



DISPLACEMENT, VIOLENCE
AND VULNERABILITY:
TRAFFICKING AMONG INTERNALLY
DISPLACED PERSONS IN KENYA

Awareness Against Human Trafficking (HAART) is a Kenyan non-governmental organisation dedicated to fighting human trafficking in Eastern Africa. HAART was founded on the backdrop of the growing crisis of human trafficking that has seen Kenya becoming the main hub for trafficking in Eastern Africa. Founded in 2010, HAART is the only organisation in Kenya that works exclusively to eradicate human trafficking and has acquired extensive knowledge about the multi-dimensional nature of both cross border and internal human trafficking in Eastern Africa. HAART has conducted hundreds of grassroots workshops, reaching more than 30,000 people and has also identified, rescued and assisted more than 250 victims of trafficking.

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Displacement, violence and
vulnerability:
*Trafficking among Internally
Displaced Persons
in Kenya*

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ABSTRACT

The existence of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) is usually a sign of, prolonged, often overt conflict within a given society. It can also be an indicator for lack of capacity by the relevant state institutions to address the effects of natural calamities. Many IDP communities, uprooted from their original social milieu, become vulnerable to several negative phenomena that may also include human trafficking. This study examines the link between internal displacement and human trafficking by specifically looking at factors that might increase the vulnerability of IDPs to trafficking. The study develops a model containing several elements (variables) or conditions pertaining to trafficking vulnerability. Key among these conditions is experience of violence during the displacement together with the vicinity to main highways and trading centres. The study concludes that depending on the combinations of these factors and meeting these conditions, the vulnerability of IDPs to trafficking can either increase or decrease. A number of recommendations are made towards the mitigation of vulnerability of IDPs to trafficking.

PREFACE

Since its beginning, Awareness Against Human Trafficking (HAART) - a nongovernmental organisation devoted to fighting human trafficking in Kenya - has made considerable contributions towards research and trainings on issues related to human trafficking.

Human trafficking remains a significant problem within the Kenyan society; however, little is known in regards to the complexities of this phenomenon and in particular on the tactics employed by human traffickers. This study intends to clarify some misconceptions as well as a lack of awareness among the stakeholders including the victims and potential victims, government bodies and civil society. Specifically, the research was motivated by observations made in several reports that pointed internally displaced persons (IDPs) being particularly vulnerable to trafficking.

The study has endeavoured to analyse the connection between internal displacement and human trafficking. It does this by looking at the specific conditions under which IDPs are vulnerable to human trafficking. The intention of this research is to provide reliable information that can guide response and thus better protection for IDPs not only in Kenya but also in other Eastern Africa countries.

The publication of the research study contributes to the fulfilment of the vision and mission of Awareness Against Human Trafficking (HAART). HAART wishes to thank and acknowledge the support from the Civil Peace Service Programme of the *Deutsche Gesellschaft fuer Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) GmbH* that enabled carrying out the research and publication of the findings.

Radoslaw L. Malinowski

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The research on IDPs and their vulnerability to human trafficking is an attempted response to a growing concern on IDPs being targeted by traffickers. We acknowledge the role of various organisations who worked with different IDP groups in Kenya and were concerned with this problem. The research would not have been possible without support from the Civil Peace Service Programme of the *Deutsche Gesellschaft fuer Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) GmbH*. The research is a response to a Needs' Assessment on the risks of IDPs to human trafficking by Sophie Otiende in Vihiga County, Kenya. We thank the GIZ for this support for a particularly difficult and under researched area of human interaction.

We also acknowledge the support and assistance of organisations working with IDPs in Kenya including the IOM, Kituo cha Sheria among others.

Sincere gratitude goes to the interview respondents from various organisations who selflessly shared their knowledge and experiences. A special thank you to the leaders of IDPs communities for their wise counsel, assistance and facilitation of the research.

We would also like to thanks the IDP communities, who hosted our research assistants and agreed to share their experience. We appreciate the kind hospitality and patience and hope that the findings from the research will contribute towards reducing the vulnerability of IDPs to human trafficking.

We are also immensely grateful to all those who participated in the validation workshops for their comments on our initial findings and in particular their insights into the complexities of the crosscutting aspects investigated in the research.

Finally, we would like to acknowledge the valuable contributions of Dr. Melissa Philips who read through the publication and provided valuable advices and Dr. M. J. Kimani for looking for patterns in the collected data and editing the final document.

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KEY FINDINGS



KEY DEFINITIONS

Child

An individual being below the age of eighteen years unless, under the law applicable to the child, majority is attained earlier according to the Convention on the Rights of the Child (UN General Assembly, 1989, Art 1).

Child Labour

Any work performed by a child which deprives him or her of his or her childhood, potential, and dignity, is detrimental to his or her health, education, physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development (UN General Assembly, 1989).

Disaster

A serious disruption of the functioning of a society, causing widespread human, material, or environmental losses, which exceed the ability of the affected society to cope using its own resources (UNDP, 1992).

Forced Labour

All work or service, which is exacted from any person under the menace of any penalty and for which the said person has not offered himself/herself voluntarily (International Labour Organisation, 1930).

Human Trafficking

Trafficking in persons shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2004).

IDPs

Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) are persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized border (OCHA, 2003).

Organized Crime

Large-scale and complex criminal activities carried out by tightly or loosely organized associations and aimed at the establishment, supply and exploitation of illegal markets at the expense of society. Such operations are generally carried out with a ruthless disregard of the law, and often involve offences against the person, including threats, intimidation and physical violence (Perruchoud, 2011).

Protracted Internal Displacement

Situations where the process for finding durable solutions is stalled, and/or where IDPs are marginalised as a consequence of violations or lack of protection of their human rights including economic, social and cultural rights (IDMC, 2011).

Refugee

The status or condition of a person over whom any or all the powers attaching to the right of ownership are exercised (United Nations Treaty Collection, 2016).

Slavery

The status or condition of a person over whom any or all the powers attaching to the right of ownership are exercised (United Nations Treaty Collection, 2016).

Sexual Exploitation

Any actual or attempted abuse of a position of vulnerability, power differential, or trust, for sexual purposes, including, but not limited to, profiting monetarily, socially, or politically from the sexual exploitation of another (Perruchoud, 2011).

Trafficker

An intermediary who is involved in the movement of person in order to obtain an economic or other profit by means of deception, physical or psychological coercion for the purpose of exploitation. The intent ab initio on the part of the trafficker is to exploit the person and gain profit or advantage from the exploitation (Perruchoud, 2011).

Victim of Human Trafficking

A victim of trafficking (VoT) is any natural person who is subject to trafficking in human beings (Perruchoud, 2011).

Vulnerability

A condition resulting from how individuals negatively experience the complex interaction of social, cultural, economic, political and environmental factors that create the context for their communities (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2008).

Vulnerable Group

Any group or sector of society that is at higher risk of being subjected to discriminatory practices, violence, natural or environmental disasters, or economic hardship, than other groups within the State; any group or sector of society (such as women, children, the elderly, persons with disabilities, indigenous peoples or migrants) that is at higher risk in periods of conflict and crisis (Perruchoud, 2011).



INTRODUCTION

The phenomenon of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) has been a concern for both human rights activists and policy makers for many years. Forced to leave their homes, IDPs often share similar challenges and are exposed to similar dangers as refugees, but unlike the latter, they lack protection under international law. Forced displacement can result in trafficking, as it destroys or weakens family support structures, communal bonds and other self-protection mechanisms that typically protect potential victims from traffickers. In Kenya, IDPs from multi-ethnic and multi-cultural backgrounds are sometimes forced to flee to places where culture and

language are different from their places of origin. On their part, many local host communities adopt hostile attitudes towards IDPs based on their ethnic differences. As a result, their situation is not very different from that of refugees. Poor families are susceptible to traffickers as they entrust their most vulnerable members to recruiters, who promise education or job opportunities but exploit them instead.

For various reasons the number of IDPs has continued to rise in comparison to the number of refugees. Figure 1 presents this trend of the recent years between the two phenomena.

Figure 1: Proportion of IDPs and Refugees from 1989 to 2013 (in millions)

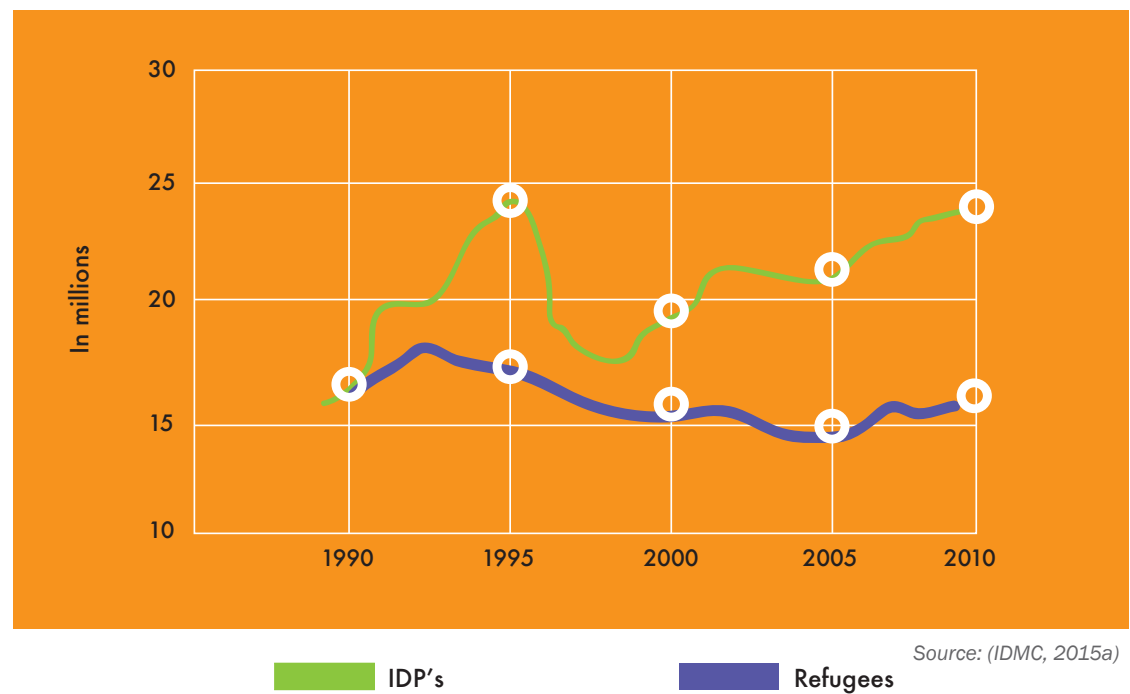


Figure 1 shows that while the number of refugees have been stable, the quantity of IDPs around the world has been constantly on the rise since the mid-nineties. The rise, together with additional threats, puts IDPs in threatening situations.

This research paper endeavours to analyse the extent to which IDPs in Kenya are ex-

posed to the dangers of human trafficking. As traffickers tend to look for people who are desperate and have an uncertain future, they often target IDP communities. In most cases, traffickers use deceit as a recruitment technique; they give false promises such as non-existent opportunities for jobs or education. Given that IDPs end up regularly in des-

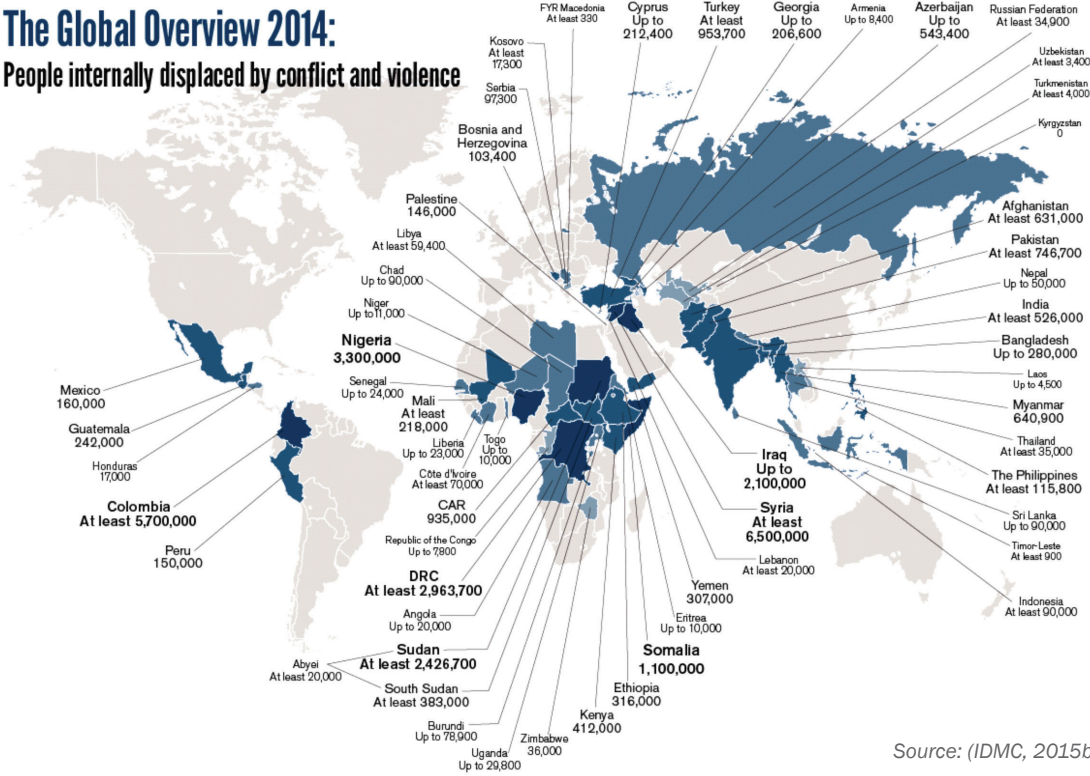
perate situations, they easily fall for exploitative manipulations of traffickers.

Problem Statement

Due to the precarious situation of IDPs and their families it is safe to assume that they are particularly vulnerable to human trafficking. They are also often categorized as persons at risk (Akee, 2010). However, it is not clear which factors and to what extent they specif-

ically contribute towards the vulnerability to human trafficking. Since the phenomenon of IDPs in the world is rising (see Figure 1), and given that Kenya has a significant number of IDPs (Figure 2), it is imperative to establish what makes IDPs vulnerable to human trafficking. Consequently, it is also important to establish the extent to which particular types of IDPs are more vulnerable to trafficking than others.

Figure 2: IDPs in the world



Study Objectives and Research Questions

As there is much anecdotal evidence of trafficking among IDP communities in Kenya as well as academic studies that have established the link between internal displacement and trafficking (for example, Akee, 2010; Wilingham, 2009), it is important to establish the extent and nature of this complex relationship in a systematic manner. The study aims to investigate and analyse the phenomenon of trafficking among the IDP communities together with the extent to

which the IDP population in Kenya is vulnerable to human trafficking.

