological and epistemological standpoint for this thesis, as it enables an in-depth examination of the field of counter-trafficking efforts in Kenya with the intention of uncovering underlying elements to ultimately identify the issues within the industry.

4.4 Research Design

With the establishment of the ontological and epistemological standpoint of this thesis, it is subsequently relevant to present the research design. An exploratory approach and iterative process has been taken to the research process and -structure both in the preliminary stages of this thesis as well as throughout the data collection and -analysis, to best accommodate to both pre-existing research within the problem area and the datasets created for this study (Bryman, 2012, p. 41). As

this specific angle on human trafficking in Kenya has not been subject to exhaustive research, the exploratory approach and iterative process to conducting research was arguably preferable as it allowed for a somewhat unstructured approach to research wherein I, as the researcher, was able to redefine and refine the boundaries of the research in accordance with the current state of art. The beneficial use of the exploratory approach and iterative process was exemplified in the preliminary stages of the research- and data collection process, where it was initially assumed that the stakeholders interviewed for this research were going to be counter-trafficking organizations solely focused on Kenyans involved in cross-border trafficking. However, it quickly became apparent that many organizations do not limit themselves to solely work with cross-border trafficking. Instead, they work with Kenyans and foreigners who are trafficked internally in Kenya as well as Kenyans and foreigners who are victims of cross-border trafficking, i.e., where Kenya serves as either an origin, transit, or destination of the trafficking. Thus, the exploratory approach and the iterative process made it possible to alter the criteria for data selection to reflect this knowledge, which ultimately aided both the data analysis, overall argumentation, and findings of this thesis.

In connection to the research design, it is imperative to discuss the method of reasoning that was assumed as it affected the argumentation, findings, and overall conclusion of this thesis. Bryman (2012) highlighted three primary types, of which the first was the inductive method of reasoning, which is when a researcher develops a theory from their data, i.e., departing from specific observations to ultimately arrive at a general and probable conclusion as findings are likely to be true, they are not undeniably so (p. 26). The second method of reasoning is deduction, which is when a researcher lets theory guide their research, i.e., a hypothesis is made on the background of existing knowledge or theoretical considerations within the chosen research area and the consequent data collection and -analysis will either confirm or reject the hypothesis (Bryman, 2012, p. 24). The last method of reasoning of abduction was by Bryman (2012, p. 401) argued to be, to a certain extent, a mixture of both induction and deduction.

According to Bryman (ibid) an abductive method of reasoning is applied when the researcher utilizes plausible argumentation and -conclusion on the basis of available knowledge to observe e.g., a phenomenon. Importantly, abductive researchers ground the theoretical understandings of their research in the perspectives, meanings, and discourses that make up their own subjective worldviews, meaning that their research findings will inevitably bear witness of

these subjective worldviews. An important characteristic of abduction is the point that the processing of datasets must not eradicate nor neglect the world perceptions of the authors of said data, as it inevitably affects the outcome of the researchers' argumentation and conclusions (ibid). Thus, abduction can be seen as a mixture of deduction and induction as observations are utilized to arrive at a plausible explanation that in turn is evaluated on the basis of their explanatory power as well as their simplicity. The explanation is then often generalized to offer a broader conclusion or insight into a research area. It is due to these elements of abduction that this specific method of reasoning has been applied in this thesis.

As the abductive method of reasoning acknowledges the researcher's own specific worldviews as well as the worldviews set forth in the chosen datasets, and the interpretation thereof, the findings and conclusion of their research may not be objectively true (ibid). However, to combat this uncertainty of the findings and conclusion, the method of triangulation was applied throughout the processing and analysis of the chosen datasets as a way to create a credible and valid foundation for argumentation. Thus, triangulation is conducted primarily with the utilization and comparison of multiple datasets and to a limited extent, secondary literature.

4.4.1 Method of Data Collection

The aim of this thesis was to examine what drivers stakeholders perceive as being at play in the context of human trafficking in Kenya as, the possible intersection of both stakeholder strategies and drivers and issues within the current approach and future strategies. It was thus crucial that both the datasets, the secondary literature, and the method of collection would support and provide insight into this specific aim. Overall, the datasets and literature utilized was collected through internet-based research, archival and document-based research, and through conducting semi-structured interviews. In total, nine datasets have been utilized for the general purpose of providing insight into the drivers of human trafficking and the counter-trafficking efforts in Kenya. The datasets can be divided into two overall categories: primary datasets and secondary datasets.

4.4.1.1 Primary Datasets

The primary datasets consist of interviews conducted with people who currently work, or previously have worked, within the Kenyan industry of counter-trafficking efforts. Prior to introducing the different interviewees, it is relevant to delve into the general conditions of the interviews. For the primary datasets, semi-structured interviews were conducted as they allow for

a pre-determined structure that increases comparability within multiple datasets, while also allowing for additional questions (Lamont, 2015, p. 84). Furthermore, as stated by Christopher Lamont (ibid), the semi-structured interview allows for conducting ‘elite interviews’, i.e., interviews with people with expert knowledge on the research area at hand, a category all interviewees have been deemed to fall within.

4.4.1.1.1 Consent Forms

In conducting interviews, it was crucial to minimize the risks for interviewees to participate in the interviews, which can be ensured through informed consent. Lamont (2015) argued that through the use of informed consent, the researcher is able to minimize the risks for interviewees in e.g., harming or deterring their social and professional status (p. 149). Thus, in order to properly protect the interviewees, consent forms were sent to the interviewees prior to the interview wherein a brief research summary was given, the aim of the data processing was clearly stated, and it was explicitly stated that consent was needed for both the use of personal data as well as consent for audio-recording and transcription of the interview. The official consent form template from Aalborg University was utilized and altered to include information about this thesis. Interviewees were informed in relation to the consent form that should they desire to be anonymous; this was a possibility. Lastly, they were also made aware of their option to inquire about possible changes to the consent form if they had issues with the proposed terms.

4.4.1.1.2 Questions

For the interviews, between six and nine questions were prepared before initiating the interviews, with the number of questions depending on what I determined the interviewee would best be able to offer insight on depending on factors such as their background, the organization they were representing, and their position within said organization. All interviewees were initially asked to introduce themselves, their professional affiliation and title, whereafter the interviews focused on the organizational strategies employed by their affiliated organization. Thereby making the emphasized strategies the focal point in the data processing and not other strategies that the stakeholders may employ. After creating a collective understanding of the organization and its scope, the interview focused on the potential victims, victims, and survivors of human trafficking, focusing on the drivers of human trafficking in a Kenyan context. Lastly, the interview questions focused on the broader field of counter-trafficking efforts with regard to the current state and status

of the phenomenon in Kenya. Due to the focus on human trafficking throughout the questions, it is important to note that strategies concerning other program areas of the organizations have not been included. Moreover, the iterative process of this thesis data collection was expressed throughout the reevaluation of the questions and topics, as certain questions were reformulated, or topics brought up based on previous interviews to gain comprehensive and comparable datasets that reflected the area of research as best possible.

4.4.1.1.3 Microsoft Teams

All interviews were conducted through the use of Aalborg University's subscription to Microsoft Teams, a communication- and collaboration platform that, in relevance to this thesis, allows users to create, invite, and conduct online meetings. Moreover, the platform has the function of transcribing and recording meetings, the former of which was utilized in the creation of transcription data for this thesis. Specifically, while the interview took place, Microsoft Teams transcribed the interview in real time, which, after the interview was concluded was downloaded locally on the computer. The transcription was then edited to best align with the audio recording to ensure the most precision possible. Thus, the actual interviews acted as guidance for subsequent interviews and points of research, whereas the transcriptions of the interviews have been utilized for the subsequent analysis.

4.4.1.1.4 Criteria for Data Selection

To ensure comparability and consistency in the subsequent data processing and analysis, criteria for the primary datasets were established prior to the data collection process. The criteria of the datasets were as follows:

1. The interviewee was to have or have had relevant professional experience within the organizational field of counter-trafficking efforts in Kenya.
2. The organizational affiliations of the interviewees were to consist of organizations that operate within the organizational field of counter-trafficking efforts in Kenya.
3. The interviews were to be able to be categorized as elite interviews, meaning that the interviewee was to pertain extensive knowledge on organizational strategies as well as the general area of counter-trafficking efforts.

4.4.1.1.5 Primary Data Collection Process

Upon establishing the above data criteria, the data collection process began, which initially took place through internet-based research, wherein counter-trafficking organizations in Kenya were found and contacted through email. These emails gave a brief description of my reason for conducting this specific research, the aim of the interview, and the option for the organization to receive more information on the thesis and the interview, before accepting the invitation to participate in the proposed interview. In total, nine organizations were contacted through email with the intention of inquiring about the possibility of conducting an interview, with ultimately a total of four organizations responding to said email.

Besides organizational interviews, interview inquiries were extended to a total of eight people, who through their professional experience were considered to be able to offer valuable insight into the research area of this thesis. Through searching for relevant key words such as ‘human trafficking’, ‘UN Kenya’, and ‘human rights Kenya’ on LinkedIn, five of these people were contacted due to relevant current or previous professional- and/or academic experience, whereof one person responded and agreed to participate in an interview. Furthermore, a request for contact to relevant interviewees was sent out in a WhatsApp group community which consists of Kenyans, expats, and travelers who are or have been in Kenya. Through this group, contact was established with two relevant people, whereof one was willing to participate in an interview. Furthermore, through an organizational email correspondence, a referral was made to a potential interviewee. While contact was established to the potential interviewee, an interview was ultimately not scheduled.

4.4.1.2 Presentation of Primary Datasets

In the following section, each interviewee and their affiliation will be presented, their relevance to this thesis’ research will be emphasized, as well as any special circumstances surrounding their interview. To offer a more visual overview of this thesis’ primary datasets, the following chart has been created, wherein each dataset has been recorded alongside essential background information.

While this overview has not had an active role or meaning within the data collection or -processing, it provides a visual representation of each dataset intended to make it easier for readers to maintain an overview of the primary datasets.

Appendix	Interviewee	Contact	Affiliation	Job Title	Conducted on	Duration
A	Paul Adoch	Email	Trace Kenya	Director	March 18, 2024	00:28:56
B	Jakob Christensen	LinkedIn	HAART	Former employee	March 25, 2024	01:09:13
C	Olivia Njoroge	WhatsApp	Change.org	Former employee	March 28, 2024	00:36:34
D	Peter Olewe	Email	Azadi	Manager	April 10, 2024	00:56:08
E	Mutuku Nguli	Email	CHTEA	CEO	April 25, 2024	00:57:53
F	Fauzia Mohamed	Email	COHF	Project Officer	May 2, 2024	00:29:00
G	Anonymous	Confidential	Confidential	Confidential	Confidential	Confidential

Table 1: Overview of Primary Dataset (created by author).

4.4.1.2.1 Trace Kenya

The first interview that was conducted was with Paul Adoch, the Director of Trace Kenya, an NGO that is based in Kenya's coastal region, in Mombasa (Trace Kenya, n.d.). Since 2006, Trace Kenya's mission has been to "rescue, rehabilitate and reintegrate women, youth, and children" (Trace Kenya, n.d.) that have been victims and survivors of human trafficking practices. Adoch is a founding member and since 2013 the director of Trace Kenya, thereby entitling him to extensive knowledge concerning the organization as well as on the area of human trafficking in Kenya (Appendix A, ll. 8-10). Due to a power outage the interview with Adoch was cut short, which resulted in a line of email correspondences in an attempt to resume and conclude the interview. These efforts were ultimately unsuccessful as several meetings were scheduled but not attended from the interviewee's side. Thus, the interview with Adoch only covers questions concerning his role within Trace Kenya, the NGO's current programs and strategies, as well as demographic tendencies within the survivors that they work with.

4.4.1.2.2 Awareness Against Human Trafficking

The second interview was conducted with Jacob Christensen, a Dane living in Kenya, who worked in Awareness Against Human Trafficking (HAART), where he initially worked as a program manager and later became involved in more administrative tasks from January 2014 until February 2024 (Appendix B, ll.19-22; 53-60). As an NGO based in Nairobi, Kenya, HAART seeks to eradicate human trafficking through the use of "holistic care, enabling victims' transformation, partnering with survivors and developing community resilience" (<https://haartkenya.org>). Due to Christensen's background as a Dane, the interview was conducted in Danish. Thus, the pre-determined questions were translated from English and attention was paid to the translations to ensure that they did indeed still refer to the same topics as in the other interviews.

4.4.1.2.3 Change.org and Human Rights Law Expert

The third interview was conducted with Olivia Njoroge, who worked at Change.org in 2022, a nonprofit petition starting platform, which was involved in petitions concerning human rights violations, herein human trafficking practices in Kenya (Appendix C, ll. 5-8; 12-17). Thus, while Change.org cannot be classified as an organization that solely works with human trafficking, it has still been deemed relevant to include a stakeholder interview with Njoroge, as it is indeed still a stakeholder within the field of counter-trafficking in Kenya. Furthermore, Njoroge has an academic background in international humanitarian law and human rights (ibid), thus furthering the validity in interviewing her as she could discuss both the organizational field of counter-trafficking as well as legal implications and frameworks. Despite Change.org being a U.S. based organization, its work within Kenya has deemed it a relevant stakeholder to include in this thesis.

