



UNIVERSITY OF GOTHENBURG
DEPT OF SOCIAL WORK

”No one wants to live on the cold streets”

A qualitative study about street children and centers in Kisumu, Kenya



SQ4562, Scientific Work in Social Work, 15 higher education credits

Bachelor in Social work

Spring semester 2015

Autor: Meron Muleta, Amanda Persson, Simone Waad

Supervisor: Jeanette Olsson

Abstract

Title: “No one wants to live on the cold streets”. A qualitative study about street children and centers in Kisumu, Kenya.

Authors: Meron Muleta, Amanda Persson, Simone Waad.

Key words: Street children, push and pull factors, shelter, gender, Kenya, Kisumu.

Street children are a common feature and increasing issue in many parts of Kenya. The street life's conditions are harsh for any human being, but especially for a child. This qualitative study has taken place in Kisumu, Kenya. The work of centers in Kisumu providing care for these children is very important. This study explores the street children and staff working with street children's conceptions of which needs are met on the streets of Kisumu. Also the conceptions of what kind of support the centers provide for street children.. The research questions created to reach this aim focus on: the push and pull factors from and to the street for street children in Kisumu, and the push and pull factors from and to the centers for street children in Kisumu. In Kenya there are big gender differences, which also apply to the children of the street. Therefore, the study's third question investigates why there are fewer street girls than street boys on the streets in Kisumu. The questions were answered by interview data and analyzing previous relevant research studies. The collected data consisted of 17 semi-structured interviews with both interviews in groups and individual interviews. The data was analyzed with Maslow's hierarchy of needs, social support theory, postmodern feminist theory and the gender concept. The results of this study shows that there are specific factors that push and pull children from and to the streets and the centers, for example basic needs and relationships. It also shows that there are fewer girls than boys on the street, due to four factors; they live at home or with relatives, they get married, they get “picked up” by someone or the street life is too hard for the girls.

Acknowledgements

We want to say thank you to the staff at HOVIC and especially our key informants. Thank you for helping us in the collection of our material and giving us all valuable information. We also want to say a special thank you to the children participating in the research, thank you for answering our questions and for the kind and welcoming treatment we always received. Our appreciation also goes out to our other respondents for giving us of your valuable time to answer our questions.

Secondly we want to thank our supervisor Jeanette Olsson for your guidance and thoughtful comments throughout the process. Always being just an email away even during times we had a whole continent between us.

We also want to say thank you to Swedish social workers without borders for your recommendation of us going to Kenya, for getting us in touch with HOVIC and for all your support. Especially we are grateful to Jessica Petersson for showing us Kisumu, HOVIC and answering all of our many questions. We are also appreciative to Joseph and Joyce for letting us stay with your family and for the help of getting a good picture of Kisumu.

Last but not least we want to say a huge thank you to the closest people around us for all the support, inputs and love during this process with its ups and downs.

Table of contents

1 INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 INTRODUCTION TO THE PROBLEM.....	1
1.2 PURPOSE.....	2
1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS	2
1.4 RELATION TO SOCIAL WORK.....	2
1.5 DELIMITATION OF THE RESEARCH AREA.....	3
1.6 DEFINITIONS	3
2 THE KENYAN CONTEXT	4
2.1 GEOGRAPHY AND ECONOMIC SITUATION.....	4
2.2 HISTORY.....	4
2.3 SOCIAL CONDITIONS.....	5
2.4 PRESENTATION ABOUT ORGANIZATIONS AND SUPPORT SYSTEMS IN KENYA	6
2.5 KISUMU	7
2.6 PRESENTATION ABOUT THE CENTERS PARTICIPATING IN THE RESEARCH	7
2.6.1 <i>Hovic</i>	7
2.6.2 <i>Agape</i>	9
2.6.3 <i>KUAP</i>	9
3 LITERATURE REVIEW.....	10
3.1 WHY CHILDREN LIVE AND WORK ON THE STREET	10
3.2 CHILDREN’S LIVING CONDITIONS ON THE STREET	11
3.3 CENTERS FOR STREET CHILDREN	12
3.4 GENDER DIFFERENCES AMONG CHILDREN ON THE STREET	14
4 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....	15
4.1 THE HIERARCHY OF NEEDS	15
4.2 SOCIAL SUPPORT THEORY	16
4.2.1 <i>Emotional support</i>	16
4.2.2 <i>Instrumental support</i>	17
4.2.3 <i>Informational support</i>	17
4.2.4 <i>Negative support</i>	17
4.3 FEMINIST THEORY	18
4.3.1 <i>Postmodern feminist theory</i>	18
4.3.2 <i>Gender theory</i>	19
5 METHOD	20
5.1 PRECONCEPTIONS	20
5.2 OUR PATH TO KISUMU.....	20
5.3 JOURNAL.....	21
5.4 CHOICE OF METHOD	21
5.5 SEMI- STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS	22

5.5.2 Respondents.....	23
5.5.3 Execution.....	25
5.7 ANALYZING METHOD	26
5.8 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS.....	27
5.9 LANGUAGE AND THE USE OF AN INTERPRETER.....	29
5.10 VALIDITY, RELIABILITY AND GENERALIZATION	30
5.11 LITERATURE SEARCH	32
5.12 DIVISION OF LABOR	33
5.13 DISCUSSION OF METHOD	33
6 RESULT AND ANALYSIS	35
6.1 PUSH AND PULL-FACTORS FROM AND TO THE STREET	35
6.1.1 <i>The lack of basic needs</i>	35
6.1.2 <i>Money</i>	37
6.1.3 <i>Freedom</i>	39
6.1.4 <i>Relationships</i>	40
6.1.5 <i>Police</i>	44
6.1.6 <i>Drugs</i>	45
6.2 PUSH AND PULL FACTORS FROM AND TO THE CENTER	47
6.2.1 <i>Provision of basic needs</i>	47
6.2.2 <i>Conceptions and presumptions about the centers</i>	49
6.2.4 <i>Relationships</i>	54
6.2.5 <i>Shelter and courses for girls</i>	57
6.3 WHY ARE THERE FEWER GIRLS THAN BOYS ON THE STREETS OF KISUMU?.....	59
6.3.1 <i>They stay at home or with relatives</i>	60
6.3.2 <i>They get married</i>	61
6.3.3 <i>They get “picked up” by someone</i>	62
6.3.4 <i>The street life is too hard for the girls</i>	64
7 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS	66
7.1 SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH.....	71
8 REFERENCES	72
9 APPENDIX	77

1 Introduction

1.1 Introduction to the problem

Kenya is one of the low-income countries in the world where street children are a common feature (Kaime Atterhög, 2012). The issue of street children is an increasing issue in virtually all towns in Kenya (Ayuku et al., 2004). A street child is any girl or boy who has not reached adulthood, for whom the street has become her or his habitual abode and/or source of livelihood, and who is inadequately protected, supervised or directed by responsible adults (UNICEF, 2001). The reasons why children end up on the street are many and every child has their own story and background. For example some of the children grow up under hard living conditions, where poverty and divorce are common reasons for children ending up on the street (Auerswald et al., 2012; Ray, Davey & Nolan, 2011).

The government in Kenya is aware of the problem of street children and they are using different methods to decrease the problem. Non-governmental organizations (NGO), which is referred to as centers in this research, are one of the support systems in Kenya trying to reduce the problem of children on the street. These organizations are used as a complement to the government to work outreach and remedial (Kaime Atterhög, 2012). In Kisumu, which is the third largest city in Kenya (Nationalencyklopedin, Kisumu), there are centers providing street children with shelter and the opportunity to get their basic needs met. They try to rehabilitate the children and reunify them with their families (HOVIC, 2015-04-01). The gender differences in Kenya are big (Florence, 2005) and the children living on the street are mostly boys (Aptekar & Ciano-Federoff, 1999).

There is a lot of research that addresses the issue of why children leave their homes and choose a life on the streets. However, we found less research on the centers that provide care for the street children. Therefore we want to examine not only the street children's life on the street, but also the centers in Kisumu. Due to the big gender differences in Kenya

and because we found out there were fewer girls than boys on the street of Kisumu, we also wanted to investigate the reasons for that.

1.2 Purpose

The purpose of this study was to explore the street children's and staff working with street children's conceptions of positive and negative factors on the streets of Kisumu. We also wanted to investigate the conceptions of what kind of care the centers in Kisumu provide for street children, why the children receive help from them and what negative factors there are at the centers. In addition, we wanted to have a gender perspective and try to see why there are fewer girls than boys on the streets of Kisumu.

1.3 Research questions

1. What could the push and pull factors be from and to the street for street children in Kisumu?
2. What could the push and pull factors be from and to the centers for street children in Kisumu?
3. Why are there fewer girls than boys on the streets of Kisumu?

1.4 Relation to social work

The UN Convention on the Rights of a Child have four main principles when it comes to children; children have equal rights and equal value, the best interest of the child should be taken into account in every decision involving children, every child has a right to life and development and every child has a right to express their opinion and receiving respect (UNICEF, 2015). This study is relevant to social work due to its focus on vulnerable children, which is a major target group in social work because of their need of assistance. Street children are vulnerable, since they don't get their UN rights respected. Child protection is also an important part of social work. The organizations participating in this study carry out a very important form of social work, which should always be evaluated to

be able to offer the children the best possible care. Social work also, in line with this study, questions gender differences in all kinds of situations.

1.5 Delimitation of the research area

We wanted to examine the push and pull factors from and to the street, and from and to the centers working with street children. Therefore, and because there's already a lot of research on the issue, we decided not to focus on why children leave their homes for the street. As we will mention in the section *literature search*, there are not many research studies on street girls specifically. Because of that, and because there are fewer street girls than street boys on the streets of Kisumu, we chose to especially focus on girls in one of our research questions.

1.6 Definitions

In this chapter we will explain how we use and define some of the terms in this study.

Push factors

Specific factors that push children away *from* a situation or place, in this study it refers to push factors from their homes to the streets, *from* the streets to centers, *from* the centers to the streets or *from* the streets to their homes.

Pull factors

Specific factors that attract children to a situation or place, in this study it refers to pull factors to the street from their homes, *to* the centers from the streets, *to* the streets from the center or *to* their homes from the streets.

Key informant

A staff member at an organisation providing us with basic information.

Bases

Places on the street where the children live and sleep in groups of 8-20.

2 The Kenyan context

This chapter is written to understand the Kenyan context and to easier follow the discussion in our research. We will present some short information about the Kenyan geography, economic situation, history, social conditions, organizations, support systems and information about Kisumu. We will also present the three organizations we conducted our research from.

2.1 Geography and economic situation

Kenya is a country in east Africa, located below the equator. The country has around 44 million inhabitants and half of the people live in poverty (Utrikespolitiska institutet, 2015). The high population growth, climate changes and ethnic conflicts have worsened the living conditions for many people. Much of the country's economy is based on agriculture and some of it is based on income from tourism. The economy is also dependent on international assistance and the economic development is prevented by corruption and lack of industrial modernization (Globalis, 2013).

2.2 History

People from the Arabian Peninsula and Portugal have come to Kenya during many years since the 700th century, but in 1800 the English men took over the country and Kenya was a British colony between 1920 to 1963. At this time, only white people could own land while local people lacked fundamental rights and were used as slaves by the white people (Globalis, 2013). During 1940, a liberation movement was started and they fought for equality. In 1963 Kenya became independent and a year later they became a republic. In 1978, Daniel arap Moi became president and in connection to that the poverty increased and the country became more corrupt than before (ibid). In 2002 Mwai Kibaki became president and the economy grew. As of that year, school was free, but the families still need to pay for books and other school material for their children. In 2005 the government disbanded and in the general elections in 2007, Mwai Kibaki became president again. After the election there was an outbreak of violence in the country and around 1500 people were

killed. In 2011 Kenyan soldiers went to Somalia to fight the islamist militia al-Shabaab, since they executed several attacks in Kenya. The number of terror attacks continued to increase in 2014 and the violence got domestic political consequences (Nationalencyklopedin, 2015).

2.3 Social conditions

The social conditions in Kenya are in many aspects hard and it affects the people in many ways. According to Utrikespolitiska institutet (2015) half of the inhabitants live in poverty. The climate changes is another aspect that affects the people, since the dry season creates problem for the growth of the agriculture. It makes the food prices rise and the amount of people suffering from malnourishment rises (Utrikespolitiska institutet, 2013). Kenya has also suffered a lot from sickness and epidemics such as malaria, tuberculosis, HIV and AIDS. The amount of people that die in the traffic every year is also a big problem in Kenya. Corruption and impunity is common within the Kenyan authorities and discrimination against women and children is unfortunately not unusual (Nationalencyklopedin, 2015).

The gender differences in Kenya are big and Florence (2005) says that culturally, the women in Kenya are only a symbol of reproduction and stand in subordination to men, while men are described as courageous. Both men and women contribute to preserving this gender subordination, by confirming the social roles in their tales (ibid). One example that forms gender identities for men and women is marriage which is a huge part of the Kenyan culture. Marriage is important to a man to reach adult status and social value and for a woman because it's the essence of being a woman – sexuality and economic usefulness (Silberschmidt, 1999). The importance of marriage is described in the quote: “just as a man had no status and social value without at least one wife, a prerequisite for full female status and social value was to be married” (Silberschmidt, 1999:77).

Another aspect that shows the gender disparities in Kenya is that women often work longer hours (12,9 hours) than what men do (8,2 hours). Despite that, women earn less than men

and women constitute 60.8 percent of unpaid family workers (Ellis et al, 2007). A report called *Violence against children in Kenya* from UNICEF (2010) shows that violence against children is a serious problem in Kenya. The report shows that almost two-thirds of females and three-quarters of males under the age of 18 have experienced physical violence.

2.4 Presentation about organizations and support systems in Kenya

Ayuku et al. (2004) write that the increased amount of street children is becoming a big issue in virtually all towns in Kenya. It is not only a problem for the Kenyan government, but also for the work done by voluntary and non-governmental organizations.

Kaime Atterhög (2012) writes that according to the Kenyan law, parents are required to take care of their children and provide them with food and shelter. Many families do not have this capability and are unable to live up to this demand. Despite that, families do not get any economic support from the government. The government is aware of the problem and they are using different methods to decrease the problem of street children. One of the government's policy initiatives is to run three rescue centers in areas where the problem is common, to provide safety and care for the children. Other support systems for the children are Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO) and Community-Based Organisations (CBO). These organisations are used as a complement to the government to work remedial and with outreach. They usually provide the children with food, shelter and the opportunity to clean themselves and their clothes. The remedial programs work on rehabilitation and vocational training to reintegrate the children to the society, while the preventive programs focus more on long-term goals to improve the lives of the children on the street and give them education and health care (ibid.).

We did an interview with a Child Officer at the Children's Department in Kisumu to get a broader picture of what the government in Kenya does to work against the problem of children on the street. She told us that the Children's Department works with children up to the age of 18 in Kisumu County. That involves working with counselling, placement of

abandoned children and provision of help in court to social actuarial for children, to mention some of the things they provide. The Children's Department work in close collaboration with the NGO:s located in Kisumu and supervise that they fulfill the rights of the child.

