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Street Culture of Mombasa: Are the Survivors Really Surviving?

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Street Culture of Mombasa:
Are the Survivors Really Surviving?

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ABSTRACT
Street children of Mombasa, Kenya were ethnographically studied in order to determine the effects of Swahili culture and structural violence on the children's culture and place within greater society. It was discovered that Mombasa magnetizes street children as a result of the generosity of Swahili culture. Drug use was inextricably linked to street culture, yet children nonetheless held strong dreams of education. Since street children were also discovered to be significantly stratified, future policy and programming must account for these divisions to appropriately address the education and health problems facing Mombasa street children.

INTRODUCTION

> *It is not enough that laws protecting children are enacted.*
> *These laws must be implemented.*

Umi Katembe, child guest at 2009 Pwani Children Voices Conference

His features are all too recognizable – the sunken eyes, thin arms and tattered clothes. He looks up into my eyes, longingly, desperately, as his forepaw opens, stretching toward me. Ahmed waits. This is the moment of truth. Will he be neglected and shunned again, or has someone finally awoken to the global tragedy, ready to make a difference. Throughout the developing world, poverty has taken the face of a child. In fact, poverty has taken the faces of hundreds and thousands and millions of children. They are called scavengers, thieves, thugs – children of the street. But to each other they are something more; they are survivors.

Upon entering the 21st century, we have seen a steady increase in the number of "street children[1]" in developing countries, most notably in sub-Saharan Africa. This unnerving trend comes as a result of greater poverty, abuse and corruption. Nowhere is this more relevant than in Kenya, where severe drought in the last five years has exacerbated economic stress, while corruption in the government spurred tribal violence following the 2007 elections. With climate change preventing useful rain, inhibiting agricultural and pastoralist communities (over 80% of the population), poverty continues to swell (Njoka 2009). These rural poor are migrating to cities, hoping for a better future, but finding little change. "An increasingly disenfranchised and poverty-stricken urban underclass is set to be the country's defining crisis over the next decade, unless the Kenyan government and international donors act urgently to

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[1] The term "street children" connotes many things. This will be discussed later in Defining "Street Children," however, it will be placed in quotations at all times to recognize that the term does not necessarily adequately define this community of children.

address it," said Philippa Crosland Taylor, head of Oxfam GB in Kenya (Parsitau, Patricia 2009). As of 2005 nearly 2/3 of Kenyans were living on less than $2 a day (Human Development Report 2007). Coupled with the rampant corruption (Corruption Perception Index continually ranks Kenya as one of the most corrupt countries in the world) Kenya has become a breeding ground for vulnerable youth.

With Kenyan urbanization growing at a phenomenal rate of 7.05% (Njoka 2009), the country has reached its crux and must act immediately before it is too late. For instance, if trends continue, in the next 15 years Nairobi's population will double to 6 million, with over 60% of these people living in slums without adequate clean water, sanitation, housing, education and healthcare (Njoka 2009). In Kenya, where 40% of the population is under the age of 14, concentrating on youth social issues is essential (Njoka 2009). Thus, when tackling problems of urbanization, a strong focus must be given to youth. With proper attention given to urban youth, issues surrounding "street children" immediately arise. As of 2007, "street children" in Kenya were estimated at over 300,000 (IRIN News), and this number has grown tremendously since the post-election violence. Problems facing "street children" must therefore be immediately addressed, for these environments foster theft, violence and further tribal tensions. This can already be seen with the growing influence of the Mungiki[2], whose roots were arguably in youths' discontent of unemployment and landlessness, the precise problems currently causing children to run to the streets, and facing street youth as well.

While these social issues shrouding "street children" have received significant attention in Nairobi, their recognition must be seen throughout the country. The urbanization and "street children" trends bode true for all Kenyan urban centers, especially Mombasa. Residing on the coast, away from the central business and administrative capital, Mombasa, despite being the second biggest city in Kenya and the gateway to the outside world, often is ignored politically and socially. As scholar John Middleton points out,

> The new postcolonial rulers, especially in Kenya, have used Swahili as
> scapegoats for many of their failures. They have largely ignored them in

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[2] The Mungiki are a banned, criminal organization in Kenya. Formed in the late 1980's, the Mungiki operate extensively in and around Nairobi, especially in Mathare slum. In response to what they feel are unequal land distributions and job opportunities, the Mungiki have spurred much violence, killing hundreds and injuring many more. They continue to be one of the government's most despised groups.

development schemes, educational facilities, government appointments, and many other areas of modern government…At local levels of administration the larger Swahili towns are almost always governed by non-Swahili and non-Muslim officials, many of whom appear to see their tenure at the coast as both a way of extending the lands and wealth of the immigrants from the interior and of making money for themselves (Middleton 2004).

This neglect has created significant social problems for Mombasa, with "street children" being one of these central issues. Thus, given the rapid urbanization, it is pivotal for the proper action to be taken by the government and international donors, for a refusal to account for the growing number of "street children" is a refusal to address the depths of urbanization. And with such neglect, poverty and violence will continue to haunt Kenya for years to come.

Thus, this research delves into the intricacies of "street children" and street culture in Mombasa. As a new budding ground for vulnerable youth, Mombasa serves as the ideal location to observe the influx of "street children." I question precisely what brings these children to the street and how does the ensuing culture developed on the street manifest itself in the children and the rest of the community. This research questions the influence of Swahili culture on "street children." How does Swahili, Islamic culture alter the experiences of "street children" in Mombasa compared to those in Nairobi, East Africa and globally? Finally, this research questions how structural violence[3] inhibits "street children" from not merely succeeding, but even surviving.

This research differs than previous work in its distinct approach and objectives. Significant time was spent interacting with "street children" throughout Mombasa, as well as talking to locals, government actors and non-government actors in the area about the conditions of "street children" in Mombasa. These interactions were meant to elucidate various under-examined realms of "street children" in Mombasa. The objective of this research is to develop a building-block for understanding the significance of local culture on "street children" by using the Swahili influence on "street children" in Mombasa as an example. In addition, the purpose of this research, through the understanding of street culture, is to assess the structural obstacles

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[3] Structural violence is a term attributed to Johan Galtung, first used in the 1960s. It refers to the systemic ways in which a social institution or social structure inhibits a group of people by preventing them from attaining basic needs.

inhibiting "street children" from progressing. It therefore has the aim of providing policy suggestions in order to more effectively integrate "street children" into society by recognizing the macro-institutional blockades specific to Kenya. Finally, the last objective of this research is to give a voice to the voiceless. Globally, "street children" are notoriously neglected and shunned. When dealing with an entire region (coastal Kenya) that is also ignored, we discover a community who has been denied the ability to express themselves. This research is intended to provide an opportunity for "street children" to tell their stories, to let their voices be heard.

Literature Review

The concept of African "street children" is a relatively new phenomenon. Consequently, as "street child" specialist Judith Ennew explains, "Child studies in Africa are fragmented and there is no developed discourse on African childhoods" (Ennew 2003). This research therefore aims to help develop the discourse on not simply "street children," but *African* "street children."

This distinction has been problematic, as most previous research in Africa has understood "street children" in the Latin American context, where "street children" research began. This has obvious limitations, and is "bound to be fundamentally incorrect" (Ennew 2003). With different cultural contexts, different conceptions of children, different urbanization patterns, different HIV/AIDS trends, different tribal tensions, different armed conflicts and different political influences, it is quite obvious that "street children" in Latin America and Africa face vastly different circumstances. They consequently must be understood individually, in culturally appropriate contexts. This research therefore strives to approach the issue of "street children" in Mombasa from a cultural perspective, examining not only how the African context affects "street children," but specifically how Swahili culture impacts this community, something severely lacking from previous research.

While previous research on Kenyan "street children" has touched on Nairobi (Dallape 1988; Onyango et al. 1991; Kilbride et al. 2001; etc.), Eldoret (Akuyu et al. 2004) and Nakuru (Kaiem-Atterhog et al. 2008), the traditionally neglected coast has received little recognition, where significantly different cultural practices than the hinterland play major roles. Research in Mombasa has been conducted (Stumpf 2005; Brewster 2009), however, these endeavors have failed to analyze both the cultural significance of Swahili culture on "street children" as well as the specific structural

challenges children face on a daily basis. Furthermore, Stumpf and Brewster, despite both emphasizing the significance of first-hand data from the children themselves, lacked ethnographic methodology to truly understand the culture of the child. The large movement in both the United Nations' Convention on the Rights of the Child and Kenya's Children's Act was to force "any decision made [to] be based on what is in the best interest of the child" (Children Act Cap 586). Yet, how can the child's best interest truly be understood, especially in the multi-faceted intricacies of "street children," without properly consulting the child? These researchers instead relied heavily on opinions from aid organizations. Finally, these researchers neglected the area of Mbaraki of Mombasa, the "street children headquarters" according to Paul. Paul, a 21-year-old key informant from Voi who claims to have just gotten off the street, though he admittedly still "hustles on the street" everyday, exclaimed, "If you don't know Mbaraki, you don't know survivors in Mombasa." Thus, this research endeavors to provide a means for the children's voices to truly be heard.

Finally, while there is a litany of literature on the effects of poverty on streetism[4] within Kenya and throughout the world, none of these works addresses how this poverty is tied to specific structural elements, systematically prohibiting "street children" from progressing. This research therefore is unique in its exploration of political structuralism in its relation to streetism.

Definition of "Street Children"

In order to properly address the problems facing "street children," one must first identify the population, essentially what distinguishes and defines a child of the street. There is much discourse within anthropology as to the significance of nomenclature, as taxonomy can unquestionably connote different things. Naming can empower people, deride them and everything in between. The term "street children" therefore cannot be used without proper recognition of its implications. First, the term in and of itself arguably is "inappropriate, offensive and give[s] a distorted message" (Dallape 1996: 283). The loaded nature of "street children," as Dallape suggests, implies an essence of iniquity, which unfairly pre-judges this group of children. As Dallape continues,

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[4] Streetism is a term frequently used in Addis Abbaba to indicate life association with the street without differentiating between children "on" and "of" the street (Ennew 2003). For distinctions between children "on" and "of" the street see Defining "Street Children" or the Appendix.