4.4.1.2.4 Azadi Kenya

The fourth interview was conducted with Peter Olewe, the Manager of Knowledge Production and Sharing at Azadi (Appendix D, ll. 7-8). Azadi is a survivor-led NGO based in Nairobi, Kenya, that since 2021, has aimed to “create spaces and programmes that enhance the agency of survivors of trafficking, to support recovery from trauma, and sustain their reintegration into society” (Azadi Kenya, n.d.). Olewe stated that due to his position within the organization he is involved with the different programs that Azadi has, thereby supporting his relevance as an interviewee as he has extensive knowledge about the organization as well as the field of human trafficking and counter-trafficking as well (Appendix D, ll. 43-58). Due to a localized power outage in Kenya, the interview experienced several staccato-like interruptions as Olewe was forced to switch from a computer to a telephone back to a computer during the interview. While slightly interrupting the overall flow of the interview, it did not impact my ability to gain the desired knowledge from the interview.

4.4.1.2.5 Counter Human Trafficking Trust, East Africa

The fifth interview was conducted with Mutuku Nguli, the Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of Counter Human Trafficking Trust-East Africa (CHTEA), an NGO located in Nairobi, Kenya, that since 2006 has aimed to “rescue, rehabilitate and reintegrate victims of human trafficking in East Africa” (CHTEA, n.d-b). As indicated by the organization’s name, CHTEA operates within the

sub-region of East Africa, however due to the specific focus on Kenya throughout the organization's website (<https://chttrust-eastafrica.org>), it was deemed as fulfilling the data criteria. Furthermore, as the CEO, Nguli was deemed as a relevant interviewee due to his position within the organization, thus strengthening his status as an elite interviewee.

4.4.1.2.6 Candle of Hope Foundation, Kenya

The sixth interview was conducted with Fauzia Mohamed, a Project Officer and “the focal person of Human Traffic Initiative in Kenya” (Appendix F, ll. 6-7), who has worked at Candle of Hope Foundation, Kenya (COHF) since 2022. COHF is an NGO based in Nairobi, Kenya, which has operated both in Somaliland and Kenya since 2016 (COHF, n.d.). COHF works with a range of different humanitarian initiatives and development projects, herein the issue of human trafficking being one of them (ibid). Throughout the interview Mohamed was out in public, thus leading to several short exchanges between her and e.g., restaurant staff. These small interjections did, however, not disrupt the overall outcome of the interview or Mohamed's responses, as she did not diverge from any topics or go into less detail when posed questions.

4.4.1.2.7 Anonymous Statement

One of the datasets in this thesis was given by an anonymous interviewee who has professional experience within the counter-trafficking efforts in Kenya. The anonymous statement was received over Microsoft Teams and was accompanied by an incident report that supports the validity of the statement. To protect the identity of the anonymous person, information will not be given to their professional affiliation, their job title, which date the statement was received, the duration of the interview, or where contact was initially established. If access to the statement and incident report is desired, a redacted version can be requested.

4.4.1.3 Secondary Datasets

Within this thesis, I have created a distinction between primary and secondary datasets for reasons pertaining to the creation, collection, and type of data. Whereas the primary datasets were semi-structured interviews conducted due to this study, I did not partake in the creation of the secondary datasets. Specifically, the primary datasets represented organizational stakeholders, while the secondary datasets represented governmental stakeholders, specifically the Kenyan government's Ministry of Labour, Social Security and Services (MOLSSS, 2015) and the National Crime

Research Centre (NCRC) (Muteti, 2022). These secondary datasets were utilized due to their ability to offer insight on not only the strategic framework of the Kenyan government but also on the government’s research and evaluation of nation-wide strategies within counter-trafficking efforts.

4.4.1.3.1 Criteria for Data Selection

As with the primary datasets, criteria for data selection were likewise established for the selecting of secondary datasets. The criteria for the datasets were as follows:

1. The author of the dataset must have an affiliation with the Kenyan government.
2. The datasets must not be written by a foreign stakeholder.
3. The focus of the datasets must be on matters relating to counter-trafficking efforts or human trafficking in general, in a Kenyan context.

The data selection criteria created a broad frame for selecting the secondary datasets, not as to be less critical of the datasets but rather as to be openminded towards the type of sources that were available.

4.4.1.4. Presentation of Secondary Data

The following section will present each dataset, their relevance to this thesis, as well as any points of importance. As with the primary datasets, a visual representation of this thesis’ secondary datasets is offered to help maintain a better overview.

Title	Type	Published	Government Affiliation	Author	Focus Areas
National Plan of Action	Action plan and strategic framework	May 26, 2015	MOLSSS	MOLSSS	Plan of action, strategic priorities, prevention, protection, prosecution, cross-cutting issues.
The Problem of Human Trafficking in Kenya	Research Report	2022, revised. (1 st ed., 2015)	NCRC was established by the Ministry of Interior and Coordination of National Government	Stephen Masango Muteti	Prevalence of human trafficking, demographics, drivers, trafficking routes, strategies of counter-trafficking, issues, and gaps.

Table 2: Overview of Secondary Dataset (created by author).

Similarly, to the primary dataset overview, this table has not had an active role in the data collection or -processing. It simply provides a visual representation intended to make it easier for readers to gain an overview of the secondary datasets.

4.4.1.4.1 Ministry of Labour, Social Security and Services' Plan of Action

In 2014, the Counter Trafficking Advisory Committee was prescribed to help create a national plan of action that was ultimately published in 2015 (MOLSSS, 2015, p. v). *The National Plan of Action for Combating Human Trafficking: Strategic Framework 2013 – 2017* (National Plan of Action) established the Kenyan government's action plan from 2013 till 2017 while also providing a line of strategic priorities and actions to be carried out focused around the areas of prevention, protection, prosecution, and cross-cutting issues (MOLSSS, 2015). Furthermore, the document provided a numeric overview of the strategies in terms of e.g., monetary budgeting, documentation, or personnel (MOLSSS, 2015). It is of importance to acknowledge the periodical focus of the National Plan of Action. While a new plan of action was published in 2023 by the Kenyan government detailing counter-trafficking efforts from 2022-2027 (UNODC, 2023), it has not been possible to gain access to said document, thereby making the most recent document the National Plan of Action. Thus, the document is regarded as strategies that the Kenyan government desired to, and ultimately did or did not, implement to counter human trafficking of Kenyans.

4.4.1.4.2 National Crime Research Centre' Report

The second dataset is *The Problem of Human Trafficking in Kenya* report created by Stephen Masango Muteti for the NCRC in 2022 detailing and evaluating different elements and aspect of human trafficking and counter-trafficking efforts in Kenya. The study was grounded in quantitative and qualitative data obtained through face-to-face interviews or questionnaires from a total of 863 informants (Muteti, 2022, p. 18; 20-2). The NCRC is a government owned entity under the Ministry of Interior and National Administration, which seeks to impact crime through research resulting in recommendations to government agencies (<https://www.crimeresearch.go.ke>). Thus, as a government entity, the NCRC is perceived as a stakeholder in the field of counter-trafficking efforts as its research seeks to further understanding of the phenomenon and its state in Kenya.

4.5 Research Strategy

Beyond the utilization of interviews as a research method, this thesis is also grounded in internet-based research and archival and document-based research. According to Lamont (2015), internet-based research is defined as a research method of utilizing the internet to gather information on a given research topic through channels such as social media, blogs, newspaper websites,

government pages as well as traditional scholarly material (pp. 87-88). It is through this use of the internet as a search engine that archival and document-based research was conducted, specifically a research method based on the use of documents such as treaties, legislation, and official reports (Lamont, 2015, p. 80). As mentioned, the different types of documents utilized in this thesis were found through a combined research method of internet- and archival and document-based research, wherein the internet was used to gather information about the research topic to ultimately narrow down the relevant documents both in regard to the datasets and the secondary literature.

While playing a limited role in this thesis, the secondary literature was found through the above research method in two ways: either in the preliminary stages of the research process where the goal was to gain knowledge on different aspects of e.g. human trafficking and counter-trafficking efforts in Kenya; or simultaneously during the analysis of the datasets where the aim was to find literature that dealt with the same topic as the findings. The specific secondary literature utilized in this thesis was stakeholders' websites (which were used if the interviews were not thorough enough), organizational reports, and news articles. Moreover, some of the literary works and research presented in the literature review, such as McCarthy (2014), were also utilized as secondary literature as a way to contextualize the analysis and findings within relevant pre-existing scholarly research.

4.6 Method of Analysis

In this thesis, my method of analysis also exemplified the previously mentioned iterative process that was ongoing throughout the data collection and -processing. Specifically, I conducted a thematic content analysis, where I moved between different phases of the data processing and -analysis, meaning I altered between reading, interpreting, and contextualizing my datasets (Bryman, 2012, p. 560). Complementing the iterative process, I utilized the method of open coding, wherein the datasets were systematically broken down, conceptualized, and compared with one another (Bryman, 2012, p. 569). Essentially, I utilized a triangulation method that allowed me to approach my datasets open-mindedly letting patterns of concepts and ultimately categories emerge, thus letting my datasets guide my analysis and overall research.

The following table provides an overview of how the primary and secondary datasets were utilized in this thesis. Specifically, Table 3 indicates what the aim of utilizing the different datasets

was as well as the method of analysis that was utilized to approach data processing. Furthermore, the table also establishes the limitations of the two types of datasets.

	Aim	Analytical Approach	Limitation
Primary Datasets	Gain insight into organizational stakeholders' perception of human trafficking and counter-trafficking efforts in Kenya as well as organizational strategies.	Open coding and thematic content analysis of stakeholder perceptions and strategies within the field of counter-trafficking.	Interviewer questioning style may affect answers given, interviews were conducted online resulting in less natural flow in conversation, being a representative of an organization may have skewed interviewee responses.
Secondary datasets	Gain insight into governmental stakeholders' perception of human trafficking and counter-trafficking efforts in Kenya as well as governmental strategies.	Open coding and thematic content analysis of stakeholder perceptions and strategies within the field of counter-trafficking.	No opportunity for inquiring on clarifications on the communicated content, author bias, language ambiguity, varying formats.

Table 3: Overview of Primary- and Secondary Data sets' Utilization (created by author).

While both the aim *of* and analytical approach *to* the primary and secondary datasets are much alike, the limitations of the two types of datasets vastly differ due to differing methods of data collection and my role therein. However, these limitations were if acknowledged through the previously explained processes of triangulation and iterations as these two processes allowed me to process the data multiple times taking into consideration other datasets or secondary literature. Thus, in conducting the analysis, the point of departure was in the primary and secondary datasets which in turn were triangulated with the theoretical framework of Bronfenbrenner (1979; Rosa & Tudge, 2013), secondary literature or works discussed in the *2 Literature Review*.

Overall, the method of analysis took its point of departure in open coding and thematic content analysis, wherein the method of open coding allowed me to identify major themes and concepts in my datasets without preconceived categories in the initial stages of my data analysis. Furthermore, the method of thematic content analysis in turn aided me in utilizing the identified themes and concepts to further merge, refine, and define the themes, concepts, and overall patterns within the datasets. This process was not a linear approach, but rather iterative wherein I was able to reconsider the analysis of my datasets in the light of other literature and theoretical framework of this thesis.

5 Analysis

The following analysis will be divided into three overall parts in order to offer a beneficial structure in ultimately answering the different elements of the research question. The first part of the analysis will focus on creating a collective point of departure wherein the focus initially will be on examining how stakeholders define human trafficking in a Kenyan context and detailing the demographic tendencies of Kenyan victims thereof. By establishing these elements of my research, the analysis will thereafter identify and examine what stakeholders perceive as instrumental drivers of human trafficking. The second part of the analysis will focus on the current strategies employed by stakeholders in the field of counter-trafficking efforts in Kenya. It will moreover be continuously evaluated *if* and *how* the established drivers are addressed in current stakeholder strategies. The third and final part of the analysis will delve into issues within the current state of counter-trafficking efforts and what stakeholders argue to be the optimal way to create progress and success within counter-trafficking efforts in Kenya. Overall, the theoretical framework of Bronfenbrenner (1979; Rosa & Tudge, 2013) will be applied throughout the different parts of the analysis to aid in establishing if and where stakeholder strategies address drivers and if the future strategies of stakeholders address issues within the current state of counter-trafficking efforts.

5.1 Understanding the Complexity of Human Trafficking

As to identify and examine drivers of human trafficking in Kenya, this section will initially examine how stakeholders define human trafficking as a practice and their perception of the demographic tendencies in Kenya. The purpose of doing so is to gain an understanding of what stakeholders determine the scope of human trafficking as being, as this inevitably has an influence in not only who is perceived as victims of human trafficking, but also in determining the drivers of human trafficking. Thus, by focusing on these elements initially, a foundation is created for properly identifying and examining the drivers emphasized by stakeholders.

5.1.1 Defining Human Trafficking in a Kenyan Context

As established in the *2.1 The Definitional Challenges of Human Trafficking*, many countries have, following the adoption of the Palermo Protocol, incorporated the UN's definition of human trafficking in their national legislation, with some countries making alterations or additions to it (McCarthy, 2014, p. 223), one of these being Kenya. While the NCRC report

(Muteti, 2022, p. xiv) did indeed ground its definition of human trafficking in the Palermo Protocol, it is interesting that it, as a government-owned entity, did not ground itself in the CTPA (<https://www.crimeresearch.go.ke/>). While the Palermo Protocol and the CTPA do not offer widely differing definitions of human trafficking and delimitations of the term exploitation, the CTPA (Kenya Law, 2010b) provides certain definitional aspects not outlined in the Palermo Protocol (UNODC, 2000). In addition to the definition of human trafficking, as provided by the Palermo Protocol, the CTPA states that “giving payments or benefits to obtain the consent of the victim of trafficking in persons” (Kenya Law, 2010b, p. 6) also constitutes trafficking and that human trafficking “may be committed internally within the borders of Kenya or internationally across the borders of Kenya” (Kenya Law, 2010b, p. 9). Similarly, the CTPA included a further delimitation of what constitutes exploitation, namely the forcing of people to partake in armed conflicts, child marriage and -labor as well as forced marriage (Kenya Law, 2010b, p. 5).