2.5 Kisumu

Kisumu is the third largest city in Kenya with 275 300 inhabitants and is located at the east side of the Victoria Lake. The city is a trade, transport and industrial center for the west side of Kenya (Nationalencyklopedin Kisumu, 2015). There are wide class distinctions in Kisumu with outspread slum-areas where many of the poorer residents live (Auerswald et al., 2012). During our visit in Kisumu, we lived in the Nyalenda slum and witnessed these class distinctions and how many of the people lived with limited resources. The majority of the people in Nyalenda lived in tin sheds but right across the road from the Nyalenda slum there were real houses with fences around, where more middle class people lived. Malaria is a common illness in Kisumu and the people also suffer from AIDS, HIV and tuberculosis (Zeh et al., 2010). People in Kisumu have diverse religions such as Christianity, Islam, Hinduism and Sikhism (Svensson, 2010). As mentioned earlier, the gender differences are big in Kenya, which also includes Kisumu.

2.6 Presentation about the centers participating in the research

2.6.1 Hovic

Most of our research collection came from the organization Hope for Victoria Children (HOVIC) which is an NGO that was established in 2003. The organization reaches out to children under the age of 16, working and living on the streets of Kisumu and also other vulnerable children. HOVIC has a center where they offer different programs but they also work directly on the street with the children. They conduct day and night visits to comprehend the children's life situation and try to recruit them to the center. The center also offers a temporary night shelter for boys and drop-in services. The drop-in services are

on behalf of the street children who are not ready to live at the shelter. They can come and eat both breakfast and lunch. They have the opportunity to wash their clothes and take care of their personal hygiene such as bathing and brushing their teeth. There is also a nurse to provide them with medical care. Then the children return to the streets again. This is also an opportunity for the staff to meet the children and build relationships to convince the children to receive the help offered.

At the center they are not only offering provision of the basic needs but also counseling, non-formal education, vocational training, psychosocial support, sports etc. For the boys who stay in the temporary night shelter and are included in the programs, HOVIC works actively to reunify the children with their families, relatives or equivalent. They are besides the reunification with their families, trying to reintegrate the children to the society. To be able to reunify the children that has left home for many different reasons, they work directly with the families. HOVIC's social workers do home visits where they offer family counseling, conflict resolutions etc. If they succeed in reunifying a child with their family, they do follow-ups to make sure the child is doing well and the problems aren't appearing again. For girls the one thing they offer at the center is a tailoring course where the girls learn the skills of tailoring.

Fridays at HOVIC is sports day, which means the organization take the children at the center to a football field to let them play and have fun. During the sports day, a lot of other children living on the streets often come to watch the game or join the boys in the game. This gives the staff at HOVIC a chance to meet children that have not yet come to the organization, and might convince them to follow them back to the center and eat lunch.

HOVIC also works actively to make sure the UN convention on the Rights of the Child and the advocacy of children is a part of their organization and they work towards awareness in the society. The HOVIC mission is to “empower vulnerable children and communities in western Kenya /.../ to create long and sustainable change in their lives through an integrated approach” (HOVIC, 2015).

2.6.2 Agape

The second organization we visited was Agape children's ministry, a Christian center that was established in 1984 in Kisumu to work with the issue of children on the streets. They work after what they call the four R:s, rescue, redeem, rehabilitate and reintegrate. They rescue the children from what they call the dangerous life of the streets to try to provide a safer environment so the children can get their basic needs met. The second R is redeem. Agape has a Christian message throughout their work and try to share the message of Christ to the children, and they believe their wounds will start to heal when they experience Christ love and forgiveness. The third R is rehabilitate where they work with counseling, non-formal education, vocational training and more. The last R is reintegrate where they try to bring the children back home to become a part of their communities again. They offer help to the families, relatives or equivalent so they can provide a loving home for the child and do home follow-ups whenever a child has been placed. Agape has a shelter for boys and a separate shelter for girls at a different location (Agape, 2015).

2.6.3 KUAP

The third organization we visited was Kisumu urban apostolate programmes (KUAP) Pandipieri which is an organization, a gospel-driven community that has three programs running - a health program, education program, and a children's services program. The organization is donor based. They provide services to vulnerable groups of people living in Kisumu, especially the children on the street. They rescue children and have temporary shelters both for boys and girls at their center. They try to provide the street children and the children living at home under tough circumstances with basic needs such as food, clothes, hygiene and similar needs. They also offer non-formal education and work directly on the streets to recruit children to their organization. They rehabilitate the children at the center and work towards reuniting the children with their families, relatives or equivalent. They have both pre-visit and follow up meetings with the families and give them support when needed. KUAP also works with advocacy and try to create awareness in the communities about the rights of children. (KUAP, 2015).

3 Literature review

In this chapter we will present previous research studies and literature relevant to our study. The chapter includes why children live and work on the street, children's living conditions on the street, centers for street children and gender differences among children on the street.

3.1 Why children live and work on the street

Street children are a common feature in low-income countries around the world and Kenya is one of them (Kaime Atterhög, 2008). According to Ray et al. (2011) and their analysis of policy and programs related to street involved children from 24 organizations in different countries, the reasons for why children end up on the street are complex, multi-faceted, context-specific and personal. One factor is divorces that split families. In regular, the children belong to their fathers, so when the parents divorce the children can in many cases not see their mother again. When the father meets a new woman, she cannot accept the children which results in her neglecting the children by not giving them food, clothes or pay for their school material. This kind of situation can be a result of cultural attitudes and behaviors and can in some cases force the children to the street so they can earn their own money and get food (ibid). Some children also come to the street because of peer pressure from other children that live on the street. The street can in many cases also bring a feeling of freedom and a possibility of earning their own money, which they can't do while living at home. Alcohol and drug abuse among parents is another aspect that has led to children arriving to the streets according to Weber's (2010) research on the challenges affecting street children in Gulu Municipality in Uganda. Thomas de Benítez (2011) literature review of international studies claims it's not rare that child abuse that occurs in families, forces the children to the street. UNICEF (2010) shows that violence against children is a serious problem in Kenya and they mentioned their mothers and fathers as the most common perpetrators.

Auerswald et al. (2012) did a qualitative research with street boys in Kisumu and it shows that all the mentioned reasons above also agrees with why children in Kisumu leave their

families. A common cause is that many children grow up under hard living conditions since the family live in poverty. These families often live in the slum-areas or outlying villages. Another reason for children in Kisumu ending up on the street is that parents pass away. The children become orphans and if they don't have any relatives or friends that can take care of them, they have no other choice than to go the street (ibid).

3.2 Children's living conditions on the street

A life on the street is a serious risk for a child. It is nevertheless important to recognize that different street children have different experiences and risks, based on the specific street environment. It also depends on the specific child's age and sex and how long they have lived on the street. There are however mutual risks for the children involved in the street (Ray et al. 2011).

The children on the street are in many cases also sexually active at an early age. The sexual abuse is used between the boys to show power and leadership, but the girls are mostly more exposed, in particular when it comes to prostitution (Aptekar & Stoecklin, 2014). The violence on the street is also common and is often committed by other children on the street, the police and government workers (Ray et al., 2011; Weber, 2013).

Sometimes the street children can receive help from for example centers. However, they can have a hard time detaching themselves from their former lifestyle and habits on the street. One thing attaching them to the street is freedom according to Martinez (2010) in his qualitative research that looks at different reasons street youth decide whether to leave the street and stay in shelters in Manila, Philippines. This freedom can be appealing to the children but shouldn't be used as the only understanding as to why the children choose the life on the street (Weber, 2013).

According to Ray et al. (2011) the need to get money is a common cause for children living and working on the street. Money can be a reason for the children returning to the street from the shelters. Peer influence is one element that pulls children back to the street

(Martinez, 2010). The peers on the street, like mentioned before, are not always good to each other. However it makes them have a sense of belonging and they feel protected by each other. Malaria, HIV, AIDS and other diseases is also something that street children suffer from. Weber (2013) says that their chances of receiving medical treatment are small since it is very expensive to go to hospitals and to buy medicine.

Auerswald et al. (2012) claim the environment on the streets of Kisumu is harsh and the children can't get all their basic needs met. The street boys in Kisumu live in bases, venue-based groups of boys, where the older boys harass and sexually abuse the younger ones. The younger ones however need to hang around the older boys to get protection on the street. The peers in the same age on the street sometimes beat each other as well. Drug abuse is a common feature among the children living and working on the streets of Kisumu. They use the drugs to feel less cold and to kill their hunger (ibid).

3.3 Centers for street children

Centers is one support system that provide children with help to get a better life away from the streets (Kaime Atterhög, 2012). Previous research has shown there are different factors that make street children want to receive help from centers. Martinez (2010) found factors in his research with street youth in the Philippines, that were characteristic in the answer for why street children choose life inside shelters. The first one is a supportive environment in the shelter. Martinez (2010) brings up the elements that create this supportive environment. One of the elements is the provision of basic needs. The basic needs are necessary for survival but are hard to provide in the streets. That makes it a key element for children's decision to stay in shelters. Another element that contributes to the decision to stay in shelters and leave the streets is presence of emotional support and nurturance. The children on the street are looking for love and affection. Weber (2013) includes shelter, food, clean water, medical attention, hygiene, education, clothes, protection and comparable things into the category of basic needs.

Martinez (2010) study also shows that another element is the children's own personal decision to change, which is often based on the fact that they want to leave the unsafe and unhealthy environment in the streets to have better opportunities. This is also related to the children's assumption: if they stay in the shelter they and their life will change for the better.

Ray et al. (2011) also talk about how the organizations should help the children see the variety of choices that are a possibility to them. If the children feel the street is their only option they will choose after those circumstances. The organizations also need to empower the children in their choices, helping them reflect on the different options to be able to make the decisions themselves. The work in centers has also shown that reunifying the children with their family, other family members or alternative family-type environments have a better success rate than keeping the children in long term shelters. The reunifying should include working with the placement of the child. Many centers also offer vocational training which is an important component in giving street children an alternative to working on the street (Ray et al., 2011).

There is however things about the centers that push the children away from them. Martinez (2010) talks about factors at shelters that make a non-supportive environment. The children in Martinez (2010) research talked about the unwelcoming and unfriendly relationships at the centers. It was both the relationships with the staff but also the relationships with other children at the shelters. If the relationships weren't friendly, it discouraged them from staying in the shelters. The children also mentioned conflicts inside shelters or rivalry as an element for not pursuing their stay in the shelters. Another thing that was a factor for a non-supportive environment was the shelters' incapacibilities of answering to the child's needs, expectations or plans. The children often have some plans for the future that brings them to the shelter, and if they feel an uncertainty about the shelter's capability of helping them fulfill these plans, it could influence their decision to stay. Sometimes the children experience the life inside shelters as boring and that it is too much routine and scheduled activity (ibid).

3.4 Gender differences among children on the street

A major part of the research on street children in the developing world indicates that the street children are products of family dysfunction. But since the children living on the street are mostly boys, Aptekar and Ciano-Federoff (1999) question the previous researches theory in their research comparing gender differences in mental health with both former and current street children in Nairobi, Kenya. Their hypothesis is that in Kenya the situation is more gender-specific, meaning that culturally it is more common for boys to leave their homes for the streets and if a girl does it, the situation at home might have been even worse than for the boys. This hypothesis was based on the fact that in poor families, the girls are more likely to experience sexual abuse and neglect than the boys (Aptekar & Ciano-Federoff, 1999).

On the streets, the street boys' coping strategies found in Aptekar and Ciano-Federoff's (1999) study were, among others, developing friendships, utilizing programs that serve street children and making peace with social workers to be able to receive help when necessary. In the study, the street boys were characterized as resourceful and the street girls as victims. The victim role of the females was supported by the common fact that a street boy had several street girls as "wives" and received the sexual privileges of a "husband". In addition, street girls did not form strong same-sex groups of friendships similar to the street boys, and street boys were more likely to have continuous contact with their family of origin (Aptekar & Ciano-Federoff, 1999).

Railway children (2012) conducted a headcount report in Mwanza, Tanzania to, among other things, establish the number of street children and young people in Mwanza. The research shows findings that indicate more boys than girls living and working in streets. In their headcount 84% were male and 16% female. Railway children (2012) also state that it's more difficult to find and see street girls in comparison to street boys and that the street girls often will be picked up by someone and become domestic or commercial sex workers living with their employer. Because of this, these street girls were only visible at night in areas common for commercial sex work.

4 Theoretical framework

This chapter describes the theories we have chosen to apply on our result in this study. Maslow's hierarchy of needs was chosen to explain the importance of children's needs and how they are prioritized. We chose the social support theory since it is about basic needs, emotional needs and negative relationships which is something we think is relevant in the discussion about the push and pull factors to and from the streets and centers. To be able to reflect on the gender differences among street children and on the girls' situation we chose postmodern feminist theory and the gender concept.

4.1 The hierarchy of needs

Harries and White (2013) write that needs are seen as the requirements for survival and growth. Maslow's theory of needs is based on a five-level hierarchy of needs and the thought is that the needs should be satisfied in order of the stair (Medcalf, Hoffman & Boatwright, 2013). The first two lower levels of needs are called the primary needs, which is the physiological need and safety need. The following three needs, the belonging and love, need of achievement and self-actualization are the secondary needs. It is assumed that individuals try to satisfy the higher needs when the lower levels are fulfilled (Ivashchenko & Novikov, 2006). Mathes (1981: 69) writes:

One of the values of this theory, if true, is that it can act as a guide for living. It suggests that early in life one should establish a basis for physiological survival and safety, and once these are accomplished one should seek friends, followed by achievements, and finally, self-actualization.

The physiological need is the strongest need and the first level in the hierarchy of needs. It includes the basic needs such as breathing, food, water, sleep and shelter (Medcalf et al., 2013). Once the physical needs are met, safety needs emerge, which can be security from threatening situations like dying, starvation, natural disaster, physical attacks and so on. The third level of the hierarchy is belonging and love needs. It can be the need of having an intimate relationship with another person, friends or belongingness to a group (Mahtes,

1981). Benson and Dundis (2013) emphasize the importance of remembering that the depth of all the levels varies from people to people. Some people might have a greater need of belonging than others since individual needs are diverse.

When the first three levels are satisfied, the esteem needs come to focus and it is the need of achievement, feeling confident, valuable and receiving respect from peers and others. The fifth and last level in the hierarchy is the need of self-actualization. Only when all the previous needs are fulfilled, a person can realize its fullest potential. This is a person's need to be and do what the person was 'born to do' (Medcalf et al., 2013: 1326).

