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Children's Institutions

A Study of Children's Homes in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

Master of Philosophy in Development Studies –
specialising in Geography

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Abstract

The issues that children in Ethiopia face are some of the most challenging in the World. The situation for millions of Ethiopian children can only be described as a crisis. As a result many thousands of Ethiopian children have been placed into institutions because their parents are either no longer living or are unable to care for them.

The study sought to focus on children's institutions. Specifically, the study aimed at discovers how children's institutions were built up and organized. How the institutions are making a home for children, and what limitations and opportunities children get by staying in the children's homes. The study was conducted in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Primary- data was collected through interviews and observation, and secondary-data from various sources were used.

Results show there is a great difference in how children's homes in Addis Ababa are built-up and organized. To distinguish between the different children's homes theory of total institution were used differences are in what kind of fences, guards and how the children's homes were looking. The study shows that there are numerous sad stories from the children's homes, but there are also stories of attachment and belonging. For the children growing up in institutional care in Ethiopia there will be limitations for moving around on their own. However, there are also opportunities for children in institutions compared to other children in Ethiopia. Children in institutions have a better chance of getting an education than children growing up in a low-income family.

This study recommends that further emphasis be given children in institutions and their needs. In the Ethiopian context there is a great need of improving and focusing on the alternative solutions since children in institutions will never be a recommended solution. However, for children in institutions there is a need of improving their stay to be as good as possible. The focus of improving children with the basic needs should also provide them with emotional needs, of love, care and emotional support. Since many of the children are suffering from a harsh background there is a need of improving the emotional support given to those children suffering from their background.

Acronyms:

AIDS	Acquired immune deficiency syndrome
BOJ	Bureau of Justice
BoLSA	Bureau of Labour and Social Affairs (regional level)
BOWA	Bureau of Women's Affairs (regional level)
CEDC	Children in Especially Difficult Circumstances
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
FHI	The Science of Improving Lives
FP	Family Planning
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency virus
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MoFED	Ministry of Finance and Economic Development
MOJ	Ministry of Justice
MoLSA	Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs
MOWA	Ministry of Women Affairs
NGAC	National Guidelines for Alternative Care for Children
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
PMAC	Provisional Military Administrative Council
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Programme
RRC	Relief and Rehabilitation Commission
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programmme
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund

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Chapter ONE: Introduction

1.0 Children in Institutional Care

The UN estimates that up to 8 million children around the world are living in care institutions; the real number is likely to be much higher, because of chronic gaps in information (Save the children 2009). There are about six to eight million children worldwide who live in some form of institutional care, the majority of them in the third world (Tolfree 1995). Few countries in the developing world have a long history of institutional care for children, very few non-Western societies employed institutional care in pre-colonial times (Tolfree 1995). Missionaries and government departments that modelled themselves on their counterparts in the colonial power commonly introduced the concept of institution, and they were often using the pattern of institutional care for children that were widespread in Western Europe in the earlier decades of the twentieth century. Institutionalisation is now seen as the normal response to meeting the needs of the children in difficult circumstances among many organisations and governments in Third World countries (Tolfree 1995). This thesis explores children in institutions in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

Ansell (2005) shows that the use of institution as a means of caring for separated children has fallen out of favour in many parts of the world in recent years, for a number of reasons, ranging instances of child abuse to inadequate attention to children's emotional needs. As Save the Children (2009) states: "institutional care should only be used as a last resort, and only then if it is of a high standard and in the best interests of the individual child." To ensure that the children's homes are as good as they can be depends on a number of factors. The home should be small in the size; few children in smaller units, and it should be clear what it is supposed to do. If those criterions are not met they are also the main reasons why children run away form the children's homes. The head is vital and should be clear on the philosophy of running the place (Sinclair & Gibbs 1998). There needs to be agreement between the head and the management on what the home is to do and how, providing a framework within which the head can provide leadership.

Children living in institutional care in the Third World, are labelled 'children in especially difficult circumstances' (CEDC) they are children experiencing circumstances that are more extreme and more difficult than the majority of children in the Third World (Ansell 2005). Children in difficult situations such as these have dominated the media spotlight and attracted

both academic and NGO attention to assure their survival, health and education (Ansell 2005). Children in institutional care is among those listed as children in especially difficult circumstances who have received much less attention together with children with disabilities, than the children living on the streets, children in armed conflicts, those working in the commercial sex industry and those affected by AIDS (Ansell 2005).

However, what impact a stay in an institution have for children have been widely discussed, and Save the Children (2009) shows that for all children, long-term stays in institutions can have a lasting negative impact in particular for the ones under the age of three. The harm that can be caused to children by institutional care has been documented since the early 20th century. In many institutions, the standard of care is poor. Many children are abused and neglected. Save the Children (2009) states that many supporters operate on the misguided assumption that institutional care is the most appropriate response for children affected by poverty or HIV/AIDS.

Children's institutions vary greatly, ranging from small church community-based homes, to the internationally funded 'SOS children's villages', to penal institutions. They have been used as a response to family problems (parental death, abandonment, neglect, domestic violence), disabilities, financial problems, separation due to armed conflict or emergencies, and conduct perceived as threatening to society (UNICEF 2003).

1.1 The Rights of the Child
The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) acknowledges that the family is the natural environment for the development and well-being of children, that parents have the primary responsibility for the upbringing of the child, and that the child has, as far as possible, the right to know and be cared for by his or her parents (CRC 1989). Though it also foresees the appropriate use of alternative care for cases where children are destitute of their family environment or in their best interests cannot be allowed to remain in that environment and in such situations, it anticipates recourse to institutional placement as a measure of last resort (Ansell 2005). Some children are placed in institutions precisely because their primary caregivers, in most cases their parents, have died. It is often simply through the very fact of their placement that the role and presence of these children's 'primary caregivers' may be jeopardized or at worst definitively brought to an end (UNICEF 2003).

The rights of the child are to be effectively safeguarded in all such cases, and certainly also when children are placed in institutions. Including the right to protection from discrimination,

neglect and exploitation and the right to develop his or her personality, talents and abilities to their fullest potential. The children should have the right to say in decisions affecting the child's life, including those relating to the conditions of placement. The priority should be to ensure that institutional placement only occurs if and when it is in the best interests of the child, and that there is periodic assessment and review of the decision and circumstances relevant to the child's placement (UNICEF 2003).

With this approach, the Convention of the Rights of the Child provides support for a well-prepared and planned process of developing alternatives to institutionalization for as many children as achievable. The number of children denied parental care continues to grow in some countries; inspiring developments have taken place in order to change the situation of children and adolescents in institutional care and to avoid institutional placements wherever feasible (UNICEF 2003).

There is a growing global consensus that sporadic or isolated efforts to improve individual institutions will not solve the problems of children in residential care, or meet their best interests (Ansell 2005). Efforts must focus more especially on the underlying reasons for decisions to place children in care in the first place. These reasons are complex and often interlinked factors; such as poverty, family breakdown, disability, ethnicity, inflexible child welfare systems and the lack of alternatives to residential care. All this requires holistic responses that identify families at risk, address their needs and prevent the removal of their children. The ethical and practical challenge that we face is to ensure that families – with special emphasis on women who are increasingly heads of household – have the support they need to nurture and raise their children and effectively assume their childrearing responsibilities. In the few cases where children cannot receive the care they need inside their family. Family– and community- based alternatives must be a priority. The conclusion from UNICEF (2003) is that placement in residential institutions must be the very last resort.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Ethiopia's population was estimated to 85,2 million (UNICEF 2010), making it the second largest population in Africa, after Nigeria. 18 percent of all Ethiopian households are caring for a least one orphan. The number of Ethiopian children (ages 0-17) identified as one- or two parent orphans were in 2005 determined to be more than 5 million. This number presents more than 6 percent of the overall population of Ethiopia. Only 49 percent of the children living in Addis Ababa live with both of their parents (MOWA et al. 2010).

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The rising numbers of children and mothers living on the streets of Addis Ababa has become one of the city's most pressing social problems (UNICEF 2006). The root cause of the problem is typically reported to be widespread poverty, rapid population growth, and recurrent displacement as a result of famine, war and drought (UNICEF 2006). The main problem for the many street children is that they do not have access to basic rights such as proper care, education, psychological support and supervision. The rapid population growth and other related factors pose a major challenge to the realization of children's rights in Ethiopia (Save the Children 2001). Ethiopia has experienced enormous problems of severe and widespread poverty despite its vast natural resources and has been unable to meet the basic needs of its population in general and children in particular (Save the Children 2001).

Traditionally in Ethiopia the extended family takes care of orphans, but today due to the fast spreading of HIV/AIDS and to the increasing number of poor people, the extended family is struggling to handle the increasing number of orphans (Poluha 2007; Wakene 2010; MOWA et al. 2010; Abebe 2008). The severe drought of 1984-85 is recognised as the major catalyst for the proliferation of institutional care in Ethiopia. Institutional care was seen as a quick alternative to family- based care (MOWA et al. 2010). However, there is a growing awareness that children should not grow up in institutions (Ansell 2005; MOWA et al. 2010). 34,000 orphans are being accommodated in 112 government organizations and NGOs children's institutions (Save the Children 2001).

Ministry of Women Affairs (MOWA), The Science of Improving Lives (FHI), and United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) released the first report that gave an overview over the situation for children in institutions in Ethiopia, in June 2010. HIV/AIDS in Ethiopia is escalating rapidly and the number of orphaned children by AIDS is growing at an alarming rate. There is a great need for more research in this area (Wakene 2010).

According to Ansell (2005), institutionalisation has been accused of operating as a form of social exclusion, unnecessary taken the freedom away from children. Children cared for in institutions may be disadvantaged, first by the difficult situation that led to them being separated from their families; and subsequently by an institutional environment that usually fails to meet all their needs and fails to prepare them for a future life outside the institution (ibid.).

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1.4 Aim for thesis

I have a hope that this thesis could bring further awareness of the situation for children in institutions generally and children in institutions in Ethiopia. They are the ones that are often forgotten and also often misinterpreted in the literature; the voices of the children are often not heard. Taking children into the knowledge production about children and childhood is important, as they are the ones experiencing childhood right now; theories and assumptions made by grown-ups are absolutely not the same. The focus of my study will be to study how the children's institutions are organized and built up.

This study is relevant for development studies and enriches the knowledge of children in institutions in general and children in in Ethiopia. This specific topic is something that has been done limited research on before, and there is still a need for further exploration of children in institutions in Ethiopia.

The children's institutions are my study object. Where the social relations take place and where the material structures are. The thesis focuses on the meso-level where the social relations happen in the material structure of the children's institution. The meso-level, the children's institution, reflects what is happening in the society at large but there are certain rules and norms that are reinforced inside the children's homes. The social relations and material structure of children's institutions will affect what limitations and opportunities children are given.

The objective was to study how children's homes in Addis Ababa were organized, and how they were making a home for children. I also wanted to discover what limitations and possibilities the children staying in children's homes have. I came up with three research questions that were crucial in order to get a deeper understanding of what is happening and how the children's homes are organized:

How are children's homes in Addis Ababa organized?
How are the children's institutions in Addis Ababa creating a 'home' for children?
What kind of opportunities and limitations do institutions provide for children's agency?

1.5 Understanding of key concepts in the study

Adoption: a social and legal process whereby a child is legally and permanently placed with a parent or parents other than their biological mother and father.

Child care institution: in Ethiopia is an establishment founded by a governmental, nongovernmental, or faith-based organization to give care to unaccompanied children. A childcare institution may also be referred to as an orphanage, children's home, or children's village (MOWA et al. 2010). In the literature, child care institutions are refereed to as children's institution, however I will refer to the ones I studied as children's homes since they were referring to themselves as children's homes.

Child: The Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC 1989), states that any human being below the age of 18 is a child, unless an earlier age is recognised by a country's law. In the case of Ethiopia, a child is legally recognized as a female or male under the age of 18 (MOWA et al. 2010).

Family Preservation: a range of support strategies meant to prevent the family from breaking up, and to protect children from abandonment.

Global South: Also refereed to as Third World, Developing World, Majority World, South.

Idir: traditional, sociocultural, community-based, mutual organizations established in Ethiopia to support its members with funeral needs and arrangements. Membership in idirs is family-based. The size of idirs varies from 500 to 3000 member households each.

Kebele: a 'commune'; the smallest administrative unit in the Ethiopian government administration system.

Orphan: In Ethiopia, a child, both of whose parents are known to be dead (MOWA et al. 2010).

Unaccompanied child: MOWA et al. (2010) defines unaccompanied child as: "a child who is fully orphaned (both parents have died); abandoned (both parents are untraceable); or whose parents are certified by the appropriate or accredited body as terminally ill."

1.6 Structure of the thesis

Chapter One will introduce the study, aim for thesis, and introduce key concepts and the structure of the thesis. **Chapter Two** start with a brief review of Ethiopia's history before I move on to the situation in Ethiopia today, and specifically the situation of children in Ethiopia. Introduction to the debate around HIV/AIDS and who should take care of the

orphans that the extended family can no longer take care of. Also give a brief introduction to the discussions around adoption in Ethiopia. These are discussions that are strongly related to children living in institutions in Ethiopia and I will come back to them in the chapter with analysis. In addition, there is a brief introduction to the children's homes that participated in the study. **Chapter Three**, introduce the theoretical framework and concepts for this study. I will start this chapter will children and childhood studies and the growing importance of including children in development studies. For understanding children's homes I have used my own theoretical framework consisting of structuration theory, conceptualizing and discussions of agency, total institution, children's places and home. **Chapter Four**, reviews the methodology used in this study, with the focus on observation and interview. I will also present my reflection on the fieldwork and present challenges and limitations in addition to ethical considerations.

The next three chapters contain the analysis. **Chapter Five** present how the children's homes are organized and how they are built up. **Chapter Six** presents how the children's homes are creating a home for children with focus on the social relations. **Chapter Eight** presents opportunities and limitations children's homes provide for children. **Chapter Eight** will present conclusion of the study and recommendations for further research.

Chapter TWO: Context

2.0 Introduction

This chapter provides the background of the study, and will first present a short country profile of Ethiopia with the focus on the situations that influences children. Ethiopia is facing many serious problems with HIV/AIDS as the one with worst consequences for the country. This will also affect the situation for the children in Ethiopia. With changing roles in regard to who should take care of the orphaned children that previously were taken care of by the extended family but now due to HIV/AIDS the extended families do not have the capacities that they had previously (Abebe 2007). Education could be the solution to the problems Ethiopia is facing. I will present the background of the children coming into the children's homes. Another discussion that has been widely discussed is the adoptions out of Ethiopia that have been described as trafficking and there are many illegal agencies in the business. At the end I will present some national policies and laws affecting the children in institutions.

2.1 History of Ethiopia

Archaeologists have found the oldest known human ancestors in Ethiopia, approximately 5.8–5.2 million years old. Originally called Abyssinia, Ethiopia is sub-Saharan Africa's oldest state, and its Solomonic dynasty claims descent from King Menelik I, traditionally believed to have been the son of the queen of Sheba and King Solomon (Pankhurst 2001).

Modern Ethiopia emerged under Emperor Menelik II, who established its independence by routing an Italian invasion in 1896. He expanded Ethiopia by conquest. Disorders that followed Menelik's death brought his daughter to the throne in 1917, with his cousin, Tafari Makonnen, as regent and heir apparent. When the empress died in 1930, Tafari was crowned Emperor Haile Selassie I (Pankhurst 2001).

Haile Selassie, called the "Lion of Judah," banned slavery and tried to centralize his scattered realm, in which 70 languages were spoken. In 1931, he created a constitution, revised in 1955 that called for a parliament with an appointed senate an elected chamber of deputies, and a system of courts. However, basic power remained with the emperor (Pankhurst 2001).

Fascist Italy invaded Ethiopia on Oct. 3, 1935, forcing Haile Selassie into exile in May 1936. Ethiopia was annexed to Eritrea, then an Italian colony, and to Italian Somaliland, forming Italian East Africa. In 1941, British troops routed the Italians, and Haile Selassie returned to Addis Ababa. In 1952, Eritrea was incorporated into Ethiopia (Pankhurst 2001).

On 12th September 1974, Haile Selassie was deposed, the constitution suspended and Ethiopia proclaimed a Socialist state under a collective military dictatorship called the Provisional Military Administrative Council (PMAC), also known as the Derg. U.S. aid stopped, and Cuban and Soviet aid began. Mengistu Haile Mariam became head of state in 1977. During this period Ethiopia fought against Eritrean secessionists as well as Somali rebels, and the government fought against its own people in a campaign called the "red terror." Thousands of political opponents were killed during this period. Mengistu remained leader until 1991, when his greatest supporter the Soviet Union destroyed itself (Pankhurst 2001).

A group called the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front seized the capital in 1991. In May a separatist guerrilla organization, the Eritrean People's Liberation Front, took control of the province of Eritrea. The two groups agreed that Eritrea would have an internationally supervised referendum on independence. This election took place in April 1993 with almost undisputed support for Eritrean independence. Ethiopia accepted and recognized Eritrea as an independent state within a few days. 68 leaders of the former military government were put on trial in April 1996 on charges that included genocide and crimes against humanity (Pankhurst 2001).

Since Eritrea's independence, Eritrea and Ethiopia disagreed about the exact demarcation of their borders. In May 1998, Eritrea initiated border clashes that developed into a full-scale war that left more than 80,000 dead and further destroyed both countries ailing economies (Zondi & Réjouis 2006). An international commission defined a new border between the two countries in April 2002. Ethiopia disputed the new border, escalating tensions between the two countries once more (Zondi & Réjouis 2006).

In 2003, in an effort to solve its chronic shortage of food and to lessen its dependence on international aid, Ethiopia began relocating 2 million farmers from their parched highland homes to areas with more fertile soil in the western part of the country. The largest relocation program in African history has turned into a disaster. The majority of those resettled are still unable to support themselves, and most alarmingly much of the fertile regions where the farmers have been resettled are rife with malaria (Devereux & Guenther 2007).

2.1.1 Situation in Ethiopia today

Ethiopia's population was estimated to 85,2 million (UNICEF 2010), and the life expectancy age by birth is 56 years (World Bank 2009). 39% of the population lives below the international poverty line of 1,25 US$ per day, 1994-2008 (UNICEF 2010). In Addis Ababa there are 2,739 551 million inhabitants in 2007 (World Bank 2009). Ethiopia's HDI is 0.328, which gives the country a rank of 157 out of 169 countries with comparable data (UNDP 2010), and this also affects the children growing up in the country.
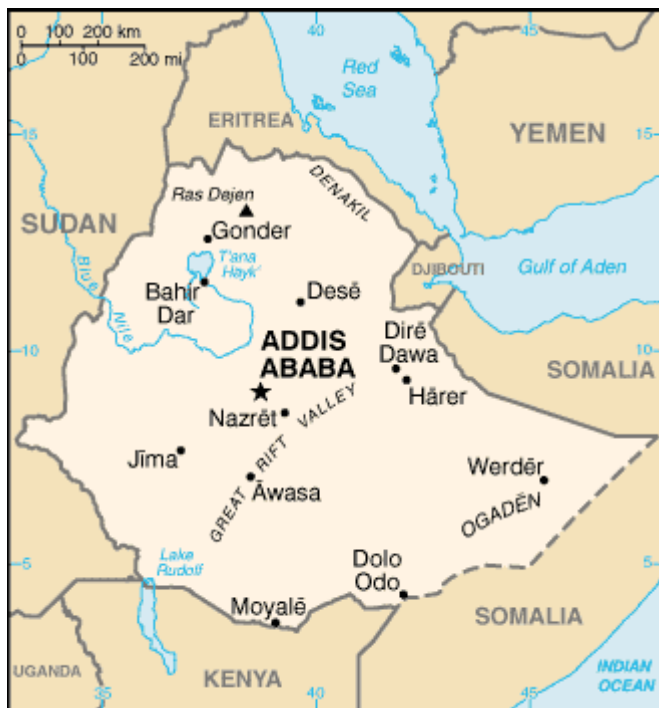
Figure 1: Map of Ethiopia (source: goAfrica)

As Abebe (2007) claims that Ethiopia's economy is teetering on the brink of collapse, which poses a major hurdle to its Poverty Reduction Strategy Programmer (PRSP) a successor to a failed Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) lasting over ten years whose central plank is economic development led by agriculture, the only area in which it has as obviously 'comparative advantage'. The restructuring of Ethiopia's economy by the SAP had conditioned childhoods and exacerbated the marginalization of children; the SAP has exacerbated orphanhood due to the spread of the HIV/AIDS epidemic. The SAP and the contexts of poverty, generates and amplifies the very conditions that enables HIV/AIDS to thrive.

2.1.2 HIV/AIDS

HIV/AIDS in Ethiopia is escalating rapidly and the number of orphaned children by AIDS is growing at an alarming rate (Wakene 2010). Due to this pandemic and to other reasons, the number of orphans in the country in 2008 was estimated to be 5,459 139 of which 886,820 would be total AIDS orphans. In Addis Ababa in 2008 it was believed to be 101,995 out of 188,225 orphans that would be AIDS orphans (Wakene 2010).