Through the utilization of the Palermo Protocol’s definition, one could argue that Muteti was not able to consider the full scope of human trafficking practices in Kenya. While Muteti (2022) did not include elements such as bribery or recruitment of individuals for armed conflicts, he did take child labor and child- and forced marriage into consideration throughout his research. Thus, Muteti erroneously grounded the NCRC Report in the Palermo Protocol, as it does in fact include several elements of the CTPA’s definition of human trafficking. It is, however, not only the NCRC Report that grounds itself in the Palermo Protocol.

Nguli (Appendix E) explicitly stated that CHTEA grounds itself within the definition provided in the Palermo Protocol, not only for definitional purposes but also as the foundation from which the organization provides educational content about human trafficking (ll. 179-189). Similarly, on their organizational website, HAART grounds their definition of human trafficking in the Palermo Protocol while also claiming that, “Simply put, human trafficking is modern slavery” (HAART Kenya, n.d-a). By doing so, HAART can be argued to utilize the broader definition of modern slavery to indicate to users the exploitive nature of human trafficking that is telling for the broader umbrella term of modern slavery. Diverting from the use of the Palermo Protocol Mohamed (Appendix F) stated that COHF’s understanding of human trafficking is defined within the “three spheres that is act, means, and purpose (...) we [COHF] mainly got it from Counter Trafficking in Person Act” (ll. 76-78). Interestingly, while not explicitly stated on Trace Kenya’s website or evident in the interview with Adoch, Trace Kenya mentions both the

Palermo Protocol and the CTPA and utilizes the umbrella term of modern slavery, thus arguably indicating a broad understanding of the phenomenon (Trace Kenya, 2015, p. 4). While Azadi does not highlight either legal framework on their website, Olewe (Appendix D) stated, “in the aspect of modern slavery is definitely the best definition receipt, harboring, uh threatening. (...) we have to look at the means and we also have to look at the form of exploitation” (ll. 176-181), arguably utilizing similar terminology while also placing human trafficking under the larger practice of modern slavery as seen by Adoch and therefore Trace Kenya.

Overall, it can be stated that stakeholders within the field of counter-trafficking efforts display isomorphic tendencies in the utilization of the Palermo Protocol and the Counter Trafficking Act in defining human trafficking and in the tendency to put the phenomenon in connection to the practice of modern slavery.

5.1.2 Kenyan Victims of Human Trafficking

As counter-trafficking organizations’ as well as Muteti’s (2022) definition of human trafficking has been established, it is now appropriate to look into the demographic tendencies as stated by stakeholders. Throughout both the primary and secondary datasets a clear demographic tendency emerged wherein the victims were perceived as consisting of adults and children. Specifically, the overall age groups explicitly highlighted throughout the datasets (Appendix A, l. 243; Appendix C, l.127; Appendix D, ll. 25-26; Appendix F, l. 191) fall within the Kenyan Constitution’s definition of *youth*, which is an individual between 18 and 34 years of age (NGEC, n.d.). However, Adoch (Appendix A, ll. 249-250) also highlighted children between 13 and 14 years of age, whereas Mohamed (Appendix F, l. 197) also highlighted children of 16 years of age and up after. Furthermore, the datasets showcased a clear tendency that female victims and survivors were perceived as being the most afflicted of human trafficking operations in Kenya (Appendix A, ll. 193-194; Appendix B, l. 206; Appendix C, l. 126; Appendix D, l. 416; Appendix E, l. 304; Appendix F, l. 201). While the prevalence of women as victims of human trafficking was a point of consensus, an interesting argument was brought up by both Mohamed and Christensen in this regard. Christensen (Appendix B) stated that the prevalence of female victims was because:

“it is also harder to identify men compared to women and also a little bit harder to identify boys compared to girls as it just is more taboo for men, because there is this macho-culture where you can’t admit that you need help”.¹ (translated by author, ll. 213-217)

This argument was also supported by Mohamed who stated that men simply do not speak about issues in their life (Appendix F, ll. 201-202). Both Christensen’s and Mohamed’s statement arguably gain credibility through observations made during my 2023-2024 internship in Nairobi, Kenya, where I saw a cultural expectation of men not expressing vulnerable emotions as they are expected to conform to a stereotype of the male individual as being hyper-masculine and strong.

In regard to the demographic element of the geographical location of victims, Olewe (Appendix D) stated that while there is no overarching geographic location of Azadi’s beneficiaries, the organization does indeed “have more cases of women coming from the coastal areas of Kenya” (ll. 380-381). In her interview, Njoroge (Appendix C, ll. 133-136) similarly emphasized the coastal city of Mombasa as being a hub for human trafficking as well as the city of Nairobi, wherein both areas were emphasized due to the informal settlements in both cities (Appendix C, ll. 133-136). The centrality of informal settlements in the demographic of human trafficking victims was also mentioned by Olewe (Appendix D, ll. 403-407) as well as Muteti (2022, p. 133). Mohamed (Appendix F, ll. 217-218; 400-401), however, stated that while COHF does operate within major cities like Nairobi and Mombasa, their beneficiaries primarily originate from rural areas within Kenya. Interestingly, Muteti (2022, p.133) found that in cases of internal trafficking victims were from rural areas, whereas victims of cross-border trafficking were majorly from urban areas, informal settlements, and rural areas. In line with the emphasis on informal settlements, both Olewe (Appendix D, ll. 407-409), Njoroge (Appendix C, ll. 133-136), and Muteti (2022, p.40) stated that victims of human trafficking typically have a low income. As the only stakeholders touching upon the demographic element of level of education, Nguli (Appendix E, ll. 295-297) and Muteti, (2022, p. 40) both stated that victims of human trafficking often have not gone beyond Form 4 in their secondary level education.

¹ “Det er også meget sværere at identificere mænd end det er at identificere kvinder, og det er også en lille smule sværere at identificere drenge end det er at identificere piger da det bare er mere tabubelagt for mænd, fordi der er ligesom den her macho kultur at man ikke kan indrømme, at man har brug for hjælp”

Based on the above, it can be argued that stakeholders experience a majority of female victims who are between their mid- to late teens and 35 years of age. The datasets reflected a more diverse demographic in terms of the geographical location of victims of human trafficking, potentially attributing to factors such as office location, program-focus, and targeted geographical areas. However, the datasets did show a perception of informal settlements and people of low income as being the sources of victims of human trafficking in Kenya.

5.1.3 Drivers of Human Trafficking in Kenya

Based on the above findings concerning the definitional delimitations of human trafficking as well as the demographic tendencies of victims in Kenya, a foundation has been established making it possible to examine the drivers of the phenomenon in Kenya. The following sub-section has been divided into three different types of drivers that emerged through the data-processing, namely economic-, institutional-, and other drivers.

5.1.3.1 Economic Drivers

In delving into the topic of drivers of human trafficking in Kenya, it becomes evident within the datasets that the economic environment of individuals is of centrality, where Nguli (Appendix E) stated that, “the reality of the difficult economic environment that Kenya, this is (...) they [Kenyans] become a vulnerable population” (ll. 291-298). Nguli’s statement can be argued to be supported by Christensen (Appendix B, ll. 178-179), Mohamed (Appendix F, ll. 138-41), and Muteti (2022, p.51), who stated that poverty is one of the biggest drivers of human trafficking in Kenya, as it makes people more vulnerable and desperate, thus exposing themselves to opportunist traffickers. Departing from Bronfenbrenner’s (1979) theory, it is possible to argue that in the context of this thesis, poverty originates as a driver within the macrosystem of an individual. Poverty can further be argued to be placed within the macrosystem, as despite Kenya experiencing economic growth and a rise in living standards, it also reveals an uneven distribution of economic progress resulting in multi-dimensional poverty, i.e., poverty that affects standard of living, health, and education (The World Bank, 2023; Human Development Reports, 2023, p. 1).

Regarding poverty as solely a macrosystem driver would, despite the above, be erroneous, as poverty arguably becomes cross-cutting when drivers leading to or deriving from poverty are considered. Specifically, Njoroge (Appendix C, ll. 323-324) argued that the living conditions of individuals is crucial to consider in the context of drivers of human trafficking, as they are affected

by poverty. In discussing living conditions, Olewe (Appendix D, ll. 277-278) and Njoroge (Appendix C, ll. 366-368) emphasized how cost of living and -food become drivers of human trafficking, especially when considering the effect of inflation on said elements. With Bronfenbrenner's framework in mind (1979), it is possible to argue, that as individuals do not play a role in determining the cost of living or the cost of food, these drivers operate within an individual's exosystem, wherein they are affected by the occurrence of inflation which originates within the individual's macrosystem as inflation. Furthermore, Olewe (Appendix D) stated that,

“the issues of skills, whereby we have a large number of young people (...) who did not get an opportunity to go to college (...) maybe did not finish their secondary schools because of poverty and other contributing issues, and now the only jobs available for them are those housekeeping jobs that are provided in the Middle East countries or the Gulf countries and that is where majority of Kenyans are usually exploited” (ll. 284-289),

thereby creating an interconnected nature between poverty and unemployment in Kenya.

This interconnectedness is supported by Nguli (Appendix E) who stated that “poverty is perpetuated by high levels of unemployment” (ll. 272-273) and by Njoroge (Appendix C, ll. 100-103; 14-17) who stated that unemployment and the lack of opportunity that derives therefrom are drivers of human trafficking, as Kenyan individuals, alike Olewe's claim, look towards opportunities past their country's borders. Several stakeholders (Appendix B, l. 179; Appendix D, ll. 282-284; Appendix F, ll. 142-144; Muteti, 2022, p. 51) identify unemployment and the lack of opportunities as drivers of human trafficking and while they may be perceived as drivers within the exosystem of an individual, this may not solely be the case (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). According to Olewe (Appendix D, ll. 290-293) poverty is a big contributor to the occurrence of sexual exploitation of e.g., children in the coastal region of Kenya, whereby parents utilize the high amount of sex tourism in the region as a way to earn money through the selling of their child(ren). The reasoning for the parents' actions may be found in Mohamed's (Appendix F) statement that “the domestic servitude um kids saying yes to these jobs is because, for example, their parents have no jobs,” (ll. 143-144) whereby unemployment drives parents to utilize their child(ren) for economic gain, thereby resulting in the child's microsystem becoming a source of drivers for human trafficking.

With “80 percent of the population aged 35 years and below,” (NCPD, 2017, p. 1), a youth bulge is created in Kenya, thereby creating a large number of people seeking employment. While the Kenyan government has implemented “a number of policies, institutional, legal and programmatic measures to respond to the challenges facing the youth,” (NCPD, 2017, p. 2), the youth are still experiencing high levels of unemployment and have therefore turned their attention towards foreign job markets. Interestingly, Adoch (Appendix A) stated that appointing poverty as the main driver of human trafficking “goes beyond the simplicity” (l. 242) of determining why certain individuals are more vulnerable than others, however he argued that working abroad is especially lucrative for the youth who see it as “elitist and great (...) many young people feel good if they (...) get the international exposure as part of their CV” (ll. 205-209). This argument is in turn supported by Njoroge (Appendix C) who stated that a “romanticization of abroad” (l. 327) has occurred, wherein the youth perceive working in other countries as being better than staying Kenya. Njoroge (Appendix C, ll. 347-351) sets this in connection to neocolonialism, wherein Europe or the U.S. are perceived as being better alternatives than Kenya, thus opening the youth up to being vulnerable to human trafficking operations. Departing from the Bioecological Systems Theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), the desire to work abroad arguably occurs as a driver in the macro- and microsystem of the individual, as the romanticization of foreign countries occurs through larger overarching cultural perceptions as well as through an individual’s interaction with people in their microsystem perpetuate the romanticization of other countries.

Overall, the economic environment is indicative of a large set of proximal processes (Rosa & Tudge, 2013) wherein individuals interact with different elements deriving from poverty in different social settings as well as bioecological systems. These processes arguably become drivers of human trafficking and while the chronosystem (Rosa & Tudge, 2013) has not been emphasized throughout, this is not to say that drivers are not affected by this bioecological system. Rather it is arguably through the prolonged presence of these drivers that individuals become susceptible to human trafficking operations, as short-term e.g., unemployment would presumably not lead to traveling abroad as long-term conditions evidently do.

5.1.3.2 Institutional Drivers

Beyond the presence of economic drivers in Kenya, stakeholder interviews drew attention to the role of institutions, namely the Kenyan government and justice system as influential within the

context of human trafficking. Njoroge (Appendix C) claimed that a sense of hopelessness is instilled in individuals when they have an experience of “the state doesn't care about you,” (l. 405), which ultimately drives people to seek job opportunities outside of Kenya. This is arguably supported by Olewe (Appendix D) who noted:

“the issue of government, not conducting adequate follow-ups, especially for migrant workers who move from Kenya and go to other countries (...) they were not able to get hold of the embassy contacts (...) so they're [Kenyan government] not responsive” (ll. 296-300),

which serves as an example of how Kenyans may also not feel the support of the Kenyan government when abroad. Within the Bioecological Systems Theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), the inaction of the government becomes a driver among the macro-, exo-, and microsystem as the former is indicative of the government's general attitude towards individuals whereas the latter is reflective of the attempt of individuals to establish direct contact with a government agency.

In relation to the government, Muteti's (2022, p.70) research found that political instability is one of the main drivers and while an explanation of this statement was not offered, an explanation could arguably be found in the how elections have become sources of conflict in Kenya (Turi, 2023). Specifically, the 2007 election in Kenya resulted in violence, displacement, and deaths and it signaled the start of years of post-election political instability wherein the credibility of polls has been brought up and corruption within the government has become more evident (Turi, 2023; Gathara, 2023). Thus, political instability arguably becomes a driver within the macrosystem (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), as the lack of trust, violence, and corruption that comes with it, ultimately translates to higher levels of vulnerability in individuals to traffickers e.g., offering the option of leaving the country for a job.

