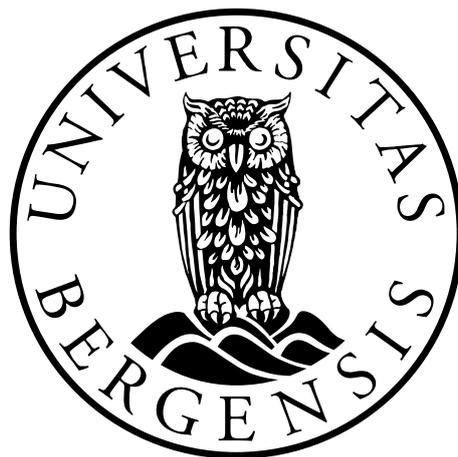


CHILD TRAFFICKING IN TANZANIA

*Exploring Experiences of Trafficked Girls in
Dar es Salaam*

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my beloved daughter Benedicta.

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ABSTRACT

This study focuses on the experiences of trafficked children in Tanzania. Trafficking of children has many effects on victims: it deprives them of human rights and freedoms; it may also pose a public health risk. Historically, migration of children who are fostered by extended family is a long-standing customary practice in Tanzania, but while the circumstances of fostering have changed, given increasing rural poverty and the impact of the HIV/AIDS crisis, this has not been recognized in Tanzanian society. The government of Tanzania enacted the Anti-Trafficking Act in 2008, and the Law of Child Act 2009, but children who migrate are increasingly being exploited and abused; this has transformed specific cases from migration into trafficking. Very little research has been conducted on the phenomenon of trafficking in East Africa and it was difficult to find any studies that dealt with the trafficking of children.

The overall objective of this study was to explore the experiences of trafficked young girls in Dar es Salaam city while the specific objectives were: to determine the factors, motives and people involved in motivating girls to come cities in Tanzania; to examine the life experiences of girls from the time of trafficking to the moment they are rescued; to examine coping strategies that girls use after being trafficked; and to study the processes adopted in the reintegration of rescued girls into the community and their wishes for the future.

By using the empowerment theory and child protection framework, the study has focused on the way children were transformed from a state of disempowerment while they were being exploited, to being empowered after rescue and the start of rehabilitation. In addition, the child protection framework is used to examine the loss of child rights during the trafficking experience and how child rights can be protected.

In this qualitative study, fifteen girls (aged between 15 and 18 years) from KIWOHEDE rescue centre narrated their life histories and five social workers from KIWOHEDE, IOM, CRS and the Tanzanian Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, were interviewed. In addition to the interviews and the life history narrations, I also collected data through participant observation method and document reviews.

The findings of this study clearly show that, in spite of parliamentary acts which intended to protect children, trafficking of children, especially in domestic labour, continues in Tanzania.

Being constrained by poverty coupled with parental sickness and deaths, large families and socio-cultural factors, caregivers allow children to go to urban centres to work most of them as housegirls in houses of their close relatives and neighbours. Children themselves are attracted by the false promises of education, employment and a better life in town. The people involved were parents and close relatives; neighbours, family friends as well as business persons.

My informants were exposed to exploitation, inhumane treatment. Some girls as young as nine years old, worked for up to 20 hours a day, doing all housework including house cleaning, cooking, babysitting and sometimes engaged in employer's petty business; they were not paid or poorly paid. They were prohibited from communicating with relatives and neighbours; deprived food, clothes and medical services; as well as reprimanded, beaten and sexually abused. As a result they were traumatised, wounded and some of them infected with diseases including HIV/AIDS. However, my informants succeeded to get out from this situation and were undergoing rehabilitation and reintegration at KIWOHEDE centre. Through education and vocational training, they were motivated and empowered to revive their wishes and to build their future.

The experiences of the girls in this study indicate that vulnerable girls who are assisted to migrate to Dar es Salaam may be subjected to exploitation and abuse of varying severity. The recommendations forwarded in this study, encourage the community to protect children from vulnerability and respect child rights.

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ACRWC:	African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child
COSTECH:	Tanzania Commission for Science and Technology
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
CRS:	Catholic Relief Services
DRC:	Democratic Republic of Congo
HIV:	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
AIDS:	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ICSW:	International Council on Social Welfare
ILO:	International Labour Organization
IPEC:	International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour
IOM:	International Organization for Migration
KIWOHEDE:	Kiota Women's Health and Development Organization
MEMKWA:	Mpango wa Elimu Maalumu kwa Walioikosa
MoH&SW:	Ministry of Health and Social Welfare
NGO:	Non-governmental Organization
NIMR:	National Institute for Medical Research
NSD:	Norwegian Social Science Data Service
PASADA:	Pastoral Activities and Services for People with AIDS, Dar es Salaam Archdiocese
REK:	Research Ethics Committee
SAP:	Structural Adjustment Programmes.
STD:	Sexually Transmitted Disease
TRC:	Tanzania Railways station
UN:	United Nations
UNCRC:	United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child
UNICEF:	United Nations Children's Fund
URT:	United Republic of Tanzania
USA:	United States of America
USD:	United States Dollar
USDOS:	United States Department of States
ZAHUMA:	Zanzibar Muslims for Human Rights

CHAPTER ONE

1.1 Background Information to the Study

Trafficking of children has many effects on victims: it deprives them of human rights and freedoms; it may also pose a public health risk. Child trafficking is closely related to the worst forms of child labour, diseases, sexual abuse, exploitation and it is an obstacle to education attainment.

Historically, the trafficking of human beings is an old tradition; it has been practised in the form of slavery and the slave trade. According to ILO-IPEC (2002), the term ‘trafficking’, appeared in literature as early as mid of the 16th century. At that time, trafficking meant ‘trade’. It was later, towards the end of the same century that the word started to denote transit of illicit or disputable goods such as drugs. In the 19th century, the meaning of trafficking was broadened to include illicit trade in human beings and their displacement within the country or across borders (ILO-IPEC, *ibid*). In some contexts, human trafficking is also referred to as ‘the modern day slave trade’ (Hughes, 2000).

Human trafficking is nowadays recognized as a crime in many countries in the world. In order to combat it, the United Nations adopted the *UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children* (2000) also known as Palermo Protocol¹. The Protocol criminalises all forms of recruitment, transportation, harbouring of human beings especially women and children for exploitation purposes (2000)². As a way to implement the UN protocol, till 2007 many countries had enacted internal laws to prohibit human trafficking (ILO, 2007). For example, in Europe, the member countries of the European Union adopted in 2002, *the Council framework decision on combating trafficking in human beings*, followed by each country making its own internal law (Follmat-Otto & Rabe, 2009). In the American continent, the Canadian government incorporated the anti-trafficking law in the *Immigration and Refugee Act 2002* while each state in USA voted for its own law (Federal/Provincial/Territorial Forum of Status of Women Senior Officials, 2010). In the Asian continent, Colombia enacted the *Colombia Law on Trafficking* in 2002 and Philippines in 2003. In Africa, Nigeria enacted in 2001, and South Africa in 2007 (ILO,

¹ It was adopted in Palermo town in Italy.

² The full definition of trafficking according to UN is in chapter two

2007) while in East Africa, according to Ochanda et al (2011), Tanzania passed the Anti-trafficking Law in 2008, Uganda in 2009 and Kenya in October 2010.

Information available about the magnitude of human trafficking is limited because the practice is normally done in secrecy. However according to Miko (2003: 1), it is estimated that worldwide between 700,000 and 4 million people, the majority of them women and children, are trafficked each year whereas some 50,000 are trafficked to the United States alone. Miko (ibid) asserts that trafficking is considered the third largest source of profit for organised crime, behind drugs and weapons, generating billions of dollars annually. Experts, despite lack of statistics, estimate that 330 child victims are trafficked into the United Kingdom each year (House of Commons Home Affairs Committee, 2009).

UNICEF (2003b) and Goliath (2008) found that trafficking is a recognized problem in African countries. Goliath (2008: 4) shows that 70% of trafficking cases are from West and Central Africa, whereas 30% of cases are from Southern and East Africa. Trafficking for domestic services is common among the countries of West Africa, in particular Benin, Burkina Fasso, Cameroon, Ivory Coast, Guinea, Ghana, Mali, Niger, Nigeria and Togo (ILO-IPEC, 2001). According to Goliath (ibid) children are trafficked at twice the rate of women and 60% of trafficking victims are from rural to urban areas within and across borders.

In southern Africa, South Africa is the main destination of child trafficking for sexual exploitation (Kamidi, 2007). According to Kamidi (ibid: 39), the report of child trafficking published in 2000 by an organisation known as Molo Songololo shows that between 28,000 and 38,000 children were trafficked for sexual exploitation. Kamidi (ibid) affirms that in Cape Town, 25% of the prostitution services are offered by children coming from Angola, Botswana, DRC, Lesotho, Mozambique, Malawi, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania Zimbabwe and Zambia.

According to UNICEF (2003b), internal trafficking affects the majority of African countries. UNICEF (ibid) reports that in Eastern Africa and Tanzania in particular, most of the girls who are engaged in prostitution in urban centres come from rural areas. Ochanda et al (2009: 12) affirms that, *“Human trafficking happens often in our East African communities and families yet it remains unknown. Somehow, knowledge about international human trafficking seems much (sic) diffused (though also not well understood) than that of domestic human trafficking”*.

1.1.1 Tanzanian Context

The government of Tanzania ratified the UN (2000) Protocol and enacted *The Anti-Trafficking Act* 2008. Together with the UN protocol above, the government of Tanzania has ratified other international conventions related to human and child rights. These include the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) 1989; the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (ACRWC) 1999; the Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution and Pornography 2000; the Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the Involvement of Children in Armed Conflict 2000, as well as the ILO Convention no 182 on the Worst Forms of Child Labour of 1999. However, Kamidi (2007) reports that child trafficking is still widespread in Tanzania even if the country has accepted, and ratified international instruments condemning this practice.

According to the United States Department of State (USDOS) (2009), Tanzania is said to be a source, transit route and destination of trafficking activities. The USDOS report (ibid) reveals that women and children are trafficked to South Africa, Saudi Arabia, the United Kingdom and Sweden, for domestic servitude and sexual exploitation. It further reports that Indian women who are trafficked to Tanzania to work as entertainers in restaurants and nightclubs are forced into prostitution. Other trafficked people to Tanzania come from Malawi, Burundi, Rwanda, Kenya and Uganda (IOM, 2010b).

The information provided by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) (ibid: 1) shows that in Tanzania 97% of cases of trafficking are internal involving youth between 12 and 17 years old; in terms of sex, 74 % of the victims are female. The girls are trafficked from Iringa, Morogoro, Singida, Dodoma and Kilimanjaro to Dar es Salaam and to the island of Zanzibar for domestic servitude. Upon entering the cities, trafficked girls fall victim to various vices. In tourist hotels trafficked girls are compelled into prostitution whereas some domestic workers fall prey to forced prostitution, while running away from employers' harassment IOM (ibid).

1.1.2 Child Trafficking and Gender Relations

Trafficking is a phenomenon associated with gender inequality. Studies from Tanzania by Helgesson (2001) and UNICEF (2006b) indicate that despite variation in cultural diversity, girls generally hold a lower status than boys. At family level, girls are taken as temporary

members of the family since they will be married and move to other families. They are also assigned household work such as caring for children, cooking and agricultural activities. It is thus difficult for them to “*access appropriate formal education that can empower them and allow them fair competition in an open labour market*” (UNICEF, 2006b: 53). In other contexts, girls are subjected to genital mutilation and early marriage and even forced marriage. Although gender relations are unequal in both rural and urban areas, rural girls suffer more than urban girls due to domestic and agricultural work left to them and their mothers (Bendera, 1999).

Again, in Tanzania, as in most developing countries, the development gap between rural and urban areas is wide causing rural people to prefer urban life. Together with the rural-urban development gap, rural areas are more affected by natural disasters such as floods and famine (Kombe & Limbumba, 2008). As a solution, parents may consent or advise their children to seek for work and other means of living in urban centres. Therefore, gender inequalities, poverty and natural calamities among other factors contribute to encourage girls to find alternative ways of life elsewhere especially in city centres.

According to Dottridge (2004) girls are the chief victims of trafficking associated with: commercial activities, forced marriage and domestic servants. Again, in one of his speeches, the then Mwanza³ Region Commissioner acknowledged that many child domestic workers do not develop well because they work under difficult conditions, they may be sexually exploited, and may lack psycho-social care (Msekela, 2006). Testifying on this information, UNICEF (2006b) reports that child domestic workers in Tanzania are mainly children under 18 years, employed to perform various activities. The UNICEF (ibid: 11) study indicates that 85% of houseworkers are girls while 60% of them are below 16 years and 88% have not completed primary school. UNICEF (ibid: 16) reports that housegirls work between 12 and 19 hours a day and their payments are very low.

Dar es Salaam, the largest commercial city in Tanzania, is reported by several studies (Liviga & Mekacha, 1998; Lugalla & Kibassa, 2003; Mbonile & Lihawa, 1996) to be the major destination of rural-urban migration in Tanzania. Therefore, the present study was undertaken to explore the experiences of trafficked girls (under 18 years) who are brought to this city.

³ Mwanza is among large cities in Tanzania

1.2 Problem Statement

According to ILO-IPEC (2002) girls are not only more vulnerable to the trafficking phenomenon due to their helpfulness in domestic, bar and hotel services, but also they are more subjected to sexual abuse. There are few studies on human trafficking in Tanzania. For example, Ochanda et al (2009) did not find any study on trafficking apart from the report by USDOS.

On human trafficking in Tanzania, to the best of my knowledge I came across only three regional general surveys (IOM, 2008; Ochanda, et al., 2009; Pearson, 2003). Apart from these, other studies (Lugalla, 1990; Lugalla & Kibassa, 2003; Mbonile & Lihawa, 1996) concentrate on rural-urban migration of women and children, street children, and a growing magnitude of prostitution. The latter studies reveal exploitation of children, but do not associate the cases with trafficking. For that matter the present study was undertaken to explore the trafficking phenomenon from the beginning, that means pull and push factors and people involved. The research went as far as studying the experiences of trafficked girls as well as their coping strategies. Since my informants had been rescued, I also examined the way rehabilitation and reintegration processes are carried out at KIWOHEDE one of rescue centres in Dar es Salaam. The study was guided with the following objectives.

1.3 General Objective

To explore the experiences of trafficked young girls in Dar es Salaam city.

1.3.1 Specific Objectives

- i. To determine the factors and people involved in motivating girls to come cities in Tanzania;
- ii. To examine the life experiences of girls from the time of trafficking to the moment they are rescued;
- iii. To examine coping strategies that girls use after being trafficked;
- iv. To study the processes adopted in the rehabilitation and the reintegration of rescued girls into the community and their wishes for the future.

1.3.2 Research Questions

- i. What and who motivated girls to go to cities in Tanzania?
- ii. What happened to trafficked girls from the time of being trafficked until being rescued?

- iii. What do trafficked girls do to cope with the trafficking situation?
- iv. What is done to facilitate the rehabilitation and the reintegration process of trafficked girls into the community?

1.4 Motivation and Relevance of the Study

The interest to undertake this study was aroused from personal experience. Before coming to the University of Bergen I had been visiting centres for vulnerable children in Dar es Salaam. There, I discovered that many girls coming from rural areas were experiencing difficulties and exploitation especially in domestic labour in urban centres. Since exploitation and human trafficking is a violation of human rights, I thought it was wise to explore the situation of children coming or being brought to urban centres for different purposes.

I thought that this study would be relevant because it provides an additional empirical reference material on the overall understanding of human trafficking and child trafficking in particular as well as its effects on lives of victims. Also, the insights and findings of the study will highlight the specific groups or individuals involved in trafficking, identify vulnerable groups, disclose traumatic experiences of the victims and generate evidence for an action plan to combat the crimes. Furthermore, this study is a contribution to highlighting the presence of trafficking in Tanzania and showing how it is operated hence helping in policy making.

1.5 Organisation of the Study

This thesis is divided into eight chapters. Chapter one gives the introduction, the overview of human trafficking worldwide, in the African continent and in Tanzania. It also presents research objectives, motivation and relevance of the study. Chapter two focuses on a review of related literature and the theoretical framework. Chapter three presents the research methodology. Chapter four is the underlying context, motives and people involved in the girls' exploitation; while chapter five examines experiences of trafficked girls; and chapter six presents coping strategies, rehabilitation and the reintegration process. Chapter seven is the general discussion and the last chapter focuses on the conclusion and recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the meaning of human trafficking. It describes the context of child trafficking followed by a discussion on a range of literature on child trafficking and other related aspects. In the last part empowerment theory is presented, followed by the Rights-Based Approach with particular focus on the child protection framework.

Despite the fact that human trafficking is an old practice, its recognition in recent years is evidenced by an increasing number of publications within human rights, numerous non-governmental and international organizations, bodies and lobby networks, as well as in sensationalist media (Derks, 2000; IOM, 2000). The IOM (2005) emphasises that the subject of human trafficking has become increasingly urgent and widespread; it spans historical, political, humanitarian, legal and socio-economic dimensions. The IOM report (ibid) further argues that relatively little research on trafficking has been conducted in the Americas, Africa and the Middle East.

2.1 Defining Trafficking

Before we go further, it is important at this point to understand the meaning of human trafficking. The most utilised definition of human trafficking is the one proposed by the United Nations. According to UN (2000:2) article 3 (a) trafficking in persons is:

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

This definition of trafficking however has been debated among different stakeholders (researchers and NGOs). Chaulagai (2009) groups the definitions of trafficking into three categories. The first category of definition according to Chaulagai is associated with transporting, selling and buying of women and children for prostitution; the second category links trafficking with prostitution and coerced labour; and the third category, defines trafficking as recruitment, transportation, purchasing, selling, transferring, harbouring or

receipt of persons in any form for the purpose of exploitation. The third category is the one which is widely accepted.

However, a critical view shows that the categories of the definition of trafficking are based on the dominant form of trafficking that has been taking place in history. In the first category the dominant form was sexual exploitation; in the second it was sexual and labour exploitation while in the third category all forms of exploitation are included. All the categories are based on UN definitions given in UN 1949, 1994 and 2000 respectively (Chaulagai, 2009; Salah, 2001).

Following the UN Protocol above, in 2008 the Government of Tanzania enacted the Anti-Trafficking in Persons Act. Although the law does not precisely define trafficking, the article: 4.1 (a) stipulates that a person commits an offence of trafficking if that person:

Recruits, transports, transfers, harbours, provides or receives a person by any means, including those done under the pretext of domestic or overseas employment, training or apprenticeship, for the purpose of prostitution, pornography, sexual exploitation, forced labour, slavery, involuntary servitude or debt bondage. (URT, 2008:6)

On child trafficking, the law (in article 6.2) emphasises that trafficking of a child shall be considered a severe offence. The UN Protocol (2000:3) subsection (c) based on the definition of a child as “*any person under eighteen years of age*”⁴, stipulates that “*the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of a child for the purpose of exploitation shall be considered “trafficking in person” even if this does not involve any of the means set forth in subparagraph (a)*”⁵” above.

In general, the Tanzanian Act is an interpretation of the UN Protocol in the Tanzanian context. For example, while the UN Protocol talks about, ‘*for exploitation*’, the Act specifies by including the means which are particularly used in Tanzania: ‘*employment, training or apprenticeship*’. (URT, 2008:6). Also the Tanzanian Act elaborates more cases of trafficking by mentioning separately and specifically external trafficking (section b), trafficking under pretext of marriage (section c) and presents purposes of trafficking in separate sections: trafficking for tourism (section d) and for prostitution (sections e). The only minor difference

⁴ Article 3.(d) of the UN Protocol

⁵ The threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person

is that the Tanzanian Act specifies the trafficking of children as ‘severe’ case while UN (2000) does not.

Trafficking and migration are terms that are intertwined: it is sometimes difficult to draw a line between them. However, for the purpose of this work, child migration is understood as the movement from one place to another; these movements may be harmless, even beneficial for children, especially after they have reached a certain age (Lange, 2006). For example, migration may be useful when it involves moving away from a less favorable condition such as poverty, famine, conflict or war, to a more favorable condition.

Child trafficking is a very particular form of child labour migration that involves exploitation of the migrant child. According to the UN protocol (2000), only those cases of migration in which the child (at any point during the migration process) is being recruited, transported, transferred, harboured or received for the purpose of exploitation, can be called trafficking. According to Dottridge (2004) in child trafficking, victims are transported and put to the others’ use, usually to make money. In short, trafficking is distinguished from migration by the existence of exploitative intention and acts at any point.

Exploitation of trafficked persons may include: physical and mental abuse or confinement, inadequate or nonexistent healthcare, poor accommodation and hazardous work, as well as forcing a child or misleading him/her with false promises in the recruitment or transportation processes (ILO-IPEC, 2002). Exploitation includes also child domestic servitude. Anti-slavery International (1997) cited in Lange (2006: 11) defines child servitude as the “*Complete dependency of a child upon his or her employer for his or her well-being and basic necessities and withholding of wages or deferred payment for more than, or a matter of a few weeks*”.

In the trafficking process the trafficker may use gentle persuasion, misinformation, force, coercion, trickery, even the introduction of drugs. The child at many different stages of the process of trafficking, faces the possibility of exploitation and abuse, both physical and psychological threats (ILO-IPEC, 2002).

However, experience shows that it is not easy to identify exploitative action because of secrecy and the involvement of close relatives of the victims. The ILO-IPEC (ibid) admits that trafficking of children for labour and sexual exploitation is generally hidden from public view, making it almost impossible to quantify so that most statistics are illustrative rather

than accurate. In this study to identify exploitation, I used the three criteria, the purpose of the people involved, whether the promises were fulfilled and whether in host families the child's rights were protected.

Similarly, the question of exploitation has been much debated because the UN protocol and the national laws (like the Tanzanian Anti-trafficking Law) do not demarcate at what degree of severity of exploitative actions should the case be called trafficking and not negligent parenting or bad fostering (Plant, 2009). In this study, I consciously take trafficking as a debatable perspective because not all people may have the intention to exploit the children. Traffickers in this context are recruiters, transporters; those who exercise control over girls; those who transfer and/or maintain girl in exploitative situation and those who profit directly or indirectly from trafficking and its offenses (Kamidi, 2007).

2.2 The Context of Child Trafficking

According to Ochanda et al (2009), child trafficking is an interplay of many factors. Some of them are poverty, child fostering and extended family, gender inequality, inadequate registration and poor law enforcement.

2.2.1 Poverty

Worldwide, poverty has been reported to be the main root cause of trafficking (ILO-IPEC, 2002; UNICEF, 2006b). In developing countries the situation is worse, Tanzania is no exception. According to the United Republic of Tanzania (URT) (2009b:2) "*individuals are considered poor when their consumption is less than the 'basic needs poverty line'*". The basic needs poverty line is an economic measure indicating the lowest consumption rate of an adult in order live a decent life per 28 days. In Tanzania in 2007, the poverty line was estimated at Tshs 380,000 or 1,380 per day (equivalent to 1USD) (URT, *ibid*: 150). Therefore a person who lives below the basic needs poverty line is considered extremely poor.

The government of Tanzania, based on the population estimates reported that in 2007 there were around 12.9 million people (33.68% of the population) who were poor in Tanzania (URT, 2009b: 11). However, other authors suggest different figures, for instance Khijjah (2004: 2) and Ndulu and Mutalemwa (2002: 3) approximate it as high as 50%. Yet, the poverty level differs from one region to another, and between rural and urban areas. According to IMF (2006: 4) 87% of poor in Tanzania live in rural areas and that the absolute number of poor population is increasing due to population growth.

In order to assess poverty we have to go beyond numbers; we should incorporate non-income indicators of household well-being such as good health, clean water and access to education because poverty is a process and not a state, which includes vulnerability and powerlessness, deprivation, isolation, lack of decision-making power, lack of assets and insecurity (Chambers, 1985, 1988).