A number of governmental and non-governmental agencies have devoted themselves in the fight against AIDS. However, they are focused first hand in ameliorating the basic needs of these children i.e. food, shelter and clothing. Lack of knowledge about how to actually tackle and impact the social, emotional and cognitive development of the children, the subject has been set aside for so long and the existing support has proved to be inadequate so far (Wakene 2010). The social, emotional and cognitive needs of the children are not being catered for in the orphanages due to lack of knowledge, lack of economic resources which results in stressing caregivers, lack of motivation of the staff who usually get the lowest wage and their conception of child-rearing practice (Wakene 2010).

Though Ethiopia's culture of extended families contributes as one of the most practical mechanisms in combating the threat of having a large number of orphans due to HIV/AIDS, there should be no doubt as to join forces to alleviate the impact that this epidemic has, is and will be creating in the country. This epidemic has drained the family system that initially supported orphaned children and empathic caregivers and has left a number of orphaned children in the streets, child-headed households or in orphanages. Though the global trend has shifted to supporting orphaned children in families, the escalating number of orphan children has not made it easy to manage the threat in supporting the children in the families. The lack of resources and abject poverty that family members of orphaned children live in, have not made it easy on them to take up the children as members of their families. Orphanages, at this point in time, have been the viable resort to care and raise these children orphaned by AIDS (Wakene 2010).

2.2 Situation for children in Ethiopia

The number of Ethiopian children (ages 0-17) identified as one- or two parent orphans were in 2005 determined to be more than 5 million. This number presents more than 6 percent of the overall population of Ethiopia. Only 49 percent of the children living in Addis Ababa live

with both of their parents (MOWA et al. 2010). Ethiopia has a very young population and children under the age 15 accounting for 48 percent of the total population.

Traditionally in Ethiopia the extended family takes care of orphans, but today due to the fast spreading of HIV/AIDS and to the increasing number of poor people, the extended family is struggling to handle the increasing number of orphans (Poluha 2007). This is also Abebe (2008) highlighting as he states that there has been an erosion of the traditional forms of social security with which families formerly dealt with their economic and social problems. During the past three decades the advent of urbanization, recurrent drought, famine, and HIV/AIDS has claimed a heavy toll on human life in Ethiopia during the past three decades. Thousands of children have been left unaccompanied and in need of care. The severe drought of 1984-85 is recognised as the major catalyst for the proliferation of institutional care in Ethiopia. Institutional care was seen as a quick alternative to family- based care (MOWA et al. 2010).

It is considered as a blessing having many children in Ethiopia and the total fertility rate in Ethiopia is estimated to be 5,2 (UNICEF 2010). Ethiopia began its Family Planning program three decades ago, but there is little change in the fertility rate. There is a need to improve the FP to reduce fertility and especially given the high fertility rate. There is a need of having a FP program that is working in the light of the country's HIV/AIDS crisis and all the negative impacts of population growth. Population growth has negative impacts on environment, health issues, economic situation and including Ethiopia's constant battle with food insecurity (Ahmed & Mengistu 2002).

There is a broad agreement that FP services are still needed include:
- Family planning and HIV/AIDS can be integrated
- HIV/AIDS programs also help family planning. Abstinence is a good strategy for family planning. Abstinence is a good strategy for family planning, and it also helps to lower the age of sexual debut
- HIV/AIDS is a crosscutting issue
- Family planning is a key component of health
- Family planning can improve the lives of mothers and children
- Condoms have a dual purpose: fertility regulation and HIV/AIDS prevention
(Ahmed & Mengistu 2002).

Many people I was talking to during my fieldwork meant that many families had too many children and that they could not take care of all the children. The directors at the children's homes shared a concern for families that had too many children in their care. They believed that families were having many children because it is a blessing. Here the directors were blaming religion and culture for the high fertility rate, and they thought if there could be more focus on children's need, and what consequences it will have for the families having many children.

2.2.1 Education

Why is education so important to include? As mentioned, children's education is one of their chances of success in the life course and is their hope for the future as well as the hope for the society they are living in. Also for children living in children's homes is the education very important and as we shall see it is their biggest hope for their future and this is the advantage they have in comparison with the children growing up outside the children's homes that often do not have access to education.

Family preservation initiatives that combine parent education and family income strengthening appear to have positive effects on preventing the need for institutional care of children (MOWA et al. 2010). There is a widely known understanding that children's education is one of the main forms of human capital formation that improves the child's chance of success in the life course and is an important instrument for sustainable development and poverty reduction in many societies (Becker 1964). Ethiopia has a total literacy rate on 36% (UNICEF 2010). Since universal access to primary education is one of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), like many other developing countries, Ethiopia has taken several measures to increase primary school enrolment, to reduce school dropout and repetition by expanding access to schools and policy reforms. However, Ethiopia still remains to be one of the countries with the lowest primary enrolment rate in the world, thus attaining universal education in the country require great efforts (UNDP 2010).

2.3 Children in children's homes in Ethiopia

MOWA et al. (2010) state: "a child care institution is as establishment founded by a governmental, nongovernmental, or faith-based organization to give care to unaccompanied children. A childcare institution may also be referred to as an orphanage, children's home, or children's village. A typical characteristic of an institution is that it is a group living arrangement with paid caregivers."

In Ethiopia, as in most traditional societies, a strong culture of caring for orphans, sick, disabled, and many other needy members of the community by the extended family members, communities, churches and mosques (MOWA et al. 2010). The advent of urbanization, recurrent drought, famine and HIV/AIDS has made the situation far worse for the population of Ethiopia during the past three decades, and the extended family is no longer able to cope with all them in need (Abebe 2007). As a consequence, thousands of children have been left unaccompanied and in need of care. During the severe drought of 1984-85 the need of institutional care for children in Ethiopia was growing, and many childcare institutions were established by both governmental and nongovernmental organisations. Institutional care was seen as a quick alternative to family-based care, for those children who were left unaccompanied as a result of the death of their parents from famine and those who were put into temporary shelters. Approximately 31 percent of institutions operating today were established during this time. Prior to the period of 1984-85, very few institutions were initiated and these were mostly faith-based (MOWA et al. 2010).

In December 2008 there were 6503 children in 87 institutions, but it is important to note that these institutions only provide long-term childcare. The ones that deal only with adoption are not included. There are only three government institutions operating in Ethiopia at the same time, since the government's guidance to discourage institutionalization of children (MOWA et al. 2010). In 1986 the Relief and Rehabilitation Commission (RRC) created a directive aimed at deinstitutionalizing children through reunification and reintegration. Through the period of 1986 to 1990 there were a decline in number of residential childcare institutions as a result of a large-scale reunification program. This guideline has not influenced nongovernmental and faith-based organizations which continue to operate child care institutions and open new institutions.

As mentioned previously there have been debated widely what affects children can have of a stay in institutional care and especially the ones that stay there for a long time. In Ethiopia they have not been that aware of the negative impacts of institutionalized children but with the report of MOWA et al. (2010) they are hoping to get a growing awareness of this problem. However, as we shall see later in this thesis there might be hard to find a better option or more important what other options are there really for these children?

2.3.2 Background of the children coming into children's homes

The children coming into the children's homes I have been in contact with during my fieldwork have often very different backgrounds and they are coming from all over Ethiopia, but mainly from the region of Addis Ababa. However, many of them have one thing in common, a tragic and harsh background. Several of the directors told that many of the girls coming there had been raped prior to their stay in the children's home. Many of the children came from the street

To be eligible for a place in a children's home, a child should be unaccompanied according to the Government in Ethiopia (MOWA et al. 2010). As defined in **Chapter One,** MOWA et al. (2010) define an orphan as a child, both of whose parents are known to be dead. Of the 132 million orphans worldwide only 13 million have lost both their parents (UNICEF 2009). An unaccompanied child refers, in Ethiopia, to a child who is fully orphaned (both parents have died); abandoned (both parents are untraceable); or whose parents does the appropriate or accredited body as terminally ill certify (MOWA et al. 2010).

At all children's homes I studied they say that they follow the policies that both the children's parents should be dead before they got into the children's home. As the directors said, the government wants to be sure that the children coming into children's homes have no extended family to take care of them. However, as I will show later, parents give away their children to children's homes, either because of economic reasons or because they can not take care of more children. Also the documentary at ABC considers that harvesting is happening. Poor parents give away their children to children's homes that deal with adoption. There are many children's homes in Addis Ababa that are run by adoption agencies, and they are adopting children out of Ethiopia the whole time.

At Maria's they have many children coming there with disabilities, this children are coming here because the government knows that at Maria's they are taking good care of these children and that they are better of here than at the big state run children's homes, as the director at Maria's said. At Maria's they have many girls that were raped before they got to the children's home. These children often need extra care and they have a social worker they can contact if they are in need of that. This shows that the children get individual treatment

after what kind of needs they have. If this is common at many children's homes I cannot say. However, this shows that there is a focus at some of the children's homes on the individual child.

2.4 Adoption

In Ethiopia adopted children have not been given the same care as the biological children, there is a religious connotation or motive behind taking in another child. The emphasis is on the salvation of the soul of the adoptive family therefore the fate of the adopted child is given less attention (MOWA et al. 2010). There is a general lack of understanding of the relevance of legally formalizing the domestic adoption. Current domestic adoption procedures are perceived to be complex and intimidating for Ethiopian families in formal adoption (MOWA et al. 2010).

All children's homes I studied deal with adoption except from two of them.

2.5 National policies and legal framework related to children in residential care

The issue of residential care for children is contained in various policy documents of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (Save the Children 2001). Ethiopia signed and ratified the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child in 1991 and incorporated the Provisions of the Convention into the Constitution of the country. To translate the CRC into actual realities, different child-focused programmes have been considered and are currently being implemented in various parts of the country. Based on the CRC, a Guideline on Alternative Childcare Programmes was prepared by the government (Save the Children 2001; Mowa et al. 2010). The Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia stipulate in Article 36 the rights of the child, which is an indication of the government's, firm commitment to ensure the rights of Ethiopian children (Save the Children 2001). The Developmental Social Welfare Policy is a policy document that focuses on promoting social development whereby an environment is created that will enable all citizens to live in peace and provide them with basic needs. Child welfare is one of the major areas of focus in the developmental social welfare policy (Save the Children 2001). The National Programme of Action for Children and Women (1996-2000), was developed within the broad perspective of the World Summit for Children of 1990 in which all nations of the world were called upon to chart national programmes of action for the survival, protection and development of children within the framework of each country's overall socio- economic development strategies (Save

the Children 2001).

The child protection system, and more specifically alternative care, is the responsibility of three government ministries: the MOWA, the MOJ and the MoLSA. These three ministries are responsible for different components, the MOWA as the main government ministry in charge of children's issues, are responsible for general oversight, supervision and ensuring that children placed in alternative care receive high quality care. The MOJ has responsibility for the accreditation of institutions. The MoLSA is responsible for supervision at the regional level via its Bureaus of Labour and Socail Affairs (BOLSA). However, in recent years local governments and community structures, such as kebeles and idirs, have taken a more active role in facilitating support, services and referrals for orphaned and vulnerable children (MOWA et al. 2010).

Ethiopia ratified and signed the UN CRC in May 1991 (MOWA et al. 2010). Many of the children's homes I analyze here have the CRC as a base for their main organization as they showed through their websites, even though during all my interviews with all the directors there was only one of the directors that mentioned the CRC. However, it may be discussed how important the CRC is for children in the global South. James et al. (1998) point out that the children's rights convention (CRC) and Save the Children Fund are using a standard model of childhood, but there are no such things as a universal model for childhood. Children and development discourses and approaches are often formed of adult agendas that are being forced on young people (Aitken et al. 2008). This is something that can be transformed into the structure of the children's homes that are created and maintained by adults. Children in the understanding of CRC will ends up being passive recipients. Fund-raising by charities is often based both on the mobilization of universal notions of care and childhood, and detached analysis of the lives of children in distress (Abebe 2008).

2.6 Presentation of the children's homes

I studied seven different children's homes during my fieldwork in Addis Ababa. The amount of information I got out from the children's homes varied, and also the time I spent within each children's home varied. I met the directors at all children's homes except from at one of them, where I interviewed a social worker. The three children's homes I spent most time at

were the International, Maria's and Child Care here I got the opportunity to walk around more freely and observe. So these children's homes were the ones I got most information from, and they were the most willing to share information with me.

All the names of the children's homes presented are fictive, because none of the children's homes wanted to be recognised through this study. I will now present a table, which summarizes the main characteristics of the children's homes. The children's homes were from different parts of Addis Ababa, two were located in the centre of the city, but the majority were located in the suburbs. I will not tell which Kebele (area) the different children's homes were located in because I want to keep them as anonymous as possible.

Table 1: Children's homes

Children's Home	Number of Children	Staff	Age of the children	Adoption	Organisation
Peace	450	500	4-18	Yes	Residents Charity
International	150	50	0-14/15	No	Local Humanitarian NGO
Orphanage Home	134	-	0-5	Yes	Local Humanitarian NGO
Maria's	80	43	Babies-17	Yes	Church Org.
Child Care	75	84	0-15	Yes	Local Humanitarian NGO
Adoption	34	16	Only babies	Yes	Adoption Agency
Family	8	-	9-20	No	Local NGO

In the next chapter I will discuss the theoretical framework and key concepts for my analysis of the children's homes.

Chapter Three: Theoretical Framework and Concepts

3.0 Introduction

In this chapter I will present and discuss the theoretical framework and key concepts used in this study. I will begin this chapter with children and childhood studies, I will then move on to explain structuration theory and conceptualize agency, with the emphasis on children's agency and how the structures of the institutions are giving children limitations and opportunities. Following this I have used theories of institutions with the emphasis on total institution and how the features of total institution can be useful to understand how the children's homes are build up and organized. I then move on to conceptualizing children's places and home to get a broader perspective on how the children's homes may be understood as home for the children. I will end this chapter with my understanding of children's home and how these theories are relevant for my analysis.

3.1 Children and Childhood Studies

James and Prout (1997) propose that childhood is not a 'natural' category but that childhood is socially constructed, and that childhood is constructed in crucial ways by the structural and cultural context. There are many different models of childhood, but the concept of childhood can be considered a modern concept that distinguishes children from adults (James et al. 1998). The socially constructed idea implies diversity of childhoods that are constituted and practiced in different social settings. It is important to see childhood as a part of social structures, and that children are agents in social action, children are not simply passive miniature adults. Children are creating their own life worlds through their everyday lives and to see all this detailed attention to localities and settings are required (Aitken 2001). To see children as creators of their own lives is important inside children's institutions, it can be assumed that children growing up in children's institutions have no opportunities to create their own lives, but by seeing children in their settings inside the children's homes it will be clear that they also have the opportunities to create they own lives. The settings inside the children's homes will of course have restrictions for children's agency, but there will not only be restrictions.

The convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) defines a child as "*every human being below the age of eighteen years old, unless under the law applicable to the child, majority is attained earlier"*(CRC 1989). In Ethiopia, a child is legally recognised as a male or female

under the age of 18 (MOWA et al. 2010). The danger by those definitions is that children are being viewed as a homogenous group.

The UN presented the CRC in 1989 and even though the Human Rights Convention already existed there was a growing understanding that children as a group are in need of special attention and protection. However, with this understanding it can be easy to understand children as pre-adult-becoming rather than view them in their own right, Holloway and Valentine (2000) are among those who warn against only understanding children as incompetent actors with no agency to change their own lives. They suggest that children should be viewed as 'being' instead of 'becoming'; 'being' refers to children as citizens with their own rights, meanings and competence. It was first in the new social studies of childhood there came recognition of children as competent social actors that actively contribute and influence their own lives. Rather than accepting contemporary constructions of children in the North as less able and competent than adults, these researchers insist that children are active beings whose agency is important in the creation of their own worlds (Holloway and Valentine 2000). This also have become important within Development studies and, Post-Development theorists want to make a change on this regime and making children more important in the development context since they and their voices are still largely missing from larger academic debates on globalization (Pieterse 2001; Aitken et al. 2008).

Children as a category is often used to separate them from adults, however as Kjørholt (2008) highlights this is often used in research literature but this is not a universal characteristic but one anchored in western studies and notions of childhood. So there are many different ways of constructing children and childhood, but the Western understanding and CRC's understanding is often considered the universal way of constructing childhood and children. Children differ in their resilience and children employ multiple coping strategies. However, many humanitarian responses are overlooking children's capacity to cope, and they are instead giving children treatment, as if they were passive victims. However, there is a growing awareness that children need to be considered as resourceful actors (Ansell 2005). However, by recognising children as active agents there is a danger that we may treat children as adults, which may also be far from a good solution. Skelton (2008) shows that it is good to see children as competent social actors but it is also important that we as adults remember that we do not stop taking care of them and stop taking responsibility for them. They do need protection and they do need provision because they are not adults, because children do not have the same rights as citizens, and they do not have the same abilities to use their agency

and to participate in the society as adults (Kjørholt 2008). As also Skelton (2008) highlights children may still have no right to participate within adult structures. She uses the example of how men were, and are, reluctant to give up their established forms of political (and other types) of power to allow women a meaningful role. She believes that adults will in the same way resist the loss of authority and power that a child-centred model of democracy will require. She believes that children can grasp power (with adult support and advocacy) but it will be a long struggle.

I've got an understanding that children are often understood as either vulnerable victims or as competent actors in the literature, in the western understanding of childhood they are often understood as vulnerable actors that need to be kept in safe places and they should not be working. They should either be at school or they should be playing, but there is no such thing as a global understanding of childhood (Abebe 2007; Aitken et al. 2008).

3.2 Structure and Agency

Why I want to include theories on children's agency is because I want to see what kind of limitations and opportunities the social relations and material structures of the children's homes provide for children's agency. There might be assumed that the space and opportunities for children in institutions is restricted, but with viewing children as competent social actors with right on their own and with agency there is even within the frameworks of the institution opportunities as I show later. However, it is also important to remember that there are factors from outside the children's homes that influences what is happening inside.

3.2.1 Structuration theory

The theory of structuration as developed by Anthony Giddens emphasises the concepts of structure and agency and how these work to recreate and reshape each other. Structuration theories are a good way of understanding the underlying structures in a society and what impact the actions of the agents have on these. The main idea of Giddens' theory is the duality between agency and structure, structures shapes practices and actions and these again create and re-create social structures (Gatrell 2002). None of them can exist with out the other. That means that people live and act within structures that both limit and enable them and also that people as agents are able to influence and change these structures. People make the society but are at the same time constrained by the society. Actions and structures cannot be analysed separately because structures are maintained and changed through actions, while the actions are given meaningful form only through background of the structure, and the structure will

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only be understood through the actions that takes place within the structure. In structuration theories development is looked upon as a result of the structures (Giddens 1984).

Structures are theorised as a set of rules, resources and consequences of the actions of agents. Structures are then; sets of rules and resources that individual actors draw upon in the practices that reproduce social systems and systems are of generative rules and sets of resources, implicated in the articulation of social systems (Giddens 1979). Rules are general sable procedures that are used by actors to reproduce structure. The social rules have both constitutive and regulative aspects to them. Rules generate- or are the medium of the production and reproduction of practices (Giddens 1979). Resources are the media through which power is exercised and the structures of domination reproduced. Power in itself is not a resource according to Giddens (1979) it is a regular and routine phenomenon. Power is a capability.

Another interesting dimension of structuration theory is that it explores power and control within the social system and explores how the exercise of power can manifest itself in the dialectic interplay between agency and structure (Giddens 1984). Power is an important concept for the understanding of what is happening inside children's institutions, but also for understanding what other structural factors that are influencing children's agency from outside the children's institutions. The interplay between power and knowledge are extremely important and I want to use Foucault (1980) and Long (2001) to better understand how the structures of the children's institutions are both enabling and limiting children's agency. Long (2001) inspired by Foucault (1980) consider power and knowledge not simply as something that is possessed and accumulated. Nor can it be measured; it emerges out of a process of social interaction. That someone has power or knowledge does not entail that others are without (Long 2001), this last part is important in relation to the children growing up in the children's institutions since it is easy to believe that they are without any power to improve their daily lives or have any opportunities. This understanding is also close to the understanding of power by Giddens (1979) were power is a regular and routine phenomenon. By using the understanding of power and knowledge as Giddens, Foucault and Long there will be possible to see that there are options even for vulnerable children within institutions.

Gidden's Structuration theory can be used as an analytical tool to understand the social systems inside children's institutions, and how these systems affect the children's abilities to use their agency. The social systems inside the children's institutions will be the social

relations between leader, staff and children. These social systems contain rules and resource, and are structured by time and space (Giddens 1984).

However, the structure and social system of the society and the structure of the institution are not the same, because there are certain rules and norms from the society that are reinforced inside the institution to keep order and discipline. Inside the institutions there will be more limiting factors than enabling factors for children's agency. A central concept to maintain order and discipline inside the total institution is power, just as power is important to maintain the social hierarchy inside the children's homes between leader, staff and children. The disciplinary power inside the institution makes almost any behaviour punishable which may lead to undermining their sense of personal agency.