The term street children is offensive because the public perception of children on the street is that they are thieves, prostitutes, drug addicts or otherwise delinquent. They are labeled in this way despite the fact that the majority earn their living by offering services to the community at large.

Beyond this question of connotation, the term "street children" fails to precisely identify who is a "street child."

"Street children" does not differentiate between the heterogeneous group of children living, working and associating with the street. As a result, in order to account for these differences, scholars, led by the United Nations Children Fund (UNICEF), have tried to categorize children into those "on" the street and those "of" the street. Children "on" the street are those considered to spend significant time on the streets, roaming, working and hawking. However, the children "on" the street, after their daily toil of begging, working or hawking, regularly return home at night to their families. These are children, though spending significant time on the street, who remain tied to their families, perhaps even still attending school. Sometimes they go to the street voluntarily, other times they are pushed out by parents, but the fruits of their labors are generally used as financial supplements to the family income. The emphasis here is that the family is still present, playing a noticeable role in the child's life. On the other hand, the term children "of" the street categorizes children who see the street as their home. Their livelihood hinges on the street; they find work, food, shelter (if they can find it) and home on the street. They sleep on the street and do not have close ties to family members on whom they depend for support - financially, socially or psychologically.

While differentiating children "of" the street from children "on" the street, one correctly distinguishes one of the many social distinctions of "street children," but we still are faced with the biased, loaded word "street," connoting dirtiness and danger. Perhaps most problematic to this argument of nomenclature, is the fact that the children themselves are never addressed. For instance, whenever "*watoto wa barabarani*" (children of the street) was mentioned to locals of Mombasa, they replied with, "*unamaanisha chokora*" (you mean *chokora*). *Chokora* is a Swahili word derived from the verb *kuchokora*, to scavenge. The connotation is even worse however, indicating one who vilely eats from the garbage. "It's like calling someone a dog," Paul, an ex-"street boy" explained. Thus, throughout this paper I will use the name that "street children" in Mombasa describe themselves with, "survivors."

Survivor will be used throughout this text to describe both children "of" the street and children "on" the street. As this research is intended to give a voice to the voiceless, I have chosen to use their voice in identifying them as survivors. When questions concerning the differentiation between a survivor who has family ties and one who does not, that distinction will explicitly be stated. Furthermore, I believe this more properly addresses their identification and livelihood. They do not merely live, work or beg on the street, they *survive* the street.

Positionality

As a middle-class, white American, my initial etic nature, influenced by Western education, certainly brought assumptions to my research, such as the expected social exclusion of survivors. While it is possible this assumption biased my work, I strived hard to limit any and all personal biases by approaching all survivors and community members objectively, wanting to hear their story. Regardless, in working with survivors, one is always confronted with issues of social justice, of intersections between conducting research versus trying to help children achieve not only their goals, but also their innate rights. As a result, one must take a position in the research. From a personal ethical standpoint, I refused to research without trying to assist these desperate children as well. Thus, I taught them English, Math, Science and religious morals; I tried to engage them in critical thinking and at times I took sick children to a clinic or hospital for treatment. I provided them with information regarding children's homes and opportunities they had to get off of the street if they so desired. I recognize that this involvement renders a bias to the research, however I believe that all research should be conducted in an effort for the betterment of society. If this betterment is relevant during one's field-work, I believe it the responsibility of the researcher to assist his/her informants as he/she can. I do not believe this approach significantly limited my research, however I recognize it certainly did have an influence on the children involved.

SETTING

Mombasa, the second most populated city in Kenya with a population approaching 1 million, resides on the coast. It has long been the gateway to the outside world from East Africa, with trade routes to the Arab world dating back hundreds of years. Due to this Arab influence, Mombasa is a predominantly Muslim

city. Asian culture also infiltrates the society, but the Swahili and Islamic forces are the most evident in everyday life. As such, Mombasa traditionally has been a Swahili city, focused on trade and commerce and housing a diverse group of Africans, Arabs and Asians. More recently, Mombasa has developed from not only a trading center, but to a city with an economy that now also supports a large tourism industry, as well as significant manufacturing. The frequent tourism has brought an international, globalized feel to Mombasa, yet the core Swahili culture remains.

Despite the aforementioned economic prospects however, poverty still rings throughout Mombasa. As Rakodi explains,

> None of these sectors is as prosperous as might be expected. Trade has been damaged by regional and intra-national instability and conflict, external shocks and poor management of the national economy, before and since the adoption of intensified structural adjustment policies at the beginning of the 1990's (Rakodi 2000).

This poverty is exacerbated by the fact, to reference Middleton again, that the coast has been "largely ignored in development schemes" (Middleton 2004). As a result,

> The lack of central government support, combined with poor financial management, means that the MMC (Mombasa Municipal Council, the main governing body of the city) is in an extremely poor financial condition, periodically unable to pay staff wages, unable to maintain its housing stock and unable to provide adequate services (Rakodi 2000).

This poverty is further highlighted by the fact that even though the economy has yet to reach its potential, Mombasa is seen as a desirable place for countless Kenyans. The fact that it remains an urban center has drawn thousands of nearby rural residents in the past five years as a result of severe drought, which has destroyed crops and inhibited agriculturists and pastoralists alike. In addition, the relative peacefulness attracts others from up-country who have sought refuge after the 2007 post-election violence. Finally, the tourism industry suggests significant Western money, which magnetizes other poverty-stricken people in the hope of a better future. Due to these recent migration patterns, coupled with the already "poor financial condition" (Rakodi 2000), the number of survivors in Mombasa has been growing exponentially in the last 15 years. Admittedly, estimates of survivors can be very difficult for various reasons; "neither UNICEF nor the International Labour Office can give any reliable or authoritative figure for the number of working street children" (Ennew 2003).

Nonetheless, it is important to note that over ten years ago, before the ethnic conflicts following the 1997 and 2007 elections and the large migration influx just mentioned, there were an estimated 5,000 survivors in Mombasa (Rakodi 2000; Kilonzo 1997). Despite no recent estimates, it is realistic to assume that number may have doubled or increased even more in the past 10-15 years.

Thus, the significance of survivors in Mombasa cannot be ignored. It is vital however, that the historical, social and economic aspects of Mombasa highlighted above, be kept in mind when analyzing the depths of Mombasa survivors.   As will be explained later (see Findings), the cultural atmosphere of Mombasa plays a critical role in the examination of survivors.

This research focused on a few distinct areas of Mombasa, including Makadara Park, Mbaraki, Makadara Road, Digo Road, Likoni, Tononoka Drop-In Center, Wema Center and Grandsons of Abraham. Makadara Park is sandwiched between the Posta on Digo Road, one of the busiest areas of downtown Mombasa, and Old Town, the central tourist neighborhood of the city. As such, Makadara Park serves as an ideal location for survivors and other beggars, for it can draw heavy traffic from locals as well as tourists. Furthermore, with a broad playing field and numerous trees, it provides an area for children or families to play or rest. The rectangular-shaped park has distinct areas, acting almost as boundaries, within itself. The north side aligns Makadara Road, and plays host to homeless families who spend most of the day resting and begging. Behind this group the drug-addicted survivors often hang out. However, in the late afternoon this area serves as one of the three soccer fields within the park for locals. In the middle of the park, a large gazebo is constructed where men often sit and talk and chew miraa. The southern half of the park is split in two by a line of trees, with each side serving as soccer fields at night, and during the day giving a lounging area for the non-drug using survivors. Against the southwest end, women cook and serve food, while older boys and ex-survivors wash cars. Next to this area to the east, steps serve as sleeping or resting areas for various people, and also provided me with an atmosphere with which to teach.

Mbaraki is a neighborhood within Mombasa, and considered by Paul to be the "street children headquarters." "If you don't know Mbaraki, you don't know survivors in Mombasa," explains Paul. Thus, Mbaraki was a vital place for observation. Next to the Mombasa Sports Club, the Mbaraki "base" lies at the end of a path on the backside of an open soccer field.

> Along the path were strewn countless empty water bottles, with the remnants
> of glue hidden at the bottom…On the left were aligned numerous little shacks,
> if you could even call them that…One blanket would be arched at an angle
> against some solid, erect structure. Plastic bags filled gaps to create these tiny
> homes. This was its own little slum (Field Notes).

Mbaraki was the hangout for numerous survivors and older men and women also immersed in the survivor culture. Glue could be bought from a large man who sat in the corner with full bottles of the coveted substance. Survivors and others lounged, played cards and spent time in this removed area that was not generally frequented by police or other government officials.

Makadara Road is the street connecting Old Town, the tourist area, to Digo Road, the central street of Mombasa. Along this street, which also passes Makadara Park, there are numerous restaurants lining the road. Survivors often come out and beg in the late afternoon and early evening, when these restaurants become filled. Digo Road also provides a home for numerous survivors. They generally locate themselves along the busiest areas, and consequently the Posta (post office) and grocery stores are often frequented by survivors.

Likoni is the coastal area connecting Mombasa's South Coast to North Coast via a ferry. On weekend evenings, this area, with a large park and view of the ocean, is filled with a throng of people. Local residents, often the rich, bring their children, buy food from vendors and enjoy their weekend. With numerous wealthy people about, survivors and other beggars are similarly drawn, with the hope of receiving donations. I consequently spent several weekend nights meandering through Likoni, talking with survivors and learning their culture.