In Tanzania, since the mid-1980s, poverty has been intensified by the adoption of Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs). According to Bendera (1999), SAPs and in particular, the introduction of cost-sharing in education and health services, have had a devastating effect on provision of social services in Tanzania. For instance in education, it has caused a fall in primary enrolment rates, accompanied by a very low performance, particularly of girls, because of the inability of parents and guardians to pay school expenses, combined with parents' need for children's labour at home. As a result, as Koda (1995:141) reports that there is "*a great exodus of human labour from the agricultural to, predominantly, the service sector, with young girls and boys, in particular, migrating to urban areas in search of wage labour*". In addition, it has been shown that there is a positive correlation between the impoverishment of parents and their likelihood to believe the promises made by traffickers (Fong, 2004). Poor families opt for sending children to seek for alternative means of living; whereas orphans are attracted by promises of security, support and opportunities of generating income or studying.

Besides SAPs, HIV/AIDS has cost the lives of bread-winners, leaving behind fragile households headed by non-working spouses, many of whom may be experiencing health challenges. In some cases both parents die leaving behind households headed by siblings, some of whom are still of school going age. According to Evans (2002: 53) "*Orphaned children living in households in which one or both parents have died [...] appear to be particularly vulnerable to poverty and insecurity*".

2.2.2 Socio-cultural Factors

In addition to SAPs and AIDS, there are cultural aspects that contribute to child trafficking. Cultural traditions such as gender discrimination, child fostering and the disregard for children's rights, increase possibilities of child trafficking. For example, in many parts of Tanzania, women and girls bear the greatest costs of adult ill-health and death primarily because of the significant opportunity costs to them of traditional roles as carers and nurturers of the ill or dying (Evans, *ibid*).

Gender relations are constituted by the relations of power and dominance that determine the life chances of women and men, boys and girls. In patriarchal societies⁶, gender relations are discriminatory against women. In Tanzania, the patrilineal mode of kinship is widespread in many communities. Unlike matrilineal culture, patrilineal culture intensifies the dominant position of the male in the community. However, in both systems, to different degrees, women are ascribed a subordinate position (Makombe, 2006). As a result, there are disparities in regulations that govern inheritance, education and permission to express their voices in the societies: in these contexts, men are favoured (Nyerere, 1968; Ochanda, et al., 2009). Furthermore despite gradual improvements, under customary law women are not allowed to own or inherit land (Rutazaa, 2005).

According to Magoke-Mhoja (2006), the creation of gender inequality starts within the socialisation process at the family level; girls are ascribed low status and assigned domestic roles unlike their brothers. Since the women's and girls' position is regarded as the domestic sphere, parents easily "*give away their girl child to go for domestic or marriage work (sic) but maintain their boy child and educate him*" (Ochanda, et al., 2009: 39). In most cases children especially girls are taken to town by one of the close relatives as part of the child fostering tradition.

Child fostering is a long standing tradition in many parts of Africa, whereby children are left to be brought up by a relative like an aunt or uncle. In West Africa, fostering flourishes because in some communities, the first born belongs also to parents' brothers and sisters (Lange 2006). In Tanzania, child fostering and care are associated with the extended family. According to Kisslinger (2005: 1):

The informal fostering system is a natural outcome of the country's pervasive culture of caring for children in the family and in the community. For instance, it is common for an orphaned child to be accepted into an aunt's family, to be looked after by a grandmother, or for some other "good Samaritan" in the community to take the child in and provide them.

With the advent of HIV/AIDS, the extended family has been able to absorb the majority of the AIDS orphans. It has been reported that throughout sub-Saharan Africa today, extended families are caring for more than 90% of orphaned children (UNICEF, 2003a: 15). Ksoll (2007: 9) reports that in Tanzania the extended family seems to be able to absorb around 80%

⁶ Male dominance

of double orphans. According to Cox and Fafchamps (2006: 2): “*Extended families are important just about everywhere, but especially so in poor countries, where social safety nets are incomplete or nonexistent and households must cope with an unforgiving environment of severe poverty and shocks to economic and physical well-being*”.

Nevertheless, the tradition of child fostering has been linked with child trafficking. According to Koda (2000), under the pretext of taking care of orphans and children from poor families, children are recruited by relatives or non-related adults, particularly from rural areas, for domestic work in the homes of wealthier families. Koda (ibid: 251), describes a typical domestic servant in urban centres as “*a young girl of between nine and eighteen years of age who may have been brought to her employer by a relative, a friend, a village-mate, or a child who has migrated to the urban area on her own*”. Some authors (Blagbrough, 2008; Kamala, et al., 2001; Ochanda, et al., 2009) confirm that child fostering is a factor in child trafficking. Child fostering turns to trafficking or slavery when the child is deprived of his/her basic rights such as education, health services and basic needs. When she/he is made completely dependent on the caregiver and denied the right to choose.

The Tanzanian government ratified the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) and the African Charter on Rights and Welfare of the Child (ACRWC) and incorporated the two conventions into the Child Development Policy 1996. In late 2009, it enacted the Law of the Child Act 2009. The law is the interpretation of the CRC and ACRWC. The Tanzanian constitution however does not mention children as a special category (Mascarenhas & Sigalla, 2010). Moreover, in their study Mascarenhas and Sigalla (ibid: 14) report that at family level “*children were involved in decision making but to a much lesser extent than their parents*”. The children, especially girls, are trained to be submissive and respect the adults.

Furthermore, under the customary, and some religious laws, girls upon attaining puberty are considered mature for undertaking women’s social roles of reproduction and household activities. In some communities girls undergo the tradition of initiation in which they are taught how to handle their ‘husband’ and carry out domestic chores such as child rearing. After the initiation, girls may be forced to be married or asked to take full responsibility of household activities at home or elsewhere including housegirls in towns. According to Mbonile and Lihawa (1996) forced marriage and domestic work facilitate directly or indirectly migration and/or trafficking.

2.3 The Rationale for Trafficking of Children

The purposes of trafficking women and young girls vary. Women and girls from Nepal, Bangladesh, South-East Asia are trafficked to India and Thailand for sexual exploitation, hotel, tourism, and to work in bars, restaurants and cafes (ILO-IPEC, 2002). In America and Caribbean, the majority of trafficked children go to USA and Canada for domestic servitude while in Haiti children known as '*restaveks*' (stay with) are exploited in the households of extended family and friends (ILO-IPEC, *ibid*). In West Africa, children from Burkina Faso, Cameroon and Ivory Coast are trafficked for domestic services or for work on plantations or in mines. In particular, large numbers of children are reported to work in cocoa farms in Ivory Coast (Lange, 2006).

In East Africa, Pearson (2003) reports that some women and girls are trafficked to Europe and Asia for prostitution. However a significant number of girls are trafficked for domestic work across the border between Uganda and Kenya. Within Kenya, many children are internally trafficked for domestic servitude, street vending, agricultural labour, herding, work as barmaids or in the commercial sex and tourism industries. In other contexts children, are trafficked for marriage, illicit adoption, and child soldier. (Pearson, *ibid*)

In Tanzania, trafficking of children is mainly internal. Children, especially girls, are trafficked for commercial sex, domestic workers or other worst forms of child labour in mines and plantations (Fong, 2004). There are reports of exploitative work in mines, commercial plantations and petty business. Yet, in Tanzania, there are few studies on child trafficking. Many studies (Liviga & Mekacha, 1998; Lugalla, 1990; Lugalla & Kibassa, 2003; Mbonile & Lihawa, 1996) focus on rural-urban migration and street children.

2.4 Related Studies in Tanzania

The rural-urban migration is a common phenomenon in many developing countries. According to the Tanzanian Ministry of Health and Social Welfare is mainly caused by the disparity in development between rural and urban areas (URT, 2010a). Liviga and Mekacha (1998) indicate that the rural-urban movement is characterised by youth and children coming to towns after being pushed from their home by difficult economic conditions, lack of employment opportunities, poor returns from agriculture and following a relative/friend or spouse. On the other hand, availability of social economic and education opportunities attract them to go to urban centres.

According to Liviga and Mekacha (ibid), most children who complete compulsory primary studies at the age of 14, do not have the opportunity for further studies, they opt for doing small business in town. The findings of this research however, display the rural-urban migration as an outcome (youth/children in small business) but neither describe the whole migration process nor clarify the involvement of relatives. The researchers assume that the children themselves own the business, but the study by Ogawa (2006) shows that the children are middlemen, not owners: they are exploited.

Lugalla (1990) attributes the growing urban population to the economic difference between the urban and the rural areas. He further traces the historical trends of urbanisation by purporting the rural underdevelopment as a product of colonial policies and Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) that were introduced and practised in Tanzania since mid-1980s and thereby recommends improving the conditions of life in the countryside so that rural inhabitants can remain in their areas. Like Liviga and Mekacha, the author regards rural-urban migration as a voluntary action initiated by personal reflection. Lugalla does not indicate exploitative acts against the migrant when she/he came to town or upon arrival. He does not presume that someone else might have guided the children for his/her own benefit.

Lugalla and Kibassa (2003) in their study on urban life and street children interviewed about 300 children in order to find motives for going to Dar es Salaam. The study revealed that family poverty was the main reason for children going to Dar es Salaam followed by child abuse and stepparents' abuse in rural areas. The researchers further presented two incidents illustrative of their cases. The first incident was of a young girl age 12 who was taken by her uncle with promises of schooling, following the death of her parents. But she was made housegirl (maid) and mistreated unlike her age mate cousin (ibid: 44). The other incident illustrates a case of a girl who was convinced by a cousin in Dodoma to go to Dar es Salaam under false promises of securing employment (ibid: 46). The first incident started as an act of familial solidarity but its end takes all the characteristics of trafficking. The second incident is a trafficking case; the authors do not seem to recognise at least these two cases as forms of trafficking.

Furthermore in the same study Lugalla and Kibassa (ibid: 35) found that there were more boys (87.03%) who live a miserable life in city streets than girls (12.07%). They argue that traditionally most cultures in Tanzania tend to exercise more control over girls than boys translating the home and domestic spheres of life as the domain of girls. Thus, girls are given

many domestic responsibilities which hinder them from free movement. Here the authors' sphere of vulnerable children is limited to those who are on the streets though in fact, there are a number of young girls who may not be found on the streets though they experience a hard life in homes doing domestic jobs. The girls' experiences are invisible to the public eye.

Lugalla and Kibassa (ibid) reported that the major reason for girls' movement to cities was to search for a job and economic relief. The report shows that girls in towns are confronted with lack of employment opportunities ending up in low paid jobs such as barmaids and housegirls. They further reveal that in order to supplement their income, the girls engage themselves in prostitution. It is noteworthy that several studies have neither associated the urban movement as an act of trafficking; nor do they discuss how the young girls know that in town there are jobs. At the same time they did not consider low payment and commercial sex as forms of exploitation.

Together with rural-urban movement, there are reports on worst forms of child labour in Tanzania. Kwariko (2004) reveals child labour in the fishing industry in Mtera; Mwami et al (2002) identify child labour in mining in Mbeya, Mwanza and Ruvuma whereas Kamala et al (2001) focus on prostitution. Again, Sosovele and Ngwale (2002) report that there are many child workers in tea plantation in Mufindi and Njombe. Sosovela and Ngwale (ibid:5) testify that in Makete “*about 47 of the 80 students selected to join secondary schools in 2001 did not report to the schools but instead went to the tea estates for wage labour*”. Although the authors mention some exploitation and abuse in child labour, they do not indicate in what ways are the children exploited and who exploits them. In other words, most child labour cases exhibit characteristics of trafficking because the children are transported, harboured and utilised by the owner of the enterprise in question. In Tanzania, there are few studies general survey on trafficking which are IOM (2008), Pearson (2003) and Ochanda et al (2009). In the following paragraphs I present the three studies.

Ochanda et al (2009) on *Human Trafficking and Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Women and Children in East Africa* study the global magnitude and trends of trafficking in Kenya and Tanzania. They made an inventory of institutions that deal with trafficking; and examined the requirements in material, financial and human resources as well as possibilities of collaboration in combating human trafficking. In short the authors, aimed at understanding how faith based organisations, NGOs and other civil associations are involved in advocacy and awareness raising on human trafficking.

Likewise, *The Study on Trafficking in Women in East Africa* by Pearson (2003) presents the general overview of the trafficking situation as well as the context in which trafficking takes place. However, Pearson's study neither focused on girls in particular, nor did he show the experiences of the victims.

A comprehensive study of trafficking entitled *Human Trafficking in East Africa* was done by IOM (2008). The study gives the picture of the trafficking process, the profiles of traffickers as well as trafficked women and girls. The report went as far as interviewing traffickers and trafficked women and described experiences of some trafficked women and girls. However, the study involved women whose average age was 24 years. The majority of informants did not fall in the group of children, so they could not capture the experience of children as such. Moreover, all the studies on trafficking did not investigate the way rehabilitation and reintegration processes are undertaken to trafficked persons.

2.5 The Missing Link and my Contribution

From the studies above, much has been written on movement of youth and children from rural to urban areas. Other studies have been undertaken on street children, petty business and prostitution. The findings in these studies admit the existence of rural-urban movement among youth and children; they also report the vulnerable life the children live. However, the studies are silent on the process that brought the victims to the city and the continuing exploitive acts exercised by other urban dwellers on the children.

Three studies on human trafficking covered a wider area of East Africa, Tanzania is only a part. I did not find any study focusing Tanzania in particular. Again, the studies provide a general picture of trafficking of women and children, none of them concentrated on children alone and girls in particular because girls are the most affected. Also, none of the studies examined the effectiveness of rehabilitation and reintegration process. Therefore, this study was undertaken to fill the following gaps: to undertake a research on child trafficking which is particular to Tanzania; to examine the experiences of girls when in the hands of traffickers and to study the way rehabilitation and reintegration processes are carried out in rescue centres.

2.6 Theoretical Framework

From the studies quoted above, the majority of survivors of trafficking come from poor rural areas; some of them had lost their parents, or been mistreated by relatives. Impoverishment of

girls and other forms of vulnerability to trafficking are forms of disempowerment (G. Sen, 1997; Silberschmidt, 2001). At the same time, socio-cultural contexts constrain the girls from expressing their views and exercising their agency. Again, when controlled by a trafficker the girls do not have, or have limited, freedom of choice which is among basic child rights. Deprivation of freedom violates child protection principles and disempowers the victims. These reasons and the understanding that rehabilitation and reintegration processes are empowerment strategies led me to use empowerment theory as well as the Rights-Based Approach focusing on child protection framework.

2.6.1 Empowerment Theory

Empowerment is derived from the word ‘power’. According to Batliwala (1993) ‘power’ has two central aspects: control over resources and control over ideology. Thus, to empower means to equip or supply with ability or to enable: it is the process of gaining control over resources and ideology. Rowland (1997) suggests ways that power may be operated. These include *power over* which is related to domination/subordination thus implying the use of force and intimidation. The *power to* which implies ability to make decisions and solve problems and *power with* which involves organising people with a common purpose or common understanding to achieve collective goals. *Power within* refers to self consciousness, awareness and confidence.

The concept of empowerment has been used in many fields: social work, psychology, education and politics. In each field it is associated with a diversity of strategies. However, many authors agree that empowerment has four characteristics: for one to be empowered he/she must have been disempowered; empowerment cannot be bestowed by a third party; empowerment includes people’s ability to make decisions in their lives and be able to carry them out; and that empowerment is an ongoing process rather than a product. The most used definitions of empowerment in gender issues are UN (1995) and Kabeer (2001a).

The UN Agenda for Women’s Empowerment (UN, 1995:1) stipulates that “*the principle of shared power and responsibility should be established between women and men at home, in the workplace and in the wider national and international communities*”. Kabeer (2001a:19) defines Empowerment as “*the expansion in people’s ability to make strategic life choices in a context where this ability was previously denied to them*”; to be disempowered therefore is to be denied ability to choose. She identifies three main elements of empowerment: agency, resources and achievements.

Agency is the most important element in empowerment. It is the process by which choices are made and put into effect (Kabeer, 2005). In other words, exercising agency involves studying and analyzing various choices, and making decisions upon the result of the analysis and acting upon one's choice. According to Sen (1999), agency is the inner motivation, conviction (*power within*) or purpose that individuals bring into activity; it is beyond observable action. Agency can never be exercised by another person on behalf of the empowered person. In relation to empowerment, agency means the exercise of power that also implies challenging existing unequal power relations (Batliwala, 1993; Kabeer, 2005).

Resources according to Kabeer (ibid) are the medium through which agency is exercised. They include economic, human and social resources. They are acquired through social relationships at household and community levels. Some people in the community may have more access and control over rules, norms and regulations that govern distribution of resources. Therefore access to these resources determines one's ability to make choices.

Achievement is an outcome of utilization of the resources and exercising agency (Maholtra, 2003). It is the extent that people attain or fail to attain the life goals they wanted. In empowerment according to Kabeer (ibid:15), "*the achievements have been considered in terms of both agency exercised and its consequences*".

It is worthwhile considering intrinsic or instrumental aspects of empowerment. Intrinsic empowerment means the process of inner transformation of one's consciousness. Instrumental empowerment according to Sen (1999), is the control over external world resources. The latter appears in five main types: political freedom, economic facilities, social opportunities, transparency guarantees and protective security. However, the two forms of empowerment: intrinsic and instrumental go hand in hand. That means, control over resources gives capacity to self-expression and vice versa (G. Sen, 1997).

I used the empowerment theory in analyzing and interpreting the findings because of its strength in accounting for the whole process of girls' trafficking. In the rural areas, the girls were confronted with poverty and cultural traditions such as those related to gender which create and perpetuate inequalities. Again, when under the control of exploiters, the majority of girls were deprived of some rights such as education and basic needs. According to Kabeer (2005) and G. Sen (1997), poverty and disempowerment are inseparable. Sen (ibid) underscores that poverty affects certain groups in society that tend to be disempowered in

terms of control over external resources and thus are marginalized from mainstream economic processes. These groups are female, very old or very young people, racial or ethnic minorities. In these circumstance, inability to meet one's basic needs due to poverty and the dependency on powerful others rules out freedom of choice.

The empowerment theory also explains the way agency was exercised by trafficked girls. According to Kabeer (1999), the meaning of agency includes: bargaining and negotiation, rebellion and resistance as well as reflection and analysis. In this study, once the girls discovered that they were unable to meet basic needs due to poverty; that they could not continue with education because of lack of school fees; and when they could not withstand abuse such as forced marriage they exhibited coping strategies⁷. The decision to free oneself from an unfavorable situation is an indication of agency. Agency is a fundamental element of the empowerment theory.

Furthermore, the empowerment theory is efficient in explaining reintegration and rehabilitation that the girls undergo after being rescued. These processes enhance trafficked girl's ability to develop and execute personal choices that were blurred by exploiters; the survivors are assured social, political and economic environment to live the life they desire. Rehabilitation helps the trafficked girl to stabilize psychologically (intrinsic empowerment) and hence become part of the community: while reintegration provides support for physical facilities such as capital or working tools (instrumental empowerment).

However, even when they are empowered, children are still vulnerable because of their level of understanding is low in comparison to the traffickers'. There is a need for child protection in order to prevent exploitation. Therefore, I also used the Human Rights-Based Approach, in particular child protection.

2.6.2 Rights-Based Approach

Child protection is an element of the human rights-based approach. The human rights-based approach is a conceptual framework based on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights principles in bringing about human development. *"It seeks to analyse inequalities which lie at the heart of development problems and redress discriminatory practices and unjust distributions of power that impede development."* (UN, 2006: 16) The Human Rights-Based

⁷ All actions employed in response to crisis whether successful or not (Young and Ansell 2003).

approaches require the utilisation of human rights principles in all human development projects including, poverty alleviation, education, HIV/AIDS and for my case human trafficking.

Human rights are universally agreed individual rights and freedoms that are to be respected. The rights are mentioned in the UN document adopted in 1948 (UN, 1998). Among them are: the right to life, right to security, right to assemble and freedom of speech. Furthermore, in 1989, the UN prepared a convention that protects child rights in particular. The Convention on the Rights of a Child (CRC) aims at emphasizing that children are human beings and they have rights. The Convention together with the basic human rights adds other provisions such as the right to education, to be raised by one's parents, to privacy, and the right to protection (UN, 1989). I focused the study on utilization of child protection because from the findings, children were vulnerable. For example, it was risky for a grown up person to convince or allow a child to go away without considering her safety. The grown up people have to protect children.

2.6.2.1 Child Protection

Child protection refers to *“preventing and responding to violence, exploitation and abuse against children - including commercial sexual exploitation, trafficking, child labour and harmful traditional practices such as female genital mutilation/cutting and child marriage”* (UNICEF, 2006a: 1). UNICEF targets vulnerable children; it aims at protecting children from all forms of exploitation.

The Tanzanian government ratified international conventions (refer section 1.1.1.) and enacted *the Law of the Child Act 2009*. The enactment of the law is an important step towards putting into practice the CRC. The law also addresses current issues related to human rights and child protection. For example, it prescribes roles of parents and the responsibility of foster parents in ensuring safety and protection of children.

2.6.3 Utilisation of the Empowerment Theory and Child Protection Framework

The empowerment theory helped me in the fourth chapter of this study to conceptualize how, the trafficked girls were disempowered by the context of their lives in the rural areas. In the fifth chapter, I used the theory to probe further experiences of disempowerment, such as the level of control their freedom of choice and the opportunities that they had to exercise agency. In the sixth chapter, the theory helped me to examine the way rehabilitation and

reintegration processes were undertaken to ensure that the girls are empowered, in particular, how the desires or choices of the survivors were respected and their agency promoted.

By using the child protection framework, I examined the way children's rights are endangered by poverty and other related problems such as orphanhood and the way the government, especially after the enactment of the *Law of Child Act* (2009), is committed to protect child rights. Again, I examined how the rescue organisations try to enhance child protection principles. Finally, the child protection framework was the basis for the formulation of the recommendations presented in the chapter eight of this study. According to Jordan (2002) the best way to assist a trafficked person is to treat them as human beings who have their own dignity and to help them control their own lives. After presenting the literature review and the theoretical framework, the next chapter, focuses on the methodology.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the methodological aspect of the study. It is divided into eight sub-sections which are: research method, study area, recruitment of informants, data collection techniques, ethical issues, my role as a researcher and challenges I faced during the study. The last part presents data analysis.

3.1 Research Method

According to Strauss and Corbin (1998: 3), a research method is “*a set of procedures and techniques for gathering and analysing data*”. A method may be quantitative or qualitative. I used a qualitative research approach which; according to Marshall and Rossman [(1989) quoted in Creswell (2003: 198)], “*entails immersion in the everyday life of the setting chosen for the study; the researcher enters the informants’ world and, through on-going interaction, seeks the informants’ perspectives and meanings*”.

In my study, a qualitative approach was the best method because it provides opportunity for participants to describe complex experiences that cannot be obtained in quantitative techniques. It also facilitates recording of behaviours, and it is effective in identifying intangible factors, such as social norms, socioeconomic status and gender roles which in this study were important variables (Sandelowski, 2000).

This study adopted a phenomenological design which believes that knowledge about life is derived from life experience of the people. Thus, as a researcher, I recorded the children’s lived experiences as described by my informants themselves. The procedure involved studying a small number (fifteen girls) of informants through extensive and prolonged conversation as proposed by Creswell (2003). This design was chosen for my study owing to its ability to study experiences, perceptions, emotions and judgments from the participants.

In doing the research according to Denzin and Lincoln (2000), I was supposed to study, listen and interpret life stories narrated by girls and make sense of activities performed at KIWOHEDE in the way girls and social workers give them meaning. The findings inform the major objectives of the study which were to understand the experiences of trafficked girls, as well as the rehabilitation and reintegration processes.

3.2 Study Sites

The fieldwork was done in Tanzania, in Dar es Salaam city. Four organisations were involved: The International Organisation for Migration (IOM), the Tanzanian Ministry of Health and Social Welfare (MoH&SW), Kiota Women Health and Development Organization (KIWOHEDE) as well as the Catholic Relief Services (CRS). The choice of these organisations was due to their involvement in activities related to vulnerable children and trafficked children in particular. The organisations are presented below.

