LIVELIHOODS AND SURVIVAL STRATEGIES AMONG MIGRANT CHILDREN IN ADDIS ABABA

By

GIRMACHEW ADUGNA

Master of Philosophy in Development Studies

Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU)

Faculty of Social Sciences and Technology Management

Department of Geography

Trondheim

Norway

July 2006

NTNU

A special Dedication

To

The loving memory of my father, Adugna Zewdu

Never did I see him unkind…

Never forgotten and always loved

And also

for

Children who live and work on the streets of Addis and elsewhere in Ethiopia

Abstract

This study attempts to explore the livelihoods and survival strategies of migrant children who live on the street or make a living on street based activities in Addis Ababa. It also depicts and analyses the forces behind children's migration, their encounters and experiences while attempting to cope with the new environment.

Structuration theory and livelihood approach were employed as a theoretical framework to address the research problem. Children form a part of the structure of the society, and as actors are struggling to adjust themselves to livelihood constraints. These theoretical frameworks helped to make a more realistic understanding of factors that shape the lives of street children within their society and of how they cope with and/or survive. On the other hand, research with street children can further our understanding or significantly contributes to theories of agency and competency and of risk and resilience. Giddens' structuration is ontological in its orientation and focuses on theorizing human agency which in turn calls for in depth understanding of the lived experience of individuals. To better understand children and portray their everyday street life, various qualitative data collection methods: participant observation, key informant in-depth interview, focused group discussions have been employed. Giddens' sees qualitative and quantitative methods as complementary rather than antagonistic aspects of social research. To this end, this study carried out a survey with a sample of fifty street children in four core areas of the city.

Although the problem of street children is understood as an urban phenomenon, the factors exacerbating the problem have their origin in the rural villages. This study confirms that determinants of rural children's migration to Addis are not dominated by a single factor but caused by a combination of multiple interrelated factors. Chronic livelihood poverty in rural areas of the country which traditionally relied upon subsistence farming, in general, leads children to move to cities to find economic niches in the low paid informal sectors of urban areas. Once in the city, they have to struggle to survive, develop and integrate into the urban environment. As individual case studies implied, children who live on the street do not form a homogenous category. Nor do they earn their living similarly. Rather they adopt a range of survival strategies to confront the challenges of urban street life.

Street children draw diverse forms of assets or resources in the process of earning their livelihoods. Labor is the most important asset which helps street children either to generate income directly through wage employment or indirectly through the production of goods and services which are sold in the informal market. Street children engaged in legal, semi legal and/or illegal activities in order to earn income. Street children often do not have fixed carriers and they usually jump over opportunities often favoring the most rewarding in a particular time. Their livelihood depends on the efforts of a combination of portfolios of activities. Street children interact with each other through multiple networks and over the range of issues and concerns that constitute social life. Although they are economically disadvantaged; they have supportive social networks which act as a buffer against vulnerability, shocks and livelihood constraints. The informal networks support children socially, morally, economically and remain resilient feature in their street life. As survival requires grouping, their relations and way of life is characterized by hierarchies and power relations. The informal network established by street children extends to non-street social actors. In these interactions street children attempt to draw benefits and at the same time want to establish trust.

Acknowledgements

Contents

Chapter one

Chapter two

Chapter Eight

List of figures

List of pictures

List of tables

List of Abbreviations

AAU	Addis Ababa University
ADLI	Agricultural Development Led Industrialization
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
AU	African Union
CARE	One of the largest International relief & development organizations
CMR	Child Mortality Rate
CSA	Central Statistical Authority
DFID	Department for International Development (UK)
DHS	Demographic Health Survey
ECA	Economic Commission for Africa
EEA	Ethiopian Economic Association
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
FSCE	Forum for Street Children Ethiopia
FSS	Forum for Social Studies
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HIV	Human Immune Virus
IDS	Institute of Development Studies
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
ILO	International Labor Organization
MEDAC	Ministry of Economic Development and Cooperation
MOFED	Minstry of Finance and Economic Development
MOH	Minstrry of Health
MOLSA	Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs (Ethiopia)
NBE	National Bank of Ethiopia

NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
NTNU	Norwegian University of Science and Technology (Trondheim)
PLWHA	People Living With Hiv/Aids
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Programmes
STD	Sexually Transmitted Disease
TFR	Total Fertility Rate
UN	United Nations
UNAIDS	United Nations Program for Aids
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund

Chapter one

1. Introduction

1.1. Background

The phenomenon of street children has long existed in many regions. According to UNICEF estimates, 100 million children live and work on the streets of large cities world wide (UNICEF 1994). The vast majority of these children, however, works and lives in large urban areas of the developing world. For example, 40 million in Latin America, 25-30 million in Asia, and 10 million in Africa. They are mainly boys, but the number of girls is increasing.

The plight of street children is the result of social change of varying degrees, changes which destabilize life or disintegrate the family and the community. According to UNICEF (2002), war, poverty, natural disasters, family disintegration, AIDS and violence are the major reasons why children live and work on the streets. Most indicators confirm that street children have been disadvantaged in the realm of economic and social development (UNICEF 2000). Africa is witnessing rapid and wide range of socio-economic and political changes. Globalization process and the introduction of Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs), for example, are changing the very fabric of African society. One of the negative consequences of these changes is the emergence of large numbers of children on the streets (Kopaka 2000).

As in many African countries, the scale of the problem of street children in Ethiopia has reached unprecedented levels. Forum on street children –Ethiopia (FSCE) conducted a study on the situation of street children in Ethiopia and found that the problem is growing in all towns, especially in Addis Ababa. Addis with a population with over 3 millions inhabitants and among them many disadvantaged social groups including street children. In Ethiopia, poverty incidence is higher in the rural settings (47%) than urban areas (37%) (Degefa 2005; MEDAC 2002). Although the problem of street children is understood as an urban phenomenon, many of these children have rural origin. Chronic livelihood poverty in rural areas of the country which traditionally relied upon subsistence farming, in general, leads children to move to the city streets in search of better livelihood.

As in many parts of the developing world, the urbanization process is biased towards Addis, the capital city. Similarly, the survey results of FSCE showed that the majority of street children in Addis came from rural areas (FSCE 2003). Once in the city, migrant children have

to struggle to survive, cope and integrate into the new environment. Children in alien environment are without adequate resources, and the majority will be forced to enter some sort of casual labor, self-employment mainly takes place on the street. Thus, this research is primarily designed to understand the survival and livelihood strategies among migrant children who live on the street or earn a livelihood through street based activities.

1.2. Statement of the problem

Ethiopia is one of the least developed countries of the world, with more than half of its population living below poverty line. Poverty is not only pervasive but also age and gender biased. Children face complex and interwoven socio-economic problems and remain among the most vulnerable groups of the population. They usually do not have appropriate relationship with what we call institutions of childhood such as family, school, health, etc.