Finally, the Wema Center, Tononoka Drop-In Center and Grandsons of Abraham were used to gain an understanding of survivors. The Wema Center has two locations, one in Bamburi and one in Ganjoni. The Bamburi site serves female ex-survivors, while Ganjoni hosts the male counterparts. The Tononoka Drop-In Center offers food and areas to play for survivors in and around Mombasa. Grandsons of Abraham is a center serving the needs of all vulnerable children, especially survivors in Mikindani. While each center was visited multiple times, significant time was not spent at these centers. But, they did provide prime examples of the local efforts striving to reduce the problems facing survivors and they also allowed for interviews with non-government actors (though Tononoka Drop-In Center is a government

supported project) in their work with survivors. Lastly, they also served as a means to compare the culture and mannerisms of survivors still living on the street with survivors now living in centers.

METHODOLOGY

This research was conducted over one month from early November to early December 2009. Informants were identified via targeted sampling and the snowball methodology. I initially targeted centers with known populations of survivors, such as Makadara Park, Makadara Road, Digo Road, near Castle Royal Hotel and Likoni on weekends. These locations were selected based from initial observations walking through Mombasa. At these locations informants were identified and spoken with. Via the snowball method, survivors then directed me to other survivors, who in turn would direct me to other survivors. Through this social networking of the street, I was able to associate with various youth. Upon meeting a survivor, I would engage in conversation, though I did not pay any informant nor did I provide them with daily food (see Limitations).

After initially meeting an informant and conversing, I would return often at later dates and engage in participant observation when possible. This primarily involved hanging out and talking, however we also played cards and went to the beach once. Also, I taught many of these children English, Math, Science and religious morals in the park several times a week. Beyond facilitating interaction with the kids, this was also a means to meet more survivors, who seeing the congregation of children, came forward out of interest. From these informants, four children were given a camera to take pictures of their surroundings to illustrate their lives. Thus, all photos in this paper were taken by the children themselves, after being prompted to capture the essence of their lives that others do not see.

In addition to the pictures and participant observation, I also utilized simple observation at times. While in Makadara Park, Likoni or simply walking the streets of Mombasa, I would watch survivors begging, observing their mannerisms and actions. In addition to this frequent observation and participant observation, informal and semi-formal interviews served significant roles in my research.

Informally, I interviewed 33 children, 24 of whom were boys and 9 of whom were girls. 14 other children, 13 boys and 1 girl, also engaged in semi-formal interviews. The informal interviews were conducted on the streets, while hanging out

with the children. The semi-formal interviews were conducted in Makadara Park, Mbaraki or in a cafe. In addition to children, I spoke with government actors, non-government actors and locals on their opinions of survivors. 3 government officials were semi-formally interviewed, with one being interviewed twice, while 3 non-governmental aid workers were semi-formally interviewed as well. Finally, 5 locals were semi-formally interviewed, while numerous others were informally spoken with on a daily basis.

It is also important to note that most all interviews and participant observation conducted with the children were conducted in Swahili. All quotations are therefore translated. However, certain phrases or ideas, whose cultural significance could not be expressed through translation, have been left in Swahili. In addition, several informants, though they chose to interview in English, did not have complete control of the English language. Therefore, certain quotations have been paraphrased for coherence and are indicated as such in the text. Finally, all names and identifying information of informants have been changed in order to maintain confidentiality.

Limitations

This methodology did have significant limitations, which require referencing to fully understand the research. I chose to not pay the children, believing that by compensating them in such a manner, I would be encouraging fabrication, fostering stories and lies in order to receive money or food. However, by not paying the children, I also limited my population. Survivors, who often are hard-pressed for money and food, need to spend their time searching for these necessities. They often do not have time, nor a desire to speak with a foreigner if they are not receiving immediate benefits. Another limitation came from my appearance. Being white, anytime I was seen with a survivor, he/she could not receive money or food from anyone while begging. This limited my participant observation, as I could not talk or be around a child if he/she was begging. Another key limitation was the language barrier. Though I can converse in Swahili, I am not fully fluent and consequently comprehension of everything my informants said was difficult. This problem was exacerbated by the dialectic Shang that was spoken by some of my informants as well. While I was able to communicate with each participant, fully connecting and immersing oneself in a culture and community hinges on language. Despite the use of a translator, this remained a difficulty throughout the research. It is also important to

note that while observation and participation was conducted at night, due to safety concerns the night research was limited to confined areas. The night culture plays a significant role in the lives of survivors, and thus this reduced accessibility also limited this project. Specifically, "street girls" culture is much more prevalent at night. Due to this limitation however, the bulk of this research focused on "street boys."

Also, the demographics of this study are limiting. Mombasa is such a large area it is impossible to identify all survivors and hear each one's story. Not only are many survivors "invisible" to the layman's eye, but the extraordinary number of survivors inhibits the interaction with each and every one. Tied to that, like all research, time was a limiting factor. In such a large community, spending only one month researching is not enough time to completely understand a culture or a community. I would have liked to meet more survivors, from various other neighborhoods, and spend more time with the ones I did meet. Kaime-Atterhog et al. 2008, who conducted very similar research in Nakuru, claimed, "after four months, we felt we had gained the trust of the coordinator and the older boys," but it took still longer for the other boys. Thus, a one-month project clearly limits the ability to fully understand the survivors. Therefore, this research cannot serve as truth for all Mombasa survivors. However, it still does tell the story of many survivors and can be generalized to the experiences of many, though not nearly all, survivors of Mombasa.

FINDINGS

This research revealed numerous significant findings in regards to survivors of Mombasa. First and foremost, the culture of Mombasa itself was discovered to play a significant role in the demographics of survivors, and the rationale for the survivor population as well. Secondly, a distinct stratification within survivors was discovered, helping elucidate Ennew's assertion that "anyone who works with street children in research or programming comes up sooner rather than later against the issue of definition" (Ennew 2003). However, as will be explained, this stratification suffers less from nomenclature than from a simple lack of recognition. Then, the impact of drugs was found to be inextricably tied to the culture of most survivors. However, in spite of this finding, the importance of education stressed by nearly all informants provided the last key finding.

Mombasa Influence

The environment in which survivors live greatly impacts their culture and livelihood. Thus, Mombasa not only served as the home for the survivor community studied, but also as one of the large influences on the notion of home. Before recognizing Mombasa's specific role on the coast however, one must fully understand the significance African culture plays on survivors, for this is often misunderstood by the traditional Latin American model.

It is fully understood that the heterogeneous nature of Africa, between various countries, tribes and customs, does not lend itself to an overarching culture that can be applied to all survivors or all people. In fact, this paper argues that no such thing should be done, for it incorrectly implies a false homogeneity of Africa. However, given the absence of a "developed discourse" on African streetism (Ennew 2003), certain trends relevant to Mombasa survivors will reference the applicability to various other African contexts. This does not imply that all trends written here must be applied to all African survivors, but simply that these ideas should be considered when addressing streetism in an African context.

Thus, when examining the creation of survivors within such a context, several key issues must be addressed. First and most obvious, is the issue of poverty. This notion rings true in most all environments of streetism. This therefore will require little analysis. However, in contextualizing poverty it is important to note two key factors in relation to previous survivor research. The poverty level of Latin America and Africa, as a whole, are not comparable, with Africa suffering much more than Latin America. Secondly and most importantly, when analyzing this poverty, the unequal distribution of resources must be incorporated. This is especially relevant to Kenya, where Kenya's Gini plot index[5] of 53 ranks as one of the highest in the world, exacerbating economic stress (Index Mundi 2009).

Beyond poverty, specific to Africa and Kenya is the effect of HIV/AIDS. With streetism being a relatively new phenomenon in Mombasa, the role of HIV/AIDS must be considered. The AIDS crisis in Kenya reached its peak in the 1990's, the precise time when survivors began coming and growing exponentially. This is not a

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[5] The Gini Plot is a measurement of the distribution of resources within a country. The Gini Coefficient was developed by Corrado Gini in 1912 and is frequently used in economics, along with the Lorenz Curve. The Gini Plot has a great advantage in that it uses a ratio analysis to develop its figures. A value of 0 indicates perfect equality, whereas 100 indicates perfect inequality.

coincidence, with many young children being left alone. For instance, nearly 1 in 7 orphans in Africa live in Kenya and currently there are over 1.8 million orphans/vulnerable children living in Kenya directly resulting from HIV/AIDS (Wautere 2009). It therefore must be considered as one of the primary causes of streetism in Mombasa, as well as other places.

Beyond HIV/AIDS, another unique, but very relevant issue in Africa lies with armed conflict. As Ennew highlights, "perhaps the most significant factor in African childhoods as a whole is the fact that difficult circumstances are so often related to armed conflict." This is no different in Kenya, where election violence following the 1992, 1997 and 2007 elections resulted in much fighting, separating families and children from each other. In 1993 for instance, the United Nations estimated that of the 300,000 internally displaced people in Kenya, 75% were children (Human Rights Watch/Africa, 1993). Kenya also plays host to countless refugees from armed conflicts of its neighbors in Sudan, Somalia, Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi. Thus, streetism cannot be considered without this context.

In addition, environmental conditions must be at the center of the discussion as well. Urbanization always plays a role in the development of streetism. In Kenya, as well as other African countries, where urbanization is a much more recent phenomenon, this must be considered in the context of global warming, in which severe drought has made subsistence farming nearly impossible for countless people. This has forced urbanization, and the 7.05% urban growth occurring now must also be partially attributed to the cause of streetism.

Finally, when considering this urbanization, one must also incorporate the effects globalization has played on the dynamics of family in a Kenyan, or African context. Many traditional Kenyan and African homes were of a polygamous nature, with the notion of family extending to cousins, aunts, uncles and virtually all relatives. In this context the community, the greater idea of family, cares for children. However, in modern times, due partially to the influence of Western culture, these large, close-knit families are breaking, forming the closed familial status of a Western-style family. This can even be seen in the language in Kenya, where the Swahili word *jamii*, previously used for family and including all relatives and even close friends, has been replaced with *familia*, meaning only the immediate family (Jemase 2009). This cultural change is instrumental in the context of streetism, as it helps explain the

absence of alternatives to parental figures filling the gaps for children who are faced with difficult circumstances.