3.2.1 International Organisation for Migration (IOM)

The IOM is the worldwide leading inter-governmental organisation that collaborates with governments and NGOs to ensure a coordinated human migration worldwide as well as provision of assistances to migrants, refugees and internally displaced people (IOM, 2010a). In Tanzania, under its counter-trafficking programme, the IOM performs various duties such as capacity building, awareness raising, provision of assistance to victims as well as coordination of ministries, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and other stake holders who deal with the trafficking problem. IOM also provides start-up funds to NGOs for children who are going back home to reunite with their families.

3.2.2 Ministry of Health and Social Welfare (MoH&SW)

I selected the MoH&SW to represent the government. Specifically I wanted to know the attitude of the government to the problem. The Tanzanian government started to respond officially to human trafficking issues in 2008 after the passing of the *Anti-Trafficking Act 2008*. Three ministries collaborate in the solving child trafficking: the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Home Affairs and the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare. The MoH&SW through the Department of Child Welfare is in charge of the trafficking cases. At the Ministry's headquarters, there is a focal person coordinating anti-trafficking issues. Since 2009, the Ministry has been engaged in capacity building and trainings for social workers on matters related to anti-trafficking strategies.

3.2.3 Kiota Women's Health and Development (KIWOHEDE)

KIWOHEDE was selected to represent NGOs because it is the leading local NGO which is involved in rehabilitation and reintegration of trafficked girls. Other organisations in Tanzania that carry out reintegration and rehabilitation of trafficked children are: Child-in-the-sun, Daughter of Mary Immaculate (which are based in Dar es Salaam), Mkombozi and

Faraja (based in Arusha). Among them KIWOHEDE is the most prominent in accommodating trafficked girls.

KIWOHEDE was established in 1998; it operates in 10 districts and has 56 shelters in Tanzania Mainland. KIWOHEDE's programmes, according to the social worker are: preventing girls from getting into child prostitution and hazardous child domestic work, providing assistance to trafficked persons and promoting good governance.

KIWOHEDE's values are: protection, peace, love, commitment, transparency, accountability, participatory and voluntarism. Its aims are to contribute to the elimination of all forms of abuse, sexual violence and exploitation through policy and community engagement, reproductive health and institutionalization of prevention, withdrawal, rehabilitation and integration mechanisms for vulnerable and affected youth and women in community-based anti-trafficking in Tanzania (Kiota, 2007). KIWOHEDE works in cooperation with the community to rescue and house trafficked children. It rehabilitates them and provides life skills training and supplies the girls with necessary working tools for the future.

In the centres, KIWOHEDE carries out many activities such as psychosocial counselling, HIV/AIDS testing, vocational as well as artistic and recreation activities. KIWOHEDE also organises secondary school and a special program known as MEMKWA⁸ classes. The children are brought to KIWOHEDE by police, media and peers. On average, according to KIWOHEDE personnel, about 4 to 5 new girls report to the centres each day.

3.2.4 Catholic Relief Services (CRS)

CRS is an international humanitarian agency that provides assistance to people in a vulnerable condition. In Tanzania, since it started in 1962, CRS has been involved in agriculture, HIV/AIDS testing, care and treatment as well as peace building. CRS is a stakeholder in providing care and family reunification. Although CRS does not focus on trafficked children in particular, it was selected because it shelters many vulnerable children among them are survivors of trafficking. CRS runs many centres up-country, Dar es Salaam is the national headquarters.

⁸ An abbreviation for the Swahili word: *Mpango wa Elimu Maalum kwa Walioikosa* Meaning a special programme for people who did not have chance to study (at primary school level).

3.3 Recruitment of Informants

I collected information from trafficked girls at KIWOHEDE and from social workers in the four organisations. The girls were the survivors from trafficking while social workers were the experienced in working with vulnerable and trafficked children.

3.3.1 Trafficked Girls

For the purpose of life history narration I talked to trafficked girls. They were purposively chosen among many others (non-trafficked)⁹. That means informants were selected because of the fact that they had undergone trafficking. The girls were identified by the coordinator of the anti-trafficking programme at KIWOHEDE. The coordinator identified many girls but some did not wish to participate. At the same time for the purpose of the study, I selected fifteen who narrated their life histories¹⁰. The selected girls were aged between 15 and 18 years old. My informants come from rural areas in up-country regions: Singida, Morogoro, Iringa, Tanga, Mwanza and Ruvuma¹¹.

3.3.2 Social Workers

Other informants were social workers. A total of five personnel who are fully engaged in working with vulnerable children and trafficking programmes in the selected organisations were involved in the study. Two of them came from KIWOHEDE (a social worker and the coordinator of anti trafficking programme), one from MoH&SW (the human trafficking focal person), one from IOM (the counter-trafficking programme Assistant) and the CRS orphans and vulnerable children senior project officer.

These were also purposively selected from other workers because they were the fundamental actors in issues related to trafficked children. In terms of experience, the social workers at KIWOHEDE had been working since its creation in 1998; those in other organizations had been in operation for more than two years. In general, the social workers were aged between 35 to 50 years and their levels of education were ranging from a diploma in a Community Work (KIWOHEDE social workers) to university degrees.

⁹ at KIWOHEDE there are trafficked and non-trafficked girls

¹⁰ The Pseudonyms of the girls were Faraja, Furaha, Huruma, Imani, Maua, Neema and Nuru. Others were Salama, Semeni, Subira, Tumaini, Tunu, Upendo, Wema and Zawadi. (you may refer also table 1 page 68)

¹¹ Refer for the map in appendix 1 (page 105)

3.4 Data Collection Techniques

In order to explore the experience of the trafficked girls, I collected information from both primary and secondary sources. For primary data I applied the method of life history narratives, semi-structured interviews and participant observation whereas from secondary sources I gathered relevant information from different documents.

3.4.1 Participant Observation

Respecting Silverman's (2004) suggestions, I used participant observation at the preliminary stage of research. By definition, "*Participant observation is a method in which a researcher takes part in the daily activities, rituals, interactions, and events of a group of people as one of the means of learning the explicit and tacit aspects of their life routines and their culture*" (DeWatt & DeWatt, 2002: 1). In an observation, the researcher takes field notes on the behaviour and activities of individuals at the research site. The qualitative observer may also engage in roles varying from a non participant to a complete participant (DeWatt & DeWatt, *ibid*).

Before starting the conversations and interviews, I visited three of the shelters of KIWOHEDE. Each shelter focuses on different activities, for example, at one shelter the girls were involved in education activities. At another shelter, in the outskirts of the city girls were involved in private tuition, vocational training and productive projects. And the third is mainly for reception and administrative duties.

I used this method as part of rapport building and encouragement for the children's participation. I participated in the girls' council, games and sport, batik-making and story-telling. I used that opportunity to familiarize with some of them. At the same time after each session I wrote down information that I thought was useful for the study especially those related to rehabilitation and reintegration.

Participant observation has many advantages. According to DeWatt and DeWatt (*ibid*), it supplies first-hand experience with participants; it gives information beyond what informants have explained; it enables immediate recording of information and it facilitates exploring topics that may be uncomfortable for a participant to discuss.

3.4.2 Life History Narratives

The main method of data collection was life history narratives. According to Cole and Knowles (2001) life history narration is defined as a method in which the researcher gains insights into broader human conditions by studying and comprehending the day to day experience of other human beings. Creswell (2003) describes it as a form of inquiry in which the researcher experiences the lives of his/her respondents through asking them to describe their life histories.

Since this study aimed to understand life experiences of trafficked girls, the method allowed respondents to narrate their life. As a researcher I noted down incidents that were related to my study. I encouraged them to talk while I was taking notes of whatever useful information was given. I held at least two sessions with each informant. Throughout the study I was considerate and the girls had time to get to pause.

At the beginning it was not easy for the children to express themselves. I talked to the coordinator of the anti-trafficking programme. She explained to the girls and told them that I was doing a study that might be useful to the centre. She assured them that I was like her so they had to take me as a mother. Following that introduction the children were free to talk and they called me Mama Bene¹² (mother of Bene) even when we met outside the shelters.

The conversations were held in private rooms within the KIWOHEDE's offices. For each girl, before asking her to tell her life history, I shared with her my own life story in order to build trust. Then, I asked her to narrate her's. During the narration, I tried to let them talk as freely as possible. Yet, some of them used few words. In such circumstances, I encouraged them by probing on specific aspects such as how were their eating, sleeping and working and the like.

The conversation took a long time as the girls could not hold their emotions (some were even crying). In such cases, I had to be more empathetic. If they were upset I allowed them to stop for a while; sometimes I postponed the session till another time. Some stories were so painful to the extent of making me shed tears. For example, one informant showed me scars and wounds which are results of being raped and beaten.

¹² Implying the mother of Bene, the name of my daughter. It is a sign of respect and intimacy to a Tanzanian woman.

After the first session, I crosschecked the responses; I discovered some inconsistencies in their explanations. I therefore noted the gaps and I talked to them during the other session. In addition, the coordinator of the anti-trafficking programme advised me to study the records in their files which supplemented what I got from their life histories.

For each informant, the first session concentrated on discovering the informant's background and the trafficking occasion. In the second session, together with revising some unanswered questions I asked them to explain more about their life experiences during trafficking period: from trafficking to rescue and the rehabilitation process. None of narrations were recorded because many respondents feared their voices to be heard by their former employers or home villagers. Therefore, the data were only handwritten.

3.4.3 Interviews

From general understanding, an interview in research is a dialogue between two people in which the interviewer, with or without guiding questions, seeks information from the interviewee; the information collected is later used in fulfilling objectives of the interviewer's study. In qualitative research the interview, according to Kvale and Brinkman (2009:1), "*attempts to understand the world from the subjects' point of view, to unfold the meaning of peoples' experiences, to uncover their lived world prior to scientific explanations*". I conducted semi-structured interviews with the social workers using some guiding, but not limiting, questions. I had prepared a guide which I used to interview social workers for the four organisations: KIWOHEDE, IOM, CRS and the MoH&SW. Before interviewing, I gave a brief introduction of the purposes and objectives of my study. I modified and adjusted the questions to suit the organisational activities and experiences of interviewees.

3.4.4 Documents

As noted by Cresswell (2003) in qualitative research, the investigator may collect useful information from newspapers, minutes of the meetings, official reports or private documents. During the study, social workers from all organisations gave me documents which complemented to the data I obtained from primary sources. The documents I got from KIWOHEDE were children's profiles and some leaflets about trafficking. From IOM, I got the IOM August 2010 monthly newsletter, a report on trafficking, IOM counter-trafficking fact sheet, a book titled *Human Trafficking and Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Women and Children in East Africa*, written by Ochanda, Akinyi and Mungai (2009) . Another

document was a report on *Research Assessment and Baseline Information in Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda and Burundi* by IOM (2008). They also gave me the link to the website UWE SAUTI YAO (which means: *be their voice*).

From CRS I got a report titled the *International Labour Organization International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour* as well as a document titled *Tanzania Children in Prostitution: A Rapid Assessment* (2008) both by ILO-IPEC. From the MoH&SW I was given the *Anti-trafficking Act 2008*, and some reports from their initial meetings on trafficking in Tanzania.

To sum up, using a range of methods allows triangulation. According to Denzin and Lincoln (2000: 5), “*Qualitative research is inherently multi-method in focus [...]. However, the use of multiple methods or triangulation reflects an attempt to secure an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon in question*”.

3.5 Ethical Dilemma

During the research I tried to respect all ethical matters. For example, I followed the required procedures to obtain research permits. The procedures started with obtaining research clearance from the Norwegian Social Science Data Service (NSD). In Tanzania, I obtained the research permit from the Tanzania Commission for Science and Technology (COSTECH). I also obtained research permit from Dar es Salaam Regional Commissioner and District Commissioners from Ilala and Kinondoni districts where my research sites were situated.

All my informants had known me and were informed about the study. I elaborated briefly that the information would be kept anonymous and confidential, and that they could terminate the interview at any time, or choose not to answer some question or not to talk about some issues. At individual level, all informants signed the consent form to agree that they were free to participate. Specifically, I respected the request of girls that they should not be tape-recorded. The KIWOHEDE Social worker instructed me how to take the girl's pictures: she insisted that I should not take their faces, and that all pictures were to be seen by her. To make the data anonymous and confidential, in the presentation of the data I used pseudonyms for the names of the girls and that of villages, streets and districts¹³.

¹³ But regions which are large geographical divisions have been left unchanged

In the study I encountered some challenges. Firstly, there were doubts about whether the research was related to health issues. In Norway for example, the Norwegian Social Science Data Service (NSD) required further approval of my proposal from Research Ethics Committee (REK) as it seemed to touch health issues. The same in Tanzania, at the Ministry of Health I was advised to seek permission from the National Institute for Medical Research (NIMR)¹⁴. However, after clarification it was understood that the focus was on girls' experiences and not on their health. Both organisations granted approval.

Secondly, there were issues related to human and child rights, as whether the children were mature enough to understand the meaning of the consent forms. In practice, the programme coordinator assured me that KIWOHEDE had legal responsibility to protect the children who already were wounded. She read the consent forms and explained to the children and assured me she had chosen only those who had understood and were ready to participate. I also firmly respected my respondents' freedom and rights.

Finally, I found myself in dilemma of keeping confidentiality or disclose them. For example, the girls told me that they were raped, tortured or infected with HIV/AIDS but there were no legal measures taken. Sometimes they were threatened (by relatives or employers) that they would be killed if they told anyone the experiences. All these are criminal offences in Tanzania. Thus, I was in a dilemma between keeping the confidentiality or acting as an activist and finding a solution for the legal offences. I chose to keep them confidential as I had promised.

3.6 Challenges During the Study

During the fieldwork I faced some challenges which I divide into: organisational, psychological, socio-economic and other challenges.

The organisational challenges were as follow. Firstly, the process of obtaining the research permits in Tanzania was very slow at all levels: at COSTECH, regional and district. Secondly, at KIWOHEDE I faced three challenges. One, the anti-trafficking programme was phasing out; KIWOHEDE was not funded to undertake anti-trafficking activities for the coming year (2011) so there were few girls under this programme. Two, KIWOHEDE shelters were far apart so I was obliged to go long distances to search for my informants.

¹⁴ NIMR is an institute under the MoH&SW authorised to oversee all regulatory issues of health research in Tanzania.

Three, the girls, especially those studying, were not settled during the life history narrations as they were thinking of long journeys to their residences and doing homework.

Psychologically, it was challenging to me to control the emotions of my informants and of myself due to the painful stories of their lives. In order to retain consistency and reliability of information, I kept on expressing a caring spirit. Even when we postponed the sessions, I made sure that before we separated, the girls were psychologically settled.

On social economic problems of children, most of children thought that I could sponsor their studies; they asked if I could pay for their school fees give them bus fares or buy them some food. Some have health problems and they asked me to help them (in my car) move from one shelter to another. Whenever I had ability I helped them such as in taking them in my car.

Moreover, although, the social workers at the MoH&SW, IOM and CRS were very cooperative and helpful, they were very busy; out of their offices, in the field and attending exhibitions. Some interviews were postponed several times. However, I remained patient and kept on reminding them about their promises.

3.6.1 My Role as a Researcher

Being a woman enabled me to be accepted to talk to the girls. This also facilitated data collection because girls related to me as a mother. Again, being a Tanzanian government employee helped me to easily understand procedures for obtaining the research permit. My position as a student from abroad enabled the data collection to be fast as I was respected.

3.7 Data Analysis

According to Cresswell (2003: 190), data analysis “*involves making sense out of text and images data. It involves preparing the data for analysis, conducting different analyses, moving deeper and deeper into understanding the data, and making an interpretation of the larger meaning of the data*”. In this study, I started by organising and preparing the data for coding and analysis.

Data coding according to Cresswell (2003: 192), is the process of organising data. “*It involves taking text data or pictures, segmenting sentences (paragraphs) or images into categories, and labeling those categories with a term*”. After coding, I arranged my informants’ data according to the age, place of origin, caregiver before and after migration as

well as coping strategies¹⁵. Then I translated, and transcribed the girls' stories and put them together in order to read each one as a single case. The stories were organised logically to make them meaningful and coherent. Furthermore, thematic arrangement of data was done in order to facilitate more in-depth data interpretation. I arranged the themes in accordance with the objectives of my study. In the next three chapters I present the empirical findings of my study.

¹⁵ See table 1 on page 68

CHAPTER FOUR

UNDERLYING CONTEXT, MOTIVES AND PEOPLE INVOLVED IN EXPLOITING THE GIRLS

4.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I present the findings related to the factors, motives and people involved in the exploitation of girls. Then I discuss the issues that emerged in the findings. The last part is the conclusion. While discussing these findings, it is important to keep the meaning of child trafficking in focus; to quote Fitzgibbon (2003: 82), it is: “... *the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of a child (anyone under 18) for the purpose of exploitation even if this does not involve force or coercion...*”

4.1 Factors Involved in Girls’ Exploitation.

The factors that contributed to child exploitation especially of girls in Tanzania include: social, cultural and economic problems. In the study, it has been found that child trafficking is a complex interplay of different factors, the major one being poverty. That means, all other factors fall within the poverty circle. Again some factors are indirect while others like forced marriage are direct. In the presentation I divide the factors into five categories: rural poverty, low income and decline of the agricultural sector; sickness, parental death and orphanhood; family conflicts, separation and remarriages; polygamous and large families as well as forced marriage.

4.1.1 Rural Poverty, Low Income and Decline of the Agricultural Sector

Tanzania is among the poorest countries in the world. The rural population is much more disadvantaged because it depends entirely on agricultural production. According to the CRS officer, the disparity in socio-economic development between rural and urban plays a great role in the trafficking process. He affirmed that:

“... The situation in many rural areas needs much attention in terms of development especially when we compare with urban centres. The infrastructure is very poor and social services are not available or insufficient. There are remarkable deficiencies in access to clean water, transport, hospitals and modern schools. Nowadays due to climatic changes, crop production is falling hence there is hunger and malnutrition. Thus, people would like to find means of living in town...”

Similarly, the IOM counter-trafficking officer and the coordinator of anti-trafficking programme at KIWOHEDE added that poverty in rural areas is a key issue to be addressed in

combating child trafficking. The coordinator said that, “*Many poor parents agree that their children go to town to search for a job so that when they come back they can support the family financially*”. In doing so, they may fall victims to trafficking.

The assertion of social workers about poverty corresponds with what the girls narrated. The girls pointed out various life difficulties they encountered in rural areas before being transported to urban centres and to Dar es Salaam in particular. They said that the life in rural areas is characterised by lack of food, poor shelter and clothing; their caregivers lacked money to pay school fees, medical care and to support the family to live a decent life. Thus, it was easy for caregivers to allow the girls to leave, or sometimes girls themselves agreed to go to town in order to find other means of getting sponsors, education opportunities, money and a better life in general.

For example Huruma said:

‘.I was born at Manyoni in Singida region. My parents were divorced. I was living with my paternal grandmother at same village. In the same house we live with my uncle with his eight children. The family was large in such a way that the food was not enough; we were sleeping on the floor in a small room. The whole family depended on agriculture (onion plantation), but due to the climatic condition the harvest became less and less....’

Huruma (15 years old) came from Singida, one among the driest central regions in Tanzania. She lived an uncomfortable life caused by a couple of problems, missing parental love and care as well as scrambling for inadequate resources (food and shelter) in her grandmother’s house with her cousins. She could not bear suffering from poverty and hunger. She left her grandmother’s house secretly when she was 12 years following the advice from one of her neighbours who transported her to town as a housegirl.

Another girl Subira (16 years old) from Dodoma is a double orphan. She accepted to go to Dar es Salaam because of poverty. From Subira’s narration:

My name is Subira, I am 16 years old. I was born in Kondoa District. In our family we were five children. We are orphans because our parents died of HIV/AIDS. Our father died in 2005, followed by our mother, one year later. After the death of our parents nobody volunteered to assist us in any way. Our grandmother took us; she was living in the neighbouring village. However, she was very poor and she failed to support us for paying school fees.

I did not have chance to join primary school education although I was very interested. I knew that education is a key of all success. At home we had a very poor life. One

day our paternal aunt came to our grandmother's village; she told my grandmother that she wanted to take me to Dodoma town where she would take care of me. My grandmother agreed. So, I went with my aunt to Dodoma to live with her.

In Dodoma life was not easy as I was expecting, my aunt was selling alcohol in town and I was staying at home without food and sometimes, when my aunt did not turn up from her business, I was sleeping alone. That type of life was so dangerous to me in terms of health and security. I therefore decided to go in the streets looking for my brother who was working in one of the bars in town. By good luck, one day I managed to get him; he took me to live with him in his residence. Yet, life remained difficult because his income was still insufficient.

Subira was affected by both rural and urban poverty. Being a double orphan, she was taken by relatives, but due to poverty neither her grandmother nor her aunt nor her brother had enough income to take care of her and her siblings. They therefore allowed her to go to work in Mrs Kongua's house in Dar es Salaam where she was exploited. (See section 5.1).

As the cases above show, due to poverty families lacked income to provide essential needs for children. The situation was further intensified when crop production fell because agriculture, to the majority in rural Tanzania, is the main means of subsistence and income generation. This provided an opportunity for unfaithful adults to mislead the caregiver and girls that they would provide a solution to their problems, promising that they would pay for children's education opportunities and/or find them employment.

4.1.2 Sickness, Parental Death and Orphanhood

Closely linked with poverty, another factor is: sickness, parental death and orphanhood. A sick caregiver cannot work for the family and earn money to pay for medical services. During conversation, with my informants, mentioned sickness of their caregiver as a burden that they had to bear despite their age. Some of them were obliged to engage in finding family needs such as food, clothes, money for survival and for the service of the sick persons.

Salama's parents were continuously sick; a medical examination indicated that they were HIV positive. They were unable to buy medicine and they could not work in their *shamba*¹⁶ to increase family income.

...But in 2003 our parents were tested HIV positive; it was very shocking news since we entirely depended on them for everything. They loved us so much and provided us

¹⁶ Agricultural field where crops are grown

for our needs. But suddenly our life style changed and started to be very difficult. Our parents started attending HIV clinic every month. At the hospital they were prohibited from engaging in heavy labour...

As a result, Salama (at age of 10 years) and her brother had to change their life style. They had to supply the basic needs for the whole family and find money for treatment.

...I and my brother started doing small business. We were selling fried groundnuts and local fruits. Our school attendance became irregular. At the end of the academic year, our examination results showed poor performance and attendance, I had to repeat standard four because I failed the final examination ...

The groundnuts business was not paying enough to supply for all the family needs: buying food, clothes and medicine. Salama agreed with her brother that she go to town and try finding any paying work. Therefore, upon graduating from primary school she went to the neighbouring town Songea, to find employment because she could be able to get money to bring back home; contrary to her expectations she was exploited. She went to Morogoro, there too she was exploited. Finally she was asked to go to Dar es Salaam where she was further exploited (refer section 5.1).

Similarly, another girl Maua, due to the sickness of her mother, agreed to go to town after her paternal uncle promised to find her a school. The girl hoped that schooling would enable her in future to get good job and have a stable income.

'... I was living with my parents but my mother became sick. When I was in standard three my father left after seeing that the condition of my mother was deteriorating. We heard that he married another woman in another village. I could not continue with school because I was supposed to take care of my mother, since I was the first born and my sisters and brothers were too young...

Related to sickness is parental death. Following the death of parents, orphans are required to find a means of survive including going to town, this could facilitate trafficking. Parental death in recent times has been amplified by HIV/AIDS pandemic. Among the fifteen girls, nine were orphans. All social workers insisted that following the death of parents, the orphans are unable to survive in rural areas. The death of one parent or both parents compelled the children to be involved taking care of the family. For example, Wema, at the age of nine years, was left at home without a caregiver following the death of her mother. She said:

Our mother died while I was nine years old. The death of my mother was a very sad event because she was our only hope. In fact, we do not know who our father was and how he looked like. We were told that he passed away long time ago [...]. After the

death of my mother, my elder sisters got married. Until today I do not know where they went with their husbands. I was left at home with my brother. Life was very difficult because my brother, being handicapped¹⁷, he could not engage himself in any productive activity. We sometimes slept without eating unless a neighbour or a Good Samaritan decided to give us food. I stopped going to school because I had no one to support my schooling. I remained at home taking care of my brother..