The objectives of the research are:

- To identify and analyse incidents of human trafficking among IDPs in Kenya
- To assess the vulnerability of IDPs towards human trafficking
- To suggest the possible steps that can reduce the risks of trafficking among IDPs

In order to achieve the above objectives, the following research questions were developed:

- Are there any incidents of human trafficking amongst Kenya's IDP population?
- What is the nature of the incidences of human trafficking?
- What specific factors contribute to the vulnerability of IDPs towards being trafficked?

Theoretical Framework

Theorizing Human Trafficking is not an easy task as the phenomenon is complex, and has a variety of forms at each stage. Several scholars (for example, Bruckett and Parent, 2002) have pointed out that a consistent framework that analyses human trafficking is still being developed. Still, there are several studies (for example, Anyaegbunam, 2015) that theorize several streams or elements of trafficking processes. Below are two groups of theories that explain the dynamics of vulnerability of displaced people to trafficking.

Rational Choice Theory

This theory, or rather school of thought is relevant in understanding the motivation of traffickers (criminals) in their attempt to identify potential victims. The Rational Choice theory, as described by Lanier and Henry (2004) and Brown, Esbensen and Geis (2007), states that criminals search for the most suitable victims among a given population. One of the criteria for selection of victims is the ease and low cost of recruitment process.

Lanier and Henry (2004) established that criminal decision-making processes are based on free will, which necessitates observation of opportunities, circumstances and situations that could affect the successful perpetration of the planned crime. Ordinarily, traffickers would first observe the accessibility to potential victims, assess the levels of their desperation, and calculate the cumulative cost of trafficking. Thus, this theory helps to rationalize the vulnerability of IDPs based on the operation strategies of traffickers. Traffickers guided by rational choices will recruit those IDPs that are easily accessible and do not induce high recruitment costs. This can

be particularly useful when it comes to displacement as some IDPs are easily accessible and the recruitment (and transportation) process is relatively cheap, while others are located in remote areas with limited transport availability. Therefore, the theory can be used to examine elements that constitute vulnerability of IDPs to human trafficking from the trafficker's point of view.

Victimological Framework

From the victim's side, there are several theories that attempt to explain the reason of trafficking with victim's behaviour or victim's situation (for example, victim – trafficker relationship theory). As displaced people end up in situations that attract traffickers involuntarily, this set of theories (see Lutya & Lanier, 2012) can explain why some IDPs are more vulnerable to trafficking than others.

Some of the elements giving rise to vulnerability from the victim perspective can be attributed to the internal characteristics of IDPs. These characteristics can be for example age, number of dependents, ethnic origins or gender, where as external circumstances include location, support received from the government and job opportunities among others.

In their studies on the role of lifestyle on victimisation, Van den Hoven and Maree (2005) argue that elements of lifestyle such as substance abuse, use of Internet by a child, absence of family or guardian lead to possible risk of victimisation. These examples explain the lifestyle activities that are freely chosen. The studies also describe the engagement in activities that lead to potential victims having little or no choice against victimisation especially in situations of forceful displacement. For example, sending children to work in places that can expose them to sexual abuse and/or child labour is often a coping strategy on the side of a guardian. Also, the situation of being displaced in general makes IDPs vulnerable to victimisation as it typically forces IDPs to take extraordinary measures in order to survive or cope with the displacement

scenario. The measures IDPs take include acceptance of risky job offers, education or marriage offers that would normally be considered suspicious and most likely turned down. As a coping strategy, the IDPs' family can also let a family member accept the risky offer or may turn a blind eye in situations where children are exposed to dangers of sexual abuse, early child marriage or child labour.

The two sets of theories above provides theoretical frameworks that helps to understand the relationship between displaced persons - potential victims of trafficking and the traffickers. They analyse the vulnerability from the point of recruiter (trafficker) who is likely to prefer certain groups within the displaced communities over others. They also provide rationale that helps to understand what conditions or behaviour that make internally displaced people vulnerable to trafficking.

Based on these theoretical frameworks, together with what was established through findings, the Conceptual Framework below proposes a model that suggests a combination of variables that leads to increased vulnerability to trafficking of displaced people in Kenya.

Conceptual Framework

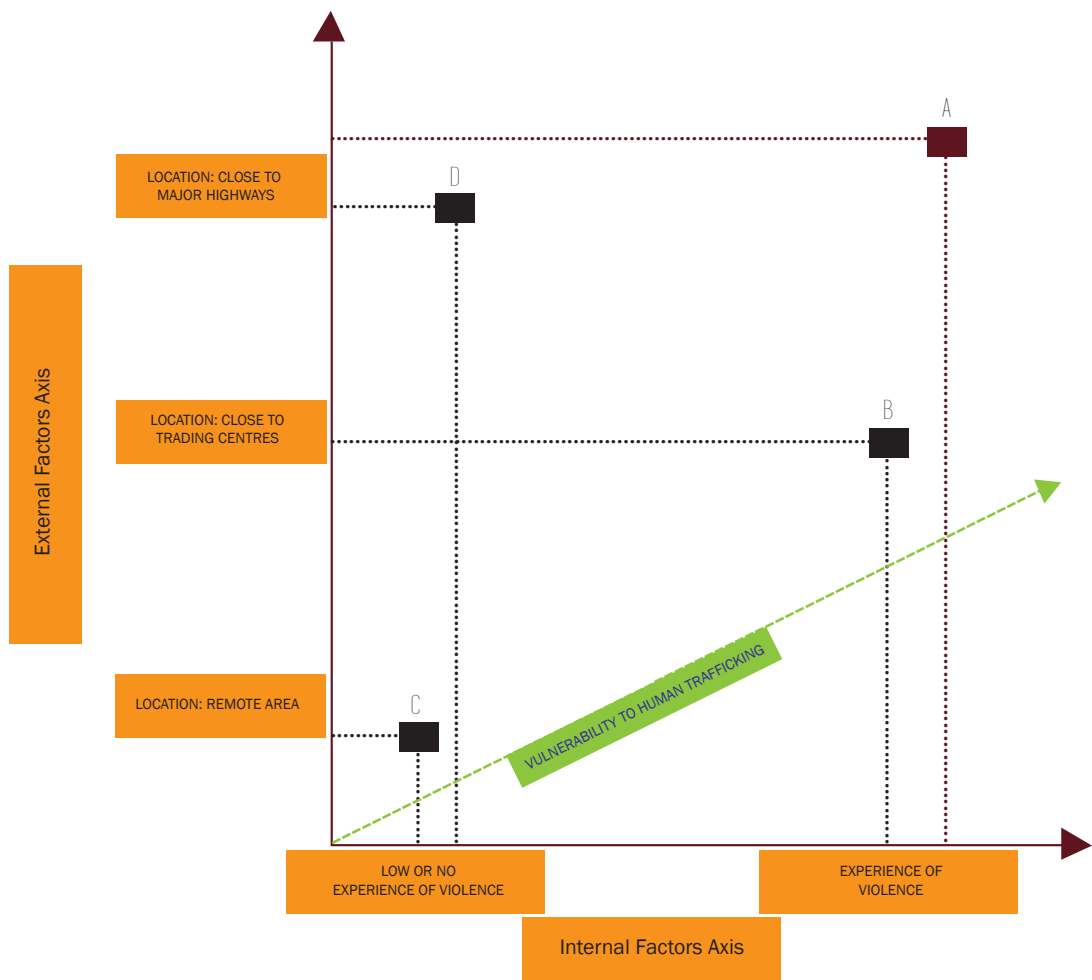
The variables that constitute vulnerability of IDPs to human trafficking can be classified as being internal (coming out from the IDP current situation, experience or behaviour) or external (a result of certain factors that propel or deter recruitment by traffickers). IDPs, per se, are at risk of being trafficked, however, there are elements or situations that make them more susceptible to trafficking. These include accessibility and past experience of violence during the displacement process. As an internal factor, the experience of violence during displacement is a strong indicator that contributes to vulnerability. The external factors include two significant variables - proximity to major highways and proximity to local trading centres. A combination of

these three variables determines the extent to which IDPs are exposed to the danger of trafficking. Figure 3 presents the combination of the factors that result in increased or decreased vulnerability.

As already noted, vulnerability of IDPs to human trafficking is a combination of several variables such as experience of violence and proximity to major routes or trading centres. Figure 3 suggests that experience of violence during displacements exposes IDPs to dangers of trafficking. The black dotted vulnerability axis leans towards the Internal Factor Vector but the other two variables from the External Factor Vector are also important. Point A represents a case of high vulnerability to being trafficked as IDPs have experienced violence and at the same time live near trading routes. Point B indicates that while experience of violence and location near the trading centres increase the vulnerability of IDPs to trafficking, the vulnerability is slightly lower than at point A. Point C and D represent scenarios where IDPs have not experienced violence during displacement and hence their vulnerability to trafficking is low even though the danger of them being victims of trafficking is still prevalent. Indeed, the fact that IDPs in point D are closer to major routes than those in point C slightly increases their vulnerability to trafficking.

In this research study, the IDPs at point A in figure 3 mainly represented Post Election Violence (PEV) IDPs who had both a history of violence and lived near the major routes. IDPs arising from ethnic differences fit best to point B. These IDPs are vulnerable to trafficking as they are typically located nearer trading centres rather than major highways. IDPs who are victims of natural disasters fit in point D; they are close to major highways but do not, necessarily, experience violence during the displacement. Finally environmental IDPs are represented in point C, as they neither experience violence nor do they live close to major highways or trading centres.

Figure 3: Correlation between the IDP Phenomenon and Human Trafficking



METHODOLOGY

The study relies on both primary and secondary data. As for the latter the research used available academic literature, reports from international, regional and national bodies such as International Organisation for Migration (IOM) as well as other related reports.

For the primary sources, the study used both qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection and analysis - mixed research design. To collect primary data, the study adapted a cross-sectional survey with 308 respondents for quantitative research. In order to test the difference between the IDPs and hosting community on vulnerability towards trafficking, randomly selected IDPs and members of the local populations were interviewed.

For the qualitative part, 21 informants were interviewed and eight Focus Group Discussions were conducted. Key Informants were

selected from each cluster from leaders of IDP communities. Additionally, several relevant government officials together with staff of international and civil society organisations were also interviewed.

A research sampling frame was difficult to establish due to the fact that the number of IDPs in Kenya could only be estimated. As a result, the study applied a different sampling technique. Given that the population in the study areas, even though heterogeneous, was difficult to stratify, the study applied a cross-sectional survey design that involves observation of the sample population at one point in time (Babbie, 2013). For this reason, a non-probability technique was used to identify a sample size of 300 respondents. Non-probability sampling techniques are useful in situations, where probability sampling is not possible either due to reasons of insecurity, lack of a sampling frame or other intervening factors that can negatively impact on the sampling technique (Babbie, 2013). The

Table 1: Unit Analysis

Type of Data Collection Tool	Sample Size	
	Quantitative	Qualitative
Survey Questionnaires	308	
Key Informants Interviews		21
Focus Group Discussions		8
Non parametric Test interviews	172	

study used purposive (judgmental) sampling, where the units observed were selected on the basis of knowledge of a population, its elements and the purpose of the study. As IDPs do not constitute a homogenous group, this study categorized them according to the prevalent four types of displacement: PEV IDPs, ethnic conflict IDPs, natural disaster IDPs and environmental IDPs. Prior to data collection a pre-test of the research instrument was conducted and several additional variables were included into the research instrument as a result.

The qualitative data was collected using semi-structured interviews with key informants (KII) and focus group discussions (FGD). The semi-structured approach guaranteed that the interviews covered the desired area under investigation and at the same time allowed for flexibility in the formulation of questions.

Key Informant Interviews were conducted with various government officials, members of international organisations, local leaders and IDP leaders, who had extensive knowledge on the IDP phenomena and its correlation

with human trafficking. In selected clusters FGD with the members of IDP communities were organized.

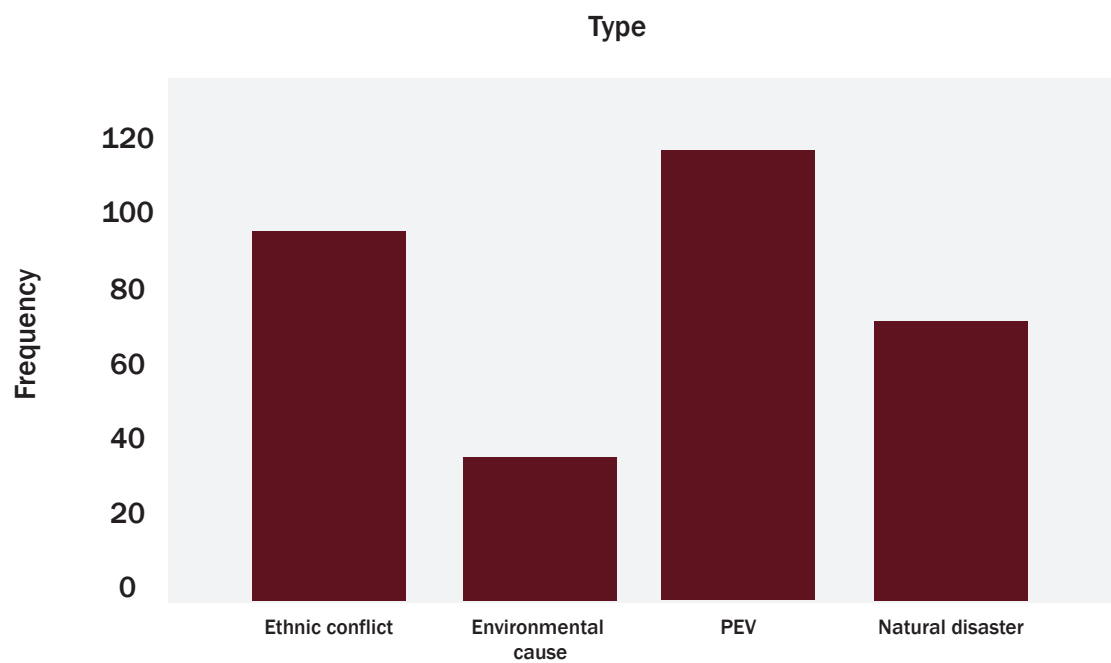
As for the quantitative part of the research the study collected information from 308 respondents across all 12 clusters with the use of a structured questionnaire with 67 variables. In each cluster, the selection of respondents from the IDP communities was done randomly.

Additionally, data was collected from selected clusters with the aim of testing means

through non-parametric methods. The idea was to test whether there is any difference between vulnerability of victims and the host community.