4.2 Social support theory

The definitions of social support are various. One short definition is the resources that are provided to one by other persons (Hupcey, 1998). Relationships are a vital term where the assumption is that social relationships can increase a person's health and well-being (Berg & Piner, 1990). Information is another key word and Langford et al. (1997) mean that social support is information that gives a person the feeling of being cared for, valued and loved. The sense of belonging to a network and also the belief that social ties to individuals, groups and communities, are going to give you access to the support you need.

Langford et al. (1997), Berg and Piner (1990) and Oakley (1992) divides social support in different categories; emotional, instrumental and informational. Various acts of social support can be sorted under these categories (Langford et al., 1997).

4.2.1 Emotional support

“Emotional support includes intimacy and attachments, reassurance, and being able to confide in and rely on another – all of which contribute to the feeling that one is loved or cared for, or even that one is a member of the group, not a stranger” (Oakley, 1992: 29). Being provided with empathy, sympathy, concern, love and trust from others is an important part of emotional support. If you feel like you are cared for that feeling will

contribute, like the quote above also implies, to a sense of coherence to a network of mutual obligations. It's a feeling of belonging to people that you share the same interest and concerns with (Langford et al., 1997; Burleson, Albrecht & Sarason, 1994). Affective transactions between people that includes liking and admiration but also transactions of respect and love are also incorporated in the category of emotional support (Langford et al., 1997).

4.2.2 Instrumental support

Instrumental support, or tangible aid which is frequently used as a synonym in literature research, is another category of social support. It is referring to being offered provision of goods and services you need (Burleson et al., 1994). This tangible support involves direct aid such as for example financial assistance, loans and gifts or executing work or chores for others (Langford et al., 1997; Oakley, 1992).

4.2.3 Informational support

Informational support involves giving information and guidance to support another individual when needed. The support includes advice, factual inputs and feedback on actions (Burleson et al., 1994). It is providing information to help another person with a problem and giving feedback on how he or she is doing or acting (Oakley, 1992). The informational support is the support being given to help a person in a time when he or she is experiencing stress. The information that is given could aim at helping that person in making better decisions (Langford et al., 1997).

4.2.4 Negative support

Generally social support focuses on the positive and beneficial aspects of personal relationships, but later research has shown that there could be negative aspects in relationships. Some support given in good will could be received negatively depending on the person (Oakley, 1992). Sometimes the relationships you receive support from can make

you feel smothered, controlled or inadequate. In longer perspectives some relationships can cause lower self-esteem, identity problems, resentment and depression (Gaipa, 1990).

4.3 Feminist theory

Feminist theory began developing in conjunction with the women's political revolution and liberation which started in the middle of the 1800s (Ljung, 2007; Payne, 2011). One of the main aims of the liberation was women's increased influence in society, which also is a major aspect in feminist theory. When it comes to social work, feminist theories focus on the oppressed position women are in all over the world (Payne, 2011). Payne (2011) explains how the patriarchy with political, cultural and social oppression of women is one of the foundations for the development of feminist theories. Many orientations have over time developed in feminist theories, where postmodern feminist theory is one of them. This perspective is presented below.

4.3.1 Postmodern feminist theory

From the 1980s, feminists criticized the then current feminist theories for being non-universal and not including all types of women in the world. The criticism pointed out that the theories only were applicable to white Western middle-class women. The international women's conference in Nairobi 1985 focused on this issue and that women cannot be categorized into one single group (Ljung, 2007). Sylvia Walby's definition of patriarchy is "a system of social structures and practitioners in which men dominate, exploit and oppress women" (Ljung, 2007: 254). Because the structures are explained as social, there is no biologically determined gender order (Ljung, 2007). Payne's (2011) definition of postmodern feminism is a description of social relationships and a focus on the society's discourses that create social assumptions on how women are and how they should be treated. The patriarchy have constructed a role of nursing for women and women have accepted this role (Payne, 2011). The identity is constructed through social, cultural and institutional relationships and can connect you to different groups of the society (Payne, 2011).

4.3.2 Gender theory

The concept of gender and the gender theory stems from feminist theories (Ljung, 2007; Connell, 2009). Sex has been divided into biological sex and social sex, also called gender (Ljung, 2007; Connell, 2009; Glover & Kaplan, 2009). This division developed when transsexual patients in the 1950s and 1960s experienced their biological sex and their psychological sex was not the same. Ljung (2007) uses gender to describe the expressions of and maintaining of women oppression in different cultures. The gender identity is therefore socially and culturally constructed beyond the biological differences and there's an inequality where one sex oppresses the other. The gender theory explains the social pattern where power mechanisms produce and reproduce the gender order where women are oppressed and men are the norm (Ljung, 2007). Gender theory explains how the society constructs what is seen and described as typically female or male. There is a dichotomy, a division, between the two sexes in characteristics, chores and appearance. If something is seen as a male characteristic the opposite will be seen as a female characteristic (Hirdman, 1998).

5 Method

5.1 Preconceptions

Our preconceptions about Kenya were based on facts we found online and experiences from nearby countries in Africa. We did some research about the the culture, its history, geographic and socio-economic situation so that we would know the basic facts before we arrived in Kisumu. While in Kisumu we learned much more about the country and its norms and culture since we lived with a family that told us much about it. Our preconceptions about the street children were quite similar among us. We all thought the occurrence of street children was mostly due to poverty and that poverty was one of the largest issues in the country. We also thought that there would be both boys and girls living and working in the streets, but that girls would be more vulnerable and at risk for physical and sexual abuse. We tried to be aware of our preconceptions while we conducted the research, as it is important to reduce the risk of influence on the study and to maintain a high objectivity. Bryman (2011) writes that it is nearly impossible for a researcher to maintain totally objective, but that it is important that the researcher does not let his or her own opinions consciously influence the study.

5.2 Our path to Kisumu

The three of us have always been interested in children and gender differences when it comes to social work. We came across the subject of street children through our education at the University of Gothenburg and decided to do our research about it. In order to get a genuine context, we contacted Swedish social workers without borders who helped us get in contact with HOVIC in Kisumu, Kenya, which was the center we spent most of our time at.

5.3 Journal

During our research in Kisumu we kept a daily journal. Every evening we wrote down our experiences, impressions, feelings and thoughts about the day. According to Kvale and Brinkmann (2014) writing down the daily work, thoughts and reflections, can help the researcher remember important facts when analyzing and doing the study. The daily journal also helped us process the day and opened up for reflections and ideas for the study.

5.4 Choice of method

As this subject concerns people's everyday life, it's suitable to try to understand and capture the respondent's own perspective of the life they are living through a qualitative method (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2014). This was done by letting the respondent answer freely to our interview questions, which made it easier for us to understand the subject from the person's point of view. To answer our research questions and to serve the aim of the study, semi-structured interviews with children and staff members of the studied support systems were carried out. In addition, we spent several days at HOVIC to familiarize with the environment, the children and the staff members. We are aware that if we had chosen a quantitative method with, for example surveys, we could have collected a bigger amount of data and maybe been able to generalize the conclusions onto a bigger context. Also, the collected data wouldn't, to the same extent, been affected by the presence of us as interviewers.

To analyze the collected data we chose thematic analysis. This study's analyze process was made inductively since the chosen theories depended on the collected data and our respondents' answers (Bryman, 2011). Although we discussed theories in the beginning of the study's process, which is more of a deductive method, we never decided on anything and went with the inductive method (ibid.). We read through our transcriptions and after deciding on our theoretical framework, we read through the chosen themes and answers again with our theoretical glasses, and later analyzed them with our literature review. The

discussion and conclusions were drawn with our own thoughts together with the results and analysis to discuss our own thoughts that appeared during the processing of the results.

5.5 Semi- structured interviews

Kvale and Brinkmann (2014) write that qualitative interviews are used as a tool to get access to the respondent's world, to understand the respondent's own perspective and thoughts, and to get varied descriptions. They also write that understandings you get from qualitative interviews can be used in the process of analyzing the material, when you explain their words with a theory. Since the theme of the study was to investigate subjective perceptions we quickly decided that semi-structured interviews was the right method for us, which is one type of qualitative interviews. Bryman (2011) writes that the idea of semi-structured interviews is that the researcher have prepared themes for the interview, but the respondent has the freedom to formulate the answers on their own. The questions in the interview guide do not have to come in order and other questions can be asked if it relates to something the respondent said.

By using semi-structured interviews, we could ask follow-up questions and if needed ask the respondents to explain more. Therefore this kind of interview was advantageous since we wanted the respondents to feel free in their answers and because we wanted to give them space to describe and use their own words. We also needed some structure in the questions so we could help the respondents stick to the topic. Rasmusson (1999) also writes that children interviews put great demands on flexibility and a possibility of going beyond the interview guide which the semi-structured interview allowed us to do.

We created two interview guides, one for the children and one for the adults working with the children. The guides were divided into themes. The themes were inspired by similar interview guides in previous relevant research and of the relevance to the purpose of this study. This because we didn't have much knowledge about the phenomenon earlier and since we wanted to ensure that we would get as much information as possible from the interviews. The themes of the interview guide for children were age/gender, life before the

streets, street experience, what they think about centers working with street children, relationships and dreams for the future. For the adults the themes were children on the streets and centers. We are aware that these themes steered the results in a specific direction, and that this could affect the results. Other themes could have given us different material.

The interview guides were reviewed and updated with our supervisors at HOVIC before the pilot interview. This may have steered our questions in another direction than we wished. On the other hand it was favorable since the supervisors knew the children and they were able to adjust and verify the questions so they would fit the children's level. For the children's safety they also wanted to see the questions to ensure we asked didn't ask them anything inappropriate. We did a pilot interview to see if there were any more tools that needed to change, such as interview questions, setting or number of interviewers participating. The pilot interview was done with one boy chosen by the staff of HOVIC, and we found that the setting needed to change because of the noisy road next to the first setting. We also adjusted some of the wording in the questions so the children easier would understand the questions. After that we were ready to execute our interviews.

5.5.2 Respondents

To find respondents in a place where you have never been before and where you don't know anyone can be very difficult. With that in mind we chose snowball selection (Bryman, 2011), and asked our key informants at HOVIC for help in finding our respondents. The centers and organizations were the ones who chose which children participated in the interviews. We had a meeting with the staff at HOVIC the first day to introduce ourselves, tell them about the purpose of the study, how many and also what kind of respondents we needed to be able to answer our purpose. After that they contacted a couple of organizations and people that could participate in our study. This type of selection is not always as representative of the chosen group (ibid.) as a random selection could be.

Our plan was to interview children and staff of different centers and organizations in Kisumu to get a lot of information and perspectives on the subject. The semi-structured interviews with the children were done in groups. The choice was based on the facts that children may be more likely to open up and answer sensitive questions when other children/friends are around (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2014). However we had in mind was that the interviews done in groups might not have contributed to any further depth. Some children maybe didn't dare to speak so much in detail about their experiences and thoughts when other children were around. Because of that, we always asked them if they would prefer to be interviewed individually, but they all declined.

We thought it would be more time saving to do the interviews in groups, since we wanted to interview many children. This type of interview was also suitable because it was a relatively new subject to us and it gave us a big amount of interview material on the focused subject when we created an atmosphere allowing the respondents to say whatever they wanted. The downside to this type of interview was that the interview material became a bit chaotic and difficult to transcript (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2014).

At HOVIC we planned to interview two groups with three to five boys in each group and two groups with three to five girls. We also wanted to individually interview two or three members of the staff at HOVIC. At KUAP and Agape our goal was to interview one or two girls and one member of the staff at each center, and one or two members of the staff at the Children's Department. These choices were made based on the time and resources available at HOVIC, KUAP, Agape and the Children's Department and our own time limit. In addition, we wanted the perspective of both children and staff and the perspective of different organizations. The Children's Department interview was conducted to gain a wider perspective on the community and government's involvement in the topic. In total, 17 interviews were made, with 19 children and six staff members. We chose to separate the children from the staff in the interviews because we thought their relationships could impact the answers. Our key informant at HOVIC recommended us to separate girls from boys in the interviews because he didn't think the girls would open up or talk at all in the

presence of the boys. Because of this recommendation and since we wanted to do a study about gender differences, we examined the boys and girls separately to see if they had different experiences.

5.5.3 Execution

The interviews were conducted in a familiar setting to the respondents to make them feel more comfortable in the interview context. The setting for the children was the center they stayed at or usually visited, and for the adults the center or organization they worked at. We considered this especially important in the interviews with the children, to reduce the gap that can occur between us as adults and children (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2014). In addition, the questions were adjusted to the children's level and asked one at a time, which is something Bryman (2011) recommends.

Every interview began with an introduction, or what Kvale and Brinkmann (2014) would call an orientation. We introduced ourselves, the purpose of the study and explained the confidentiality aspects with the recordings. The respondents were also informed that they could ask any questions at any time and skip any question they didn't want to answer. When the interview was finished, we asked if the respondent had any further comments or questions for us. This was done to give the respondent a chance to share thoughts that came up during the interview.

The three of us took on different roles during the interviews and we switched the roles between us equally. One of us would be the interviewer, another did the introduction and the third one would take notes during the interview to capture anything the recorder might miss. To reduce the risk of the respondent being confused, we deliberately decided to have one interviewer asking the questions. The interview questions were both initial questions, follow-up questions and exploratory questions. At times the interviewer would be quiet for a second after the respondent's answer, to give opportunity for reflection and further comments (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2014).

5.7 Analyzing method

Our first step in analyzing our collected data was to transcribe the interviews that we had done. We divided the interviews equally between us and listened to the interviews at the same time as we wrote down the information. If we all had transcribed the material it could have reduced the risk of mishearing words and the understanding of the language. However due to the time limit this was not an option, but we helped each other every time we encountered difficulties. We transcribed the interviews verbatim, so that the quotes would remain the same. We did not put any importance in grammatical issues and we were aware that the translator's words sometimes were not exactly the same as the respondent's words. We made the respondents anonymous in the transcriptions by giving them code names. For example, all staff members we interviewed are called Staff followed by a number, i.e. "Staff 1". The interviews done in groups were coded into group A, B and so on. To keep track of which child said what, each child in every group was coded into a number. A child will therefore be called for example "Boy A1".

The analyzing method chosen was thematic analysis (Bryman, 2011). We began analyzing one research question at a time by carefully reading the transcriptions with the research question in mind and marking the relevant answers. When we had the sentences we tried to see similar themes to categorize them. The categorizing gave us a general view of the material and a possibility to answer our research questions (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2014). This process was done with each research question. The themes and the relevant answers were written down in notes, similar to a framework. To be able to find the answers in the transcriptions again, we made notes on where to find them. We also kept the answers exactly the way the respondent said it and tried to choose a moderate amount of material for each theme, which is common for thematic analysis (Bryman, 2011). In our result we present the quotes in first person, although the translator sometimes used third person in the interviews, this to make the children's voices more visible.