The above argument can conceivably find support in Christensen's (Appendix B, ll. 180-185; 586-589) identification of corruption within the Kenyan governance system as being a driver as traffickers are enabled to bribe government officials, thereby allowing for the continuation of their operations. This identification of corruption as a driver arguably finds support in the GOICI project's determination of corruption as the main driver of human trafficking in Kenya (GOICI, n.d-e). Interestingly, Nguli (Appendix E) argued that while corruption was indeed a driver, it was not the sole driver of human trafficking, but rather one of several “inadequacies” (l. 471) of the Kenyan government that allows for unsuccessful prosecution of traffickers. The element of

prosecution as a so-called second-order driver of human trafficking is furthermore supported by Olewe (Appendix D) who identified “the burden of evidence” (ll. 250-251) as a driver, as “when you [the victim or survivor] try to paint a case as a human trafficking case, it becomes very difficult because we also have actors within the criminal justice system would not understand how human trafficking manifests” (ll. 255-257). In other words, due to the lack of knowledge within the governance system as to what constitutes human trafficking, victims go undetected or unheard and traffickers are able to continue in their operations. Thus, corruption and a lack of knowledge, like other drivers examined thus far, becomes a cross-cutting driver within the Bioecological Systems Theory as the proximal processes of the elements that derive of said corruption and lack of knowledge increase the vulnerability of victims as well as survivors of human trafficking (Rosa & Tudge, 2013). Therefore, corruption and lack of knowledge are arguably not only macro- and exosystem (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) drivers where they do not directly interact with the individual but also micro- and mesosystems drivers as individuals, or other microsystems, may interact directly with microsystems that engage with people or entities that ultimately drive human trafficking in Kenya.

In discussing drivers of human trafficking, Christensen (Appendix B, l. 524) argued that the presence of neocolonialism in not only Kenya but Africa in general must not be forgotten. Specifically, Christensen (Appendix B) argued that countries in Africa are controlled by “institutions such as IMF [International Monetary Fund] and the World Bank” (ll. 524-525) and are subject to military interventions by external actors (l. 526). Christensen (Appendix B, ll. 528-531) further supported his argument by stating if countries such as Kenya are allowed to develop independently of neocolonial influences, they would ultimately increase their minimum wage, which would affect western companies as their revenue would decrease. This argument supports Njoh & Ayuk-Etang’s (2012) research that found that capitalist interests ultimately led to a decreased interest in combating human trafficking as Western countries would experience a negative financial impact. Thus, neocolonialism can be identified as a driver within Bronfenbrenner’s (1979) macro- and chronosystem (Rosa & Tudge, 2013), as the historical evolution of colonial power structures and neocolonial structures today have led to a capitalist system wherein the so-called blueprint of Kenyan society bears the mark of said structures.

In sum, the institutional drivers of human trafficking in Kenya can be viewed as being tied to the gap that has emerged between the government and citizens of Kenya, wherein the proximal

processes (Rosa & Tudge, 2013) of political instability, issues within the system of prosecution, and corruption have collided in jointly driving human trafficking operations and -vulnerability in individuals. Furthermore, neocolonialism has been identified as driver wherein the capitalist system of profit-above-all has been determined to drive the continuance of neocolonial influences in Kenya and thereby also driving its people to search for job opportunities abroad.

5.1.3.3 Other Drivers

Through the iterative analysis and processing of the primary datasets, the categorization of both economic and institutional drivers emerged but several drivers were emphasized that could not be placed directly within these two types of drivers. A lack of awareness was emphasized by Mohamed (Appendix F), as it drives both internal and cross-border human trafficking, wherein the former is emphasized as “that some people, even in Kenya, they have no idea what's human trafficking (...) your own family member can can traffic. They literally can sell you off and you have no idea” (ll. 149-151). The selling of family members is also evident in Olewe’s (Appendix D, ll. 294-296) argument showcased in *5.1.3.1 Economic Drivers* wherein he stated that some families sell their child(ren) in a desperate attempt to earn money. Furthermore, Olewe (Appendix D, ll. 252-253; 295) stated that inadequate information and awareness both in potential victims, as well as law enforcement is one of the primary drivers of human trafficking. This observation is arguably supported by Muteti’s (2022, p. 54) finding that low levels of education have led to ignorance surrounding what human trafficking is. Based on Bronfenbrenner’s theory (1979), the lack of awareness and knowledge surrounding human trafficking can be said to be a driver within the microsystem as a lack of knowledge influences the individual directly through interactions with others or the lack of monetary funds to access education. Lack of awareness and knowledge is furthermore a driver within the macrosystem (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) due to the way government officials are taught to handle human trafficking to affecting society at large.

In regard to internal trafficking, Adoch (Appendix A, ll. 234-238) and Christensen (Appendix B, ll. 184-187) both identified cultural practices as being a driver as practices such as child marriage are in some Kenyan cultures regarded as a traditional and cultural practice. Adoch (Appendix A) further argued that “it’s a lot of cultural attitudes that will change over time (...) cannot change quite immediately even though we have laws against them” (ll. 234-235). In other words, child marriage as a practice will not cease to exist simply because the Kenyan government

has made it illegal, but it is rather a question of letting time run its course. Christensen (Appendix B) is found to support this through his statement:

“When tourists who are pedophiles start arriving [on the coast of Kenya], it is like a transition where okay, it may be that they won’t marry her, but at least you can support the family by earning money to the family through these tourists. (ll. 191-194)”² (translated by author)

In coastal Kenya, tourism was also identified as a driver by Muteti (2022, pp. 130-131), as cheap labor in the tourism industry opens up for exploitive situations as well as the allure of coastal Kenya to tourists. Tourism, as a driver of human trafficking, is thus also supported by Christensen and Olewe’s previously presented statements of tourism driving sexual exploitation of children.

Thus, departing from Bronfenbrenner’s (1979) theory, cultural practices can be identified as a driver within the macro- and microsystem. This is due to the proximal processes (Rosa & Tudge, 2013) that occur wherein the overarching culture of e.g., child marriage within the macrosystem end up directly affecting the child in that their family, i.e., a microsystem, actively engage them in what is ultimately considered as constituting human trafficking. Furthermore, tourism can as a driver be placed within the macro-, exo-, and microsystem of an individual (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), as tourism acts as an overarching income-generating system in the coast wherein increased tourism ultimately leads families to sell their child(ren) to tourists to earn money.

Adoch (Appendix A) also emphasized individuals from Kenyan coastal cities as being particularly susceptible to human trafficking practices due to the historical ties the region has to,

“Middle Eastern coast (...) and Arabic culture (...). So this goes a long way and the traditionally being a part of a family, to go and work with the other family consider that again a respectable thing to do, but increasingly when the Middle Eastern people got very rich in the 70s when the oil came out, (...) They commercialize this [domestic work], but they still held back the Kafala system.” (ll. 212-218)

² Når der så kommer begynder at komme turister som er pædofile, så så er det ligesom en overgang der er til at okay, det kan godt være at de ikke bliver gift med hende, men i hvert fald så kan du komme kun støtte familien ved at tjene penge til familien igennem de her turister.

The Kafala System is a sponsorship system where migrant workers need a sponsor, typically a private citizen or their employer, who has control over the migrant worker's immigration status and employment, leaving the migrant worker vulnerable to exploitations and creating an uneven power balance between them and their sponsor (Robinson, 2022).

Both Njoroge (Appendix C, ll. 44-59) and Adoch (Appendix A) commented that the exploitive and discriminatory nature of the Kafala system, concerning which Adoch stated, “[it] discriminates against color, it’s a racial behavior. Secondly, it treats servants and workers as second and third-class citizenry. (...) and they still hold the Kafala system and within households it would be outrageously discriminatory and exploitative in nature” (ll. 218-226). Thus the historical ties to the Middle Eastern coast and culture engages individuals in proximal processes such as the Kafala System which ultimately drive cross-border human trafficking practices, thereby placing it largely within the chrono-, exo-, and microsystem of an individual (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Rosa & Tudge, 2013), as the evolution of time wherein a commercialization of domestic work occurred, thereby creating a direct potentially exploitive interaction within the said System.

Lastly, Mohamed (Appendix F, ll. 357-361) greatly emphasized, throughout the interview, that drivers of human trafficking are contextual and thus are subject to change over time, an example of which is the driver of climate change. Mohamed (ibid) stated that currently, April and May of 2024, Kenya is experiencing heavy rainfall which ultimately leads to the displacement of people. Njoroge (Appendix C, ll. 100-102) similar recounted that during her time of employment with Change.org, Kenya was experiencing a drought which led to an increase in both the cost of living and -food. These statements coincide with the research of Malinowski & Schulze (2019), who found that environmental disaster can promote human trafficking practices, thus solidifying climate change as a driver of human trafficking. Specifically, within the Bronfenbrenner's (1979) theory, climate change is placed within the exo-, meso-, and microsystems as drought or severe rainfall affects agricultural practices and harvesting that in turn will affect how food prices and can ultimately lead to individuals being displaced, thereby increasing their vulnerability and need for income in order to meet the new financial demands as a consequence of climate change.

5.1.4 Summary

In summation, this first section of the analysis found isomorphic trends within stakeholder definitions of human trafficking wherein a point of departure was taken in the definitions set forth

in the Palermo Protocol and the CTPA, the latter's definition being derived from the former. Furthermore, an examination of demographic tendencies as communicated by stakeholders showcased a clear profile of women who range from their mid- to late teens and up to 35 years of age, low income, and living in informal settlements. Through the examination of drivers of human trafficking in the context of Kenya, a vast set of drivers were identified through the datasets. Within Bioecological Systems Theory, the occurrence of the drivers is as showcased in Figure 3:

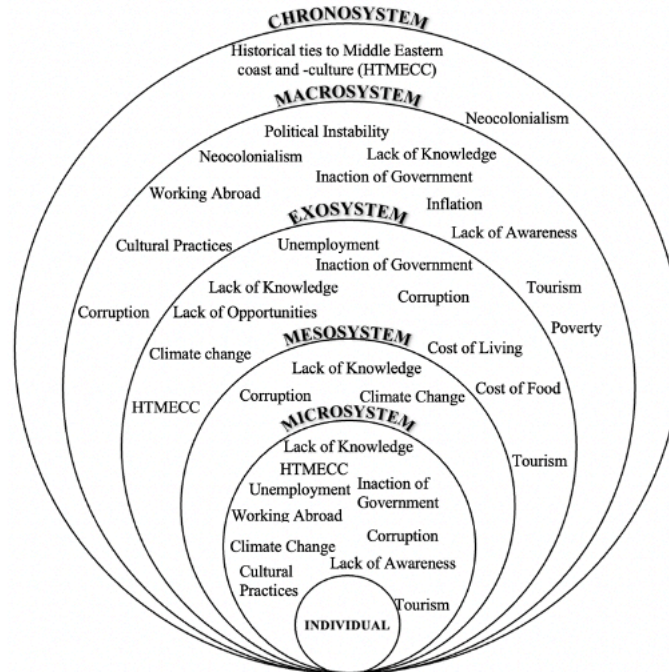


Figure 3: Depiction of Drivers of Human Trafficking in Kenya within the Bioecological Systems (created by author).

As displayed in Figure 3, the drivers of human trafficking in Kenya are largely cross-cutting of a Kenyan individual's bioecological systems. While the chrono- and mesosystem do not feature prominently in this examination of drivers of human traffickers, the reasoning for this can be attributed to the content of the datasets wherein neither the evolution of drivers over time and the interrelatedness of victims and survivors' microsystems was of focus. Furthermore, it is important to note that the proximal processes occurring between the individual and the drivers within their bioecological systems are what ultimately create and further their vulnerability towards human trafficking.

5.2 Stakeholder Strategies in Kenya's Counter-Trafficking Efforts

As the previous part of the analysis established and examined the various drivers stakeholders perceived as being of importance, a foundation has now been set to examine the current counter-trafficking strategies applied by stakeholders in Kenya. Throughout this second part of the analysis, focus will be on which strategies are implemented and whether they address the previously established drivers. Throughout this analysis, the theoretical framework of the Bioecological Systems Theory will be utilized to identify what bioecological system(s) stakeholders' strategies operate within and discuss whether said placement correlates with the drivers they have been found to address.

5.2.1 Stakeholder Strategies of Prevention

In examining the strategies emphasized by stakeholders throughout the datasets, the utilization of preventative strategies becomes apparent. Within preventative strategies, Adoch expressed Trace Kenya's focus on awareness-creation as follows:

“we are trying as much as possible to enlighten citizens of Kenya that trafficking in as much as people think it happens abroad it happens here. So we are working more and more with enlightening communities that trafficking is a bigger deal here even which are already prescribed by Kenyan laws, that but many communities do not consider them as serious. You know, they say ‘all this is our culture and stuff.’ So so we try to create that awareness and change attitude of citizenry over time”. (Appendix A, ll. 172-174)

In considering Bronfenbrenner's (1979; Rosa & Tudge, 2013) theory, one can argue that Trace Kenya's public awareness strategy operates within the micro- and chronosystem, as efforts are made to directly address the communities while also acknowledging the passing of time as essential in altering public opinion. Moreover, while Christensen (Appendix B, ll. 24-26) and Njoroge (Appendix C, ll. 44-49) emphasized the importance of creating awareness-creation towards people considering pursuing job opportunities in the Gulf States, Mohamed (Appendix F) differently stated that COHF also engages in awareness-creation on “how to identify a potential victim of trafficking” (ll. 34-35). Whereas Christensen and Njoroge respectively highlighted HAART and Change.org's strategies of public awareness through proximal processes within the microsystem (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), COHF's strategy of awareness-creation in victim

identification falls within the exosystem (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) as it does not directly address potential victims of human trafficking but rather potential by-standers e.g., law enforcement or transportation actors.