To collect data, the study identified places where IDP communities were found. Based on the literature available on IDPS in Kenya, 12 clusters were selected based on the categories of IDPs (PEV, ethnic, natural disaster and environmental), and their geographical and ethnic distribution.

Figure 4: Distribution of Respondents according to the Category of IDPs



As noted in the preceding literature review, there are different ways of categorizing IDPs and one of the frequent ones is according to the type of displacement. Several studies like IDMC (2014) categorize IDPs into four types of displacements: due to political reasons, inter-communal conflict, natural disaster and environment protection projects. While the last two types are easy to distinguish, the political and inter-communal IDPs have some shared elements (please see page 23 regarding political and ethnic conflict).

Politically motivated displacement in Kenya occurred mainly during election periods and was executed along ethnic lines. This is because the politicization of ethnicity is imminent to the system of power and ethnic clashes are triggered by political decisions as ethnicity is viewed as instrumental identity organized as means to particular ends. Politically motivated displacement reached its worst peak following the post-election violence in 2007/8. The term Inter-communal IDPs or ethnic IDPs is used for those who

were displaced by clashes between two or more ethnic groups or even between different clans of the same ethnic group and who are not PEV IDPs. This includes in particular victims of pastoralist conflict in Mandera and Marsabit.

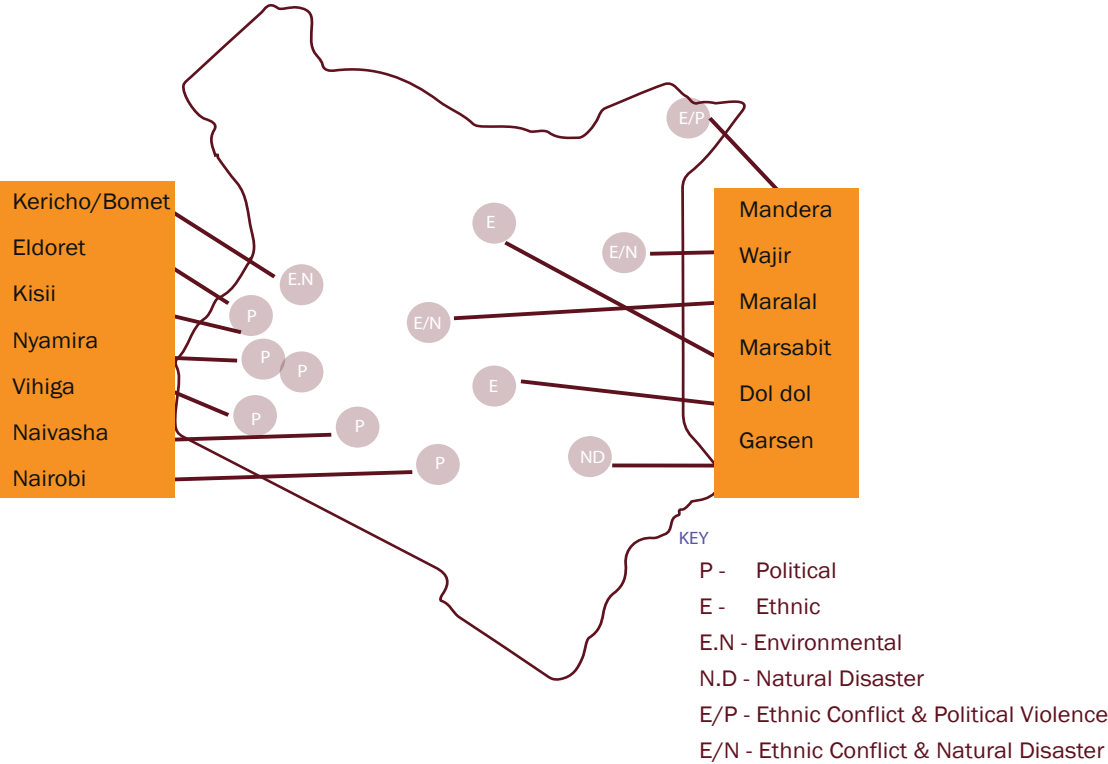
When it came to the distribution of clusters, the overall intention of the study was to provide adequate representation of the different categories of IDPs.

The study used statistics based on reports by the IDMC (2015a) that indicate that the majority of IDPs are displaced by political vio-

lence (PEV). One of the challenges is that the available numbers are estimates seeing that there is no exact and reliable data on IDPs in Kenya. IDMC (2015a) estimates the number of IDPs as 309,200. OCHA (2015) estimates that 250,000 are protracted IDPs.

Figure 5 is the map of the twelve clusters where the study was conducted (additional information on each cluster is contained in appendix A).

Figure 5: Location of Clusters



To facilitate the data analysis, the qualitative data was transcribed and coded. As for the analysis the quantitative part the study used both descriptive and inferential statistical techniques.

Limitations

The research was carefully prepared but there were inevitable limitations. For a start, there was the absence of comprehensive data on the number of IDPs given that Kenya does not have any official, all-inclusive, up to date national data on IDPs.

Secondly, human trafficking, as a phenomenon, is clandestine in nature. This means that there is little reliable data on the nature and extent of the crime. Various studies provide different figures (or rather estimates) while describing the scope of this phenomenon. Data from these studies has been criticized by scholars and practitioners such as Anne Gallagher (2014) and Janie Chuang (2015).

Thirdly, several interviewed respondents claimed not to have information on human trafficking. This does not mean that they never witnessed or experienced human trafficking, but rather that they had a wrong concept on what human trafficking is. Typical example is to limit trafficking to taking female victims to Persian Gulf Region, or to sexual exploitation of women by tourists in the Coastal Region, while early child marriage, since it is a culturally accepted practice, does not qualify as human trafficking. The need to provide basic information on the principles pertaining to human trafficking was time consuming, strenuous and constrained the information gathering.

The research adopted several interventions to mitigate the limitations. To overcome the limitation of lack of exact statistics on the number of IDPs, probability-sampling methods were ruled out and samples were drawn with the use of the non-probability

method. Given that there is no reliable data on human trafficking and the quantification of the phenomenon is particularly difficult (if not impossible), the study did not attempt to establish the actual number of trafficked victims among the IDPs, but rather focused on analysing the correlation between the IDPs and human trafficking. To mitigate the lack of knowledge/common understanding on the subject matter among the respondents, comprehensive introduction to human trafficking was provided before each interview.

Ethical Considerations

Research on human trafficking and on IDPs is always sensitive and requires an ethical-oriented approach. For this reason, only experienced research assistants were selected for the study and during the pre-test exercise of the data tool, elements of research instrument that are unclear or that could be misunderstood by the target population were identified. At the start of each interview, the consent of the respondents was sought and the nature and purpose of the exercise was explained. No rewards or other promises were given and the respondents were made to understand that the purpose of the study was to contribute to better protection of IDPs in Kenya. The respondents were also informed about the research development and dissemination of the final report that they were encouraged to play an active role in. Results from the desk study and primary data analysis were presented to representatives of IDPs from Eldoret, Kisii, Naivasha, Vihiga and Bomet in a validation workshop.

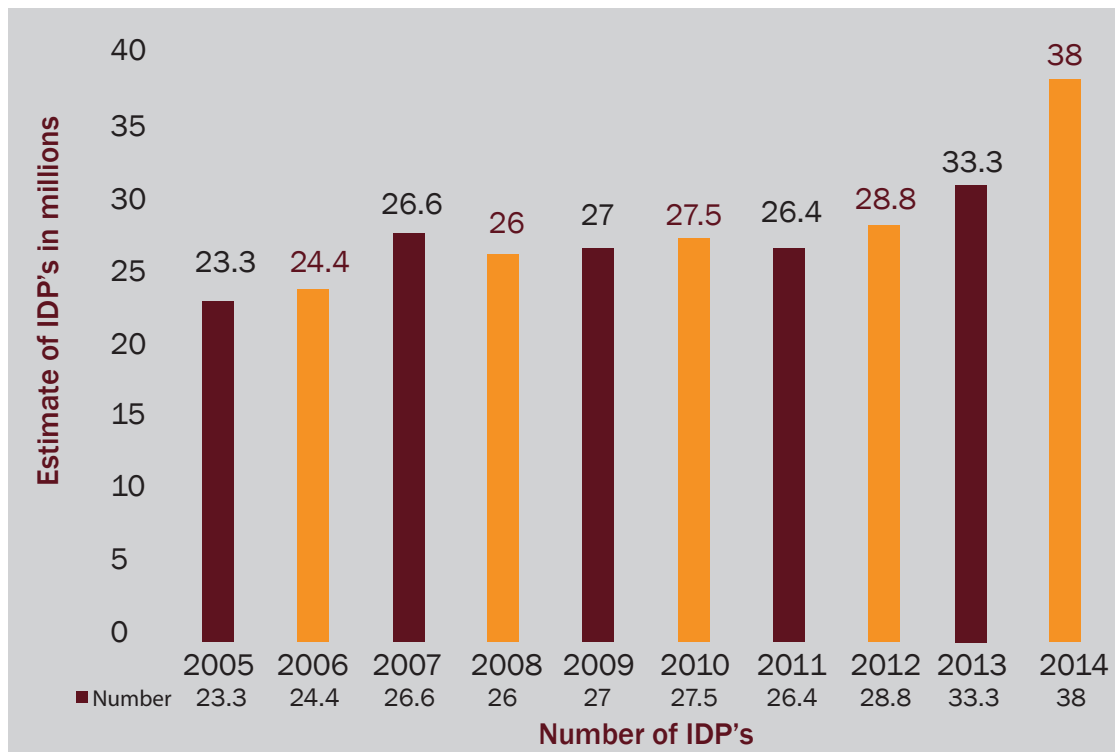
LITERATURE REVIEW

Internally Displaced Persons

The issue of internal displacement seems to be growing rather than diminishing worldwide. Statistics provided by Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC) in 2014 indicate that there are 38 million people who are forcefully displaced in different countries.

These statistics, as well as other findings point out to IDPs as one of the world’s most vulnerable groups in their societies. Many IDPs are evidently desperate to get their lives in order to access basic amenities, which leads to interaction with traffickers who take advantage of their vulnerability and ultimately turn some of them into victims of human trafficking.

Figure 6: IDP Trends in the World from 2005 to 2014



Typology of Internally Displaced Persons

There are several ways of categorizing IDPs and the most popular criteria are listed below.

IDPs can be categorized by the duration of displacement thus, short-term and long-term displacements. The IDMC (2015a) report indicates that 90% of IDPs have been displaced for 10 or more years with many of them subject to forceful displacement more than once hence prolonging their displacement (IDMC, 2015a).

Source: (IDMC, 2015b)

Another typology of IDPs is based on gender. Some researchers have paid particular attention to the displacement of women as they have been found to be a specifically vulnerable cluster in the course of displacement (Global Protection Cluster, 2010). A gender analysis helps to identify protection risks faced by men and boys in addition to those faced by women and girls (Brookings, 2008). Another vulnerable group is children. In the Protocol on the Protection and Assistance to Internally Displaced Persons of 2004,

adolescents - children over the age of 10, are considered as a distinct category from children or adults as they face distinct risks, for example, sexual violence and forced recruitment (Mooney, 2005). Older people are also at higher risks of vulnerability as they are usually unable to flee with the rest of the family and thus are subject to violence (Global Protection Cluster, 2010).

The last criterion is the reason of displacement. This criterion is particularly relevant to the Kenyan context and has been adopted for the use in this study. The common reasons for internal displacement in Kenya is a result of political, ethnic, environmental factors and as a result of natural disasters e.g. floods.

Political and Ethnic Conflict Induced

Conflicts over disputed elections, distribution of power or civil wars are the most common reasons for displacement in Africa (UNOCHA, 2011). One example for political violence along ethnic lines is the 2007/8 post-election violence in Kenya that resulted in a large number of IDPs.

The two categories, politically and ethnically motivated conflict, are intertwined. Ethnically based parties are common in Sub-Sahara Africa and access to political and economic benefits is structured along ethnic lines. Hence the politicization of ethnicity is imminent to the system of power and ethnicity is viewed as instrumental identity organized as means to particular ends.

This shows that the root causes of ethnic conflicts do not involve ethnicity per se. The ethnic difference is not sufficient to explain a conflict or the eruption of violence. The underlying reasons that lead to displacement are linked to access resources such as access to land, water, pasture, business or job opportunities etc. After all, access to or preservation of political power are key drivers of violent (ethnic) conflicts. However, displacement also takes place with the

purpose to exclude certain groups (voter blocks/interested parties/other pastoralists) from the election/decision making process/ access to resources/business opportunities through intimidation and/or displacement.

Disaster Induced

Disaster is another reason for displacement. Disasters are normally placed into two broad categories namely natural and man-made and can have a long-term negative impact on the affected population.

Development and Environment Induced

Forced displacement can even be a result of a big beneficial project, for example in the case of the Mau Forest evictions where approximately 12,000 people were displaced in the course of recovering part of the forest (Survival, 2010). Notwithstanding the environmentally beneficial aspect of the eviction, it is always drastic for the persons concerned and usually has profound negative socio-economic and cultural impacts on communities.

Consequences of Displacement

There are several negative impacts that are attributed to the IDPs phenomenon. The impacts affect both the IDP and the host communities. Among others, these briefly include:

Spread of Contagious Diseases

Lack of proper sanitation and the inability to access affordable basic amenities cause serious health challenges for internally displaced persons. There are numerous reports of the prevalence of contagious diseases among the displaced persons living in camps and as they constantly interact with the neighbouring communities, the diseases easily spillover (Nyala, 2012).

Increase in Crime Rates, Including Organized Crime

A noticeable general increase in the crime rates in IDPs occupied areas has been reported and the presumption has been that in the struggle to survive, IDPs tend to engage for example in petty theft, or become a target of criminals (Parachi, 2014).

IDPs and Spillover of Conflicts

On several occasions the presence of IDPs led to the spillover of the conflict engulfing the host communities and thus exacerbated insecurity. The spillover of conflict usually also causes tensions between the IDPs and their host communities and poses serious challenges to many humanitarian organisations (Start Fund, 2014).

Conscription and Recruitment as Child Soldiers

Over the years, in many protracted conflicts, there has been a noticeable trend of recruiting internally displaced children into armed combat. This directly links displacement to the phenomena of child soldiers (that is also a form of human trafficking). Also many demobilised child soldiers end up displaced from their original homes or are often considered social outcasts by their host communities. This affects all types of displaced children whose status increases their vulnerability (Alfredson, 2002).

Exposure to Violence

As a result of displacement many internally displaced persons are exposed to violence. They are at high risk of physical attack, sexual assault and abduction (OHCHR, 2016).