The themes found to our first research question were the lack of basic needs, money, freedom, relationships, police and drugs. When we read the material with our second

research question in mind, the themes we found were provision of basic needs, conceptions and presumptions about centers, relationships and shelter and courses for girls. The themes found for why there are fewer girls than boys on the streets were that they stay at home or with relatives, they get married, they get “picked up” by someone and the street life is too hard for the girls. As mentioned in *choice of method*, the themes were read through with our theoretical glasses and analyzed with our literature review. If we had chosen another analyzing method we might have found other conclusions. If a thematic analysis would be executed by other researchers there is a possibility they could have found other themes than the ones we found.

5.8 Ethical considerations

Bryman (2011) writes about ethical questions that involve voluntariness, integrity, confidentiality and anonymity for the people who participate in the study. For interviews with children under the age of 18, we wanted to get approval from parents or staff at the organization, due to that we wrote a consent form in English that we handed out before the interviews. This because Bryman (2011) writes that the principle is to let the respondents get as much information as possible about the study and their participation. We hadn't the possibility of getting the parents' approval since they weren't present in the children's life. Therefore the staff signed the consent form which we discussed if it was ethical but it was the best option. Regardless it was always the individual child's decision to participate.

We wrote two consent forms adjusted to the different respondents; children under 18 and staff members at HOVIC and the other organizations. Kvale and Brinkmann (2014) write that a signed consent form is used as an evidence of the respondent's approval to participate in the study. The consent form contained information about the aim of the study, the anonymity of the respondents and that the participation was voluntary. The consent form also informed the respondents the interviews would be recorded if they gave their consent, and that the recording material and transcriptions would be deleted when the study was completed. Information such as that the data collection would be kept safe and confidential

was also a part of the consent form. We recorded the interviews on our phones and then brought the recordings to our computer and saved them in a separate map. We will delete the recordings when the study is done. The consent form also gave information about the timeframe of the interviews and that respondents were not forced to answer a question if they didn't want to. Before the interview we also gave the respondents this information verbally.

Even though the respondents are anonymous in the study, staff members at each organization chose which children and staff members participated in the interviews, and can therefore sense who said what. But they can never know with certainty which child or staff member said what since we coded the material when transcribing. This study might present street children as a homogeneous vulnerable group. We tried to be aware of how we presented the children by not focusing on solely strong or weak sides but to see every aspect in the group and the individuals. One thing we could have done, was to inform the respondents about us having the study published. This was something we came up with too late, but the respondents will still, during the time of the making of the study, have the right to regret their participation.

We were aware of the fact that we interviewed a very vulnerable group since we interviewed under aged children that lived alone on the street without parents or a safe home. Our subject was sensitive for many of the children that we interviewed since we asked about their earlier life before and on the street and their current situation. We didn't want to force them to answer any question they didn't feel comfortable answering, and we did not ask any follow up questions if they talked about traumatizing experiences. The children were in an exposed situation where we had more power considering us being adults, and it didn't feel right to force them to bring up uncomfortable subjects and then leave them without following up. We had to be aware of our position of power in relation to the respondents especially the children. We are not only adults, we also come from a Western context which we during our visit understood are linked to wealth and high status.

5.9 Language and the use of an interpreter

Many of our respondents could speak English even though it wasn't their first language, but when needed, an interpreter was used in the interview. This was needed in the interview with one girl at KUAP and in the group interviews with the children at HOVIC. The interpreter was always one of the staff members that the children were familiar with. Kvale and Brinkmann (2014) write that it is important not to have an interpreter that is involved in the organization since that can affect the answers that the respondents give. Unfortunately we were not able to find any other interpreter that didn't have any connection to the organization or the children. In addition, that was the only kind of interpreter that was offered. Although we were aware of the risks of using an interpreter with a relationship to the children, we found it positive that the interpreter could create a connection with the children as opposed to a stranger.

What we did notice was that the interpreter in some occasions stepped into the role of the interviewer, asking his or her own questions, or the role of the respondent, answering our questions, which is common according to Kvale and Brinkmann (2014). Whenever this occurred, the interviewer tried to recapture her role and clearly steered the questions towards the respondent. We noticed the interpreter didn't speak in first person and sometimes didn't translate verbatim, which may have led to some information not reaching us. Sometimes this was noted in the transcription, however when noticed during the interviews we tried to ask for more information from the translator. We chose to present all the quotes in the section *results and analysis* in first person, even the ones translated by the interpreter, to make the voice of the children clearer even though this isn't verbatim from our transcriptions.

English is not our first language and neither the respondents' or the interpreter's first language. At times, this led to the respondents' and the interpreters' English being difficult for us to understand. The answers were sometimes difficult to transcribe and might not have been correctly transcribed as a result of this. The complications due to language may have affected our material. We had, because of this, a dialogue between us every time the

respondent's choice of words could be interpreted in various ways. We also took advantage of being several researchers with different language knowledge when we didn't understand words or how to interpret properly throughout the process.

Even though our first language is Swedish, we decided to do the study in English. For the participants to be able to take part of the study and their own interviews it had to be in English, therefore it was the only thinkable option for us. Even if some of the children had limited English knowledge, they have several people around them to translate if the research is in English. However, they have no or limited access to a translator if the research was in Swedish. The respondents gave their consent in belief that they could access the result of the study. According to Bryman (2011), to properly have taken the ethical considerations to account, the results should be passed on to the respondents if promised.

5.10 Validity, reliability and generalization

According to Bryman (2011), the study reaches validity when it examines what it's supposed to examine. He also explains that validity is reached if you keep the aim of the study, theoretical background and data material in mind at all times of the study. Our aim was to keep every step of the study in line with the purpose.

Reliability, according to Bryman (2011) and Kvale and Brinkmann (2014), is when the study's results are trustworthy and consistent. Also, the level of validity affects the reliability. The reliability aims for transference in the methodology, the study should give the same results if conducted again with the same methods (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2014). To try to increase the validity and reliability our aim was to give an adequate description of every step of our procedure, to reach more transference to the readers.

We also conducted our research material together and we analyzed all the material together. We consider this to increase the reliability since it gives more than one person's perspective and interpretations. We tried in addition, throughout the process of the analyze, to ask

critical questions to ourselves. This to try to see how our own conceptions may have steered our interpretations of the conducted material, and to see how we apprehended the material while analyzing because of our preconceptions. Above all we discussed the interpretations and conceptions where we weren't in coherence with each other. We are nevertheless aware that conducting the exact same material is almost impossible, because every person has unique answers and because the thoughts and opinions of a person may change over time (Bryman, 2011). Due to the fact that we switched the role of interviewer between us, the interview questions and follow-up questions varied at times which could affect the answers we were given. The conducted material influences the reliability as well. Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) criticize interviews due to the fact that they are sensitive to the context and depending on the interaction between respondents and interviewer. The interviewer is in other words the main research tool, where subjective perspective will provide a framework for interpretation.

The reliability is influenced by the fact that both our and our respondents' first language isn't English; the language the material was conducted and presented in. In addition, we used an interpreter for translations and this adds a step from the respondents' intended answers. The interpreter's relationship to the children might have affected their answers as well. The difficulty for us to understand the interpreter's and the respondents' English, might have affected how we presented the material. If another researcher conducted the research with the same first language as the respondents, without a translator, this could change the result of the study. This wouldn't nevertheless change the fact that the researcher would have interpreted the answers with his or her preconceptions. To increase the validity and reliability in this matter we did not like we mentioned before modify the quotes used in the result, except the change to first person. We had, in addition, a dialogue between us every time the respondents choice of words could be interpreted in various ways as we previously highlighted.

Generalization is mostly common in quantitative studies, where there's an interest in applying the result on other groups and situations than the one studied (Bryman, 2011).

Qualitative studies can be difficult to generalize according to Kvale and Brinkmann (2014) because of its specific respondents' statements and the researchers own interpretations of them. Since we conducted a qualitative study we are aware of our results being difficult to generalize, since our result is based on the subjective perceptions of our respondents. When it comes to generalization, our aim was however not to draw conclusions that could apply on a larger or another context, than the context researched. According to us, the conclusions we made are applicable on the context researched and on the children and organizations that participated in the study. Nevertheless our results are in many cases in line with the literature review of previous research on the subject. Therefore we consider it could be used as guidance in another research on the same subject in a similar context.

5.11 Literature search

To be able to give a background about Kenya, Kisumu and the organizations that work with street children in Kenya, we did some research about what has been written about these topics earlier. We used LIBRIS, GUNDA, Supersök and Summon to find literature to conduct a literature review. We used keywords such as: "street children" street children Kenya" "Kisumu" "shelter" "girls in Kisumu" and "gender differences Kenya". In the books and articles we found, other titles were mentioned which made us find more literature related to the aim of our study. We also found some articles in Kenya's internet page at UNICEF that were useful for us. We found it difficult to find literature focused on girls, since most of the information that we discovered was about boys.

We tried to find research studies concerning the East African context, as it is similar to the Kenyan in many ways. At times though, we found relevant studies concerning street children even though they were executed in other parts of the world. We also want to point out that we are aware of that there's most likely more research touching and giving more perspective to our subject than what we have found. Despite that, we had to limit ourselves to the timeframe and delimitation we had for this study.

5.12 Division of labor

Every part of this study was conducted by all three of us. As we switched roles during the interviews, the work and effort put in became equal. When it came to transcribing the data, we divided the interviews equally between us. The theoretical framework and literature review were chosen by the three of us, and analyzing the data and selecting quotes from the material was done together through discussion. All the material has been developed together since all of us have contributed to every chapter even though we individually have produced more text in some sections.

5.13 Discussion of method

This chapter will discuss the methodical procedures conducted in the study. The aspect and level of validity and reliability can be questioned since we did not conduct the study in a familiar context to us. Like mentioned before, we might have understood and analyzed the results with our Swedish context in mind. Since we only spent just over two weeks in Kisumu, it was hard to create a picture of the culture and the Kisumu context. If we had been there for a longer period of time, we might have understood the Kisumu and Kenyan context to the extent that we wanted. The fact that we lived with a family in Kisumu helped us, to some extent, get a picture of the culture and the context. In addition, we came there with a stranger's perspective. This perspective and a lower understanding of the context could have affected the way we interpreted and analyzed the respondents' answers. Therefore, this is important to have in mind when reading our analysis and conclusions, as it might affect the level of reliability. The advantage though of having a stranger's perspective and having not been involved with the respondents before, is that we don't, to the same extent, have assumptions about the results. At the same time it doesn't mean we don't have preconceptions. When we did our literature search, it was difficult to find background facts on Kisumu specifically. Kenya as a country was well presented on informational sites, but Kisumu was not as well presented. This did also affect our understanding of the Kisumu context and might have affected the interpretation of the findings and our conclusions.

As mentioned in the section *sample and respondents*, the interview respondents and participating centers were chosen by our key informants at HOVIC and we did not have that much influence on the choices made. There's a risk that the respondents were chosen because of some specific factors for example their knowledge in English, their good experience of the center or other reasons. The key informants' choice of participating centers might also have been subjective. This affected the reliability of the results, and the results might have been different if we used another way of finding the respondents. Despite this, there were respondents who expressed negative comments about the centers, which indicates they felt somewhat free to speak their mind.

Although it was important for us to divide the labor equally between us, we were aware that it could affect the findings and conclusions of the study. This because each of us held every third interview, and due to our different personalities we might have focused on different things during the interview and asked different follow-up questions. We believe the advantage of having different interviewers during the material collections, like mentioned before, is that it increases the reliability since it gives more than one person's perspective and interpretations.

Although we conducted interviews at all centers and organizations we visited, most of the respondents were children at or staff members of HOVIC. This is important to have in mind when reading the results and the conclusions, as it might have led to an uneven picture of the result.

Our choices of methods, theoretical framework and literature review have formed the results and conclusions of this study. If we had chosen another method to collect the data or another pair of theoretical glasses, the analyzing process would've been different and the results wouldn't have been the same as ours. We are aware that our choices represent one in many different ways to collect and interpret data.

6 Result and analysis

In the following chapter we are going to present our results of the study. We have chosen to present the results separately since we have divided the results based on our three research questions. This because we thought it would be easier to read and follow. The results are going to be discussed after this section.

6.1 Push and pull-factors from and to the street

The first research question we used to answer our aim was: What could the push and pull factors be from and to the street for street children in Kisumu? In the following section we are going to present the results we found in our research material and answer our research question.

6.1.1 The lack of basic needs

One subtheme we found when looking at factors that pushed away the children from the streets were unfulfilled basic needs. According to the children and staff members, living on the street meant lack of food, shelter and hygiene. Our key informant told us that it's hard for the children to receive medical help since they don't have much money, and hospitals and medicine are expensive. He or she also said some children on the street beg for money or some food. When we asked the children how they provide for their basic needs on the street, many children mainly talked about the difficulty of getting a safe and warm place to sleep. They said it's hard during the night since it's cold and they have nothing to cover themselves with to protect them from the cold.

We used to just sleep like that, nothing to cover ourselves we just sleep.

(Boy C2)

Many children also mentioned it's hard to get food on the street. They said they were hungry and had to fight hard to be able to eat.

My life in the streets was not very interesting because the first time I was at the streets I did not know how to look for money or to get food. So it was difficult for me to survive (Boy B3)

I used to wake in the morning hungry and looking for food before I came here. (Boy B3)

The children also said it's hard to take care of their hygiene. They have nowhere to clean themselves or wash their clothes.

I did not use to take a bath because I had no place to go (Boy A1)

One staff member confirmed what many of the children told us and said it's hard for the street children bearing in mind they have no good place to sleep and it's hard for them to get food and money. The staff member said that while walking on the streets he or she could see the cold and hungry children, and didn't believe that any child choose to live on the street voluntarily.

From my walk I realized, for a child to go the streets is usually the last result. Usually the last last option. Because nobody likes to live in the cold streets. (Staff 1)

Weber (2013) includes shelter, food, clean water, medical attention, hygiene, education, clothes, protection and comparable things into the category of basic needs. She means that it's impossible for the children to get all their basic needs met because of the harsh environment on the street. For example street children don't have much money and they are therefore not capable of going to the hospital or buy medicine (ibid). The lack of basic needs can therefore be seen as a push factor away from the street, since they could get some of these needs provided at centers. According to Maslow's hierarchy of needs the difficulty of getting their main needs can be seen as unfulfilled physiological needs (Medcalf et al.,

2013). It's hard for the children to satisfy their basic needs and they have no time or energy left to prioritize further development in their lives. It could therefore be seen as if the children remain on the first level since they haven't yet fulfilled the physiological needs, and can therefore not continue up in the hierarchy to achieve safety needs and relationships. The lack of shelter, the illnesses and incapability of treating them can be seen as lack of basic need but on the other hand it could also be seen, as an unfulfilled level of safety needs (ibid.). The safety needs involves for example, security from threatening situations like dying, starvation, physical attacks and so on (Mahtes, 1981). Ivanshchenko and Novikov (2006) writes that individuals must fulfill each need at a time.