Furthermore, the Kenya Ministry of Labour, Social Security and Services (MOLSSS) (MOLSSS, 2015, p. 8) focused on awareness-creation on the means utilized by traffickers to facilitate their operations, the support-opportunities survivors have in Kenya, as well as how the media should be reporting cases of human trafficking. Thus, with Bronfenbrenner's (1979) theory in mind, the MOLSSS's awareness-creation is situated within the micro- and exosystem, as it both directly and indirectly addresses the individual. Interestingly, Nguli (Appendix E, ll. 20-22) contended that their element of awareness-creation is centered around the government, wherein CHTEA seeks to create awareness on proper implementation of legislation concerning human trafficking as well as the ever-changing tactics of traffickers, thereby necessitating the need for innovative government strategies (CHTEA, n.d-a). Similarly, Change.org and HAART (Appendix B, ll. 47) can also be argued to be of similar conviction, as advocacy efforts are "bringing it to light (...) and trying to see (...) which sections of the government should be responsible for it [addressing human trafficking properly]" (Appendix C, ll. 42-43). When considering the Bronfenbrenner's (1979) theory, CHTEA, Change.org, and HAART's focus on government awareness ultimately places the strategy within the exo- and macrosystem of the individual as their strategy may have an indirect influence on the individual as well as on the societal blueprint (ibid).

Closely aligned with awareness-creation, the utilization of capacity building and training as a preventative strategy is found utilized by certain stakeholders. In this regard, Muteti (2022) emphasized the use of capacity building programs to empower individuals at risk of becoming victims of human trafficking (p. 135). This focus on at-risk individuals is supported by Umukoro's (2021, p. 82) emphasis on the necessity of building capital within said individuals. Unlike Muteti and Umukoro, both Christensen and the MOLSSS explained the utilization of the strategy of prevention to train and build the capacities of other stakeholders within the field (Appendix B, ll. 384-387). Thus, these two strategies are situated within different bioecological systems (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), namely the micro- and exosystem as the former addresses the individual directly whereas the latter addresses the individual indirectly through the training of stakeholders.

As logic dictates, strategies are implemented by stakeholders to address certain gaps or issues in society, thereby making it interesting to jointly examine drivers and strategies within the

counter-trafficking efforts in Kenya. The preventative strategies of awareness-creation, government awareness, and capacity building can be argued to address the established drivers of lack of awareness and lack of knowledge within the public as well as the governance system, as the strategies are directed towards creating a better understanding of human trafficking both within the public and the government. Thus, it is possible to argue that there is an overall intersection of said strategies and drivers. Considering Bronfenbrenner's (1979) theory, the strategies and drivers can likewise be said to intersect as both are placed within the micro- and exosystem of the individual. It is important to note, that both drivers are also placed within the macrosystem, due to the processes that ultimately lead to them becoming ingrained in society, thus the stakeholder strategies that address said drivers in the exosystem may have an impact as the ever-present chronosystem may eventually result in a change in the macrosystem (Rosa & Tudge, 2013).

5.2.2 Stakeholder Strategies of Protection

Through further exploration of stakeholder strategies, protection emerges as a widely applied strategy within the field counter-trafficking efforts in Kenya. Three overall protection strategies emerge from the datasets, namely "rescues, rehabilitation, and reintegration" (Appendix E, ll. 23), which are all distinct but ultimately connected manners in which stakeholders seek to protect victims and survivors of human trafficking in Kenya. The first strategy, rescue, is applied by Trace Kenya in the following way:

"within the local internal trafficking circuit we (...) actually have officers in the field (...) so we intercept them [potential victims and victims]. The officers are seated at the transport hubs, and they are able to tell if a child's come alone or stranded or not stranded, or a person looks stranded". (Appendix A, ll. 100-103)

It is, however, not solely in regard to internal trafficking that the strategy of interception is utilized. While both the MOLSSS (2015, p. 9) and Muteti (2022) stated that the stationing of personnel at specific hotspots helps in identifying victims and perpetrators of human trafficking, Muteti further identified how the check and verification of travel- and employment documents, border security, and geographically-placed bans of night-travel are well-known and effective strategies in combating cross-border trafficking (p. 135-136). Due to the placement of personnel at transport hubs and hotspots, these rescue strategies can, through the utilization of Bronfenbrenner's (1979)

theory, be argued to operate within the microsystem of an individual, as the potential victims and victims of human trafficking interact directly with an officer.

Furthermore, the MOLSSS emphasized within its protection strategies, the operationalization of the National Referral Mechanism (NRM) as well as the National Assistance Trust Fund (NATF) as being instrumental in protecting victims and survivors of human trafficking. The NRM is a framework based on the cooperation and support of various stakeholders to protect the rights of those who have been trafficked (MEACLS, n.d., p. 10). Furthermore, the NATF is a monetary fund established to assist survivors in their rehabilitation and reintegration (KMLSP, n.d.). While the Kenyan government has been found to disburse “more than 7.6 million Ksh (\$62,270)” (U.S. Department of States, 2023), both Christensen (Appendix B, ll. 466-473) and Olewe (Appendix D, ll. 494-497) expressed apprehension towards the successful implementation of the fund. Nonetheless, the development of both the NRM and the NATF can be argued to be placed within the exo- and macrosystem (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), as the two frameworks indirectly influence the individual, but do not directly engage with said individual.

The second stakeholder strategy that emerges from the datasets is that of rehabilitation, which Nguli explained as including following elements within CHTEA:

“we have a safe house where we check in survivors of human trafficking for intensive therapy, uh, most of them would come back with the shop with a lot of deep-seated PTSD symptoms and basically, we use that center to help them recover from that trauma”.

(Appendix E, ll. 23-26)

The utilization of safe houses, or shelters, is not a unique strategy pertaining to CHTEA, rather Adoch presented Trace Kenya’s utilization of a transfer shelter wherein survivors are provided the basic necessities, medical attention, and possible family reunification (Appendix A, ll. 105-108). Similarly, to CHTEA, Christensen explained how HAART runs a shelter where survivors are offered psychotherapy amongst other rehabilitation services (Appendix B, ll. 27-28). While COHF does not run its own shelter, Mohamed (Appendix F) explained how they refer survivors to organizations that provide “shelters, psychological support, legal assistance” (ll. 38-39), arguably making their strategy more collaborative of nature. Moreover, within the structure of Azadi, Olewe (Appendix D, l. 162) explained that the organization focuses primarily on rehabilitation and reintegration of survivors of human trafficking. Azadi too showcases the centrality of therapy in

rehabilitation strategies as they “provide services around safeguarding and wellbeing just ensuring that they [survivors] have access to psychosocial support, group therapy as a way of healing and reintegration” (Appendix A, ll. 10-11). Conceptually (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), the rehabilitation strategies of utilizing safe houses or various forms of therapy can be argued to be placed within the description of the microsystem as they are strategies that engage survivors in proximal processes.

The last overall protection strategy that can be identified in the strategies of stakeholders is that of reintegration, which several stakeholders do in the form of economic empowerment. In order to provide economic empowerment, Olewe explained Azadi’s strategy as the following:

“we’re looking at programs on how we can provide economic justice and self-determination using 3 pathways, one through provision of capital to engage in business and income-generating activity. The second one is some need support to go back to school to gain skills so that they can access jobs, and then the other pathways just referral to employment opportunities”. (Appendix D, ll. 19-23)

The provision of capital to support survivors in income-generating activities is also utilized by HAART (Appendix B, ll. 306-207), Trace Kenya (Appendix A, ll. 90-92), and CHTEA (Appendix E, ll. 159-166). From a theoretical perspective (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), the provision of economic aid is placed within the individual’s bioecological microsystem, due to the proximal processes that directly affect the further development, or reintegration, of the individual.

The protective strategies implemented by stakeholders in the field of counter-trafficking efforts in Kenya are overall the rescue, rehabilitation, and reintegration of survivors, which operate majorly within the microsystem of the individual, with the notable exception of the strategy of the NRM and the NATF within the exo- and macrosystem (ibid). These strategies can be argued to address the established drivers of poverty, lack of opportunities, unemployment, and inaction of the government, as they focus on executing the intended tasks of government officials (e.g., border control and victim identification), the provision of financial aid and support in income-generating endeavors. Thus, it is possible to argue that there is an overall intersection of said strategies and drivers in regard to the rescue and reintegration of survivors. From a theoretical perspective (ibid), the strategies and drivers can however not be argued to intersect fully, as the strategies employed

are focused on the individual's microsystem, whereas e.g., poverty and unemployment are cross cutting in multiple systems.

5.2.3 Stakeholder Strategies of Prosecution

A third stakeholder strategy can be identified within the field of counter-trafficking efforts in Kenya, specifically prosecution. Muteti (2022) logically presented that “enforcement of the Counter-Trafficking in Persons Act, 2010 (Revised 2012) and other relevant laws especially by way of arrest, prosecution, trial, punishment and rehabilitation of perpetrators of human trafficking” (p. 135) were found to be beneficial strategies within counter-trafficking efforts. This arguably correlates with the National Plan of Action (2015, p. 10), wherein ensuring a proper legal framework was developed to properly operationalize and enforce the CTPA and creating a database of “case law on rulings and judgements on issues related to trafficking in persons” (ibid) were of particular importance in the prosecution strategy. Interestingly, Njoroge (Appendix C) stated that Change.org lobbied the government intending to place responsibility and accountability as “if then we can't stop like the domestic workers from leaving then we try and see if we can then get it enforced by the state” (ll. 67-68), arguably showcasing that at the time of Njoroge's employment in 2018, the organizational strategy of Change.org indicated that the above strategies of the MOLSSS may not have been properly executed. However, the three stakeholders' prosecution strategies can, from Bronfenbrenner's (1979) theory, said to be placed within the bioecological systems of the exo- and macrosystems. This is due to the fact that the strategies are not directly engaging with the individual, but rather with the perpetrators of human trafficking, thereby engaging in measures that have an indirect influence on the individual while also altering the legal foundation of the Kenyan country, thus again influencing the individual by extension.

This focus on perpetrators of human trafficking is also found with the prosecution strategy of Trace Kenya as Adoch (Appendix A) stated “we always seek out to prosecute perpetrators, notwithstanding the manner of which this has happened because that is the most the best deterrent part” (ll. 126-127). As with the above, Trace Kenya's strategy can also be argued to be operating within the Bioecological System Theory's (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) exosystem due to the strategy's focus on perpetrators. The centrality of prosecuting perpetrators of human trafficking as a counter-trafficking efforts somewhat gains further traction, as HAART applies a prosecution strategy (Appendix B, ll. 66-67) in which survivor support is created through the provision of legal aid

throughout the process of a trial (HAART Kenya, n.d-b). Thus, through the explicit mention and focus on survivor support through the process of perpetrator prosecution, it is possible to argue that HAART's prosecution strategy engages proximal processes (Rosa & Tudge, 2013) within an individual's micro- and exosystem (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), as the former is inhabited of survivors whereas the latter can be argued to be operated within of potential victims as perpetrators are prosecuted through the support of survivors.

The strategies of prosecution overall implemented by stakeholders are the prosecution of stakeholders and the strengthening of the CTPA, which primarily operate within the micro- and exosystem, with the efforts to properly operationalize the CTPA also operating within the macrosystem (ibid). These strategies can be argued to address the overall driver of government inaction along with its proximal processes, as said strategies focus on bringing about accountability and proper action within the government (Rosa & Tudge, 2013). Thus, an overall intersection can be found between the strategies of counter-trafficking and drivers themselves, a cohesion that also resonates when considering Bronfenbrenner's (1979) theory, as both the drivers and strategies operate in a cross-cutting fashion among the micro-, exo-, and macrosystems of an individual.

5.2.4 Stakeholder Strategies of Partnership

A fourth stakeholder strategy that emerges within the field of counter-trafficking efforts is that of partnerships, both among stakeholders in Kenya but also on an international level. According to Nguli, CHTEA

“realize[s] human trafficking is a very complex, uh, dynamic in society. So we have created robust partnerships with government, with the security agencies, with the fellow civil society organization, with the UN agencies, in the effort to understand and also properly provide a referral pathway for the various segments of the work that we feel others can also play a role in and that we feel that will feed into into what (...) we do (...) as an organization”.

(Appendix E, ll. 48-53)

CHTEA's strategy of partnership can thus be argued to engage stakeholders on a local, national, and international level with the aim of understanding and combating human trafficking. While the MOLSSS (2015) categorized the “Operationalization of the Advisory Committee to implement the

Counter Trafficking in Persons” (p. 11) and increasing governmental cooperation on an international level as a cross-cutting strategies, they can be argued to constitute partnership strategies, wherein stakeholders, such as CHTEA (Appendix E, ll. 54-57) and Trace Kenya (Appendix A, 264-266) are members (of the former that is). The Advisory Committee as a stakeholder strategy is furthered solidified through Nguli’s statement that “we have a seat there for the next six years and we have managed to push through some of the ideas that we have in this effort.” (Appendix E, ll. 56-57), as they arguably utilize the space to further their agenda. Overall, these partnership strategies arguably operate within the exo- and macrosystems (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), due to their focus on other stakeholders, rather than the individual, in seeking to further counter-trafficking efforts in Kenya and creating lasting impacts.