Poor Health Care

IDPs are often deprived of adequate food, shelter and health care (OHCHR, 2016) and thus experience poor health. The likelihood to contract diseases is therefore high. IDPs have a higher mortality rate than the general population (OHCHR, 2016) with women

and children widely recognized as the most vulnerable groups (White, 2002).

General Abuse and Exploitation

Roberts et al (2008) found out in a study on internally displaced persons in Uganda, a country that has experienced decades of armed conflict, that 54% of the respondents met the Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) symptom criteria. It was also found that three quarters of the respondents had witnessed or experienced the murder of family or friends, over half of them had been beaten or tortured and 14% had experienced sexual violence. (Roberts et al, 2008)

Internally Displaced Persons in Kenya

There has been little research and data on the contemporary number of IDPs in Kenya. There are no exact figures of IDPs and only estimates are available - it is estimated that there are around 309,200 IDPs in Kenya (IDMC, 2015b).

Throughout Kenya's history, internal displacement has been a recurring pattern. The British colonialist land policy favoured settlers resulting in dispossession of land belonging to the indigenous communities (Elhawary, 2008). This period saw the introduction and imposition of an individual freehold title registration system that replaced customary mechanisms of land tenure. Many farming communities were reduced to a labour force for the settlers (Riva, 2013). The freehold land title system was maintained after independence alongside the implementation of a number of market-based resettlement schemes meant to deal with displacement. Neither of these policies and schemes questioned the injustice in the acquisition of the original land titles, nor compensated or assisted those who had been displaced and did not have the financial means to acquire lands under the market-based resettlement schemes (Riva, 2013). Indeed, the question of land remains a thorny issue in Kenya and was, for example, a major factor that trig-

gered the post-election violence in 2007/8 (Riva, 2013).

Legal Framework on Internal Displacement in Kenya

Kenya has several legal instruments aimed at protecting the rights of IDPs. These instruments include domestic, regional and international tools that constitute the legal system for the protection of IDPs.

In regards to international instruments that protect IDPs, several documents were signed including: the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), Great Lakes Protocol on the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons (2006) and the African Union Convention for the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons also popularly referred to as the “Kampala Convention”.

Domestically, Article 56 of the Constitution of Kenya provides for the protection of the “marginalized” and in December 2013, the President assented to the IDP Act (Kenya Gazette Supplement, 2012). The IDP Act largely outlines key protection principles throughout the displacement process and establishes an institutional framework for the protection and assistance of IDPs.

A National Consultative Coordination Committee whose sole responsibility is to ensure the registration of all IDPs in order to maintain a national database of such persons has been established. The committee became functional in January 2015 (IDMC, 2015a).

Human Trafficking

The problem of human trafficking, also nicknamed as ‘modern day slavery, made it to the global agenda at the end of the 20th century (Malinowski, 2014). The growing number of victims, the merging of trafficking with other criminal activities by Organized Criminal Groups (OCG) and, importantly, overwhelming evidence of serious abuses

of human rights, ensured that human trafficking became a global concern. The human trafficking phenomenon was conceptualized as the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons Especially Women and Children (Palermo Protocol), supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime (TOC) adopted in November 2000.

Definition of Human Trafficking

The Palermo Protocol’s definition of human trafficking can be divided into three parts: the Act - composed of recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons; the Means - such as the threat or actual 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; and, the Purpose which is exploitation. It is important to note that this definition does not speak explicitly about exploitation but about the purpose of exploitation. Table 2 presents the process of human trafficking according to the Palermo Protocol in case of adult victims of trafficking. As for the child, the Palermo Protocol (Art 3 c) states that:

“The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of a child for the purpose of exploitation shall be considered “trafficking in persons” even if this does not involve any of the means set forth in subparagraph (a) of this article” (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2004, Art. 3 (c)).

This means child trafficking occurs if elements from the first column (Act) together with elements from the third column (Purpose) can be identified. There is no need for elements from the second column (Means) to constitute child trafficking.

Table 2: The Process of Human Trafficking

Act		Means		Purpose
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Recruitment• Transportation• Transfer• Harboring• Receipt of persons	+	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Force• Coercion• Abduction• Fraud• Deception• Abuse of power• Abuse of vulnerability• Giving and receiving of payment	+	<p>Exploitation which includes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Prostitution and other forms of sexual exploitation• Forced labor and services• Slavery and similar practices• Involuntary servitude• Removal of organs

For the process of trafficking to occur, there must be at least one element from each column in table 2, however when the victim is a child (a person below the age of 18), the middle column (Means) is omitted, as the child cannot consent to a trafficking offer.

There are different ways of conceptualizing human trafficking, for example according to stages of trafficking process. The process itself starts with recruitment. There are various patterns of recruitment and a variety of recruiters from business persons to family members. The second stage involves transportation or transfer (physical movement is not necessary). There are typically two kinds of destinations for victims of trafficking: inside the country (domestic trafficking) and across international borders. The last stage of the trafficking process is always exploitation that can happen in the form of forced labour, sexual exploitation, organ removal, or early child marriage among others.

Various studies on human trafficking have indicated its negative impact on democracy, state security and gender disparity - given that a majority of the victims are women and children (UN, 2009).

Human Trafficking in Kenya

According to the U.S. State Department, Kenya is a “source, transit and destination country of victims of human trafficking” (2015, p. 204). People are trafficked to various destinations inside the country and abroad. Recently, countries in the Middle East such as Dubai and Qatar have been the most popular destinations for trafficking abroad, while Nairobi, the Coast and Western Kenya are prime destinations for internal trafficking. Kenya is also a key transit country for victims from the Horn of Africa, neighbouring countries and some Asian countries (U.S. State Department, 2015). Prostitution and forced labour are primary types of exploitation for child trafficking. The same applies to women, while men are subjected, predominantly to forced labour (although there are also incidences of male trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation). In addition there are incidents of trafficking of youth and men recruited by terrorist groups such as the Al Shabaab (U.S. State Department, 2015).

According to the U.S. State Department, (2015, p. 204), “The government of Kenya does not comply with the minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking, however it is making significant effort to do so”. Within the Government, it is Ministry of Labour, Social Security and Services that is charged with implementation of counter trafficking policies. The Ministry of Labour, Social Security and Services established Counter Trafficking Advisory Committee – a requirement of Counter Trafficking Act 2010. The Committee, composed of various government institution and civil society organisation representatives is charged with overseeing and coordinating counter trafficking efforts in Kenya (Ministry of Labour, 2013).

In 2015, Kenya was ranked in Tier 2, after three years of being classified under Tier 2 WL (the Tier system is a standard concept used to categorise countries in respect to human trafficking (U.S. State Department, 2015)).

Linkage between Human Trafficking and Internally Displaced Persons

There is an interesting, though still under-researched, relationship between internal displacement and trafficking. Some scholars like Martin (2006) and Gallagher (2010) argue that there is a potentiality of deep relationship between the two and victims of internal trafficking could also qualify to be recognized as IDPs.

While displaced people have been recognized to be vulnerable to trafficking, research on the connections between human trafficking and IDPs is limited (Akee, 2010). Indeed, the linkage between the two phenomena should be a subject for future research.

Vulnerability to Human Trafficking

There exists no clear list of factors of vulnerabilities that lead to human trafficking. However, United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) has synthesized factors or rather conditions that increase the

likelihood of being trafficked. On the basis of this synthesized list of factors, the research established a broad list of variables that served as a basis for developing a model on what makes IDPs vulnerable to human trafficking. According to UNODC the following variables contribute to vulnerability to human trafficking: Child, Gender, Poverty, Social and Cultural exclusion, Education, Political instability war or conflict, Social, cultural and legal frameworks, Movement and Demand (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2008). Table 11 in Appendix B presents the variables in the research that fit in each of the UNODC conditions of trafficking.

Gaps in the Literature Review

It is evident from the literature review that there are several gaps in literature concerning the subject of IDPs and trafficking. First, there is limited data on IDPs as victims of trafficking not to mention the lack of a conceptual distinction between the two phenomena. Secondly, IDPs are perceived to be vulnerable to trafficking, however, there is little evidence indicating the extent of their vulnerability. Finally, as IDPs are not a homogeneous group, there is a general lack of information on the vulnerability variance between different types of IDPs.

FINDINGS

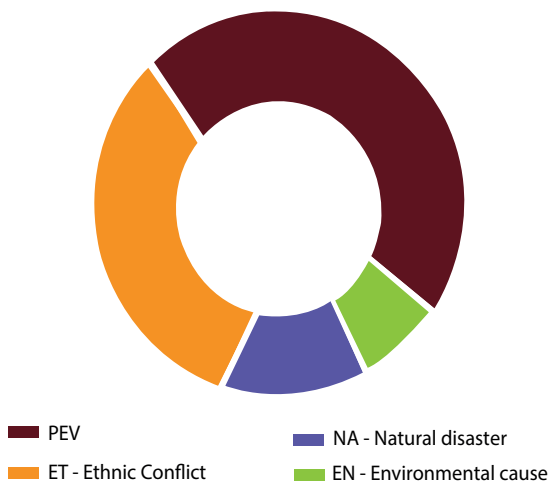
The findings from both the quantitative and qualitative data are organized around the three research questions. The first finding answers the question whether there are any incidents of human trafficking among IDPs communities in Kenya. The second finding uses descriptive and inferential statistics to analyse the nature of incidents of trafficking among the IDP communities and the third one builds a model of vulnerability. Finally the third finding builds up a model of vulnerability of IDPs to human trafficking in Kenya.

There was a girl in our camp who was taken to Saudi Arabia but she came back even without shoes (FGD, Nairobi).

Unit Analysis: Category and Basic Characteristics

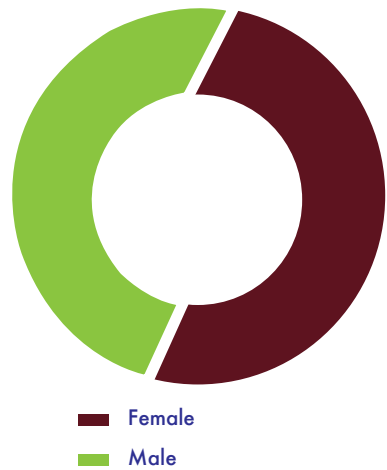
Figure 7 presents the types of IDPs according to the reason of displacement in a hierarchical order, the figure includes all major types of IDPs in Kenya. Persons displaced through PEV are the majority followed by those of ethnic conflict, natural disaster and lastly environmental/displacement IDPs.

Figure 7: IDP Respondents according to the Reason of Displacement



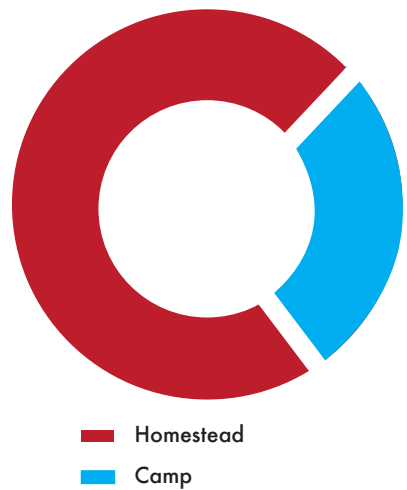
The choice of respondents according to gender is represented in figure 8 and reflects a well-balanced distribution between the two genders (50.6% females, 49.4% males)

Figure 8: Gender of Respondents



There are two distinct types of locations - in camps and in homesteads - that host IDPs in Kenya. It can be seen from figure 9 that majority of IDPs are in homesteads.

Figure 9: Type of Location



Are there any Incidents of Human Trafficking?

The first research question sought to confirm whether there are any incidences of human trafficking among IDPs. As already noted, human trafficking being a clandestine activity, is often misunderstood and misinterpreted. Typically the phenomenon is associated with media based stories of Kenyans trafficked to the Gulf States.

76 (24.6%) out of 308 randomly selected respondents from IDPs communities experienced or witnessed cases of human trafficking

Question: "Do you know about human trafficking in your area?"

Answer: "I have heard about human trafficking from the media, I was reading about this in the newspaper about young people been taken to Saudi Arabia for work but once they get there, they are punished or abused. For our case we have not heard. There are no people who come here to promise them work. We only have people going to Marsabit to do casual jobs for a month and coming back. These are people seeking work to sustain their families." (KII no. 13, Marsabit)

The lack of a common understanding necessitated brief explanations of what constituted human trafficking before any interviewees were conducted. Given that the phenomenon is not among the commonly known terminologies, there is a chance that some of the respondents had actually experienced (witnessed or heard) human trafficking but did not understand it as such. It is therefore plausible that the actual number of human trafficking cases is much higher than the one indicated by the respondents. Nevertheless, the research established that IDPs witnessed human trafficking, particularly in urban areas

such as Nairobi, Kisii and Naivasha. In Marsabit, Bomet, Maralal and Wajir the exposure to the phenomenon (KII 15) was to a lesser extent. In fact some Key Informants (16 and 13), as well as several FGDs (10, 12 and 11) confirmed that IDPs in the above locations did not experience or know of any cases of human trafficking.

Question: "Have you heard about people who were trafficked" (the interviewer explained what trafficking is)?

Answer1: "Yes there is some young man who went to Nairobi to look for work and he has never come back and we never heard of him."

Question: "Did someone recruit him or did he go on his own?"

Answer: "He went on his own."

Question: "Do you know of another case of human trafficking?"

Answer: "There is one child who disappeared for eight years but was brought back from Nairobi. He was herding animals and a relative saw him and brought him back."

Question: "Do you know of children employed to herd animals here?"

Answer: "We do not have such cases of children around here."

Answer: "There is only one old man who came from Samburu when he was young but now he is an old man and has his family here (FGD, Marsabit)."

The above responses can be compared with comments of IDPs from places like Eldoret, Vihigia and other locations considered prone to trafficking.

Question: "Have you heard about human trafficking in your area?"

Answer: "In actual fact I know about it and I have heard of some of the victims who have been involved in human trafficking. In Langas for example, we have a group of people who were taken to Saudi Arabia under the false pretext that they were going to be employed. But after a while abroad, there was a problem and they wanted help to come back."

Some were being sexually harassed; others the jobs that they were made to do were not what they expected. In addition, the jobs were hard. They therefore wanted to come back home but there were complications with this. Cases have also been reported of Albinos being taken away from our town and sold to or used for witchcraft. So yes I have heard about human trafficking and I understand what it is.” (KII no. 3, Eldoret).

These findings correspond with the quantitative data analysis. Figure 6 presents answers to the question whether IDP respondents experienced or witnessed human trafficking (not on radio or TV, but in their community). The answers were then cross-tabulated with the categories of displacement.