Any one who walks on the streets of Addis can not fail to see street children. According to Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs (MOLSA) (2002), there are approximately 150,000 street children in Ethiopia, of which 60,000 reside in Addis. However, UNICEF estimates that the problem may be far more serious, with nearly 600,000 street children countrywide and over 100,000 in Addis. It could however, be assumed that the number could be even higher than these estimates given the influx of migrants and displaced people into the main urban centers of the country after the change of government and the recurring drought (FSCE 2003). Similarly, Child Hope, an NGO working with street children, claimed that about 500,000 rural children are not in school and living in extreme poverty, creating the potential for thousands more children to head to the cities and onto the street (ibid).

Although the problem of street children is understood as an urban phenomenon, the factors exacerbating the problem are originated, by and large, in the rural villages. Rural children's migration to Addis are not dominated by a single factor but caused by a combination of multiple interrelated factors. It is usually in response to the deterioration of the living conditions in rural villages. Most of these children are driven to the street in order to improve their lives and that of their families. For many of them, the perceptions that larger towns offer greater economic opportunities make the street a more attractive alternative than a poverty-stricken rural household (Kopaka 2001). In spite of this, the life waiting in the city is often difficult. They often lack the access to basic necessities from family, society, as well as from

government and NGOs. They often do not have education and basic skills necessary to deal with the risk factors and cope with adversity.

The intention with this study is to assess the causes, processes and patterns of children's migration to the city and how they survive and meet their daily needs, develop and integrate into the urban environment. By doing fieldwork among street children, my aim is to explore their daily lived experiences, such as the informal networks established among them and between them and other social groups, both from the city and, from the rural areas. In this study, I will focus on street children, under the age of eighteen who live on the street or earn a living through street based activities in Addis. My sample consists of street children who come from the rural villages, who in different ways earn a living from the street, and who do not have regular relationship with families, guardians, and/or institutions. The study doesn't include children who are living on the street with one or both of their parents which are usually referred to as 'street families' and sometimes as second generation street children ((FSCE 2003; Hatloy &Huser 2005).

Due to the fact that Addis is big and the study confines itself to four core areas of the city namely; Arat Kilo- Piazza (busy shopping area), Mercato-Gojjam Berenda (largest open market and bus station) and Stadium-Legar (railway station) and Betel (new residential area in the outskirts) where many of these children hang around in order to make a livelihoods. These areas will give an opportunity to understand what it is like to live and work in these settings.

1.3. Objectives of the study

The general objective of the study is to uncover the livelihoods and survival strategies of migrant children in Addis. It also depicts and analyses the forces behind children's migration, their encounters and experiences while attempting to cope with the new environment.

I will address the following specific objectives:

- Examine the causes and processes of migration to the city and migrants' household and family background.

- Understand general knowledge about and insight in how they manage to cope and/or adapt with life challenges in Addis Ababa

- Examine the social relations and network developed between and among street children and what kind of supports these relationships offers?

- Examine the relationship between street children, the rural folk and other segments of the urban population.

1.4. Research questions

Based on the stated objectives the study will address the following research questions:

- Why do rural children migrate to the city?

- What are the livelihood resources and survival strategies enabling rural children to cope with urban life?

- What kind of relationship exists among street children?

- What kind of relations do they establish with rural folks and other social groups of the city?

1.5. Significance of the study:

The number of children who moved to city streets to make a livelihood has been rising in the past few decades. Despite this, little is known about the full extent of the problem. During the fieldwork I have observed that the concerned government and non-governmental departments lack comprehensive data about children in general and street children in particular. Since there is scant studies made so far on street children (with rural origin) this thesis hopefully will fill the gap of knowledge in this particular area. The available researches on street children are shallow quantitative summaries which don't focus on children's own experiences and perspectives of life at the street. It is important to get knowledge about the reasons why the decided to migrate to the city, how they experienced their first meeting with and stay in the street, and how they managed to survive .The thesis will hopefully enable to understand the range of livelihood activities that street children draw upon and of the strategies employed in their attempts to survive and establish a life in the city. This sort of research represents a source of knowledge for policy makers about the root causes of children's migration and the interplay of rural poverty and streetism. It also informs about street children's agency, competence and adaptability to the changing socio-economic environment. It also attempts to identify a gap of knowledge and throws a challenge for future research.

1.6. Definitions of basic terms and concepts

Street children: who are they?

To examine the variety of socioeconomic and political conditions behind the increase in street children, it is first necessary to know who they are and how they came to live on the streets (Marquez, 1999). The term 'street children' is highly debated in the literature. The United Nations defines street children as 'boys and girls for whom the 'street' become their homes and/or source of livelihood, and who are inadequately protected or supervised by responsible adults' (UN 2002; see also Glauser 1990 in Hetch 1998). Recognizing that the term street children is merely a collective label, UNICEF(1996) have developed a typology which acknowledges that there are different types of street children and differentiate between them according to their degree of involvement in street life and family contact. These include:

● Children on the Street: This category comprises children working on the street but maintaining more or less regular ties with their families. Their focus is home to which they return at the end of the day and have a sense of belonging to the local community.

● Children of the Street: Children in this category maintain only tenuous relations with their families, visiting them only occasionally. They see the street as their home where they seek shelter, food and companionship. Some times this group of children defined as 'hard core' street children, or children who live and habitually sleep in the street.

● Abandoned Children: Children in this category are also children of the street but are differentiated from that category (category 'b' above) by the fact that they have cut off all ties with their biological families and are completely on their own. They have no home to go either because of the death of, or rejection by, their parents and the unavailability or rejection of their extended family.

 In addition to abandoned children, children at high risk and children of street families are added into the literature debate. Children at high risk are children living in absolute poverty in households that are not able to satisfy their basic human needs. These children often spend a considerable time in the streets and are at high risk for becoming street children, are thus similar to children on the street. Children of street families are children who are living on the streets with one or both of their parents. They are either born on the streets or they have moved to the streets with their family (Hatloy &Huser 2005).

In his study of at risk children in social change in Ethiopia, Tatek (2002) identified four broad kinds of 'at risk children' on the basis of their degree of poverty (Aptekar 1994), decreasing bond with their family (Veale 1992), successively growing time in public space and the likely increasing deviant behavior of some of the children (Aptekar & Abebe 1997). These are, in a descending order of their size: children under difficult circumstances, children 'on' the street, (working street children), children 'of' the street ('real' street children) and deviant children.
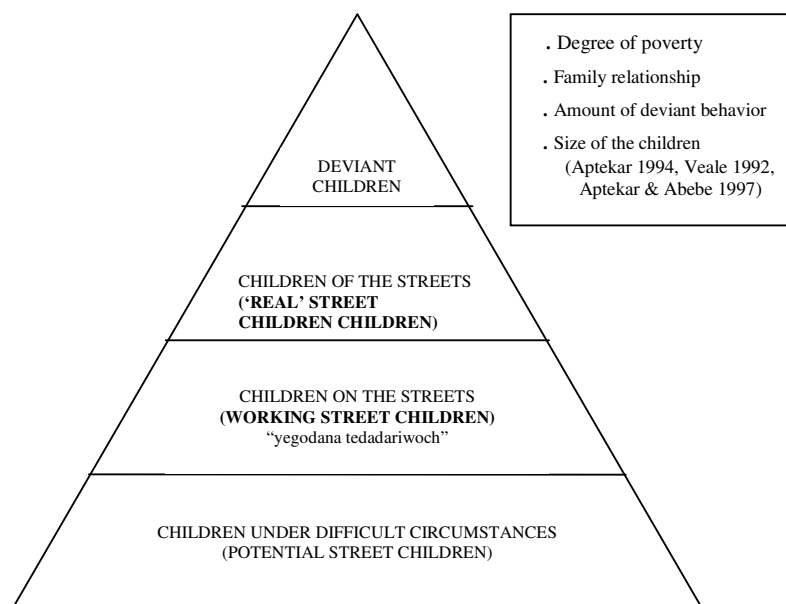
Source: Tatek (2002)