The partnership strategy of working together with other organizations on both a local, national, and international level is also emphasized by Christensen (Appendix B, ll. 46-49) and Mohamed (Appendix F, ll. 40-43; ll. 245-247), wherein the complexity and changing trends of human trafficking are stated in making it essential to work with different level stakeholders (ibid). Adoch (Appendix A) can arguably be found to support this centrality partnerships, as Trace Kenya strategic framework also includes working with e.g., other CSOs as well as branches of Kenyan government as a way to collaborate with the relevant stakeholder(s) depending on the specific issue at hand (ll. 261-281). As with the partnership strategies mentioned above, the emphasized strategies of HAART, COHF, and Trace Kenya can, through Bronfenbrenner’s (1979) theory, be argued to operate within the exosystem, as they too focus on furthering counter-trafficking efforts through partnerships that do not include the individual.

The partnership strategies emphasized by stakeholders are partnerships on a local, national, and international level as well as the operationalization of the Advisory Committee, which operate within the exo- and macrosystem of an individual (ibid). These strategies of partnership arguably do not address any drivers directly; however, the strategies can be argued to have an indirect effect on various drivers. Specifically, it is possible to assume that while not addressed directly, inadequacies within government are addressed through partnerships as government officials or branches are accountable to partnering stakeholders. While this connection is purely conjecture, it does indeed support the previously presented research of Umukoro (2021) that found that drivers of human trafficking can be combatted both through directly and indirectly addressed strategies.

5.2.5 Stakeholder Strategies of Knowledge Production

A fifth strategy of knowledge production emerges from the datasets, and while not widely utilized by all stakeholders, it is deemed as being of importance in counter-trafficking efforts. As the Manager of Knowledge Production and Sharing, Olewe (Appendix D) explained Azadi's utilization of knowledge production and sharing as a strategy to inform:

“proposal development, (...) strategy development for this particular programs, (...) of development of training modules, manual and delivery of training, conducting capacity needs assessment, just understand what particular trainings people need. Also, just looking at what are some of the best practices in terms of capacity strengthening for survivors”.

(Appendix D, ll. 45-49)

Thus, the strategy of knowledge production and sharing within Azadi becomes a cross-cutting strategy that affects not only the programs but also the organization as a whole, a sentiment also visible within CHTEA's strategy of knowledge production. Specifically, Nguli (Appendix E, ll. 39-46) stated that partnerships have been made with other organizations to create research projects that help further the understanding of various aspects or elements within human trafficking to create a better foundation for stakeholders to combat the phenomenon. Similarly, the MOLSSS (2015) also emphasized the importance of conducting and processing data, wherein the strategy specifically focused on statistical-, primary-, and secondary research. Theoretically (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), these closely related strategies of knowledge production can be identified as operating primarily within the exosystem due to the focus on producing and utilizing knowledge without necessarily including the individual. However, in cases of research such as explained by the MOLSSS, a potential victim or survivor may be included directly in the production of knowledge, thereby placing the strategy within their microsystem (ibid).

The stakeholders' strategies of knowledge production emphasize the furthering and understanding of aspects or elements within human trafficking to both inform internal organizational structures as well as stakeholder strategies, which operate primarily within the exosystem. These strategies do, however, not directly address any of the established drivers, but may be able to indirectly do so as a result of expanding the knowledge base on human trafficking in Kenya.

5.2.6 Stakeholder Strategies of Leadership

In examining the strategies applied by stakeholders, the conscious choice of leadership emerges as a strategy within two of the examined stakeholders, namely COHF and Azadi. The fact that COHF is a woman-led NGO is, as stated by Mohamed (Appendix F), beneficial as the organization receives more women and children, thereby making the organization more in apt to support survivors of human trafficking as “women know best the services that we [other women] need” (ll. 64-65). Thus, the leadership strategy of COHF can be presumed to affect not only the organizational structure, but also the various programs or projects by making them gender specific. From Bronfenbrenner’s (1979; Rosa & Tudge, 2013) theory, the element of woman leadership, as a stakeholder strategy, engages in proximal processes within the micro- and exosystem, as the leadership strategy directly affects how potential victims or survivors are received in the organization, while also indirectly influencing the individual’s experience in the organization through the forming of specific programs or activities.

The second leadership strategy is found within Azadi, a survivor-led NGO which “believe[s] in honoring, in honing survival-led expertise especially to inform practices around the anti-trafficking movement and how survivors can be supported” (Appendix D ll. 24-25). Specifically, Olewe (Appendix D, ll. 92-94) explained that survivors of human trafficking are within Azadi viewed upon, as experts of their experiences and are, therefore, an integral part of how the organization is structured and how they approach the issue of human trafficking in Kenya. An example of how the strategy of survivor leadership is applied in Azadi is when:

“we provide information based on evidence on how to provide support to survivors, whereby we have survivors actually lead the conversation on how support should be provided as opposed to the traditional methods where we had experts (...) making decisions for survivors and then survivors are merely just beneficiary of this program (...) we put survivors at the center of the design inception design and implementation of programs, something that is a unique model but also supports in terms of strengthening the skills of survivors to inform this particular space.” (Appendix D, ll. 79-88)

Thus, by utilizing survivors to inform the strategies, Azadi is able to gain a unique insight into survivor experiences and utilize said insight to best support the survivors they work with.

Furthermore, as to communicate the importance of survivor-led expertise, Olewe (Appendix D) explained that Azadi provide consultancy to organizations across East Africa wherein, where survivors are put in charge of training said organizations “on meaningful ways and ethical ways of engaging survivors” (ll. 99). Interestingly, Olewe stated that other organizations in the field often utilize survivors as an element of “representation and ‘we are supporting these particular survivors’” (Appendix D, ll. 101-102). While not a leadership strategy per say, Nguli (Appendix E) also commented on the importance of survivor-inclusion, “survivor voices is a very key and cardinal component in trying to articulate and provide solutions and remedial interventions for (...) victims or would-be-victims” (ll. 134-135), wherein he also emphasized CHTEA’s creation of a survivor network wherein survivors gain a voice to share as well as CHTEA’s opportunity to guide survivors and get feedback from them (ll. 156-159). Through Bronfenbrenner’s (1979; Rosa & Tudge, 2013) theory, this leadership strategy, engages in proximal processes within the micro-, meso-, and exosystem of an individual, as the leadership strategy indirectly influences the individual’s experience within the organization while also directly engaging with the individuals through interactions with e.g., staff. Furthermore, the mesosystem is also activated through CHTEA’s creation of a survivor network as the survivor then not only engages with staff but also other survivors.

The utilization of these leadership strategies enables stakeholders to create suitable programs and offer relevant services tailormade for their target audience, and operates within the micro-, meso-, and exosystems (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). While the leadership strategies generally do not directly nor indirectly address the previously established drivers, it is possible to argue that Azadi’s consultancy services can help further stakeholder knowledge of survivor-led expertise within the field of counter-trafficking efforts in Kenya.

5.2.7 Summary

In summation, this second part of the analysis identified five overall types of stakeholder strategies within the field of counter-trafficking efforts in Kenya – namely prevention, protection, prosecution, partnership, knowledge production, and leadership. From the theoretical perspective of the Bioecological Systems Theory, the strategies operate and intersect as showcased in Figure 4:

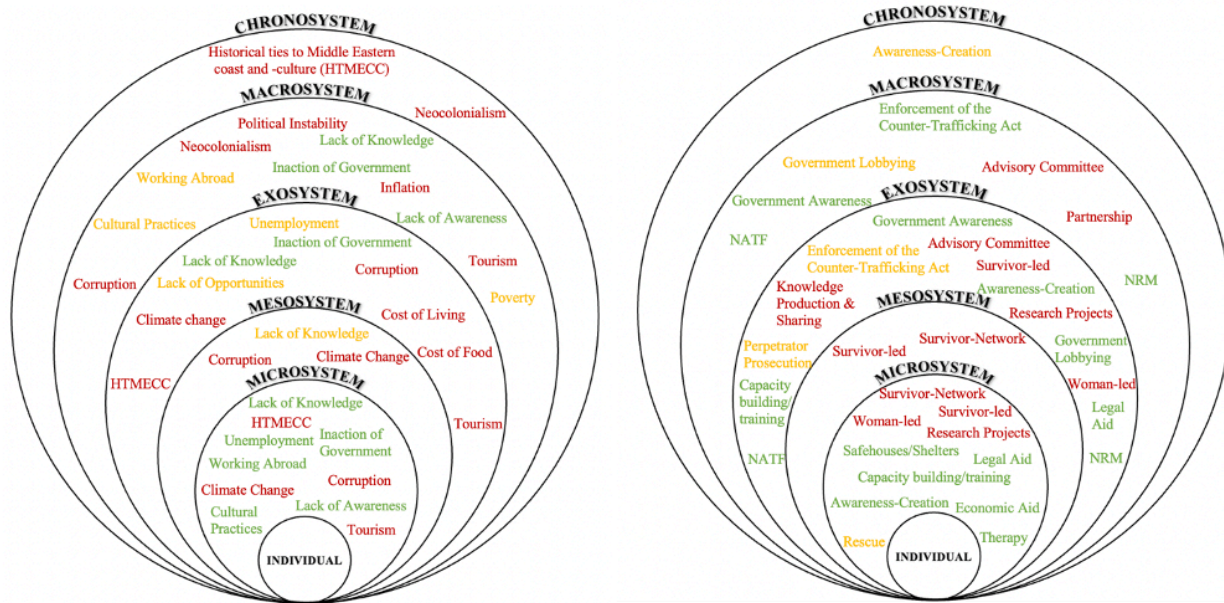


Figure 4: Depiction of Stakeholders' Counter-Trafficking Strategies within the Bioecological Systems, with a color-cross-reference of Figure 3 (To the Left) (created by author).

In Figure 4, the colors are utilized to reflect how drivers and strategies intersect, wherein green reflects that the strategy and established driver intersect in the same bioecological system; yellow reflects that while the strategy or driver intersect in another the system, they do not in the bioecological system in question; and red reflects drivers or strategies that do not intersect with any of established drivers or strategies. As displayed in Figure 4, the stakeholder strategies that operate within the field of counter-trafficking efforts in Kenya are largely centered around the micro- and exosystem of the individual, thereafter the macrosystem and least of all the meso- and chronosystem. The reasoning behind the less prominent occurrence of stakeholder strategies operating in the macrosystem may be due to the difficulty of said stakeholders to implement strategies that fundamentally change the community, society, or country they operate within. Furthermore, as also established in 5.1.4 Summary, the content of the datasets did not focus on *how* the individual interacts with different microsystems or the long-term evaluation of the strategies, thereby making both the meso- and chronosystem less prominent in this second part of the analysis.

5.3 Issues Within the Current Counter-Trafficking Efforts and Future Strategies

As stakeholders' perceptions of the drivers of human trafficking, as well as the stakeholder strategies of counter-trafficking efforts in Kenya have been established, it is relevant to look into both the gaps and issues of the current strategies, as well as what stakeholders believe to be

necessary future strategies in Kenya. This third and final part of the analysis will therefore examine issues that stakeholders identify within the current strategies and where these operate within the framework of the Bioecological Systems Theory. Simultaneously, the analysis will examine the future strategies within counter-trafficking efforts, if and how they relate to the previously established gaps and issues, and finally, where they operate within the framework of the Bioecological Systems Theory.

5.3.1 Legal Frameworks

In discussing the current strategies within the field of counter-trafficking efforts, Christensen (Appendix B, ll. 506-507) stated that one of the main reasons for current stakeholder strategies not being successful in *actually* eradicating human trafficking is due to the fact that the strategies implemented by NGOs, and arguably all CSOs, can be categorized as band-aid solutions. In other words, due to the limited reach and impact of CSO strategies (as compared to governments or international institutions), strategies will often not address the drivers of human trafficking in Kenya but rather the consequences thereof. In continuation of this argument, Christensen (Appendix B, ll. 441-447) stated that the current legislative framework also does not address the drivers of human trafficking, such as poverty and corruption. Similarly, Muteti (2022) found that some of the main issues within a proper counter-trafficking strategy being implemented are the corruption and the economic conditions of Kenya that affect society at large as well as individuals.

The above issues are arguably reflected in Christensen's (Appendix B, ll. 111-113) emphasis on the need for a holistic approach to counter-trafficking efforts in Kenya. Specifically, Christensen (Appendix B, ll. 493-500) claimed that if utilizing a holistic approach to combat human trafficking, the project-focus should actually address poverty reduction as this is a driving force of the phenomenon. This need for a holistic approach to and within counter-trafficking efforts is likewise emphasized by Davy (2016, pp. 488-489) thus crediting Christensen's argument. Thereby, it is possible to argue that Christensen views poverty reduction as a future strategy for stakeholders, which in turn is supported by Njoroge's (Appendix C, ll. 370-371) statement that the government should look into decreasing unemployment rates, as well as Olewe's (Appendix D, l. 583) claim that local job creation as a future stakeholder strategy can aid in decreasing human trafficking operations. Departing from Bioecological Systems Theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), the current inability of stakeholders to develop and implement strategies that actually address drivers

in society operates within the individual's exo- and macrosystems, as the strategies of stakeholders influence the individual, while legal frameworks also have an impact on the overall political and social norms of Kenya. Similarly, the future strategies emphasized in this regard also operate within the exo- and macrosystem (ibid) as the individual does not directly engage with the creation of projects, government focus on unemployment, or local job creation.