Another author who also indicates that it's hard for the street children to get the basic needs provided in the streets is Martinez (2010). The basic need is crucial for survival and could therefore be interpreted as something that pushes away the children from the street. An element that makes the children want to leave the street is their own personal decision to change, which is often based on the fact that they want to leave the unsafe and unhealthy environment in the streets to have better opportunities (ibid.). It can also be interpreted as a lack of instrumental support or tangible aid which according to Burlison et al. (1994) is significant for a person's well-being and health. In the streets it's hard to get someone to provide you the goods and services you need which sometimes can make children leave the street to seek for a better alternative.

6.1.2 Money

Money is one pull-factor that we found could pull the children to the street and make them want to stay there instead of going to centers. When we asked the children and the staff how the street children provide for their needs such as food and clothes, many children said they earned money from working with different things, for example collecting scrap metal or plastics and washing buses. With the money they can buy food, but sometimes they also get food as a payment instead of money.

You see them collecting scrap metals and selling it for money, they are working in the hotels down in Bus Park and different parts of town, sweeping, washing dishes in return for meals. (Staff 4)

One respondent said the opportunity of earning money sometimes can make it harder for the children to go to centers instead. The respondent said the children get used to earning and spending their own money.

So when they test money, they don't want to go back to school anymore, they want to work in the streets. (Staff 1)

The money they earn also contributes to the children being able to buy other things such as phones, sanitary products and candy.

The money used also to buy food and some of that money I saved and brought myself a new phone (Boy A1)

Ray et al. (2011) write that poverty and marginalization make families vulnerable to the social and economic stresses, which can conduce to children coming to the street. They say that children often enjoy being able to spend money they've earned themselves (ibid.). The children might feel they accomplished an achievement and therefore feel proud to have earned their own money. With that feeling in mind, they might allow themselves to buy a little extra in addition to the basic needs such as food. Even though the amount of money they earn from selling scrap metal or plastics is small (Weber, 2013), it can be a factor for children to stay in the street (Martinez, 2010).

The opportunity of earning money can be seen as the first level in Maslow's hierarchy of needs, since with money the children can provide themselves with food and hygiene (Medcalf et al., 2013). Since money in terms of salary is related to successful work, it could be linked to the need of achievement in Maslow's hierarchy of needs as well. The children

work hard and they get money as a proof of succeeding. Because of this, they might feel more needed, valuable and confident, which characterizes the fourth level in the hierarchy of needs. This theory can be criticized in this case since according to Maslow, it is not possible to fulfill the need of achievement if the lower levels haven't been accomplished, which the children in this context haven't. The question is; can street children really fulfill real achievement? Are they not too far away from this level in the hierarchy of needs, bearing in mind their limited opportunities?

6.1.3 Freedom

Another factor we found in the interviews with the children was that some of them felt freedom while living and working on the street. They said they have no one telling them what to do or where to go, which could be seen as something that makes them feel that they have control over their own lives.

They go the street you know, when you go in the street, you are under your... you are under your own control, you do what you think or what you feel. (Boy A1)

One staff member also said the freedom that many children feel on the street, which also involves earning their own money, can be an addiction by itself.

So the reason children come to Kisumu ehm, usually they are fleeing something originally and then they come and stay on the street because they realize they can earn money here. And they can go where they want to go, they can do what they want to do and freedom is an addiction by itself okay. (Staff 4)

Weber (2013) confirmed what the staff and children said in our interviews, and says the freedom is appealing to some of the children in the street. The life on the street comes without adult supervision and it comes without responsibilities. Weber (2013) also writes

that the children sometimes have a hard time detaching themselves from their former lifestyle and habits on the street. At some shelters and centers, for example HOVIC and Agape, there are rules and scheduled activities like classes and meals, and adults looking after them. The rules might be too much for some children since the freedom and ability to earn their own money can be more appealing than to live at a shelter. It can then be an option to choose not to live at a shelter, but only come to centers as drop-ins, which can give the children both freedom and a possibility of getting their basic needs met at the same time. Weber (2013) however emphasizes that the freedom shouldn't be used as the only explanation why children are on the streets but it could be interpreted as one thing that pulls the children to the street.

6.1.4 Relationships

When we asked the children how the relationships with their peers are on the street, some street children spoke well about their friends on the street. However many children also talked about their friends in terms of only being their friends if they could benefit from it, as if they mostly took advantage of each other to get their basic needs met. Our key informant told us there often is a harsh jargon between the children on the street and that many of the relationships aren't genuine, but more necessary for survival.

My relationship with them is not very good because they are just your friends when you are full or have money. But if you have no food they are not your friends. (Boy B3)

Uh, my first friend to meet on the streets, actually they welcomed me well, but after some times when I could look for my own money, they could want me to pay back for what they did for me before, they start getting money. Now since, you can't stay somewhere alone without friends, actually I had to pay back to keep them as friends. (Boy A1)

Children's relationships to the peers on the street can be related to social support. The theory is generally focusing on the positive and beneficial effects of personal relationships for a person's well-being, but despite that there can also be negative aspects in relationships as well (Oakley, 1992). Since the friendships on the street are much about the need to give favours in return, these relationships can be interpreted to negative support. Gaipa (1996) writes these kinds of relationships can make the children feel smothered, controlled or inadequate. The author also says that if someone has these negative relationships during a longer period of time, they can cause lower self-esteem, identity problems, resentment and depression, although they could provide some social support for example instrumental support. This confirms what our respondents said, since even though the relationships aren't good, they are still necessary because without them the children wouldn't survive. They would have no one to turn to when they need help, like protection, food or clothes.

When we asked about the relationships on the street, both children and staff also talked a lot about violence among the street children, both physical violence in terms of punches and kicks, but also sexual violence like sodomy.

It was difficult for me to survive, and my older friends used to beat me. (Boy B3)

You probably know sodomy is very common on the street, both forced and consensual and in prostitution. (Staff 4)

The children also talked about being threatened and forced to do things they don't want to.

Those big ones make you take drugs even they can make drugs and force you to take them even if you don't want. They can even kill you. (Boy C1)

Weber (2013) writes that violence is ever present on the street and according to Auerswald et al. (2012) research from Kisumu, children of the same age on the streets of Kisumu often

beat each other, which is something our result also shows. Our key informant said street children live in groups at bases that are controlled by older boys that both take care of the younger ones, but also harass them. He or she said the older boys protect the younger street children from others, but at the same time occasionally beat and sexually abuse them. Auerswald et al. (2012) also shows that the boys on the streets of Kisumu live in venue-based groups of boys, and sometimes the older boys harass and sexually abuse the younger ones but at the same time offer them protection. Sodomy was also something the older boys exposed the younger ones to (ibid).

Aptekar and Stoecklin (2014) says the sexual abuse is used between the boys to show power and leadership. Aptekar and Stoecklin's (2014) words could be translated into Maslow's hierarchy of needs bearing in mind the violence and threats could be seen as a method for the children to fulfilling their physiological and safety needs (Medcalf et al., 2013). The children might feel they need to fight and threaten others to command respect and show others they shouldn't steal or behave badly towards them. In this way it might be easier for them to force others to give them food, money and clothes. It becomes a way for the children to survive, to protect themselves and get their basic needs met, although these relationships affect the children and are mentally demanding. Weber (2013) mentions that these strained and hard relationships can be a factor for the children wanting to leave the street.

However, the children also talked well about their relationships with peers on the street. In contrast to the negative relationships that pushed the children away from the street, the good relationships can be seen as a pull factor that makes the children not want to leave the street or receive help at centers. Since the children are together every day and look out for each other, some of them seem to develop genuine friendships despite the harsh circumstances. Some of the children also said the peers on the street brought a feeling of safety.

With them I got a good base, where there are good friends, I didn't experience any problems with them so I used to sleep safe. (Boy C3)

You need a friend who you can sleep with him if you don't have friends some boys are dangerous they can come and beat you up or they can come, if they decide to want your money so they take your money. So if you are three or two groups that's when it becomes difficult for them to come in here were you are sleeping. So in the streets you need to view your friends. (Boy C1)

Oakley (2009: 29) writes, “Emotional support includes intimacy and attachments, reassurance, and being able to confide in and rely on another – all of which contribute to the feeling that one is loved or cared about, or even that one is a member of the group, not a stranger”. This is something we can interpret in the quotes above, where the children speak about feeling safe with each other, having someone that looks after them and cares for them. The emotional support explains this as a feeling of belonging with people that you share the same interest and concerns with (Langford et al., 1997; Burleson et al., 1994). This is also something that occurs in Weber's (2013) research, as he writes that children on the street can get a sense of coherence and feel protected. The group regularly has a strong influence on the individual children. Martinez (2010) talks about how peer influence can be an element that pulls the children back to the street from shelters.

According to Medcalf et al. (2013) the belonging and love need is the third step of Maslow's hierarchy of needs. If it's considered that the physiological and the safety needs are satisfied among some children on the street, it could be possible for these children to create good relationships to peers on the street. Although it appears in our material that the earlier and lower levels, the physiological and safety needs, are not sufficiently fulfilled since the safety and access to food varies from day to day, which in that way goes against Maslow's theory (ibid.). Among the street children it seems like the levels interact with each other and the street children move back and forth between the different levels in the

hierarchy, more than fulfilling the levels in order. One aspect to this could be that these relationships on the street don't qualify the third level since they seem to be more a necessity for survival, then intimate relationships as Maslow mention them as (Mathes, 1981).

6.1.5 Police

The fear of the police and being arrested on the street is another sub-theme we found that can be seen as a push factor away from the street. The children said they were very scared of the police and they tried to keep away from them on the streets, since they could be arrested.

I stayed for only one week and then I was arrested by the police. (Boy B2)

Besides from what the children said, our key informant at HOVIC also told us that it's very common that the police arrest street children for no particular reason, to "clean" the streets and accuse them for crimes they didn't commit. Our key informant also said the prisons were very rough for children and sometimes they were imprisoned with adult convicts. He or she also told us the police sometimes force the children to admit a crime they didn't do, only to justify their actions. One staff member told us the police's behavior and hard actions towards the street children can be used as a method to push the children away from the street. The staff member also said that making life on the street difficult for the children can make the amount of street children in Kisumu decrease.

I'm of the opinion that you make life as difficult as possible for children on the street so that they have to think long and hard if this is a good choice for them, and the police and the local government have varying efforts to help in that regard. Every once in a while there will be a big push, there is too many street children lets go arrest all the street children. (Staff 4)

Weber (2013) confirms that the police make life harder for the children on the street. The question is if this way of pushing away the children from the street is the most effective? Is it really human? If the police arrest the children in order to decrease the number of street children, it could be seen as a temporary solution since the children will be released from prison again with the same conditions and chances as they had when they got arrested. This could be questioned on the basis of the informational support in the social support theory, since it focuses more on giving information and guidance to support others when needed (Burlleson et al., 1994). It is about giving advice and factual inputs with the aim to help individuals make better decisions. In this case, for example guide the children to leave the street voluntarily and maybe offer an alternative to the street.

6.1.6 Drugs

The drugs, which in most cases in our research means the use of glue, was another subtheme that we found in the interviews with the children and the staff. According to our key informant, other drugs besides the glue did occur in the street as well, for example marijuana, although glue was the most common drug among the children.

When the children come to town, they get influenced in to the street culture that is drug use. The common drug that is used is glue, that they have in a bottle. (Staff 1)

The children never spoke about using drugs themselves, but it occurred frequently in the interviews with the staff members. When the children mentioned drugs it was linked to the older boys at the street and that they weren't friends with the older ones since they mostly were influenced by drugs and could force them to take drugs.

I don't have any relationships to them, because they are bad, because they are taking drugs so they can even make you start using those drugs so it was dangerous to make friends with them so me I was not friends with them. (Boy C1)

This is also something that Auerswald et al. (2012) confirms, since they write that peers on the street introduce the children to drugs and alcohol, which can become an addiction. The staff also said that when children come to the street, many start to sniff glue since it can kill the hunger, the cold and the fear. As the children use the drug, it eventually becomes an addiction.

They learn to sniff glue, glue becomes a way to deal with the hunger and the cold and the fear and pretty soon they add chemical addiction or you probably say an emotional addiction sense it's not an chemical addiction exactly ehm, then you add other addiction on top of the other problems that you have originally at home. (Staff 4)

Aptekar and Stoecklin (2014) also claim the drugs are used to feel less cold and to kill hunger. It is also used to self-medicate fear and depression, to forget the physical pain that many street children feel. The children also use it to feel they are a part of a group (Thomas de Benítez, 2011). They know that it's not good to sniff glue, but they do it anyway to be more accepted by the other children and because sniffing glue is a part of the subculture on the street. The drugs become a coping strategy for the children to survive and handle their difficult situation (ibid.).

Interpreted to the hierarchy of needs, the drugs can be seen as something the children use to feel as if they have less need of the physiological needs (Mathes, 1981). This doesn't mean they are in less need, but they don't feel as hungry and cold as they really are. The drugs can therefore be seen as something that fools them into believing they have fulfilled the lower levels, which can make them climb faster in the hierarchy. The drugs can also have the same effect to the safety need, since the drugs can trick them into thinking there are in less danger and threats on the street, but what it really does is making them feel less afraid, which gives a false sense of security.

The supply of glue and other drugs on the street can be seen as a pull factor to the street since most of the shelters and centers in Kisumu, for example HOVIC, do not allow drugs or alcohol at their organization. The children have to leave their glue bottles to a staff member at the gate at HOVIC. This can be very difficult for the children who are addicted and don't want to leave the glue. One staff member at HOVIC told us about one child they had tried to help for many years to become clean from drugs and return home. This was unfortunately something that never succeeded.

That kid over there with the glue bottle have been here many times, he even lived here at the shelter. But unfortunately he is too addicted to the glue, so even how much we try he always returns to the street to get the glue. (Staff 6)

6.2 Push and pull factors from and to the center

The second research question we used was; what could the push and pull factors be from and to the street for street children in Kisumu? To this research question we found there were specific factors that make street children want to receive help from centers, and we will present them in this chapter. There were positive factors at the centers that made the children want to come there, but also negative factors at the center that could be interpreted as something that push the children away from the centers. Under the overarching themes of push and pull factors we found different sub-themes.

6.2.1 Provision of basic needs

The first sub-theme that was found in the interviews with the boys and the staff, as a pull factor that made the children want to receive help at centers, was the possibility of getting their basic needs met. In our research material the children talked about getting food, hygiene, education and medical care from the centers. The staff at the centers also mentioned these things as what they provide to the children and as to why they thought the children visited them.

So when they are here we provide for them every day, from clothing, food, bathing and the rest. (Staff 5)

My best moment at HOVIC is when I first came here and found the children who are given food, they are also being given the opportunity of personal hygiene in terms of washing and bathing and also the opportunity of getting lunch. It is a better life for me. (Boy B3)

The children talked about basic needs mainly as physiological needs. This could be translated to Martinez' (2010) research which claims that the element of provision of basic needs is a key element for children's decision to stay in shelters. The basic needs are necessary for the children's survival. Many of the respondents describe the lack of basic needs being met on the street and to the decision to receive help at centers the basic needs seemed to be a crucial factor. If interpreted this way, all street children should want to receive help at the centers however this is not the case. The factors as to what push and pull the children to the centers are multifaceted as will be shown below.