Thus, before even considering the specific impact of Mombasa, these broad trends must be considered as creating survivors in Kenya. However, while the aforementioned reasons help explain why the number of survivors are growing, they do not explain specifically why they come to Mombasa.

To begin with, Mombasa's coastal location plays a significant role in its development as a survivor hot spot. The hot weather present on the coast encourages all sorts of homeless people to come to Mombasa. Despite being only 13-years-old, Mike understands this well, having spent much time surviving near his home in Nairobi before moving to Mombasa. "See, there's too much cold in Nairobi. But Mombasa is really hot." This notion can be seen throughout the world for obvious health reasons, for if one sleeps on the streets, a warmer environment is much more comfortable and healthy. Beyond this obvious advantage of Mombasa however, the conditions for survivors are often much preferred in Mombasa as well.

Most survivors who had experience or had friends in other cities, such as Nairobi, felt Mombasa offered them a much better place to survive. Based off his experience, Mike explained,

> In Nairobi you can't get the space. Like in Mombasa you get the space to
> sleep. Mostly if you sleep somewhere [in Nairobi] the cops will come and
> start beating you up and might call you a thief. You even have to hide
> yourself to sleep. That's why you might even sleep while standing.

For Mike, the choice was thus easy to venture to Mombasa. Fadhil, a 21-year-old friend of Paul's who spent the last five years on the streets in both Nairobi and Mombasa, expanded on this issue concerning police and regulations in Nairobi.

> In Nairobi the government is a big issue, they're very harassing…In fact, if
> you go to Nairobi there are some streets where you can't even see a street kid
> like here in Mombasa. They are not in the town, because if you're caught by
> the Municipal Council, by the local government, they take you to juvenile.

While Fadhil still recognized the difficulties facing survivors in Mombasa, he expressed gratitude that "in Mombasa there is not the same arrestment. At least in Mombasa they won't arrest these small kids." Paul preferred Mombasa as a place to stay as well, but more for safety reasons. "There's too much war in Nairobi. But in Mombasa, at least there's the peace." From most informants, this was the general

consensus. Mombasa offered a safer home, a place where sleeping and attaining food wasn't as problematic as it was in Nairobi. The simple demographics of the survivors spoken with in this research corroborated this notion. More than half of the children came from up-country, with the vast majority in and around the Nairobi region. Despite their proximity to the country's capital, they had come to Mombasa to hustle instead.

Related to this migration to Mombasa to hustle, the demographics of the survivor population of Mombasa are quite fascinating. As mentioned, over half of the children spoken to came from up-country. Furthermore, those coming from near Mombasa were usually from less urban and often rural areas such as Mariakani, Mikindani, Shimba Hills, Jomvu and Kisimani. However, most intriguing was the fact that not a single informant identified himself/herself as Swahili. While the Swahili are the dominant ethnic group of the coast, of the over 200 children at Wema Center and the over 50 children spoken to on the streets, not a single one was Swahili. Virtually all other tribes were accounted for, including Kikuyu, Luo, Luhya, Akamba, Kalenjin, Maasai and more, yet in the place where Swahili is the dominant ethnicity, none were found. This has intriguing implications that will be discussed further later (See Discussion).

While there may not have been any Swahili survivors, the Swahili culture did have a profound impact on survivors and arguably encourages children in difficult circumstances to migrate to the coast. Swahili culture, dominated by Islam, is a very giving society. Countless locals, as well as aid and government workers emphasized this notion. As a high-ranking government official working for children told, "the real reason, the real cause of street children in Mombasa, is the generosity of the people here." This generosity encourages people to come to Mombasa, especially given the dire economic circumstances many people are in. Many locals and aid workers told how a begging child can earn up to 800 shillings ($10.67) a day, virtually the equivalent of a professional worker. While this amount of money was earned only by the experienced, privileged few, with the majority earning anywhere between 20-150 shillings ($0.26-$2) a day on a regular basis, the hope was held by many. Stories of earning these extraordinary amounts of money reach rural areas and families may send their children into the streets to beg to supplement the family income. While this boded true for many survivors "on" the street, those "of" the

street generally earned much less. Nonetheless, this generosity, in which it is possible to earn 800 shillings a day, encourages survivors to come to Mombasa.

In fact, this generosity of Swahili society was obviously known by survivors and other beggars. This was made evident through the extraordinary number of beggars on the streets on Friday, the day in which Muslims are most giving. Starting Thursday nights, beggars would pour into the city, surrounding mosques. They would sleep outside, then the following day, Friday, reap the benefits. This fluctuating pattern of increased beggars and survivors as Friday approached illustrated the known advantage of Islamic culture. The impact of Swahili culture did not merely encourage survivors due to generosity, but the religious importance of Swahili culture also infiltrated survivor culture in Mombasa.

Survivors throughout Mombasa continually expressed religious interest, and this religious enthusiasm often was the foundation for their continuation of living in such calamitous conditions. Recognizably, no further research was conducted on survivors in other areas, so the religiosity discovered in Mombasa cannot be quantified. However, no previous research has referenced religion as a significant factor in the lives of survivors, and the frequent reference to praying and God thus stood out in Mombasa. After studying in Makadara Park, before leaving the children liked to say a prayer, thanking God for the educational opportunity and then praying for food and safety that night. In addition, they always requested to be taught religion, in addition to the English, Math and Science that they wanted to learn. They also made frequent references to God in continuing amidst the struggle they faced. For instance, Mike tells how "if we are sick and then the sickness goes away, we just say God helped us and that is true." Jake, from up-country in Nyahururu, continually referenced how he "prayed to God."   After irritably telling of his problems on the street and back home in Nairobi, 14-year-old Jordan suddenly changed tones and became grateful.

> I thank God for protecting us. I thank God very much. I pray to God to help
> me, to help us all to go to school. And this Christmas, that we enjoy it and
> that He may remember us. And to know that we are His children.

This frequent reference to prayer and God seemed to keep many of these children going, allowing them to continue forward. As Mike elucidates, "you just have to tolerate your problems…God will help you."

Thus, Swahili culture plays a prominent role in the life of survivors in Mombasa. For one, it seemingly prevents Swahilis from ever entering the street. Then, it encourages people from across the country to come to Mombasa, for the generosity allows survivors to survive. Finally, it influences survivors to maintain strong religious beliefs, something that helps them continue forward on a daily basis.

Social Stratification

The first, and most blatant separation of survivors, is that of survivors and the non-survivors, those tied to the streets and the rest of society. While this stratification seems obvious, it is worthwhile noting because of the social significance tied to being a so-called "*chokora*," versus being a non-street person. As Athman, a 14-year-old originally from Lunga Lunga elucidates, "they just see us as poor people, so they can do what they want to the poor. Yeah they see us because we're poor, and they don't like dealing with us." Frank, a young boy from Machakos, is very direct in telling, "they just reject us from society." This can cause mental distress and self-esteem issues, as Fadhil explains.

> There is a very big difference because the people who live in the street are
> somehow very down because you cannot even say something in front of
> people, you just see yourself as an outcast. You're just an outcast. Because
> even if they see you, no one wants to be around you. No one wants to see you.

This social exclusion is very significant, as the targeted isolation of a specific group of people prompts countless hazards as will be discussed later (See Discussion).

Beyond this most obvious social stratification however, there are countless distinctions within survivors amongst themselves. First and foremost, in Mombasa there is the division highlighted by UNICEF, in the earlier explanation of children "on" the street and children "of" the street. For the most part (though this is not an absolute statement), the survivors "on" the street return to nearby rural neighborhoods at night, including places such as Miritini, Mariakani, and Shimba Hills. These survivors "on" the street are socially distinct from those "of" the street in that they are solely focused on earning money. Since they still have ties to home, they must still answer to parental figures. As a result, their focus steers toward money, for they have voluntarily offered to beg to achieve just that, or have been pushed out for just the same reason. As will be explained below, this exclusive monetary focus helps to socially separate those "on" the street from those "of" the street. Even with this

common fiscal attention however, survivors "on" the street are in and of themselves split into two divisions, the veterans and the new beggars. There are children who are experienced in begging and earning money for their families. They feel natural, at home on the street, going from one person to another. One of these begging experts could frequently be seen in the early evening outside of A-ONE market on Digo Road.

> She was aggressive, even to the point of annoyance to customers. Her fingers would grasp a man's wrist, as she pleaded for money. Before you could notice, her small fingers would be curled around a woman's bag, begging for some change…A coin would be handed to her, she'd slide it in her pocket, then in a second she would be on to the next person. She was an expert (Field Notes).

The obvious aggression and smooth transitions from person to person illustrate this girl's comfort with begging, becoming part of her nature, part of her childhood. While this can be very problematic, it is not much better than the other group of survivors "on" the street.

> There were several other survivors "on" the street who were not nearly as affluent in street culture as the aforementioned group. Rather, these children were much like Miriam, a 9-year-old from Malindi,

> who sat twiddling her fingers through blades of grass, staring off into the distance. She stood against a pole, seemingly unaware of her purpose. Her ragged black dress, the same she adorned yesterday and the day before that, along with her cement-stained bare feet clearly screamed, "survivor," yet she did not hold her hand out to beg. She was caged and didn't know what to do (Field Notes).

This inertness characterized many children "on" the street, who did not fully understand their place, their reason for being on the street. As Miriam elucidated, "I just want to go home to Malindi and go to school. I don't know what I'm doing here." As a result of this confusion, these survivors were socially separated from their experienced brothers and sisters. They did not beg in the same areas, the new ones not aware of the begging hot spots, and consequently rarely interacted with each other. These new children were most often alone, wasting away the day by themselves. This isolation, felt by most all survivors, was evident in survivors "of" the street as well.