The level of association for the above variables is strong and allows interpretation (see detailed statistical analysis in table 7 in Appendix B). From figure 10, it becomes evident that only within one category (PEV IDPs) more people are aware about or have experienced human trafficking than those who have not seen or heard about such incidents. On the other side are the Environmental IDPs who had not come across any cases of human trafficking.

The two remaining groups, namely natural disaster and ethnic conflict categories, have the fewest respondents (approximately 37.1% and 8.3%) who had witnessed or experienced human trafficking. This is not surprising and confirms the anecdotal evidence about human trafficking. The question then is whether these areas are indeed immune to human trafficking? The most plausible explanation is that the most common types of human trafficking, such as trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation, are not present or the incidences are extremely rare and/or, if the incidences are there, nobody is able to classify them as such. For example, a common typical example could be of early child marriages. Accepted by cultural norms and still practiced by many ethnic groups,

early child marriage can be classified and criminalized as an act of human trafficking, but it is hardly presented as such. This could explain why, when discussing human trafficking, respondents only had in mind the most common types of trafficking as presented in national and regional media. The reports are usually in reference to people going to countries like the United Arab Emirates (UAE) and Saudi Arabia in the Persian Gulf Region. The interview below shows that the concept of trafficking is often misunderstood.

Question: “Have you witnessed or heard about IDPs being recruited into human trafficking? Explain and indicate who recruits them and where they go? Also explain how IDPs are exploited?”

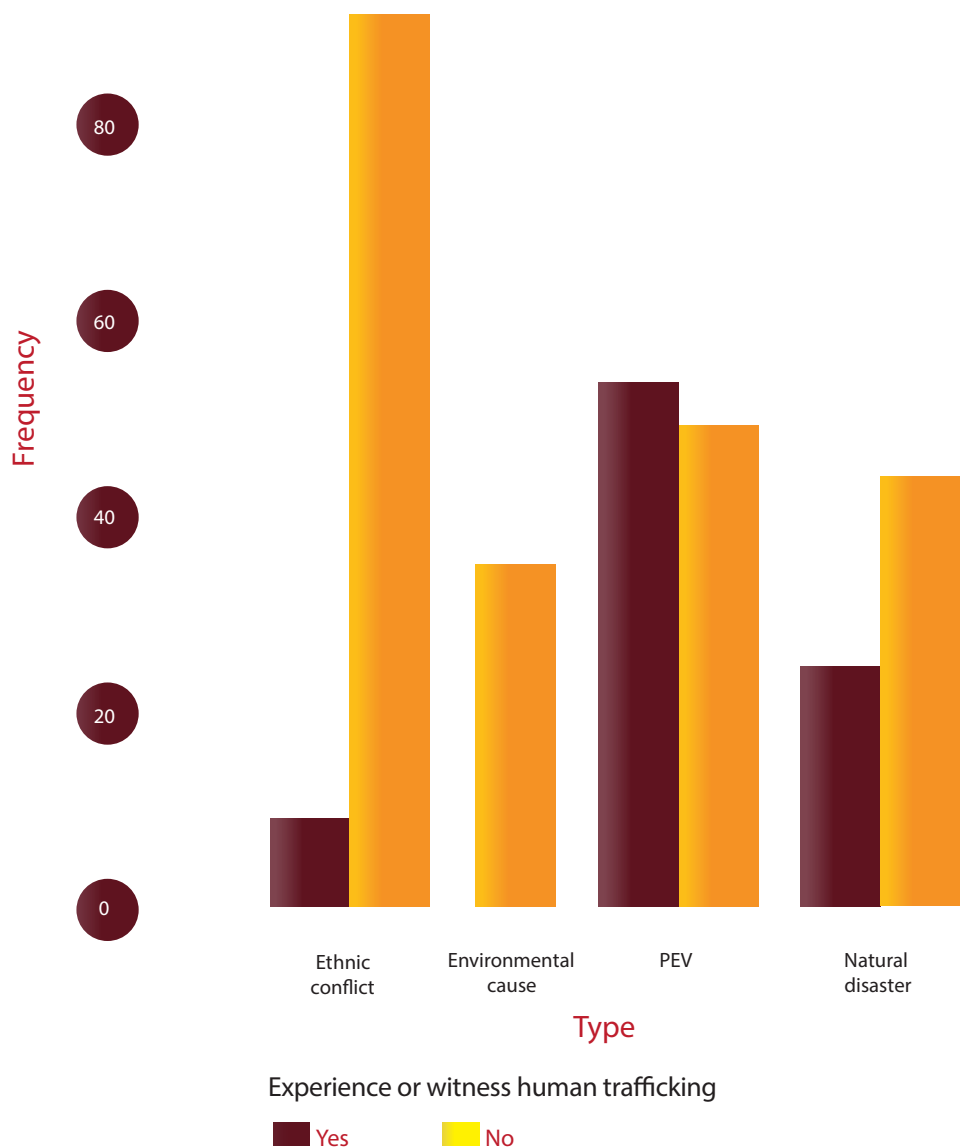
Answer: “We have witnessed IDPs being recruited into abusive situations where youthful ladies are being taken advantage of and forced to marry to escape from poverty. The local clan elders perpetrate these acts since they are more respected. We do not experience sexual exploitation or child labour. Early child marriages are a common practice among our society.” (FGD, Manderu).

In one answer the group of IDPs gave an interesting insight on what is perceived as human trafficking (or exploitation) and what was not. While they admitted that early child marriages were a common practice, they still believed sexual exploitation (plausibly meant to be commercial sex work) was not common among them. In these cases, early child marriages did not qualify as sexual exploitation. Also the practice of forced marriage was not perceived in several places as a violation of human rights.

Question: “How can we prevent human trafficking?”

Answer: “All parents must make sure that they marry their daughters to the right men in terms of age and their family backgrounds. Daughters should not be married to men just

Figure 10: Experience of Trafficking - Cross-Tabulation



because they happen to fall in love” (FGD, Wajir).

From the foregoing observations, it can be concluded that while communities in remote areas stated that they did not experience human trafficking, it could mean that what they had not experienced the commonly known types of human trafficking. Several interviews (KII 11, 13 and 15) and FGDs (12, 22 and 21) confirmed (although with hesitation as it is illegal) that early child marriages were still practiced amongst the

local and IDPs population. Indeed, it is very possible that cases of early child marriages are prevalent among the IDP communities given that, in their vulnerable circumstances, they are more likely to ignore or overlook cases of violations of children rights, or accept it as a coping mechanism.

Answer: “I know one case of a man whom I met last week. He married a small child and he has travelled to Laikipia with the girl. He has not performed the ceremony (traditional wedding).”

Question: "How old is the girl?"

Answer: "She is between 15 to 16 years."

Question: "Do the local people know this?"

Answer: "It is done secretly because of fear of the authorities."

Question: "What if the authority learns this?"

Answer: "He didn't perform any ceremony thus the local community (and subsequently authorities (sic) will not know this."

Question: "What if she gets pregnant?"

Answer: "There is no problem."

Question: "What if she runs away?"

Answer: "She can run away since she is not customary married."

Question: "Is this culturally accepted?"

Answer: "They just agree with the parents and they give her to the man without ceremony."

Question: "Are the parents IDPs?"

Answer. "The parents are IDPs."

(KII no. 15, Maralal)

Can Internal Displacement Reduce Cases of Human Trafficking?

As odd as it may sound, a scenario where internal displacement coincidentally reduces human trafficking is possible. IDPs in Maralal (FGD, Maralal) admitted that prior to displacement they had more chances to practice early child marriages (with girls as young as nine years old) while after the displacement this particular practice was significantly reduced. The reason was that displacement caused IDPs to move to places where there was a relatively strong presence of law enforcement agencies. As a result (obviously not intended) cultural practices that violate legal norms such as early child marriage were not practiced as they were before the displacement.

What is the Nature of the Incidences of Human Trafficking?

After clarifying whether IDPs in Kenya experience human trafficking and which categories of IDPs are more prone to it, the second research question interrogates the nature of human trafficking incidents. Out of 308 respondents, 76 (24.6%) confirmed that they had experienced or witnessed cases of human trafficking among IDPs.

Recruiters

Below is the profile of traffickers based on responses from those who were able to identify trafficking cases. Local job agents were identified to play the leading role (88.2% of total cases) of recruitment followed by strangers (9.2%) and relatives (2.6%).

Trafficker/Recruiter:	
Job Agent	88.2%
Stranger	9.2%
Relative	2.6%

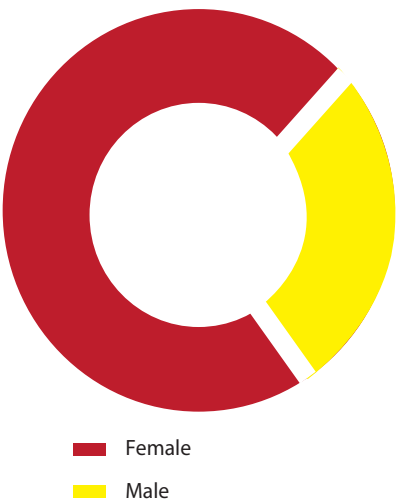
The identification of Job Agents as the key recruiters of IDPs corresponds with what has been established by other research studies on human trafficking in Kenya. A research done by the National Crime Research Centre (2014, p. 43) identifies unemployment as the main driver that pushes victims to accept human trafficking offers. Thus, to meet the need for employment, Job Agents take advantage and engage in human trafficking. Indeed, data from different media and from the HAART database (Malinowski, 2015b) also indicates that job agents play a significant role in recruiting victims for purposes of exploitation. The job agents are either from official job agencies or from other unregistered organisations (informal job agents).

Victim’s Gender

Figures 11, 12 and 13 present the victim profiles. Figure 11 shows that the majority (64.5%) of victims are females, while

34.5% are male. This finding confirms many international reports (for example, United Nations Office on drug and Crime, 2012) that estimate around two thirds of victims to be female and a third being male.

Figure 11: Victim’s Gender



Children – Victims of Human Trafficking

In terms of age, the majority (84.2%) of human trafficking victims are adults with 15.8% being child victims. It is not implausible to assert that the percentage of child victims could be higher if early child marriage and child labour were recognized as human trafficking. The question of IDP children being particularly vulnerable to trafficking was also noted in clusters that recorded trafficking. There were several reported cases of children being trafficked or kidnapped:

“There was a lady whose baby was snatched in Malindi while she was at a saloon. Luckily, onlookers noticed when the child was taken as she played with other children. The thief was caught. The onlookers noted that the child’s mother was very lucky because such babies were sold for up to Kshs 50,000” (KII no. 23, Garsen).

Cross tabulation between the age and the category of displacement variable, indicates that the majority (83.3%) of children are recruited among the PEV IDPs. The rest

(16.7%) are recruited among ethnic IDPs. The remaining two categories, natural disaster and environmental IDPs, do not record any incident of child trafficking (for more details see the table 8 in Appendix B). Figure 12 presents the trends in child trafficking among the IDP communities in Kenya.

There are several plausible reasons why IDP children are particularly vulnerable to trafficking. From the qualitative data two drivers of vulnerability were established – 1) Lack of perspective for the future and, 2) Children used as a coping mechanism.

“We had a forum in Nairobi whereby I heard someone from Mombasa say that IDP boys of around 17-25 years were not productively engaged especially because all their papers (identification and school leaving certificates) had been lost during the post election violence. These boys were susceptible to any form of recruitment and people were taking advantage of them.” (KII no. 7, Nyamira)

It was also reported that some families from the rural areas used their children to cope with difficult financial situations. A FGD in Vihiga pointed out that:

“You get a woman whose husband has died and she moves from her home to live elsewhere within the community. If this woman has girls, some people take advantage and use them badly. The girls are sometimes married off early in order to support the woman. Unfortunately, even in these circumstances, the expected dowry might not be paid.” (FGD, Vihiga)

Victims' Ages

Figure 13 provides a detailed distribution of age among the cases of human trafficking regarding IDPs.

The minimum age of trafficking is 10 while the maximum is 45 years. The highest numbers of victims were those of age 25 (Mode) but ages 18, 19, 20, 22 and 23, also recorded high numbers of victims of human trafficking. Age as an indicator of vulnerability to trafficking was also confirmed by the qualitative data. A key informant from a service-providing agency indicated the same age range as in data obtained from the survey.

Question: “Are there any groups among the IDPs that are more vulnerable to human trafficking?”

Answer: “I think young... let me say youth between the ages of 16 to 25 years. We have really seen a lot of cases in this group.” (KII no. 4)

Exploitation

Figure 14 presents the distribution of trafficking according to the type of exploitation. As in the case of gender, the distribution of responses is similar to the understanding of human trafficking worldwide. Several international reports (International Labour Organisation, 2005) estimate that forced labour is the primary way of exploitation of victims followed by sexual exploitation. The reported cases of violent death could be attributed to any one of the two forms of exploitation. Indeed, it is also possible that the victims underwent organ removals (organ trafficking) that resulted in deaths.