The focus of my study will be the structures of the children's institutions and how they constrain and enable children's agency. I feel that Giddens's theory of structuration is very useful to explain this. It can also be used to understand how the structural factors from outside that affect the children's ability to use their agency inside the children's homes. The theory of structuration gives room to see the children inside children's homes as individuals and not considers them as a homogenous group; there should be equal access to resources for all of them. However, there are also differences inside the children's homes among the children in access to resources, this can be that the staff often have their favourites (often among the babies), and in some children's homes the older children have more privileges. The social systems of the children's homes are important to see how this is a home for children.

3.2.3 Agency

Central to structuration theory is agency, and according to Giddens (1984) agency refers to the capacity of an individual actor to process social experience and to devise ways of coping with life even under the most extreme forms of coercion. The concept of agency includes the knowledge, capacities and social relationships that influence the actors their acting and their interpretations of these. Both persons and social networks can have agency, but it is impossible to say something in general about agency since it will differ and be different constituted in different societies (Long 2001). Agency is human action and refers to people's capabilities, their actions and behaviour. Human agency is *"the capacity to make a difference"* (Giddens 1984:14). Panelli (2004) states: 'agency is a concept that is used to describe people's autonomy or capacity to act either individually or collectively'.

3.2.4 Children's Agency

As Lund (2008) states there has been a shift from considering children as passive and marginal recipients of social change to the promotion of children as development targets for themselves to enhance their child rights. The growing understanding of viewing children as competent social actors is a way of enhancing children with control over their own lives, and show the importance of looking at children as active members of their communities (Eyber and Ager 2004).

It is also important to recognize that children are not a homogenous group and they have individual capabilities, and this will influence the way and what degree the individual child is able to cope with the structures that influences their living conditions. As Aitken et al. (2008) are stating, children are actors and competent arbiters of change even in situations of exploitation. Children in institutions can be seen as both vulnerable and powerless, but some of them display a remarkable degree of resilience. Tolfree (1995) shows that it has been reassuring to find some institutions in which young people themselves have found ways of shaping and improving their environment, providing some compensation for an otherwise depriving and emotionally sterile existence. So even vulnerable children in an institution have the opportunity to find a better way of acting and improving their future life. The thought that children are competent social actors does not dismiss the role structures play in shaping children's lives. To recognize children's agency is not the same as to say that their lives are not also shaped by structures beyond their control (James et al. 1998; Holloway et al. 2000).

3.2.5 Structural Factors affecting Children's Agency

All people live and act within structures that both limit and enable them. People as agents are able to influence and change these structures, they have the opportunities of transforming social relations at the same time that they are products of them (Giddens 1984), however the social relations and material structure those children in institution are acting within are limiting them and there are also structural factors from outside that are beyond their control.

One of the limiting structural factors that affect children's ability to use their agency is poverty; the factor of poverty can affect children's childhood in a profound way. Children that live in poverty and that are denied access to basic needs like proper food, shelter, sanitation facilities and education are denied access to their childhood. How poverty makes the situation more difficult for the ones that already are in a harsh situation have been the focus for many

studies in recent years (UNICEF 2005). Some poor children are stuck in their situations due to structural forces such as debt, inequality, poverty, war, geo-political conflicts, epidemics and ineffective legislation (Lund 2008). Abebe (2007) is highlighting that living conditions for children in the North and South are different, and the structural circumstances under which they experience childhood are absolutely not the same. In contemporary, universal advocacy-based discourses children's agency is `glorified`, and children are recognized as competent and independent social actors.

Abebe (2007) shows how the situation in Ethiopia with the introduction of SAP has made the situation of poverty even more severe for children in all an already difficult situation. The restructuring of Ethiopia's Economy by the SAP has conditioned childhoods and exacerbated the marginalizing of children. The marginalized use in public expenditure placed the burden responsibility on hard earned private resources. The burdens were placed on those who least can afford it and will suffer most: women, children, the poor and the working class. The SAP has exacerbated orphan hood due to the spread of HIV/AIDS epidemic, the SAP and the contexts of poverty, generates and amplifies the very conditions that enables it to thrive. The government's withdrawal of social spending produced new pressures on children, particular from those from the poorest group, who became contributors of family income at the expense of their schooling (Abebe 2007).

All the factors presented here affect the children in children's institutions. However, the focus of my study will be institutions and how they are organized and built up, and how the social relations are inside children's institutions. This is what I had the opportunity to study during my fieldwork. So I can say less about the structural factors however, they are so important that I have chosen to include them and it would have been interesting to study the larger structural factor that affects the lives of children in the children's institution. In my study the structural factors will be the macro level. The next level is the meso level with the institution that is built up of a material structure, which will be the focus of **Chapter Five**. The institutions are also built up of social relations that will be the focus of **Chapter Six.** The next part will present theories and discussions of institutions and total institution.

3.3 Institutions

"Institutions by definition are the more enduring features of social life" (Giddens 1984: 24). A typical definition is that proffered by Jonathan Turner (Turner 1997: 6): "a complex of positions, roles, norms and values lodged in particular types of social structures and

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organising relatively stable patterns of human activity with respect to fundamental problems in producing life-sustaining resources, in reproducing individuals, and in sustaining viable societal structures within a given environment." An institution is any structure or mechanism of social order and cooperation governing the behavior of a set of individuals within a given human community. Institutions are identified with a social purpose and permanence, transcending individual human lives and intentions, and with the making and enforcing of rules governing cooperative human behavior.

Main concepts in institutions are power and control, as Panelli (2004) is using Foucault's understanding of power to show that the power of the institutions use to control certain spaces and coerce people into following particular rules about movement and access to spaces. This can be linked back to Giddens (1984) and his understanding of how social systems are structured by time and space. Nevertheless, inside the institution this control of time and space is even more important and more visible. Harre: (1979: 98) "An institution was defined as an interlocking double-structure of persons-as-role-holders or office-bearers and the like, and of social practices involving both expressive and practical aims and outcomes." Harre (1979: 97) gives as examples: "schools, shops, post offices, police forces, asylums and the British monarchy".

One type of institution is physiatrist hospitals or asylums. Goffman (1961) introduces the concept of total institutions. He categorises total institutions into five rough groupings. He places children's homes in the first group which includes; institutions established to care for persons understood to be both incapable and harmless; these are the homes for the blind, the aged, the orphaned, and the indigent. However, Aubert (1964) states that the children's homes are not total institutions such as prisons or mental institutions, where people's lives are subject to total control. There are certain similarities of total institutions and children's homes, and I have used it as a framework to show nuances and similarities between the different children's homes and also in what aspects they look like total institutions and which aspects differ from the total institution. I do not want to say whether children's homes should be listed as total institutions or not but the children's homes have a set of structures that limits and enables children's agency. Though as the discussion of total institution may be useful for conceptualizing for children's homes.

3.3.1 Total Institution

Goffman (1961: xiii) defines a total institution as "a place of residence and work where a large number of like-situated individuals cut off from the wider society for an appreciable period of time, together lead an enclosed, formally administered round of life." It can differ widely how we understand institutions and it is a concept that may mean more than one thing. Goffman (1961) saw broad similarities with life in the mental hospital and other kinds of organisations. From his research he suggested that "total institutions" have a number of key characteristics:

1. Staff members supervise all spheres of daily life, including where residents sleep, eat and work.
2. A rigid system that provides residents with standardised food, sleeping quarters and activities.
3. Formal rules and daily schedules dictate when, where and how residents perform virtually every part of their daily routines.

Central to the "total institution" is the breakdown of barriers that separate various spheres of life, play, work and sleep. We normally do this with different people and in different places, but in the institution the borders are getting blurry and the same people will always be there. The power of total institutions is shown through forcible segregation of the outside by physical barriers such as walls and fences topped with barbed wire and guarded towers and locked doors (Staples & Decker 2009).

A crucial aspect of total institutions is the control and punishment; these are also aspects that influence the children's lives in the children's homes. Those confined in an institution where they are constantly monitored and told when and how to do things, do often experience a loss of agency (Stapler & Decker 2009). In some total institutions individuals may be punished for relatively small violations and they may not even know what behaviour is punishable (Stapler & Decker 2009). Goffman (1961) explains in *Asylums* that for most residents one of the most stressful aspects of being in a total institution is the constant fear that staff will punish them. Foucault (1977) also highlights that the control of time and space was crucial in these institutions; every minute of every day and every activity of the residents were monitored and scheduled. So the social system of the total institution is structured according to time and space. Just as Giddens (1984) social system are structured according to time and space. The difference is that there are certain rules and norms inside the total institution that are

reinforced, and there are even stronger control of time and space inside the total institution. Foucault states, "By specifying the most minute details of every day, disciplinary power makes almost any behaviour punishable and thus the object of attention, surveillance, and control" (Foucault 1977: 28). Foucault (1977) has also argued that the goal of discipline in general and in institutions in particular, is to create "docile bodies"; mute, obedient individuals who have been subjected, used, transformed, and improved. Goffman (1961) suggests that another way for institutions to produce the "docile bodies" is to strip residents of their individuality, undermine their sense of personal agency, and to monitor and surveillance their activities and schedule.

Another crucial aspect within the total institutions is the basic split between a large managed group, conveniently called inmates, and a small supervisory staff group (Goffman 1961). The difference between these groups is that the staffs have contact with the outside world. Each grouping tends to conceive of the other in terms of narrow stereotypes, staff often seeing inmates as bitter, secretive, and untrustworthy, while inmates see staff often as condescending, highhanded, and mean. Staffs tend to feel superior, while inmates often feel guilty and blameworthy. The clear division between inmates and staff in institutions are often undermined by language, and language is also widely used as a means to control people (Goffman 1961). This is really interesting to see in the light of that language is essential for children's cultural participation (Sommer 2010). The function of language for the child's interpretive reproduction can be summarized as follows: Language is a symbol system that encodes local, social, and cultural structure. Language acts as a 'tool' for maintaining and creating social and psychological realities. Language does not exist for its own sake but as a useful tool executing and comprehending specific routines in social life. Language is also anchored in children's intimate world (Sommer 2010). Language becomes a mean to control and maintain the structures. In **Chapter Five and Seven** I will discuss the meaning of language in the context of children growing up in children's homes in Addis Ababa, and how they often have to give up their mother tongue because they are all speaking the same language in the children's homes, Amharic.

I do not want to say that all children's homes in Addis Ababa can be understood as total institution, but I find many similarities between the discussion on total institution and the children's homes. In the thesis, I have therefore found it useful to apply Goffman and Foucault's discussions of institution as a part of my framework for my thesis. I also want to see what kind of different degree the different children's homes fit into the framework. And

of course are they fitting the framework in various degree and some of them are nothing like a total institution at all.

3.4 Children's Places

Place is defined as the geographical context or locality in which agency interpellants social structure (Agnew 1987). Sense of place is the social-spatial definition of place from the inside (Agnew 1987). Halldèn (2003) states that a place is colonised through the people who use it and give it meaning. This process is important to discuss from children's perspective. Which places are important for children and what makes them important? How do children attach themselves to a place? And she is also highlighting the importance of listening to children's narratives to understand more of children's relation to place.

Place can be used as an analytical tool to understand the social life of children, their opportunities, agency, and the production and reproduction of generational structures. Children can be embedded in society without necessarily being in "places of childhood". Children's places may exist at different levels, ranging from the private home or family compound to the local neighbourhoods and to more distant areas visited by children (Olwig & Gulløv 2003). Children are placed and there-for confined to creating places for themselves within sites designed by adults. In this kind of society, the cultural formation of citizenship is somehow designed through the places made for children (Olwig & Gulløv 2003). Places like these are the spaces the NGOs in Addis Ababa offer to children who are perceived as lacking a proper place in urban society (the street being the antipode of "home"). The NGOs structures undermine children's local embeddings. In the imagination of the staff the project sites would be places of childhood par excellence (Nieuwenhuys 2003).

Home and family are important for the creation of identity, but it is important to remember that children have various places; street children and working children are examples of this. Children have different places where they live their day-to-day experiences in a local context (Aitken 2001). However, the western understanding of children and place are placing the children in the home (Aitken 2001). And I find it highly relevant to include discussions of children's places since there is a growing concern that the children's places is so much more than in the home. However, as already shown and what will be further discussed later the ideal presented in public discourses presents house as home with children presumed to be the key inhabitants of 'homely' homes, I find it interesting to see this in relation to theories of total institution and children's institution were children are assumed not to be.

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As also Dowling and Blunt (2006) states that children are presumed to be key inhabitants of 'homely' homes, though it is rare for children to be given any agency in the running or representation of these homes. So I want to look at these children that are not staying in any 'home' of the Western understanding, and how they are growing up in a place that is understood as a place that children should not be, in an institution. And does the Ethiopian understanding of home differ from the Western understanding of home?

3.5 Home

If you were asked which places matter to you and why? You will certainly mention home or your home-place(s), and you will have many emotions and feelings attached to this place (Castree 2003). The sense of place includes interpretations and developing meaningful attachments to those specific areas where we live our lives. At certain times of life, people can be highly confined to specific places, as with children and many elderly people (Castree 2003). As mentioned previously children are confined to the home.

Home is the most important place for most people all over the world. Home is a place, a site in which we live, but home is so much more than that, home is both an idea and an imaginary that is imbued with feelings, and also a place and physical location (Blunt & Dowling 2006). As Geographers we understand home, as a relation between material dwelling and it is also an affective space, shaped by feelings and emotions of belonging. However, these feelings are not only of belonging, desire and intimacy, but can also be feelings of fear, violence and alienation. Home is thus a material structure and spatial imaginary: a set of intersecting and variable ideas and feelings, which related to context, and which construct places, extend across spaces and scales and connect places. The most important aspect with home is that it is so much more than house and household (ibid). However, home may mean many different things. Some may speak of the physical structure of their houses or dwelling and this shows that home is not only about feelings and attachment it is also about the physical structure that will be the background for **Chapter Five** in addition to total institution. Home as material dwelling and a physical structure will be a part of the analytical framework for **Chapter Five**. It is also important to remember that the look of the institutions and the material structure is a part of the un-homely home concept.

3.5.1 'Un-homely' homes

As stated earlier home is the place where children are suppose to be, so I find it interesting to understand how institutions are creating and maintaining a home for children. There are

certain dwelling structures and social relations that are imagined to be 'better' and an ideal. This ideal presented in public discourses presents house as home, with a heterosexual nuclear family living in a suburban location, where the children are suppose to be the key inhabitants of the homely homes (Dowling & Blunt 2006). The children growing up in children's homes are living in an environment far from this ideal, they are not growing up in a house in the suburbs, and they are not living with their families. Still the children's homes are their homes, I will discuss this in **Chapter Six** how the children's homes make a home for the children, and what makes it either a homely home they are feeling attached to or an un-homely home filled with negative emotions. I find it relevant to include both theories of Total Institution and Home because they might be viewed as the quite opposite, and they are overlapping each other and complementing each other. The Total Institution may be seen as un-homely, there are certain elements of the total institution that do not fit together with the ideal of home. The physical structure of the total institution; large institutional looking buildings, and the fences and walls that separated the inmates from the rest of the world are not view as homely. Also the social organizing of the total institution with the separation of inmates and staff, and the organizing of the inmates in large groups may be far from the ideal of home. The social relations in total institution are not viewed as feelings and emotions of belonging and attachment that are so crucial for feelings of home.

As Dowling and Blunt (2006) state children growing up in unsuitable foster care, or in violent domestic contexts may sometimes not label their environment home even though they have a roof over their head. This shows that it is possible to be homeless even while physically sheltered, because their shelter can be so filled with feelings of fear and violence that it will not be considered home. For the children growing up in a children's home are not in a home with a family, and as Ansell (2005) states the first institutions created for children were emphasising on physical needs. Children's need for love, care and feel a sense of belonging was often overlooked. These needs are more difficult to meet in an institution than in a family environment. As Tolfree (1995) highlights, it is still common practice in the developing world to have children's institutions made this way with the emphasis on physical needs of the children, they are forgetting emotions and attachment. From a children's point of view to feel a sense of belonging is social interaction with their friends crucial (Morrow 2003). Poluha's (2007) study from Ethiopia shows that the most important persons for children to feel at home were not surprisingly their mothers. So what happens to these children growing up within

institutions? Without their mothers and without the stable social relations that is so important for sense of home and attachment to a place.

3.6 Understanding Children's Homes

For understanding children's homes I have used my own theoretical framework consisting of structuration theory, conceptualizing and discussions of agency, total institution, children's places and home. All the theories and concepts presented here I have used for better understanding how the children's homes are built up and organized to give a home to children. I have a model that simplified how I have been using the theories and the concepts, however, real life is not that simplified as this.
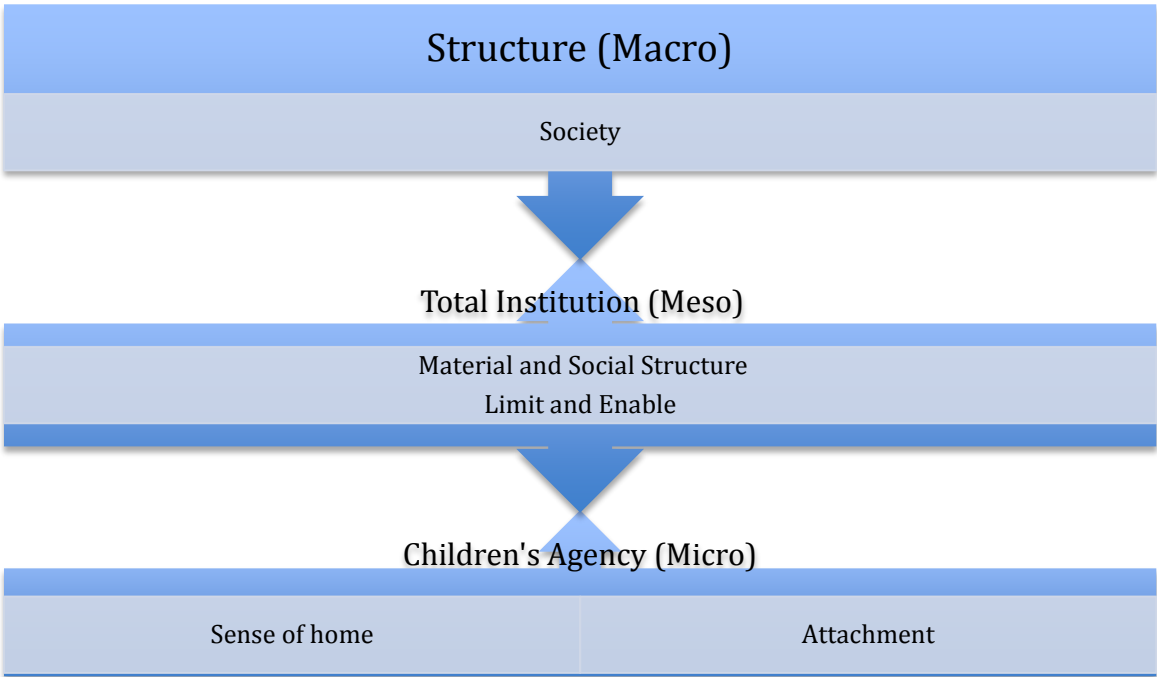
Figure 2: Model for my theories and concepts

The children's institutions will be the focus of my study, and I want to see on how these institutions can limit and enable children's agency. The children's institutions will be the meso-level of my study, and that is what I had the opportunity to study. I have studied the material structures and how they are organized in **Chapter Five.** The social relations inside the children's institutions are the focus of **Chapter Six**. Other crucial aspects are external structural forces that limit and enable the children's abilities to act inside the children's home this will be considered in **Chapter Seven** in addition to a summary that ends up discussing children's agency.

The children's institution consists of social relations and a material structure, and these structures will enable and limit children's agency. I understand the subject's agency as being the micro level of my analysis. The institution is the locale that provides the structures where the children are either provided with opportunities or limitations to use their agency. The social relations inside the children's institutions are important for children's agency and their sense of home and attachment. The 'ideal' home is build upon stable social relations in a nuclear family. Many of the children growing up in institutions do not have the necessary stable social relations required for feeling a sense of home and attachment.

As mentioned earlier there will be bigger structural factors that constrain children's opportunities to use their capability, inside the children's homes. Society is understood as the macro level of the study, I will also look at these larger structures but they are not the focus of my analysis. The focus is what happens inside the fences of the children's institutions. However, what happens outside the fences will always affect what happens inside. The children's homes are influenced from outside, there are external power structures that influences children's homes, so the children's home is part of a bigger structure which includes the government, donors, the main organization, families, friends and schools.

The institution reflects the society of the macro level however; the closed environment and the need of pragmatic solutions inside the institution will reinforce certain features and norms. The structure of the total institution and the society are not the same, since certain rules and features are reinforced inside the total institution to keep and maintain order and discipline. So the social systems outside are not the same as inside the children's institutions, because of the control of time and space inside the children's institutions.