The physiological needs are the first thing that needs to be met in Maslow's hierarchy of needs. These needs are also the strongest according to the theory. This is the key thing, interpreted to Maslow's theory, that the centers need to provide the children with (Metcalf et al., 2013). Since the basic needs, like we mentioned before, are hard for the children to have fulfilled on the street, the centers need to offer this. If the centers don't offer this to the children, according to Maslow's theory, the children wouldn't try to satisfy other needs. So if the centers offered services to fulfill other needs on the higher steps of the hierarchy, the children would continue to focus on fulfilling the first steps of basic need (Ivashchenko & Novikov, 2006).

According to Burlison et al. (1994) it is important that you are offered goods and services from others, which in the social support theory is referred to instrumental support. Children need material goods such as food, soap, water and comparable things, but also services like

the non- formal education and healthcare. Maslow's hierarchy of needs doesn't, like the social support theory, claim that the physiological goods and services have to come from others.

Maslow's theory also claims without the step of basic needs being met, none of the other steps in the hierarchy can be fulfilled (Medcalf et al., 2013). Social support theory however doesn't involve steps or different levels of development. Therefore we question if the support according to the theory only has the purpose of maintaining the situation and not to evolve or change it.

6.2.2 Conceptions and presumptions about the centers

One subtheme we found in the interviews with the children was the belief in the center's ability to help them fulfill their plans for the future, for example reunify them with their families, offer them an education, vocational training or other similar things. When the children talked about the what the centers offered, they mentioned the provision of basic needs but also help to be reunified with their families.

The ones in the center, they get somewhere to sleep, get something to eat and to be send back home so that they can live with their parents. So that they can help in their families. So what I have to say that HOVIC is helping so many people, because so many children are going home, so many children is still on the street but HOVIC is trying so hard to help them get back home. Some children have decided, they have decided to go back home, HOVIC can help them so they can do that and go to school. (Boy B3)

Education was another main theme that the children thought the centers could help them achieve in excess of taking them home. Nevertheless these two themes, going home and education, are closely interweaved. The centers offer non-formal education that prepares them for the formal education. However the formal education will not be accomplished if the children can't be reunified with their families or equivalent.

Here if I don't want to go back to the streets here I can go home and go to school. I can come here and Hovic can take me back home. That's why I came here. (Boy C1)

We mentioned before that earning money is a reason as to why street children stay on the street. The boy in the quote below is comparing his life situation with his former friends from before he left for the streets. He was earning money on the street but his former friends were continuing to higher classes in school. This made him angry because he couldn't get an education while he lived on the street despite him having money. The quote is one example of when the street children mention getting an education as a reason to receive help at centers.

I said that I'm wasting a lot of time. Did I have money yes, but the money that I get cannot take me to school. Or it won't take me anywhere because time wasted actually (unclear). I started thinking of my friends that I had, I thought about the level at they are now. And what made me come much angrier is that my friends that I was in form 1 with, are now in form 4. Yet I'm still wasting myself in the streets. I just said no. I came to shelter. (Boy A1)

If children have assumptions that they as individuals and their life will change for the better if they stay in the shelter, this will contribute to the decision to stay. It's both physical with the basic needs, but also psychological in changes of behavior and lifestyle, getting closer to fulfill their dreams and ambitions (Martinez, 2010). This is in coherence with our result. The basic needs are a pull factor to the centers, just like according to Martinez (2010) getting closer to their dreams and ambitions are, which in their case is education and going home to their families. However, Weber (2013) includes education into the category of basic needs, while the children in our result separates education from the physiological

needs such as food, shelter and similar. Education seems more like a goal of achievement and not a basic need linked to physiological need.

The result can also be translated to the instrumental support, since the centers are providing the children with services they need and are executing work and chores that benefits the street children (Burlison et al., 1994). The children imply that to achieve the reunification with their families and to get an education, they need help from the centers and therefore this is a pull factor to the centers. Social support emphasizes that having conceptions and actualities of having resources available, that can be provided by others, can increase your health and well-being (Hupcey, 1998).

When we asked the street children about their dreams and plans for the future, many had professions like pilot, lawyer etc. that they dreamed of becoming, besides the plans to go home and get an education.

In my future I want to be a lawyer, so you can defense children who been through bad things or abuse. If it's not that I want to be a judge. (Boy C1)

I want to be a pilot so that I can fly between countries (Boy C3)

One staff member talked about how the children need to feel like they have the possibility to achieve something in their life, besides feeling loved and important. He or she mentioned this as a main need for the children.

Everybody is pushing them away, the public- when they see these boy they beat them, say they are bad boys. Not knowing that these boys are coming to the streets because they have no other option. So they have their needs of feeling loved, feeling important and feeling that I can also achieve something. The psychology need (Staff 1).

Ray et al. (2011) talk about how the organizations should help the children increase the variety of choices the children feel are a possibility to them. Like the quote implies the children need to feel like they can achieve something, for example to become the professions they want. Since some of the street children in our research have an ambition to go home, this should be something the centers help the children achieve. If the children believe this is a possibility for them it will pull the children to the centers. The centers in our research all work towards reuniting the street children with their families. Reuniting the children with their families have, in addition, a better success rate than keeping the children in long term shelters (ibid.).

Maslow's hierarchy of needs, according to Medcalf et al. (2013) says that when the two levels of physiological need and safety need are satisfied, the need of belonging and love come to focus. This step includes a need of having an intimate relationship with another person, friends or belongingness to a group (Mahtes, 1981). The result above could be interpreted as the children aiming towards the step of belonging and love with them aiming towards them being reunified with their families. The children's aim towards getting education could according to some of the staff members' responds and Weber (2013) be interpreted to the first step of Maslow's hierarchy of needs. However, like mentioned before the children talked more in terms of education being a goal to achieve. Therefore it could be interpreted to the aim of the esteem need which includes need of achievement (Medcalf et al., 2013).

The result shows that the positive conceptions about the centers' ability to help them pulls the children towards them, and that many of the children have this belief in the centers. However one child responded that one center had threatened him and forced him to stay home whatever the situation.

Actually (one of the centers), I didn't like it so much, because I stayed there for a week and they took me back home but what I, expected to get, actually they didn't make it because when they went back home, it was like they were

forcing me to stay home whatever the situation, and they even told me that if you don't stay here, when we find you in the street we will take you to the children's remand home. Actually I didn't like the way they talked to me or the way they addressed me. And for that reason I was not happy with that center. (Boy A1)

This could be interpreted as a push factor according to Martinez (2010). If the children have plans for the future that bring them to the shelter, and if they feel an uncertainty about the shelter's capability of helping them fulfill these plans, it could influence their decision to leave the centers (ibid.).

Even though many of the children had positive conceptions about the centers, some of the children talked about having negative presumptions about the centers. One of the children had the presumption that the center was a prison and was afraid to go there, nevertheless it didn't constrain him to come in the end. The other one was scared because he had the presumption that the donors visiting were going to take him with them.

So the first time I came, I was afraid because I thought it was a prison. So the first time I didn't know, so I went with them. The second day, I just: let me try, if it is a prison I will learn how to escape. (Boy B3)

The donors came today and I thought I was going to be taken by them. (Boy B1)

Both of this quotes show how important it is to give the children informational support otherwise this will be a push factor for the children away from the centers. According to Burluson et al. (1994) informational support involves giving information and guidance to support another individual when needed. To help another person with a problem it's important to give informational support by providing information (Oakley, 1992).

One of the respondents had a presumption that the staff wouldn't accept him when he returned from a failed attempt to reunite him with his family. This is an example of when children have presumptions that push them away from the centers.

So I came here and I was taken back home and I stayed for one month and again I came back. So I was afraid they wouldn't accept me here at HOVIC. So I went back to the streets (Boy B2)

6.2.4 Relationships

When we looked at the way the children talked about relationships at the centers we found themes similar to the ones on the street. While talking about their relationships with the staff at the centers they spoke in both positive and negative terms. However when asked about their relationships with the other children at the centers they only described them in positive terms.

In the center there are so many friends so you can even say, that we share. Even if it's lunchtime you see your friends and they are so good (Boy B3)

When we are here we share everything together so it takes that bounds us (Boy C3)

We are as sisters and brothers when we are at HOVIC (Girl B2)

According to Berg and Piner (1996), the social support theory talks about how social relationships can increase a person's health and well-being. Langford et al. (1997) also state the importance of feeling like you belong to a group, that you share the same interests and concerns with someone. If translated to our result, the children can feel like they are part of a group at the centers, a group like the quotes imply when they share 'everything' with each other. According to Martinez (2010), street children look for love and affection and if this

can be found at the centers, that contributes to the decision to receive help. Therefore it can be interpreted to be a pull factor to the centers.

The result could also be interpreted as the third level of Maslow's hierarchy of needs which is friends, belonging and love (Mahtes, 1981). According to Medcalf et al. (2013), both the physiological need and safety needs have to be fulfilled first, which the children could have been provided with at the centers. The children talked about their relationships on the street being linked to the others taking advantage of them. The relationships at the centers were never talked about in those terms in their responses, however they don't need the friends to be provided with the basic needs or safety. It is important that the children have friends and feel like they belong, otherwise they will not, according to Maslow's theory, have the desire to fulfill the next step which is learning and trying to reach their potential for achievement (ibid.).

Many of the children also talked in positive terms when they talked about the staff at the centers. They said the staff cared for them and treated them well.

The relationship is good because they take care of us. Treat us like we are their own children (Boy B1)

They treat us equally (Girl B2)

Okay, I can say, HOVIC people they love you, take care of you (Girl A1)

According to Martinez (2010), if staff members show aspects of care and the children see signs of affection from the staff, this is a pull factor that makes them stay at centers. Being given emotional support and nurturance is also an important pull factor to make the children want to receive help. In our research material we can interpret that the children felt like they receive this at HOVIC. It can be translated to Langford et al. (1997), Berg and Piner (1996) and Oakley's (1992) categories of social support, especially the emotional

support that includes feeling loved and cared about. Emotional support also involves having someone that shows concern and shows empathy, sympathy and gives you respect. The feeling of being able to rely and confide in other persons is also important (Langford et al., 1997; Burlison et al., 1994). The staff at HOVIC and the other organizations said they were trying to provide the children with these things. Some of the staff members also mentioned the provision of love as a main need for the children, beyond the basic needs.

So the main need is food, education, going back to school. Another main need is clothing, shelter. Another very main need is to feel love, is to be embraced. (Staff 1)

The main needs? I think it is love. (Staff 5)

According to Martinez (2010) another thing that makes the street children stay in the centers is the presence of love and affection. The children, as we demonstrated above, experience that the staff have affection for them. However, some of the children, when we asked about their relationship with the staff at the centers, talked about negative experiences. It could be when the staff didn't treat them equally or if they punished them.

When I do something wrong maybe the teachers and the staff calls me and I get punished and when I get outside, the other boys laugh at me and that one makes me angry. That act will make me fight with other boys (Boy C3)

When the visitors maybe donated something and maybe it's small, they provide it to others. When they have a small donation at the center, when it's been donated to children, when it's been distributed maybe those who don't get feels bad (Boy C2)

This could be interpreted to negative support according to social support theory. The staff members the children talk about in the quotes could be trying to give the children social

support but the children received it negatively (Oakley, 1992). If the relationships aren't friendly, this also discouraged the children from staying in the shelters. Conflicts inside shelters or rivalry are mentioned as elements for not pursuing their stay in the shelters (Martinez, 2010). This shows the importance of receiving emotional support like empathy, sympathy, concern, love and trust from others, which is a significant part of social support (Langford et al., 1997; Burleson et al., 1994).

6.2.5 Shelter and courses for girls

We found two of the sub-themes that only applied to girls to the question of what pulls them toward the centers. The first theme was the provision of different courses and the other one was to have a dormitory, a shelter, only for girls at the center. The course HOVIC offered at the time was a tailoring course and the girls said that was the reason to why they are there.

I used to be at home not doing anything but when I find out about HOVIC I changed, now I can do the tailoring (Girl C1)

I came to learn the tailoring (Girl B1)

Many of the girls and other respondents mentioned that if the centers provide more courses, like different types of vocational training similar to the tailoring course, it would make more girls come to the centers.

Okay, when they introduce so many courses here, I think that can be able to persuade ladies to come (Girl A1)

They can only come to this center when they have courses like tailoring, cooking and businesses those kinds of courses. That one can attract them. (Boy C2)

That the centers offer courses could be translated to the instrumental support since the centers provide the girls with services they need and execute work and chores that benefits others (Burlleson et al., 1994). Offering the courses they want could be interpreted as something that could make girls want to receive help from centers. Martinez (2010) shows that those who get help from centers, have better opportunities. Like mentioned before, it can be a pull factor to the centers if the children assume that their stay in the shelters will change their life for the better, for example the courses might lead to a job. Ray et al. (2011) mean that vocational training is an important component in giving street children an alternative to work on the street, giving them another option for the future.

This sub-theme could be interpreted to postmodern feminist theory and the gender theory. According to Payne (2008), the society has discourses that create social assumptions on how women are and how they should be treated according to postmodern feminism. The gender concept describes how society constructs and divides characteristics, chores and appearance to the separated sexes (Hirdman, 1988). The vocational training, like the courses in tailoring and cooking that is suggested and offered to the girls, could therefore be interpreted as typically female chores.

In the current situation, HOVIC only has a shelter for boys while Agape and KUAP have shelters for girls that is separated from the boys' shelter. In our research material, many of the respondents thought a shelter for girls would be good. They thought it would appeal girls to HOVIC.

If you compare the center at Agape, Agape has a girls' center so they prefer going there (Boy C3)

Actually, because, since there are rules and regulations that are set here, the girls can also stay here it can be good. It would be good because it would help them actually. (Boy A1)

It would be better so that those ladies from the street they at least come for shelter, get food (Girl B1)

If the girls would be offered shelters, it could be seen as a pull factor to the centers (Martinez, 2010). According to the hierarchy of needs, the physiological need, which includes shelter, is the first step of the stair. This means that this has to be met before the girls can have their safety, love, self-esteem and self-actualization needs met (Medcalf et al., 2013). If the girls get a shelter, according to Maslow's theory, this could be interpreted to them getting not only the first step fulfilled but also the next step of safety needs. However even if the girls get a shelter at HOVIC, it doesn't mean that they would feel safe there, like one girl indicates.

If they could bring that shelter for ladies, it will be much harmful to them, you find boys sneaking into the girls' shelter, so I think it's not safe. It can cause so many problems like rape. (Girl A1)

6.3 Why are there fewer girls than boys on the streets of Kisumu?

In this chapter, we are going to answer our third and final research question. In our collected data we found four themes as to why girls aren't visible on the street; they stay at home or with relatives, they get "picked up" by someone, the street life is too hard for the girls or they get married. This is also called the hidden sector (HOVIC, 2015). To begin with, we are going to present the street children's and the staff members' conception of that there aren't many girls on the streets.