Similarly, Heinonen presents a more detailed classification for the street children in Addis. It includes differences between school attendance, street related activities such as begging or working, age and gender differences, and family dynamics. Her classification falls into three broad categories: street working children, working children, and street children (Heinonen 2000 in Aptekar & Heinonen 2003).

Street working children are children who live at home, attend school part time, and work or trade in the street the rest of the time. These children have extensive economic and affective ties with their families, especially their mothers who help them with shelter, education and health. Working children include children living at home, aged eight and older, who do not beg, do not attend school and work full time in the street. Both working children and street working children play a vital role in the economic survival of their families. They

nevertheless depend heavily on the presence of adults (usually their mothers) for their sustenance at home and to some extent for their career in the street. On the other hand, Street children are aged five to eighteen, do not attend school, and beg full time in the street. Once they reach ten, most join loosely knit social groups of same-sex or mixed-gender gangs. The criterion differentiating them from home-based working children is their lack of family ties and therefore support in the form of nurture, shelter, health care and education.

However, the definition and typologies given above are not without problems. As I have observed during my fieldwork the boundaries is very loose and fluid. A child may be located along this continuum or move along the continuum in a while. Street children suddenly change their status from children 'on' the street to children 'of' the street or vice versa and alternate between home and the street. In some cases, they move away from the street and involve in non-street based activities or vise versa. For example, Seba, my informant, shifted his position from a shoeshine boy to a shopkeepers' assistance a week after I contacted him.

For example, children classified as 'Street children' in Heinonen's typology are working because these children consider begging as a work. There are many children (usually with rural origin) who work and attend schools part time but who live on their own, with no regular family ties or supervision. These groups of children, for example, do not fall in anyone of Heinonen's categories. I may suggest another typology to Heinonen's category: Non home based street working children or non home based working children.

This study uses Agrawals (1999) usage of the term street children. A street child is one who: lives on the streets most of the time; works in the streets on jobs of low status and income; lives in the exposed conditions of the street; has no or little parental supervision or other social protection; has either intermittent or no family contact at all; is vulnerable to the hazards of urbanization and urban living conditions.

Migrant children:

Migrant children in this study refer to boys and girls (below age 18) who moved from rural to urban areas in search of economic and other opportunities. Throughout the thesis, I may use the term 'street children' and 'migrant children' interchangeably.

It is appropriate to make a classification across different groups of street children as they earn a living differently. And, the magnitude and circumstances under which they survive varies

from one child/group to another. I would say that a better understanding of who they are and why they are there is crucial before any intervention attempt to deal with the problem and reduce further growth of their numbers. On the other hand, I would say that , although we differentiate these marginalized groups of children into many categories, their lives could not be more different compared to the debates or discourses in the literature to define and classify them into different typologies. I think it is more appropriate to ask the children what they think themselves, why do they come to the street and what do they want to do.

1.7. Limitations of the study:

The major objective of this thesis is to uncover the lived experience of street children in Addis. I feel that research of this sort needs studying social relations mediated through everyday experience in every day space for a relatively long time. In spite of this, I had less than two months to conduct this research, and shortage of time was major constraints. Moreover, there was a post-election political violence in Addis during the first ten days of my fieldwork. Due to this there was no transportation service in the city which prevented me doing my work. I couldn't circulate and contact concerned officials and children as was planned and hoped in the initial fieldwork design. This time I was frustrated to do my work freely because research of this sort and life in general needs settled environment to accomplish decent results. However, the situation allowed me to see what would happen to street children, in some parts of the city, during these hard times.

In addition, due to the political unrest, some street children were suspicious while they saw me recording their responses on papers and even a few refused to be interviewed. In fact, they are often suspicious and didn't trust strangers since they didn't know their objectives. Some children, for example, were assuming me as a police or security agent who has some hidden political agenda at least until they knew my objectives. Some refused to talk to me since they have busy schedules. In some cases, interviews with respondents were interrupted by other street children or other people. Some children were not willing to be interviewed in quiet places. It shows that some might have considered me as a potential danger. Others often urged me to include them in whatever I was doing because they perceived me as an NGO worker.

There is also a considerable data and knowledge gap about street children both at national and city level. Responsible departments lack comprehensive data about children in general and street children in particular. There are very scanty studies conducted on this issue so that

difficult to get adequate literature. Indeed, the available materials are too old, shallow quantitative summaries and often are reduplicating each other. Moreover, some organizations were not willing to give the available data and detail interviews.

1.8. Structure of the thesis:

The thesis consists eight chapters. Chapter one is the introduction to the whole thesis. It gives an overview of the background of the study, the statement of the research problem, objectives, and research questions and highlights basic terms and concepts. Chapters two presents and discuss the theoretical perspectives that are relevant to the research problem. It begins with the concept of structuration theory and then presents the livelihood approach and its relevance to the problem under investigation. The new social studies of childhood which consider children as competent social actors will be discussed to highlight the problem at hand. Chapter three presents the research methodology. It discusses the methods used in the collection and analysis of the data and the reasons for their choices. It also describes the rationale upon which my study was based and explained the means adopted to answer particular research questions. It also reflects my field experiences and raised ethical and analytical issues in relation to researching children and more particularly, those who live and work on the streets of Addis. Chapter four gives the geographical setting, as well as the physical, social, and economic profile of Ethiopia in general and the study area in particular. The purpose is to provide the setting and contextual background within which the study was undertaken. Chapter five, six and seven present the actual findings of the research. Chapter five begins with the distribution of respondents according to certain socio-economic and demographic variables. It also discusses the major causes, patterns and process of children's migration to the city. Once in the city children have to struggle to survive, cope, develop and integrate into the urban environment. The range of livelihood activities that street children draw upon and of the strategies employed will be discussed in chapter six. Chapter seven focuses on the social networks. This chapter has two sections. The first section discusses the social life, power relations and hierarchies between and among street children. The second section expands its discussions on the informal networks established between street children, the rural folk and other segments of the urbanites. In addition, this chapter presents data on how street children construct and negotiate their identities with reference to the rural-urban dichotomy, future aspirations and the perceptions of other social actors. Finally, chapter eight summarizes the salient findings of this study. It also points out a few areas for further research.