> Much variation also lay within survivors "of" the street, based primarily off of drug use, occupation and size/age. Most survivors "of" the street regularly sniff glue, as well as partake in other drug activities (See Drugs). However, there is a distinct

population of survivors "of" the street who steer away from all drugs. This group does not identify with the glue-using survivors and specifically categorizes themselves differently. When I went to teach the survivors in Makadara Park, these "clean" survivors refused to learn with the others, even claiming they could not breathe well with the fumes of so much glue in the air. When asked what separates him and his friends from other survivors, Frank explicitly stated, "See the others, like we don't interact with them because they're always sniffing glue." 13-year-old Peter from Nyanza elaborates on this idea, telling, "We don't want to do drugs so we stay by ourselves. We want to protect ourselves so we stick just with us." This social separation was evident from daily interactions and mannerisms as well.

In the group who did not utilize substances, vibrant life radiated. When I met Daniel for the first time, he was one of the few who truly looked only 13-years-old. I noted,

> Though he wasn't dressed as cleanly as Said (translator), Daniel exhibited a bit of freshness. He held a bit of confidence. He was different than the other survivors, he held himself to a higher order (Field Notes).

In a similar manner, Frank always frolicked around, smiling and enjoying himself. He would run with his 13 and 14 year old friends from Nairobi and Lunga Lunga, Keith and Athman, swim in the ocean and remain active. Frank would greet me,

> in his customary affable manner, smiling ear to ear and talking a mile-a-minute, all while having that unique twinkle in his eyes. Each day, despite the fact that he ha[d] next to nothing, he [would be] full of positive energy (Field Notes).

This vivacity often divided the drug-free survivors from the glue-sniffers. While the substance-less children would run and play, those sniffing glue would regularly be seen lying or sitting in a daze. These children were often seen with deep-set eyes, a bit removed from the rest of the world. Their days were spent begging, sleeping in Makadara and playing cards with one another. Animation was constantly observed in this group when it came to glue and personal belongings however. This animation often took the form of hostility, where the glue majority was much more aggressive than their substance-free counterparts. Frequently, a survivor lacking glue would steal from another, enticing serious wrestling, hitting and threats with boulders and rocks. These grapples were generally left to the kids to sort out themselves, and though no

one was ever seriously hurt, these were not playful fights often seen among siblings. Rather, they were aggressive, purpose-seeking acts of control.

Perhaps related, these two distinct groups of survivors based off of drug use, had different interests on a daily basis. While both groups had members focused monetarily (similar to the survivors "on" the street), the majority were not exclusively concentrated on earning money. Since they were permanent residents of the streets, they had little use for earning much money, as they had few expenses. While both groups strived to obtain adequate food for the day, if/when this was achieved, they then had distinctly different objectives. The glue group held the common purpose each day of reaching their accustomed "high," meaning they needed to obtain glue or other drugs. The substance-free group however, held no such interest. Instead, they were much more interested in having fun and learning. Consequently, the drug-free group consistently came to learn English, Math, Science and religious morals every day. When they realized that food was not necessarily going to be provided, the glue group however did not always continue to show up to educational lessons. The drug-free survivors also enjoyed simply talking and telling stories. This was not as common in the glue-users, who despite often hanging out in a group, were much more individualistic, keeping to themselves and having their own thoughts and experiences. Animosity could be seen between members in this group, whereas the glue-free children were much more fluid in their interactions. As a result, the social separation between the two soon became quite clear, with each even having their own area within Makadara Park, which they left to each other.

Further demarcations within the survivors could be seen within occupation and size/age. As has been referenced, there was a distinction between those who concentrated on earning money, and those who, recognizing their inevitability of street-life, preferred to spend their time doing other things. Thus, those fiscally driven were often collecting empty water bottles, garbage and scraps of metal to sell. As one survivor put it, *"taka ni mali*," or "trash is wealth." When possible, these children would take the opportunity to wash cars, help clean or partake in any bit of semi-formal labor. While this work could be seen in those not as financially driven as well, it was more common to observe this latter group simply begging, knowing they could survive in this manner.

Size/age played a role in separating survivors as well. Many survivors mentioned that the bigger, older boys frequently exploited younger children.   Frank

explains, "See sometimes we get some food and they want to eat it. And we welcome them to come share it. But when they come they just take all the food and then run away without sharing it." Often the exploitation is of a much greater extent as well. Many younger survivors stayed as far from the older boys as possible, for sexual abuse was common. "A big *chokora* is just telling you, "Take off all your clothes and give us your behind!"" says Keith.   These issues of exploitation created another separation within the survivors of Mombasa, isolating the younger ones from the older.

It is important to note that not all of these distinctions made between survivors are mutually exclusive. There were older, big survivors who used glue who also sought out money. There were younger ones who did and did not sniff glue. Many of these groups can overlap. However, these distinctions are significant given the social implication of their separation. Furthermore, as will be discussed (See Discussions), the recognition of these divisions are vital in all policy regarding survivors and any efforts made to help and protect this neglected community.

Drugs

Just as one cannot know survivors of Mombasa without knowing Mbaraki, similarly, one cannot understand the culture of the survivors without understanding glue. Drugs are quite prevalent in the survivor community, with glue being the cheap, accessible, most frequently used substance. The empty water bottle, filled slightly at the bottom with glue is often the most recognizable feature of a survivor. In fact, when recounting his tale of the street, Paul remembers glue being one of the first things of the culture.

> Ok first time when I came to the street…I met one of my friends, one of the boys there, and he said…"We have our special ID." Then he asks me, "Can I give you that ID?" I tell him, "Yeah, that's ok." He gives me a small bottle of glue. Just small glue and he says, "This is your ID. Anywhere you go inside the town, people will know you're a street boy and they'll help you." But without this it's hard for people to understand who you are. So, it was hard for me to start sniffing that glue. But because I was there, I was suppose to be there, I forced myself to sniff and start to use those many drugs.

As this story illustrates, the use of glue can even characterize someone as a survivor. Furthermore, its use is of such utmost importance to many of the groups that it is their

"ID." The glue demarcates one as a member. This is precisely why Fadhil claims, "almost 99% of the street boys are using drugs. 99%." This fact was evident in all parts of Mombasa as well. Whether in Makadara Park, walking down Digo Road, begging in the street, relaxing at Mbaraki or wandering through Likoni, boys with glue bottles pinned to their faces were everywhere. In fact, this abuse of glue is so ubiquitous that when writing of their success with survivors, Wema Center, one of the largest organizations in Mombasa aiding survivors, tells that "many children have been transformed into fulfilled and responsible children, dropping glue sniffing." As indicated by this statement, simply dropping glue sniffing is correlated with "transforming into fulfilled and responsible children." The reverse is thus assumed with those who continue abusing glue, that they are not responsible children. The magnitude of glue for survivors is consequently immeasurable.

The problems of drugs in Mombasa survivors unfortunately do not stop with the abuse of glue however. This often is because, as Frank tells, "it starts just as glue, but then they get into more and more." Fadhil agrees, saying of most survivors, "If he's not using glue, it's marijuana, if he's not using marijuana maybe he's using cocaine." Looking to his right, then to his left, making sure no one else was listening, Fadhil continued, "A lot of street boys are being abused by drug lords to traffic some drugs." Though specific details were unknown, government officials substantiated this notion as well, knowing that these children were being targeted and used to smuggle drugs.

These problems have elicited public outrage, yet little is currently being done. Coastal women are calling for change, demanding, "Drug abuse be declared a national disaster and given the same attention as HIV" (Beja 2009). These women claim over 26,000 youth on the coast are drug addicts and yet there are only three rehabilitation centers (Omar Rehab, Reachout Rehab and Mewa Rehab) to serve these youth (Beja 2009). They further corroborated Fadhil's assertion, when telling that "drug traffickers targeted children aged between 10 and 14" (Beja 2009).

It is therefore impossible to look into the complexities of Mombasa survivors without also observing the impact and effect drugs have on this community. Drugs maintain a stronghold on many, even for those who want to stop. Will and Omar provide the perfect examples, despite coming from distinctly different backgrounds, Will from Mombasa and Omar from Uganda. Though neither one can be seen without a bottle of glue attached to his mouth, Will understands glue will not aid his

future. "I would like to leave glue because in my life the glue will not protect me, nor will it feed me, nor will it clothe me." Similarly, Omar "would like to abstain from it." But they have become attached. This addiction remains problematic, and the ramifications of this finding are quite significant and must be heavily considered when planning any related program development or policy (see Discussion).

Education

While glue and the use of drugs was seen everywhere in Mombasa survivors, this did not necessarily correlate with the generic assumptions accompanying drug-addicts. Most blatantly, virtually all children spoken with expressed a strong desire to go to school. While it is undeniable that some survivors do prefer the life of the street, where they have unlimited freedom and ability to do as they like, the vast majority craved an opportunity to learn and attend school. This trend was seen across the various groupings of survivors, from survivors "on" the street, to those "of" the street using drugs and not using drugs, and even those who had just gotten off the street, but still were hustling on a daily basis.

Miriam served as a prime example of a survivor "on" the street, who "just want[ed] to go home to Malindi and go to school." The same applied to survivors "of" the street. Constantly, they would request to be taken to school, education was their main request. When asked what people could do to help, what was most necessary in his life, Joe, looking much younger than his claimed age of 17, spoke like a true taciturn, having only this to say: "Now do this. Take us to school. Take us to school to read."

These children were fully aware of the benefits of education as well. They have big dreams and aspirations, like any other children, yet they recognize the stumbling blocks in front of them. As Frank tells, "I want to be a doctor. The only thing between me and my goal, the only obstacle, is that there is no place I can go get my studies." Keith recognizes the same problem. "I want to become a pilot. But if I want to become a pilot I need to go take my studies, but still I do not have a place where I can get my studies." Athman feels similarly as well; "I want to become a policeman, but the only obstacle between me and my goal is I don't have any place where I can go and get my studies." The connection between education and a future is spelled out well by Mike and Fadhil as well. Mike tells,

> I want to become a mechanic or an engineer. The only obstacle is education. See, I don't have education. If I could get someone to help me get education…I would take the opportunity to go and learn in order to help myself in the future.

Even Fadhil, who no longer identifies himself as living on the street, understands the importance of education.