The social relations inside children's institutions are hierarchic. In this hierarchic, the children are at the bottom, the leader at the top and the staff in between. A crucial concept to maintain order and discipline is power, and the segregation from the outside world by physical barriers is important. Inside total institution people may often experience a loss of agency because they are constantly monitored to follow formal rules, and the constant fear that staff will punishment them. The power relations within these social relations are maintaining the control over the children.

The children's institution is consisting of a material structure (buildings, fences etc.) and social relations (relations between all the children, staff, and leader) they are both very important to make a home for children. Theory of total institution is a good starting point

when dealing with institutions. I will not say that the children's homes in this study are total institutions or not, but using the theory as a framework to study both the material structures and social relations and how they can limit and enable the individuals inside have been useful. The theory has also been used to understand how discipline and control is an important aspect of children's homes to maintain order. The theory of total institution is used to categorize children's homes. What I find very useful with the theories of institutions is that they may be used to explain material structure of the children's homes. Theory of total institution may be used to explain social relations inside the children's homes.

For the understanding of the social relations I have conceptualized home and children's places. The children's homes are the home to the children, and also that children are assumed to be the key inhabitants of homely homes. Conceptualizing of home deal with the material structure of home and the social relations in the home. Conceptualizing of home is used to understand the feelings and attachment children feel towards children's homes, and also how they relate to other people using this space.

In the next chapter I will present methodological approaches I have used to achieve the information.

Chapter Four: Methodological Approaches

4.0 Introduction

This chapter illustrates the way the research was designed. So in this chapter I will present the methods I have used during my fieldwork to obtain data. These include research sample, methodology and methods used to collect primary data and the sources of secondary data I have used. I will also discuss and relate this to reflections on positionality, reliability and validity of the study, challenges and limitations while conducting the research, ethical considerations (research on children). At the end I have included a part about the analysis, writing and reporting.

4.1 Research Design

Research is a process, which starts the moment you have seemingly formless idea of what to look at. Though research can be designed but in this study, the stages were not employed systematically and each stage affected the other.
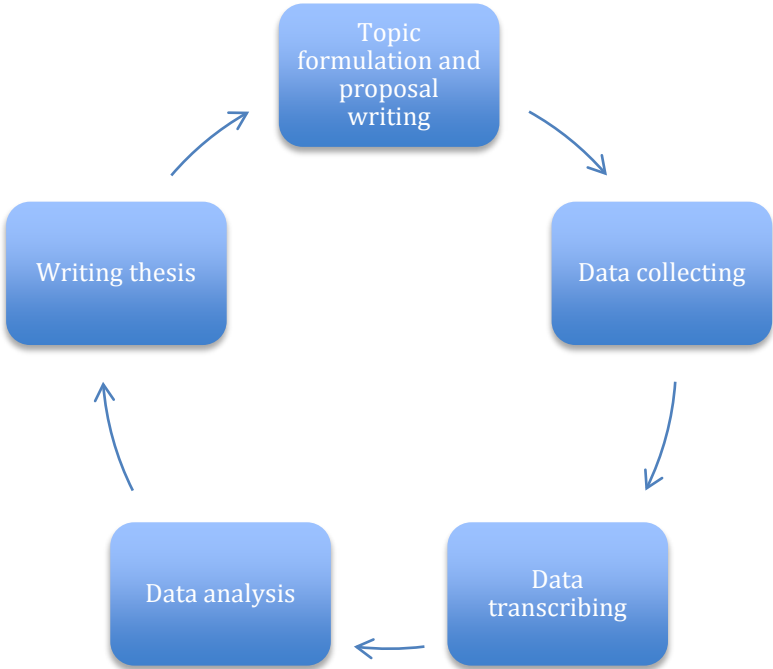
Figure 3: How did I carry out my research

4.1.1 Research sample

The sample of my study ended up including 7 children's homes around Addis Ababa. It differed how well I learnt the children's homes to know. The sample included 6 directors of children's homes, one sister working at a children's home, two social workers, and one girl staying at a children's home at the moment, I have chosen to call her Nuna and one girl that have been adopted out of Ethiopia who stayed 2 years in a children's home when she was a kid, Aisha. My plan was to talk to the children and maybe do some activities with them, but due to lack of research permission I did not get access to carry out my plan. However, I was able to spend a few days at two of the children's homes and I was also able to walk more freely around here and do more observation. I also got the opportunity to informally chat with the children. The sample may have been influenced by the lack of formal research permission, and I may have ended up with similar children's homes. However, they differ in the ways they are organized and built up.

4.1.2 Sampling technique- snowballing

It was a really hard and slow process to get in touch with children's homes that wanted to see me and talk to me. However, after I got in touch with my first children's home I asked them if they could give me numbers and contacts to other children's homes. This sampling technique is called snowballing; using one contact to help you recruit another contact, and can be very useful when target group is difficult to access (Flowerdew &Martin 2005). I also ended up using the Norwegian embassy in case they had some informants or contact persons I could use. I had a hope that by using children's homes or organizations that had contact with Norway they would be more helpful to me, and I got a few contacts through the Norwegian embassy that were useful. I also ended up looking for children's homes when I was travelling around in Addis Ababa, and this technique gave results two times. I went to the children's homes when I saw the signs on the street, and asked if I could come back for an interview and have a look at the place.

4.2 Qualitative methods

Qualitative methods can find the deeper meaning about a subject and explore more in depth a specific subject. Qualitative and Quantitative methods are fundamentally different from each other and the qualitative approach emerged as a critique of the quantitative approach and the focus on objective knowledge. The Qualitative approach focuses on the human behaviour as subjective, complex, messy and irrational (Clifford and Valentine 2003). Qualitative methods

are in-depth and detailed without pre determined categories or hypotheses (Limb & Dwyer 2001). There have been a lot of discussions before on qualitative methods and that it is too subjective and dependent on researcher's opinions and understandings but this is something that should be obvious since the most important tool in qualitative methods is the researcher (Crang & Cook 2007).

4.2.1 Why do I use qualitative methods?

According to qualitative methodology, knowledge is constructed in the interaction between researcher and the informant. In qualitative research there is a subjective understanding of knowledge (Limb & Dwyer 2001), where the goal is to gain an in-depth understanding of a theme and that was what I wanted. Based on my research objectives I consider it highly relevant to use qualitative methods. Since I wanted to find out how the children's homes were organized, how they were making a home for children and what kind of limitations and possibilities the children's homes provided for the children. By combining the information I got from the interviews and observation at the children's homes I felt that I could attain the information I needed for my study.

Qualitative methods are the most fruitful methodology to find the deeper meaning and understanding of the institutions and about the limitations and possibilities for children staying there. It is also suitable for understanding what the institutions can offer the children of material needs and emotional needs so they could feel at home in the institution. The choice of methodology is strongly influenced by the theme and the objectives of the study, the theoretical approach and also the personal view of the researcher.

4.3 Primary Data

Primary data was collected through individual interviews and observation. Both techniques have been of equal importance to me, because in observation you can obtain information that informants are not revealing during the interview.

4.3.1 Observation

Observation assumes that people's behaviour is purposeful and can express deeper beliefs and values. In many situations what people say they do can be something totally different from what they actually do. Observation when dealing with children can be very useful since they cannot describe to a satisfactory degree and it may reveal patterns of behaviour the children themselves are unaware of (Kitchin and Tate 2000). Observation begins the moment the

researcher makes contact with a potential field setting (Jørgensen 1989). As soon as I arrived at the airport I started thinking about the setting I was in and tried to adjust and understand the setting of my fieldwork and the new country I was in. Observation was an important part of my fieldwork since I wanted to study different ways of organizing and build up children's homes and how the social relations between leader, staff and children were. I used observation to observe how the institutions were organized in regard to: the size of it, outside area, fences and guards. I also observed the social structure within the children's homes, how the directors were acting among staff and children. I also used observation to understand how children were interacting with other children, staff and leader. I also used observation to study how the children were dressed and if they appear healthy.

However, I feel that my observation of social relations at these children's homes became limited. Only at two of the children's homes did I have the opportunity to walk around freely and had the full opportunity to do all the observation I wanted, but even at these places I would have preferred to have more time for observation. I felt that two and three days were not enough at these places.

I also used observation to find children's homes, since I was having problems getting in touch with them, and e-mails were never replied or I got a message that they would contact me later. This never happened and also when I called them I often had got the wrong number or they just said that they would call me later. So I tried to observe when I was travelling around in the city if I saw anything that could be a children's home. And if I just went there and asked if they had time to see me. Two times this was a successful method, but it was also a failure. I discovered that if you are always having your eyes and ears open you could just simply run into information. And one of my informants was staying at the same accommodation as me. Simply by talking to people and tell them what you are doing can improve you with information or new contact persons.

4.3.2 Participatory observation

Observation is one of the research approaches that offer a means to try to make geographical research more relevant to the lives of ordinary people. Observation is rather about working with people than on people, this will increase participants' ability to bring about positive change in their own lives (Flowerdew and Martin 2005). I really felt this when I was visiting two of the children's homes, just after a short while I was one of them and they were really

eager to hear me tell about Norway. Also when I was a volunteer at one of the children's homes I really quickly was one of them.

For a few days I was a volunteer at one of the children's homes I should have been there for a longer period but due to illness I had to quit the job. This was a nice way of getting in touch with the children and see what life was really like inside a children's home. I conducted English lessons with two groups of children. In this way I got to have some informal conversations about the life in the children's home with the children.

I was allowed to take picture all over the place at two of the children's homes, but I was only allowed to use them for my analysis and not in any publications. At the other children's homes I were allowed to take pictures of the outside areas. All pictures taken have been of great importance in my analysis, and all the pictures are now deleted.

4.4 Interviews

Interviews have many advantages and the information one get is constructed in such a way that it allows the informants to construct their own accounts of their experience of different issues. One of the absolute strengths of the interview is that the researcher can go back in the interviews and explore an issue further (Flowerdew & Martin 2005).

I wanted to talk to people in charge of the children's homes, the directors. They were the easiest to get in touch with and also because I could then compare the answers I got from the different directors to see what were similarities and what were different between the organizations of children's homes. My plan was also to interviews some of the older children, who speak English, staying in children's homes. However, getting the access to interview children turned out being difficult. Only in one of the homes I got the opportunity to have an open-interview with one of the girls. Though, I was speaking informally to the children in two of the children's homes.

Settings for the interviews varied; offices were the most common, but I also had one interview in a nursing-room and I was interviewing while walking around on the children's homes outside area. The first children's home I visited was very open and sharing information and treated me like one of them, and I was often taken for being a volunteer there.

4.5.1 Semi-structured interviews

Mikkelsen (1995) stresses that semi-structured interview has open-ended questions that allow a researcher to add questions where there is some misunderstanding or unexpected answer. I felt this type of an interview would suit me well but I also need to have some questions that I needed to ask if I did not get the information I needed. The interviews I had with the directors I had an interview guide for and I tried to be well prepared for these interviews. Starting with open questions, and taking the more serious questions further into the interviews and making some of the following up questions during the interviewed made them semi-structured. These interviews I wanted to be as similar as possible so I could compare the answers I got. However, I discovered soon that every interview has it's own life and that some people just start to talk as soon as you get into the room, and others need some more questions to give you the information you want. The information I got out of the interviews with the directors were mainly about the organization of the place both of material structure and social structure, but they were also crucial for understanding how the children's homes where creating a home for children. It was very useful to hear what different aspects the directors were emphasising as important to them. They were emphasising everything from the garden and flowers, to matter as child rights and the best of the child.

With one of my informants I ended up having more interviews, she was telling her life story to me. This was Aisha, she wanted to tell me her story so the voice of the children in institutions in Ethiopia could be heard. The setting at these interviews was the kitchen of our common accommodation and we also had one of the interviews at a café. She was not staying in a children's home now, she was living in France with her adoptive parents and her sister. So all her stories will be retrospective, as they will be told as she remembered them now.

The other girl I interviewed was Nuna; she was staying at Maria's children's home. The setting of this interview was in front of the main building. She had also been adopted, but she had come back to the children's home because she did not like it in her new home. The stories of Nuna and Aisha will be my main sources of information about how the life is for children inside the children's homes and they will be the children's voices. In addition to what I observed and some of the information I got from the directors regarding the lives of the children and their backgrounds. As a result Nuna's and Aisha's stories will be the background of **Chapter Six** and how children's homes are making a home for children.

4.6 Secondary data sources

I have actively been using the internet pages for the different children's homes, both to get more information about them, and to understand the information and the impression I got from children's homes correlates with the impression they are making and trying to express through their web-pages. I also have some reports I have been actively using, both to get more information but I have also discovered that I do not agreeing with everything in these reports. The most useful report is the one report about children in institutions in Ethiopia from June 2010. This is the first report that gives an overview over the situation for children in institutions in Ethiopia. So I know that there is not done a lot of research on this area from before.

4.7 Reflection on the Fieldwork

Important for the quality of qualitative research is the researcher and the researchers own interest, positional and experiences (Crang & Cook 2007). There should be a careful choice for the appropriate methods by means for instance an intense literature review. However, it is most important to reflect upon my own personality and resources available (time, money, skill etc.). There should always be careful reflection of the research steps and methods (Crang & Cook 2007).

4.7.1 Critical Reflexivity

Dowling (2000) define critical reflexivity as a process of constant, self-conscious, scrutiny of the self as researcher and of the research process. So being reflexive means; analysing your own situation as if it were something you were studying. "What is happening? What social relations are being enacted? Are they influencing the data?" Dowling (2000) is also highlighting that many geographers do not write about the research process in their published work; one of the reasons for this is because we are not accustomed to examining our engagement with our work with the same intensity as we regard our research subjects, in this process you may be helped by keeping a research diary. I had a great use in having a research diary where I put down all my thoughts about all the different situations I ended up in, so I can go back and see what I was actually thinking and feeling at that time. It is so easy to forget what happened? How did I react? Could this influence the data? With the research diary it is easy to go back and look through the notes to see how I responded.

4.7.2 Reflections on positionality and personality

My skills as a researcher are based upon fieldwork exercises both at undergraduate and the graduate levels. Even though I found those courses interesting and preparing me for the challenges with conducting fieldwork, it is impossible to be fully prepared for a fieldwork like this. There will always be unexpected problems and challenges showing up. Notwithstanding, I managed to design my own project and established all contacts myself. I must admit that I felt for a while that my dataset was limited but have later discovered that it is sufficient in regard to my objectives and research questions.

I was highly aware that my identity would play a crucial role for my fieldwork before I went to Ethiopia, and that by choosing a sensitive and emotional topic for my thesis I would put myself in challenging situations. I was also thinking about my status, me being a student, how that could be a challenge in situations where I was meeting people of greater importance than me. I was also aware that me as white well-educated female in Africa could be problematic, and end up with different problems and considerations in all the interview situations and observation situations. I as a white girl in an African society will make me an outsider, but I was often just taken for being a volunteer even in the settings when I was not a volunteer in the children's homes. However, I am also an academic and a researcher that implies that I have knowledge and power, and this was something that played an important role during some of the interviews.

Our traits as outgoing, shy, domineering, neurotic, paranoid, hot-tempered, impatient and so on can be far more important than for example being a feminist, white, a post-structuralist or middle class. Dowling (2000) writes that it is not always possible to anticipate or assess accurately the ways in which our personal characteristics affect the information we accumulate. The focus that has been on positionality would be even more fruitful if we include personality to this studies writes Moser (2008). I see the relevance of this since it was in many situations hard to know what is affecting the situation most my gender, being white, being a student, my age or my personality. People respond different to similar events, even if they share the same social identities (Moser 2008) We know that different people respond differently to the same situations, we as researchers are not encouraged to reflect upon how we tend to individually respond to given events as part of the research process (Moser 2008).

Sometimes I think that it would have been easier for me to say I was a tourist to get information at some of the children's homes, but I would not do this out of ethical considerations. I'm sure that in some of the cases I would have got the access to see more and

I would also have got to ask more questions. I often felt that saying I was a student and was there doing my research made some people really suspicious, but I wanted to be open about what I was doing there and about the reasons for coming.

4.7.3 Challenges and limitations while conducting the research

Doing research in a foreign city in a country you have never been before turned out to be a challenge, both because you are not used to the culture and just small problems like transport can be a challenge. This was a real problem since there are limited with street names in Addis Ababa, limited access to good maps, or if you had a map people could not show you where you where going on the map anyway, and I often got lost. This in addition to problems with language made the task of finding the locations very hard. But people were very helpful and my good friends in Addis Ababa were of great help in many situations.

Time and money have been crucial factors limiting the study. These factors limited my stay in Addis Ababa, and it was even more limited since I got ill. Another challenging was the access to the children's homes. I was recommended prior to my fieldwork that I could go to Addis Ababa with my letter of confirmation from NTNU and Dilla University in Ethiopia, and start my fieldwork without the formal research permission. I was told starting the research process without the formal research permission was not illegal and getting a permission would take so long time that I would get it by the time I was heading back. I am highly aware that having the formal research permission would have done the fieldwork much more convenient however, the lack of time made it impossible to wait for. This could have had an impact of my sample and what kind of children's homes I got access into. Some directors were really helpful and were sharing of their time and information with me. Though, access to speak to the children was problematic, and I got only the access to speak to the children at two of the children's homes, but I only got one formal interview with one of the girls. However, I had several informal conversations with children at the children's homes I was in closes contact with. I understand, and I'm really happy, that there is a growing awareness in order to conduct research on children. I discovered that I have not been the only one having problems with directors at children's homes in Addis Ababa, Wakene (2010) had a similar experience during her fieldwork and she had a long search for orphanages and that was one of the challenging tasks of the study. She writes that for diverse and unknown reasons, orphanage directors were very protective of their orphanages and would not grant permission to conduct the research.

4.7.4 Emotionally challenges

Bye (2005) writes that qualitative methods bring the researcher into human relationships that awake emotionally responses from the researcher but also from the informant. I was highly aware when I was choosing children as a part of my thesis that this would bring me into emotionally challenging situations. A couple of times during my fieldwork I was challenged emotionally. Listening to heartbreaking stories from the children's homes was sometimes really tough and sometimes I could not push the subject further. I even once sat there crying while my informant continued telling her story. She wanted to share her story even if it was heartbreaking and hard to tell sometimes. So when I was finished with this interview I was tired and felt numb. But I feel I have done something right if I can tell her story to more people and create more awareness of the situation for children living in institutions in Ethiopia. Me, as a researcher, want to hear more and learn more, but sometimes it just feels too heartbreaking and if I could see that the informant was no longer comfortable, I did not really felt like pushing the matter much further in these situations.

Moser (2008) mentions that there is a need to have more focus on emotional intelligence in research and how this is affecting the research process. Bye (2005) also mentions that many researchers have been neglecting to write about difficult and personal happenings in the field in fear of their reputation as researchers. I felt a couple of times that I was probably more social worker than a researcher. However, by being aware of this I hope that I have been enough aware of how my emotions and personality have affected my knowledge production. Moser (2008) writes that knowledge of one's general capabilities or limitations in difficult circumstances while doing research would be extremely useful and even necessary in many situations which researcher is emotionally incompatible with a research project that demands certain emotional abilities or personal traits.

4.8 Language and multicultural research

When doing research in a different culture one has to be aware of the ethnocentrism we bring with us. Mikkelsen (1995) state that this is 'our cultural ballast' or 'images of others'. We will always bring with us our own 'world' and culture into our research and fieldwork. It is therefore vital that to be aware of this and take these biases into consideration. As soon as I arrived in Addis Ababa I discovered that language would be a problem, if I were to do my research on children with lack of English skills this would be problematic, and I would need to have a translator. In the early phase of my fieldwork I understood that I was not going to

have access to interviewing the smaller children formally, so I decided to not have a translator since I was only going to have interviews with people that could speak English. The fact that most of the older children were speaking English made the decision about dropping having a translator even easier. I also wanted to have full control over the information I would get, so having only my informants to deal with was making it simpler.

In some of my interviews there were some minor language problems because not everybody where speaking fluently English and I do not speak fluently English either. However, I think I got the information I needed, and because of the small language problems questions were repeated and the informants were using long time answering to be sure that I could understand what they were saying.

4.9 Ethical considerations
At the places where I got information I was honest about what I was doing and they were sharing their information with me anyway. However, I was at all times very careful about telling about confidentiality and anonymity when I met contacts.

Children's marginalized position in the adult society, adult's perception and attitudes towards children themselves are reasons why research with children requires special ethical attention (Punch 2002). I understand that there are many issues around research on children and ethical considerations to be aware of. I ended up in situations as Dowling (2000) describe as potentially exploitative relationships where I as a researcher is in position of greater power then my informants. These were the situations where I was interviewing or talking to children and informants younger than me. I found these situations demanding to handle in the way Dowling (2000) is describing that when conducting research among less powerful we should not take advantage of the informants but in these situations it is so much easier to push sensitive subjects a little more than I probably should be doing. I felt that I was in charge of the situation when I was interviewing the girls because I was older; I was speaking better English and had more education. Also my skin-colour was of importance in these situations since I felt that they some how was looking up to me, as white and from Europe. In this situations I really tried to act more as a buddy than as a serious student, and I also noticed that I changed my language so it was simpler and removed the heavy concepts and tried instead using easier explanations.