Chapter two

2. Conceptual and theoretical perspectives:

2.1. Introduction

This chapter is devoted to present the theoretical framework. Theories are important in any research projects because they serve as a guideline in the research process and are fundamental to define research problems. According to Jaggar & Rottenberg (1993) a theory, in the broadest sense, offers a general account of how ranges of phenomena are systematically interconnected; by placing individual items in a larger context.

The relationships between philosophies, theories, approaches and methods that shape empirical research are complex, and choices must be made at each stage (Flowerden & Martin 1997). As geographers our research agendas are provoked by wanting to get behind the 'facts' as they appear to us in everyday life and seek to understand the processes and practices underlying the evidence of change or conflict that we might see around us (Limb & Dwyer 2001). In this study, strcuturation theory and livelihood framework will be used to understand the research problem. In addition, the concepts of the new social studies of childhood will be discussed under structuration theory. I will discuss the concepts and major tenets of these theories and discuss the nexus with social research and its relevance for the research problem.

2.2. Structuration Theory:

Geographers have been grappling with problems of structure and agency in various ways throughout the history of the discipline-debates about environmental determinism is a case in point. But it has only in the past decades they have drawn on critical social theory that the role of structure and agency in social change has become a pivotal issue in debates about geographic enquiry (Chouinard 1996). Recollecting earlier differences between existential and structural philosophies, structural geography was criticized from the perspective of humanistic geography for impoverished conception of human agency. Humanistic geography was in turn criticized for its failure to clarify the relation between human agency, structure and structural transformation

The theory of structuration comes as a way of resolving the difference between the two positions. It is pointed out that structuration theory as presented among others by Bourdieu (1977), Bhaskar (1979) and Giddens (1979; 1984), aimed at such a resolution (Peet 1998;

Holt-Jensen 1999) as it requires theories and analytical mediation (Holt-Jensen 1999). Among these authors, however, it is the work of a British sociologist Anthony Giddens that had a most profound influence on human geography (Peet 1998). Giddens' structuration theory tries to bridge the gap between structural determinism and possibilsm especially by criticizing both approaches for lacking an adequate notion of the acting subject or theory of practice. In concepts of structural determinism, individuals are often portrayed as completely determined by structural constraints that left little room for the autonomy of consciousness (ibid).

In the structuralist tradition the emphasis is on structure as constraint, whereas in the phenomenological and hermeneutic tradition the human agent is the primary focus. Structuration theory attempts to combine the two principal thinking as a mutuality dependent duality. Structure has no existence independent of the knowledge that agents have about what they do in their day-to-day activity. Giddens argued structural relations should not be equated with constraints, since they are also enabling. In Giddens' model, the agents are not puppets- they interpret and transform the empirical world, but this interpretation and transformation in turn is constrained and enabled by the structures at the real level (Holt-Jensen 1999).

Structuration theory is an approach to social theory concerned with the intersection between knowledgeable and capable human agents, the wider social systems, and structures in which they are implicated. Giddens argues that social systems are system of interaction whose interdependencies can be analyzed as recurrent social practices; as such they involve the situated activities of human subjects (Peet 1998).

2.2.1. Basic tenets of structuration theory

The core of structuration theory lies on the concepts of 'structure,' 'structuration' 'action,' 'social system,' 'the duality of structure,' and 'agency' (Giddens 1984).

Agency

The social agent is primarily a reflexive actor capable of providing a rational justification for their actions. Agency also entails practical consciousness, namely, 'all the things that we know as social actors, and must know, to make social life happen, but to which we cannot necessarily give discursive form'. Structures set the condition for human actions, but they are also the results of human actions. Individuals are formed by society and its institutions, but they are also skilled agents who direct their own lives through actions or agency (Giddens

1984). He provides an account of human agency which recognizes that human beings are purposive actors, who virtually all the time knows what they are doing. All human beings are knowledgeable agents. That is to say, all social actors know a great deal about the conditions and consequences of what they do in their day-to-day lives (ibid).

Power is one component of the theory of agency. Power is the means of getting things done and, as such, directly implied in human action (Giddens 1984). Human action implies power is capable of producing an effect. But power (transformative capacity) is adversely constrained by lack of resources. Giddens, however, feels that there are always at least some resources available for humans to face social pressure. This means that the agent has (potentially) the power to act differently or intervene in a given set of events so as in some way to alter them. Agency does not refer to 'the intentions of people have in doing things, but to their capability of doing those things in the first place'.

Structure

For Giddens (1979, 1984) structure is conceptualized as the rules and resources that actors employ in 'interaction contexts' that extend across space and time. Rules are 'generalizable procedures' that are used by actors to reproduce structure, whereas resources are facilities that actors manipulate to get things done.

Giddens understands structure as being created and re-created through human agency; the agent's position is central. It is individuals who interact in the social system and who use rules and resources. Such individuals are motivated by deep seated motives for ontological security, trust and anxiety reduction; and they use the powers of 'discursive' and 'practical' consciousness to 'monitor' actors in interaction contexts or social systems (Giddens 1979). The individual agent has only an incomplete knowledge of either the empirical world or the 'mechanisms' (social rules) of society that structure his or her action (Chouinard 1996). Structure is therefore theorized as a set of rules, resources and consequences of the actions of agents, where the reproduction of structures depends upon the consent and competence of the agents. He points out that structure is not something 'outside' or 'external' to human action. Rather, structure only exists in and through the activities of human agents. Giddens regards structure not merely as constraining but also enabling (Giddens 1984).

Action

The concept of 'action' represents the routine activities of daily life. It is regarded as a continued process rather than as series of isolated single actions with specific intentions or aims (Holt-Jonsen 1999). For Giddens all of the actions undertaken by the agent happen with knowledgeability and consciousness, although this is usually on 'practical consciousness'. Action processes are embedded in the body of the agent and their cognitive activities. Rationalization of action happens as a process whereby the agent maintains a tacit understanding of the grounds of their actions. The reflexive monitoring of action concerns the intentional part of the process where as the rationalization of action centers up on the ability and competence to evaluate the relation between the action and its reason. Indeed, the reflexive monitoring of action (the aspect of 'what do I want to do') and the rationalization of action (the aspect of 'why do I want to do it') are closely connected and virtuality impossible to distinguish (Giddens 1984).The motivations for action is distinct from the rationalization of action and its reflexive monitoring. Motivation refers primarily to the potential for action. The majority of daily practices are not directly motivated, occurring mainly as routines (et al).

System

System refers to the reproduced relations between people organized as regular social practices. Social systems are defined as the activities of human agents situated in various contexts, where the activities are reproduced in space and time. Social systems are therefore not independent of the actor but only constituted through social practices (Giddens 1984).