In this case, Wema was burdened with taking care of herself and her handicapped brother. She did not have any other source of income. In that condition, Wema's neighbour advised her to go to town where she would find her a school. But in town the situation was not as it was promised, she was extremely exploited. (also refer section 5.0)

Some orphaned children were taken by relatives. Most of the relatives especially grandparents did not have the ability to take care of new members because the families were poor and sometimes too large. Furaha (17 years) narrated that her parents had died and she was taken by her uncle. But her uncle could not provide enough food and shelter for his family nor pay for their education. When promised education by another uncle, she could not resist because she wanted to join a secondary school.

In other circumstances, some girls had lost their fathers, but their mothers were alive. Yet the widows alone were unable to take care of the children, as we can see in this extract from Upendo's narration.

"...My mother was a simple villager; she was doing small business, selling charcoal, salt and kerosene to her fellow neighbours. Before the death of our father she said that she had a small shop. After the death of our father, she was unable provide us with essential needs. We were 6 children, I was the last born. I was taken by my maternal grandmother to another village.

The widow had limited resources; she could not feed, clothe and shelter her children. In other words she was overburdened by poverty; she had no choice except releasing her children to go to live with other relatives. Upendo went to live with her grandmother, but later she was taken to Dar es Salaam to live with her aunt. Her aunt exploited her by subjecting her to commercial sex. Poor and orphaned children fell prone to trafficking and exploitation because unfaithful 'aunts and uncles' attracted them with messages of consolation and hope as we have seen above.

¹⁷ He could not move without assistance

4.1.3 Family Conflicts, Separation and Parental Negligence

Another factor influencing girls' trafficking is problems related to family conflict, separation and parental negligence. According to the coordinator of anti-trafficking programme at KIWOHEDE, "...family conflicts and negligent parenthood also contribute to girls' trafficking. Children, [who] are not properly brought up, become easily convinced to move from one place to another". Again, some girls in the conversation mentioned that they lived in families which had conflicts. Sometimes disputes ended by separation then remarriage. The case of Tunu and Zawadi (twins) is a good example:

... Our biological mother was forced to be married by our father. Their marriage was held in Mbeya. However, 45 days after our birth she ran away from our home. Accompanied by her friend, she carried us and they went to Moshi. When we were 2 years old, she rejected us. At that time our father was in Arusha so, we were taken to our father by our maternal grandfather. Our father had married another woman (the mother of Janeth)... Zawadi.

To cut a long story short, the father quarreled with his new wife at Arusha and they divorced. He went away leaving the children with a housegirl. The children dropped out of school because they did not have school fees.

Then the housegirl sold all their belongings; she took the children to their father's young brother. The uncle transported them to their father who was in Morogoro. Their father had remarried another wife and he had lied to her that he did not have children. The father received them and registered them in a boarding school because the stepmother did not want to live with them. She later restricted the father from paying school fees. The twins terminated studies because did not have fees. Owing to this situation, the twins' biological mother told the girls to go to Dar es Salaam where she lived. But contrary to their expectations, the girls were much more exploited and mistreated with their mother than elsewhere in their life. They ran away.

In this context, conflict between the twin's parents ended up in separation and the girls were left unattended. Due to this conflict, the biological mother took the children and exploited them. This is a special case because the children were disowned by their biological and stepparents. The children found themselves in a complex situation where they could not live in peace and pursue education goals. The biological mother utilized the vulnerability to exploit them further.

Imani (18 years) had lived a similar conflictual experience as describe below (section 4.2.1). She lived with her parents who had endless conflicts. They divorced and left her with her grandmother who was poor. She dropped out of school and later she was taken to work as a housegirl in Dar es Salaam. Imani’s case depicts the case of negligent parents. The parents of Imani were supposed to ensure the security of their child. Instead, Imani was left to live with her grandmother who was poor and unable to feed, clothe her and provide school fees. When parents are in conflict or separate, they still have the obligation to take care of the lives of their children. Children without parental protection become vulnerable to trafficking.

4.1.4 Polygamous and Large Families

According to the coordinator of anti-trafficking programme at KIWOHEDE, large families contribute to girls’ trafficking. She said: “... in most [...] families there are too many children in such a way that parents cannot afford rearing them. Therefore, parents accept the request of traffickers and sometimes encourage their children to go to find a job...”.

In a polygamous family, a man marries more than one wife at the same time. Getting married to many wives enlarges the family because sometimes each wife bears children. For example, the deceased father of Semeni, had married four wives. When he passed away, he left behind many children, and there were not enough material things to inherit.

Semeni said:

‘... My father had four wives. I did not live long time with him since he passed away in 1998 when I was five years old. My mother had four children. I remember our life was difficult ever since our father was alive. We lived in a grass thatched house, when it rained the roof was leaking. Our sleeping and eating was of poor quality. Our mother was no longer able to take care and provide necessities for us because she did not have formal employment. It was too expensive for her....’

Semeni’s father passed away leaving the family without means of survival, as a result, the children were left in a house with a leaking roof, and they lacked necessities. Semeni’s mother did not have formal employment that could supplement the financial deficit. This situation encouraged Semeni and her mother to consent to the Semeni’s cousin’s who wanted to go with her to town. This takes us back to the question of poverty increasing the vulnerability of children to trafficking.

4.1.5 Forced Marriage

Forced marriage is a direct factor that influenced trafficking. Some girls agreed to go to town because in the village they would have been forced to be married. As Furaha said, after completing primary school, her uncle wanted her to get married but she was not ready. So when convinced by her aunt to go to town she agreed because among others, she was running away from getting married and she wanted to study.

Another example is Maua's case. *"My uncles and some aunts believed that there was no need to educate a girl child, since she will be married to another family"*. She refused to be married; later on when convinced by another uncle to go Dar es Salaam she agreed. In another incident, Faraja described what happened when she asked her uncle about his promise to take her to school *'...They told me to sustain myself with my own money or find a man with whom I will be married.*

From the narrations, it seems that getting married sometimes does not imply finding a life partner; it implies getting someone who would provide you with your needs. In other words marriage is associated more with economic satisfaction than love. At the same time, it is believed that educating a girl is a loss because she will be married to a different clan. Girls who did not want to be married were unsettled, as a result they were captured by unreal promises from unfaithful people.

Therefore, in the study these are the major factors that play roles in girls' exploitation. An analytical view shows that there is an interaction among the factors. They operate in a circular network whereby poverty is the central factor. For instance, as a consequence of poor nutrition, poor people may be prone to disease and death. Likewise, they are unable to withstand natural phenomenon such as drought and may experience strong marital conflicts when fighting for scarce resources. So going to town can be a strategy to get out of the vicious cycle of poverty. In the next section I present pull factors.

4.2 What Motives Attract Girls to go to Dar es Salaam?

Having presented the factors that push girls to leave the rural area, let us see motives which pull them to town. According to the IOM counter trafficking officer, *"the biggest attraction for girls is, firstly, the promise of employment in the main cities such as Dar es Salaam, Arusha and Zanzibar, and, secondly, the desire for education"*. Likewise, the social worker from KIWOHEDE confirmed that education opportunities, employment and a better life were

the basic motives. During the conversation with girls, they too mentioned the same motives: education, employment and a better life. Here are some illustrative cases.

4.2.1 Education

I was born in Makete, Iringa Region. I studied at Mundindi primary school then I joined Mundindi government secondary school. Towards the end of form one, my parents divorced and each remarried elsewhere. I then lived with my maternal grandmother who was not able to pay for my school fees. I was obliged to stop studies. I remain at home although I wanted to continue studying. Then a neighbour (woman) known as Joyce convinced me to go to Dar es Salaam because I was more likely to get sponsors there, than in the village..”.

Imani had already started secondary education and she was eager to continue by she was constrained by poverty and marital conflicts. She had the desire for education so, when she was told that she may be enrolled in a school she believed and joined the neighbour in the journey to Dar es Salaam.

Similarly, Faraja (refer section 6.0) was eager to study and her uncle utilised the same aspect to deceive her. Other girls, Tunu and Zawadi presented above (refers section 4.1.3) were promised that they would be registered at school. Yet, their mother did not fulfil what she was promising. From the findings eight among fifteen girls had reached standard seven, and most of them wanted continue with secondary school. They could not continue because of lack of school fees, parental sickness or death as we have seen above. The neighbours and close relatives promised education opportunities to attract the children.

4.2.2 Employment

Some informants were captured by false promises when they were looking for means to earn money for school fees, buying clothes, food and medicine as well as supporting poor families. They wanted to be employed to get money. Salama for instance, (refer section 4.1.2 above) was told that in Dar es Salaam she would get employment and earn money for taking care of her sick parents. Nevertheless, most of the children were employed but were either poorly paid or not paid at all. The girls were engaged in domestic work which was characterised by excessive work and poor or non-payment of salaries.

From the findings, education and employment were inseparable. The girls agreed to work, but for some of them their major priority was education. They expected that they would gain money if they worked then they would be able to pay for secondary school. This is what

Imani said: “... Joyce told me that if someone asks me where I was going, I had to answer, “I am looking for job”. She also told me that if they take me home for work I had to say the truth that I was looking someone to pay for my education...”

4.2.3 Better Life in Town

As it has been explained above, one of the factors that pull girls to go to town was the hope of a better life. This can be explained by the fact that girls were faced with hunger, lack of clothes in the rural areas and they dreamed to find peace and luxury in urban centres. Furaha for example, said... *One day my mother's sister phoned to my uncle saying that one of her friends needs a housegirl. She proposed that I was mature enough and that I may find a better life in town. I agreed to go because I knew that I would find a more comfortable life than in the village...*”

The difference in development between rural and urban is the main aspect of attraction to town. The girls expected a better life however, contrary to their expectations, the girls ended up being deceived as we shall see in the chapter five. They did not live a comfortable life instead they were exploited.

4.3 People Involved in Exploiting the Girls

Many people are involved in the trafficking process. These include those who recruit, those who consent for the child to leave, those who transport and those who harbour. But in this study most of those who consented: parents, caregivers (and sometimes children themselves), did so maybe out of ignorance. They were ignorant of what would happen in urban centres. It seems that they were compelled by poverty. Therefore unfaithful people took this opportunity to mislead caregivers. In this part I present only people who exploited the children.

From the KIWOHEDE coordinator of the anti-trafficking programme¹⁸, many people were involved in the transferring and exploiting the girls. *‘...firstly, parents; secondly, close relatives or neighbours; thirdly, business persons who take crops from villages to town; and fourthly, agents who go to villages and collect several girls. Upon arrival in town the agents ask for those in need of housegirls to repay them the fare used to transport the girls.’*

¹⁸ Also the MoH&SW and IOM social workers mentioned a similar list

The MoH&SW and IOM social workers also identified people involved as: parents, children themselves, and the third person. As told by the girls themselves, the people who were involved in transporting and harbouring them were: parents and close relatives, neighbours, business persons and family friends.

4.3.1 Parents and Close Relatives

Our mother phoned our father telling him if he had failed to take us to school, she would do so. She asked him to send us to Dar es Salaam where she would register us in an international school. Our father talked to our mother and he told her what we looked like (our mother, had not seen us since we were 2 years old); he also told us that our mother would accompany us. We went to the bus stand at Morogoro, we met our mother. She had come along from Dar es Salaam to meet us. We boarded Aboud Bus service at Morogoro to Dar es Salaam.

The above narration complements the twins story (refer section 4.1.3). The twins were transported by their own biological mother who was remarried in Dar es Salaam. They had not lived with her since their infancy. At the time she invited them, she was not in a good mood with their father (with whom she was divorced many years previously). Tunu and Zawadi, were promised by their mother that she would register them at a school. The children were not sent to a school; they were told to work as housemaids. They were extremely physically and psychologically abused by their mother (refer section 5.3). Seeing that they were deceived, and that they were being exploited and tortured they did not have any alternative except, exercising the own agency, they ran away.

Together with parents, other relatives (aunts, uncles and cousins) took part in transferring and exploiting children. For instance, Maua was convinced by her father's brother (uncle) to go to Dar es Salaam under the promise of registering at a school. She said: "...In 2007, my father's brother (uncle) convinced me to come to Dar es Salaam so that he could take me to school. He gave me a telephone number of a person in Dar es Salaam to call when I arrive. Therefore, I left home to come to Dar es Salaam...". These cases show that exploitation of children is done not only by the third party but also with parents or close relatives.

4.3.2 Neighbours

Neighbours were mentioned as being involved in persuading children to leave their homes. The neighbours took advantage of the trust built between them and caregivers. The neighbours were aware of the difficulties that the children and their families had been living. Therefore, they used the same weaknesses to convince the caregivers and the girls.

Wema for instance (refer section 5.0), after the death of her parents dropped out of school. She was engaged in taking care of her handicapped brother. Wema's story depicts the way she was persuaded by her neighbour by the promise of school and a better life. The neighbour had studied the living condition of Wema and her brother and proposed that she go to town where she might be enrolled in school.

4.3.3 Business Persons

As explained above by KIWOHEDE's social worker, business persons who buy crops from rural areas to sell in town acted as mediators between urban dwellers who seek girls from rural areas. The business people took advantage of being known to the villagers, especially by the parents, to recruit girls. Huruma said: *'One day Susan my neighbour and a business woman, who was trading crops from Manyoni to Moshi advised me to go to town to find a job in order to improve my life and to help my relatives. She made all arrangements for the trip; then I left.....* Most of business persons recruited the children but did not harbour them.

4.3.4 Family Friends

Family friends also created links between my informants and seekers of house assistants specifically girls from rural areas. They organised the journey and took the children with them to the persons in cities. According to Nuru: *"... a friend of my deceased mother, who lived in Dar es Salaam, phoned me, asking me to go to Dar es Salaam where she had found a job for me..."*

The cases above indicate that there is a strong link and trust between caregivers, the girls themselves, neighbours, business persons and friends. The trust built between them enables the caregivers to allow the family friend to take the girl. The caregivers, constrained by poverty and other related issues, most of the time believed that neighbours, relatives and friends would take care of the children and help them in getting employment or attain better education. However, it is worthwhile noting here that many people are involve in trafficking or exploiting children but the trafficker is the one who aims at exploiting the child.

4.4 Discussion and Conclusion

From the findings, it seems that poverty is the major condition for girls' trafficking/exploitation in Tanzania. Although statistical data representation differs, a good number of Tanzanians lives below the poverty line. For example, according to the Ndulu and

Mutalemwa (2002: 3) and Khijjah (2004: 2) about a half of the Tanzanian population live below the 'basic needs' poverty though URT (2009b: 11) reports that only 33.68% of the population are poor. In terms of children, UNICEF (2009: 17) reports that in 2005, 78% of children in Tanzania suffered severe shelter deprivation while 63% suffered water deprivation. In 2010, the government admitted that there was an increase in poverty especially in rural areas due to severe drought which affected crop production, livestock and power generation. (URT, 2010b)

In rural areas people lack quality food, sleep in poor accommodation, and do not have money to buy basic needs such as clothes, salt, soap and medicine as we have seen in the study. According to Dottridge (2002:38) "*poverty is a central factor in the decision of parents to send their children away to work*". It disempowers people by limiting their ability to control their lives and make choices (Batliwala, 1993), hence they opt for sending a girl away. Sending children to town, according to Ochanda et al (2009), has two implications: one, is to let her/him find means of supporting herself and possibly to contribute to family income and two, to reduce the number of dependants at home.

Unfaithful people take advantage of the poverty to attract girls and promise a better living situation. According to Fitzgibbon (2003:82): "*Traffickers exploit the aspirations of those living in poverty and seeking better lives. They use dramatic improvements in transport and communications to sell men, women and children into situations of forced labour and sexual slavery with virtually no risk of prosecution.*"

Poverty affects the children especially girls much more than the adults (UNICEF, 2009). In Nigeria, for instance, due to the burdens of poverty, desperately poor and uninformed parents were reported to willingly co-operate with the traffickers, giving away their children in exchange for a small fee (UNICEF, 2007). In West African countries according to Salah (2001), studies show that poverty, cultural values and traditional beliefs tend to weaken the protection of child rights; hence push them to the hands of traffickers. Thus, in a poverty situation, instead of using money for bringing up children, caregivers utilise the children as assets to get money.

Poverty deprives one of human rights, according to Irish Aid (2008) it limits freedom and ability to develop human potential. In other words, it limits one's ability to exercise his/her agency which is a key aspect of empowerment (Kabeer, 2005). Also poverty "*limits people's*

ability to participate in society, and so leaves them feeling powerless to change their situation” (Irish Aid, *ibid*: 1), which implies depriving *power with* which according to Rowland (1997) implies ability to associate with others. Being poor also implies lack of resources, economic human and social resources. According to Kabeer (2005) resources form the second element of empowerment. In other words, due to poverty, the rural community is disempowered; they do not have choices except agreeing with false promises.

Poverty is intertwined with socio-cultural issues such as family instability. The instability of the family is associated with marital conflict, divorce or death of one or both parents. This may lead the child to go to grandparents, most of them are poor and old (Madhavan, 2004). As argued by IOM (2008), children from families which have disintegrated either through death (leaving orphans and widows) or divorce are more vulnerable to trafficking than those living with family members and friends.

In the findings, nine girls out of fifteen were orphans. According to the government of Tanzania, the vulnerability of the poor is increased by the preponderance of disease, including the rapid spread of HIV/AIDS (URT, 2010c). In 2002, the population census reported that 10% of children under the age of 18 had lost either one or both parents while in Makete district (one of the most affected districts in Tanzania), almost one quarter of children had been orphaned (URT, 2005: XV). In relation to trafficking, Ochanda et al (2009:22) report that: *“Poor children especially orphans may at times be abused by some people taking advantage of the poverty in their families. Orphans are always in danger of ending up being house maids and then by default become sex slaves”*. Also marital conflict and divorce lead children to be unsettled hence may want to go to elsewhere; that desire to go away may lead them to be trafficked.

Another socio-cultural aspect is the gender stereotype in domestic work. The findings in this study correspond with Kamala et al (2001) and UNICEF (2006b) who assert that the vast majority of domestic child workers are girls as young as six years old. Moreover according to Dottridge (2002:39), *‘Women employers not only say that girls are ‘more obedient’ than boys and consequently preferred, but sometimes even know which ethnic group they prefer ‘most as obedient.’”* For example, in Tanzanian cities most women prefer girls from Hehe community from Iringa region.

Again, the tradition of child fostering play a great role in perpetuating child trafficking. From the findings and analysis, it is evident that caregivers consent with very little questioning about what will happen to their daughters. This may be explained by trust built on existing social networks. According to Ochanda et al (2009:21):

“ The extended family network is very much valued in East Africa, making it easy for the affluent family members, friends and acquaintances to offer to assist the poor folk in their midst. As a result of this network of trust, the poor folk will tend to give out their children with ease hoping that the child will be assisted to get good education... ’.

The findings show that among the fifteen trafficked girls ten went to known persons (close relatives, neighbours or family friends); four went to unknown persons and one to a brothel. The findings indicate that even when both parents are alive children were exploited and deprived their basic rights. According to Rwezaura (2000: 327) there are reports of “...children who have suffered from various forms of discrimination perpetrated not only by third parties but also by the children’s own parents and relatives” as it was the case of Tunu and Zawadi in my study.

Elsewhere in Tanzania, the manifestation of negligence, irresponsibility and loss of parental love, is also reported by Daniel (2008) who illustrates two cases of families in Makete district (Tanzania) whereby parents left their children unattended. In the first case, the father was alive while in the second case the mother married a man who did not like to take care of the step children. These are incidents of violation of child rights as stipulated by (UN, 1989) and (URT, 2009a).

In conclusion, rural poverty is the major factor in child trafficking. Poverty is intertwined with other socio-cultural aspects such as family instability, gender stereotype, child fostering and forced marriage. These caused children especially girls to be deprived of basic rights such as education, basic needs, parental care and love. At the same time, unfaithful people utilised these chances to exploit them as we shall in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

EXPERIENCES OF TRAFFICKED GIRLS

5.0 Introduction

.... I was taken to work as a housegirl to one of her relatives' house. Upon arrival, I was warmly received and I was assigned some duties. I immediately started working. But, as days advanced life continued to be difficult because duties were becoming too many and I was deprived food.

As I said before, I was not given food. Can you imagine that I prepared food but was told not to eat? I was not supposed to share food with others in the dining room. They told me to wait until they have eaten, then I took the leftovers to the kitchen where I ate whatever remained. Sometimes there were very little remains.

I was sleeping in the kitchen, on a bare floor. I used my kitenge¹⁹ as a mattress and a blanket. I was waking up at 5.00, I worked until midnight. The daily duties comprised: washing clothes, cooking and house cleaning. When it happened that I completed all the works early and wanted to have short rest, Mama Tatu (my employer) told me to keep on working. She said, "Brush the kitchen areas, the floor, the walls"

Ever since I started working I was not paid anything; they did not buy clothes for me. When I said I feel sick my employer refuted this saying I was pretending. When I said I want to go to school, Mama Tatu told me to unbury the skeleton of my mother which will take me to school. I remember one night she beat me strongly, I was injured.

Furthermore, I was forbidden to communicate with my relatives at home. I lost all contact even with my brother. I did not know how his condition was. My employer continued threatening and beating me especially when I was asking for my salary (crying). I did not have any idea what to do; I was terrified by her intimidation. Had there been no threats I would have gone to the police station.

Then Mama Tatu told me to leave her house. I had nowhere to go. I started wandering in the streets. I met another woman who invited me to work for her as a housegirl. She was married with three children: Mwajabu, Hamis and Musa. Mwajabu's mother was living with her husband in the police quarters because Mwajabu's father was a policeman. In that family, I was somehow comfortable, but a new problem arose, Mwajabu's father was seducing me.

During the night when I was asleep, he entered my room and started touching my body gently. I told his wife, she said I was lying. One day I was going to Kilimani shop. On my way, three young men came, caught me, forced me to enter into a guest house room and they locked it. I think it was arranged by the father of the family. In the night, Mr Suleman (Mwajabu's father) came, undressed me, took off all his clothes and raped me. I have never experienced such a painful incident. I bled so much.

¹⁹ A piece cloth that women wear, usually wider and less decorated than kanga (see page 61)

The following day I told the wife about the incident and as usual, she said I am a liar. She told me to leave her house because she could not live with a liar since I was endangering her marriage. She gave me 200 Tanzanian shillings (0.14 USD)²⁰ as fare and she told me to go back home (Morogoro) ²¹. Understanding that 200 Shillings was not enough to pay bus fare to Morogoro, I caught a commuter bus which took me to Bandarini (another street in Dar es Salaam city). In fact, I did not know where I was going.

At Bandarini, I met children in vulnerable condition (street children), popularly known as 'Chokoraa'. They encouraged me saying that you do not have to go anywhere else "just remain here with us, you will live". I remained there. The first night we slept outside, we used plastic bags to sleep on. A group of boys came, some held me down while others raped me, alternating. Again, I was so much hurt. The following day we kept on moving from one hotel to another begging for leftovers to eat.

Then I met a girl known as Jane, I explained my problem and she told me that she would help me. She said she would take me to school. I went to live with her. Two weeks later, she revealed that her income was coming from selling her body; she invited me to join her in order to survive. I was so much shocked, but I had nothing to do. Then next day she told me to accompany her to Magogoni at Machinga Street. The Machinga Street was a centre for girls who were selling their bodies secretly (prostitution is illegal in Tanzania). The girls were given 200 shillings (0.14USD) for sleeping with a man using condom and 300 (0.21 USD) without condom. I did not know that Jane had already taken 20,000 Tshs (14.2 USD) from a certain man. She led me inside a room. There, I met a man who undressed and raped me (she cried). (She showed scars due to that rape) The same night, I went to the toilet and ran away.

Then I was wandering in streets, fortunately I met a woman who was working at KIWOHEDE. I explained to her my problems. She took me directly to KIWOHEDE centre. She asked me many questions but finally, accepted me to stay there. She told me to take an HIV/AIDS test. The test showed that I was HIV positive. At the same time, I had wounds in my private parts. I therefore was taken to the Hospital where I got treatment. I have now recovered and I am using drugs (ARVs) to lengthen my life....Wema narrated.