> If I can get someone who says, "my friend, do you want to go back to learn?" I am ready. Because if I go back to the class and learn something, if I come outside here I can get a job. But without any of that…I don't know. Life is still tough.

These dreams of school and education were not simply empty requests, trying to satisfy me as a researcher.

> Six days a week I would go to Makadara Park or Mbaraki to teach the survivors English, Math, Science, religious morals and anything else they desired. They would show up each day, ready and excited to learn. Rarely did I bring food or anything other than pencils and paper, but they continually showed up, hungry for knowledge. In fact, when I brought bananas one day, Peter, who usually eats only once a day and constantly talks about being underfed, pulled me aside after class.

> Danny, don't bring food tomorrow. Don't keep bringing food, just books. Some others only come to get food and it makes it tough for us to learn. We want to focus on learning, so you should stop bringing food so we can really learn well (paraphrased).

As this example illustrates, these survivors are thirsty for education. They face many challenges, but most pressing to them is school. Fadhil and Paul emphasize this as well.

> Fadhil: I just always hoped and wanted a place where I can go and learn. Because I don't want just money. If you give me money I go and eat but then have the same, same problem tomorrow. So the thing to solve the problem is to give us knowledge.
> Paul: But giving me money, today 20, tomorrow 100, you are not helping me.
> Fadhil: So something I would like for me, to get off the street, is to get higher education and knowledge somehow.

They understand the repercussions of not attending school. As Fadhil perfectly sums up, "Education matters. Because there are jobs out there, but we go and they need a

certificate." These survivors want their certificate; they want the opportunity to succeed.

DISCUSSION/ANALYSIS

To truly understand the implications of these findings, one must fully understand the contextual experience of a Mombasa survivor. Thus, before discussing the significance of these findings, a short analysis will be given regarding the generic livelihood of the informants at hand, for trying to see life through their eyes is essential in recognizing their opinion and best interest for policy and programs to move forward.

As implied by their self-ordained names, the survivors of Mombasa are resilient, withstanding the metaphoric battleground they find themselves in. The connotation of war and battle implied by "survivor" seems very appropriate and epitomizes much of their livelihood. Greeting each other with "*Niaje jeshi?*" (what's up army?), they see themselves as warriors, dodging bullets of malaria when they sleep each night in the cold, bullets of poison in the food they eat, where when sifting through food it is not uncommon "to find a used condom inside" (Paul). They dodge bullets from the municipal council, who at night "spank you with sticks and chase you away" (Keith). They must avoid the minefields of older street boys and community members, who as Keith explains, grab them and demand, "take off all your clothes and give us your behind!" It is consequently fitting that these survivors use this figurative military rhetoric.

In fact, the militaristic nature is not merely figurative for many of them. Omar serves as the perfect example of just that.

> My story is like my parents died. They died in Uganda; they were shot. I went to a refugee camp, I hid myself somewhere and then I managed to enter the Kenya border and made my way to Nairobi. I stayed in Nairobi for a few days and then I came to Mombasa with another survivor. I can't even remember my family.

Another survivor had made his way to Mombasa from Sudan, when he had been separated from his parents during civil war. Then there are the numerous internally displaced children within Kenya itself. Peter, for instance, told how he had only come to Mombasa after his parents were killed in the 2007 post-election violence. As a high-ranking government official in Mombasa explained, survivors did not even exist

in Mombasa until after the 1992 and 1997 election violence[6]. Only after this ethnic conflict, did children begin living on the streets here in Mombasa, the government official elucidated.

Thus, the military references are not only figurative for many of these survivors, they have concrete, personal meanings as well. The model of an African survivor therefore must incorporate the effects of armed conflict, for this warfare has sadly run rampant throughout much of the continent. Therefore, armed conflict must be considered in order to fill the void of the current "fragmented" studies with "no developed discourse on African childhoods" (Ennew 2003). Most obviously, this armed conflict creates orphans when families are killed or split apart. When villages and communities are destroyed, many children flee and the creation of survivors can easily be understood. However, this context must also be considered when viewing the psychological mindset of African survivors. Often they have seen war and death first-hand. This only adds to what they see on the streets on a daily basis, which Jake argues can by itself distinguish a survivor. "The one who is not in the streets, he is a good boy because he has not seen what we have seen," explains Jake.

The things survivors see on the street only begin to scratch the surface of their livelihoods however. Daily, these survivors are concerned about simply having food. Talking about how he just got off the streets, Fadhil recalls, "some nights I went hungry. I had to go to the garbage and look [for food]." Paul verifies this, telling, "sometimes we sleep even hungry." When asking Omar of his daily toil, he paused, rubbing his eyes in an effort to shoo the several flies crawling over his face. He dropped the bottle of glue from his clasped mouth and proclaimed,

> Here we live on the streets. And we are hurt or tortured. We have nowhere to sleep. We get spanked by policemen. We are hungry and have diseases. We become sick and there is nothing we can do about it. Others have died and they leave us behind. And we only remain here in this world.

The physical duress the survivors endure certainly qualifies their name. But the mental affliction may be just as worse. Countless kids echoed Mike's dream, to simply have "someone who I can talk to and tell my problems to." The unfortunate reality however, is that as a survivor, "you're just an outcast." As Fadhil further

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[6] While the 2007 post-election violence received international attention, significant violence and ethnic conflict following both the 1992 and 1997 elections caused both death and much internal displacement in Kenya.

elucidates, "no one wants to be around you. No one wants to see you." This is the life of a survivor in Mombasa. It is not easy, it is not chosen. But as Mike continually explained, "I just have to tolerate it." They *survive* it.

With this basic background of a survivor's livelihood, we can now examine the specific significance of the aforementioned findings, beginning with the importance of Mombasa as a setting.

As mentioned, Mombasa's bearing on survivors included not only the location-attraction and religious value, but also the demographics of survivors, in which none were Swahili. These findings have great importance for a few of reasons. For one, it illustrates the need for ethnographic work in each area to even begin to develop a discourse on African survivors. Within this context, Swahili culture played a vital role in the development of the survivors, based both on their choice of location for hustling, and their daily interactions and activities. They would go to mosques on Fridays, pray on their own and rely on the coast for warmth, pleasure and survival. Though originating from other areas, they adopted parts of Swahili culture. The dropping of their mother tongues for exclusive use of Kiswahili to communicate is further evidence of this fact. Thus, this finding is essential in recognizing the value of seeing the person in context. One cannot understand any survivor, be it in Mombasa, Nairobi or Latin America, if he/she does not understand the culture within which that survivor is living.

Furthermore, the absence of Swahili survivors in Mombasa serves to augment the discourse on African survivors by highlighting the significance of community and religion. The fact that no Swahili survivors were identified suggests a model for other communities to reduce the impact of streetism. This model is centered on the traditional African notion of communalism, of looking after one another. Fatma, a Swahili mother, explains this child-rearing trend in Swahili culture completely.

> Someone in the family will always take care of the children….We look after one another. I would raise my sister's child as my own….Or if I were to die, my sisters would take care of (Mohammad.) If my sisters couldn't do it, then my brothers would. I guarantee my brothers would come and take care of him. That's the way we are. We do it together... I would even take in a neighbor's kid and care for him, even if it was not my own.

Consequently, each child is the responsibility of the entire community. "That's why you don't see us having street children" states Salima, another Swahili mother. This

communal upbringing, historically a marker of most all African societies, has faced changes in recent times, as the traditional family structure has broken down in many areas. The reason for this family structure breakdown, though critical in the further development of this discourse, is beyond the scope of this paper. However, the unifying factor for the Swahili remains quite important.

When asked what kept the Swahili culture together and differentiated them from other Kenyan cultures and communities, Fatma stated simply, "We are Muslims." Islam ties Swahilis together, and this is very significant, for it prevents the atmosphere of streetism from developing. As Fatma continued, "once you're a Muslim, every other Muslim is your brother and sister too. That's just how it is." This notion was corroborated by many other Swahilis; their commitment to Islam fostered communal caring and an absence of survivors. This recognition is essential in the development of African survivor discourse. Religion must be seen in the context of streetism, for it can be the primary shield against streetism, as well as a primary foundation for the development of the survivors, as previously discussed. Thus, the setting of Mombasa is very significant, for understanding religion and culture of Mombasa is vital to not only comprehending this survivor community, but also for expanding the African survivor discourse to include the thus far neglected realm of religion.

Beyond Mombasa as a setting, the significance of the social stratification is also of utmost importance. First and foremost, the ostracism of survivors from mainstream culture plays a role in development, or lack thereof. By targeting this community and isolating them as "thieves," as people whom no one wants to associate with, as *chokora,* society is creating a frustrated, volatile community. This atmosphere, especially in over-urbanized areas, often fosters rebellion and violence. This has already been seen in Nairobi, with the formation of the Mungiki. Given the neglect the coast already experiences, coupled with growing political tensions due to the ineffectiveness of power-sharing, this raises legitimate concern in Mombasa. Rakodi noted in his research that "issues of ethnicity and insecurity were identified as looming particularly large" (Rakodi 2000). This is not to directly imply that violence is ominously looming. While many of the children were very frustrated, feeling as Peter does, that "Kenya doesn't help me in any way and I have no future here," they nonetheless did not express any notions of violence. However, this environment of political instability where underprivileged youth are ostracized and neglected has

historically been a great breeding ground for rebellion and violence. It is thus highly recommended that steps be taken to address the problems facing survivors.

However, as the stratification of survivors further illustrated, these efforts to curb the growing trend of streetism must be contextually relevant. Any policy or program aiming to benefit these youth must account for the divisions within survivors. Too often programs and policies are developed to cure the problems facing "street children." This was stated as one of the main goals of the World Bank's 2009 Cash Transfer for Orphans and Vulnerable Youth of Kenya (Wautere 2009). The term "street children" and "vulnerable children" are often used in development plans and schemes. These plans are bound to fail though, for they are too broad in their aim. For instance, too often broad objectives are drawn for the entire group. Broad programs have stressed family reunification, but these programs are irrelevant for the numerous orphans or refugees who have no relatives to reunify with. Other plans insist on education, but these will not succeed with drug-addicts if the drug problems aren't first addressed. Still other projects focus simply on food and shelter. These will not suffice for many as well, if education is not accompanying these services.