Systems and structures are closely related concepts but Giddens distinguishes them. In his model, systems appear to be more dynamic than structures, with the later being relatively fixed and forming a framework for the social activity that proceeds in systems. Social systems are structured by rules and resources (Giddens 1984), and by time and space (Holt-Jensen 1999). Social systems consist of relation between actors or collectivities reproduced across time and space – that is, actions which are repeated and therefore extend themselves beyond the duration of the individual act.

Duality of structure

Agent, agency and structure are therefore linked. Structure is not external: the concept of structure becomes the means to action and its results, but only in consciousness. This is the introduction to the duality of structure- the core concept of the structuration theory. The constitution of agents and structures are not two independently given sets of phenomena but represent a duality. Accordingly, structures are both the result and the medium of the actions of agents in social practices.

The society is viewed as a structuration process whereby human actions are both structured by the social and structural determinants of the society. Human agency and social structure are in a relationship with each other, that the repetition of the acts of individual agents which reproduces the structure. Giddens draws together the two independent sets of phenomena – structure and agency – two concepts which are related and dependent to each other.The structure shape social practices and actions; and actions also can create and recreate social structures (Holt-Jensen 1999). Structure is not external to the individual but rather almost internal, as memory traces. Structure has no existence independent of the knowledge agents have about what they do in their day-to-day activity, and the duality of structure is always the main grounding of continuities in social reproduction across time and space.

Structuration

For structuration theory, 'structuration' describes the variety of social practice distributed in the spatio-temporal manifold that constitutes the society. It theorizes the mediation between the social formation and the individual actor. Social life is constituted through social practices. Social practice, in turn, constitutes individuals as agents and embodies and realizes structures. Consequently, social practice is the mediating concept between agency and structure, and between individual and society. Structuration is the process whereby the duality of structure evolves and reproduces over time and space. Agents in their action constantly develop, produce and reproduce the social structures which both enable and constrain them. Structuration refers to the conditions governing the continuity or transmutation of structures, and therefore the reproduction of social systems. Analyzing the structuration of social systems means studying the modes in which such systems are produced and reproduced in interaction.

2.2.2. Structuration theory and social research

Having given a brief description about Giddens key concepts, I will first focus on the relevance of strcuturation theory to empirical research in social science and then to this research in particular. In recent years one of the most hotly debated issues in social science, particularly in human geography, has been the nature of the relationship between theory and empirical work. In human geography at least two views have prevailed. For those who see it as an ordering framework, theory acts as a type of 'filing system' for classifying empirical events, whilst for those who see theory as a way of conceptualizing something, theory provides an explanation for empirical events. It is within this second strand of thinking that interest has grown in human geography (Gregson, in Held &Thomson 1989). In fact, theory helps not only for explanation but also for in depth understanding of social phenomenon.

There are three guidelines which Giddens offers for empirical research in the social sciences. First, all social research is supposed to involve an 'ethnographic' moment. Since social research is an activity conducted by some people (usually academics) on other people, it necessitates the mediation of one set of concepts with those used by individuals in the course of their everyday lives. Part of the research process then, is the learning of what these individual know, and have to know, in order to get on with their everyday lives. A second guideline relates to the complexity of skills which individuals show in daily social life. Last, Giddens maintains that empirical research must recognize 'the time-space constitution of social life'. He argued that researchers should see temporal and spatial structures as integral to the production and reproduction of social life (ibid).

2.2.3. Structuration theory and research methodology: the nexus

Any theoretical position rests ultimately upon two philosophical components: ontology and epistemology. Epistemology gives guidance on how to work scientifically; ontology provides a basis for understanding the world. Giddens' Structuration theory is largely ontological in its orientation (Holt-Jensen 1999). He has tried to develop ontology of human society (focusing on theorizing human agency) and to consider the implications of this theorizing for the analysis of social institutions.

Structuration theory is close to the cultural anthropology of the social theory known as 'ethno-methodology,' which he calls the practical consciousnesses of agents in everyday life – the habitual actions and discourses of routine and confident performance. Giddens made a

shift beyond the qualitative/quantitative methodological split which is neither a clear-cut division nor a necessary opposition between qualitative and quantitative methods. Giddens (1984), in his discussion, outlined that qualitative and quantitative methods should be seen as complementary rather than antagonistic aspects of social research. In line with, I will therefore use both qualitative and quantitative methods.

2.2.4. Relevance of structuration theory to the research problem

A growing body of research on children living in contexts of extreme poverty, forced migration and war has extended the study of childhood far beyond the worlds of families, neighborhoods, and schools, situating children within the process of political and economic change (Qvortrup 1994).

Children form a part of the structure of the society, and as actors are struggling to adjust themselves to livelihood constraints. More specifically, the relevance of structuration theory for this study is to make a more realistic understanding of the factors that shape the lives of street children within their society and of how they cope with and/or survive. This research considers children as competent social actors who have certain freedom of choice and action (Cohen 1989; Giddens 1984). I will also investigate the root causes that forces children to the street. Or I will conceptualize onto what extent migrant children are vulnerable and marginalized in the structure and to what extent they direct their lives in the city. Are they active agents who know what to do as it is emphasized by Giddens? Or are they passive recipients of the structure?

For Giddens, the concept 'action' represents the routine actions of daily life. Action is regarded as a continuous flow rather than as series of isolated single actions with specific intentions (Peet 1998; Holt-Jensen 1999). Survival for street children means obtaining food, clothing and shelter, and protecting themselves against violence and other forms of abuse. It depends on the child's continuous action or capability to cope with and survive in the changing and competitive urban environment.

Practical consciousnesses together with routinization are helpful concepts in the process of understanding what constitutes street children's daily actions and how they choose these actions in terms of time –space dimension. Or, in other words, I will see whether street children are active agents or not as it is implicated in Giddens phrase 'individuals show complexity of skills in their daily life'. The interpretation of children as competent

(knowledgeable and capable) agents is an assumption that I have made and which shown to be substantive upon analysis of the findings. Are street children considered as actors who know a great deal about certain social contexts of which they form a part as Giddens pointed out? They grasp in a partial and contextually defined way the nature of their position in society. Do they sense consciously the physical and social worlds within which they make a livelihood?

For Giddens social life is constituted through social practice. Structures give shape and form to social life. Social practice links agents to structures, since social practice help develop with the transformation of rules and resources over time and between different locations. Consequently social practice is a mediating concept between agency and structure, and between individual and society. From this, I conceptualize the relationship between and among street children and the mainstream society in spatio-temporal perspective.

The relatively unsafe, uncontrolled open environment of urban areas give considerably more leeway for children to develop social relations and cultural values that mainstream society does not necessarily either share or appreciate (Olwig & Gullov 2003). This also helps to understand how the mainstream society perceives street children and the reverse. In all forms of society individuals have psychological needs for ontological security (Giddens 1989). In line with this I will analyze the informal networks, companionship established within a group and with other social actors. Does this give street children as an alternative for street children while living far from their loved ones? From this discussion, it can be seen that structuration theory will be used to understand the research problem under study.