4.10 Data analysis and writing

At my first interview I asked if I could record the interview but my informant did not approve the recorder so I took notes. I discovered that taking notes during the interviews what not that difficult and that I got the information I wanted so I ended up just taking notes and not using the recorder. I am aware that I could have lost some information that way by only taking notes during my interviews but the informants were talking slow and were very careful that I got down everything that they said. In this way I also avoided some language problems since the informants were talking slow and very clear. After the interviews I had a routine on getting them written down into my laptop as soon as possible to have everything fresh in mind.

After the fieldwork was done I read through all my notes and arranged them in themes based on the research questions for easy analysis. The next step was to arrange the information into themes, categories and subcategories so the writing process could start. The next chapter presents the first part of the analysis. The focus of this chapter will be how the children's homes are built up and organized.

Chapter Five: How Children's Institutions are organized

5.0 Introduction

This chapter presents how the children's institutions organized in regard to material structure and how they are organized and this includes also the social relations. As I have discussed in **Chapter Three,** children's homes may be understood as 'total institutions' even there are some disagreements on this matter. Aubert (1964) states that Children's homes are not total institution, however, Goffman (1961) is categorizing Children's homes into the first groups of total institutions. This group includes homes for the blind, the aged, the orphaned and the indigent. There are many different ways of organizing children's homes, and some of them are not anything similar to 'total institution'. However, one thing is clear, children's homes represent sets of structures that both constrain and enables children's actions. It is useful to apply the dimensions of total institution to analyze the components and ways that the children's homes are organized.

This chapter will show how children's institutions in Addis Ababa are organized, and as my theoretical framework for this part of the analysis I have used Total Institution of Goffman and theories of Foucault of discipline and power in institution, I am highly aware that this are not theories that are used or made for analyzing children's homes but I find many similarities and they are good to use as a framework and gives a more nuances way of seeing the creation and organization of children's homes. I have also been using concepts from Home theories to gain a deeper understanding on how the children's homes are the material home of the children. And how there are factors with the material structure that makes it un-homely.

I studied seven different children's homes in Addis Ababa and they were all different in both the way their organization was build up and also in regard to how they were creating spaces for children. It is important to see that not all of the children's homes fit into these theories but they are used as a framework and as a way of categorizing the different children's homes. Some of the homes have many similarities with the total institution theory but some have very few similarities.

5.1 Material structure of the children's homes

In order to categorize the children's homes according to material structures I have studied the buildings, fences, outdoor area, institutional look and the sizes of the children's homes to see

how the material structures are different in the children's homes. The power of total institutions is shown through forcible segregation of the outside by physical barriers such as walls and fences as (Staples and Decker 2009. On of the conclusions I have after visiting seven children's homes that there were as many different ways of organising them, as there were children's homes. In the report by MOWA et al. (2010) that was published in June 2010 there is little about the physical structures of children's homes. The only thing I can find is about bedrooms and beds, and if girls and boys have to share or not. In my opinion and out of what I have seen while being into seven different children's homes there is also a need to look more into the structure of children's homes in Addis Ababa. Institutions are3 not the place most of us think about as a home but for this children this is their home. and the material structure might help on the feeling of home.

5.1.1 Buildings

It turned out that there were many different ways of organizing the buildings at the different children's homes. At the biggest children's home, Peace, I was not allowed to see inside the dormitories so I do not know what it looked like inside. I was told that they had one dormitory for girls and one for boys. From the outside the buildings reminded me about barracks in a concentration camp, because all the buildings looked the same if it was a dormitory, kitchen, dinning hall, cow barn, rabbit house, the only houses looking a little different was the school buildings inside the area and the office buildings. All the buildings had one floor they were grey and brown. In a big contrast to Peace the Adoption children's home was the place that was the most impressive building and was located in a nice area as well. Here 34 children were located in a three-floor building with glass surfaces all the way to the top. It looked like a nice villa. The contrast between this one and Peace children's home was very visible and indicated how heterogeneous children's homes are in Ethiopia. At Adoption there was only one building and it looked just like any other sub-urban house anywhere in the world.

The International did have separated buildings for smaller groups of nine of ten children and one care person. There were also green spaces between the buildings that were looking just like residential houses; this place was close to the 'ideal' of house as home. The houses were looking just as suburban houses from all over the world; however, the 'ideal' of heterosexual nuclear family is not followed, since there was one female caretaker taking care of nine-ten children. However, Ethiopian families have many children so this would suit the Ethiopian family and not only a universal norm.

It can be highly relevant to emphasize that this organization is international and is strongly influenced by the CRC and all knowledge production around children that are happening in the western world since they are emphasizing on giving children a house and a person to take care of them. They are using the same model for children's homes all over the world. As far I can tell it looked like the best environment for children to grow up, since they are in smaller groups with one caretaker. The children here are not divided by age; in the houses there are children from 15 years old to small babies. Here children are not divided according to age, and they got to stay in the same house as their brothers and sisters.

At Maria's children's home there was one big brick building ten years old and one somewhat smaller but there were also small low shelters inside the area and there were also some cows inside the area of the children's home. Four of the children's homes were quite similar in their buildings, there were older big brick buildings, that were housing many rooms with different tasks and they gave me the institutional feeling. The buildings at the children's homes were mainly houses with one floor, but at one of the children's homes the main building had two floors. And inside there were white paint with few or none posters or pictures on the walls that were giving me a stronger feeling of being in an institution.

Something that is relevant to study is the office of the directors, since I had the access to study them all. Maria's children's home did not have a office so I was one time shown into a nursing-room and the other time a was shown into the resting room for the staff. This was in big contrast to Peace were they had a large office building with many offices. The office building at Peace was bigger than the main building at many of the other children's homes. This can perhaps say something about the leader style at the different children's homes and which of them that have the closes contact between the leader and children. This is something I will come back to later.

5.1.2 Fences and Guards

As we have seen in **Chapter Three** some of the power of the total institution lies in forcible segregation of the outside by physical barriers such as walls and fences (Staples & Decker 2009). I consider this relevant for categorizing the different children's homes. However, it is important not to look at all of these children's homes as total institution. All seven children's homes had fences and a gate into the home, but it varied how open these gates were. All

children's homes had guards except from one. Two of the children's homes even had more than one guard; at the big children's home there were three guards. It was very different how the fences around the children's homes were made, in one of the children's homes the fence was low and that kind of fences people uses for their animals. Three of the children's homes had massive thick and high fences that were impossible to get over, and it was not possible to see through the fences, so it really was a barrier from rest of the world. Even the gates at these places were impossible to see through. The high fences that you cannot see through is a way of segregate the inside world of the children's homes from the rest of the world. I believe that the fences were both to protect the children from the world, but also to protect the world from the children.

5.1.3 Outside Area

Something that was giving an even stronger feeling of being in an institution was how the outside areas were organized. They were covered in concrete and were looking like schoolyards. No green areas and few or none flowers. One of the children's homes I studied had a huge green area around the buildings, and had a huge area but I am not sure if the children were allowed to run around freely on this area. Four out of seven children's homes had only a concrete area outside the buildings. Most of the children's homes had some flowers along a wall or in flowerbeds. Two of the children's home had a mix between green areas and concrete areas. The Adoption Home had the nicest location, and also a really nice outside area where it was many toys on a lawn and also a swimming pool in plastic. At Maria's the outside area was mainly concrete but they had some areas of mud, were they had a cow standing. All the children's homes had a lot of children's toys on their outside area except from one of them.

5.1.4 Institutional Look

Sinclair and Gibbs (1998) are emphasizing on how it is important to avoid an institutional look. Large and grey buildings are something that really does not make any homely feeling. All of the children's homes had an institutional look at first glance except from two of them; one of them were one of the bigger international NGOs that have different ways of organizing children's homes. Here the units were smaller (10 children in each unit) and it was not crowded and there was space between the houses. I was inside one of these smaller units and it was arranged just like the ideal home presented in public discourses. However, it differed

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widely what impression I got from the children's homes, Peace children's homes reminded me more about concentrations camps I have visited in Europe after Second World War. In the other end of the scale I would range the Adoption children's homes, were I just got to see the outside of a villa in one of the nicest area (embassies in the neighborhood). This was actually one of the nicest houses I saw in Addis Ababa, and it was a children's home run by an adoption agency. However, I never got the permission to go inside this children's home. After talking to people and also some of the directors emphasized that the nicest children's homes were the ones that were dealing with adoption.

As Sinclair and Gibbs (1998) are referring to in **Chapter Three**: "It does not necessarily do to judge a book by its wrapper" p.80. Here they are showing to the fact that the physical structure of children's homes might have a small role for children feeling at home there. It can be hard to tell if the physical structure have anything with children feeling at home there. However, as Sinclair and Gibbs (1998) are referring to a study where residents are being affected by the physical structure of the homes. To illustrate how important the look of the children's homes can be I have used a study of Sinclair and Gibbs (1998) which illustrates some examples to illustrate how very different immediate impressions which the appearance of children' homes can make on those who visit them. They vary in the type of neighbourhood, the physical appearance of the buildings themselves, the standard of internal decoration and the degree to which the homes fit in with the neighbourhood or stand out as an institution. In their survey half of the homes ended up being judged to be clearly institutional, only five out of 46 were judged to be homely. This differences immediately strike an outsider and raise questions about how they affected the residents. That the residents notice them is undeniable and former residents have advised the Social Services Inspectorate (SSI) on the importance of avoiding institutional features. It is important to have in mind that this study is from the UK, but I find it interesting to look upon since the children's homes should provide the children with a home, however, there are certain factors that can make the children's homes to un-homely homes not. What I discovered after talking to Nuna and Aisha and other children at the different children's homes was the lack of space was probably the worst aspect for children in the children's homes. This was also the impression I got when I studied the different children's homes. At the Child Care children's home it was crowded in the room for the boys between three to seven years old (but there were also older boys there because they did not have room for them anywhere else) there were 24 boys sharing a room and there were almost no space to move around. There were 12 bunk beds in the room. There was only one

toilet for the girls and one for the boys, and all their clothes were in the halfway in open shelves. It was almost no space to walking in the halfway because it was so filled up with different things.

However, at the Child Care children's home there was a lot of space in the infants' room, because the infants get adopted first so they do not have that many infants there. "The problem is that, the ones below five is easier to adopt so after they have reached the age of five they will probably not get adopted and has to stay here" said the director. This consider one of the most problematic features with children's homes that they can not provide a stable home but they are more like transit homes.

5.1.5 Size

In regard to size and what consequences this can have, Sinclair and Gibbs (1998) are stating that the smallest children's homes are the ones that gives the best care for the children. So the bigger children's homes with many children are regarded not as sufficient and not as the best option for the children. As mentioned in **Chapter Three** Sinclair and Gibbs (1998) say that the best children's homes are the smaller children's homes. In the seven children's homes I visited it was altogether 931 children. The smallest had 8 and the biggest had 450 children in their care. The one with 450 children was the one home with the biggest area as well.

Table 2: Staff Ratio

Children's Home	Number of Children	Staff	Staff Ratio
Peace	450	500	1:1
International	150	50	3:1
Orphanage Home	134	-	-
Maria's	80	43	2:1
Child Care	75	84	1:1
Adoption	34	16	2:1
Family	8	-	-

5.1.6 Staff ratios

Sinclair and Gibbs (1998) show that high staff ratios did not have any apparent impact on order and harmony in the children's homes. I will also emphasis that the staff ration here is

not only showing staff that were caring for the children. The staff ratio at Peace is not completely correct, since I did not get the numbers of the staff that were working only with the children, however, I got the number of all the staff at this place and since they were also running a horticulture and a restaurant in addition to the children's home.

5.2 What should the children's homes provide

Ansell (2005) states that there a focus of the early children's homes that they should meet the physical needs of children, and there have been a lot of criticism against children's homes for not providing enough love and care. In this chapter the focus so far have been on the physical structure that the children's homes provide and how the physical structures give the children both possibilities but mostly limitations. The next part will be more about what children's homes are organized socially and how they are providing children with different activities and social support. As we will see there is a huge difference in what the children's homes can provide for the children.

5.2.1 Tasks for children

As Goffman (1961) theories of total institution shows there are staff members that supervise the daily life and there are standardized activities for the residents. There are also formal rules and daily schedules dictate when, where and how residential perform virtually every part of their daily routines. I through examples from different children's homes show that they have daily routines but there is room for different activities and the staffs do not control all aspects of the day. It is important to consider that many of these tasks and activities the children perform are of pragmatic reasons. Children outside children's homes also perform tasks like this and even in the Western World children participate in tasks such as these. This is the practice at some of the children's homes to let the children do different tasks and activities. Including the children into the daily running of the children's homes appear less as total institution since the difference between staff and the children are less noticable when they are working together and they are doing the same things. As I noticed at the Maria's Children's Home the oldest girls seemed more like staff than girls staying there. The girls were also dressed in the same dresses as the rest of the staff.

The directors told at all the children's homes I studied the children were included in the daily running. This was not the practice at the children's homes were they only had babies. I observed that children were doing different tasks, and helping with the daily running at the

children's homes. At Peace children's home there were three boys working with timber. At Maria's and International the older children got more responsibility for the younger ones, as they are getting older. They also helped the staff with all kind of practical tasks in the homes. At Maria's the older girls were ironing and sewing clothes.

At Peace the co-director said: " Children should not go idle in their holidays, so they need to work during summer-holiday as well". The children at Peace had either to go to school in the holiday or they had to work. They had some kind of work camp outside Addis Ababa where the children were sent during summer time. They also had to give a hand in the work with the animals and in the garden. However, they have 500 staff at Peace and when I was walking around I saw staff everywhere so I am not sure of how many of the children were actually working in this children's home. They had workers in the cow barn, in the garden area there were many workers and also in the area around the kitchen house there were workers. I am not sure where the children should be helping in the daily running here. So I am not actually sure if they were a part of the daily running.

At Maria's the children start early with doing their beds, and folding their pajamas. From they are 14 years old they are cleaning their own clothes and they are also helping with the cleaning of the rest of the children's home. At International they also got tasks from they are small that suits their age, or level of age. From the children are small they are taught to make up their own beds. From the age of five they should be able to clean their socks and their shoes. From the age of eight they should be able to clean their rooms and the classrooms. They got other tasks in sanitation and cleaning that should prepare them for their future lives on their own. They also teach them how to make coffee from they are quite small, this the director said with a big smile. He also added that coffee are so important for the Ethiopian culture so this is absolutely one of the most important things to teach the children, but they do this most for fun. The director at International said they teach the children all these tasks so they should be prepared for their future lives. At International I was invited for tea in one of the houses. Here I could see for myself what the director had told me previously. One of the boys swept the floor, and one of the girls changed dipper at the baby. The children in front of the TV were helping preparing food while their were watching TV.

I was shown into one of the family houses that were doing well, and the mother in the house I went to be ranged as the number two mothers at this children's village. The children seemed

disciplined when their were in the house, but I got to experience the children in class later when I was a volunteer there, and even if these children had got prices for their skills at school they were just as naughty as all the other children in the children's village.

5.2.2 Activities for Children

All the directors emphasized activities the children's homes could offer the children. If they were actually doing all this activities I cannot be sure of. At Maria's Children's home the children were not talking about these activities that the director seemed to be so proud about. She highlighted outdoor activities but the children did not mention them at all. They were complaining about the lack of time they spent outside the fences of the children's home. The director also told how the children were allowed to watch the world cup from South Africa, and they could get permission to stay up to see the whole match. The World Cup was something that all the children were enthusiastic about.

During the vacation the children at International have summer or winter school. Where they prepare for school that come after the vacation. Volunteers often lead the summer or winter schools; also I got to try this as an English teacher at International. The children at international are all in different clubs. In these clubs they can use their creative talents, the activities include language, art and drama. The clubs are open during the whole year. During the summer they meet other clubs that are into the same activities as themselves. At International they also have a summer trip to Awash, so the children have the opportunity to get outside the children's home, and Addis Ababa.

At International, they also have tutorial classes, and they also have some classes after school to be sure that the children are learning the same at school and to be sure of their levels. The children at International are going to eight different schools in Addis Ababa. The director sees this as a advantage that all the children go to schools outside. He believe that this will make the children adept easier into society later.

Also at Child's Care they organized different activities for the children where they could learn to cook, learn computer skills and they also have groups for gardening and mechanics. They want to teach the children different skills so they are prepared for the life outside the children's home. At Child's Care they have at all times many volunteers there. At the time I was there they had 40 volunteers and the volunteers arrange groups with all different sorts of

activities for the children, such as drama and games. Some of these activities are arranged outside the children's home.

5.2.4 Clothing
All the directors said that they did not have any lack of clothes, but it was a big difference in how the children were dressed. At one of the children's homes the children were very filthy and too big clothes on. My general impression of the children's clothing was that they had enough clothes and that they were quite well dressed. At Child Care the director commentated that they had very little space to keep the children's clothes because of that reason they did not have that much clothes and it was hard to keep the children clean. This was also a problem at the children's home where the children had the filthiest clothes; they said that it was hard to keep the children clean.

I was at Maria's children's home a hot day. I was noticing that girls were wearing long sleeves and long skirts so I was wondering: "Are you not hot?" Nuna answered; "we were not allowed to wear what we want. We are not allowed to wear t-shirts." This was the rule for girls they had to wear long sleeves and long skirts or pants. The leader and staff controls what the children are wearing.

As I could notice, at two of the children's homes the staff and children were wearing totally different clothing. The staffs were wearing some forms of uniform. The staffs working at the kitchen and also nurses were wearing different clothing than the rest of the staff. The separation between staff and children appear more visible when staffs are in uniforms. The children's home also appear more institutional when the staffs wear uniform.

5.2.5 Education
All directors were interested telling about the education they could offer the children. What I was told all children's homes I was in contact with told that all their children were enrolled in schools. However, at Maria's they were admitting they had a hard time getting the older children enrolled, but so far they had succeeded. The youngest children are in the school that is inside their area. The older children have to go outside the fences to get to their schools. Ethiopia is one of the countries in the world with the lowest enrollment rate in primary school. Children in Ethiopia also enroll late into school, and they have a high drop out rate. In urban areas they have a huge problem with the quality of the schools.

5.2.6 Language

Language is often used as a mean to control people, as mentioned in **Chapter Four**, and in institutions the language is used to distinguish between inmates and staff (Goffman 1961). In all the children's homes they speak Amharic as official language even if the children came from different parts of Ethiopia and their mother tongue is not Amharic. Two of the directors mentioned that this was not a good solution but they had no option if they wanted everybody to understand each other. Even if this meant that many children did not understand what is spoken to them the first time they were in the children's homes. One of the directors told that: "The children are not encouraged to speak only Amharic, but since everybody are speaking Amharic it ends up that they are often forgetting their language of birth". Some of the directors told that some of the children did not want to talk their mother tongue since it remained them of their past. Many of the children had experienced dreadful things before they came into the children's homes and by forgetting their mother tongue the director thought they were moving themselves away from their dreadful past and prepared themselves for a new life with a new language. In order to fit into their new urban life in Addis Ababa forgetting their mother tongue seemed like some kind of transition from their old life.

5.2.7 Other facilities

The directors were very interested in telling me what kind of facilities they could offer the children. The facilities they could offer the children differed widely and what the directors emphasized on telling me also differed widely. At Maria's children's home, they were very proud about their new library. "We have computers in the library, but we have no internet" said Nuna. She had hoped that they could get access to internet at the new library. At Peace children's home, they were most interested in telling and showing me all the animals. They emphasized also the huge outside area they had there. At International children's home, the director emphasized the fact that the children could use facilities outside the children's home. The director at International was most interested in the facilities at the schools the children went to, if the schools had access to libraries and playgrounds.

5.3 What kind of organization are the children's homes

In Table 1, I gave a brief overview of what kind of organizations the different children's homes are. In this section I will introduce more information about what kind of organizations

the children's homes are. This include where they got their funding from, and if this is influencing the daily running of the children's homes.

Child Care children's home is registered as a local humanitarian NGO, but they got their main support from the USA. They got donors from all over the world both organizations and individuals. Their main support they receive from families that adopt children from the children's home. However, they got no support from within Ethiopia, because they are not allowed to receive support from Ethiopia. Maria's children's home is registered as a church organization; which mean they are run through a church. Maria's got their funding from all over the world both from organizations and individuals. The International children's home have their main donors in Germany, but they also got funding from individuals in Ethiopia. The Family children's home mainly got their funding from abroad and their main donors come from Norway.