Wema's story illustrates a range of experiences that girls encountered in the city. I chose this narration because it displays most of the experiences the 15 girls I talked to during my field work revealed. Wema (16 years old) is an orphan from Morogoro region. At the age of nine years she left her home going to town after being advised by a neighbour. Her mother had died and her father had died a long time before. All her sisters got married after the death of the mother, leaving her at home taking care of her brother who was handicapped.

²⁰ One USD is estimated to 1400 Tshs

²¹ 200 Tshs as fare from Dar es Salaam to Morogoro is too little. By that time, the actual fare to Morogoro was 3000 (2.1 USD)

Wema with her brother lived a very difficult life. They lacked food, clothes and school requirements. Wema stopped schooling and concentrated on household activities. She was then convinced by Fatuma, a neighbour to go to Dar es Salaam, where the latter promised to send her to school. But in Dar es Salaam Wema was made a housegirl to one of Fatuma's relatives. While in Dar es Salaam she faced all the difficulties she explained: she lacked food, she slept on a floor, she was beaten, rebuked and even raped. Moreover, she worked for a long time, and was not paid. When she reported that she was raped by the family father, she was told by her employer to go away. In the streets, Jane took advantage of her vulnerability and transferred her to her house and utilized her for sexual exploitation. Wema's case is the most complex and painful since she was psychologically and physically the most wounded.

In this chapter, I describe the experiences of exploited girls when they arrive in the city (Dar es Salaam). In general, all girls were upset after discovering that the promises that they were told before were lies. Otherwise, the girls narrated various complex incidents. For the purpose of this study, I have divided the experiences into five categories: child domestic work, sexual abuse, physical and psychological abuse, isolation and deprivation of communication as well as deprivation of basic human needs. Together with Wema's narration above, I will cite some extracts from other girls to demonstrate those experiences.

5.1 Child Domestic Work

I started to live with them but life was very difficult again in this house. I was told to sell water and ice-cream. I went to the streets I was carrying a bucket of water on my head while holding ice-cream bag in my hands. Several times, I was beaten and all my clothes were thrown outside. I would eat when all others were finished. When I came to eat, they had already finished all the vegetables, or fish. I ate rice without any vegetables, meat or fish soup.

I was sleeping in a nice place but there was neither bedsheet nor blanket. I used my kanga to cover, myself. Furthermore, I was not getting medical services; when I got my salary I used to buy panadol to treat my headaches. I had to buy my own clothes and I was not allowed to communicate with my relatives at home.

I decided to move to another place. I did not have any idea where to go, but as went in the streets asking people if they need a housegirl, I succeeded to find one family at Mburahati. Yet, in this new house the situation was even worse. In the house the husband was very cruel. He reprimanded me even if I had not done anything wrong. When the wife with the young child travelled, the man would ask me to sleep with him. He came to my room because the room did not have a door. The first day he came and he started touching me and telling me nasty stories, I could not believe it. He was a

respected man. Then he continued coming naked into my room and he forced me to have sex without my consent. I was badly hurt by the act of rape.

In this family, there were many duties also. I would wake up at 4.00 every morning, I slept at 1 am. If I was late to wake up, the woman (employer) poured cold water on my bed where I was sleeping. I was paid, 10,000/= but for two months I was not paid. One day it was announced on Radio Free Africa that my father had passed away. My employer heard. I did not have money. My employer gave me money for the fare, to attend the funeral. But when I came back I was told that the fare she gave me was a debt which I was obliged to pay back. She held all my properties as a guarantee. Therefore I worked in that house for four months without salary as I was repaying the debt.

Salama's parents were sick from HIV/AIDS (also refer section 4.1.2). She left her home to find money for family use and for the treatment of her parents. She worked as housegirl subsequently in Songea, Morogoro and in Dar es Salaam in one of her uncle's house.

In her uncle's house where she was sent by her cousin, Salama was not enrolled in a school as promised and she was exploited. Besides housework, she was engaged in doing petty business as the narration above shows. Yet, Salama did not lose heart she maintained her intention of finding money for sending home to sustain her sick parents and her siblings. But in her uncle's house there was no hope of achieving her goals. So she searched for another place of work.

Life was not better in the other house. She worked for long hours every day and she was sexually abused. Salama fell victim of debt bondage because of the money she had borrowed when she went to attend the funeral of her father. For that debt she had to work for four months without being paid. In addition to the working condition, she was mistreated and raped. In other words Salama was not treated as other members of the family in both houses, she was like a slave.

Most of my informants were trafficked for domestic purposes. I name it as child domestic work because is a form of child forced labour; the children were subjected to a of lot work ranging from housework to petty business. For example, during the conversation most of the girls told me that they had too much work and that they did not have privacy and time to rest. In addition, the domestic work as we have seen in the cases of Salama and Wema was characterised by excessive work, and extra work such as doing business, low payment, as well as long working hour. Moreover, the two girls were reprimanded, beaten, raped and deprived basic needs.

Excessive work was the dominant feature of child domestic labour. The children were doing too much work. Some of the duties were house cleaning, preparation of food, washing clothes, preparing children for school and babysitting. Together with housework, some girls were involved in other petty business activities. For example, Salama's story above shows that she was engaged in selling ice-cream and water. By virtue of their age, the children were subjected to heavy labour that did not correspond to their physiological capability. The girls were not only doing heavy labour but also some of what they were doing was inappropriate for them as children as it can be seen in the following example.

Subira (16 year old) an orphan born in Kondoa (refer section 4.1.1), at the age of ten years was transported by Mrs Kongua from Dodoma where she was living with her brother. In Dar es Salaam she was made a housegirl. Together with housework, she was selling soup in a local bar. For a child of her age, it was not appropriate to work in a bar because in a bar clients are grown people and they misbehave when they become drunk. She was much distressed as she said:

When we arrived in Dar es Salaam, I went to live with Mrs Kongua. I was employed as a housegirl; I was told to do all forms of housework. Later she changed the job, she told me to work in a local beer bar. There I was selling soup. I was supposed to wake up early in the morning at five o'clock to go to the market to buy meat and come back home to boil it ready for the morning customers. The work was distressing not only because of having to wake up so early in the morning but also because of my clients were drunkards. They were using abusive language, they were asking me to drink the alcohol, and sometimes holding my dress even kissing me with their stinking mouths.

Another feature of child domestic work according to my informants was low payment or non-payment of their salaries. Those who were paid received a very small amount, inadequate to buy clothes and serve for other uses. Generally, the minimum salary was 5,000 Tanzania Shillings (Tshs) (3.5 USD) while the highest salary was 20,000 Tshs (14.2 USD) per month. In Zawadi's (refer section 5.3) case, their mother, instead of employing someone whom she would pay, she exploited her daughters by making them work without salary. The girls, whether paid or not, worked for a long time. This is exploitation because the payment was not equivalent to the work they were doing. Some girls were not paid at all. For example Tumaini (16 years old) was transported by her cousin to work as housegirl and baby-sitter. Upon arrival she expected that she would be sent to a school as it was promised. However, she worked for her cousin without any contract or salary.

Another feature was long working hours. The girls worked for long time in a day. The daily routine started early in the morning and they worked the whole day until late at night. For example, Furaha after the death of her parents, was she asked by her maternal aunt to go to Dar es Salaam where she would be sent to school. However, as with many other girls, she was made a housegirl. Her daily routine was very long and she told me she worked for almost 20 hours a day. She said:

My duties were to wash clothes, wash utensils and house cleaning. I mean all the house work. The mother of the family, Mrs Msatu was very busy with office duties and all their children were going to school. I was getting very tired. I worked for almost twenty hours a day. I was waking up at 4.00 am and sleeping at 23.00 hours.

Most of the girls said that they were the first one to wake up and the last to sleep. In the morning they had to wake up first to prepare tea for the family, in the evening they had to wash utensils and to wait until everyone had gone to sleep to make sure that the doors were locked and all lights were put off. Yet, some girls could not sleep in the night; they were disturbed by men (fathers or sons) who wanted to have sex with them.

5.2 Sexual Abuse

As we arrived at Tanzania Railways Cooperation (TRC) station in Dar es Salaam, it was already evening. Mshua told me to follow him; we walked a long distance, about one and a half hours, until we reached a house where we met two women. He told me to wait outside; he went inside the house, whispered with the women. While standing outside I heard voices of people screaming in one of the rooms. Then a girl came out lamenting that she was not paid. I did not know exactly what was going on inside that house; I came to know later that it was a brothel.

One woman came out; she looked at me and started complaining to Mshua that I was too young to do the job. I did not know what job they were talking about, I was sure at the age of 12 years I could do all housework at home.

After a five minute quarrel between the women and Mshua; he exited furiously, he told me to enter into the house while he disappeared into the streets. As I entered, the house was like a guest house, but on the walls there were shameful pictures I have never seen before. The two women were watching television. I did not know whether it was a video tape or television with moves of naked women.

The women did not tell me anything; suddenly I saw two giant men, one of them was holding a syringe; they strongly held my hands and carried me to a room and raped me. I have never experiences such a pain. I lost conscious until the next day (crying). When I gained consciousness I went out and ran to the street. I had left everything in that room; I ran with my dress without anything else. I walked for one hour then reached at Sinza Street. I met a woman who asked me why I was walking without

sandals. I narrated the whole incident; she escorted me to Police Station and the Police led me the Social Welfare's Office. From there I was taken to KIWOHEDE.

Neema (18 years girl) was trafficked for commercial sexual exploitation. At her village Umehimwa, she was running away from her cruel mother. Her mother accused her of stealing 1000 Tanzanian shillings, and she (the mother) had taken Neema to the police. When coming back home Neema ran away and met Zulfa, a woman, who promised to help her to find employment in Dar es Salaam. She then handed her over to a man known as Mshua who would take her to Dar es Salaam. Mshua travelled with Neema and brought her to a brothel in Dar es Salaam.

In the brothel, Mshua presented Neema to two women who were managers of the brothel. The women retained her despite her age, and the same day, she was raped by two giant men. Neema lost conscious. She woke up the following day, ran to the street where she met a good Samaritan who brought her to the police and eventually to KIWOHEDE. Neema was neither protected by her mother nor by the police and fell victim of trafficking. Neema depicts a pure case of trafficking because all people involved had the intention of exploiting her: recruiters, transporter and host.

Sexual abuse was not only practised in brothels, even girls who were housegirls fell victim as we have seen Wema and Salama above. Seven informants among fifteen said that they experienced sexual abuse. The offenders took advantage of the powerlessness of the girls and threatened them so they would not tell other people. From the girls' narratives, sexual assaults ranged from verbal abuse and touching to rape. Taking into consideration that the girls were very young, they were not in a position to negotiate sex with grown up men. This is clearly illustrated by Neema's case above: at age 12, she was caught and raped by two men.

Another girl who experienced sexual abuse was Imani (18 years). Imani was transported by Joyce, (her neighbour). Joyce later agreed with a bus conductor to take Imani up to Dar es Salaam. In Dar es Salaam she would be received by Mama Mariam, but the conductor abandoned her at the terminal bus stand. She had to wait for her host, and passed the whole night there. Meanwhile, she was being abused by unknown men and boys who came and started touching her body. She said:

We arrived in Dar es Salaam; it was already late in the night. The bus conductor disappeared. I slept at Ubungo bus terminal. During the night men passed, asking

me questions and touching my body even the private parts. I was ashamed and I felt humiliated and insulted.

In the morning Mama Mariam came to collect her and took her to Mr Dema. It was not the end of sexual abuse to her. In Mr Dema's house, Imani was forced to have sex with Mr Dema. He pretended that he would marry her despite that age-wise he was like her father. He locked her inside the house, and used to rape her every day. He also did not allow her to have contact with other people even neighbours (refer to Imani's long narration section 5.4). Mr Dema did not have a wife, so he took advantage of being with Imani in his house to abuse her sexually.

Another incident of sexual abuse was narrated by Tumaini (17 years) who was transferred and harboured by a cousin. In her cousin's²² house, Tumaini was repeatedly raped by her brother-in-law even when his wife was sleeping in the next room.

Tumaini said:

My brother-in-law started seducing me. During the day time he was praising me saying that I am beautiful and invited me to have a love relationship with him. I told my sister²³, she answered that I should not take it seriously my brother-in-law was just joking. It seems my sister respected her husband so much. In the night the man started to come into our room (I was sleeping with Maya their daughter). When other people were going to sleep, he had the habit of remaining alone in the living room until late in the night; I think he was doing his office works. He therefore used the same time pretending that he was busy working, while he was coming into my room.

While I was sleeping he forced me to have sex with him, and he told me not to inform my sister. The first day I was surprised to see the mosquito net being opened, I nearly jumped to the floor; he used the palm of his hand to shut my mouth so that I could not shout, he raped me. I told my sister again; she did not believe me. She asked me "Why did you remain silent?" I did not have any answer. That day she remained silent without speaking with anyone except Maya. The next day she quarrelled with her husband. It was not a serious conflict and there were no changes of behaviour on the side of her husband. He continued to rape me many more times, and my sister remained quiet. Slowly the dream of going to school was fading, I did not even have pocket money.

²² In her narrations she said "sister". In many Tanzanian societies a paternal cousin is considered to be a sister or brother and in Swahili she/he is called so. Even a maternal cousin may be called so (but normally they are called cousin).

²³ From 22 above, she meant cousin

Tumaini was invited to go to town on social network bases. The cousin however took advantage of the poverty of Tumaini's family. Tumaini was deceived; there was no any sign of registering her at a school. Her cousin's husband was unfaithful he raped her and her cousin was not courageous enough to safeguard the child. Tumaini therefore, was exploited, and not protected, by both.

During the conversation with the girls, they said that some men used extra effort to get hold of them and rape them. The girls were locked into rooms and raped by one or several men., We can use Wema's case (presented above in section 5.0) as an illustration. To recap the story, Wema was raped by her employer's husband (a policeman) who was helped by other three men; then when she was running away from her employer's house she was raped again at Bandarini by a group of boys. A group of boys held her down on the ground and raped her alternating. On top of that Wema suffered a rape that was planned by her host Jane. Jane had taken money from a man and as payment she sent Wema to that man at Machinga Street who raped her violently. As a result Wema was injured in her private parts and bled excessively.

Upendo (14 years old) also suffered rape incidents that were planned by her aunt (refer section 4.1.2). After graduating at primary school, Upendo was invited by her paternal aunt to go to Dar es Salaam where she promised she would register her at a secondary school. Upendo was not registered at school but she stayed with her aunt who asked her to do housework. Her aunt used her as a means to get money from men by subjecting her to sexual exploitation. Upendo said:

....The life with Aunt Chausiku was quite disordered and full of problems. At the beginning I did not know what she was doing. Later I came to know that she did not have any formal employment. She depended on selling local beer and prostitution. She was not married and did not have children. Instead she used to sleep with several men. When her partners came, I was told to sleep in the coaches. One day Aunt Chausiku said she would find me a man so that I could be getting money or be married. She was taking money from men and told me to sleep with them, saying that she was training me in self-reliance. Yet, she cautioned me to be careful with men; she warned me that if I become pregnant or be infected with AIDS she would take me back to village. She used abusive language; I felt much ashamed and humiliated.

In the conversation, my informants were surprised to see that guardians did not help to end sexual abuse they experienced. They said that they were hurt by the silence of their guardians or the mothers of the family. The girls expected that they would help them. For example, Furaha (refer to section 5.1) was harboured by her aunt. She lived with her aunt and worked

as housegirl. She was raped by her cousin Majaliwa (the first born of the family). He used to come into her room with a knife and terrified her. When Furaha reported to her aunt, the latter remained silent. Furaha said: “... *Majaliwa, first born of my employer, desired to sleep with me. I refused but he used to come at night with a small knife and rape me. I told his mother but she remained silent. I felt so much humiliated*”.

Sexual abuse had a physical and psychological impact on the girls. Some of the girls were severely wounded, some were infected with HIV and all were affected psychologically, both by the violation of the act and by the lack of support from women who could help them.

5.3 Physical and Psychological Abuse

She took us to her new home. We did not remember how our mother was. Contrary to what we expected, in Dar es Salaam we had the worst living situation. Our mother was very cruel, she harrassed us. We regret that we came to live with her. She did not love us at all as we expected. She had two other children (a son and daughter of the step father she was living with). She allowed them to go to school and made us her housemaids.

She treated us with cruelty, she struck us with a cooking ladle until it broke. She held our necks and made our heads knock each other; sometimes she made us touch naked electric wires. When we were shocked she said it was better that we die rather than break her marriage. We could not face return to our father since he had insisted that we should never come back as his wife was planning to kill us.

One day we woke up, as usual she beat us. Then she went to Kariakoo, (the biggest market in Dar es Salaam) and she promised that when she came back she would roast us in an electric current. We decided to leave, to go to an unknown place. We took money she had left for buying vegetables and fruits. We boarded a daladala (a commuter bus). We went up to Kisutu.

The narration above made by Zawadi demonstrates an extreme level of cruelty and violence against children. Zawadi and Tunu (twin sisters) were mistreated and exploited by their own biological mother and instead of loving them she treated them as slaves. This narrative depicts the most extreme case of brutality and violation of child protection principles.

As the above case shows, the treatment had detrimental effects on children’s physical and physiological development, for example, knocking their heads together and connecting them to naked electric wires. Several other children experienced physical abuse. For example, Salama (Refer section 5.1) said that her employer poured cold water on her bed if she was late in waking up in the morning.

Psychological abuse included verbal abuse such as insults, intimidation and threats. For example, Wema's story above (section 5.1) indicates that she was reprimanded and insulted. When she asked about school, she was told to "unbury the skeleton of her deceased mother". Such a statement hurt and traumatized her severely. Again when she reported being raped she was told that she was a liar who was destroying her employer's marriage. Another girl, Nuru was insulted and rebuked for things she had not done. Nuru, (17 years old) for example, narrated that "*She [the employer] falsely accused me that I was stealing her gold earrings and chains. One day she said that I had stolen her mobile telephone. She was insulting, reprimanding and rebuking me for everything. She had never appreciated whatever I did*"

Nuru lived in Mwanza region with her stepmother after the death of her mother. She was transferred by her late mother's friend. She promised her that she would find a job for her to earn money. She accepted, but when she came to Dar es Salaam she was taken to Mrs Chacha's house, a neighbour of her mother's friend where she was insulted and reprimanded. All these had psychological effects on the girls and made them feel lonely and isolated.

5.4 Isolation and Deprivation of Communication

The trafficked girls experienced a range of restrictions. Some girls had some degree of freedom while others were strictly not allowed to talk even to neighbours. For instance, Salama was prohibited from making phone calls or writing letters to her relatives. But Nuru was totally isolated; she was prohibited from talking even to other members of the family in which she was living as well as sharing meals with them. However Nuru was occasionally allowed to go to the church. Nuru narrated:

In that house I was treated so inhumanly in such a way that I cannot tell you everything. The whole family isolated me. When eating I was not sharing the same table with others. If it happened that the food was not enough, it was me who was suffering; I was obliged to sleep without dinner. When I went to church I found all the food eaten. I slept in a bed without a mosquito net. They did not give me a bedsheet. When visitors came I was sleeping on the dining room seats. [...].

I was sometimes prevented from going to church; Mrs Chacha (my employer) told me that there were many jobs to do. As I said, she was making a clear distinction between me and her children. I was told not to talk to anyone among her children or anyone who comes in the house.

Imani too experienced total confinement. She could not talk even to the tenants. She said:

I told him to give me the salary; he said he would not give me the money until I was leaving his house. Mr Dema was living alone without a wife or children and I did not know what he was doing. He owned a big house with around eight tenants. As the days went by, I saw that my schooling dreams were fading away. I was supposed to remain in Mr Dema's house; I was prohibited from communicating with anyone even the neighbours and from going out of the house (crying).

Since I had no communication with other people even the tenants, I remained in Mr Dema's house although I was not comfortable at all.

From the quote above, Imani was not only confined from movement but even her salary was withheld until the day she would be leaving. Withholding salary was a means of restricting her from escaping and is a form of enslavement.

5.5 Deprivation of Basic Needs

Whenever I reminded her about school, my aunt became very angry. Sometimes Aunt Chausiku told me that there was no food to eat. I was forced to sleep without eating. Most of the time, I just ate a small portion and I was not satisfied. I was not given clothes; I put on the ones I came with from home village. I did not have bedsheets; I covered myself with kitenge or kanga. I was afraid to tell her that I was sick, because she told me that a young person like me cannot fall sick. Upendo said.

The story above by Upendo depicts deprivation of basic human needs such as food, shelter and clothes. Upendo slept without having taken dinner, or ate just a small amount. Again she did not have clothes. At the same time she was not taken to a hospital when she was sick because her aunt ironically told her that she is too young to be sick.

On the issue of food, what girls experienced was not a question of deficit but it was deliberate deprivation because other members of the household were taking their meals as usual. The girls were left to stay without food or eat a small amount of food or the leftovers. In Wema's case for instance, she was told to take leftovers and eat in the kitchen after others had eaten.

Salama depicted a similar experience. She was eating after other house members had eaten whereas sometimes they had eaten all the food. Nuru too, was the last one to take meal in that household; if the food was not enough she had to miss. She was not sharing food with other family members, and whenever she was absent for example at church she could not find anything to eat when she returned.

Again on clothes, despite that the girls were coming from poor families and that they were not sufficiently paid, they were not given clothes. They ended up wearing worn out clothes

and admiring others who wore nice clothes. Nuru for instance said that she was given clothes by her friend. The sleeping places were also not comfortable. The girls used their *kanga*²⁴ to cover their bodies. Worse still, Nuru said she was sleeping in an uncomfortable place without a mosquito net²⁵ which made her vulnerable to catch malaria.

Concerning health services, the girls were ignored by their employers. In the conversation they indicated that their employers were not taking care of them when they felt sick. For example, Furaha said that she was not cared when she fell sick. In general, because no one cared for them, the girls sought for means to reduce the impact of the illness. For example, Salama used to swallow *panadol* pills to reduce her headache.

Proceeding from the above, it is important to note that the experiences were complex and overlapping and that it is not easy to distinguish them. Yet, the information by social workers gives us a summary. According to the IOM counter-trafficking programme assistant, *“The experiences of trafficked girls vary but the majority are exploited in domestic work in major cities, forced into exploitation by means of threats, being beaten, not paid or given money for survival, and they starve: they are left without food”*

The coordinator of anti-trafficking programme at KIWOHEDE gave a more elaborate description of experiences of trafficked girls. She had a list of eight kinds of experiences that trafficked girls go through. She said:

Many things happen in the lives of trafficked girls from trafficking to rescue. One, some of them who are domestic workers, are not paid. Two, they are beaten sometimes to make them physically disabled (at one time we received a girl who was beaten to the extent of cutting her arm). Three, many of them experience sexual harassment by close relatives in the family. Four, they are forced to be involved in prostitution. Five, the majority of trafficked girls who fall sick, are not given treatment; as a result diseases become immune. Six, they lose their family network, because when in the hands of traffickers they cannot communicate with the family members. Seven, they are deceived as they lose future promises (such as education). Lastly, many children due to rape cases are infected with STDs even HIV/AIDS.

²⁴ A piece of cotton cloth with decorations and written some words, normally worn by African women

²⁵ Dar es Salaam is a very warm area, and it is very much prone to mosquitoes and malaria.

5.6 Discussion and Conclusion

In the findings above most of the informants were working as housegirls. Child domestic workers are children (under 18 years persons) who are doing domestic chores, caring for children and related activities in other people's households (Blagbrough, 2008). In other words child domestic work is a form of child labour which is only confined to domestic work. Some children employed in this sector "*perform duties in conditions similar to slavery; they are exposed to physical abuse and violence, are sexually abused and constantly subjected to psychological torture*" (Ondimu, 2007: 39).

According to Blagbrough (2008), the main reason for caregivers allowing their children to go town is the need for the girls to sustain themselves and their families due to poverty. Most of the children are placed to work in houses of wealthier relatives. The practice of placement of children with relatives is rooted in child fostering tradition. Fitzgibbon (2003: 84) describes fostering as "*a means to giving children a 'better life'*". According to Fong (2004), child fostering is a culturally accepted practice in Africa. Parents believe that life in town is better than that in the village, and they presume that children will be treated like other members of family.