In the context of Kisumu, there are actually more boys than girls in the streets. We have, in Kisumu it's easy to see a boy in the streets but it's really hard to see a girl (Staff 1)

This staff member means that there are fewer girls than boys on the streets of Kisumu. He or she doesn't say that there are no girls at all on the street, and it might mean that he or

she has seen a street girl. The statement only specifies on the context of Kisumu. If we had asked about another area or town, the answer might have been different.

Actually... here in Kisumu I have not seen street girls (Boy A1)

This boy also focuses on the streets of Kisumu, but in comparison to the staff member he hasn't seen a single street girl. Our literature review states that there are mostly boys in the streets (Aptekar & Ciano-Federoff, 1999). Railway children (2012) found in their study conducted in Mwanza, Tanzania that the majority of the street children were male. Thus the studies could be in coherence with the staff's quote but not with the boy's quote. It is possible the staff member and the boy have different views of the street. This could be a result of the boy living on the street in his specific base and area, while the staff member through working experience has seen larger parts of the streets and therefore maybe girls. Since there are different apprehensions about girls being on the street, we cannot say if there are any girls at the street or not. However our result shows that there aren't girls on the street to the same extent as boys.

6.3.1 They stay at home or with relatives

One theme we found in this research question was that girls stay at home or with relatives. This was confirmed by quotes from both street children and staff members.

I used to stay with my uncle at his home. (Girl C1)

When somebody dies, when a parent dies, people tend to say they can take care of the girl (Staff 5)

The quotes above state that it's more common for girls than boys to stay at home or with relatives. But the second quote states that it's up to the relative to decide which child to take care of, and that it often will be the girl. Aptekar and Ciano-Federoff (1999) mean that it's culturally not as common for girls to leave their homes in comparison to boys. In

addition, our key informant at HOVIC told us that families and relatives often take care of the female siblings, because they think boys are stronger and can take care of themselves. If applied to the gender concept, these quotes reinforce the idea of men and women having different roles and characteristics (Hirdman, 1988). The quotes reflect the idea of men being strong, capable of taking care of themselves while women are weaker and have to be taken care of. The risks of having these specific ideas on behavior and treatment of the sexes, are the pressure on fulfilling these expectations, a difficulty in doing the opposite, and no freedom to be who you are. This could be interpreted as, due to the views reflected in the quotes and in Aptekar and Ciano-Federoff's study (1999), that boys feel obligated to leave the home if needed, or feel not as welcome at home as the girl. It could also result in girls not feeling as free to leave the home if they wanted to. That could be one reason to why there are fewer girls than boys on the streets.

6.3.2 They get married

In the collected data we found the common answer that girls often get married as an answer to why they aren't on the street. In an interview with a group of boys, they asked us if we were married and thought it was strange that we weren't, at the approximate age of 20. When we asked the boys why they weren't married, they explained that they needed to finish school first.

Even if girls are orphans and not finished school they find a man to marry but a boy no one will marry you if you are not going to school because you are the one who provide your family and your children. So girls most of them if you say it's difficult to go to school you can leave you have the right to go and look for a man to marry you, and start a life with, as husband and wife. (Boy C1)

The boy reinforces the idea that men have to have an education to get married. He also describes a picture of the expected male identity – to provide for his family and children. He continues in saying that girls don't need an education to find a man to marry.

When it is a girl, people are willing to take in the girl because at the end of the day the girl will get married, they also know she is not going to inherit anything from her people. If anything they will be given bride price when she gets married. (Staff 5)

The staff member means that there are fewer girls on the streets because relatives prefer to take care of the girl since culturally girls don't inherit anything, which boys do.

Silberschmidt (1999) states that Kenyan gender identities are formed by the culturally valued concept of marriage, where a married woman has reached her full female status and social value. In the quotes above, becoming a wife is considered to be natural for girls despite having an education or not. However, by interpreting these quotes and Silberschmidt's (1999) finding, it could mean that men also reach their full male status when married and providing for their family, but after being educated.

6.3.3 They get “picked up” by someone

In our interviews, both street boys and members of the staff described how the street girls get “picked up” by someone, usually becoming a domestic or commercial sex worker. The girls often don't even spend one night on the streets before someone picks them up according to our key informant at HOVIC. The interviewed girls also stated that they never lived on the street. Instead, they live in what we call the hidden sector.

They took them, some took the girls to be their maids in their homes and then is doing some work like cleaning clothes (Staff 2)

This staff member means that girls can be taken by someone and become domestic workers in their employer's home. Railway children (2012) confirm that girls often will be picked up by someone and live with their employer. The postmodern feminist theory, along with the gender concept which means a specific sex has specific roles, claims that women are attributed specific roles because of their sex (Payne, 2008). According to the quote, girls clean, become maids or house-helpers.

Say that the first time I came here I, I went to the street and this (unclear) took me, or this man took me (Staff 3)

*Actually when I came to Kisumu I was picked up directly by the woman. /.../
I did not spend any night on the streets. (Girl A1)*

The quotes above state that girls can be picked up immediately when arriving to the streets. The staff member talks about men picking up girls, while the girl explains how a woman picked her up. Therefore it seems as if people of both sexes can pick up street girls in Kisumu.

For one thing a girl won't stay on the street like you see visible boys on the streets right now, you won't see them walking around with a sack on their shoulder because one of three things will happen, two of which are bad. One is someone will take that girl and put her into prostitution okay, these mamas at the hotel that employing the boys to sweep the hotels in the night they are employing the girls in prostitution it's a known fact in town and the police do nothing about it okay. Number two can happen to a girl taking of the street and forced to become house-helps almost slavery working in someone's home okay. And then the third that can happen it's the best thing is that they are taken to the police okay by a good Samaritan. (Staff 4)

This staff member also means that it's uncommon to see girls in the streets. The two negative reasons for this is, according to him or her, that they become commercial sex workers or domestic workers. Another reason to why girls aren't visible on the street is that someone will take them to the police who brings them to the centers. The postmodern feminist theory claims that women are oppressed and exploited by men and have a lower position than men (Ljung, 2007). In the quotes above, this can be interpreted as the men's believe in their right to exploit the girls, as well as the girl's lower position in relation to men. In contrast to this theory, the quote above from the girl can be interpreted as that

women also can exploit street girls. Due to this, the interpretation could be that the exploitation is not always depending on the sex of the exploiter, and that both sexes could take on that role. Still, these results contribute to why there are fewer girls than boys on the streets.

In Florence's (2005) study we found gender descriptions of the Kenyan society. The article states that women are in subordination of men and are a symbol of reproduction, which can be linked to the perspective of postmodern feminism and gender. Our material states that girls often are forced into prostitution. This can be interpreted as girls' subordination in relation to boys since boys never were mentioned as victims in these cases.

6.3.4 The street life is too hard for the girls

This final theme reflects the common idea that the street life is too hard for the girls and that's why there are fewer girls than boys on the streets. The street life is in general tough on any adult or child. But both street boys and staff members expressed girls' difficulties in surviving on the street as successfully as the boys. They also said the girls are more vulnerable and weak.

No, girls cannot live on the street like strong boys, it's too hard, they are lazy. (Boy C2)

This boy says girls can't live on the street and that the street life is too hard. He refers to boys as strong and girls as lazy. In comparison to boys, girls are weaker.

Because they are very vulnerable of sessions like rape, because they can't work like the boys, can't carry loads, not look for plastics. (Staff 1)

This staff member suggests that girls can't work like boys can on the street and in that case their physiological needs, as in Maslow's hierarchy of needs (Mecalf et. al., 2013), wouldn't be met, since salary leads to them being able to buy food. He or she also mentions

that girls are vulnerable of rape. The postmodern feminist theory and gender theory can also be discussed within the theme of this research question. The theories' belief that women stand in subordination of men is visible in some of the answers we received. Florence's (2005) article about how men in Kenya are in a dominant position over women is applicable here as well, as the staff member says girls are vulnerable of rape. The gender concept is mirrored in the quotes with specific thoughts on what boys can do and what girls can't do. According to our respondents, boys are strong and capable of living in the streets while girls are lazy and can't work like the boys. This theme reflects the respondents' conceptions that there are fewer girls than boys on the streets because the street life is too hard for the girls.

7 Discussion and Conclusions

The aim of the study was to explore the conceptions of positive and negative factors on the streets. We also wanted to investigate the conceptions of what kind of care the centers provide for street children, why the children receive help from them and what negative factors there are at the centers. In addition, we wanted to have a gender perspective and try to see why there are fewer girls than boys on the streets of Kisumu.

In the following chapter we are going to answer our research questions, discuss and give our own thoughts to the results we found. We had three research questions; what could be the push and pull factors from and to the street for street children in Kisumu? What could be the push and pull factors from and to the centers for street children in Kisumu? And why are there fewer girls than boys on the streets in Kisumu?

Our interpretations of the children's and the staff members' conceptions are that there are both positive and negative factors on the street. We found that the factors interact with each other and can both push and pull the children. The push factors away from the street are unfulfilled basic needs, bad relationships to other children on the street and the older boys, and the police. The pull factors to the street are good relationships to peers on the street, the opportunity of earning money, the feeling of freedom the street can bring and the drugs. Our interpretations of the children's and the staff members' conceptions are that the centers provide the street children with different kinds of care that makes them receive help. We also found that there are specific negative factors that push the street children from the centers; these are negative presumptions and bad relationships. The pull factors to the centers are provision of basic needs, good conceptions about the center, and good relationships. For the girls it also included specific courses and a shelter for girls. The results of the last research question indicates that there are fewer girls than boys on the streets and that this depends on four reasons; the girls stay at home or with relatives, they get married, they get "picked up" by someone and the street life is too hard for girls.

Our findings show the children had a hard time getting their basic needs met because of the harsh environment on the street. When we heard the children and staff talk about the lack of basic needs, we interpreted that the street children's lives are almost solely about surviving the day. There's no room for play on the street and we apprehended that the children were forced to become adults at a very early age since they have to worry about money and food all the time. The centers and shelters can in that way be a place for the children where they don't have to worry about these problems. The time we spent at HOVIC made us realize that centers and shelters in many cases can be a place where they can play, go to school, get food and just be a child.

Ray et al. (2011) write that poverty can conduce to children coming to the street. We think that the opportunity of earning money can be very tempting to them and coming to a shelter can therefore be difficult since they miss out on the opportunity of earning money, something that can be very important for children that normally don't get their needs met. The money also gives a feeling of freedom and they can buy things they have never been able to buy earlier.

We noticed that drugs were common among street children in Kisumu, and Aptekar and Stoecklin (2014) say that the drugs often create an addiction. All three of us have a zero tolerance policy when it comes to drugs, and especially when it comes to children using drugs. During our stay in Kenya and at HOVIC, our picture was changed in a way. We understood that the glue was working as a lifeguard for the children on the street. A way for them to escape the hard emotions and memories, to be braver and to eliminate hunger and cold. Simply a way for the children to survive on the street. Taking the drugs away from the children might have worsened their already miserable situation.

Our research material shows that relationships, good or bad, is an important factor both on the streets and in the centers. According to the social support theory, good relationships could also be a factor that could increase their health and well-being (Berg & Piner, 1996).

This could be interpreted to our research to show how important it is for the children to have good relationships, regardless of the relationship being on the street or in the centers.

We have a reflection about the friends on the streets sometimes becoming like a family to the child. That means if they leave the street, they more or less leave their family who also offers protection, which contributes to the decision of staying on the streets. At the same time relationships on the street also make their life harder, with the older boys abusing them and friends only being friends if it benefits them. This must create ambivalence within the children of how they feel about those relationships. It might also make their decision of leaving or staying on the street more difficult.

We think the centers have to work on establishing good relationships with the children, and work towards creating good relationships between the children at the centers to make them receive help. This could however be difficult, because we believe they need clear structures and rules as well, which can be difficult for the children to accept when they come from the unstructured streets, and this could influence the relationships. We also believe the children can have a hard time creating relationships and confiding in adults since they in most cases had bad experiences with significant adults in their life.

Our result shows that the children's conception about HOVIC and how it could change their life for the better was a pull factor. It included the belief in the center's ability to reunite them with their families and get an education. However a push factor was that some children had negative presumptions about the centers. This is also in complies with Martinez' (2010) research. This could also be translated into instrumental support and it shows the importance of informational support (Burlison et al., 1994). HOVIC and the other organizations work towards reuniting the children with their families, and we thought it was interesting that this was a wish from some of the children as well. Even though the reason they leave home often is because the family is dysfunctional, they wish it could be different so they could return.

We believe the centers have to consider the negative presumptions some children had and try to see where they come from in order to change them. For example, all the organizations we visited had tall fences around their buildings, even if the children always were free to come and go. We think this could be a reason the children believed that the centers were like a prison.

Since girls aren't visible on the street, it is important to offer things that appeal the girls to the centers. This includes the girls who haven't left their home but live under harsh circumstances. We believe there should be the same opportunities for both boys and girls, which includes a shelter for girls. This is also in coherence to what our research shows. After the vocational training, they have to go home to their families regardless of how they treat them. At the same time, institutional care like the shelters, have been criticized throughout time for having adverse effects. Foster homes are something we believe could be a complement to the shelters. It doesn't mean the organizations shouldn't work towards reuniting the children with their families. Maybe foster homes could just be an alternative in the process. We also believe that the non-formal education the boys are offered should be available to the girls as well, giving them several options for the future.

The three of us question if the girls' physiological, safety, love, self-esteem and self-actualization needs, as in Maslow's hierarchy of needs (Medcalf et al., 2013), are met in their alternative living situations to the streets. If they live with a relative, with a husband or with their employer we can imagine, or hope, that at least the physiological need is fulfilled. If forced into prostitution or experiencing sexual violence, which unfortunately is common, the safety need is not met. Therefore, we fear that the love, self-esteem and self-actualization needs among the girls often are unfulfilled. As mentioned in the section *the street life is too hard for the girls*, we interpreted that the girls' physiological need wouldn't be met if they lived on the street. But with the discussion above in mind, we wonder if the alternative living situations or the streets is best for girls and where their needs would be met to the fullest. Unfortunately, according to our results, the girls' don't seem to have a choice when it comes to their living situation.

When our respondents speak about girls and why there are fewer girls than boys on the streets, they tend to speak about girls as a homogeneous group and category. According to the quotes, girls as a category are vulnerable of rape, not strong, get picked up to work as commercial sex or domestic workers, get married or stay at home or with relatives. An individual perspective on girls is not visible in the answers we received. We can imagine that these conceptions are not applicable on every girl in the context of Kisumu. In addition, it would be interesting to hear the conceptions about the girls' individual and emotional experiences.