2.2.5. Time and space in structuration theory

Giddens claims that time and space are neglected dimensions in social theory, which has tended to exclude the physical constitution of society for its existence as a rationally intelligible unit (Giddens 1984). All social systems both express and are expressed by the routines of daily social life, mediating the physical and sensory properties of the human body. Social systems are temporally and spatially binding and time-space constitutive.

From a geographical point of view, Giddens suggest that links between structuration theory and time-space geography are important (ibid). Giddens believes that to be able to act, the individual must move in time and space. Theories of space and time, of social agency and the deconstructionist approach of discourse analysis, have all led to acknowledgement that children are capable social agents who construct meaning, subvert power, as well as

understand that they are not ageless and genderless (Lucchini 1996). Structures are what give systemic form to social practices across space and time (Giddens 1984). Structuration theory portrays time-space relations as constitutive features of social systems. Social systems are structured by rules and resources (Giddens 1984), and also by time and space (Holt-Jensen 1999).

The Swedish geographer Hagerstrand's (1975) concept of 'time geography' stresses the routinized character of daily life connected with the basic features of the human body, its mobility and means of communication, its path through the life cycle, and therefore the human's biographical project. Every action is situated in space and time and for its immediate outcome's dependent on what is present and absent as help or hindrance where the events take place (Hagerstrand 1984 in Clark; Modgil & Modgil 1990). For Giddens, developing time - geography's ideas involves conceptualizing the notion of 'place' to mean more than point in space. He uses the term locale to refer to the 'use of space to provide the settings of interaction', these being essential to specifying the 'contexuality' of interaction and the 'fixity'. According to Gidddens (1994) locales may range from a room in a house, a street corner, the shop floor of a factory, towns and cities, to the territorially demarcated areas occupied by nation states. Having this in mind, I will try to conceptualize and interpret street children's activity in relation with temporal and spatial dimensions.

2.2.6. The agency of street children: children as social actors

The individual agent has only an incomplete knowledge of either the empirical world or the 'mechanisms' (social rules) of society that structure his or her action. If we are to make a scientific analysis, however, we must assume the agent's actions to be rational within the context of his or her incomplete knowledge (Giddens 1984; Holt-Jensen 1999). Human interaction involves the communication of meaning, the operation of power and normative modes of sanctioning (Peet 1998). This insight will help me to shed light on the formation of particular biographies of street children as a reflection of elements of structuring processes in their working and living place. Furthermore it helps to see the social networks, power relations and hierarchies within and among street children and other social actors.

Prior to the 1980s children were on the margin of sociology and anthropology. When they come in the view of anthropologists, they were studied as learners being inducted in to social and cultural worlds of adults (Jenks 1982). In the 1980s, a growing number of researchers

noted that children should be studied in their own rights, as full social actors, rather than being framed primarily as adults in training or as problems for the adult social order (Jenks, James & Prout 1998). And hence the theory of structuration gives room to employ the new social studies of childhood, a paradigm which insist on the fact that children are active beings whose agency is important in the creation of their own life world (Qvortrup 1994).

Children are and must be seen as active in the construction and determination of their own social life, the lives around them and of those societies in which they live (James & Prout 1997; James, Jenks & Prout 1998). The new social studies of childhood emphasize children's agency and often present children in dichotomies –as being dependent, developing, and vulnerable or as autonomous, competent social actors (beings Vs becomings). Nick Lee (1994 in Kjorholt 2004) and Kjorholt (2004) criticized this dichotomy. They both argued that autonomy as well as competence is dynamic and relational concepts constituted within particular social and cultural contexts.

James, Jenks & Prout (1998) argued that the interplay of these sociological dichotomies (agency and structure) offer an understanding of the ways in which thinking first, about children and childhood necessarily reflects the social and secondly, children's contribution to our better understanding of the social world or structure. This helps, on the one hand, to analyze how migrant children are vulnerable and marginalized in the structure and in turn to see their counter effect in the society as well. It is noted that street children are resilient and display creative coping strategies for growing up in difficult environments (Schwatzman 2001). However, this does not undermine the fact that structure has also a great role in influencing the living condition of children in general and street children in particular. It is vital to treat street children both as active individuals and who are in need of help.

Most studies of street children have focused on the social, psychological and physical aspects of their life, with emphasis on the debilitating and deprived aspect of street life (Roux & Smith 1998 in Schuwatzman 2001). On the contrary, Holloway & Valentine (2000) argued that most children are capable of struggling and transforming some of the situations that compound them to the better. Children are not just passive subjects of social structures and processes. In fact, the recognition of children's agency does not necessarily lead to reject the fact that their lives are shaped by forces beyond the control of them.

From a sociological perspective, socialization is not only a matter of adaptation and internalization but also a process of appropriation, reinvention and reproduction. This will help to see if street children's negotiate, share, and create identity in their everyday lives. Corsaro argued that children create and participate in their own unique peer cultures by appropriating information from the adult world to address their own concerns (Corsaro 1997). In this regard, the concepts of the new social studies of childhood and structuration theory are complementary and will help much to underpin the problem under investigation.

2.3. The Livelihood Approach:

2.3.1. Introduction

The Sustainable Livelihood (SL) approach has been developed by planners to better understand and disaggregate the efforts of the poor to earn a living and their long-term strategies for survival. It emerged in the 1990s as a new approach to poverty alleviation. The concept of SL has been defined as "a livelihood depends on the capabilities, assets and activities, which are all required for a means of living. A person or family's livelihood is sustainable when they can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks and maintain or enhance their capabilities and assets both now and in the future without undermining environmental resources" (Chambers & Conway 1992).

The important feature of this livelihood definition is to direct attention to the links between assets and the options people possess in practice to pursue alternative activities that can generate the income level required for survival (Ellis 2000). Assets may be described as stocks of capital that can be utilized directly, or indirectly, to generate the means of survival of the household or to sustain its material well-being at different level above survival. Assets can be identified as five different types of capital: human, physical, natural, financial, and social capital (Carney 1998; Ellis 2000). This capital can be stored, accumulated, exchanged, or depleted and put to work to generate a flow of income or other benefits (Rakodi 2002).

Livelihood is the command an individual, family or another social group has over an income or resources that can be used to satisfy their needs. A livelihoods approach views the world from the point of view of the individuals, households and social groups who are trying to make a living in volatile conditions and with limited assets. This approach puts people at the centre of development and provides a framework for understanding the opportunities and

assets available to poor people and the sources of their vulnerability, as well as the impact upon them of external organizations, processes and policies (Scoones 1998; Ellis 2000).