Survivors are split into numerous divisions and plans must accordingly address the specific needs of each group. For the drug users, this means immediate programs for rehabilitation before anything else. With only three rehab centers in all of coast province, each with a focus more on adults, these children will not progress without appropriate, child-focused rehabilitation. With the fiscally oriented older groups, vocational training seems most relevant, for they will not participate in long-term projects without foreseeable positive change in the immediate future. For the non-drug abusing young children, educational opportunities must be at the forefront of any programming. As Peter explained, "Don't keep bringing food, just books." Books and learning are essential for this group. Family oriented reunification must be highly prioritized when dealing with survivors "on" the street, who are merely there at their parents' demand.

Programs such as these are essential for the true advancement of survivors. Thus, it is absolutely vital that policy-makers recognize the numerous divisions within survivors of Mombasa. Programs will continue to have limited impact unless these issues are concretely addressed. Fadhil understood this all too well. When asked what he and other survivors really needed, what would really make a difference, he had the following to say, "We need people to come to think first, don't just come and take us

to a center. Come first and meet us as people, meet us as street boys, talk to us, get to know us." Without getting to know them, programs and policies will continue to struggle to make strong impacts.

This recognition therefore lends itself perfectly to the ramifications previously mentioned in relation to drug use. Drugs, especially glue, inundate survivor culture. This creates serious health problems. "Many, many die young because of drugs. Sometimes they even go to sleep and then don't wake up," says Fadhil. From a public health standpoint, this is a serious concern that requires immediate attention. As the coastal women political activists demanded, drug use must be given much greater consideration. It is impossible for three rehabilitation clinics to have nearly the necessary impact on such a large population of drug addicts, and this creates more and more youth facing countless problematic addictions. If this isn't concern enough to elicit change, consider again that drug use is strongly correlated with violence and theft.

Many survivors who use drugs, and those who observed others abusing substances, even made this easy link. As Mike highlights, "it can make you do for your friend, something bad to him, like beat him…and it can even make you steal during the day, in broad daylight." Others attributed sniffing glue to violence, which I witnessed daily. When faced with the challenges already present, these drugs can prompt violent natures, and again this brings concern to the entire society at large.

Thus, programs need to be implemented to address drug abuse. However, these programs and rehabilitations must be coupled with other plans as well, for merely treating drug addictions, though necessary, is merely treating a symptom. The root problem must be addressed as well, or drug habits will soon return. Thus, one must understand why survivors use drugs in the first place. Paul elaborates on this with his own history.

> You know in the streets, you will find yourself using drugs because the
> company, all of them are using drugs. And to keep yourself warm, you have
> to use drugs… and to cope with the life, you have to use drugs. Sleeping in
> the verandah, you have to sniff a lot of glue, smoke marijuana, without that
> you cannot go to sleep.

Others gave similar responses as well. Consequently, while rehabilitation programs must be implemented immediately, they need to be prepared for the next step as well, directing survivors to places with adequate warmth and a place to sleep. Without this

coordination, children are bound to merely return to places where the "company, all of them [are] using drugs."

However, from this research, indications show these changes are possible. While some children are so engrossed in glue and other substances they will not look for other solutions, many others were more than willing to quit. Will, with a bottle of glue in his hand, sitting in front of a group of twelve others using glue, flatly stated, "Glue does not give you anything, it does not give you food, it does not give you clothing, it does not even give you a place to sleep." Will provides the perfect example of someone who "would like to leave glue." This was a common attitude even among abusers. They are ready to change; they are simply waiting for the venue in which to do so.

The venue in which they can do so may be in the realm of education. However, despite the survivors' continual request to attend school, nearly all of them are currently locked out of this institution. This is severely problematic, for without education, the survivors' lack of agency is exacerbated. Their systemic problems conquer hopes for a different future, as their exclusion from education inhibits growth and choice. Yet, how does this occur when in both the United Nations' Convention on the Rights of the Child and in Kenya's Children's Act, it explicitly states, "any decision made [is to] be based on what is in the best interest of the child" (Children Act Cap 586)? Perhaps the problem is as Rwezaua highlights, the "best interests of a child…the way this concept is to be interpreted and applied by states will be influenced to a large extent by the social, political and economic conditions of those states" (Rwezaua 1994). Kenya's social, political and economic conditions may just not be in accordance with those of neglected children. Presenting at the International Conference on Street Children and Street Children's Health in East Africa, Kopoka wrote,

> We contend that government policies directed by structural adjustment
> programmes are responsible for putting more and more children on to the
> streets as a result of increasing poverty instead of devising policies that will
> ensure the welfare of children and the society in general (Kopoka 2000).

The reason for this is that structural adjustment programs (SAPs) ignore the fact that privatizing means more costs for the poor.

> Structural adjustment programs are based on a greater recognition of the role
> of the private sector…[eliciting] reductions by the Kenya government on

> spending for subsidized food, health care, and school-related expenses,
> [meaning] that the cost of these basic necessities have been passed on to
> families, leaving them with fewer resources to devote to the education of their
> children (Swadener et al. 2008).

The "best interest" of the children and poor are not at the top of this economically and politically driven priority list.

These policies and actions therefore need to be immediately addressed, for these policies have even been discovered to be correlated to an increase in child mortality and malnutrition in various parts of Kenya (Gakuru and Koech 1995). This emphasis on privatization and reduction of government spending, in a country where unemployment has reached over 60% (Swadener et al. 2008), spells disaster for survivors. Do you blame the parents, not providing a safe home and sometimes even throwing children on the street instead of sending them to school? But what about the children, who often stay on the streets anyway? "That's the problem!" exclaims a government official, "Who do you blame, the parents or the child?" It is neither the parent nor the child who deserves blame; it is simply structural violence. The survivors are victims of circumstance.

> Their sickness is a result of structural violence: neither culture nor individual
> will is at fault; rather, historically given (and often economically driven)
> processes and forces conspire to constrain individual agency. Structural
> violence is visited upon all those whose social status denies them access to the
> fruits of scientific and social progress (Farmer 1999).

While Farmer was referencing the rural poor of Haiti, this rings especially true for the survivors of Mombasa as well. It is neither their, nor their parents fault. But as a result of their situation, they have no agency. They cannot will themselves out of streetism; rather they are being pushed down, unable to progress due to this structural violence. Panter-Brick specifies this structural violence against survivors.

> As citizens, children have rights that entitle them to the resources required to
> protect and promote their development. Street children, however, are socially
> excluded, an exclusion that begins with lack of access to birth certificates and
> registration documents, lack of stability of residence, proper education and
> health care: This group of children is deprived of citizenship rights. (Panter-
> Brick 2002).

As a result, the survivors have no means with which to escape. Lacking documentation and citizenship rights, lacking education, they cannot move forward. While efforts are being made to correct some of these dismal policies that promote this structural violence, they continue to neglect survivors.

For instance, the 2003 government act for Free Primary Education had great impact, allowing hundreds of thousands of more children to attend school. But it must be recognized that this is not truly "free" education. Children still must pay for school uniforms, books and find their own way to be fed. This directly inhibits a specific group of children, the survivors, who have no access to funds for uniforms or books, and must spend their days hustling in order to eat. A government education officer even admitted that this Free Primary Education Act was not helping survivors at all. "Free" education is irrelevant for families when they cannot put food on the table. This is precisely why children are sent from their homes to beg on the streets. With a hope of earning 800 shillings a day, this is not a difficult decision for many rural families to make. While primary education is technically "free," "in most cases, poor families and, increasingly, middle-class families in Kenya cannot afford a public education" (Swadener et al. 2008). In addition, this "free" education still neglects the survivors "of" the street who lack family ties in the first place and cannot afford the still existing fees.

Without proper education, these survivors continue to be systematically repressed. As Fadhil tells, "there are jobs out there, but we go and they need a certificate." Abandonment has yielded this certificate all too elusive for the survivors however. Furthermore, beyond the certificate itself, is the obvious knowledge that accompanies education. The structural violence facing survivors is made further evident when considering this fact, as one can look to the development of language as the perfect example.

While Swahili is the national language of Kenya, its mastery remains irrelevant in the acquisition of any well-paid, formal job. Survivors in Mombasa, an eclectic group coming from various places, all drop their mother tongues to fuse and bond on the street, utilizing the national language, Swahili. Proficiency in one's national language should succeed in the formal sector. Yet, it is not sufficient. To truly succeed, one must master English as well. Peter repeatedly told, "English is very important. We need to know English." Without schooling, the children lack sufficient English competence and consequently the survivors cannot realistically

hope to enter the formal sector and progress. Thus, through the inhibition of proper education, survivors are further repressed, linguistically unable to ever fully integrate into society, even though they are masters of the national language.

This linguistic example serves as just one of many prohibiting the survivors from true development. Devoid of "professional" clothes or mannerisms, they remain impure in the eyes of any employer anyway. Lacking proper attention, survivors will continue to feel the brunt of structural violence. Even with new policy, like free primary education, survivors continue to struggle. This is because these policies and plans, like previous SAPs, fail to truly address the systemic problems of survivors. To reiterate Umi Katembe's assertion, "it is not enough that laws protecting children are enacted. These laws must be implemented." This implementation remains absent in regards to survivors.

CONCLUSION

The survivor community of Mombasa is a very eclectic group and consequently must receive individual attention if changes are to be made. Given the urbanization trends in Kenya, it is clear that issues concerning survivors are going to continue to envelop the 21st century. Coupled with the discovery that Mombasa serves as a magnet for survivors and others in financial burden, the ensuing years are critical to attacking the central problems encompassing the survivor community in Mombasa.