Figure 12: Distribution of Child-Adult Trafficking among Categories of IDPs

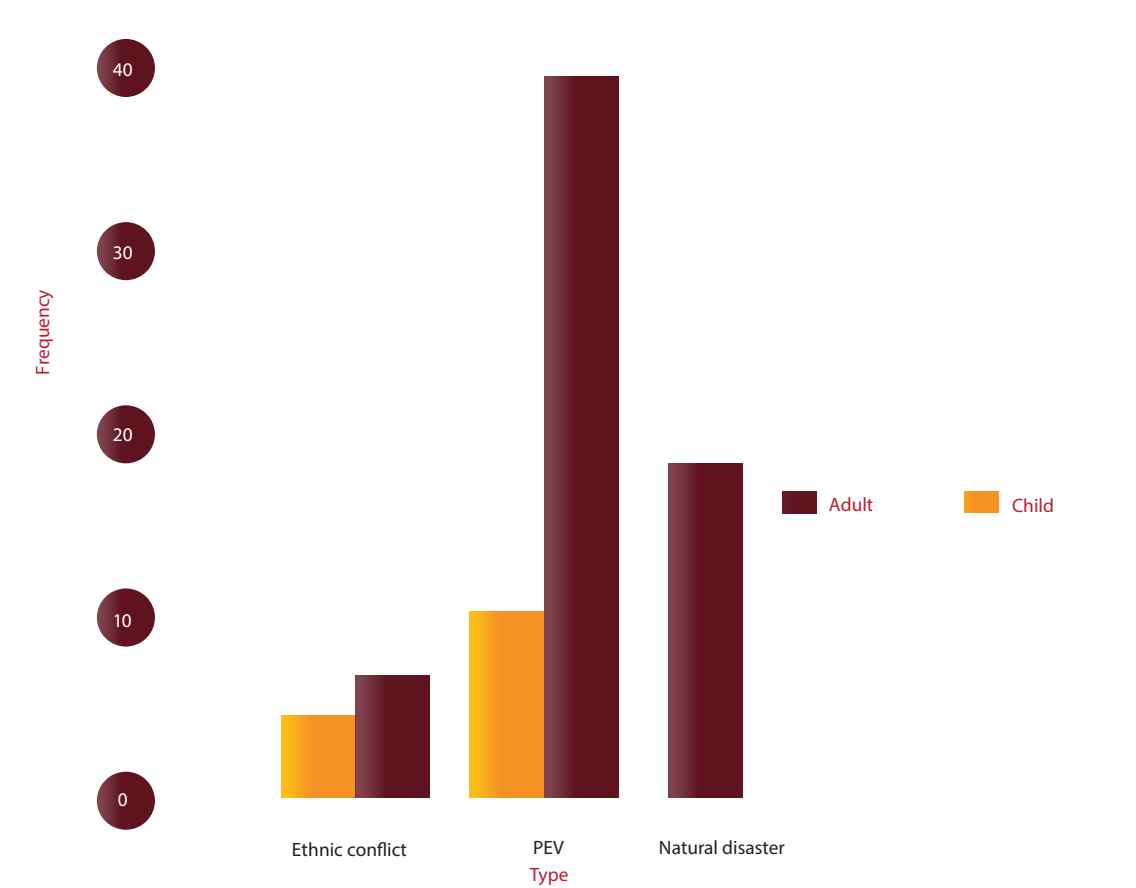


Figure 13: VoT by age

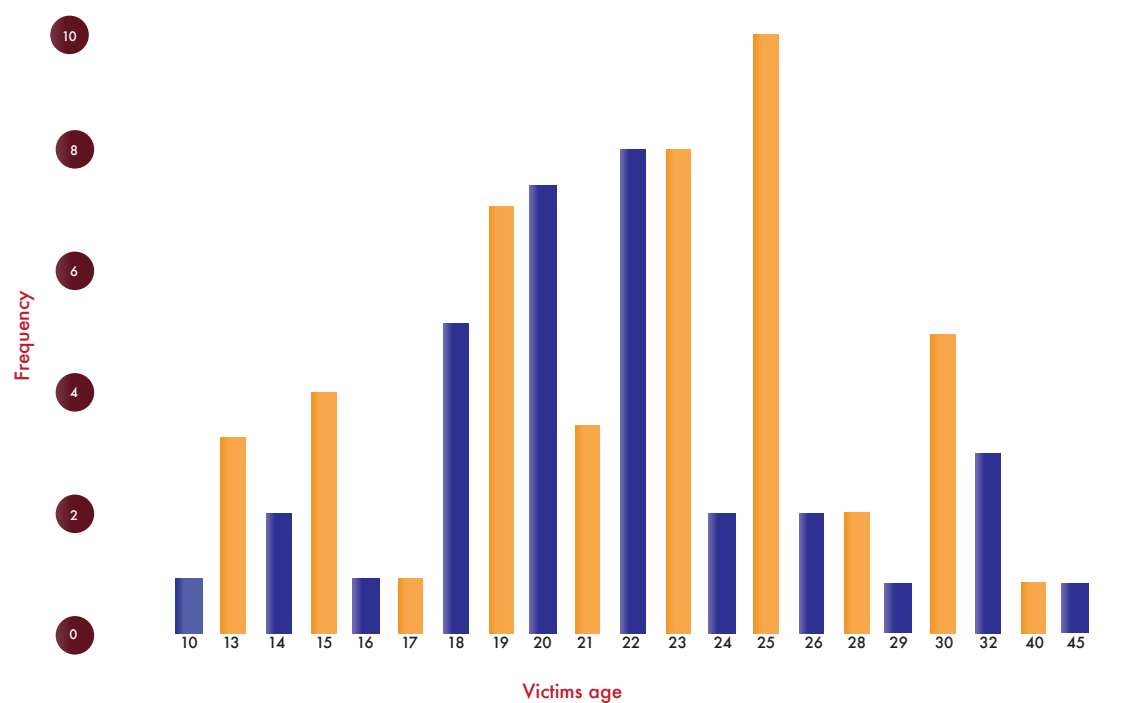
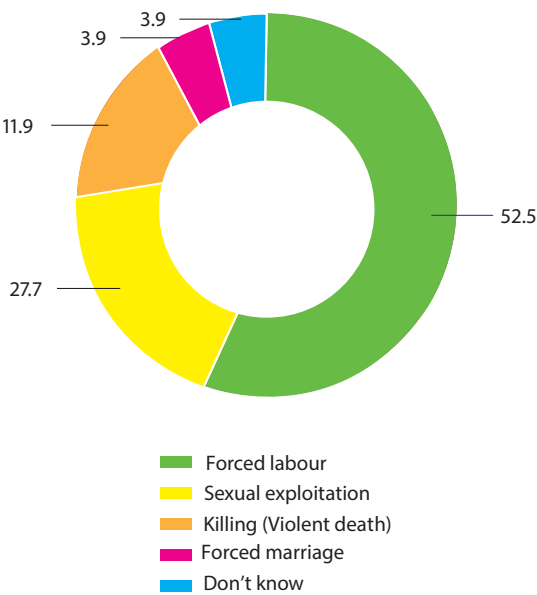


Figure 14: Types of exploiting experienced by VoTs



It is not possible to draw a distinction based on the type of exploitation as some cases of trafficking can have more than one type of exploitation. Typically, forced labour is sometimes accompanied by sexual exploitation like in the example given below:

“In the community you find that someone is looking for house-help who can look after the cows and also perform house chores. Young girls maybe in class six, seven or eight might be engaged as a house-help but loses the job once they get pregnant. They then result to shepherding cows and can go for as much as one year without pay.” (FGD, Vihigia)

Destination

In regard to destination, there are also several re-occurring patterns of promised and actual destinations. Table 9 (in appendix B) shows the promised destination in comparison to the destination the victim actually travelled to. The data shows that most of the destinations correlate with what was promised. There are a few exceptions for example, Middle East being the most promised than the actual destination, or places like Namanga, Turkana, Kakamega being actual destinations rather than promised areas of arrival.

In a hierarchical order, these are the main destinations for IDP-victims of human trafficking:

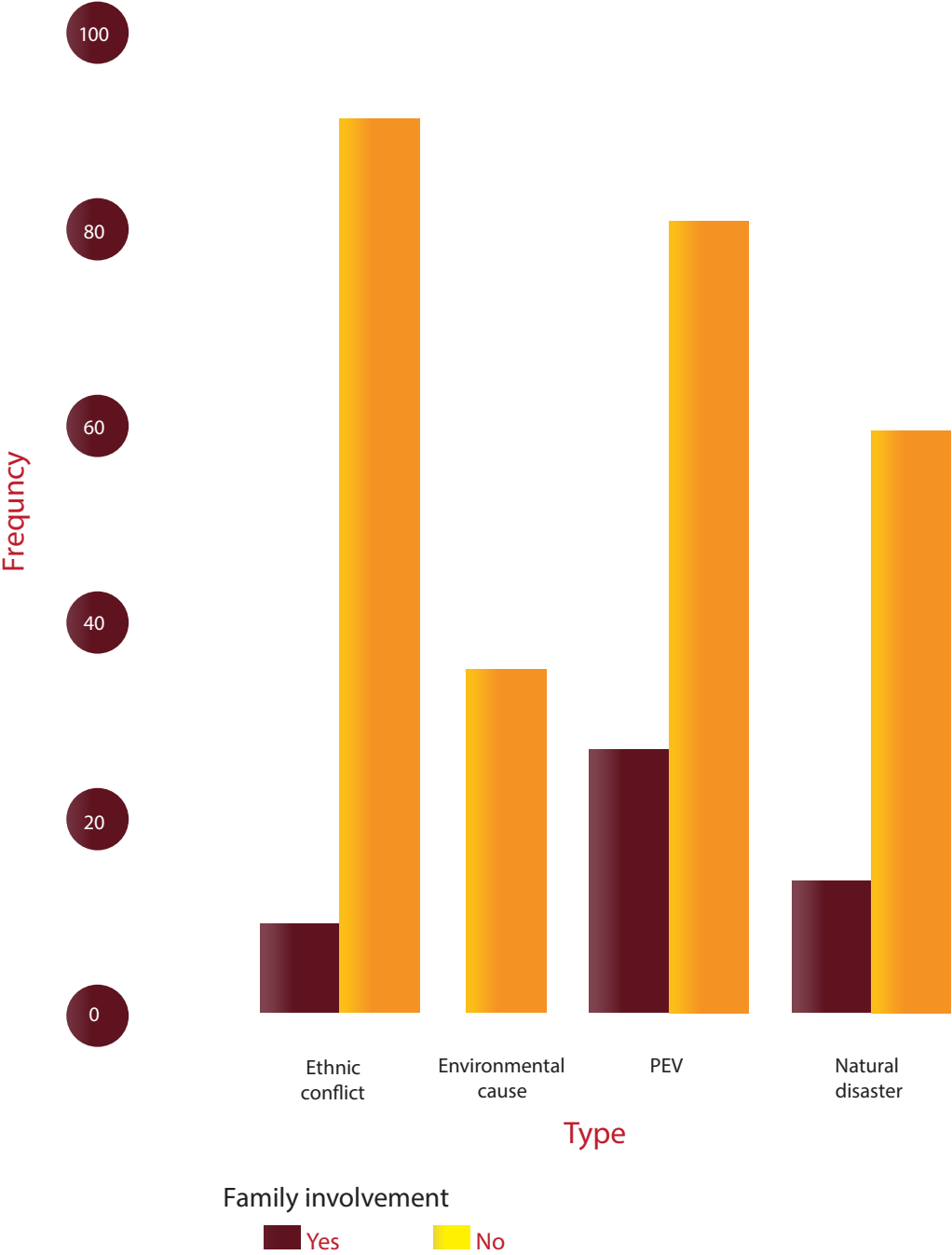
- 1. Middle East
- 2. Nairobi
- 3. Other major towns in Kenya
- 4. Local destinations (local market)
- 5. Other countries abroad

Family Involvement

An interesting pattern was observed when analysing family involvement in human trafficking. Surprising as it may be, family is usually considered as people who care most, but in some circumstances it is family that plays a central role in trafficking. There are examples of relatives trafficking family members. In several instances, prospects of wealth lead families to push victims to accept a recruiter’s offers. This means that the family unit is not necessarily a safe haven that offers protection for victims. When it comes to trafficking IDPs, incidents of family involvement are rather minimal, with the exception of PEV IDPs. This is illustrated in figure 15 (detailed statistical analysis is in table 10 in Appendix B).

It is clear from figure 15 that family involvement is rare for ethnic conflict and natural disaster IDPs and does not occur for environmental IDPs (at least from the sample) whereas PEV IDPs record the highest evidence of family involvement in human trafficking.

Figure 15: Family Involvement in Human Trafficking



Organized Criminal Groups and Human Trafficking

There are several indicators of Organized Criminal Groups (OCGs) involvement in human trafficking (KII 2 and 3). The involvement of OCGs criminalization in forced migration, particularly human trafficking and human smuggling in East Africa has been gaining momentum in the recent past and this is of concern to security stakeholders in the region (Malinowski, 2015a).

Among several types of OCGs, terrorist organizations (such as the Al Shabaab) are of particular concern. Indeed, there are several reports in Kenya and abroad about the Al Shabaab recruiting people through human trafficking, either to join as members or for sale to raise funds needed for terrorist operations. In the process of this research there were several indicators in some research clusters that linked trafficking with terrorist groups or other OCGs.

There is no doubt that the participation of OCGs, particularly terrorist organisations, in trafficking of IDPs definitely increases the vulnerability of the victims (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2012). Interviews in clusters from Vihiga, Maralal and Garsen mentioned the existence of such incidents. The future research should study the extent to which the OCGs participate in trafficking in persons among IDPs.

What contributes to vulnerability of IDPs towards human trafficking?

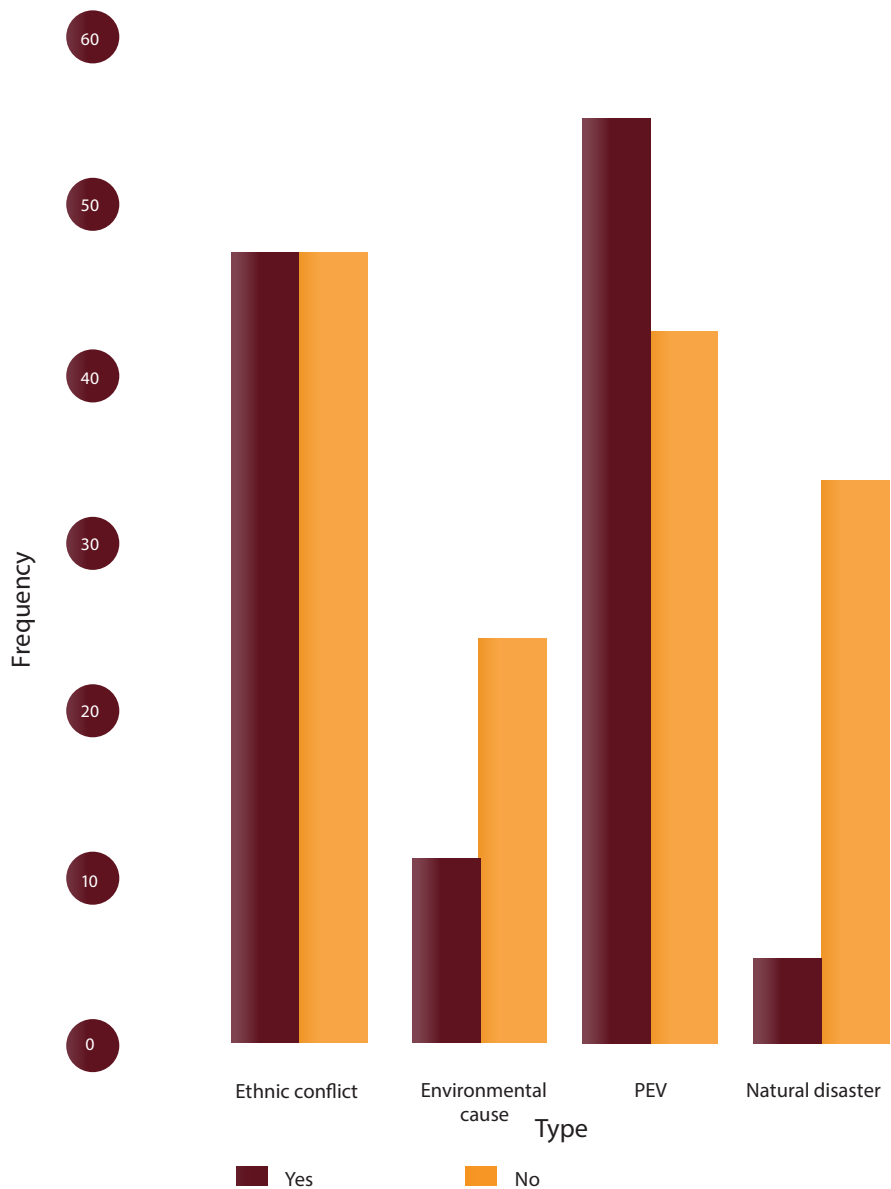
The last research question tries to establish the correlation of vulnerability of IDPs to human trafficking.