5.3.2 Legal Enforcement

In discussing the legal framework active within Kenya, both Muteti (2022, p. 137) and Njoroge (Appendix C) emphasized that the legal frameworks in Kenya “looks so great on paper, but when it comes down to like the practical enforcement of it is just not there” (ll. 254-255). In other words, there exists a gap between the legal frameworks and the government's enforcement thereof, thereby proving an issue to counter-trafficking efforts. In continuation, Njoroge (Appendix C, ll. 388) emphasized the importance of issues being addressed on a state-level by the Kenyan government. These arguments are arguably supported by Nguli's (Appendix E, 382-385) statement that the CTPA was adopted in 2010, a time wherein the understanding and knowledge of human trafficking practices in Kenya was not as extensive as it has become within recent years. Nguli (Appendix E, ll. 385-389) further argued that this was visible to the government, which has resulted in a review process of the CTPA since 2021, thereby foreshadowing a change in the Kenyan government's strategy towards, and approach to, human trafficking as well as counter-trafficking efforts. The NAFT is an additional area wherein a lack of legal enforcement protrudes, according to Olewe (Appendix D, ll. 494-497) and Christensen (Appendix B, ll. 466-473). Specifically, Olewe (Appendix D) stated that despite the operationalization that took place, “the processes and procedures on how to access that particular funds to support survivors of trafficking is quite not yet clear” (ll. 496-497). Interestingly, no stakeholders explicitly mentioned this as a point of attention for future strategies, thereby posing the question if the NATF is a dispensable element within the counter-trafficking efforts in Kenya. However, as no stakeholders have mentioned this, an examination of this question is beyond the scope of this study.

Another issue is brought up by Olewe (Appendix D, ll. 491-493), who stated that the government has not developed the necessary mechanisms to support the flow of Kenyans migrating to other countries. This, in turn, led Olewe (Appendix D, ll. 569-573) to state that the Kenyan government was to take on more accountability in establishing contact with Kenyan

migrant workers arguably acting as a way of decreasing the opportunities for exploitative situations. A recorded instance of the government's lack of accountability can arguably also be found within an anonymous stakeholder statement (Appendix G, ll. 1-6; 28-29), wherein a description was given of a case from 2016 where a male night guard from the Nairobi-based Center for Domestic Training and Development (CDTD) sexually assaulted a 13-year-old female trafficking survivor at a rescue center. The anonymous informant further explained that even though the organization that originally referred the girl to CDTD reported them to the Kenyan government, they did not receive response and no action was taken against CDTD, which stills remains active today (Appendix G, ll. 10-14).

As a future strategy to address the lack of accountability of the Kenyan government, Nguli (Appendix E, ll. 512-516) stated the imperativeness of nonstate actors holding the government accountable and confronting them on issues, wherein they are not performing as expected. In discussing future strategies to display accountability within the government, Olewe (Appendix D, ll. 583-586) and Muteti (2022, p. 138) contended that training police and generally law enforcement personnel would be beneficial, as it would arguably lead to knowledge-based decision making. This strategy can be argued to support the revisions being made to the CTPA, as these may ensure a better chance of successful implementation. When considering the Bioecological System Theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), the issue of legal enforcement operates within the exosystem of the individual while the revision of the CTPA operates within the macrosystem and by extension the exosystem due to its effect on the legal framework of Kenya, while also affecting the practices of microsystems that are not necessarily in direct contact with the individual. Furthermore, the lack of accountability within the government operates in the exosystem in the case of creating mechanisms in regard to migration flows, but within the microsystem and exosystem in the case of the CDTD, as the government's inaction directly affects the individual and other survivors of human trafficking referred to CDTD or other stakeholders where the same or other types of assault may occur (*ibid*). The future strategies of increasing government accountability arguably operate within the exosystem of the individual, as they focus on the ability of nonstate actors to confront the government to further e.g., training of law enforcement officers (*ibid*).

5.3.3 Awareness Creation

In delving into the topic of gaps and issues within the current counter-trafficking efforts, government inaction was also connected to the issue of awareness-creation. Specifically, Olewe (Appendix D, ll. 564-569) stated that awareness-creation surrounding the recruitment processes and general practice of human trafficking should be included into school curriculums. This strategy can be found supported through Mohamed (Appendix F, ll. 388-394) and Adoch's (Appendix A, ll. 272-275) emphasis on the importance of education in decreasing vulnerability towards human trafficking practices, making it a central aspect of proper awareness-creation strategies. In the context of awareness-creation, Mohamed (Appendix F, ll. 402-404; 398-9) further posited that strategies should both consist of traveling to areas close to the geographical borders of Kenya, as well as utilizing social media as a tool to reach a larger and younger audience. These strategies can in turn be argued to be supported by Muteti (2022, p. 138; 139), who found that border control (albeit not conducted by organizational stakeholders, but rather law enforcement officers) would be a beneficial strategy to further as well as the utilization of social media as an awareness-creation platform.

In regard to the theoretical (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) operation of awareness-creation strategies, it is possible to argue that they operate within the microsystem in terms of altering school curriculums as this will directly affect the individual's educational content; the exosystem as the decisions made within the government influence the individual indirectly; and the macrosystem as the values and norms of what is consisted as being important to include in the curriculum occurs herein. Furthermore, the strategy of traveling to the border engages proximal processes within the individual's microsystem (Rosa & Tudge, 2013; Bronfenbrenner, 1979) due to the direct interaction between the individual and stakeholders whereas border control strategies operate within the micro- and exosystem of an individual (ibid). Lastly, the utilization of social media engages in proximal processes within the micro- and exosystem (Rosa & Tudge, 2013), as individuals can directly interact with social media content while also being exposed to it due to the social media platform in question's algorithm.

5.3.4 Collaboration

Emerging from the datasets is the issue of a lack of collaboration between the government and CSOs, to which Mohamed described the following relationship between COHF and the Kenyan government:

“we called them [government officials] for meetings (...) but they don’t show up (...). They don't answer the questions that we would like to give them and if they show up (...) they just come in a little bit and then they leave, so there's no cooperation. Then we are not working towards the same goal, right? (...) They're not accountable to the questions that we're having and it's not of like sort of ambushing them. No, they see these things happening in the news (...) they just don't do nothing. So, I would say it's we don't have a strong relationship with them.” (Appendix F, ll. 370-378)

The disconnect between then Kenyan government and CSOs is furthermore supported by Muteti (2022, p. 137) who found that even though collaboration is established between governmental- and organizational stakeholders, said collaboration is inadequate. Thus, it is possible to argue that while stakeholders such as Trace Kenya and CHTEA may experience a good relationship with government stakeholders due to their position in the Advisory Committee, stakeholders who do not possess the same opportunities for direct communication ultimately do not experience the needed collaboration. Nguli further supported the need for future strategies to emphasize stakeholder collaboration as “there's no one single entity, not even the government can actually effectively deliver a total solution” (Appendix E, ll. 362-363). Olewe (Appendix D, ll. 502-506) similarly noted that the government should look towards NGOs, such as Azadi that are well-versed within survivor-focused empowerment and support programs as to better understand how to properly provide and implement survivor-support. In considering Bronfenbrenner’s (1979) theory, the issues and strategies of collaboration between CSOs and the Kenyan government operate within the meso- and exosystem, as the consequences of such strategies ultimately provides an indirect influence on the individual through the interaction of two or more microsystems.

Through the examination of the lack of stakeholder collaboration, two overall issues further emerge, namely the lack of survivor support and -knowledge concerning referral organizations. Specifically, Olewe (Appendix D, ll. 502-506) stated that there is a bigger need to focus on providing legal support and aid to survivors of human trafficking as it constitutes a gap in the current strategies of stakeholders. In terms of future strategies, Olewe posited that survivor support was essential in ensuring that survivors are not “discriminated, they're not stigmatized, there's adequate support and they can be facilitated in terms of reintegration and reunification with their

families” (Appendix D, ll. 593-594). This is ultimately seen as supported by Muteti (2022, p. 139) who found that government entities believe that future strategies should include survivor support services with focus on psychotherapy and reintegration. Within Bronfenbrenner’s (1979) theory, it is possible to argue that issue, and the wish for future strategies concerning survivor support, engage proximal processes (Rosa & Tudge, 2013) within the micro- and exosystem, as both the issues and future strategies both directly engage with e.g., organizational stakeholders while also experiencing indirect influence through different stakeholder programs and policies. Furthermore, future strategies of survivor support can also be found to operate within the mesosystem (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) as the collaboration between stakeholders to create and implement proper survivor support would entail interaction between different microsystems.

Lastly, a gap in the current stakeholder strategies pertaining to collaboration is arguably evident in the case of the CDTD-security guard’s assault of a 13-year-old female survivor (Appendix G). The placement of the girl with CDTD, was due to the original organization’s lack of a shelter/rescue center, thereby leading them to place the girl in a shelter managed by CDTD. The referral to CDTD was done on the basis that the IOM had previously utilized their shelter in connection with conducting rescues (Appendix G). As CDTD still remains active today and did not take responsibility for the incident, it is possible to argue that there is an issue in that there exists a lack of knowledge pertaining to referral organizations. This argument can be seen as supporting Nguli’s (Appendix E) emphasis on the creating “a clear and robust referral pathway,” (ll. 517-518), as this would give stakeholders better chances of success as resources would be shared (ll. 521-524).

Thus, is it possible to argue that through a coordinated effort in establishing a clear referral pathway, the occurrence of cases such as with CDTD may likely decrease as more collaboration and thus communication would bring said cases to light. Through a theoretical lens (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), it can be argued that the issue of lack of knowledge pertaining to referral organizations operates within the meso- and exosystem, as the issue operates in the current interaction between microsystems and is reflected in stakeholder protocols for making referrals to other organizations and service providers. The same systems would be operated within in the future strategy of a referral pathway being established, as the mesosystem would be activated the recurring collaboration and communication between different stakeholders, as well as impacting stakeholder protocols of referring to other organizations (ibid).

5.3.5 Definitional Aspect

The definitional challenges of human trafficking, as established in the *2.1 The Definitional Challenges of Human Trafficking*, still emerges as an issue when approach to human trafficking. The occurrence of the definition of human trafficking as constituting an issue in counter-trafficking efforts as cases of human trafficking are still subject to mis-classification, leading to a considerable number of human trafficking cases going unreported (Kenyan Ministry, 2015, p. 3; 9). These issues are indicative of an information gap where the definition of human trafficking and how it is distinct from e.g., migrant smuggling has created issues in both the identification of victims and prosecution of perpetrators (Kenyan Ministry, 2015, p. 4). These issues are arguably perpetuated by the UN fundamentally connecting human trafficking to organized crime (Appendix B, ll. 545), ultimately creating an overly-limiting scope unto the phenomenon. While no future strategy directly addresses the definitional issue of human trafficking, it is possible to argue that the Muteti's (2022, p. 139) emphasis on creating and continuously maintaining a database concerning actors, geographical activity, legal outcomes, and other important aspects of human trafficking in Kenya, may indeed create the basis for creating a more specific definition of human trafficking in Kenya. In considering Bronfenbrenner's (1979) theory, it is possible to argue that the definitional issues of human trafficking operate within the exo- and macrosystem as they not only affect the operations of stakeholders but also affect the overall understanding of what human trafficking is in Kenya. The future strategy of creating a database is similarly placed in the exosystem, where if the chronosystem is considered, the database may also lead to changes in the macrosystem as the overall understanding of human trafficking in context of Kenya may be altered (ibid).

5.3.5 Funding

In discussing the issues and gaps within the field of counter-trafficking issues in Kenya, Christensen (Appendix B, ll. 157-161) stated that the question of how especially CSOs are to gain funding has become an issue. Specifically, Christensen (ibid) explained how the scarcity of funds for CSOs has had adverse effects ultimately creating an environment wherein stakeholders are cautious and even opposed to sharing information in fear of information, donors, and funding getting poached. The issues of funding are furthermore described as being interest-based, wherein it is the interests of donors that ultimately decides what cause they wish to invest money in (Appendix B, ll. 592-594), which in turn is arguably complicated by mass media's attention span.

Christensen (Appendix B, ll. 596-597) exemplifies this issue through how focus on climate change, the Russian war in Ukraine, or the humanitarian crisis in Gaza, diverts funding from the issue of human trafficking. Grounding this issue in Bronfenbrenner's (1979) theory reflects that the issue of funding operates within the meso- and exosystem as the former is indicative of how stakeholders are reluctant to enter into information-sharing relationships whereas the latter reflects the role of both donors and mass media in the issue of funding. While the issue of funding is arguably of instrumental importance for especially CSOs, no future strategies were found to address the issues brought up by Christensen. While simply conjecture, the lack of future strategies concerning funding may be indicative of how the majority of stakeholders perceive the competition for funds, and the consequences thereof, as being an immutable aspect within the field of counter-trafficking efforts and civil society in general.