However, other authors like Madhavan (2004) make a difference between traditional 'voluntary' and the modern 'crisis-led' fostering. Voluntary fostering implies informal "*arrangements made between biological and foster parents that accord with cultural norms about rearing*" (ibid: 1444), for kinship obligation, training, alliance building and domestic work. Crisis-led fostering is the situation of taking children orphaned by AIDS "*in response to death or economic hardship*" (ibid).

In this study most of my informants were in crisis: orphanhood, and poverty. According to Madhavan (ibid), children fostered out of crisis are more disadvantaged than those fostered voluntarily. In the findings above, there were no agreements concerning salary, working hours, and terms of reference between the employers and the child. The employer utilized the family relations and vulnerability of the girls to deceive and exploit them.

The girls were not protected from sexual abuse in the houses where they worked in urban areas. According to Stöpler (2009: 6) sexual abuse is "*non-commercial contacts or interactions between a child (under18) and an older person (power disparity) where the child is being used for sexual gratification*". From the findings most of sexual abuse cases reported

took place within the households. Girls were raped by the fathers and sons of the family they worked for. Child sexual abuse in Tanzania committed by relatives is not a new thing. Stöpler (ibid: 7) reports that in Tanzania, young girls are sexually abused because “*it is very common for families to place children with relatives without ever questioning their trustworthiness*”.

Lalor (2004), identifies main five causes of child abuse in Tanzania. Among them two that are related to child trafficking are poverty and powerlessness. Poverty because some poor parents encourage their girls to look for means of living including going to urban centres; as a result young girls fall victims to rape or engage themselves in prostitution. Powerlessness because due to gender inequality in Tanzania: women most of the time are less powerful are socially and economically, hence making them vulnerable to sexual abuse. However, these are not enough reasons to violate human rights, especially those of children.

From the Rights-Based Approach point of view, there are indications of violations of child rights in the cases of my informants. The children were subjected to duties that according to UNICEF (2006c), can be characterized as worst forms of child labour namely: child domestic labour and commercial sexual exploitation. In other words, these children were not protected. For example Neema (refer section 5.2) was protected neither by her mother nor by the police from violence, as a result she fell victim to trafficking. The case of Wema shows a very high level of irresponsibility and lack of accountability because she was living at police quarters but a police officer, who was supposed to protect her, raped her. According to the Tanzanian *Anti-Trafficking Act 2008* trafficking and exploitation of a child, is severe case if it is perpetrated by a member of law enforcing agencies including the police.

From the legal perspective, most of the children’s rights as stipulated by the CRC (UN, 1989) are addressed in the Tanzania legal system²⁶. But the main shortcoming is negligence, irresponsibility and the government’s reluctance in the enforcement of the laws. *The Sexual Offence Special Provision Act 1998*, prescribes severe punishments for sexual offenders, but the community is not cooperative. For example, in the findings, there was a lack of response from the mothers and their guardians of children who were sexually abused. I wondered how a wife can remain silent when told about sexual acts of her husband. It could be because the man is the breadwinner of the family, so the wife is afraid of confronting him.

²⁶ With an exception of a few issues which we shall see in chapter seven (section 7).

In sexual abuse, the girls' trust was betrayed and their innocence violently destroyed. These girls were obedient and had been raised to trust adults and these actions by adults shake up the faith and respect that the girls had, even for the men –“he was a respected man”. Neema was shocked by the two women watching “shameful” videos. Because of their background and socialisation, the girls were trusting and innocent; they expected that the wives and/or mothers of these men would stop the men from sexually abusing children.

To conclude, at this stage the girls were much more disempowered than before, they did not have control of resources because they were poorly paid. Again, they were isolated, which in Rowland's (1997) terms, they were deprived *power with*. Moreover, when the girls did try to exercise agency, for example when they asked for fulfilment of the promises such as that of schooling, they were reprimanded. This is a mechanism used to discourage and undermine girl's agency by treating them as children, taking advantage that they had been socialised to respond with obedience and respect for the adult. However, in the next chapter I will present how the girls got out of this exploitative situation and how empowerment processes were being exercised at the rescue centre (KIWOHEDE).

CHAPTER SIX

RESCUE AND THE WAY FORWARD

6.0 Introduction

My name is Faraja I was born in 1994 at Itigi, in Singida region. I am therefore 16 years old. I am the fourth child among seven in our family. I lived with my two parents but later they divorced and both remarried with new partners in different villages. Unfortunately my both parents later died.

We were taken to live in our uncle's house (the father's elder brother). There, we were living in a big family with many children. I thank God I succeeded to study at primary school level. While at home, one day my uncle (father's young brother) who lived in Dar es Salaam wrote a letter asking me to go to Dar es Salaam where he would find a secondary school for me. I was very happy because I knew it was a good chance for me; I agreed. My uncle sent a person to accompany me. We travelled to Dar es Salaam by bus. Upon arrival, we went directly to my uncle's home at Mianzini Street and I was warmly welcomed.

I started to live with uncle's family happily. But, as days went on, life became difficult especially when I reminded them about school. My uncle and my aunt were very furious. They reprimanded and reproached me saying that they were unable to take me to school. Instead I was told to be engaged in petty business in the streets. I was selling fried fish and roast cassava at one corner outside their house while at the same time doing housework. All other children in the family were going to school. I remained alone at home. At the beginning, I was told that I was not supposed to think of school because I did not have someone to pay for my studies. Later on they said I had become too old to go to secondary school.

I continued doing housework and selling fish but I was so much eager to study. I knew that education was the only means that would save me from poor a life. The school dream was fading away.

One day when I was selling fish, I saw one girl in a green uniform. Her name was Maimuna. I approached her and asked, "Where are studying? How much do you pay as school fees?" Maimuna said that she was studying at KIWOHEDE and that she pays nothing because she is among girls in a vulnerable situation. I was very curious to know much about KIWOHEDE because I wanted to study.

When I told my uncle and aunt about joining KIWOHEDE, they became very angry. My relationship with them became worse. I was beaten, deprived of food and no clothes were bought for me. They told me to sustain myself with my own money or find a man with whom I could be married.

The situation continued to get worse, I decided to run away. I caught a commuter bus to Bandarini following the directions given by Maimuna. Fortunately I found the way. At KIWOHEDE I explained my problem and they received me. Since then, I started a new life at KIWOHEDE; neither my uncle nor my aunt has ever looked for me. I started

participating in vocational training. One day, two Europeans from Germany (friends of KIWOHEDE) came to KIWOHEDE. They expressed their intention to introduce an English class. Fifty girls among us were registered in that class. It was a one year course. We were doing tests and examinations.

I thank God that in every test I scored higher than others. The same for the final examination I was the first. My teachers said I had showed great efforts and they decided to sponsor two of us to secondary school. I therefore thank God through KIWOHEDE I am now in form one at Kawe Secondary School (a Private School). The sponsors have promised to pay for my education up to form four. Kawe is a day school therefore in the evening I come to KIWOHEDE where I participate with my fellows in daily activities and vocational duties such as tailoring, batik-making, decoration, talents development, singing, and health education in general. I also learn about body cleanliness, reproductive health and HIV/AIDS.

I plan to study up to university and become a doctor. My advice to other girls who are in rural areas is that they have to concentrate firmly on their life plans even if they may be going through difficult moments. They should remain faithful, run away from sexual temptations and prepare for their future life.

Faraja's life story displays the way the girls got out of hardships and started a new life. In this narration, Faraja (16 years old), a double orphan, was transferred and hosted by her uncle who lived in Dar es Salaam. She had already graduated from primary school. She was eager to join secondary school but she could not because there was no one to pay for her education expenses. Her uncle promised her she would be enrolled at a secondary school in Dar es Salaam. But in Dar es Salaam, Faraja was made a housegirl and engaged in her uncle's petty business while all her cousins were going to school.

Faraja was not only denied school but she was also discouraged and punished when she reminded her uncle about joining secondary school. Yet, she did not lose hope. Even after being discouraged by her uncle, she followed Maimuna's advice, determinedly, she went to KIWOHEDE. There, she made use of the education chance she got; she excelled in the English course and, as a reward, she was sponsored for the secondary education system. Therefore, although Faraja was demoralised by her uncle, at KIWOHEDE, she succeeded to revive her ambition of continuing with secondary school studies. She was expecting to study further.

In this chapter, I present the strategies that trafficked girls used to get out of the exploitation, the way rehabilitation and reintegration processes were carried out, and future wishes of the girls. The last part discusses the implications of the findings from this chapter.

6.1 Girls' Strategies to get out of Exploitation

Before presenting the strategies, it is important to understand the situation of the child life before and after trafficking. Table 1 below displays the home regions of the girls and their social situation before migration. It also presents the education level before being trafficked and at the time of the study; the last column summaries the strategies they used in order to get out of the exploitation.

Table 1: Informants' Details

Pseudonym	Age	Home region	Status	Former caregiver	Education before migration	Current education	Coping strategy
Faraja	16	Singida	Double orphan	Paternal uncle	Standard seven	Form one	Ran away to KIWOHEDE
Furaha	17	Iringa	Double orphan	Paternal uncle	Standard seven	Vocational training	Tried to save money as capital Asked assistance from neighbours
Huruma	15	Singida	Parents alive	Paternal grandmother	Standard seven	Private tuition	Ran away to find another job Ran to the streets
Imani	18	Iringa	Paternal orphan	Maternal grandmother	Standard seven	Form three	Asked assistance from neighbours
Maua	18	Morogoro	Parents alive	Parents	Standard five	Vocational training	Sought information from peers Decided to move to KIWOHEDE
Neema	18	Singida	Parents alive	Parents	Standard four	Standard seven	Ran to the streets
Nuru	17	Mwanza	Maternal orphan	Father	Standard four	Vocational training	Exposed her situation to church members Left the house, came to KIWOHEDE
Salama	17	Songea	Double orphan	No caregiver	Standard seven	Private tuition	Ran away to find another job
Semeni	17	Mtwara	Paternal orphan	Mother	Standard seven	Private tuition	Ran away Asked assistance from friends
Subira	16	Dodoma	Double orphan	Paternal aunt	No formal education	Standard five	Asked help from a Good Samaritan
Tumaini	16	Morogoro	Parents alive	Parents	Standard seven	Vocational training	Ran away, met a Good Samaritan
Tunu	16	Mbeya	Parents divorced, both remarried	Parents	Standard seven	Private tuition	Asked assistance from guesthouse attendants Went to police station, taken to KIWOHEDE
Upendo	16	Tanga	Paternal orphan	Mother	Standard seven	Private tuition	Ran away, joined peers who took her to KIWOHEDE
Wema	16	Morogoro	Double orphan	No caregiver	Standard three	Form one	Ran to streets Sought other job opportunities
Zawadi	16	Mbeya	Parents divorced, both remarried	Parents	Standard seven	Private tuition	Asked assistance from guesthouse attendants Went to police station, taken to KIWOHEDE

As the table above shows, the girls were of different ages, came from different regions and they used different strategies to get away from exploitation as we will see in the responses from my informants.

According to the IOM and KIWOHEDE social workers, at the beginning, many trafficked girls were calm and obedient waiting for the promises to be fulfilled. They had been promised that they would be sent to school, be employed and live a better life in town. However, when they discovered that the promises were not fulfilled and that they were undergoing bad experiences (such as rape, excessive work, extra long working hours, deprivation of salary, food and health services), they became active searching for a solution, using different coping strategies.

The choice of strategy depended on the nature of the exploitation and the degree of freedom that each child had. Some were totally closed in the house while others had opportunities of at least going to the market or to church where they could talk to other people. For the purpose of this work, I divided the strategies into five categories: asking for assistance from other people, running away, reporting to a nearby government office or police station and deciding to go to KIWOHEDE centre.

6.1.1 Asking for Assistance from Neighbours, Peers, Friends, Good Samaritans and Church Members.

The girls who had the chance of meeting other people used that opportunity to tell them how they were treated by their employers. They explained the situation and their experiences in the houses where they were working. The girls were helped by these people to search for a solution. For example Nuru said:

As the relationship with my employer was getting worse I decided to tell other people. One day I explained my problems to church members. Some church members visited our home and talked to my employer. However my employer listened to what they were saying, she answered them that issues related to her household and housegirls were internal affairs, an outsider cannot bring change. Later I was not allowed to go to the church. One day I met the pastor's wife, she briefed me about KIWOHEDE. She advised me to go there. She also communicated with KIWOHEDE about my case. Then one month later she told me to go to KIWOHEDE, she even showed me the way.

Nuru was transported by her late mother's friend (refer section 4.3.4). She was taken to a house of Mrs Chacha, a neighbour of her mother's friend. She was not happy with the life at Mrs Chacha's house; she was deprived freedom and rights to basic needs. So she decided to

find help from church members. The pastor's wife showed her the way to KIWOHEDE and advised her to go to there. Nuru therefore went to KIWOHEDE.

Imani (see section 5.2) was transported from Iringa by Joyce who brought her to Mr Dema. At Mr Dema's house, she was strictly forbidden from communicating with neighbours and even other tenants. However, one day Imani got a chance to talk to a neighbour and the neighbour took her to the police station, then she was brought to KIWOHEDE. As she said:

One day in the morning when Mr Dema was out, I explained my problem to Mrs Mlumbe, a tenant in the same house. Then next morning, when Mr. Dema was out, Mrs Mlumbe took me to the police station; a police officer asked me many questions and wrote the statements. She then took me to KIWOHEDE and promised to make a follow-up on this issue but till today I do not know anything about it.

In brief, the girls, Nuru and Imani, had discovered that, being alone, they could hardly free themselves from the exploitation, so they searched for help from other people.

6.1.2 Running Away

According to the coordinator of anti trafficking programme at KIWOHEDE, the traffickers were aware that the girls might run away. Thus they use various ways to restrict them to escape. *“Traffickers give them promising statements such as “Wait you will go to school next year”. They also terrify the child that if she runs away, she will be taken to police. Sometimes, they lock the girl inside family compounds”.* However, the coordinator added that the girls utilised every chance to run away. She added: *The main opportunity that the girls have is escaping. While escaping, some of them meet a good Samaritans who help them. Others go to social welfare offices, local government or police. But most of them do escape and run to an unknown place.*

During the conversations, many girls confirmed the above words by the coordinator. For example, Neema (refer section 5.2) after being raped by two giant men, the second day, she ran away to an unknown place. She was lucky; she met a woman who directed her to a police station, then she was taken to KIWOHEDE.

Another girl, Furaha got information from a television programme in the house where she was working as a housegirl, and she also ran away. She explained:

One day I was watching TV (Independent Television), I saw a programme: Ulimwengu wa Vijana (Youth World). They were talking about KIWOHEDE: its

activities and location. The programme was rebroadcasted several times. I noted down the information and secretly decided to run away, from that house to KIWOHEDE. It was at the beginning of the year 2008, I managed to find the place, I explained my life history to the attendants; they accepted to host me. I have been here since then.

Furaha was working as housegirl in the house of her aunt. Discovering that she was exploited, sexually abused and overworked she found a refuge place at KIWOHEDE through a television programme.

6.1.3 Reporting to the Nearby Government Offices or Police Stations

In the strategy to fight against human trafficking, according to the KIWOHEDE coordinator of the anti-trafficking programme, the police and local leaders are important stakeholders. The IOM counter-trafficking programme assistant said that in the anti-trafficking seminars, police and community leaders are trained to rescue and bring the girls to safe areas. Also the trafficking focal person at the MoH&SW reported that it had been agreed that whenever a child is found to have been trafficked she/he has to be brought to the police station and then taken to the nearest social welfare centre.

During the conversations, some girls told that they went directly to the local community leaders or to the police stations. They knew that in the local government offices they would be helped. For example, Huruma said:

I wanted to leave but I could not because I did not have money. I asked them to give me some, at least my salary but they refused. One day when I was going to the shop, I escaped and went to the local government office where I explained my situation. The chairperson came with me to my employer. I do not know what they talked. Then my employer gave me 20,000/ Tanzanian Shillings (14.2 USD). I immediately left, came to KIWOHEDE. One of my friends (a neighbour) had told me about it before.

Huruma (15 years old) was working in her cousin's house. She was very poorly paid; she therefore did not have enough money use as fare to go back home or elsewhere. Therefore, she decided to report to the local government office. The local leader who had the authority to challenge the employer helped Huruma to get some money that would help her to get out of her cousin's house. She took the money, she went to KIWOHEDE.

6.1.4 Deciding to Go to KIWOHEDE Centre

Other girls were informed about KIWOHEDE while they were in the houses of their employers. When they got the chance they left the houses, and went to KIWOHEDE. Maua, (18 years old) was born in Morogoro region, dropped out of school because her mother was sick and her father had left and married another woman. She was then taken by her paternal uncle to Dar es Salaam on the promise that he would take her to a school. Although her cousins were attending an expensive school, she was not registered at a school; she was made housegirl. She heard about KIWOHEDE from a neighbour. Therefore she decided to leave the house and went to KIWOHEDE. She said:

I was told about KIWOHEDE by a girl who lived in the opposite house. Then I decided to leave. But until today my uncle has not bothered to find out where I am. I decided to come to KIWOHEDE because I want to learn more. I thought that here I would learn new skills and find a sponsor to pay for my education.

Proceeding from the above we have seen that the children used different strategies to get out of the exploitation and I found all the 15 girls at KIWOHEDE centre. In the following section, I am going to present the way rehabilitation and reintegration processes are carried out at KIWOHEDE centre.

6.2 Rehabilitation of Trafficked Girls at KIWOHEDE

At KIWOHEDE, as soon as the girls were brought to the centre, the rehabilitation processes started. According to the KIWOHEDE anti-trafficking coordinator, the rehabilitation process refers to immediate strategies taken to help a victim of trafficking after rescue towards reintegration. It focuses largely on helping her psychosocially to become a part of the community.

The social workers at KIWOHEDE and IOM explained that in rehabilitation, they did not have a specific formula; it depended on victim's situation. The KIWOHEDE social worker added that some girls need immediate medical services while others need psychosocial counselling. Psychosocial counselling focuses on: individual and group therapy, behavioural change, as well as HIV/AIDS voluntary testing.

Together with counselling programmes, at KIWOHEDE there were activities that focused on building girls' confidence. All girls participated in these activities. The activities aimed at

making the trafficked children regain their confidence and participate in social activities. The social worker said:

For rehabilitation, we have many activities that we organise. These include information sharing by using television and video recordings, participation in giving testimonies, debates, artistic activities like singing, drama and sport: we even have a girls' football team. These artistic activities and sports help children to interact one with another.

Rehabilitation also involves discussion on various themes. For example, the girls are given leaflets to read and discuss. These leaflets are prepared by KIWOHEDE and other organisations like Women's Dignity and FEMINA. The posters are about reproductive health, HIV/ AIDS and sexually transmitted diseases (STDs).

The children at KIWOHEDE have a Children's Council and a leadership system; they had one day each month for the Children's Council. In this council they discussed several issues related to their lives. I attended one Children's Council session. In this session they were discussing about child rights. One girl who had just arrived was explaining how her friend and her neighbour were made to drop out from school and forced to be married. Other girls contributed and suggested what was supposed to be done by the girls, the parents and the community in general.

Again, the girls participated in sport and entertainments. At KIWOHEDE there was a girls' football team, a choir and a theatre group. The girls organised sports competitions, concerts and theatre performances. In the choir they were singing songs that encourage and remind the society to respect child rights. The girls' choir and the theatre group were invited to sing and act in public gatherings and celebrations such as 'Day of African Child' (celebrated on 16th June every year)²⁷. According to social workers, playing, acting, singing and story-telling make them more transparent and freer to talk in public and more interactive.

6.3 Reintegration of Trafficked Girls

The reintegration programme involves provision of educational facilities, economic opportunities as well as legal support to trafficked girls so that they become part of the community. The IOM personnel reported that the organisation provides assistance to NGOs to implement rehabilitation and reintegration programmes of trafficked girls into the community. IOM trains social workers from government and NGOs on how to take care of

²⁷ Since 1991 to honour children killed by the Apartheid regime, in Soweto South Africa, in 1976 when they were demonstrating against a discriminatory education system.

victims of trafficking. The training includes how to conduct psychosocial counselling, vocational training, pre-family reunification, provision of business skills and start-up grants (capital) or grants for school (school fees).

According to the IOM counter-trafficking officer, KIWOHEDE and other NGOs make follow-up with community leaders and work with neighbouring social welfare officers to understand the social situation of victims' families and to prepare the girls for family reunification. At KIWOHEDE according to the social worker there are many activities geared towards making the girls self-reliant. She said:

For reintegration of trafficked girls we involve them in batik-making, tie-die, weaving, tailoring, food processing and commercial decoration. In the past when they depart from us we provided them with money as a start-up fund, but nowadays we give them working tools such as tailoring machines and materials to empower them and to prepare them to be self-reliant.

KIWOHEDE also carries out family reunification. In family reunification, we get financial support from IOM. They provide us funds to pay for transport and pocket money for girls who go back to their homes.

The reintegration process was carried out in two main components: an economic and an educational component.

6.3.1 Economic Component of Reintegration

In economic reintegration, children are oriented according to their age and interest. Some are trained in commercial decoration, tailoring, making of batik and ornaments (such as earrings, chains etc). Others are trained to practise animal husbandry, agriculture and business. They are trained in accordance with their home areas. For example, those who are coming from Iringa where tomatoes are grown, are trained in tomato growing skills; those who come from onion growing areas, they are taught onion growing agriculture (Coordinator child trafficking programme- KIWOHEDE).

In the statement above, the coordinator explained how the girls were prepared to be self-reliant and independent in leading their own lives when they come back to their families. The vocational training and agricultural activities encouraged them to practise productive skills. At KIWOHEDE they had special vocational training classes in which children were taught theoretically and practically.

6.3.1.1 Vocational Training Classes

Vocational training was part and parcel of economic reintegration, it was compulsory for all children to participate; those who were attending schools had to participate at least during the weekends. With vocational training, girls were prepared for productive activities. However, some children had opted for vocational training as their means for self-reliance. For example, Tumaini was determined to pursue the training and become a professional tailor. She said: *I learn how to use a sewing machine, to decorate celebration halls and to make ornamental articles. I want to learn artistic and entrepreneurial skills so that later in my life, I may be self-employed and own a big enterprise.*

At KIWOHEDE centres, there were facilities for tailoring, batik-making²⁸. Pictures 1 and 2 below show the children in vocation training classes and in batik-making session respectively.

Picture 1: Girls in Tailoring Class



²⁸ Batik is a technique used to dye fabrics; in Tanzania the clothes made through this process are also called batik.

Picture 2: Girls in Batik-making Session



6.3.2 Educational Component of Reintegration

On the education aspect, KIWOHEDE has established a multipurpose training centre whose purpose is to help vulnerable children and youth who did not have an educational opportunity [...]. Currently, there are forty students. This programme is offered to children and youth who do not have means of registering at a secondary school. At the end of the training they sit for a Qualifying Test which would allow them to do Form Four National Examinations. We have established this centre because most of the girls are standard seven leavers; others dropped out from primary school. KIWOHEDE does not have enough money to pay for secondary school fees for all girls. Some of girls who come to KIWOHEDE did not have the chance to enter even in standard one. For this group KIWOHEDE help them by registering them in MEMKWA classes. (KIWOHEDE coordinator of the trafficking programme)

As explained by the social worker above (also see table 1 on page 68) the girls had different levels of education when they came to the centre. Some had never been to school, others were removed from primary school, certain girls had completed primary school; a few of them had already started secondary school. The personnel at KIWOHEDE tried as much as possible to consider everyone according to her level of education and her wishes. Some were reregistered

at a school, some joined MEMKWA²⁹ classes, and others were enrolled at a secondary school as we will see in the following section.

6.3.2.1 Reregistering at Primary School

Those who were removed from primary school were reregistered. For example Neema who was trafficked for commercial sex, was brought to a brothel and the next day she ran away and came to KIWOHEDE. She was reregistered in standard four to another primary school. She could not be taken back home because she feared her mother, the latter was cruel. Neema had reached standard seven by the time of the fieldwork. She said:

At KIWOHEDE, I was registered in a primary school in standard four. I am now in standard seven. In the morning I go to school, while in the evening and during weekends, I learn life skills, reproductive health, and sexually transmitted diseases. I thank God, I am settled, I want to study up to university and become a teacher.