How to Determine Vulnerability and Trafficking?

The selected variables (Table 11, Appendix B) were correlated with a variable that indicates the potential risk of being trafficked. To capture such risk, respondents were asked whether they would accept (without extensive inquiry) recruitment for an unknown job offer, which requires them to travel to an unfamiliar destination with a stranger (risk taking variable). The question was intended to recreate a trafficking scenario based on the assumption that most of the human trafficking victims in Kenya are not kidnapped but recruited through deception. Such victims are usually offered jobs that are unclear and require them to travel to remote destinations. In most cases, there are no relatives or contact persons at these destinations who can assist the victims. Obviously, the readiness to accept such risky offers increases chances of trafficking. The answers to this question served as a basis to assess what can push IDPs towards such a risky undertaking.

From figure 16, it can be observed that one category of IDPs - PEV IDPs, had more respondents who would have accepted a risky job offer, while the number of respondents ready to take the job offers and those who would turn the offer down was equal among ethnic conflict IDPs. Those displaced due to environmental reasons had 31.4% of respondents ready to accept risky offers while 58.6% would reject it. Only 13.2% of the natural disaster IDPs category would have accepted the offer while 86.8% would not. The last category can be explained by the fact that natural disaster IDPs have a shorter and predictable perspective of ending displacement that political and ethnic conflict displaced victims do not.

Figure 16: Readiness of IDPs to Accept Risk



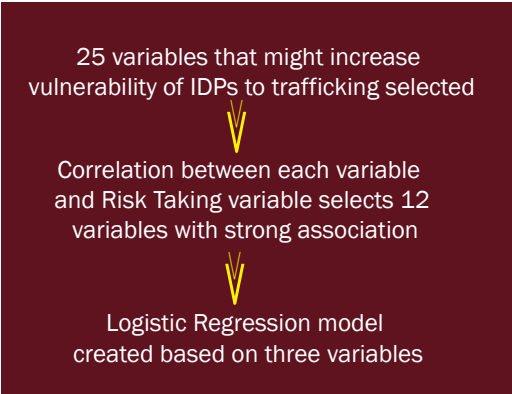
Towards a Vulnerability Model

After establishing that there is a difference between the type of displacement and readiness to take risks, the study sought to establish what exactly constitutes the vulnerability thus, what pushes IDPs to take the risky decision that could be a human trafficking offer.

In table 11 (Appendix B) there are 25 variables that have the potential of pushing an IDP towards taking the risk of an unknown job

offer. Each variable was tested for association level with the risk taking variable. Further investigation was carried out for variables that had Cramer’s V level of association higher than .2. As a result, 12 variables (see Table 11, Appendix B) were selected for further analysis. The selected variables were subjected to logistic regression analysis (detailed analysis in Appendix B). A model containing three variables was developed from the analysis.

Figure 17: Towards a Vulnerability Model



The model contains three variables organized in a hierarchical order:

The first variable that is a key component with potential influence on taking a risky decision is the experience of violence during displacement. This variable contains violent experience (e.g. death, rape, physical injury, loss of someone) that occurred during the displacement and is typically a common characteristic among political and ethnic IDPs. It is the main component that might influence the IDPs decision to take a risky offer. Experience of violence increases the resistance of an IDP to return to the places where they lived before displacement and subsequently offers for alternative locations is considered as a potential improvement on their lives. It

can also be deduced that the emotional component – outcome of experience to violence might as well impact the judgmental capacity of IDPs.

The second element, proximity to a highway is considered an external factor as it enables traffickers to lower the cost of the trafficking. The last element: proximity to local trading centres corresponds with the second one, but it focuses more on the local trafficking. The fact that ethnic conflict IDPs – even where they share the experience of violence, are located far from main highways, diminished the likelihood of being trafficked (as the cost of transportation increases)

Variables that constitute vulnerability of IDPs to human trafficking

- **Eperience of violence during displacement**
- **Proximity to highways**
- **Proximity to local trading centres**

The three components that constitute the vulnerability model correspond with the types of IDPs and their capacity to take risks that expose them to trafficking. Table 3 presents the four categories of IDPs together with their vulnerability levels:

Table 3: Vulnerability to Human Trafficking across different Categories of IDPs

Category of IDP (type of displacement)	Components of vulnerability model present	Vulnerability to trafficking
PEV	1, 2, 3	Highest risk of being trafficked
Ethnic Conflict	1, 3	High risk of being trafficked, but lower than those of PEV IDPs
Natural Disaster	2	Moderate risk of being trafficked
Environmental	3	Minimal risk of being trafficked

- 1 - Experience of violence during displacement
- 2 - Proximity to highways
- 3 - Proximity to local trading centres

It is important to note that the Natural Disaster and Environmental categories are still endangered by human trafficking. Indeed, every IDP can be trafficked.

Religion and IDPs

There were a few findings from the qualitative data that were not confirmed by the quantitative part of the research. The significant finding that appeared in several Key Informant Interviews and Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) that was absent in quantitative data was about the positive role of religion in curbing human trafficking. For example, “Things like sexual abuse, organ donation, child labour are not common among the North Eastern Communities since they are Muslims and Islam forbids such acts” (FGD, Wajir). However, this sentiment was not confirmed by quantitative data or data from other FGDs.

To get better clarity, the role of religion in trafficking of IDPs was discussed during the validation workshop. IDPs present at the workshop unanimously agreed that there was little connection between the two, as both traffickers and victims came from different religious backgrounds. This can also be confirmed with findings from the HAART Database (Malinowski, 2015b) where religion was indeed neutral at its best. Victims of trafficking are recruited from all religions and traffickers are of different religious backgrounds. HAART’s database (Malinowski, 2015b) also reveals that traffickers sometimes use the religious positions (pastor, member of a Parish council, Pentecostal bishop) to gain trust of victims and then recruit them into trafficking. A case in point to illustrate this is the story of trafficking linked to someone with religious authority is Bishop Gilbert Deya of the infamous “miracle babies” controversy.

Contrary to the above, there are several initiatives by Faith Based Organisations (e.g. All Africa Conference of Churches, several Roman Catholic Church Dioceses and Salvation Army) that actively address the problem of human trafficking.

The role of religion in relation to trafficking is similar with observations made by scholars such as Appleby (2003) on religion and its role on other human behaviour like conflict. Appleby’s famous saying: *religion can heal but can also kill* touches on the problem of neutrality of sacred – the core of every religion that is ambivalent and relies on interpretation. Since sacred is neutral, then it is its interpretation that triggers positive and negative response (in conflict study area the response will be violence or peacebuilding). As for human trafficking there is a possibility of religion playing a similar role e.g. for some it can be a source of inspiration while for others it is a tool of exploitation. Further studies could possibly clarify the religion-trafficking nexus in the East African context.

Difference between the IDPs and Local Population on vulnerability to Human Trafficking

After understanding what exactly increases the vulnerability of IDPs in Kenya to human trafficking it is pertinent to clarify whether the same vulnerability is only limited to IDPs, or whether the local community is equally vulnerable. It has been repeatedly reported that members of the local communities are also trafficked either within Kenya or abroad. In fact, the reports give the impression that human trafficking is widespread in many parts in Kenya as confirmed by several interviews:

“There was a young Samburu man who had a friend in Italy. He came back and called three school-going young men and told them that if they needed good money there were jobs in Italy. He was recruiting his close friends and left for Mombasa with one of them. It seems he had good connections in Mombasa and they shortly left for Italy.

When they got to Italy there were no jobs and the young man was informed that the only paying jobs available was sex work. The young man called from Italy and said that the promised jobs were fake and requested to be assisted to return home.” (KII no. 17, Maralal).

According to different interviews it emerges that the relationship between the IDPs and the host local population is complex and vary according to locations. In some instances members of the local population shared the same risk of being trafficked, while others did not. In some places local population members were reported as not only exposed to trafficking but also as active participants in trafficking of IDPs. Also, in some areas the local population was not accepting IDPs, even where they shared the same ethnic backgrounds. As one of the Key Informant observed, *‘the local community has named them (IDPs) as refugees and they are discriminated, stigmatised and demeaned (KII no. 16, Maralal).’* The local population was,

in some cases, reported to take advantage of the presence of IDPs:

“when the county of Mandera pledged to build temporary houses for the IDPs in Rhamu, the locals started to register themselves as IDPs and as a result enmity broke out between the two groups.” (FGD, Mandera).

To clarify this issue the study run a separate analysis on the difference between the IDPs and local population when it comes to human trafficking exposure.

Is there any Difference in Vulnerability between IDPs and Host Population?

There was consensus among the Key Informants and FGD that IDPs were more vulnerable to trafficking than the local population. Testimonies like the one below reflect the perception of particular vulnerability of IDPs to trafficking:

“There have been cases of IDPs being recruited into abusive and exploitative situations because IDPs are more vulnerable. They lack livelihoods, have lost property and lost even the resilience to protect themselves against crimes aimed at them. So when it comes to human traffickers, they see IDPs as more vulnerable and, indeed, there have been cases of trafficking among the IDPs.” (KII no. 4)

To confirm whether IDPs are more vulnerable to trafficking than the members of the local population, the study conducted a test between randomly selected IDPs from each cluster and randomly selected representatives of local communities. The rationale was to detect whether vulnerability of IDPs was different or equal to that of the hosting local population. Each respondent was asked a question that had elements of risk, which could immensely contribute to vulnerability. Table 4 presents a list of variables that served as a basis for tests between the two populations.

Table 4: Variables tested on IDPs and Local Population

1. Number of cases of human trafficking from respondent's location witnessed or experienced last year
2. Number of people in respondent's location that went missing in unclear circumstances last year
3. Number of people in respondent's location that travelled abroad or to other distant destinations
4. Number of people that are engaged in commercial sex work in the respondent's location?
5. Basic Knowledge on human trafficking. Provide 3-stages of human trafficking - Recruitment→ Movement→ Exploitation (simplified process of trafficking)
6. Number of children from respondent's location that do not go to school
7. Number of cases of early child marriage in respondent's community
8. Number of orphans in respondent's family
9. Number of unemployed people in responder's family
10. The number of witch doctors operating in respondent's community?

As there were challenges with the distribution of data (as explained in the Methodology section), assumption-free and non-parametric tests were selected over the parametric tests (T-Test or Anova). The results showed that the distribution between the respondents from the local population and the IDPs were not the same across all the variables. Table 5 contains variables with significant difference between IDP community and Local Population hosting IDPs.

Table 5: Significant Difference between IDPs and Local Population

No Variables and significance level (P)

1. Number cases of human trafficking from respondent's location witnessed or experienced last year P = .006
2. Number of people in respondent's location that went missing under unclear circumstances last year? P= .043
5. Basic Knowledge on human trafficking: Provide 3 stages of human trafficking (Recruitment - Movement - Exploitation) (a simplified process of trafficking) P=.000
7. Number of cases of early child marriage in respondent's community? P=.008
8. Number of orphans in respondent's family? P =.000

In table 6 there are variables that have the same distribution across IDPs and Local Population

Table 6: No significant Difference between IDPs and Local population

No Variables and significance level (P)

3. Number of people in respondent's location that travelled abroad or to other distant destinations P =.157
4. Number of people that are engaged in commercial sex work in respondent's location P = .360
6. Number of children from respondent's location that do not go to school P= .057
9. Number of unemployed people in responder's family P =.058
10. The number of witch doctors operating in respondent's community P= .155

The findings indicated that the IDP population differs from the local population when it comes to the following variables: the number of experienced cases of human trafficking, the number of people who went missing, basic knowledge on human trafficking, the number of early child marriage cases and numbers of orphans. Variables such as the number of people travelling abroad or to a distant location, the number of people engaged in commercial sex locally, the number of children that miss school, the number of unemployed people and the number of witch doctors indicated the same distribution of answer categories between IDPs and the local population.

As the first set of variables relates more to human trafficking, while the second one encompasses different (though related with human trafficking) issues not always related to human trafficking, it can be concluded that IDPs are more vulnerable to human trafficking than the local population hosting them.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The recommendations are drawn from the findings based on the secondary and primary data.

Protection through Awareness

The findings have indicated that there are low levels of awareness of human trafficking among IDPs. There is need for all categories of IDPs to be educated on the nature and dangers of human trafficking. The awareness should include types of trafficking that are not ordinarily recognized as human trafficking e.g. early child marriages. The awareness campaigns should also envisage training of service providers (e.g. police, county officials, and relevant NGOs and CBOs) on human trafficking.

Further Research on IDPs

There are several aspects of trafficking that are not well known or understood and would therefore require further investigation. Early child marriage - a form of human trafficking is an example of an area that requires further research.

Another area that requires additional research is the extent of involvement of terrorist organisations (such as the Al-Shabaab) or Organized Criminal Groups (OCGs) that have been reported to engage in human trafficking. Undoubtedly, the trafficking-terrorism nexus is of particular interest to both human and state security.

Focus on Political and Ethnic IDPs

The two categories deserve special attention when it comes to lower their vulnerability to trafficking. As their vulnerability (to a larger extent, the former and to a lesser extent for the latter) in general is greater than the danger for other types (with a possibility of particular individuals from other groups also being vulnerable due to specific circumstances), they should be accorded specific prevention and protection interventions. The impact of experience with past violence should be interrogated further as it is a key indicator for vulnerability to trafficking.

Child Trafficking

The impact of child trafficking (especially those types that are culturally accepted e.g. early child marriage and child labour) is not properly appreciated among the IDPs. As child trafficking is particularly devastating to human growth, there should be specific prevention programme for children among the IDP communities.

CONCLUSION

This research examined the vulnerability of IDPs to human trafficking. With the use of qualitative and quantitative methods it was established that IDPs are more vulnerable to trafficking than the hosting local populations. Also, the vulnerability of IDPs varies across different categories.