While structural violence lies at the core of these issues, appropriate action can nonetheless be taken to reduce this repression. Such action to augment survivors' agency in order to progress is absolutely vital, not only for the advancement of this neglected community, but also for the larger, coastal society, given the political turbulence still bubbling in Kenya.

First and foremost, survivors need to be heard. The continual ostracizing of any community not only marks the recipient as a pariah, but it further establishes social, ethnic and economic classes that already derail Kenya. Thus, survivors must be heard and viewed as citizens. As Daniel emphasized, "We are people here. We are normal people."   Consequently, just as the Children's Act describes, they "have a right to be protected from discrimination…a right to education…a right to health" (Children Act Cap 586). They "must be protected from abuse, neglect…[and] must be protected from economic exploitation" (Children Act Cap 586).   These laws now exist; it is time they are properly implemented.

To do so, policy and programs must differentiate between the divisions within survivors. Proper planning must account for those "of" the street versus those "on" the street, those who use drugs and those who do not, those who beg and those who do odd jobs, those with family and those without, those who seek money and those who seek education. Drug programs and rehabilitations must be immediately addressed as well. Finally, education must be at the forefront of all planning. By providing children the education they rightfully deserve, they begin to gain the agency to make their own positive decisions and progress. While structural violence will continue to attack those without the social capital to lift themselves up, this need not inevitably be the fate of the survivors. They deserve more than mere *survival*.

RECOMMENDATIONS

To expand on this research, there are many areas that could be delved into with much greater depth. With the identification of the aforementioned social stratification amongst survivors, further research should exploit this fact and truly understand one or two of these groups. This project was limited by the need to first identify these various groups. Future research could more intricately examine the unique and distinct aspects of these cultures. As such, future research could focus further attention on female survivors. This research lacked adequate exploration of female culture versus male culture. Related to this, health effects, specifically sexual health should be analyzed further. This is of particular relevance to the female survivors, who are known to often be sexually abused and who sometimes also engage in the commercial sex industry. Sexual abuse also was mentioned several times amongst male survivors, and thus must not be neglected in this investigation as well.

In addition, drug use should be further analyzed amongst this population. This is of particular interest in regards to policy, where the government and rehabilitation centers are doing very little to combat the drug issues. Looking at this problem from a political standpoint would bring to light many of the issues surrounding drug use. Furthermore, connecting this to the international drug smuggling that can come through Mombasa, to which some of these children may be linked, would be a fascinating endeavor.

Given the frequency with which survivors come from outside communities, it would also serve very useful and interesting to research the social pressures pushing children and families toward streetism from the rural perspective. Thus, one could

spend time in areas such as Miritini, Mariakani or other nearby rural neighborhoods in an effort to understand the communities from which many of these survivors come, and how they end up in Mombasa. This would help put a much more complete picture on the story.

Also, indulging in the significance of religion to the survivors would be interesting. This could be accomplished both by further questioning and observance of the given community, but also through a comparative study to discover if the religious fervor seen in Mombasa is in fact unique to survivors in this region.

Finally, another topic of interest would be older survivors. When one is no longer technically a child, having reached 18 years old, what happens? The older generation of survivors is arguably even more neglected than the children, yet still faces many of the same challenges. They have not received adequate education and are rejected by much of society. Therefore, an ethnographic look at older survivors would likely reveal an entire new class of social pariahs, who face great structural challenges as well.

As with any research, while many things were discovered through this work, there also are many unanswered questions. I recommend the pursuit of this general topic, for I believe more attention still needs to be given to the survivors. It is highly recommended however, that all continued research ensures that the survivors' voices are heard, for discourse on survivors cannot tell a true story if the survivors themselves are not allowed to speak.

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APPENDIX

Pictures   45

Survivor walking away after being refused money from begging

Survivor begging at an open cafe

Makadara Park, being decorated with
 swings and rides for Eid

Survivor hoping for house-boy work
outside of a home

Survivors hanging out in their free time in a park

Definitions

Survivor "on" the street: A survivor "on" the street is a child with significant activity on the street, be it work, begging, hawking or anything else, who nonetheless maintains strong ties to family. He/she often returns home at night and may be enrolled in school.

Survivor "of" the street: A survivor "of" the street is a child tied to the street. He/she works, begs and lives fully on the street, without meaningful ties to family.

Streetism: A term referencing all life inextricably linked to the street, including survivors "on" and "of" the street.

Structural Violence: The systemic ways in which a social institution or social structure inhibits a group of people by preventing them from attaining basic needs.

Organizations

Wema Centre
Waura House Cement Road
Address: P.O. Box 88820-80100 Mombasa, Kenya
Phone 254 (0) 41 473843
Email: wema@africaonline.co.ke
         info@wemacentre.org
Website: www.wematrust.org

Grandsons of Abraham
Mikindani, Changamwe Division, Mombasa, Kenya
Email:
Website: http://www.maryknollafrica.net/mombasa/grandsonsofabraham.htm

Tononoka Drop-In Center
Tononoka, Mombasa Division, Mombasa, Kenya
Email:
Website:

Interviews
INFORMAL INTERVIEWS

Survivors
Anonymous Male. Personal Interview. November 12, 2009, Makadara Park.
Anonymous Female. Personal Interview. November 12, 2009, Makadara Road.
Anonymous Female. Personal Interview. November 14, 2009, Digo Road.
Anonymous Male. Personal Interview. November 14, 2009, Makadara Park.
Anonymous Female. Personal Interview. November 17, 2009, Nkrumah Road.
Anonymous Male. Personal Interview. November 18, 2009, Mwembe Tayari.
Anonymous Female. Personal Interview. November 18, 2009, Mwembe Tayari.
Anonymous Male. Personal Interview. November 20, 2009, Mbaraki.
Anonymous Male. Personal Interview. November 20, 2009, Mbaraki.
Anonymous Male. Personal Interview. November 20, 2009, Mbaraki.
Anonymous Male. Personal Interview. November 20, 2009, Mbaraki.
Anonymous Male. Personal Interview. November 20, 2009, Mbaraki.

Anonymous Male. Personal Interview. November 23, 2009, Makadara Park.
Anonymous Male. Personal Interview. November 24, 2009, Fort Jesus.
Anonymous Male. Personal Interview. November 24, 2009, Fort Jesus.
Anonymous Male. Personal Interview. November 26, 2009, Office.
Anonymous Male. Personal Interview. November 27, 2009, Makadara Park.
Anonymous Male. Personal Interview. November 27, 2009, Makadara Park.
Anonymous Male. Personal Interview. November 27, 2009, Makadara Park.
Anonymous Male. Personal Interview. November 27, 2009, Makadara Park.
Anonymous Male. Personal Interview. November 27, 2009, Makadara Park.
Anonymous Male. Personal Interview. November 27, 2009, Makadara Park.
Anonymous Male. Personal Interview. November 27, 2009, Makadara Park.
Anonymous Male. Personal Interview. November 27, 2009, Samburu Road.
Anonymous Male. Personal Interview. November 27, 2009, Makadara Road.
Anonymous Male. Personal Interview. November 27, 2009, Makadara Road.
Anonymous Female. Personal Interview. November 27, 2009, Makadara Park.
Anonymous Female. Personal Interview. November 27, 2009, Samburu Road.
Anonymous Female. Personal Interview. November 27, 2009, Makadara Road.
Anonymous Female. Personal Interview. December 1, 2009, Coast General Hospital.
Anonymous Female. Personal Interview. December 1, 2009, Coast General Hospital.
Anonymous Male. Personal Interview. December 1, 2009, Coast General Hospital.
Anonymous Male. Personal Interview. December 1, 2009, Coast General Hospital.

SEMI-FORMAL INTERVIEWS
Survivors
Athman. Personal Interview. November 11, 2009. Makadara Park.
Daniel. Personal Interview. November 11, 2009. Sambura Road.
Frank. Personal Interview. November 11, 2009. Makadara Park.
Jake. Personal Interview. November 19, 2009. Makadara Park.
Joe. Personal Interview. November 19, 2009. Makadara Park.
Jordan. Personal Interview. November 20, 2009, Mbaraki.
Keith. Personal Interview. November 11, 2009. Makadara Park.
Mike. Personal Interview. November 19, 2009. Makadara Park.
Miriam. Personal Interview. November 11, 2009. Nkrumah Road.
Omar. Personal Interview. November 20, 2009, Mbaraki.
Paul. Personal Interview. November 9, 2009, Likoni.
Peter. Personal Interview. November 11, 2009. Makadara Park.
Fadhil. Personal Interview. November 9, 2009, Likoni.
Will. Personal Interview. November 20, 2009, Mbaraki.

Government Workers
Government Official. Personal Interview. October 22, 2009, Unidentified.
Government Official. Personal Interview. November 10, 2009, Unidentified.
Government Official. Personal Interview. December 1, 2009, Unidentified.

Aid Workers
Aid Worker. Personal Interview. November 13, 2009. Unidentified.
Aid Worker. Personal Interview. November 13, 2009. Unidentified.
Aid Worker. Personal Interview. November 28, 2009. Unidentified.

Local Residents
Local Resident. Personal Interview. November 16, 2009, Fort Jesus.
Local Resident. Personal Interview. November 16, 2009, Fort Jesus.
Salima. Personal Interview. November 25, 2009, house.
Fatma. Personal Interview. November 26, 2009, house.
Local Resident. Personal Interview. November 28, 2009, house.

Table 1. Age and Origin of Survivors Referenced in Text

NAME	AGE	ORIGINAL HOME
Paul	21	Voi
Miriam	9	Malindi
Athman	14	Lunga Lunga
Frank	13	Machakos
Keith	13	Nairobi
Daniel	13	Kakamega
Peter	13	Nyanza
Jake	15	Nyahururu
Mike	13	Kisumu
Omar	14	Uganda
Fadhil	21	Nairobi
Will	14	Mnazi Moja, Mombasa
Joe	17	Arunga
Jordan	14	Nairobi