6.3.2.2 MEMKWA Classes

Those who missed primary education were registered in a special programme called MEMKWA classes (a Swahili abbreviation for *a special programme for those who missed primary education*)³⁰. Since 2002 the government launched MEMKWA programme for all children who had reached eight year or above and who had missed or dropped out of primary schools. It was a fast-track programme (it was took 3 to 4 years to sit for standard seven examinations). Therefore girls who had not gone through primary education were enrolled in MEMKWA centres. Wema and Subira went through MEMKWA programmes, they passed standard seven examinations. During the study they were in secondary school.

Wema (refer section 5.0), a double orphan, had to drop out of primary school when her mother died. She was promised schooling by a person who arranged her journey to town. Contrary to the promise, she was exploited and abused in three different houses, she then ran into the street. She was brought to KIWOHEDE by a good Samaritan. At KIWOHEDE she was enrolled into an education system. Wema said:

I am grateful that I joined MEMKWA classes. I was lucky that I passed standard seven examination and I am now in form one at Kibena secondary school. I am

²⁹ Meaning in 3.2.3 also in the list of acronyms

³⁰ The primary school education is free and compulsory in Tanzania. The child starts standard one at the age of 7 years. And graduates at 13 years, Pupils who pass final primary school examination are enrolled to government secondary school which is fair cheap in terms of fees, but there are many privately owned schools which most of them are expensive.

involved in vocational activities such as batik-making, tailoring, decoration arts, traditional dances (ngoma), drama and singing. My ambition is to study up to university level and become a lawyer. I want to be a human rights activist so that I can promote women's rights because they are the most affected by cruel acts such as those rapes as it happened to me. I will help children who are in a vulnerable situation.

Similar measures were taken for Subira who had undergone the MEMKWA programme. Subira, a double orphan too, had not attended primary education before. After completing primary education through MEMKWA, the Roman Catholic Church agreed to pay for her secondary school fees. She was in form one. She said:

I thank God. Upon arrival at KIWOHEDE centre I explained my life history and the reasons of coming here. They were very kind, they welcomed me. I was immediately invited for a medical examination. It is at that moment that I knew that I was infected with HIV/AIDS. However they encouraged me; I was registered in MEMKWA class, I passed final standard seven examinations and I joined Msambweni Secondary School. The Catholic Church pays for my education. In the evening at KIWOHEDE I participate in all activities such as story-telling, dancing, and life skills.

6.3.2.3 Enrolling at Secondary Schools

Since most of the girls had completed standard seven, there are many requests to be enrolled at secondary schools. Unfortunately KIWOHEDE did not have enough funds. To attain secondary school, some girls were linked with friends and sponsors of KIWOHEDE. KIWOHEDE has a number of people who appreciate their efforts to help girls who are living in a vulnerable condition. These people support the education of some girls. Faraja was one of the girls who benefited from well-wishers' support. She got the chance after passing an English course which was run at KIWOHEDE. Faraja's story above (also refer section 6.1) shows how she was registered at a secondary school. She expressed her wish that she wanted to be a doctor. She was in form one at the time of fieldwork.

Another girl Imani (refer section 5.2), had dropped out from secondary school because her divorced parents did not pay school fees and her grandmother was poor. At KIWOHEDE Imani got a well-wisher who volunteered to pay for her education.

She said:

At KIWOHEDE I was warmly received; I explained that I was looking for a sponsor. They promised that in case they found someone, I would go to school. Fortunately one KIWOHEDE well-wisher accepted to pay for my education. I

thank God I joined Sokota High School, she pays for my fees although sometimes we have to remind her several times. At the same time, I am involved in other activities, such as batik-making, decoration, talent show, learning about HIV/AIDS and reproductive health in general. I want to reach to university level and become a lawyer.

6.3.2.4 Private Tuition³¹

KIWOHEDE also runs private tuition for girls who wanted to join secondary school but did not have people to sponsor them. The personnel at KIWOHEDE hire teachers from secondary schools who come to teach especially in the afternoon after the normal working hours. Through these classes, girls were prepared to sit as private candidates for form four final examinations.

One of the students in private tuition was Semeni (17 years), a standard seven leaver. Semeni aspired to pursue secondary education but KIWOHEDE did not have money. So she was attending private tuition classes at the same time involving herself in vocational training activities. She said:

At KIWOHEDE, I attend private tuition. Meanwhile, I have asked the KIWOHEDE administration to help me to get a sponsor so that I can join a formal secondary school. I still want to be a teacher. At the same time, I concentrate on vocational training. I have learned tailoring, batik-making, decoration and all other daily activities. I like living at KIWOHEDE. My advice to fellow girls is to study hard so that they may enter government secondary school. Those who are in urban centres experiencing bad treatment, I advise them to come to KIWOHEDE.

³¹ According to the Tanzanian education system, the secondary school is four years (form one to form four) at ordinary level and two years at advanced level (form five and form six). The system allows people to sit for final form four and form six examinations as private candidates.

Picture 3: Private Tuition Class



6.4 Girls' Future Wishes

During the study, the girls also expressed their future wishes. They were hopeful of attaining higher education and becoming self-reliant. During the conversation, they said that they wanted to become doctors, nurses, teachers, engineers, lawyers, leaders, business persons and entrepreneurs.

For example, Wema who had experienced exploitation from child domestic labour and sexual abuse, passed standard seven examinations through the MEMKWA programme. She was in secondary school and she aspired to join university so that she becomes a lawyer. Her ambition was to become human right activist; she wanted to help children in a vulnerable situation.

Furaha wanted to be a tailor and to own her a tailoring enterprise. She said: *“I want to be a very good tailor, if possible to have my own tailoring workshop. I want to be self-reliant by having my own business. I have a great hope that God will help me”*.

Another girl, Salama wished to be a leader at national level. At KIWOHEDE, she was a leader of girls; she intentionally developed leadership skills and she aspired to continue with exercising leadership skills. Salama said: *I would like to attain as high an education as I can. In addition to daily routine, I am an advisor to other children and a chairperson of the children's council. In so doing, I exercise leadership practices; in future, I want to be a leader at national level.*

Although they had lost their dream during trafficking, at KIWOHEDE they had revived their ambitions of studying and being successful. Therefore they were working hard to attain those goals. However, some of them who had not yet found sponsors for secondary education were attending private tuition at the centre.

6.5 Family Reunification

At KIWOHEDE they did not have a specific length of time for the trafficked children to stay. According to the social worker, the children stayed with them between three months and one year. She added that girls were free to ask for permission if they wanted to go home. Some girls had to stay longer than a year until the social workers become assured of the security at their homes. Social workers ensured the safety of homes of the trafficked girls in order to avoid re-trafficking. Those who are enrolled into schools stay until they graduate.

The KIWOHEDE coordinator of anti-trafficking programme affirmed that before allowing a child to go back home social workers visited families of trafficked children and talked to parents, guardians or relatives of the child to ensure child protection. Even after ensuring that the girls had gone home, KIWOHEDE had a system of getting feedback on the progress of the girls. KIWOHEDE in collaboration with local leaders trace the progress of the trafficked girls. She said that: *KIWOHEDE collaborates with village leaders to know the progress of the girl. Much of the feedback is positive: the child is in good progress, she is accepted by the family. Others are negative. For example, some girls die, others are married at early ages, while a few of them are re-trafficked.* However, the coordinator admitted that it was not easy to get feedback on all girls because the children go to different areas all over the country.

6.6 Discussion and Conclusion

From the findings above we have seen that the girls were not passive they were looking for ways to get out of the exploitative situation. When they came to understand that they were

disempowered by the exploitation they used various strategies. Some used their agency to go to unknown places, some sought for power from association like church while other went to instruments of government power like police. Faraja's case is a model of a successful story in reviving her dreams and starting to work on them.

But were the girls protected and empowered? Yes, to some extent they were rescued from exploitation. However, some government officers and the police did not seek for a sustainable solution for the children's exploitation. Legal measures were not taken against the offenders. For example, the government officer did not take legal action against the woman who had exploited Huruma even after discovering that she had not paid her salary for long time. Similarly, Tunu and Zawadi reported to the police and they were immediately brought to KIWOHEDE but there was not any legal follow up to their mother who had exploited them. The example from Wema (already discussed in section 5.6) is an extreme case of violation of child rights by the person in authority (policeman). This shows a weakness on the side of the government and its institutions in fighting against human trafficking and helping trafficked people especially children.

Concerning the shelters of trafficked people, in 2007, the IOM provided the *Handbook on Assistance for Victims of Trafficking* which prescribes the requirement for a shelter for trafficked people. For example, it stipulates that a shelter should provide safe and secure temporary housing, meals, medical assistance, psychosocial assistance and counselling, legal counselling and basic needs (IOM, 2007).

Again, the Tanzanian Anti-trafficking Act (2008) stipulates that:

“Social rehabilitation of rescued victims shall be carried out by social welfare officers for the purpose of re-instating the victim back to into normal way of life and may include provision of legal assistance and material assistance, psychological, medical and professional rehabilitation employment and a dwelling place” (URT, 2008: 12).

In this aspect, KIWOHEDE has made a good progress in providing shelter to trafficked children. It provides medical assistance, counselling services as well as basic needs. The main role of the rescue centre was to restore the human dignity that has been lost during the trafficking period; provide essential needs that were deprived before and give the freedom and a chance of expressing their views; and to give them the chance of studying, which most of the girls had longed for but constrained by poverty and socio-cultural issues.

In the study, most of the girls had reached standard seven before trafficking. On one hand, it was because of poverty but on the other hand, may be to some parents, free and compulsory primary education was enough for girls; secondary education was regarded as too high for those who would be married to other families. But at KIWOHEDE wishes were respected, along with the child's right to education.

The findings show that at KIWOHEDE the rehabilitation procedures were successful and encouraging; many children were emotionally settled and were attaining vocational skills. The girls were not ashamed of what happened in their life but they were looking forward to a better future. KIWOHEDE succeeded to provide and safeguard some child rights prescribed by the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) such as the right to meet with others, the right for getting information, the right to leisure, health care, and the right to protection from sexual exploitation, and child labour (UN, 1989; Upadhyay, et al., 2004). The aim of rehabilitation and reintegration was to help the victims regain their agency, revive their ambitions and be ready to work on them. At KIWOHEDE, the girls were focusing the future, I want to be a lawyer, a doctor, a leader, and so on, as they said.

Yet, KIWOHEDE was unable to provide all the necessary reintegration requirements since it lacked capital. At the same time as being involved in helping survivors establish contact with their family, as stated in other literature (Chaulagai, 2009; Ochanda, et al., 2009), the NGOs and the government are not empowering these families to protect the trafficked children from being re trafficked. KIWOHEDE for instance provided tools for the children but the families are still in extreme poverty. In other words, there is much more focus on symptoms of trafficking than on dealing with root causes.

At KIWOHEDE most of the children were satisfied and they were somehow healed from trauma caused by trafficking. The main shortcoming that I found at KIWOHEDE was its inability to fulfill children's ambitions. The organization could not meet wishes of the girls to attain secondary education; instead some children had to be involved in vocational training even though they wanted further education. The right to education is an essential element for reintegration processes (UN, 1989; Upadhyay, et al., 2004). But KIWOHEDE did not have enough funds to pay for the education of all children who wanted to study in secondary schools, it depended on well-wishers. Therefore the interests and wishes of children were not met.

CHAPTER SEVEN

GENERAL DISCUSSION

7.0 Introduction

In this chapter I discuss various issues which have emerged in the three empirical chapters: chapter four, five and six. The issues are: the trafficking continuum, the human and child rights context, increased vulnerability in the society as well as denial of the trafficking problem in Tanzania.

7.1 The trafficking Continuum

It is worthwhile noting that there is a great variation in the degree of exploitation of the girls. According to the International Council on Social Welfare (ICSW) “*The degree of victimization and exploitation of trafficking victims varies but fundamentally, all are victimized and exploited*” (2007: 9). These variations can be understood from the point of view of the definition of trafficking itself.

Authors (ICSW, *ibid*; UN, 2009), analyse the UN definition into three constituting elements: action, means and purpose. These elements are utilised to answer three major questions in affirming an act of trafficking: ‘what has been done?’ (action); ‘how has it been done?’ (means), and ‘why has it been done?’ (purpose). Each element represents several aspects as follows. Action covers recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons. Means comprises use of threat or force, forms of coercion, abduction, fraud, deception, abuse of power, abuse of position of vulnerability, giving or receiving of payment or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person; whereas purpose incorporates the exploitation of the prostitution, sexual exploitation, forced labour, slavery or practice similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs.

The levels of severity of exploitation for that matter can be traced from each element (ICSW, *ibid*). For example one has to ask the question ‘how was the recruitment, transportation or the harbouring?’, done in order to identify abuse and exploitation in the ‘action’; Or the question ‘was there a form of deception or fraud, use of force?’, in order to determine exploitation in the ‘means’ and ‘what was the purpose?’, in order to identify the exploitation in the purpose.

The findings in this study show that thirteen girls out of fifteen were abused at the harbouring stage but not in the recruitment; whereas fourteen were deceived and in most of the cases

there was an abuse of power and abuse of position of vulnerability. According to the *Parliamentary Assembly of the Convention of Europe* (2009: 21) abuse of position of vulnerability means an “*abuse that the person believes he or she has no reasonable alternative but to submit to the labour or service demanded of the person, and includes but is not limited to the taking advantage of the [...] reduced capacity to form judgements by virtue of being a child.*” Since all my respondents were children, they all had experienced abuse of position of vulnerability. In this study most of the cases were associated with a crisis at family level (disease, parental death or extreme poverty). As already discussed in previous chapters, in ‘crisis fostering’ which is the case for most of my informants, there might be no bad purpose in recruitment and transportation but exploitation happened as an outcome in harbouring and reception (Madhavan, 2004).

In the following paragraphs I try to present the cases from the least to the most severe. Maua was transported from Morogoro, for the promise of education which was not fulfilled. So she escaped and went to KIWOHEDE. Maua was the least exploited because she did not do excessive work, she was neither raped nor deprived of food or medical services. This means Maua was exploited in means (she was deceived) but not in action and purpose. Elsewhere (ILO-IPEC, 2002; A. Sen, 1999), deception is the major means of trafficking girls, because traffickers minimise the use of force in order to show that there was consent on the side of the trafficked child.

Another girl Furaha too was not severely exploited, she was exploited in action but not in means nor in purpose. Furaha was taken by her aunt from Makete under the promise of working as a housegirl for her aunt’s friends. But upon arrival, she worked for long hours; was poorly paid and she was raped by the son of the family. Like many housegirls in Tanzania, Furaha was exploited at the reception and harbouring stage (Mbonile, 1996; Mbonile & Lihawa, 1996). In this case there was exploitation in the action (harbouring) but not in the means (she was not deceived or coerced) and purpose.

In more severe cases, the girls were exploited in two elements. The people involved wanted to profit from the children’s vulnerability (Ochanda, et al., 2009). Being a child, poor and sometimes orphaned was utilised by unfaithful relatives to exploit the girls. For example, Huruma was deceived by her uncle that she would be taken to school, but she was made a housegirl. She worked long hours without being paid. So there was exploitation in the action (harbouring), and means (deception and abuse of vulnerability) but not necessarily in the

purpose. Like Huruma, seven among fifteen informants experienced exploitation in both the action and means.

In the most severe³² cases, there was a clear intention of exploiting the girls. For example, Neema was recruited and transported for the purpose of commercial sex exploitation; although she was promised employment in town. She was taken directly to a brothel and raped the same day. This means there was exploitation in all elements: action, means, and purpose.

Some girls had a more complex situation. Wema (see section 5.0) was transported for the promise of education and a better life. But upon arrival she was exploited in child domestic labour: she was reprimanded, not paid and raped. Worst still when she was running away, she met Jane who exploited her in commercial sexual prostitution. Here, Wema had experienced two forms of trafficking: domestic labour and commercial sexual prostitution; she was exploited in all elements: action, means and purpose. This too demonstrates unquestionably, a case of trafficking, according to the UN (2000) and URT (2008) definitions.

The level of severity depends on the motives of the people involved in the process of trafficking. In many cases, people utilised opportunism and expediency. Opportunism according to the online Oxford English Dictionary (2011) is *“The practice or policy of exploiting circumstances or opportunities to gain immediate advantage, rather than following a predetermined plan; the ability or tendency to exploit circumstances in this way [...] with the implication of cynicism or lack of regard to principles”*. For example, Faraja’s uncle promised to help her but then exploited the opportunity of having her there to do petty business.

By expediency I refer to a coping strategy to a problem that involves decisions and action taken by an adult for his/her own benefit at the expense of a vulnerable child (Daniel, 2005). For example, Imani (refer section 5.2) whose parents divorced, she did not have school fees, depended on her grandmother who was also poor. Joyce, a neighbour deceived her to go to town where she would find a sponsor for her studies, instead she was taken to Mr Dema as a

³² Just a point to note, in the Tanzanian Anti-Trafficking Act (2008), the term severe case is used differently. URT (2008:8) distinguishes ‘human trafficking’ and ‘severe human trafficking’; whereby the terms ‘severe case’ implies among others, when *“the trafficked person is a child or a disabled person”*

housegirl and worked without pay for four months, when she started questioning, that was when Mr Dema started raping her. He expediently used the opportunity of having a young girl alone in the house with him for his own sexual advantage.

In general all the girls were exploited at least in one element, but most of them were exploited in ‘means’ because they were deceived. The promises of taking them to school, giving employment and ensuring them a better life were not fulfilled. The children instead were deprived of the right to choose; most of them did not have the power to make decisions concerning their lives. They experienced exploitation in action such as inhumane working conditions, sexual abuse, and a few like Neema, exploitation in purpose. According to the UN (2000) and the Tanzanian Anti-Trafficking in Person Act 2008, deception, unfulfilled promises and deprivation of freedom are sufficient evidence of a trafficking-in-person case. Therefore, by this definition, all my fifteen informants had undergone trafficking. But how can children especially girls be protected from this situation? Let us see the overview of the human and child rights context in Tanzania.

7.2 An Overview of the Child Rights Context in Tanzania

Tanzania is a signatory of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and she incorporated them in the constitution. She also ratified the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) which emphasises that children are human beings and that they have rights. Children have the right to education, being raised by parents, to privacy and protection (UN, 1989). Although Tanzania ratified the CRC in 1990 and enacted the law protecting children’s rights (the Law of Child Act, 2009) 19 years later, child rights have been tremendously violated. For example Rwezaura (2000: 348) insists that “*child discrimination in Tanzanian is a serious problem*”. At the same time, Mascareinhas and Sigalla (2010: 4) illustrate that in 2005, over 4.2 million children in Tanzania were living away from their home and most of them were involved in the worst forms of child labour.

The enactment of the law in 2009 is important progress in ensuring the protection of the child rights because according to UNICEF (2009), the existing provisions lacked precise definitions of a child, were outdated, and did not adequately protect children from violence, abuse, neglect and exploitation. The Act incorporated almost all provisions made by the CRC except removal of corporal punishment and amendment of the legal marriage from age 15 to 18 for girls, issues that have been raised by UNICEF (2009), the Law Reform Commission of

Tanzania (1986) and human rights activists. Together with these shortcomings, there are other gaps in the Tanzanian legal system that need to be addressed in order to ensure that child rights are respected. The gaps are found in issues related to education, punishment, employment and marriage.

Education is an essential child right. As stipulated by the CRC (UN, 1989) in article 28 (a), Tanzanian primary education is compulsory and free. Nevertheless, although there are no school fees, caregivers are required to buy school uniform, exercises books, pens and pay for occasional contributions such as for sports, school graduation or mock examinations. These increase the overburden to poor caregivers and orphaned children and encourage absenteeism and drop out (Carry-Hill, Katabaro, Katahoire, & Oulai, 2002). Poor caregivers may therefore, opt for sending children who have dropped out to urban centres. Another weakness is in prohibition of corporal punishment. The *Law of Child Act* (2009) does not prohibit corporal punishment.

This silence leaves children at risk of being beaten. A child who is beaten may run away or agree with the promises of going to town. For instance, my informant Neema was beaten by her mother and she ran away. As a result she was trafficked, taken to a brothel. Therefore in this context, excessive and repeated punishment facilitated the trafficking of Neema. Again, in the houses where they were working, some of girls were beaten by their employers, without any intervention from neighbours or police, as we have seen in chapter five (section section 5.3). The coordinator of trafficking programme added that beating is common in the treatment of housegirls, she said that at KIWOHEDE they received a girl who had been beaten to the extent of becoming disabled.

Another area of weakness is on marriage age. The Law of Child Act (2009) did not change the minimum marriage age set by the Marriage Law (URT, 1971) which 15 years for girls and 18 for boys. At age 15, a girl according to Tanzanian Laws (Anti-Trafficking Law and The Law of Child Act) and international conventions such as CRC, and ACWS, she is still a child. Similarly, customary and religious laws retain puberty as the sign of maturity (Rwezaura, 2000; URT, 1986). Some parents and caregivers insist that the girls should get married upon attaining puberty. Forced marriage according to Mbonile and Lihawa (1996), is a factor of child trafficking. My informants Maua, Furaha and Huruma left their homes because they would have been forced to get married.

The Tanzania Employment and Labour Relations Act (2004) also has some shortcomings that may encourage child trafficking because it allows employment of children. The Act stipulates that “*A child of fourteen years of age may only be employed to do light work, which is not likely to be harmful to the child’s health and development and does not prejudice the child’s attendance at school...*” (URT, 2004: 6). It however, prohibits employment in dangerous work such as in mines, factories or as crew on a ship, and in agriculture. Domestic work is excluded from hazardous jobs while evidence (Ondimu, 2007; Rwezaura, 2000) shows that in Tanzania and elsewhere many housegirls suffer severe exploitation. For that matter young girls working as housegirls may not have enough protection.

The gaps mentioned above leave room for exploitation of children. After enactment of the laws we could expect a high level of child rights protection but this is not the case. However, in Kenya, the study by Mildred and Plummer (2009) shows that child protection strategies continue to be violated because of poverty, the AIDS pandemic, lack of education and child labour. The situation in Tanzania is not different from that of Kenya. Therefore, besides legal measures, there is a need to address other issues like increasing vulnerability.

7.3 Increasing Vulnerability

According to Thomas (2005: 9), “*vulnerability is a state of high exposure to certain risks, combined with a reduced ability to protect or defend oneself against those risks and cope with negative consequences*”. My informants were unable to defend themselves because they were in a vulnerable situation due to poverty and the impact of HIV/AIDS which led them to be orphans as we have seen previously (refer section 4.1). Poverty has been increasing especially in rural areas due to various reasons: since the 1980’s the adoption of SAPs policies and HIV/AIDS as well as the fall of food crop production due to climatic change (Bendera, 1999; URT, 2010b). In this case, according to UNICEF (2009) children are the most affected.

Poverty is the major factor of vulnerability especially in rural areas. In many countries there is an increase in the rural urban disparity, rural areas becoming poorer and marginalised, while urban areas become richer (UNICEF, *ibid*). Poverty is a complex issue that affects family life: it leads to an inability to provide essential needs forcing members of the family to seek alternative sources and it creates dependency on other people most of them living in urban centres. (Madhavan, 2004)

Another issue is HIV/AIDS. In sub-Saharan Africa HIV/AIDS has contributed tremendously to the rate of vulnerability of children especially girls. Studies (Evans, 2002; Gillespie & Finley, 2005; Lachman, et al., 2002) indicate that AIDS has caused: loss of parents hence increase in orphans, children's involvement in caring for sick, loss of parental care and love as well as effects of sibling separation. Madhavan (2004) illustrates how the fostering context has changed from 'voluntary' to 'crisis-led fostering' due to an increased number of orphans. The well-off urban family seems no longer to be able to provide for needs of children from rural areas. Among my fifteen informants, nine were orphaned; most of them experienced extreme exploitation.