The livelihood approach represents links between some selected factors in its analytical framework. It sees assets (in terms of capital) as fundamental to livelihood analysis. It further emphasizes structures (or organizations) and processes (societal norms, incentives, policies and laws) which influence the access, control, and the use of assets (Scoones 1998). Livelihood structures are complex, usually revolving around the incomes, skills and services of all members of the family in an effort to reduce the risks associated with living near subsistence (http://www.iisd.org/casl/). This approach looks positively at what is possible rather than negatively at how desperate things are (Ellis 2000).

2.3.2. The urban context

Recent conceptualization of livelihoods have proposed frameworks that seek to reflect the diversity and complexity of ways in which different groups make a living (Satterthwaite & Tacoli in Rakodi 2002). The livelihoods of the poor are determined predominantly by the context in which they live and the constraints and opportunities this location presents. This is because context largely determines the assets accessible to people, how they can use these, and thus their ability to obtain secure livelihoods (Meikle in Rakodi 2000).

These frameworks have been developed from a rural perspective, while they are sufficiently broad to incorporate non-natural resource- based livelihood strategies –for example income diversification and rural urban linkages (Ellis 1998; Tacoli 1998; Rakodi 2002). Most urban areas, despite distinctive individual attributes, share similar economic, political, social and physical characteristics with each other. These have implication for how poor men and women live and frequently mean that the livelihood strategies of the urban poor have to be different from those of their rural counterparts (et al).

Living in an urban environment is clearly a distinct experience. Yet despite the contrasts in terms of contexts, there is one factor that remains unchanged: people themselves. Wherever people live, they retain essentially the same human needs, and the desire for the same entitlements or rights. They require access to productive resources and from these an income to support consumption needs. Thus, these requirements amount to the entitlement each person has to lead a life that is fundamentally secure in respect both of the basic needs and broader social and psychological sense of a livelihood (De Haans 2002; Scoones 1998).

Rural livelihood systems can be found in villages and small towns with agriculture as the primary source of livelihoods. Secondary and tertiary livelihood activities include wage labor, casual labor on large estates, and migration to urban centers. Whereas a cash economy is the major indicator, informal employment (short and long term) being the primary source of livelihood in urban areas (UNDP 1999). Urban livelihood strategies center on income-earning activities in either the formal or informal sectors, as wage employees, unpaid family workers or in self employment (Rutherford, Harper & Grierson in Rakodi 2002). The most vulnerable, and marginal activities, such as begging, waste picking or prostitution. Goods such as water, food, and housing have to be bought in the market whereas in rural locations, for many resources, may not involve cash purchases (Meikle in Rakodi 2002).

The urban setting results in a different emphasis for each type of livelihood asset (Carney 1998; Rakodi 2000). Many of the physical, economic and social infrastructures are not owned by the men and women who use them as livelihood assets. This highlights the fact that the existence of assets alone is not sufficient to promote livelihood assets – what is key is accessibility. The brief discussions made so far indicate that there is a room to adapt rural livelihood approach into the urban context. This is so mainly because the asset portfolios utilized by rural and urban publics have some overlap though there are differences in social structure and vulnerability contexts which make them pursue different livelihood strategies.

2.3.3. Livelihood assets

Livelihood approaches propose that thinking in terms of strengths or assets is vital as an antidote to the view of poor people as 'passive' or 'deprived'. Central to the approach is the need to recognize that those who are poor may not have cash or other savings, but that they do have other material or non-material assets- their health, their labor, their knowledge, and skills, their friends and family and the natural resources around them (Rakodi 2002). Livelihood approach consists of assets as fundamental to livelihood analysis. These components of a SL depend on the possession of various livelihood assets to achieve livelihood strategies, which are determined by transforming structures (government / private sector / NGOs), and processes (law, policies, culture, institutions). These strategies are used, depending on the stock of assets, to achieve livelihood outcomes (such as increased well being and reduced vulnerability) (Ashley & Carney 1999).

Livelihoods also depend on entitlements, such as the support of family or relatives that can be called upon in an emergency. In developed countries, where the concept of SL applies, such entitlements include social security, unemployment insurance, and other government funded 'safety nets'. Focusing on assets does not mean that richer people are the intension of livelihood approach. The reason for emphasizing assets rather than needs and weaknesses is to help to ensure that poverty-reduction programmes have a firm foundation and are sustainable. SL analysis should help reveal the different strengths of different social groups within a community or target group. Those with fewest material assets must often apply the greatest strength to survive. This should help to ensure that development activity is tailored to local circumstances. The SL framework says nothing explicit about relative poverty. SL analysis can be equally applied to richer and poorer groups.

Human capital:

It is often said that the chief asset possessed by the poor is their own labor. Human capital refers to the labor available to the household: its education, skills, and health (Ellis 2000). Lack of human capital in the form of skills and education affects the ability to secure a livelihood more directly in urban labor markets than rural areas (Rakodi 2002).

Social capital:

Social capital is defined as 'the rules, norms, obligations, reciprocity and trust embedded in social relations, social structures, and society's institutional arrangements, which enables its members to achieve their individual and community objectives (Narayan 1997 in Rakodi 2002). Social capital refers to the social networks and associations in which people participate, and from which they can derive support that contribute to their livelihoods (Ellis 2000). For social interaction to be termed 'capital' it must be persistent, giving rise to stocks (for example, of trust and knowledge) on which people can draw, even if the social interaction itself is not permanent (Rakodi 2002).

Financial capital:

It refers to stocks of cash that can be accessed in order to purchase either production or consumption goods. This is chiefly likely to be savings, and access to credit in the form of loan. Neither money saving nor loans are directly productive in the forms of capital; they owe their role in the asset portfolio of households to their convertibility into other forms of capital or into consumption (Ellis 2000). The lack of financial services suitable for poor urban

households constrains their ability to save and obtain credit (Rakodi 2002). All frameworks of this kind recognize that the translation of a set of assets into a livelihood strategy composed of a portfolio of income earning activities is mediated by contextual, social, economic, and policy considerations (Ellis 2000).

Natural capital:

Natural capital refers to the natural resource base (land, water, trees) that yields products utilized by human population for their survival. Sometimes these are referred to as environmental resources, and are thought of jointly as comprising the 'environment' (Ellis 2000). Within natural capital, an important distinction is made between renewable and non renewable natural resources (Carney 1998).

Physical capital:

Physical assets comprise capital that is created by economic production processes. Buildings, irrigation canals, roads, tools, machines and so on are physical assets. In economic terms, physical capital is defined as a producer good as contrasted to a consumer good. The latter is something that is purchased and consumed for its direct effect on material standards of living; whereas a producer good purchased in order to create a flow of outputs into the future (Ellis 2000). It is important for health and thus contributing to human and social capital, it also enables people to access, and directly supports, income-generating activities (Rakodi 2002).

2.3.4. Livelihood strategies

Livelihood strategies are composed of activities that generate the means of survival**.** The strategies people adopt to attain livelihoods is highly influenced by their asset position. According to Scoones (1998), a household located in a particular context and economy may choose between (or be constrained from choosing) three main clusters of livelihood options – agricultural intensification, income diversification and migration. From this three I will briefly describe the later two strategies as it helps to understand the strategies employed in facing livelihood constraints at their place of origin and destination.