Besides the gender differences found in our literature review we also noticed them on an individual level, especially among the children at HOVIC. The boys played outside together, were loud and used every chance they got to interact with us and other visitors. The girls on the other hand stayed in their classroom during recess and were very shy during the interview situation. We wondered why and after some reflection we suspect that this is another form of expectations on the sexes.

Even though there are fewer girls than boys visible on the streets, there are obviously girls in the hidden sector. Through a discussion among the three of us we concluded that it's difficult for the centers to reach the girls in the hidden sector, although very important. We imagine that entire programs at the centers, dedicated to girls and to finding them, may be helpful. On a structural level, we believe the government should develop support systems to help children and families before the children are forced to leave their home, which also may provide a better life situation for children and families in Kenya.

We are aware that our results don't represent every possible answer to our research questions. There could be other push and pull factors to and from the street and to and from the centers, and there could be other reasons as to why there are fewer girls on the streets of Kisumu. The push and pull factors affect each other and they can have different effects on the individual child. Individual children can also experience the factors to varying degrees.

Therefore, this could be an answer as to why some children choose to live on street and some choose to receive help at centers.

7.1 Suggestions for further research

To find out whether the answers we have gained in this study are unique to the street children in Kisumu, we would find it interesting to make comparative studies in other cities in Kenya, perhaps the cities that have other socio-economic conditions than Kisumu.

Another suggestion is to investigate how successful the organization's efforts to reunify children with their families are. For example, HOVIC works to reunify children with their families, and it would be interesting to see how many street children can actually live at home again having their needs met, such as food, clothes, education and love from parents. It would also have been interesting to do more extensive and in-depth interviews to gain a deeper picture of the whole problematics of street children. Another idea could be to involve the Kenyan government's aspects to street children more into a study. This to try to investigate how organizations and authorities can help the street children and how they can reach the girls in the hidden sector and offer them help.

8 References

Agape (2015) <http://agapechildren.org/> (2015-04-01)

Aptekar, L. & Ciano-Federoff, L.M. (1999), "Street children in Nairobi: gender differences in mental health", *New directions for child and adolescent development*, vol. 1999, no. 85, pp. 35-46.

Aptekar, L. & Stoecklin, D. (2014) *Street Children and Homeless Youth. A Cross-Cultural Perspective*. New York: Springer.

Auerswald, C., Kwena, Z., Ochieng, J. & Bukusi, E. (2012) "LIFE CYCLE OF STREET CHILDREN IN KISUMU, KENYA", *JOURNAL OF ADOLESCENT HEALTH*, vol. 50, no. 2, pp. S5-S5.

Ayuku D.O, Kaplan, C., Baars, H. & de Vries, M. (2004) "Characteristics and personal social networks of the on-the-street, of-the-street, shelter and school children in Eldoret, Kenya", *International Social Work*, vol. 47, no. 3, pp. 293-311.

Benson, S.G. & Dundis, S.P. (2003), "Understanding and motivating health care employees: integrating Maslow's hierarchy of needs, training and technology", *Journal of nursing management*, vol. 11, no. 5, pp. 315-320.

Berg & Piner (1990) "Social Relationships and the Lack of Social Relationships": I Duck, S. & Silver, R.C. (red.) *Personal relationships and social support*, Sage, London.

Bryman, A. (2011). *Samhällsvetenskapliga metoder*. Malmö: Liber.

Burleson, B.R., Albrecht, T.L. & Sarason, I.G. (1994), *Communication of social support: messages, interactions, relationships, and community*, Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, Calif; London.

Connell, R. (2009). *Om genus*. Göteborg: Daidalos.

Ellis, A., Cutura, J., Dione, N., Gillson, I., Manuel, C. & Thongori, J. (2007), *Gender and Economic Growth in Kenya: Unleashing the Power of Women*. Directions in Development: Private Sector Development, World Bank Group.

Florence, N. (2013), "Bukusu (Kenya) Folktales", *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, vol. 15, no. 3, pp. 370-390.

Gaipa (1990) "The Negative Effects of Informal Support Systems": in Duck, S. & Silver, R.C. (red.) *Personal relationships and social support*, Sage, London.

Globalis (2013) <http://www.globalis.se/Laender/Kenya> (2015-04-22)

Glover, D. & Kaplan, C. (2009) *Genders*. London: Routledge.

Harris, J. & White, V. (2013). *A dictionary of social work and social care*. (Electronic) Oxford University Press, Oxford.
<http://www.oxfordreference.com.ezproxy.ub.gu.se/view/10.1093/acref/9780199543052.001.0001/acref-9780199543052>

Hirdman, Y. (1988), "Genussystemet - reflexioner kring kvinnors sociala underordning", *Kvinnovetenskaplig tidskrift*, no. 3, pp. 49.

HOVIC (2015) <http://www.hovic.org/> (2015-04-01)

Ivashchenko, A.A. & Novikov, D.A. (2006), "Model of the hierarchy of needs", *Automation and Remote Control*, vol. 67, no. 9, pp. 1512-1517.

Kaime Atterhög, W. (2012) *From Children of the Garbage Bins to Citizens. A reflexive ethnographic study on the care of "street children"*. Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis.

KUAP (2015) <http://pandipieri.org/> (2015-04-07)

Kvale, S. & Brinkmann, S. (2014). *Den kvalitativa forskningsintervjun*. Lund: Studentlitteratur.

Langford, C.P.H., Bowsher, J., Maloney, J.P. & Lillis, P.P. (1997). "Social support: A conceptual analysis", *Journal of advanced nursing*, vol. 25, no. 1, pp. 95-100.

Ljung, M. (2007). "Feministisk teori". I: Månson, Per (red.). *Moderna samhällsteorier: traditioner, riktningar, teoretiker*. Stockholm: Norstedts akademiska förlag.

Martinez, C.L. (2010), "Living in (or leaving) the streets: Why street youth choose the streets despite opportunities in shelters", *Asia-Pacific Social Science Review*, vol. 10, no. 1, pp. 39-58.

Mathes, E.W. (1981), "Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs as a Guide for Living", *Journal of Humanistic Psychology*, vol. 21, no. 4, pp. 69-72.

Medcalf, N.A., Hoffman, T.J. & Boatwright, C. (2013), "Children's dreams viewed through the prism of Maslow's hierarchy of needs", *Early Child Development and Care*, vol. 183, no. 9, pp. 1324-1338.

Nationalencyklopedin, Kisumu (2015)

<http://www.ne.se/uppslagsverk/encyklopedi/lång/kisumu> (2015-04-22)

Nationalencyklopedin, Kenya (2015)

<http://www.ne.se/uppslagsverk/encyklopedi/lång/kenya> (2015-04-22)

Oakley, A. (1992) *Social support and motherhood: the natural history of a research project*, Blackwell, Oxford.

Payne, M. (2008). *Modern teoribildning i socialt arbete*. Stockholm: Natur & Kultur

Railway children (2012). *Children and young people living on the streets in Mwanza, Tanzania*.

http://www.streetchildrenresources.org/wp-content/uploads/gravity_forms/1-07fc61ac163e50acc82d83eee9ebb5c2/2013/06/Head-Count-Report-FINAL.pdf

Rasmusson, B. (1999) *"Låt oss vara med -barn om barndom i en modern förort"*. Stockholm: Kommentus förlag.

Ray, P., Davey, C. & Nolan, P. (2011) *Still on the street –still short of rights. Analysis of policy and programmes related to street involved children*. Geneva: Plan and Consortium for Street Children.

Silberschmidt, M. (1999). *"Women forget that men are the masters": gender antagonism and socio-economic change in Kisii District, Kenya*. Uppsala: Nordic Africa Institute.

Svensson, J. (2010), "Divisions, diversity and educational directives: IRE teachers' didactic choices in Kisumu, Kenya", *British Journal of Religious Education*, vol. 32, no. 3, pp. 245-258.

Thomas de Benítez, S. (2011) *State of the World's Street Children: Research*. Great Britain: Consortium for Street Children.

Unicef (2001) http://www.unicef.org/evaldatabase/files/ZIM_01-805.pdf (2015-04-13)

Unicef (2010) http://www.unicef.org/esaro/VAC_in_Kenya.pdf (2015-04-13)

Unicef (2015)

<https://unicef.se/barnkonventionen?gclid=CMbikY7ur8UCFSOzcgod154A0w> (2015-04-07)

Utrikespolitiska institutet (2013)

<http://www.landguiden.se/Lander/Afrika/Kenya> (2015-04-10)

Weber, A. (2013) *Challenges Affecting Street Children in Post-Conflict Northern Uganda: Case of Gulu Municipality*. Independent Study Project (ISP) Collection. Paper 1685.

Zeh, C.E., Inzaule, S.C., Magero, V.O., Thomas, T.K., Laserson, K.F., Hart, C.E., Nkengasong, J.N., KEMRI CDC HIV Res Lab, KEMRI/CDC HIV Research Laboratory & the KEMRI/CDC HIV Research Laboratory (2010), "Field experience in implementing ISO 15189 in Kisumu, Kenya", *American Journal of Clinical Pathology*, vol. 134, no. 3, pp. 410-418.

9 Appendix

Interview guides

Interview guide - children

- Personal presentation and presentation about the study.
- Presentation about the interview, time and recording.
- Ethical aspects - anonymity, erasing of the recording

1. Age? Gender?

- How old are you?

2. Life before the streets

- How did your life look before you came to the streets?
- Why did you come to the streets?

3. Street experience

- Describe your life on the street.
- How do you provide for your basic needs, such as food, shelter, hygiene, education?
- Are there any differences between boys and girls on the street?
- How are your relationships with your peers on the street?
- How are your relationships with adults on the street?

4. What they think about centers

- Do you know what a center is?
- Have you ever visited a center?
- If you have, what did you think about it? / If not, why haven't you?
- Have you ever visited HOVIC?

- What do you think about it? (What is good? What is bad? Is there anything you would like to change or improve?)
- Why do you think more boys come to HOVIC than girls? (if never visited HOVIC - do you think there are as many girls as boys visiting centers? Why/Why not?)
- Do you think there is anything HOVIC/other centers could change or improve to get more girls to visit?

5. Relationships

- How are your relationships with your peers at the centers?
- How are your relationships with adults at the centers?
- Do you have any role model that you look up to?

6. Future plans/dreams

- What are your dreams and plans for the future?

Interview guide – adults

- Personal presentation and presentation about the study.
- Presentation about the interview, time and recording
- Ethical aspects - anonymity, erasing of the recording

1. General

- Who are you?
- What role do you have at this organization?

2. Children on the streets

- Why do you think street children are a common feature in Kenya/ Kisumu?
- What do you think are the reasons for why the children live on the street?
- Are there less boys than girls on the streets? (If you think so, what is the reason for that?)

3. Centers

- What do you think is the biggest need in general for street children?
- Do you know how the government in Kenya works to prevent the occurrence of children living and working on the streets?
- How do centers work to help the children on the streets?
- Is there anything that could be improved or changed?
- How does this center work to support children to live with their families?
- Why do you think more boys than girls visit centers?
- Why do you think the street girls don't visit centers?
- Do you think there are any specific factors that make street girls want to visit centers?

Consent forms



UNIVERSITY OF GOTHENBURG
DEPT OF SOCIAL WORK

To be used when the children are under 18 years old:

Consent form

Introduction

This consent form allows interview material to be used in a research study at Gothenburg University, assuming the children agrees. The purpose of the study is to explore the conceptions of positive and negative factors on the streets. We also want to investigate the conceptions of what kind of care the centers provide for street children, why the children receive help from them and what negative factors there are at the centers. In addition, we wanted to have a gender perspective and try to see why there are fewer girls than boys on the streets of Kisumu.

Procedures

The children have been chosen to participate in this study since they have experience of living and/or working on the street and/or perhaps have experience of centers. If the organization and the children agree to participate in this interview, we will ask the children questions regarding herself/himself, her/his street experience and her/his center experience. This interview is voluntary and the organization or any of the children can regret or discontinue the child's participation whenever the organization or them want. The children can skip any of the questions if they don't want to answer, and there are no right or wrong answers. The time of the interview will be about one hour or less. If the time limit exceeds and you and the children agree to proceed, the interview will continue.

Confidentiality

The interview is going to be recorded and the records will be confidential and kept safe. The only persons who will read and listen to the interview are the students conducting the research and the supervisor Jeanette Olsson from the University. We will only use the interview answers to explain our given purpose. We assure that the participants in the study will be unidentified and anonymous to assure that no one is going to be able to connect the children's answers and opinions in the interview to them.

Questions or Concerns

Contact us if the children regret something that they have said or if the children want to discontinue their participation. The organization and the children are also free to read the interview and our study whenever they want. If the children don't understand some of the words or concepts, we will take time to explain them as we go along. Ask any questions the organization or the children have at any time.

I, as a represent of the organization, agree to let the students speak to the children and interview them if they agree.

Yes

No

Organization:

Title:

Date and Place:

Name:

Signature:

Contact information:

Meron Muleta, email: gusmuletme@student.gu.se

Simone Waad, email: guswaadsi@student.gu.se

Amanda Persson, email: gusperamc@student.gu.se

University of Gothenburg, Sweden



UNIVERSITY OF GOTHENBURG
DEPT OF SOCIAL WORK

Consent form

Introduction

We are three students at Gothenburg University in Sweden who will conduct a research study. The aim of the study was to explore the conceptions of positive and negative factors on the streets. We also wanted to investigate the conceptions of what kind of care the centers provide for street children, why the children receive help from them and what negative factors there were at the centers. In addition, we wanted to have a gender perspective and try to see why there are fewer girls than boys on the streets of Kisumu. We want to do some interviews at your organization and the material we collect will be used in the study.

Procedures

You have been chosen to participate in this study since you have experience of working with the issue of street children in Kisumu and perhaps have experience of work with shelters. If you agree to participate in this interview, we will ask you questions regarding yourself, your experience and your organization. This interview is voluntary and you can regret or discontinue your participation whenever you want. You can skip any of the questions if you don't want to answer, and there are no right or wrong answers. The time of the interview will be about one hour or less. If the time limit exceeds and you agree to proceed, the interview will continue.

Confidentiality

The interview is going to be recorded and the records will be confidential and

kept safe. The only persons who will read and listen to the interview are the students conducting the research and the supervisor Jeanette Olsson from the University. We will only use the interview answers to explain our given purpose. We assure that the participants in the study will be unidentified and anonymous to assure that no one is going to be able to connect your answers and opinions in the interview to you.

Questions or Concerns

Contact us if you regret something that you have said or if you want to discontinue your participation. You are also free to read the interview and our study whenever you want. If you don't understand some of the words or concepts, we will take time to explain them as we go along. Ask any questions you have at any time.

Are you willing to participate in this interview?

Yes

No

Date and Place:

Name of participant:

Signature:

Contact information:

Meron Muleta, email: gusmuletme@student.gu.se

Simone Waad, email: guswaadsi@student.gu.se

Amanda Persson, email: gusperamc@student.gu.se

University of Gothenburg, Sweden.