In addition to poverty and HIV, the society is in transition. Madhavan (ibid) reports that there is a transition in fostering from the Apartheid regime to the democratic South Africa during which AIDS erupted. In Tanzania likewise, since the mid-1980s the Tanzanian community has been experiencing transition from the socialism mode of economy to capitalism. As reported by Bendera (1999), the changes have had many implications including the intensification of poverty especially after the country's adoption of SAPs (which introduced cost sharing in health and education), hence rural dwellers hope to find a solution from the urban areas by sending their children whereas those in urban areas need assistants but are unable to satisfy the need as they too are affected by economic changes. This led to children sent to town falling victim to false promises and exploitation.

Proceeding from the above, it is clear that gaps in the law allow trafficking to be a serious problem. These gaps lead to a lack of child protection; which, together with other social problems such as poverty, cause increasing vulnerability.

7.4 Denial of the Trafficking Problem in Tanzania Society?

The government, as we have seen above, moves slowly in implementing the Anti-Trafficking Act (2008). In the study, it has been found that sensitization is exercised much more by IOM and other NGOs than the government (USDOS, 2010). This slow pace gives opportunity for more trafficking cases, hence leaving NGOs such as KIWOHEDE to be overloaded with a large number of victims.

Although human trafficking is an old phenomenon, in Tanzanian community, it seems to be a new concept (Ochanda, et al., 2009). People seem not to distinguish trafficking from child fostering. Child fostering and domestic labour are normally family affairs though they may

mask forms of exploitation. Therefore people do not detect the exploitation and they continue allowing their children to go to town for domestic work (IOM, 2008).

According to Rwezaura (2000), the phenomena of having housegirls and child fostering are quite common in Tanzania where there is lack of education insurance and social security as it is in some parts of the world. Mutual assistance from members of family acts a form of social security (Cox & Fafchamps, 2006; Madhavan, 2004). Caregivers in rural areas believe that children will be cared for by their 'uncle, aunt, cousin or neighbour'. In other words, there is a strong trust built on the social background between caregivers and those relatives take in children mostly for fostering (Madhavan, : *ibid*). At the same time at family level, there is a built trust and respect between husband and wife. So when an incident occurs such as rape, they take it secretly and avoid creating conflict that would endanger the family relationship. With this condition for this matter child exploitation may continue.

The community members and government officials seem to be not well aware of the trafficking problem. For example, the children ran to the police or to the local government but they were directly brought to KIWOHEDE. No measures were taken to deal with exploiters, even if they were known. USDOS (2010) assures that the government of Tanzania till June 2010 had never convicted a trafficking offender.

The cases that we have seen in the study are extreme ones where the children were treated badly in such as way that they ran away, sought for help from other people or went to KIWOHEDE centre to be helped. This is because they could not withstand the situation. Even the people who helped them, reasoned out and approved that the children were right when they wanted to get out of the situation. In other words, the treatment was beyond child protection. The NGOs like KIWOHEDE created Anti-trafficking programmes because there seemed to be a need of assisting victims. Moreover, IOM also initiated support to NGOs that are involved in rescuing trafficked children because trafficking exists in Tanzania.

7.5 From Powerless to Empowered

Lalor (2004) reports that one of the reasons for child abuse is powerlessness. My informants were disempowered by poverty; socio-cultural norms (refer section 4.1) and lack of law enforcement. The disempowerment prompted by poverty and socio-cultural norms was further intensified by lack of freedom of expression especially in the houses where they were

hosted in town. According to Kabeer (2005), Sen (1997) and Silberschmidt (2001) cultural/beliefs believes can be disempowering factors.

However the girls remained optimistic. They kept on reminding their employers about the promises. Others moved from one house or even one area to another hoping to find a better working situation. In all these movements the girls were finding a way to get out of the exploitative situation which proves that trafficked persons are not passive beings as Jordan (2002) affirms. At this point they utilised their agency to make a decision about their life and challenge the existing social structure. This finding agrees which Kabeer (2001b) who suggests that women may challenge the existing norms. My informants at KIWOHEDE were trained to be self reliant and exercise their agency by practicing and pursuing what they wished in life (Kabeer, 1999). Some were reregistered in school, others were pursuing vocational training. All were motivated and ready to start a new life.

This advancement from powerless to exercising agency can be described as empowerment, which is continued further as the girls gain confidence, skills and education. Having gained confidence and courage, what Rowland (1997) calls '*power within*', most of the girls utilised education opportunities to fulfil their personal wishes of becoming doctors, lawyers and business person. This is the manifestation of agency the central aspect of empowerment (Kabeer, 1999). They are furthermore helped by the NGOs to have possession of resources such as working tools, another requirement for full empowerment.

7.6 The Role of Religion

Religion has been a source of strength. The research done by Ochanda et al (2009) in Kenya and Tanzania shows that many organisations (like PASADA, Child in the Sun, ZAHUMA and Wid Wad) which deal with trafficked children are religious. In the study, my informants who had chance to go to church used that opportunity to find a solution for the exploitation they were experiencing. The religious meetings, being collections of people with a common interest, acted as the point of departure in inculcating *power with* for the girls (Rowland, 1997). The church members helped the girls to get out of exploitation and some religious communities paid for the school fees of trafficked girls.

Moreover, religious belief has been a source of hope among children. Some girls maintained their hope by trusting in God's providence. On good occasions, they were thankful for God's blessing and in unfavourable incidents they prayed for God's power to intervene. In other

words, the religious teaching helped them to maintain *Power within* which refers to self consciousness, awareness and confidence. According to Rowland (ibid) *Power within* is an essential element of agency.

For example, during the conversation Salama made statements related to religious belief. Concerning her completion of primary school she thanked God: “*Thank God I completed standard seven*”; advising girls in rural areas she said: “*May be I encourage them to be courageous and believe in God’s providence*”; when advising children in vulnerable situation she uttered: “*I would like to advise girls to remain stable and await God’s plan for them*”.

7.7 Conclusion

The levels of exploitation can be described in terms of a continuum from the less severe to the more severe depending on the nature of the case. It has also seen that Tanzania has laws that safeguard child rights, but still there are shortcomings. Legal weaknesses, poverty, HIV/AIDS and related problems delay implementation of child protection measures, and that may lead to trafficking. Therefore, Tanzanians should not deny trafficking; instead it should take part in ending it and in empowering trafficking survivors.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1 Conclusion

This study has explored the experiences of trafficked girls in Tanzania. It has focused on rescued girls undergoing rehabilitation and reintegration at KIWOHEDE centre in Dar es Salaam. The study was framed by the empowerment theory of Naila Kabeer (2001) and the UN Rights-Based Approach framework focusing on child protection. The study involved four organisations: MoH&SW, KIWOHEDE, IOM and CRS. It was a qualitative research and I collected primary and secondary data through semi-structure interviews with five social workers from the four organisations; life history narratives held with fifteen girls; a review of documents I collect from the organisations and my impression from participant observation sessions at KIWOHEDE.

In this study I wanted to answer the following research questions. What and who motivated girls to come to cities in Tanzania? What happened to trafficked girls from the time of being trafficked until being rescued? What do trafficked girls do to get out of trafficking environment? And what is done to facilitate the reintegration process of trafficked girls into the community? In compliance with these research questions, the following are the main findings.

I have found that trafficking of girls is a result of interplay of many factors, the major is rural poverty coupled with low income and decline of the agricultural sector. Other factors are family conflicts, separation and parental negligence; sickness, parental death and orphanhood; polygamous and large families, as well as forced marriage. These factors are intertwined and it is difficult to separate them. The factors disempower the caregivers and children; they limit their ability to make life choices. The caregivers and the girls agree to the promises of people who want to take the girls to town because they hope they will be helped.

The trafficking process involved different categories of people, though not all of them have the intention of exploiting the girls. The people involved were parents and close relatives; neighbours, family friends as well as business persons who buy crops in rural areas and take them to urban areas. Most of these people had a close relationship with the caregivers or the child. The motives that attracted girls to go to town were the promise of education, promise

of employment and invitation for a better life in town. Most of the children prioritised education.

Upon arrival in town, the children had different experiences. In this study, most of the girls were employed as domestic workers. They were cooking, washing clothes, cleaning the houses, doing babysitting and some of them were also engaged in small business for the benefit of their employers. They were paid very low salaries or not paid at all and they worked long hours, up to 19 hours a day. They also experienced sexual abuse such as rapes by fathers of the host family and sons. They were physically abused through beating and even being connected to electric wires. Again, they were insulted, intimidated and threatened when they asked about the fulfilment of the promises concerning education. Moreover, the children were isolated and deprived of communication as well as basic needs such as food, shelter and clothes. These exploitative acts and abuses deprived them of major child rights such as education, leisure and freedom to express themselves.

In these houses, at the beginning, the children remained calm though they were optimistic. Progressively, the girls started to find ways of getting away when they saw that they were much exploited. At this point they demonstrated their agency. As coping strategies, they asked for assistance from neighbours, peers, friends, good Samaritans and church members; some of them ran away to unknown places; others reported to government offices or police stations; while a few of them decided to go directly to KIWOHEDE centre.

All girls involved in this study were undergoing rehabilitation and reintegration at KIWOHEDE centre. The rehabilitation process involved counselling, discussion, artistic performance and sports whereas reintegration processes involved an economic component and education components. In the economic component of reintegration, the girls were attending vocational training such as batik-making, tailoring and decorations of celebration halls. The education component involved reregistering the children in schools and MEMKWA classes as well as attending private tuition organised by KIWOHEDE. Although most of the children wanted to be registered in secondary schools, this was not possible because KIWOHEDE did not have enough funds. Yet, they were happy with the environment at KIWOHEDE.

Therefore, it is safe to conclude that with reference to the UN definition on trafficking and that of the Tanzanian Anti-Trafficking Law 2008, trafficking of human beings in Tanzania

exists. One of the forms of trafficking that is practised is child domestic labour whose main victims are young girls. Although all children were deceived and exploited, the level of exploitation of the trafficking victims varied in severity (from least severe to most severe), depending on the intention of the people who took the girl. Since child trafficking deprives children of basic human rights, in the following section I present my recommendations.

8.2 Recommendations

The main recommendation of this study is to ensure that children's rights are protected. In presenting it, I will follow the eight components of child protection according to the UNICEF framework as presented in the UNICEF *Child Protection Information Sheet*. The components are:

Strengthening government commitment and capacity to fulfil children's right to protection; promoting the establishment and enforcement of adequate legislation; addressing harmful attitudes, customs and practices, encouraging open discussion on child protection issues that include media and civil society partners; developing children's life skills, knowledge and participation; building capacity of families and communities; providing essential services for prevention, recovery and reintegration including basic health, education and protection; and establishment and implementing ongoing and effective monitoring, reporting and oversight. (UNICEF, 2006a: 1).

On strengthening government commitment and capacity to fulfil child rights to protection, I recommend that the government of Tanzania should fulfil all the conditions laid down by the CRC on child rights. For instance, it has to revise and amend the marriage law so that the marriage age becomes 18 years for both girls and boys; the government should abolish corporal punishment and in its place prepare policies that encourage better ways of improving children's behaviour.

The government should address social problems such as poverty, HIV/AIDS, famine and hunger. Poverty alleviation policies and programmes should be strengthened especially by supporting agricultural projects because agriculture is the backbone the nation's economy. The improvement of rural areas such as renovation of infrastructure and improvement of provision of social services like hospitals, schools and vocational training centres will reduce people's interest to go to town. The government should reserve some funds or establish insurance schemes to take care of vulnerable children such as orphans.

In promoting the establishment and enforcement of adequate legislation, the government should enforce the existing Anti-Trafficking Law 2008 and the Law of Child Act 2009. It should promote and strengthen birth registration as a means to identify the age of people who are working, and getting married. The birth registration identity will help to monitor mobility and the provision of services such as education, employment and health services.

Concerning harmful attitudes and custom practices, communities should be provided with education and sensitised on effects of child marriage and gender inequality in general. Cooperation is needed among stakeholders: the government, NGOs, religious and community leaders to address the gender inequality between boys and girls in Tanzania. In addition family education should be provided to encourage positive parenting and positive fostering.

Regarding encouragement of open discussion on child protection, stakeholders: media and civil society have to open discussions, dialogue on issues related to child trafficking, commercial sex exploitation, child marriage, sexual and physical abuse. The Government in collaboration with other stakeholders should initiate public awareness campaigns on child rights. The problem of child trafficking should be given ample time and space on radio and television, in newspapers, articles and publications; in order to make the general public aware of the issues. Children should be encouraged to express themselves. They should be given opportunities to speak at home, in school, in places of worship such as churches; this will give them opportunity to air their views, wishes and life experiences. In short the Tanzanian community should 'break the silence' on trafficking and other child abuse issues.

About developing child life skills, knowledge and participation, school's curricula should incorporate child rights topics. The school should create child friendly spaces. Teachers and community leaders should help to inform them of their rights and inculcate 'child agency'. Child agency *"defines children as thinking individuals and decision-makers who have the right to express opinions regarding choices that affect them"* (UNICEF, 2006c: 28). Girls should be protected and should be taught to protect themselves from sexual exploitation and abuse. They should be empowered to develop awareness on their rights and helped to exercise them.

With reference to building the capacity of families and communities, members of the community should be prepared to mediate family conflicts, separation and advise negligent parents about their responsibility. The community should be empowered and equipped with

knowledge and funds to support HIV vulnerable households and families that adopt orphans especially old grandparents. Families and vulnerable children should be helped to find alternative sources of income rather than child labour.

In relation to provision of essential services for prevention, recovery and reintegration, NGO and humanitarian organizations that take care of rescued children such as KIWOHEDE should be supported so that they can provide the basic needs, health services and education while taking into consideration children's ambitions also abiding with recognized standards as prescribed by IOM (2007) in its book *Handbook on Assistance for Victims of Trafficking*. Community members, teachers, police, health workers should be prepared and motivated to assist vulnerable children. Non formal education programmes like MEMKWA classes should be encouraged to enable the return to full-time education of those who missed primary school.

On the establishment of implementation of ongoing and effective monitoring reporting and oversight, NGO and humanitarian bodies should report on the number of children working, type of child work and monitor protective measures to ensure employers compliance with relevant laws and propose legal action against those who violate the law. Networks should be established and coordinated in order to establish a reliable data collection and analysis on the situation of children without parental care.

This study has revealed that human trafficking including the exploitation in form of domestic labour. It shows positive results that can be achieved through rehabilitation and reintegration. It is therefore a high time now that Tanzanian communities and the government recognize that trafficking is a problem and strive to prevent the occurrence of trafficking and care for the victims.

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APPENDIX 2: INFORMED AND WRITTEN CONSENT FORMS

Explanation of the study for participating children;

This study aims to find out experiences of trafficked girls in Tanzania, who have been rescued and are currently undergoing rehabilitation at KIWOHEDE. The study is financed by the University of Bergen in Norway.

Your experiences with the organization can give important information to the study. If you agree to participate in the study, your own name will not be used in the written report and it will not be possible to trace who said what. Whatever is said in the interviews or activities will not be passed on to other people in the community. Recordings of the interviews or group sessions will be destroyed after being transcribed (written down).

If you agree to participate in the study, you will be free to withdraw at any time or you may refuse to answer any of the questions asked to you.

If you agree to participate, please read and sign the statement below.

Thank you for your co-operation,

Angela Mathias Kavishe

Written consent:

The purpose of the study has been explained to me and I understand what it is about. Participation will involve either conversations about my experiences or an individual interview.

It has also been made clear that if I participate in the study, my own name will not be used, in the written report, therefore, it will not be possible to trace who said what. Whatever is said in life histories or interviews will not be passed onto other people in the community. Recordings of the life histories or interviews sessions will be destroyed after they have been written down.

I am free to withdraw at any time, or may refuse to answer any of the questions asked to me.

Name:

Signature:

Date:

APPENDIX 3: INTERVIEW GUIDE

PART 1: DISCUSSION QUESTIONS WITH TRAFFICKED GIRLS

1. What is your birth date (DD/MM/YY)
2. What is your home village, district and or region?
3. How was your childhood?
 - a. Where did you live?
 - b. Who was your first caregiver? Parents? Guardian?
 - c. With whom (siblings and friends) did you live?
4. Did you attend primary school?
 - a. If YES, when and where?
 - b. If NO, what were you doing from age six
5. What were your ambitions/dreams in your early childhood?
6. Did you go to secondary school?
 - a. When and where?
 - b. If NO, what were you doing from age thirteen?
7. How many areas have you so far lived in?
8. When did you start living away from your home, for the first time?
9. What was the first motive to leave your home?
10. Who influenced you to leave your home?
11. How did he/she influence you?
12. How did you travel?
 - a. Did you travel with anybody (friend, relative, unknown person)?
 - b. What was your means of transport?
 - c. What was your destination?
 - d. Is there anyone who received you?
13. How was the reception?
14. What did you experience? (in the first day(s), early period, as time went on)
15. Who else experienced that with you?
16. What other opportunities were available
17. If you were many, what did others do?
18. What did you do in such situation?
19. How did you come out?
 - a. Did you escape?
 - b. Were you rescued by a Good Samaritan?
 - c. Were you rescued by an NGO, police etc?
20. What means did the rescuer use?
21. What did she/he do with you?
 - a. First hour?
 - b. First day?
 - c. First week etc?
22. How did you come to KIWOHEDE?
23. What are you doing at KIWOHEDE?
 - a. Daily routine, weekly, monthly?
24. What are your plans in future?
 - What would you like to be doing in a year's time? 5 year's time?
 - What would you advise other girls at your home village of origin?
 - What would you advise exploited girls or another child in your position?
 -

PART 2: DISCUSSION QUESTIONS WITH SOCIAL WORKERS

1. How long have you been working in this institution?
2. Did you have any pre-service or in-service training? If YES, where and when?
3. What are your duties at the place of work? (Probe relative to trafficked persons/children/girls).
4. From your experience what are the main motives for children to leave their home?
 - Is it themselves escaping social problems?
 - Is it parental encouragement?
 - Is a third person's (friends, urban dwellers, unknown) encouragement?
5. What happens in the lives of trafficked girls after trafficking?
6. What strategy do you use to identify and rescue trafficked girls or girls in vulnerable conditions?
7. What do you record concerning their background?
8. What do girls do to cope with the trafficking situation while they are there?
9. What strategies do traffickers use to restrict trafficked girls from escaping?
10. What are the loop holes that girls use to come out?
11. How is your rehabilitation schedule
 - First day? First week?, First month?, First year?
12. How long do they stay with you?
13. What reintegration measures do you use to prepare them for the future?
 - a. Psycho-socially?
 - b. Educationally?
 - c. Economically?
14. What criteria do you use to allow the client to leave your organisation?
15. Have you established any feed back? (Probe.....does it indicate effectiveness at programme?)
- F. Comments on my study
16. Do you have any resources (reports etc) that you recommend?
17. Do you have any advice for me about data collection and the study in general?

APPENDIX 3: RESEARCH PERMITS

Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste AS
NORWEGIAN SOCIAL SCIENCE DATA SERVICES



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N-5007 Bergen
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Marguerite Daniel
Det psykologiske fakultet
Universitetet i Bergen
Christiesgate 13
5020 BERGEN

Vår dato: 29.06.2010

Vår ref:24299 / 2 / IB

Deres dato:

Deres ref:

TILBAKEMELDING PÅ MELDING OM BEHANDLING AV PERSONOPPLYSNINGER

Vi viser til melding om behandling av personopplysninger, mottatt 26.04.2010. Meldingen gjelder prosjektet:

24299

Child Trafficking in Tanzania: An exploratory Study of Experiences of trafficked Girls in Dar es Salaam

Behandlingsansvarlig
Daglig ansvarlig
Student

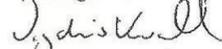
Universitetet i Bergen, ved institusjonens øverste leder
Marguerite Daniel
Angela Mathias Kavishe

Etter gjennomgang av opplysninger gitt i meldeskjemaet og øvrig dokumentasjon, finner vi at prosjektet ikke medfører meldeplikt eller konsesjonsplikt etter personopplysningslovens §§ 31 og 33.

Dersom prosjektopplegget endres i forhold til de opplysninger som ligger til grunn for vår vurdering, skal prosjektet meldes på nytt. Endringsmeldinger gis via et eget skjema, http://www.nsd.uib.no/personvern/forsk_stud/skjema.html.

Vedlagt følger vår begrunnelse for hvorfor prosjektet ikke er meldepliktig.

Vennlig hilsen


Vigdis Namtvedt Kvalheim


Inga Brautaset

Kontaktperson: Inga Brautaset tlf: 55 58 26 35

Vedlegg: Prosjektvurdering

✓ Kopi: Angela Mathias Kavishe, Fantoft studentboliger Postboks 626, 5075 BERGEN

Avdelingskontorer / District Offices:

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TROMSØ: NSD, SVF, Universitetet i Tromsø, 9037 Tromsø. Tel: +47-77 64 43 36. nsdmaa@sv.uit.no



Basert på de opplysninger vi har mottatt om gjennomføringen av prosjektet, kan ombudet ikke se at det behandles personopplysninger med elektroniske hjelpemidler, eller at det opprettes manuelt personregister som inneholder sensitive personopplysninger. Prosjektet vil dermed ikke omfattes av meldeplikten etter personopplysningsloven.

Det tas høyde for at det kan fremkomme personidentifiserende opplysninger i forbindelse med intervju, men fordi lydopptakene ikke lagres eller overføres til PC og transkriberingen er anonym, vil denne behandlingen ikke være omfattet av meldeplikten.

Prosjektet samler inn data ved å intervjuere mindreårige som har vært utsatt for menneskehandel. Studien innebærer intervensjon overfor svært sårbare individer, som anses å ha begrenset mulighet til å ivareta sine egne behov og interesser. Forskeren har her et særlig ansvar for å ivareta deltagerens integritet og personvern.

Ombudet minner om at forskningsetiske krav må ivaretas, uavhengig av om prosjektet faller inn under personopplysningsloven, og om prosjektet er meldepliktig eller ikke. Det vises til NESI sine forskningsetiske retningslinjer for samfunnsvitenskap, humaniora, juss og teologi, spesielt del B, pkt. 6, 7, 9 og 12.

Det bør avklares hvem som kan samtykke til at hvert enkelt barn deltar. Det anbefales også at deltagerne får alderstilpasset informasjon om prosjektet og at forsker forsikrer seg om at de forstår at deltagelse er frivillig, og at de når som helst kan avbryte intervjuet. Det er også viktig å forsikre seg om at deltagerne ikke føler press fra institusjonen til å delta. Mindre barn bør ikke avkreves et skriftlig samtykke, da dette kan oppleves bindende.

Selv om andre voksenpersoner samtykker til barnets deltagelse, har forskeren et selvstendig ansvar for at omsorgen for barna er godt nok ivaretatt. Den som skal intervju barnet bør ha kompetanse til å takle reaksjoner som kan komme under samtalen, og på eget initiativ avbryte intervjuet dersom barnet viser tegn til ubehag i intervjusituasjonen.

Slik ombudet forstår det, vil det være vanskelig for deltagerne å trekke seg etter at intervjuene er gjennomført, da det ikke finnes noen navneliste/koblingsnøkkel som kan identifisere den enkelte i lydopptaket. I tråd med dette bør tredje avsnitt i informasjonsskrivet endres for å tydeliggjøre at det er under intervjuene de kan trekke seg. Dette kan f.eks. formuleres slik: "If you agree to participate in the study, you are free to withdraw at any time during the interview or may refuse to answer any of the questions asked of you."

**TANZANIA COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY
(COSTECH)**



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Tanzania

RESEARCH PERMIT

No. 2010 -203-NA-2010-100

28th June 2010

1. Name : **Angela Mathias Kavishe**

2. Nationality : **Tanzanian**



3. Title : **Child Trafficking in Tanzania: An Exploratory Study of experiences of Trafficked Girls in Dar es Salaam**

4. Research shall be confined to the following region(s): **Dar es Salaam**

5. Permit validity **28th June 2010 to 27th June 2011**

6. Local Contact/collaborator: **Dr. Theresia Kaijage, Institute of Social Work, P.O. Box 3375, Dar es Salaam**

7. Researcher is required to submit progress report on quarterly basis and submit all

Publications made after research.

for: DIRECTOR GENERAL