The children's home that differs most from the rest in regard to funding and organization is Peace. Peace children's home got a great deal of their financial support from selling flowers, milk and meat that they produce themselves. Just like the rest of the children's homes they got funding from outside Ethiopia as well. At all children's homes they said that they were not that influenced by their donors. However, at Family children's home they admitted their main donor influenced them. The main donor could come to the children's home and give advice and the leader at the children's home would follow the advices. The other children's homes told they could mainly decide on their own how the wanted to run the children's homes. Nevertheless, their main organizations often had policies and guidelines they had to follow. This considers how there are external power structures influencing the way the children's homes should be run and organized.

5.3.1 Leader style

Sinclair and Gibbs (1998) show that the role of the leader is vital. The leader should be clear on the philosophy of running the place, and there need to be agreement between the head and the management on what the home is to do and how. There were obviously big differences how the children's homes were organized, and what kind of role the leader had. At the smaller children's homes the leader is more closely bound to the staff and children. While at Peace there was obviously more distance between leader, staff and children. The office building at

Peace is the same size as the main building at the other children's homes.

A good leader needs to be clear on leadership and communicate well with the staff and the children. Since I met almost all the leaders and I observed how they were communicating with the children, the staff and me, I could observe how well they were communicating with the staff and children. The director at Maria's and International children's home seemed to be the ones communicated best with the staff and also with the children. The director at the International children's home seemed more like a father than a leader to me. He was walking around at the children's home with me, and he knew the name of every child. He also told that the children were calling him dad. The total opposite of this was the director at Peace; he had a nice office in the office building. He also had three secretaries in the room in front of him. H also appeared to be very formal in his suit. He did not seem to have any close contact with the children. The fact that he had three secretaries made me think that it is unlikely that he have a lot of contact with the children.

5.3.2 Aim for running the children's homes

I believe the aim for running the children's homes could say a lot about the style of the leader and also about the organization. The one that differ most from the others here is the aim to Family children's home. The director said: "Our aim is to fight poverty. Since the biggest problem in Ethiopia is poverty." So they are running the children's home and different activities for preventing poverty in a kebele in Addis Ababa. The children's home is only a small part of the whole organization at Family. Here are the answers I got from the directors when I asked about the aim for running the place:

In Peace children's home the director said that their aim is: "To give the orphanage children a place to stay, and to take care of them". This is the biggest of the children's home I studied and they were the one that were running many different activities from the same area as the children's home. It may seem that they are running the children's home as a business and they did not answer on any questions in regard to adoption. A different view of what the aim for running a children's home I got from the director at Maria's: "We will the best for the children even we know children staying in an institution is an evil. We are not running this place because we want to earn money". This is a faith-based children's home, and that children staying in an institution were mentioned several times while I was there. They were viewing children's homes as the best option for children that could get no other care.

The only children's home that mentioned the CRC was International: "The children is of course the main focus and the rights of children, however the main objective is to get the children an education and learn them responsibility so they can contribute to the society". At Child Care children's home where they only have HIV-positive children the answer why they were running the children's home were: "To support and care for destitute HIV-positive children in order to improve for their health and living conditions. And to make their lives longer and brighter."

5.3.3 Adoptions role in the daily running

Adoption plays a crucial role for the stability of the social relations inside the children's homes. As both and Nuna and Aisha told they felt unsecure because of the adoption. Aisha said she never knew what the next day would bring, and that they sat just waiting for the message that they were adopted away to Europe. This was one of the reasons Aisha never felt the children's home was a home for her; it was just the place they had to be. It was a transit place where they were just waiting. Nuna also told how unstable social ties in children's homes that deal with adoption are. She told that she did not try to make friends with the other girls anymore because she knew they were soon to be adopted away.

5.3.4 Contact with the government

MOWA et al. (2010) state that there are only three government institutions operating in Ethiopia, currently as a result of the Ethiopian governments guidance to discourage institutionalization of children. In January 1986, the Relief and Rehabilitation Commission (RRC) created a directive aimed at deinstitutionalizing children through reunification and reintegration. From 1986 to 1990, a larger-scale reunification program took place, resulting in the decline in the number of residential child-care institutions. However, this guidance has not influenced nongovernmental and faith-based organizations, which continue to operate child care institutions and in some cases, open new institutions.

Nevertheless, the directors could confirm that they had been given new policies lately. One of the small children's homes had got a new policy that they would not get children into their care anymore. These children were sent into governmental institutions instead. If there are only three governmental children's institutions in Ethiopia at the moment as stated in MOWA et al. (2010) I find it hard to believe that they have room for all the children. The Family

children's home also complained about the government's policies. They said they were not formally following all the laws and policies from the government. Nevertheless, all the children's homes I was in contact with said that they had a formal registration, except from one, Family. All the children's homes also had to hand in reports on activities and strategies for the future. The NGO run children's homes told they have close contact with the part of the government that handles NGOs.

As mentioned, Family children's home had a problem with the government. They did not have a formal registration for running the children's home. They only had a registration for running the other activities they had, daycare center and kindergarten. They also got the assumption that they government were not interested in having many small children's homes. The director at this place was confused and angry by the government and their lack of clear policies. "We do never no if it is a law or not, and they (government) is not easy to understand always. And what should we do if the children coming here do not have any relatives?" Then he turns to me and is smiling a tired smile and says: "But I guess you are tired of hearing about politics and the governments interference into everything and their always unclear role? But it is really confusing for us because we never know if it is a law or if it is just a rumor."

It is obviously hard running a children's home in Ethiopia because of all the policies. The leaders were not sure to whom they should take care of their problems. This is a confusing system and there is not always easy to keep track of everything. MOWA et al. (2010) show the limitations regarding uniform structures of accountability and oversight from the three main governmental institutions involved in the child protection system MOWA, MoLSA and MOJ.

As mentioned, at Maria's they had problems with new policies. They do not get children coming there anymore because the government wants the children to stay in the national institutions. Since Maria's are adopting away children the children's home have fewer children, as the directors says: " We do not have any input, only output". She is afraid of the future for the children's home, they sack staff because there are so few children there now; they had 180 children now they have 80. In spite of this, it seems still crowded there. The leader is wondering: "Why should the government place all the children into the crowded children's homes that are state-run instead of letting them stay in a small children's home were the children get better treatment?" She do not want to say this, but she says: "it is a

known case there are too many children in the national run children's homes, and they got lack of care and lack of food there".

Chapter SIX: Feel at home in an Institution

6.0 Introduction

This chapter analyses how children's institutions are creating a 'home' for children. In the previous chapter focus was the material and organizing aspects of institutions. In this chapter I will use conceptualizing of children's places and home, to answer my second research objective: "How are the children's institutions in Addis Ababa creating a home for children?" This chapter will focus on negative and positive feelings, attachment and social relations in the institution. The institution is the meso level of my study and of my figure 2; I will use sense of home and attachment to understand the micro level of the study and children's agency.

As stated earlier institutional care should only be used as a last resort (CRC 1989; Save the Children 2009), however for children staying in institutions the institution is their home. In this chapter I first present the stories of Aisha and Nuna, these are not their real names. They are two girls I met during the fieldwork and they gave me a lot vulnerable information. Aisha stayed in a children's home in Addis Ababa, while she waited to be adopted. She is now living with her adoptive parents in France. Her story will be told as she remembers it now. It may be easier to understand the rest of the chapter if I present their stories first.

Thereafter I discuss what is happening inside the children's homes emphasis will be given the negative aspects of the children's homes, and what may make children's homes 'un-homely'. The children can be exposed to violence and abuse inside the children's homes, they are having a hard time adjusting when they are coming into the children's homes, and they are often having limited contact with the outside world, both families and friends, and this can lead to the children run away. At the end of the chapter I explore in what ways the children's institutions are a home for the children, and what kind of feelings they have for the children's homes.

6.1 The Story of Aisha

Aisha, stayed in a children's home for two years when she was a child, she is now back in Ethiopia to make contact with her biological family. She was sent to a children's home with her sister because her parents were poor and they could not afford to have that many children at home. The institution where she stayed was a big children's home with about 700 children in their care as Aisha remembers it. The director did not care about the rules that children

staying in institutional care in Ethiopia should have lost both their parents. So she was adopted away to France, and she was happy about this since she and all the children staying at the children's home did not want to stay there as it was a horrible place where nobody wanted to live. Her adoptive parents were really frustrated when they found out that she and her sister still had their parents alive, but this illegal activities were really common at this children's home as she could understand it. However, they decided that they wanted the two girls to meet their biological parents. This ended up really different between the two sisters, Aisha wanted to have contact with Ethiopia and she feels like an Ethiopian, but her sister feels the opposite she will not have contact with her biological parents and Ethiopia.

However, at the end of my stay in Ethiopia, Aisha came over to me and told me that she had been speaking to her mother and she was quite shocked, since she was 19 years old this morning, but today her mother had told her that she was 21 years old. Her parents and the director at the children's home had agreed to lie about the age of her and her sister to make it easier to adopt them away from Ethiopia. So she has gone through life so far believing she was 2 years younger than she actually is, and also her French ID-papers show that she is born in 1990, but she is actually born in 1988. So there was no wonder why she remembered so much out of her stay in the children's home when she was there when she was between the age of six and eight, and not between four and six, as she had believed.

Aisha told that she thought her parents wanted her to come back from Europe or the US with a lot of money so she could feed them. Her father had even asked her for a house already! She thought that this was highly inappropriate since this was at their first meeting after she came back to Ethiopia this time. She felt like they were more interested in the money than in her. And she was asking me: "what kind of parents are asking their children for money and even a house on their first meeting in years?" She was frustrated with the relationship she had to her biological parents in Ethiopia, both because they had some language difficulties but also because she did not feel like they loved her and she felt that this love demanded something material back from her.

6.1.2 The Story of Nuna
The other girl I met was Nuna, and she also had an incredible story. She stayed at the Maria's, and she got there from the South of Ethiopia by the age of two with her two years older sister. When she was 13, she and her sister got adopted away to Austria. But Nuna did not like it in Austria: "it was cold and I missed the children's home." So she came back to Maria's while her sister continued to stay in Austria. It may sound odd that one of the sisters want to remain

in Austria while the other one want to go back. This story also shows that brothers and sisters can act different in relation to the same situation, as with Aisha and her sister.

Nuna felt like she belonged and had her home at Maria's. Even though she tells it is crowded sharing room with 14 other girls and that she would like more privacy. She also tells that she misses having friends outside the children's homes. They are not allowed to bring their friends from school into the children's home. They only have time with their friends at school; they are also not allowed to go outside the fences of Maria's on their own after school. So she misses having a social life outside the children's home, and says she would like to play in the streets in the evenings or go to cafes with friends. She is also the definitive oldest one staying in the children's home since all the girls the same age as her have been adopted away. It seems to me like she is more one of the staff than a child; also the director told that she got a lot of responsibility with the younger children. The second time I went to Maria's she was at the laundry, ironing clothes and in the way the staff talked to her it seemed like she was more like one of them than the children. She also enjoyed having more volunteers coming from all over the world that could tell stories form different part of the world and teach her English. So for me it seems like if you are using your opportunities inside the children's homes there can also be possibilities for increasing your role there. And the director was trying to get her a scholarship in Germany so she could go to nursing school, Nuna have the free option to choose if she wanted to go to Germany or stay in Addis Ababa and start working instead at Maria's. As it seemed to me she wanted to go to Germany since that will give her better options for the future, but she was a little sad that this meant that she had to leave Addis and Maria's.

6.2 Home in Ethiopia

As discussed previously there are some disagreements on where children's places are and that understanding of putting children in the home is often assumed to be a Western creation and a Western understanding. I wanted to know what kind of understanding of home the average Ethiopian has and what places are for the children. I ended up speaking to many Ethiopians I met during my fieldwork and have been discussing this with my friends, and what I have found out is that the Ethiopian understanding of home do not differ widely from the Western understanding where they also understand home as the place children should be. Home in the Ethiopian understanding is both a material and social construction. The physical structure of home as the bathroom, kitchen and all the essentials that need to be in a house to make a home a place of love, mutual support and reciprocity support. However, it is the social

relations that are the most important aspect for home as a place where families can rely on for all economic and social activities. People refer to their homes by telling tell about their attachment, embeddings and their overall lifetime experience.

The most important person for the creation of home in Ethiopia is the mother. Nonetheless, the father has an important role to sustain the home. The family is important for Ethiopians and the creation of the home, sisters and brothers, and also the extended family and relatives are important for the creation of the home and to sustain it. Aisha said: "families in Ethiopia spend a lot of time together, they are closely bound". Home in the Ethiopian understanding also connects house, home and family close to children, and this is the place they should be.

Children are important actors in the creation of home also in Ethiopia; it is not viewed as a good thing for children to roam the street in Ethiopia. However, there is a broad agreement among the people I met in Ethiopia from the directors, social workers and to the people I met on the street; that children in children's homes are luckier than the ones living on the street or are growing up in a low-income family. The view that institutional care should be a last resort is not widely spread in Ethiopia. Institutional care is a favored solution in some cases in front of staying in a low-income family.

6.3 Un-homely homes

Many have emphasised the importance of material space for belonging and identity (Blunt & Dowling 2006; Castree 2003). There are certain dwelling structures and social relations that are imagined to be 'better' and an ideal. This ideal presented in public discourses presents house as home. This is something that Halldèn (2003) also highlights that the house is the key site for belonging and for creating and maintaining intimate social ties and relationships. The family is closely connected to the house that forms a home (Halldèn 2003). Most children's homes have a material structure that differs from the norms of house as home. The social relations differ from growing up in a family. So what's happens to the children that are growing up in a different environment than in a house with a family?

The ideal presented in public discourses presents house as home. To follow this ideal the children's homes should have small units. There was only one children's home that had small units with something like a family living together in a house. Where they were building a family around values of house, home and family.

The aspect that the children were most concerned about was that it was so crowded in the children's homes, and they did not have any privacy. Nuna said she was tired of sharing room with 14 other girls because it was so crowded and she did not feel like she had any privacy. One of the smaller girls I was talking to at Maria's also said that it was crowded there. I really wonder how it was at Maria's in the past when there were 180 children staying there. Now there were only 80, and the children were still complaining.

Home should provide a place of comfort and security for the inhabitants (Blunt & Dowling 2006). However, it is a widely known case that home is not only a place of love and belonging it can also be the place of feelings of fear, violence and alienation (Blunt & Dowling 2006). This is something that is highly relevant for the children growing up in institutions. As emphasised earlier the love, care and sense of belonging are important aspects of deinstitutionalizing of children in the West, where 'attachment theories' which claimed young children needed a close and stable relationship with one adult. This can be argued since in many cultures there are not only one parent (or person) taking care of the children but a group of people, but many studies show that institutional care is insufficient for meeting children's needs (Ansell 2005). However, the long-term consequences of separation and institutionalisation are difficult to establish (Tolfree 1995), so if growing up in an institution and having an institution as your home if that is really a bad thing or not is hard to say. But there are some negative aspects with growing up in an institution and I am now going to present some of them here. The first aspect I want to present is the aspect of violence and abuse.

6.3.1 Space of violence and abuse

As Dowling and Blunt (2006) shows that home can also be the place of abuse and violence, and this can be drawn together with the docile body of Foucault and Goffman, and how to create these docile bodies is punishment a tool. However, the most stressful aspects are the constant fear that staff will punish them. As mentioned earlier punishment from the staff is used as a tool to control the children, and beating a child in Ethiopia is not considered as an illegal act.

However, there is a need of seeing this in a cultural context, and I am highly aware that it is common beating children in Ethiopia when they do not behave properly, and all people I asked about this confirm it. When I was a volunteer I also observed that two of the boys were taken out of class when they did not behave, and they came back crying with swollen eyes.

At Maria's, I observed that one of the 12-years old girls was slapped in the face by one of the staff when she was playing outside with one of the boys. They were playing a game with some sorts of stones and the girl took some of the stones from the boy and he complained to one of the staff and she yelled at them both before she slapped the girl. For me it was hard seeing this but the Ethiopians had warned me against this. They were sure of that beating was the practice in many children's homes, since it is also the practice in many Ethiopian homes.

Another thing that Aisha believes is common but that nobody talks about is sexual abuse. Aisha tells that she was not sexually abused herself, but she tells that it was common and knew other children in the children's home were abused when she was staying there. She is also telling about other friends of hers that have been staying in children's homes in Ethiopia that have experienced the same. She believes that it is so hard doing anything about this because the children are afraid of speaking about it, and they do not know where and how to report the abuses. This is something that is shown in several other studies that Tolfree (1995) refers to; the lack of any internal or external mechanism for facilitating and investigating allegations of child abuse or other violations of children's rights. It is extremely difficult to find evidences about physical, emotional and sexual abuse in children's institutions in the developing world. Even there are a sufficient number of allegations that were encountered to suggest that abuses are far from being isolated occurrences (Tolfree 1995).

Figure 4: The scar on Aisha's hand

One of the most heartbreaking stories I was told during my fieldwork was the one Aisha told about how she got the cut in her hand. And that she was describing the environment inside the

homes as really hard and that there was a lot of violence between children and also between staff and children. She told: "I was in the kitchen and I was really hungry so I tried to get some food in the kitchen. The kitchen lady took the large fork she made food with and hit my hand hard!" Aisha told that the wound was bleeding hard and it hurt a lot, but the staff only took a tape over it. The scar can we still see on her hand today. Aisha continued telling that nobody talks about all the violence inside the children's homes. This shows the disciplinary power of the total institution and how staffs have control over the inmates (Foucault 1977). It also refers to what Stapler and Decker (2009) state that in some total institutions individuals may be punished for relatively small violations and they may not even know what behaviour is punishable

Two of the directors said that they heard rumours about violence and children running away from children's homes. Nevertheless, they did not want to talk about what happened inside their children's homes, and they totally denied that violence was a problem in their children's homes. One of the two directors that were talking about violence said he thought the situation was far worse in the national run children's homes and that the climate was harsher in the larger children's homes. The two directors also agreed on the fact that less staff will lead to more violence because they do not have the control over the situation.

6.3.2 Hard to Adjust

As the director at Maria's told: "The first days they are all strangers but after a couple of days they all play and they fit well together". The ones that have the biggest adjustment problems are the ones that are sick and particularly the ones with HIV. They are often different from the other but they also feel different because they have to take all the medication.

The director of the faith-based children's home also told that the children with HIV/AIDS had the hardest time adjusting since they were different in more than just one way. They were often getting depressed and they needed more care than the other children. She is saying that: "these children understand that they are different because they have to take their medication, and they often ask why they have to take their medication".

The directors told that many children had a hard time adjusting, and many children did not feel at home in the children's homes. Three of the directors I interviewed told stories of children that had a hard time adjusting. At Maria's children's home they told stories about children from different parts of Ethiopia that had a hard time adjusting because they did not speak Amharic and that this was a new culture to them. But the director said: "The first days

they are all strangers but after a couple of days they all play and they fit well together". Another of the directors told that: "the children come from all over Ethiopia, few of them speak Amharic and many of them feel lost when they get here. They do not understand the language, they feel left out, and they are also feeling like outsiders because of their difficult background. Many of the children have a background from the streets and they have been through a hard life of the street with abuse, drugs and other harsh activities. They also feel different because they are HIV-positive and are different, so many of them have a hard time adjusting. Many of them also miss the culture they came from and they are finding the life in the home hard to adjust to".

6.3.3 Limited contact with the outside world

Halldén (2003) states for children's homemaking process is it important for them to have contact with the outside world, making a home from a house is implemented in contact with the outside world. However, the children growing up in children's homes as shown in **Chapter Five** are often precluded from the rest of the world with fences and guards, and rules that restricts their mobility. Not all of the children's homes having the same restrictions and at International the children had access to stay outside the children's home, and at International they also had the most open area around the children's home. They also have trip to Awash during the summer so the children can go outside Addis Ababa.

As Nuna told: "We are not allowed to be outside the home, only when we are going to the school." This shows the restrictions and control at Maria's and how this affects the children and how they are not allowed to spend time with their friends. She continues to tell that they are not allowed to bring friends from outside into the children's home, and they are not allowed to go outside with their friends after school for a coffee or to play in the streets. However, the children at the International can tell that they have contact with their families outside and that they are even visiting them. According to the director this is not happening since all the children in their care are without families, they should not have any living family members left. However, there were so many children telling that they used to visit their families so I believe them in this case. However, as it could seems like a bad thing having contact with their families outside the children's home, I am convinced that this is a god practice and as stated in the MOWA et al. (2010: 15): *"Current procedures within institutions inhibit interaction between children and their families. This results in an increase in the*

likelihood of extended institutionalization and limits possible reunification". The children at International were telling about visits to aunties and cousins with great joy, and as Sinclair and Gibbs (1998) study shows that the children in institutional care wanted more contact with their families outside, and specially their siblings.

6.3.4 Running away from the children's homes

As shown in **Chapter Three** in the theoretical framework, Sinclair and Gibbs (1998) show there are three main reasons why children run away from residential care, the most important is if the person in charge is caring for the children. The other reasons were the strictness of the regime inside the children's home and to what extent the leader and staff agreed on the way the home should be run. Among the children's homes I studied there were clearly a difference in how close the directors were attached to the children, and there especially at two children's homes the connection between children and leader seemed to be very close. At one of this children's homes it would also be very easy to run away so I believe the director here when he says that none of the children are running away from this children's home.