5.3.6 Summary

In summation this third and final part of the analysis identified six overall types of issues within the current strategies, namely legal frameworks, legal enforcement, awareness creation, collaboration, definitional aspects, and funding, as well as overall approach to counter-trafficking efforts wherein a series of future strategies were put in connection to a majority of said issues. The Bioecological Systems Theory was taken into consideration and the issues and future strategies explored operate as displayed in Figure 5:

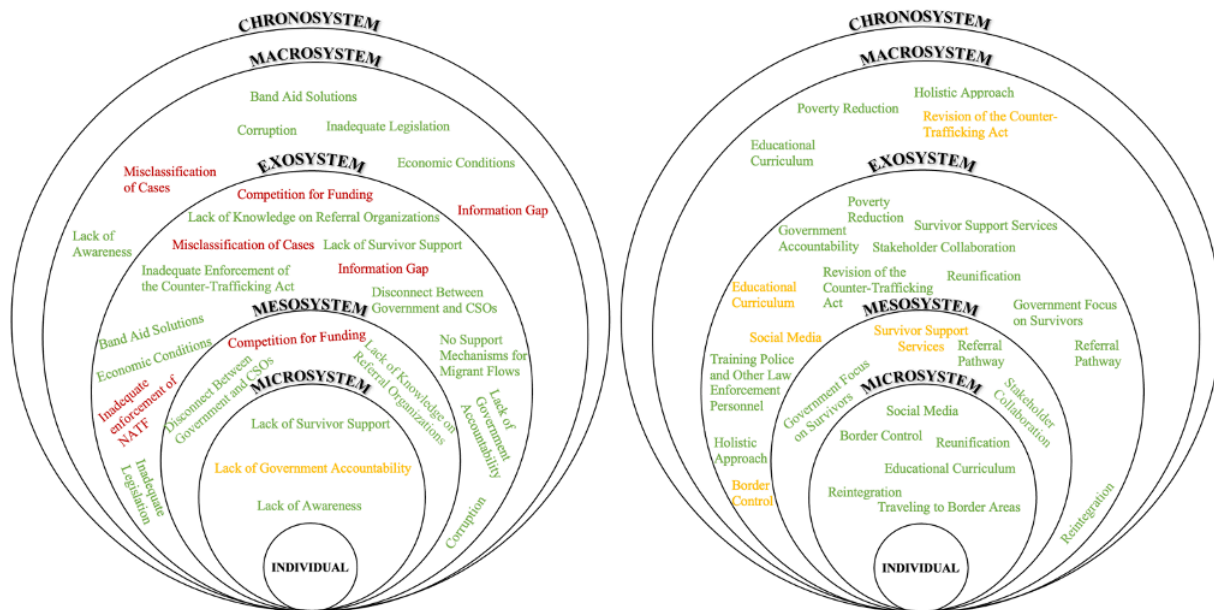


Figure 5: Depiction of Issues within the Counter-Trafficking Efforts (To the Left) and Future Counter-Trafficking Strategies (To the Right) within the Bioecological Systems, with a color-cross-reference (created by author).

In Figure 5, the colors are, as in Figure 4, utilized to reflect if the issues and future strategies intersect in the same bioecological systems (green); if they intersect in other systems but not the one in question (yellow); or if they do not intersect at all (red). As can be seen in Figure 5, issues and future strategies within the current stakeholder strategies of counter-trafficking efforts operate largely within the exosystem which arguably correlates with the analysis' grounding in the datasets. Overall, it was found that many of the issues mentioned by stakeholders were considered when discussing future strategies, with the notable exception of the issue of e.g., funding.

6 Discussion

In the case of counter-trafficking efforts in Kenya, this thesis examined stakeholders' perceptions of the drivers that contribute to Kenyan vulnerability and how the current stakeholder strategies address, or in certain instances do not address, said drivers. Furthermore, this thesis also examined the issues stakeholders identified within the current strategic framework while also looking at which future strategies, as communicated by stakeholders, address said issues and gaps. Based on a correlation between which drivers of human trafficking stakeholders perceived as being at play and the counter-trafficking strategies they are currently implementing, this thesis found that while many strategies do in fact intersect with economic- and institutional drivers, as well as other drivers, there is a disconnect between certain strategies and the drivers they were found to seek to address. The same correlation and disconnect was found between the stakeholders' perception of issues within the current state of counter-trafficking efforts and the future strategies thereof. The following discussion will be centered around how these findings have been supported and contextualized by the theoretical framework of this thesis.

6.1 Interpretations

Through the interpretation of this thesis' findings, a correlation was found between the application of the Bioecological Systems Theory and the case study of counter-trafficking efforts in Kenya. This correlation is particularly evident in the contextualization of the Bronfenbrenner's framework, as it emphasized how drivers within counter-trafficking efforts and future strategies respectively operate within the environment of Kenyan individuals, i.e., potential victims, victims, or survivors. This correlation can be exemplified through the finding that drivers majorly operate

within the micro-, exo-, and macrosystem which, from an overall perspective, does not directly translate to the current strategies implemented by the same stakeholders which operate overwhelmingly in the micro- and exosystem. More specifically, a central aspect of this finding is that while stakeholder strategies within e.g., prevention and prosecution were majorly found to intersect with their established drivers, strategies of e.g., protection were found to not fully intersect with their established drivers, while others such as strategies of knowledge production did not address any drivers brought up by stakeholders. Similarly, yet another finding is evident through the correlation between the theoretical framework of this thesis and the case, wherein the issues and gaps within the current state of counter-trafficking efforts largely intersect, however with several issues not being addressed in the hopes for future strategies.

The theoretical framework of the Bioecological Systems Theory is therefore, beyond its traditional application within the field of psychology, able to provide insight into not only where in the individual's environment, i.e., bioecological system, stakeholders perceive drivers of human trafficking that increase their vulnerability but also where, and even if, in their environment stakeholders have currently implemented strategies to address said drivers. Moreover, the theoretical framework is also able to provide insight on the more critical perceptions of stakeholders as well as what they believe to be the future of counter-trafficking efforts in Kenya.

6.2 Implications

This thesis is relevant to consider in discussing the pivotal role of stakeholders within counter-trafficking efforts in Kenya. Overall, the identification of drivers as perceived by stakeholders supports the existing scholarly research as presented in the *2 Literature Review*, with e.g., poverty, neocolonialism, climate change, lack of knowledge/awareness, government inaction, and culture being central of both my findings and the pre-existing research. However, a point of divergence can be seen through my findings of the discrepancy between what stakeholders perceive as being the drivers of human trafficking in Kenya and the strategies they have actually implemented that can, as Umukoro argued that strategies should directly or indirectly address drivers. This thesis thus contributes to a clearer understanding of the reality of counter-trafficking efforts in Kenya wherein stakeholders' perceptions and strategies do not fully align. It is in this regard of worth to note that my methodological choices of e.g., datasets and an abductive method of reasoning make the findings of my thesis a testament to Derby's finding that evaluations of counter-trafficking

efforts are context-specific and therefore, what may be successful or unsuccessful in one region may not be so in another. In other words, my research findings are able to shed light on the counter-trafficking efforts of the included stakeholders and can in certain aspects be generalized to a Kenyan response to a global issue, but they are not able to provide insight or a plan of action for other countries or regions.

Furthermore, through the iterative process of identifying patterns within the datasets and ultimately creating the categories that structured the analysis of the counter-trafficking strategies, my research supports Bryant & Landman, Davy, and Derby's arguments of the 4P paradigm as being a widely recognized strategic framework. However, the identification of knowledge production- and leadership strategies within counter-trafficking efforts also makes my findings supportive of Umukoro's emphasis on holistic approaches, as the two strategies reflect stakeholders' move beyond the traditional 4P paradigm.

An interesting aspect of my findings is the stakeholder perception of *drivers* versus *issues and gaps*. While some factors, such as lack of awareness and economic conditions, were identified as both drivers and issues, a clear distinction was found between the two wherein drivers were found as primarily being cross-cutting of the micro-, exo-, and macrosystem and issues and gaps were found to be primarily occurring within the exosystem. This distinction was not found in the existing scholarly research as presented in the literature review, thus providing a new insight into the role of stakeholders in counter-trafficking efforts in Kenya.

6.3 Limitations

While the methodological choices of this thesis have in many ways created a beneficial foundation for answering the research question, it cannot be dismissed that the results were constrained by how interviews were conducted. As noted in the *4.4.1.2 Presentation of Primary Datasets*, several interviews experienced technical or situational difficulties, which ultimately led to the interview with Adoch not being concluded despite extensive efforts to do so. Thus, conducting fieldwork in Kenya would have been beneficial as it would have allowed me to conduct in person interviews thereby eliminating issues with technology or the public presence of interviewees, as was the case with Mohamed. Furthermore, fieldwork in Kenya may also have provided me with a better understanding of the organizational perceptions, strategies, and overall work. However, as this

fieldwork was not a possibility, the use of secondary literature in the form of organizational websites was utilized to fill in gaps identified subsequent to concluding the interviews.

Due to the lack of data on the implementation of stakeholder strategies, this thesis cannot provide insight into how successful stakeholder strategies in fact are. During the processing of data, it was found that due to the formulation of questions regarding the organizational strategies, insight was not provided into how well the strategies were posited to be addressing drivers of human trafficking or even in helping their beneficiaries. Thus, this thesis' results do not criticize the successfulness or impact of strategies in direct correlation to its intended beneficiaries, but rather the results provide insight into where drivers and strategies intersect or as is more often the case, do not. I deemed it as potentially decreasing the credibility and validity of my findings, if I were to determine the degree of successful implementation and intersecting, thus weakening my abductive method of reasoning.

Lastly, a limitation of this thesis was its access to the Kenyan government's current plan of action. By basing the analysis on the secondary dataset of the National Action Plan, a somewhat idealistic insight was provided into the strategies of the Kenyan government, as the dataset did not detail how the strategies were actually implemented and if they were successful, but rather just that the MOLSSS intended to do so. However, through the inclusion of the NCRC's report written by Muteti, insight was provided into the recent overview of e.g., stakeholder strategies herein the Kenyan government. Thus, through the combined use of the secondary data the datasets were able to provide an overview of the specific strategies the MOLSSS sought to implement, and a more recent perception of the actual strategies implemented by stakeholders.

6.4 Recommendations

Based on its findings, this thesis recommends further research be conducted on the role of stakeholders, in particular civil society organizations, within counter-trafficking efforts in Kenya, focusing on conducting organizational analyses on a larger scale to better determine how to align strategies with drivers of human trafficking. Furthermore, this thesis recommends future research to focus on Christensen's argument of the current stakeholder strategies being band-aid solutions as they have a limited reach and impact and specifically how to redesign organizational programs to better addresses the drivers, or root causes, of human trafficking in Kenya. Lastly, this thesis

recommends future research to examine the upcoming revision of the CTPA to identify points of difference in both formulation but also implementation and enforcement.

7 Conclusion

In the case of counter-trafficking efforts, this thesis sought to answer the research question's inquiry concerning the drivers that contribute to the Kenyan vulnerability to human trafficking to examine both if counter-trafficking strategies intersect with said drivers as well as what issues arise within these stakeholder strategies, thereby leading to three overall analytical findings. By analyzing stakeholders' perception of drivers, this thesis found that two overall aspects of economic- and institutional conditions drive Kenyan individuals' vulnerability towards human trafficking as well as a range of other drivers. These drivers were found to operate in both the immediate and more remote areas of an individual's social environment. Secondly, by analyzing stakeholder strategies and comparing them to the established drivers, a discrepancy was discovered in the alignment of how and where in the social environment of individual stakeholders implement their counter-trafficking strategies to address drivers. The third and last overall analytical finding of this thesis was found in the analysis of issues within the current state of counter-trafficking efforts as well as the opinions on future strategies as expressed by stakeholders. Specifically, it was established that both issues and future strategies of counter-trafficking focused on the way in which stakeholders' function with much attention being brought to issues within the Kenyan government's function as well as the overall conditions of Kenyan society.

As also depicted in Figure 4 and 5, this thesis clearly illustrates where, respectively, both drivers and stakeholder strategies and issues and future strategies do and do not intersect in the individual's environment, but it also raises the question of how successful stakeholder strategies are in addressing the driver of Kenyan vulnerability as well as why certain issues are not considered in envisioning future strategies. So, while the datasets do limit this thesis' ability to provide answers to these questions, the datasets and thesis overall have provided a much-needed preliminary insight into perceptions of stakeholders while also underlining the importance of considering the pivotal role said stakeholders occupy within counter-trafficking efforts in Kenya. Furthermore, my research was found to support existing scholarly debate on human trafficking in Kenya and counter-trafficking efforts while also uncovering an area in need of further research

namely the stakeholder holder distinction between drivers and issues as it may have implications for stakeholder strategies.

To better comprehend the implications of this thesis' results, future studies should address the role played by stakeholders and how they can aid in combating human trafficking practices in Kenya. Furthermore, detailed research is recommended to specific drivers to gain a better understanding of their dynamics to ultimately to be able to devise successful counter-trafficking strategies. Within the field of counter-trafficking efforts, this thesis recommends stakeholders to initiate review and redesign processes of their strategies to gain a better understanding of how to align their programs with the drivers they seek to address. Furthermore, it is recommended that CSOs reflect on the focus of their strategies and whether relying on the 4P paradigm is in actuality the best stakeholder strategy to address the root of human trafficking operations and -drivers in Kenya.

In the beginning of this thesis, the philosophical questions of; why can the international society not fully eradicate human trafficking? Who or what is responsible for solving a complex and deeply rooted global phenomenon? And is that even possible? were brought up. Despite this thesis, as stated, not having been directly concerned with these questions, the results of my research do indeed place themselves within this realm. Specifically, this thesis has contributed to research concerning why human trafficking cannot be eradicated, through its findings of the discrepancies between the intersecting nature of drivers and current strategies. The thesis' findings, furthermore, contribute to determining who is responsible for solving the phenomenon of human trafficking as the Kenyan government was not only the focal point of issues within the current state of counter-trafficking efforts but also of the future strategies thereof. Although the datasets also reflected that no single entity could provide a holistic approach to counter-trafficking efforts, this thesis' findings do impose the question of whether the current collective efforts of stakeholders are still not enough.

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9 Appendix

Appendix A – Transcription of Interview with Paul Adoch

Appendix B – Transcription of Interview with Jakob Christensen

Appendix C – Transcription of Interview with Olivia Njoroge

Appendix D – Transcription of Interview with Peter Olewe

Appendix E – Transcription of Interview with Mutuku Nguli

Appendix F – Transcription of Interview with Fauzia Mohamed

Appendix G – Transcription of Anonymous Statement and Incident Report