To precisely establish which IDPs are more vulnerable to trafficking and which ones are less, the study build a model that identifies variables specifically influencing IDP vulnerability. The model takes into account two groups of theories: one that clarifies the reasoning on behalf of traffickers and the other one that focuses on predispositions of victims towards human trafficking. The model clarifies which categories of IDPs are more and which ones are less vulnerable to trafficking,

The overall intention of this research is to guide praxis, i.e. help design better responses that aim at curbing human trafficking. It is hoped that the recommendations emanating from the study will equip relevant stakeholders in addressing the issue of human trafficking among the IDPs.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Description of Data Collection Sites

Bomet

Bomet town is the capital of Bomet County in the former Rift Valley Province of Kenya. Many of its IDPs are those who have been evicted from the Mau Forest, dubbed environmental evictees and are still living in camps, namely Kusumek and Chebugen camps (Kipkemoi, 2014).

Eldoret

Eldoret is the largest economic hub of Uasin Gishu County. The town was one of the most affected areas in the 2007 post-election violence and recorded high losses and also high number of IDPs.

Garsen

Garsen is a town located on the bank of Tana River. Its population is composed of Somali, Pokomo, Oromo, Giriama among others. There is a significant presence of IDPs many of whom have been forced to evacuate their homes due to floods (natural disaster IDPs). In addition, some members of IDPs in the area were also victims of political instability caused by the disputed election in 2007 and ethnic conflicts between Pokomo and Oromo in the subsequent years.

Kisii

Kisii is a city in southwestern Kenya. It is the main urban and commercial centre in the Gusii Highlands and the South Nyanza region. There are reported an estimate of 17,000 IDPs who fled to the county after the 2007-2008 election violence.

Mandera

Mandera is located in the North Eastern part of Kenya and borders Ethiopia to the North and Somalia to the East. It is about 1,100km from the capital city of Nairobi by road. Mandera County is prone to periodic hazards of drought, floods and clan conflicts that have exposed communities to economic hardships.

Maralal

Maralal is the administrative headquarters of Samburu County. The area is largely populated by the Samburu, nomadic pastoralists who rely largely on livestock as a source of livelihood. Violent conflicts resulting from cattle rustling have claimed lives of security forces, local inhabitants and loss of livelihoods and property.

Marsabit

The largest county in Kenya, headquartered in Marsabit town and borders Ethiopia to the north. Various ethnic communities including the Cushitic Rendille, Gabbra and Borana as well as the Nilotic Samburu and Turkana populate the county. The county has some of the highest numbers of early child marriages, as they have been reluctant to abandon their conservative cultural way of life.

Nairobi

Kenya's capital city, Nairobi, is a dynamic, metropolitan city and has a population of nearly four million. Many of IDPs in the county, who were mainly affected by political violence, feel neglected by the government (Owiso, 2015).

Naivasha

Naivasha is located in Nakuru county located about 90km north-west of Nairobi. It was highly affected during the post-election violence affecting many migrant workers resulting in many IDP camps.

Nyamira

Nyamira County is a county in the former Nyanza Province of Kenya. Since the post-election violence in 2007, Nyamira has had an influx of IDPs many of whom are returnees who had migrated to urban areas before the violence.

Vihiga

Vihiga County is an administrative region in the former western province whose headquarters is Vihiga, the largest town in the county. There are 814 IDPs who were displaced as a result of the post-election violence.

Wajir

Wajir County is a county in the former North Eastern Province of Kenya. Its capital and largest town is Wajir. For years there have been ethnic tensions among the tribes/clans within the county resulting in many IDPs.

APPENDIX B: Selected Statistical Analysis

Table 7: Experience of Human Trafficking by Type of Displacement

	Yes	No	Total
Ethnic Conflict	2.6% (8)	28.6% (88)	31.2% (96)
Environmental IDPs	–	11.4% (35)	11.4% (35)
PEV	17.5% (54)	17.2% (53)	34.7% (107)
Natural Disaster	8.4% (9)	14.3% (44)	22.7% (70)
Total	28.6% (88)	88.3% (272)	100.0% (308)

$\chi^2 = 60.923$, $df = 3$, significance = .000, Cramer’s V = .445

Table 7 is amenable to statistical interpretation as the significance level is .000 with Chi-square of 60.923 showing the association actually high. The extent of this association is measured by Cramer’s V (.445) which is indicating a strong relationship between the two groups.

Table 8: Category of Displacement By VoT, Adult or Child

	Child	Adult	Total
Ethnic Conflict	2.6% (2)	7.9% (6)	10.5% (8)
Environmental IDPs	–	–	–
PEV	13.2% (10)	52.6% (40)	65.8% (50)
Natural Disaster	–	23.7% (18)	23.7% (18)
Total	15.8% (12)	84.2% (64)	100.0% (76)

Even though the crosstabulation is not amenable to statistical interpretation (as there are 33.3% of cell having a count of less than 5), the distribution of percentage provides valuable information on particular exposure to child trafficking among IDPs who are victims of political conflict

Table. 9: Destination (%)

Area	Promised Destination	Actual Destination
America	1.2	1.2
Cuba	1.2	1.2
Egypt	1.2	0
Garissa	1.2	1.2
India	2.4	2.4
Italy	1.2	1.2
Kakamega	1.2	0
Kisii	1.2	1.2
Kisumu	1.2	1.2
Kitale	1.2	2.4
Local	4.8	6.4
Marsabit	1.2	1.2
Middle East	54.9	48.6
Mombasa	2.4	2.4
Nairobi	19.9	19.8
Somalia	2.4	2.4
Sudan	1.2	1.2
Europe	0	2.4
Namanga	0	1.2
Turkana	0	1.2
Uganda	0	1.2
Total	100	100

Table 10: Family Involvement in the Process of Trafficking

	Yes	No	Total
Ethnic Conflict	1% (3)	30.2% (93)	10.5% (8)
Environmental IDPs	—	11.4% (35)	11.4% (35)
PEV	7.8% (24)	26.9% (83)	34.7% (107)
Natural Disaster	2.9% (9)	19.8% (61)	22.7% (70)
Total	11.7% (36)	88.3% (272)	100.0% (308)

$\chi^2 = 23.506$, $df = 3$, significance = .000, Cramer's V = .276

The data in table 10 is amenable to interpretation as only 1 cell (12,5%), has expected count less than 5. The Chi square = 23.506 shows moderate association; the Cramer's V = .276 is moderately strong.

Table 11: Variables that Condition Vulnerability to Human Trafficking

No	Conditions that can cause vulnerability to human trafficking (UNODC 2008)	Name of variable	Correlation with Trafficking risk variable
1	Social and Cultural exclusion	Type of IDP	.299
2	Gender	Gender	.036
3	Child	Age	.514
4	Social, cultural and legal frameworks	Marital status	.054
5	Poverty	No of dependents	.302
6	Education	Highest Education level	.293
7	Social, cultural and legal frameworks	Ethnic origin (culture)	.420
8	Political instability war or conflict	Experience of Violence during or after displacement	.273
9	Political instability war or conflict	Loss of wealth	.201
10	Political instability war or conflict	Emotional loss	.221
11	Social and Cultural exclusion	Leaving among different ethnic community	.155
12	Social and Cultural exclusion	Relation with locals	.075
13	Social and Cultural exclusion	Getting support	.031
14	Social and Cultural exclusion	Stigma	.180
15	Social, cultural and legal frameworks	Health access	.078
16	Demand	Proximity to center	.278
17	Social, cultural and legal frameworks	Schools	.086
18	Movement	Public transport	.158
19	Movement	Highway	.306
20	Social and Cultural exclusion	Free Education option	.109
21	Poverty	Income	.339
22	Social, cultural and legal frameworks	Relatives' support	.028
23	Social, cultural and legal frameworks	GOK Support	.034
24	Demand	Being employed	.207
25	Poverty	Considering being poor	.002

Logistic Regression Analysis

As the outcome variable was categorical (Risk taking variable) this study used multiple logistic regression which is an extension of regression where the outcome variable is a categorical variable and predictor variables are continuous or categorical (Berry, 1993). The predictors were categorical and continuous variables.

The data was tested with the use of a cross tabulation statistical technique, in order to avoid the error of incomplete information from the predictors. The complete separation as well as over-dispersion was ruled out. The variables were tested for the association with the outcome variable, and those with PHI lower than .2 (low association for the model) removed.

In order to avoid incomplete information from the predictors, all selected variables were tested with the use of Cross-tabulation statistical technique. Variables that had frequencies in each cell equal or less than 1 and no more than 20% and that were less than 5 were excluded. The remaining variables (7 in total) were subjected to regression using the stepwise method - Forward LR.

As the residual Chi-square (Overall statistics) is 67.902 and significant at $p < .05$, the

addition of one or more variables to the model significantly affects its predictive power. The -2LL at step 2 has a value of 277.802, which is significantly smaller than the -2LL value when the constant of (362.565) is included. The new model correctly classifies 67.4% cases in comparison to 55.7% when only the constant is included. Note: Variable entered on step 1: Experience of violence during displacement, variables entered on step 2: Experience of Violence during displacement, Close distance to main highways, variables entered on step 3: Experience of violence during displacement, Close distance to main highways, Close distance to local trading centres. $R^2 = .275$ (Cox & Snell), .386 (Nagelkerke). Model $\chi^2(2) = 84.763$, $p < .001$. The B value in Step 1 is 1.447 (SE .341) for predictor and -1.527 (SE .420) for the Constant. The B value in Step 2 is 1.962 (SE .469) while -2.128 for the constant (SE .542). The B value in Step 3 is 2.232 (S.E. .539) and -2.279 for Constant (SE .616). As the value of odds (EXP (B)) indicates that if predictors increase, the odds of the outcome occurring increase. The related 95% confidence intervals did not include the interval 1.

APPENDIX C: Data Collection Instruments

Research Instrument: Quantitative data collection tool

Date _____ Name of Interviewer _____
Place _____ Category of displacement _____

1. Gender
2. Age
3. Marital status
4. Number of dependents
5. Highest Education level
6. Ethnic origin
7. Place of birth
8. Area of location before displacement (if different than area of origin)
9. a) Current location ☐ Camp ☐ Homestead b) Name of the above referred to area
10. Date of displacement
11. Reason for displacement
12. Experience of violence during displacement?
13. How did displacement affect you? a) Material wealth b) Emotional /Individuals
14. Do you reside among the members of your ethnic group?
15. Which ethnic group has the most number of people in your area?
- a) Rate the relation with the local population:

Very very good	Very good	Good	Neither good nor bad	Bad	Very bad	Very very bad

- b) Explain
16. Do you get support from the local population?
 17. a) Do you feel that there is a stigma attached to being IDP? b) Explain
 18. Is there a healthcare center within walking distance?
 20. Are there public schools within walking distance?
 21. How many?
 22. Is public transport available in your area?
 23. How long does it take to walk to the highway?
 24. a) Does any institution organise free or affordable formal or informal educational courses in your area?
 25. a) Do you earn any income? b) On average, how much do you earn per day?
 26. a) Do you consider yourself poor? b) Explain
 27. Do you receive support from your family?
 28. Do you get any support from the government?
 29. Do you get any support from any NGO, CBO or FBO?
 30. Do you have access to any form of employment?
 31. Do you plan to settle in your current location?
 32. a) Do you think that one day you will go back to the place you were displaced from?
b) Explain
 33. a) If you had a chance to travel elsewhere (not to your place of origin or place you were displaced from), to a place you do not know and to a job that is unclear, would you take that risk?

Very very possible	Very possible	Possible	Neither possible nor impossible	Impossible	Very Impossible	Very very impossible

b) Please explain the answer above

34. Have you ever/seen/heard/ witnessed a case of trafficking in your current location (not on radio or tv or in newspaper)?

35. How many cases of human trafficking in your area have you witnessed or experienced in the last 12 months?

36. Describe the last case of trafficking – who was trafficked? ☐ A member of Internally Displaced Person community ☐ Someone from the local community

37. What was the offer about?

38. Who was the trafficker?

39. Describe the victim (gender, age, social status?)

40. Where was the promised destination?

41. Where did they travel to?

42. How were they exploited?

43. Was the local population involved in the process of trafficking?

44. Was the government involved in trying to prevent this particular trafficking case?

45 a) Was the family involved? b) Explain

46. a) Is the local population: ☐ More targeted than IDPs ☐ Equally targeted than IDPs ☐ Less targeted than IDPs

b) Explain

47. Any additional comments or questions

Testing means

No	Variable	IDPs	Local
1	How many cases of human trafficking from your community or family you witnessed or experienced last year?		
2	How many people in your community went missing in an unclear circumstances?		
3	How many people in your community travelled abroad or to other destinations		
4	How many people from your community are engaging in sex work in your place?		
5	Provide 3 stages of human trafficking		
6	How many children from your community that do not go to school are you aware of?		
7	How many cases of early child marriage in your community you are aware of?		
8	Do you have orphans in your family? If yes: how many		
9	How many people are unemployed in your family		
10	How many witch doctors operate within your community?		

Qualitative Data Collection Tool

Semi Structured Interview

Reflecting Questions

What do you know about human trafficking in Kenya?

Have you heard, read or experienced cases of human trafficking among the IDPs? If yes, provide three examples.

Have you heard or witnessed about IDPs being recruited into exploitative situation (human trafficking)? Please explain.

In what way can human trafficking cases among the IDPs be reduced or eliminated?

If the details below are not discussed ask the following questions:

Do you think that IDPs are more vulnerable to trafficking than others?

Are there any special circumstances that IDPs are more vulnerable to trafficking than usual?

What are the possible steps the GOK can take to prevent trafficking among the IDPs?

Can IDPs protect themselves against trafficking?

Are there any other institutions/ organisations that can prevent human trafficking among IDPs?

Focus Group Discussion

1. Have you heard about human trafficking in Kenya? Please give examples.
2. Have you heard, read or experienced cases of human trafficking among the IDPs? If yes, please provide three examples.
3. Have you heard or witnessed about IDPs being recruited into exploitative situation (human trafficking)?
 - If yes, please explain who recruited them.
 - How they were recruited?
 - Where they were taken/go to?
 - How they are exploited?
4. Do you think that IDPs are more vulnerable to trafficking than others?
5. What is the main reason for IDPs being targeted by traffickers?
6. Are there any groups within IDPs that are specifically vulnerable?

7. Are there any special circumstances that make IDPs more vulnerable to trafficking?
8. In what way can human trafficking cases among IDPs be reduced or eliminated?
9. What are the possible steps the GOK should take to reduce trafficking among the IDPs?
10. Can IDPs protect themselves against trafficking?
11. Are there any other institutions/ organisations that can prevent human trafficking among IDPs?
12. Do you have any additional comments about the trafficking among the IDPs?





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