I soon discovered that this was not a subject that the directors wanted to talk about, but I got some responses and two of the directors said that they had none children running away. However, one of the directors said that this was a problem at other children's home, but he said it was not a problem at their children's home. I was not surprised that the directors were not that interested in talking about this matter. The answer I got from the girl that had stayed in a children's home, Aisha, told something different: "Many of the boys ran away to stay on the street, they came from the street and knew how life was out there so they had no fears for running away and staying on the street". She also said that she wanted to run away but: "street lives for girls are tougher than street lives for boys. I did not dared to run away with my sister since we knew nothing about the life on the street. We came from a home and had no clue about the life on the street. I rather wanted to stay in the home than being displaced and in danger of violence and abuse on the street. The option was worse than the children's home, so we did not run away."

6.4 Social relations inside the children's homes

One of the reasons why children run away may be the bad relation to the staff and leader. A place is colonised through the people who use it and give it meaning. In the children's homes the staff and the leader may take the role of the family, but what is depressingly widespread in

the developing World is a model of institutional care that responds only to the physical needs (Ansell 2005; Tolfree 1995). Care staffs are therefore frequently employed as little more than domestic servants, accorded a very low status and pay (Tolfree 1995). I also got the impression that the majority of the staff at all the children's homes were domestic servants, and there were one or none social worker working by the children's homes.

6.4.1 Relations between children and leader

An important factor for children's sense of home and attachment in the children's homes are the relation the children have with the staff and leader (Tolfree 1995). As mentioned earlier the role of the leader is crucial for having a good leading philosophy and also a good dynamic in the children's homes, as Sinclair and Gibbs (1998) shows that the leader needs to have a clear role and have a clear philosophy on how to run the children's home. I think this will show very clear on how the leader acts both among staff and among children. And the relationships between the different groups will show much about how the children's home is run, as mentioned in **Chapter Five**, the leaders had quite different roles at the children's homes I was in contact with. At Peace Children's Home, the leader had no contact with the children. In comparison with the smaller children's homes such as International, Maria's and Family were it was obvious that the leaders were using more of time with the children since they knew the names of the children. They were also joking with them and talking to them in a very informal way. However, it seemed like the leader at the International was the one with the most casual and open attitude together with the children. The children were also calling him father. I will also say that he was the easiest director to interview and easiest being around and think this shows the mentality of the International Children's Home. It was the most open children's home in regard to the children's access to the outside, and the fence they had around the children's home was of the kind you can see through and jump over if you want to. At Maria's, Nuna and the other children said that the leader needed to be strict to have the control over so many children, but they were also saying that she was too strict sometimes. I also got the impression that the leader at Maria's had a formal and strict behaviour.

6.4.2 Staff and children relations

As shown in previously studies (Sinclair and Gibbs 1998) it is not necessary to have as many staff as possible in the children's homes, the staff ration do not have any effect on the order and peace in children's homes. There is still the leader and her/his abilities to communicate

well with staff and children that are the most important aspect of running a well run children's home.

Aisha told there are many of the caretakers at the children's homes that have their favourite children. These children were often the babies and the smallest children, Aisha tells that "there were too few staff there, and they were only taking care of the babies and not the bigger children." She continues to tell that her little sister was really lucky because she was still cute and little when they got into the children's home. Her little sister got a babysitter that watched out for her and took really good care of her. While Aisha only got contact with the staff when she was getting food during meals. As she remember, it was normal that the staff had one favourite kid that they took really good care of, and it was worst for the oldest ones since they often were looked upon as only trouble and they were left on their own. This resulted in many situations of violence between the children when no one was looking after them, and many of the older children felt neglected. Another aspect that gave Aisha a fear was that the staff separated her from her sister, so they could not sleep and stay in the same rooms. The staff separated the children after age, and Aisha remembered that being separated from her sister was the most difficult part of staying inside the children's home. She wanted so badly to stay together with the person she loved and cared for inside the children's home.

What actually can be one of the good things with the children's homes that have less space is that the staff can more easily keep track of the children and have control over them. Such as at Maria's were they only had a small outside area and if the caretaker was sitting at the stairs at the main building you had the full overview over what was happening in the outside area. And I also witnessed a fight here between a girl and a boy that were playing with rocks and one of them were cheating, I could not really tell which one of them but they started fighting over this. Kicking and piling each other, and since the girl was the biggest one she was in the lead, but the boy was screaming for one of the caretakers and she came over and took aside the girl, and told them that she would take the stones if they would not stop fighting and arguing over the stones. The caretaker had to come over several times before the boy and the girl stopped fighting but at the end they stopped and they were all laughing. It seemed like the caretaker had a very close bound to these children in the way she was addressing them and the way she talked to them.

At Maria's children's home the director told that they changed their staff and had to sack staff when they did not get that many children coming there anymore. This will lead to unstable

relationship between staff and children. International had a totally different way of organizing the children and the staff. Here the children had one 'mother' that had the care for 9-10 children, and this will lead to a much more stable relations and this is also closer to the norm of caring in institutions should be so close as possible to the family norm. This group of 9-10 children and their caretaker were living in a house, and the children were all in different age from 0-14 (this depends on how mature they are). Having so big groups for one care-taker was not problematic said the director at this place since, the older children are helping the care-taker with the smaller children, and I got to see this when I was inside one of the houses. The older children were feeding and changing diaper on the baby. Another reason why they have so many children in the same house is because it is not uncommon having 10-12 children in an Ethiopian family. "The Ethiopians look at many children as a blessing because of religion and cultural reasons" said the director at International.

6.4.3 Relations between staff and director

The relations between staff and director will also be crucial, and in the smaller children's homes this relations seems clearer, than in the ones that got 500 of them. Here there are less contact between the leader and each individual (both staff and children). And I can understand why the study of Sinclair and Gibbs (1998) shows that the smaller children's homes in the study turned out to be the ones that took best care of the children, because there are closer social ties between children, staff and leader. As far as I could discover the children wanted to stay in stable social relationships both in regard to the other children and the staff, and have close contact with the staff. Most of the directors agreed that the best for the children is a long term stay in the children's homes with stable relationships, even if many studies show the quite opposite, is that what they said. The director at Maria's said that children in institutions is an evil, but if there is no other options they need to stay here, and she also said that adoption is an evil. Previously they did not have room for all the children coming in there so they need to adopt away some of the children coming there.

6.4.4 Relations between children

After what I observed and got the impression of the children in the children's homes was just as any other child in the world. When I was at the International and was getting a tour by the director I was surprised at how well the children were behaving. I can totally understand that the children were behaving because they had both their care-taker around and the director.

However, when I was a volunteer together with the same children they were behaving in a total different way. They were fighting and yelling at each other. The older girls at International were having a bad habit with hitting each other in the eyes. So the nice dutiful children I met the first time were transferred into fighting children.

Also at Maria's, were I had more time to observe the children when they were playing, I observed that children were fighting. They were behaving just as other children around the world. However, what Aisha could tell out of her experience inside the children's home it was a really hard time. Children were violent against other children. Older children were giving the smaller children a hard time. She remember that this often happened since there were to few care-takers so the children were often left on their own. At this time the older children were always harassing the smaller children.

6.4.5 Adoptions influencing social relations

This consider one of the most problematic features with children's homes that they can not provide a stable home but they are more like transit homes. Many children are not to live in the children's homes for a long time; they are there only for a certain time of life. However, at Child Care they now had children that were not adopted and they had to stay there from they were small. All the children's homes that deal with adoptions can be viewed as transit homes. There are a few children that were not adopted and they stay in the children's homes during their whole childhood.

As told previously, adoption policies and the children's homes dealing with adoption have more unstable relationships for the children, the feeling of never knowing what will happen tomorrow is the worst feeling, and even Aisha who was adopted away to France and have a really good family there which loves her and take care of her, she is still bitter that is was possible for her parents to put her in that situation as they did. Most of the directors and also the children think of adoption as a bad thing but in some circumstances it is necessary. However, one of the directors meant that adoption was a better option than keeping the children in the children's homes. However, two other of the directors said that adopting was really the worst that could happen to the children, "they are taken away from the society they belong to, and often are the children with background in children's homes a resource for the society since they have an education". As he said: "The children should have the opportunity to stay in their own culture. The skilled and educated children are too often taken out of this country."

Also Nuna could tell how adoptions were affecting her life at Maria's: "I do not see any use of having friends anymore since they are always leaving." All the older children have been adopted away the last years so she is the oldest one at this children's home, and she sometimes feel lonely. There is always an uncertainty around who will be next and what will happen tomorrow? This was something that Aisha also remembered from her stay in the children's home, how the uncertainty about the future was always a concern for her and for all the other children inside the children's home. The worst thing for the children in the children's homes is the uncertainty, what will the day tomorrow bring? Is my friend adopted away or is somebody coming to adopt me?

Adoption policies are both decided by the main organisation but there is also a great deal of influence from the government. This might be the factor that affects the social relations inside the children's homes the most.

6.5 Attachment- sense of belonging

It may seem like children's homes is a strongly negative environment for children growing up in, but there are not only negative aspects for children growing up in children's homes. There are also stories of happiness and strong attachment to the children's homes. Dowling and Blunt (2006) state that even un-homely places may be experienced in homely ways.

I heard stories of strong attachment to the children's homes in all the places I visited. However, I am not sure if I believe all of the stories that the directors told.

A story that was told at Child Care children's homes was about a girl that was adopted to the US she missed the children's home so much so she came back for a visit after two months in the US. The director tells: "She really felt at home her, and that she wanted to come back show the strong attachment they have to the place after they have left the home". And the director at this children's home tells that they have informal contact with the adoptive parents, even they are not formally allowed to this through their organisation, but they want to have contact with the children that are being adopted and their parents so they are sure that everything is ok and that they are adjusting well.

Also at International they have a strong connection with the children that are leaving the children's home, they are leaving the village at around fourteen, it all depends on how mature they are. Then they stay in a youth zone with fourteen other girls or boys, but they still have contact with the rest of the children's home. In the youth zone they will be prepared for the

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live outside the children's home, and they are starting to prepare for college and university. They should normally leave the youth zone at the age of 18, but this also depends on how mature they are and they can stay longer if they are not prepared for the outside life. After youth zone they move in to another zone and they still got a lot of support from the International, and even when they have their independent lives and their own wages they are still coming to International for parties and other social gatherings.

A good way of showing how different children can feel towards the children's homes I believe the stories of Nuna and Aisha can approve of. Aisha just wanted to get away from the children's home and did not felt like it was a place at all. Nuna at the other hand wanted to stay at Maria's instead of at her adoptive parents in Austria.

Chapter SEVEN: Limitations and Opportunities

7.0 Introduction

Ansell (2005) states there is a belief that children in institutions are removed from the option of freedom and that the children staying in institutions are socially excluded. In this chapter I will emphasis the limitations and opportunities the children's homes provide for children's agency. I will highlight that this is not a full overview over all opportunities and limitations that can be identified inside the children's homes I studied but they are the ones I have chosen to present here because they seemed like the ones most important to me. However, as Tolfree (1995), shows it has been reassuring to find some institutions in which young people themselves have found ways of shaping and improving their environment, providing some compensation for an otherwise depriving and emotionally sterile existence. I wanted to see how my material speaks to these two different findings, and I was also sure that the picture could not be either black or white so I wanted to discover the different nuances between different children's homes and opportunities the children got. Do children living in children's homes have no freedom and are they excluded from the rest of the society? So I have used this chapter to answer the third objective: What kind of limitations and opportunities do institutions provide children's agency?

As discussed in **Chapter Three**, agency can be understood as the capacity to act either individually or collectively. Agency depends on structures, so I need to see at the whole model I made in **Chapter Three,** both the material structure and social relations that makes up the children's homes, but also the external structures (government, donors, main organization, schools, families) that influence what are happening inside the children's homes. I will start out this chapter with the limitations to children's agency, before I move over to the opportunities these children gets by staying in the children's homes. If children's homes are understood as total institution there certainly will be many limitations to children's agency, but even in total institution there are room for agency. Another crucial element is to view this in the context of Ethiopia and what kind of choices these children have, and what kind of advantages the children have inside the children's homes compared to the children living outside the children's homes. This chapter is in some way a summary of some of the issues discussed in the previous chapters. At the end of the chapter I discuss what are the external structures that influence what are happening inside the children's homes.

7.1 Limitations

Ansell (2005) states that institutionalisation has been accused of operating as a form of social exclusion, unnecessary taken the freedom away from children. Children cared for in institutions may be disadvantaged, first by the difficult situation that led them to being separated from their families; and subsequently by an institutional environment that usually fails to meet all their needs and fails to prepare them for a future life outside the institution (ibid.). As I understand it there will in all structures (children's homes (both internal and external)) there will be limitations, which I understand as restrictions that will give a lack of capacity.

Children's homes may decrease children's options and freedom, by the daily routines and how they are allowed to dress, and where they can go, this may give limits to children's agency. However, the society as a whole is getting more and more institutionalized, from we are small we are put into kindergarten and have to follow rules and daily routines. The difference with children growing up in institutions are that they do not have that many options, they have to stay in the children's homes, and they may have limited access to decide in their own lives and they have to live their lives in a limited space. Even in places like total institutions are there room for agency and hope for children. What was the biggest limitation as I see it and how I got the impression of what the children said was the limited contact with the outside world. However, this was something that differed widely among the different children's homes. Another crucial limitation is all the regulations inside the children's homes that affect the children's ability to do choice on their own in regard to clothing and other daily routines. As mentioned in **Chapter Six**, the feeling of not feeling of home in a children's home is also a very crucial limitation for the children so this is discussed more in depth here.

7.1.1 Limited access to the outside world

Aisha, the girl who had stayed in a children's home for two years, told me that they had no contact with the outside world. They had to stay inside the walls, so they had no contact with friends or their family outside the children's home. They were always inside the children's homes walls during they daytime, Aisha told that they were never left to go outside the walls. There were also restrictions on where they could be inside the children's home.

If they made contact with their family outside they were running the risk of ruining the adoption contract, this would be something that the director and staff would be little pleased about. Aisha told that there were high walls around the children's home and there were guards

there but it was still possible for the children to run away during the night. So she told that they wanted to run away, but since their family did not want to have contact with them they had no place to run, and the thought of living on the street scared her. They knew that if they made contact with their family they would stop the whole adoption process, and everybody would be very angry with them. So Aisha decided that they were going to stay, even if it meant that they were locked inside a small area.

7.1.2 Clothing

In one of the children's homes I was talking to the children and it was very hot in the sun so I took of my sweater. I noticed that all the girls had a lot of clothes on, and I ended up asking one of the girls why she was wearing a thick sweater and a long skirt and if it was hot? She told me that it was hot, but they were not allowed to wear less. They had to wear clothes that covered up their arms and legs. They did not have the opportunity to choose for themselves what they wanted to wear.

7.1.3 Sense of home- institutions as un-homely homes

As mentioned in **Chapter Six** there are limitations in how children feel at home in children's homes, they can be described as un-homely homes. Aisha told about her feelings when she was staying in the children's home. She told that she never felt at home there and she only felt it was a place of problems it was not a real place and no life there and she only wanted to leave the place the whole time.

Nuna also tells that at Maria's children's home it is crowded and they have little privacy. She is sharing room with 14 other girls. As the oldest of the children at Maria's, and with all her friends adopted she sometimes feels lonely. It also seemed like she had a role between the staff and the children, and was given privileges but she did not get any more time outside the children's home because of that. Also the story of Aisha's in **Chapter Six** shows how unstable and hard the environment can be inside the children's homes.

7.1.4 Regulations in the institutions

As mentioned in **Chapter Five** is there many regulations concerning growing up in an institution. These regulations both consider the limitations in space. These regulations also include formal rules and daily schedules that dictate when, where and how residential perform virtually every part of their daily routines. These limitations will give children difficulties in

using their agency. However, there is always room for some agency. Some of the critiques against children's homes are that they have only met the physical needs as Ansell (2005) states. However, pragmatic needs also need to be satisfied.

7.2 Opportunities

I have used the theories of total institution previously for analyzing children's homes, and it can seem that there are no freedom in these structures, but as Long and Foucault shows there are nobody without power and knowledge. However, there will also be opportunities in the structure, something that will give opportunities for the children to use their capacity. So I will show that there are opportunities for the children staying in children's homes, but this needs to be seen in the Ethiopian context, and there are also differences between the different children's homes. The possibilities of the children shows to what advantages they might have in regard to other children growing up in the Ethiopian context. I also want to show what kind of other options there might be for the children, however this is not in the children's power to decide.

7.2.1 Language

In all the children's homes the children have access to education but they also have a great opportunity to learn English. In many homes there are volunteers from outside Ethiopia and this is a great opportunity to learn English. Volunteers also give the children knowledge about the world outside Ethiopia; many of the children have a close relationship to some of the volunteers. The directors at Child Care, International and Maria's were all highlighting having the volunteers there not only for working but also to teach the children language. The director at International told that some of the children were getting really closed attached to the volunteers and that they stayed in contact after the volunteers had left. The volunteers were often sending presents to their favorite children.

In all the children's homes except from at Peace they conducted language classes during holidays. They were also giving extra lessons after school time to prepare their language skills. I was also an English teacher at one of the children's homes for two days. I was surprised at the high level of English the children had.

7.2.2 Education

As mentioned earlier both in **Chapter Two** and **Chapter Five** it is a well-established fact that education is important for children in a development context both for their own sake but also for the society around them. Through education, they can make more informed choices for

their future. All the children growing up in the children's homes I visited had access to education, and the children's homes had done a great effort into giving them an education. In addition to provide them with a primary education five of the children's homes I visited also had other educational programmes to learn the children either arts, language, computer skills or other practical skills to make them ready for their lives outside the children's homes.

At Maria's they struggled to get the children into secondary school, but so far they had managed to get all of them in. They had also math classes for children in the kindergarten, and I was surprised when I saw the level of the tasks they got. They were doing multiplication and these children were four and five years old. The director told that they had to prepare them for school.

The only children's home that had all the children going into schools outside the children's homes area was the International. "This is a great advantage, since the children will have friends outside and they need to adapt to the society outside the children's home at an early stage of life" said the director at International. He hoped that this will make it easier for the children to adapt when they have to move out of the children's home. However, he is also concerned with the level of all the eight different schools they are sending the children to and that they have less control of the level of education the children get access to. They have to run tests on the children to be sure that they are not falling behind and give the ones that struggles with schoolwork extra lessons in the evening.

In three of the institutions the directors mentioned that they have contacts that can provide the children with grants so they can get higher education. Many of the directors and also the social worker working outside, in the pro-poor-project in the kebele close to one of the children's homes, considered the children inside the children's homes to have better opportunities to get an education than many other children in Ethiopia.

7.2.3 Practical skills

Education is important, however, it can be useful to learn other skills that make you ready for the life outside the children's homes. This would prepare them for the life outside the children's homes. The children's homes can, as mentioned in **Chapter Five,** give the children both the ability to do daily routines, and also give them the opportunity to learn other practical skills such as baking, mechanics, gardening and computer skills. In addition to these activities some of the children's homes also have activities where they could use more creative skills,

such as art, drama, sports and other games. All the directors emphasized the importance to prepare the children for their lives after they move out and left the children's homes.

7.2.4 Future

Language, education and practical skills will give the children from the children's homes a good base for their future life. The children's homes also have programs and support for the children when they are growing too old to stay in the children's homes. Most children's homes have a network for the children when they are leaving the home and their care, five of the children's home I visited emphasized that they still had a strong attachment to the children's home after they had left. I do not know if this is something that is similar to all children's homes in Ethiopia that they still are in touch with the children's homes. The directors at the children's homes that were in touch with the children after they had moved out said that many of the children were dealing well on their own, however, there were also many that had problems adjusting to a life on their own. Two of the children's homes were emphasizing that they were working hard to get the children scholarships abroad. They also have the opportunities to get grants with help from the children's homes.

The two opportunities Nuna has is either to stay in Addis and find a job or getting a scholarship and go outside to Europe for school. The leaders at Maria's children's home are trying to get her a grant in Germany for nursing school and it sounded as she wanted to go there. Although she sounded a little sad that she had to leave the home, but she did not really want to stay in Addis and work. She wanted an education, so she could get a good job when she was returning back to Ethiopia. This shows that she had the option to choose what she wanted to do about her future.

7.3 What other options do the children have?

As stated earlier long-term institutional stay is not regarded as a good solution for children, but what options do they have? The only option the children can decide for themselves is running away from the children's home, and stay on the street. This is the real option as stated by Aisha. The other options are not really all up to the children to decide they do not have the power to decide that. So there will be children that are stuck in the structures that are made by adults.

7.3.1 Option: Living on the street

This is for the children staying in children's homes the only option they really have if they are going to decide for themselves and use the opportunities they have. This is the only way for

the children to use their capacity and knowledge to make a choice on their own. However, the children staying on the street and beg appear to all intents and purposes as criminals, risky and gone 'outside childhood'. They might also be regarded as helpless and vulnerable victims separated from their families, orphaned or abounded (Abebe 2008). The historical roots of begging are very ambivalent and controversial, although the practical of almsgiving supported by religious teaching and beliefs has always been found in Ethiopia. Giving alms to the needy is a customary practice in Orthodox Christianity as well as in one of the five pillars of Islam (Abebe 2008). In this context, according to Abebe (2008) street children do not view their lives as bleak and negative as it might appear.

In Ethiopia according to the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs (MoLSA) there are between 150-200,000 street children in the country, and with a further one million at risk for streets. However, the estimates from UNICEF and other involved NGOs estimate that there are between 500-700,000 children on the street nationally, and the numbers are rising because of drought, displacement and HIV/AIDS (UNICEF 2005). In Addis Ababa, the government is estimating that there are between 50,000 to 60,000 street children. UNICEF (2005) estimates that the number is three times as high as the government's estimates, stating that 150,000 children are working and living in the streets with no care and support. In their estimates 45,000 children earn their living in the streets and go home to their families (UNICEF 2005).

As mentioned in **Chapter Six,** Aisha was telling that she and her sister were thinking about running away but the life on the street for two girls scared her away from doing this. She knew nothing about the street life and this scared her away from running away, even they were thinking about running away many times. She also knew that street life is tougher for girls than for boys, so instead of being put in danger of violence and abuse they decided to stay in the children's home which she viewed as the safest option. She could tell that many of the boys staying in the children's home ran away but they came from the street and knew how life was out there so they had no fears of running away and stay on the streets. The thought of living on the street for the ones that came from a home was scary and also the thoughts about abuse and violence scared them away from the street and from running away.

Many of the street children in Ethiopia are faced with extremely harsh conditions, and especially the girls, they are often met with sexual abuse by adults, rape, unwanted pregnancy and early motherhood, sometimes as young as 12. These girls will most likely end up as child

prostitutes or street mothers, it is estimated that there are 10,000 street mothers in Addis Ababa (UNICEF 2005).

7.3.2 Option: Adoption

This is an alternative that the children have little influence over themselves. As mentioned earlier there have been a lot of debates around adoption in Ethiopia, many have argued that the adoption policies are to liberal, and there are many unserious agencies in this business and there are many tragic consequences because of that.

International has totally forbidden adoption in their organization, they consider adoption as a very bad thing and they do not like those children are taken away from their societies and their country. He highlights that many of the children that are growing up in children's homes get an education and are good contributors to their societies they should remain in their home country. The skilled children and youths are too often leaving or taken away from Ethiopia. He states that the children should have the opportunity to stay in their own culture.

7.3.3 Option: Staying with their poor family

This is the solution that the Ethiopian government wants for the children, they want the extended families to take care of them. However, in many cases the children do not have any extended family or in some cases the extended family is poor and is already responsible for many people. As I could understand after speaking to all the directors the children coming into the children's homes should have lost both their parents. The policy that both their parents should be dead and now they even need to show a death certificate to come into the children's homes, however, the rules are not always followed and as the example with Aisha There are still parents who are putting their children into institutions because they do not feel they can afford to have them and they hope that they are getting adopted away to the Western world. Aisha was telling that she thought the best option was to live with a family, but if the family was really poor she was not sure if this was the best option. And adoption could in some cases be better than staying with a poor family and have no option for the future.

7.3.4 Pro-poor projects

I had a very informative meeting with a taxi-driver that turned out to be a social worker in a pro-poor project in the area by one of the children's homes. He could tell that the Ethiopians view the children that stay in the institutions as lucky since the option is so horrible. He was then referring to the hard situation for children living on the street but he also was talking a lot about the situation for children living in really poor families that have no resource to send

their children to school. They also have lack of food and other necessities, which the organization he worked for could provide for 236 children in this Kebele. The social worker could tell that there were many other children that wanted to be included in this project but they did not have room and resources for more children in this project right now. He then told that: "The ones in the homes are lucky, they have better access to financial support and education. And they also have better financial support later in life". This shows that there are many pro-poor projects for children, and they are helping many children but these social workers shows what attitudes the Ethiopians to children in institutions and this shows that children's institutions can be viewed as something positive as well. There is common to view children in institutions only as an evil (Tolfree 1995; Ansell 2005; Save the Children 2009), but I believe it is important to see this in the context of the situation in Ethiopia and what other options the children have.

7.4 External factors affecting what happens inside the children's homes

The children's homes are also influenced from the outside; there are external power structures that influence what is happening inside the children's homes. The children's home as an institution is part of a bigger structure that includes the government, donors, the main organization, families, friends and schools. However, in the context of Ethiopia there is a need to consider this in the context of poverty, the factor of poverty may affect children's childhood in a profound way. Children that live in poverty and that are denied access to basic needs like proper food; shelter, sanitation facilities and education are denied access to their childhood (UNICEF 2006).

7.4.1 Main Organisation

Among the children's homes I studied the main organisation, the organisations behind the children's homes. They had different roles in the running of the children's homes and different levels of influencing. Two of the children's homes were run more or less as independent organisations with little influence from outside. Some of the children's homes had a very close contact with the main organisation and they were influencing many aspects of the daily running. One of the children's homes that said that the main organisation influenced almost all of the aspects inside the children's home and how it should be run.

7.4.2 Government

All the children's homes I was in touch with had a close contact with the government and they were giving reports and information back to the government. In this way I assume that

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the government use this information to come up with solutions and policies that are influenced by the information and reports they get from the children's homes. The government is watching the children's homes more closely after all the focus on trafficking and illegal adoption out of Ethiopia.

The government is the most powerful component in this whole structure as shown with the policies that are affecting Maria's that they are not getting anymore children into the children's home because the government have changed their policies. This is affecting the daily running how there is less and less children there and also that they have to sack staff, and this is really sad said the director since they are trying to hire poor people from the shanty town around the children's home to work there but no when they have less children there they have no jobs for them anymore. The director at Maria's was really worried about the situation that they did not get any children coming there anymore, and that she was worried if they had to close down the whole children's homes, she also told that she knew about many children's homes which had to close down because of controls by the government and the reason why most of them had to close down were because of adoption policies and that they had not followed the rules according to adoption laws.

Also the government and the departments have another crucial role in all this by deciding which children are going where. They decide if the children are in a situation were it should be given to a children's home, or if the child have a family that can take care of it. In recent years there have been stronger control with the children that are going to children's homes and the government is trying to keep the children in their extended families. But as the directors at International and Family are emphasizing this is not always the best solution since the extended families are poor and have already to many people to take care of.

7.4.3 Community

I got the impression that all the children's homes I studied were of great importance to their neighbourhoods. Children from outside were both allowed to come inside there during daytime and attend to either kindergarten or school; this was the practice at Maria's, Family, Child Care and Peace. At Maria's and Child Care they also provided poor children form outside the children's home with food, medicine and clothes. These children were living with their families but the parents were so poor that they could not afford these necessities. Even there have been showed previously that most of the children have limited access to be outside

the fences of the children's homes, the children at International told that they were visiting friends and families outside. So what is happening outside the fences is also important for the children, and as shown previously many of the children were going outside for school.

At Family they also had an educational program for poor mothers in the neighbourhood, and the children could stay in the kindergarten inside the children's home. The children could also stay there if the mothers got themselves jobs after the education program. The close relation between the neighbourhood and Family I observed when I was walking around with the director around the children's home. Everybody was greeting him and small talking to everybody, and he told me stories about the neighbours. So in this instance the children's home seems to be so much more than just a children's home, it is also vital for the community around.

7.5 Children's Agency

As Staples and Decker (2009) shows; those confined in an institution do often experience a loss agency. As shown there are restrictions to the children living in children's homes, and some of the children's homes can be categorised close to total institution, but understanding agency in the same way as power, as a capacity to act, and how agency depends on power. Everyone have agency and power, but it is not equally disturbed and not everyone has the same access to power. Children in children's homes in Addis Ababa might have little space to act as competent social actors and actively contribute and influence their own lives compared to children growing up in the global north. The new social studies of childhood insist that children are active beings whose agency is important in the creation of their own worlds (Holloway and Valentine 2000). However, there are many limiting structural factors that constraint the children in children's homes in Addis Ababa to have the same opportunities to create their own lives worlds and actively use their agency as children in Global North. As mentioned previously there are of no use comparing children in children's homes to closely with the model of childhood constructed through CRC. There is more relevant to study how the children growing up in children's homes have different limitations and possibilities compared to children growing up outside the children's homes in the same country.

Nuna's stories consider that there are opportunities for children in a vulnerable situation to be heard. She wanted to go back to the children's home after she got adopted to Austria together with her sister. Even if she says that it is crowded and little room for privacy at the children's home she rather wanted to go back there than staying with her new family in Austria together

with her sister. The children's home is her home, and she belongs together with the people there, even if it means that she has lost her friends to adoption.

There are some questions that are coming to the surface when dealing with cases as Nuna's and that was not the only one, there several stories at Maria's of children that did not want to leave and also at International they had children that did not want to leave the children's home. Is it a good or bad sign that some children wants to stay there after they should have left because they are growing too old? Do they get too attach to the place and do they not prepare them good enough for what the outside world is like? Or is this a sign that the children are having a good time inside the children's homes and do not want to leave?

MOWA et al. (2010) states that children that have left institutional care frequently feel they do not have the necessary skills to cope with life outside of the institution. However, I believe that there are huge differences between the different children's homes, and also that all children have a different experience of staying in children's homes.

The huge focus of giving the children a brighter future and teaching them skills that may give them a job, and to give them an education makes the children in children's homes a better option than it might seem at first glance. The children in the children's homes are often given a better start on life than the ones that lives on the street and the ones that lives in a really poor family. This is the general view among Ethiopians that children growing up in institutions are lucky compared with other children growing up in the country. Their hopes and their future look a lot brighter than the future of many other children in Ethiopia. As the social worker, that worked in a pro-poor project in the neighbourhood of one the children's homes, said the children in children's home have access to more food than the children growing up outside in low-income families. The social worker said that access to education is crucial for having a future in Ethiopia and the children growing up in children's homes often have better opportunities for getting an education. Children from low-income families have often no chance to get into school since their parents can not pay for their school-fees and they have to work so the family can survive this was something told by both directors and the social workers.

Chapter EIGHT: Summary, Conclusion and Recommendations

8.0 Introduction

This chapter summarises and focuses on the key findings of a given key objective of the study. There should be no doubt about the relevance of the topic. Children are important and they are the future. Children got an increasingly importance in Development Studies. Children in institutions have often been forgotten. The acknowledgement of that children in institutions are only a last resort have spread across the world in recent years. There is no wish to have children in institutions. It is a vulnerable topic and often surrounded with negative connation. For some children there are only one solution and that is growing up in an institution. I have through my study highlighted topics that are important and need further research.

Conclusions are drawn, recommendations cited and the implications of the study for future research are suggested.

8.1 Organizing of children's homes

Objective A: *How are children's institutions in Addis Ababa organized?*

Since I have used theory of total institution to study how children's homes are built-up and organized. I will as conclusions say that some features of the total institution are similar to the children's homes, the control of time and space is crucial. How the children's homes have fences and guards to control where the children are moving around are similar to total institution. Crucial aspects of total institutions are control of time and space. It might appear that the children's homes have a strong influence on the children's lives but many of the solutions have to be this way because of pragmatic reasons.

There is a need of having daily routines, and also all people in the society have routines, norms and rules they follow everyday. Children outside children's homes also have to learn how to make their beds and clean up after themselves. However, there is a higher level of control and discipline inside the children's homes, since both the material structure and the social relations inside the children's homes reflect the structure of the society but there are certain rules and practices that are reinforced inside the children's homes. The material structures of the children's homes are constraining the children with features similar to the total institution. These are the size of the children's homes, fences and guards. The most important aspect at the children's homes that makes them similar to total institution is the separation from the world outside and how the children at many of the children's homes have

limited access to the outside. This separation is maintained through fences and guards. However, there are large differences in what kind of fences and the numbers of watchmen at the different children's homes. Another mean of control can be the fact that the children rarely have the chance to speak their mother tongue. They have to give up on their mother tongue since the official language in the children's homes is Amharic.

All the children's homes in this study can provide the children with education. The directors also emphasised what activities they had in addition to education. Teaching the children practical skills to prepare them for life outside the children's homes. Two of the children's homes also had more creative activities for the children.

The best alternative to organize children's homes as a material structure and social relations seems to be the one they had at the International children's home. Smaller units with one fixed caretaker located in a small house, with a less institutional look. This was also the children's home were the children seemed to be spending most time outside the fences, they were all going to schools outside the children's home area, and they were also saying that they were visiting family and friends outside. However, this was something the director denied but he emphasised other activities that the children were doing outside the area of the children's home.

8.3 Making a 'home'
How are children's institutions in Addis Ababa creating a 'home' for children?

The children's homes in this study try in different ways to make the children feel at home. As emphasised in **Chapter Five** the children's homes in this study are including the children into the daily running with giving them tasks, and they are also providing them with different activities. They are doing all this to create a home for children. Nevertheless, children's homes are often considered to be 'un-homely', because of incidents and stories of violence and abuse. Other aspects are such as; the size, the place is crowded, hard to adjust, and limited contact with the outside world makes children's homes to be considered as 'un-homely homes'. Some children end up running away from the harsh environment inside the children's homes. The social relations between children, leader and staff is important for the children's feeling of home in the children's homes. Adoptions also have a huge impact on the social relations inside the children's homes, and making the social ties less stable. Nevertheless,

there are not only negative aspects and stories coming from the children's homes there are also stories of attachment and belonging and the more positive aspects of living in children's homes.

However, there are more of the negative aspects and there is a common understanding of viewing children's institutions as 'un-homely' homes. That children's homes often have an institutional look makes it less as a home, another factor is the connection with a family. Children growing up in an institution, and not being adopted or staying in an institution that do not deal with adoption, will be growing up without a family. Another element that makes the children's institutions viewed as little 'homely' is the fact that the children are often segregated into staying with only children on their own age, as with Aisha's story and how she and her sister where separated because they were not the same age. Another crucial element is the notion of having a home as a place to come back to, children moving out of children's homes can not simply come back there, and the fact that some of the children's homes are just transit homes for the children waiting to be adopted. They do not provide stable social relationships for the children, losing their friends to adoption and many staff.

8.4 Limitations and opportunities provided by the children's homes
C: What kind of limitations and opportunities do children's institutions provide for children's agency?

I have through **Chapter Seven** introduced limitations and opportunities I have discovered during my study of the children's homes in Addis Ababa. There are limitations to the lives of children in children's homes but it is important to remember that some of these restrictions are there because of pragmatic reasons. What I find as the most limiting factor is that they are not allowed to visit their families and friends outside the fences of the children's homes. I think the strict policies are harming the children. Nevertheless, this policy need to be seen in the Ethiopian context, and as I discovered the children's homes had a policy that the parents should be dead before the children could come into the children's homes. The Save the Children (p. vii. 2009) report states that most orphans in children's homes are not in fact orphans. *"At least four out of five children in institutional care have one or both parents alive."* This is confirmed by the story of Aisha and her sister, and also other heartbreaking stories is told by among others, Africa Correspondent Andrew Geoghegan (2009) in the documentary at ABC News. So even if there is a law in Ethiopia that children with parents should not stay in institutional care is it so hard for the system to control that and there is money to earn for both poor parents and eager adoption agencies that operates in the grey-

zone that they are running the risk of getting children with parents into the children's homes. This is also known as harvesting.

The government try to prevent children institutionalizing and also all the illegal adoptions taking place in Ethiopia. The favoured solution for orphans are staying with the extended family, but this is not possible at all times. Also in Ethiopia there is a growing awareness that children should not grow up in institutions, however, compared to the options institutions is often seen as a favored option. As mentioned earlier children in children's homes is viewed as an evil and as both CRC and save the children states institutional care is an arrangement of last resort. Through my study I discovered that many Ethiopians viewed children in institutions as lucky and better off than the children growing up in a poor family outside. The children inside the children's homes have access to basic needs and education. In that matter I will comment on my sample, it is not representative for all children's homes in Ethiopia since there was a certain category of children's homes I got access to. I believe that the children's homes I have in my study are of the better ones in Ethiopia. Therefore I believe that the standards of other children's homes in Ethiopia are not that good.

As shown there will always be social relations, material structures and external structures that affects the daily life of children in the children's homes. There are power structures both within and outside that influence the daily life of the children. It might be easy to think that the institution is a unit on it's own, but there will always be factors outside that is important for how the children's homes are organized. The donors are crucial for keeping the structure with money. The government is feeding the institution with laws and policies, both for the main organization and for the children's homes. The main organization is keeping the whole institution together; this can be a faith-based organization, International NGO or a local NGO.

If there are some factors that are influencing the government and the main organisation there may by the CRC, because many of main organisations are build upon the principles of the CRC and the Ethiopian government has ratified the CRC so they have to follow these principles. The only children's home that mentioned the CRC was the International.

8.5 Recommendations
There is limited research on children in institutions, and there is a need for further exploration of the situation for children in institutions generally and children in institutions in Ethiopia.

There is also a need for further exploration of other care options for children in especially difficult circumstances (CEDC).

It should be clear that an effort to improve the quality of institutional care is an important beginning point. There is also a need of developing and scaling up of family-based alternatives such as family preservation or reunification, kinship care, temporary foster care, and domestic adoption (MOWA et al. 2010).

There is a broad agreement that children should not stay in long-term institutional care, and there is a need to ensure that the ones staying in long-term care get the best possible treatment and care. However, some of the directors had a positive perception of institutional care, and they were sure there were no other good options for unaccompanied children in Addis Ababa at the moment. The children's homes that had other facilities for children staying with their families believed that this was the best option.

The study revealed that there is difficult gaining access to children's homes in Addis Ababa. However, I understand that they do not want to share information, but I was obviously not the first one to have problems with getting research access into the children's homes in Ethiopia. The International Children's Home was more open than the others so it can be that they want to share information and to open up for more awareness about the situation for children in Ethiopia. There is a need for further qualitative research inside children's homes in Addis Ababa. The children's voices are still largely missing.

As the MOWA et al. (2010) shows current procedures within institutions inhibit interaction between children and their families. This results in an increase in the likelihood of extended institutionalizing and limits possible reunification. At all the children's homes the children had restrictions to interaction with their families. However, at the International the children told that they had contact with their families outside and that they were spending time with them. In contrast to what the director told, that the children did not have any contact with their families outside. I believe what the children told at International since there were so many of the children telling the same.

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Appendix 1: Interview guide for Directors

How is the children's home organized?

      When did it open?

      How many children? How do you organize the children? In smaller units?

      How many staff? (What kind of staff?)

      What kind of facilities?

How is a ordinary day here?

      Activities?

      How do the children take part in the running of the children's home?

      Do the children spend time outside the children's home?

What is the main reason why the children come here?

      At what age do most children come here?

How do the children come here?

What kind of background do the children have? Do they come from different parts of Ethiopia?

      And how are they adjusting to their stay here?

      If they are coming from different parts of Ethiopia:

      How is this influencing their adjustment to stay here?

How long are the children staying here?

      And what are happening to them after they have left?

      Do they have any contact with the children's home after they have left?

Do you have a formal registration?

      Do you have any contact with the authorities?

      How is this influencing the running of the children's home?

How is the children's home funded?

      Where does the funding come from?

      Have the donors/sponsors had any influence on the running of the place?

Do you deal with adoption?

What is the aim for running this place?

      Is it an aim to make the kids feel at home?

What kind of attachment do kids continue to have to the orphanage after they have left?

How is it looked upon for children in Ethiopia to stay in an institution/children's home?

What is the children's options if they are not staying in an institution/children's home?

(What is the advantages for the children staying in an orphanage?)

(Are there many children running away?) Are there any episodes of violence and abuse here?

(Why do some children run away from the orphanages?)

(Do they have any contact with their friends/families outside the orphanage?)

What is seen as the main problem for children in Addis Ababa?

What are they most in need of?

Where do the children see themselves in the future?

Appendix 2: Interview Guide Social Worker
How is the project organized?

Where are the funders from?

How many children are you helping?

What are you helping them with?

Is it expensive going to school here?

Are there many children that not go to school? And why?

How is the situation for Ethiopian children?

How is it considered for children staying in children's homes in Ethiopia?

Appendix 3: Interview Guide Children
How old are you?

How long have you been staying here?

What are you doing during the day?

Do you go to school? Where?

What are you doing during the holiday?

Are you spending a lot of time outside the walls? Do you have friends outside the walls? Are you spending a lot of time with them?

Do you like it here? Feel at home? Are they treating you nice?

How many are you sharing bedroom with? Roommates?

What would you like to do in the future?

Are you going to stay in touch with the children's home?