Migration

Migration means that one or more family members leave the resident household for varying periods of time, and in so doing are able to make new and different contributions to its welfare, although such contributions are not guaranteed by the mere fact of migration.

Migration is one of the common livelihood strategies among rural people in Ethiopia (Degefa 2005). Migration is an important type of diversification that links up with labor market factors in household and individual decision making for survival (Ellis 2000).

Diversification

Diversity refers to the existence, at a point in time, of many different income sources, thus also typically requiring diverse social relations to underpin them. It is more often invoked in the rural context to imply diversification away from farming as the primary means of rural survival (Ellis 2000). The reasons that households or individuals pursue diversification as a livelihood strategy are often divided into two overarching considerations, which are necessisity or choice. Necessity refers to involuntary and distress reasons for diversifying. Choice, by contrast, refers to voluntary or proactive reasons for diversifying. But in practice these categories are less distinct from each other (Ellis 2000). Street children are engaged in a multitude of income generating activities while they leave in the street of Addis Ababa.

2.3.5. Vulnerability

The framework regards the vulnerability context (including natural and human-led trends and shocks) as the starting point for analysis (Carney 1998). People's livelihoods and their access and control to resources can be affected by the vulnerability context. The assets which poor people possess or have access to, the livelihoods they desire and the strategies they adopt are influenced by the context within which they live (Rakodi 2002).When immediate survival is more important than future prospects, sustainability may be dismissed.

A widely used concept when discussing risk, coping and survival is that of vulnerability. Vulnerability is defined as a high degree of exposure to risk, shocks and stress; and proneness to food insecurity (Chambers, 1989). Some groups in society are more prone to damage, loss and suffering than others. Vulnerability is thus closely correlated to socio-economic position (Carney 1998). Race, gender, age, physical disability, religion or caste, status and access to economic opportunities play an additional role to socio-economic status when analyzing vulnerability (Scoones 1998; Carney1998; Chambers & Conway 1992).

Analyzing vulnerability involves identifying not only the threats to individuals and households and their assets, but also their resilience- their ability to mobilize assets to exploit opportunities and resist or recover from the negative effects of the changing environment

(Moser 1996, 1998 in Rakodi 2002). The ability of households to avoid or reduce vulnerability and to increase economic productivity depends on their initial assets and on their ability to transform those assets into income, foods or other basic necessities, by intensifying existing, developing new, or diversifying their strategies. Livelihood approach seek to identify what the poor posses rather than what they do not have' and 'to strengthen people's own inventive solutions, rather than substitute for, block or undermine them (et al).

2.3.6. Livelihood framework and street children

Significant characteristics of urban livelihoods and their implications for poor people were reviewed above. In this section, I will present the relevance of the livelihood approach for the research problem. SL analysis helps highlight key strengths and also major constraints to livelihoods. The fact that street children in the developing world are currently the focus of attention in both fields of social policy and academic research is not just a consequence of their rapidly escalating numbers and of resources necessary to alleviate poverty in the urban landscape. It also results from a concern to adequately portray street children- as young people with particular social and economic behaviors in urban centers (Schuwatzma 2001).

This framework was used primarily to widen an understanding of the lives of street children who make their living from street based activities. I will analyze and understand how, in different contexts, street children (as individuals or a group) manage to cope with and/or adapt their livelihoods. They are poverty-stricken and their needs and problems are a result of wanting to meet basic needs for survival and to pursue livelihoods.

Everyone's livelihood, however meager, is made up of these three components –activities, assets, and entitlements- together with the short term coping mechanisms and long term adaptive strategies that the person employs in times of crisis so that in adjusting to hardships, loss, and change, she or he can maintain a livelihood (Ellis 2000). In line with this, the livelihood approach will enable me to understand factors limiting street children's access to productive resources, assets, and opportunities and strategies they employ in tackling them. Assets, structures and processes and vulnerability contexts have an adverse impact on the survival strategies and outcomes of the urban poor in general and street children in particular.

Rural children migrate to cities in search of employment with a hope of raising money to contribute for families well being. Assets not only include financial but also the more intangible assets of labor, skills, capacity, and the social relations which underpin livelihood

27

activities. These intangible assets are important in the lives of street children. Livelihood approach will enable me to understand which assets migrant children have/ lack to attain livelihoods and to what extent their access and control of assets is restricted or enhanced by the structure and process. Ultimately an analysis of these outcomes will show the negative and positive results of the pursued livelihood strategies. In doing so, I will shed light on children's capabilities to attain a certain livelihood outcome using the available assets or within the livelihood constraints. It is also possible to see street children as a member of a given household though they are far away from the households (for example 500 kms away).

The concept of diversification is helpful to assess children's activity in the process of maintaining their daily life. Street children engaged in a diverse range of activities in order to make their living, mainly take place in the informal sector. As urban livelihoods are characterized by a dependence on cash incomes often earned in the informal sector, I will attempt to explain street children's efforts to increase their incomes and reduce expenditures.

Another analytical principle of the livelihood approach, which is relevant to my study, is the vulnerability context. Poverty in urban areas is affected by a combination of factors that produce a wide range of vulnerabilities. The urban poor are more immersed in the cash economy and live in slum, squatter and periphery of urban centers. Their lack of legal status, insecure, low-wage employment, rising food price, poor sanitation among others makes them vulnerable (UNDP 1999). Since much of children's daily lives is often spent seeking to mitigate or cope with present or likely future stresses and shocks, understanding what trends street children are responding to, and thus what motivates them to engage in and adjust their particular livelihood strategies, both as individuals and groups, is a central issue.

I would say that that, these and other factors make street children more vulnerable than the rest of the urban poor. The concept vulnerability is helpful because it emphasized on understanding the wider shocks and stresses to which children's livelihoods are subject. On the other hand, it helps to analyze whether street children are resourceful and resilient to maintain their livelihoods, since their resourcefulness and resilience determine their survival. I would assert that gaining better understanding about what resources do street children have/ lack to maintain livelihoods, how do they pool these resources and diversify activities in order to reduce risk, ensure their well being and co-ensure one another to earn a livelihood on the street is vital before any intervention which attempts to make their livelihood productive and efficient.

Chapter three

3. Methodology

This chapter presents the methodology and approaches that were employed in the collection and analysis of the data. It also gives a brief overview of the validity and reliability of the data and reflects on the field experience and problems encountered during the fieldwork.

3.1 Methodological approach:

3.1.1. Multiple Method:

The choice of methodological approach depends on the purpose of the research and can either be qualitative or quantitative. In his attempt to differentiate between these two, Dabbs (1982, in Berg 2001) indicates that the notion of quality is essential to the nature of settings. On the other hand, quantity is elementally an amount of something. Quality refers to the what, how, when, and where of a thing –its essence and ambience. Qualitative research thus refers to the meanings, concepts, definitions, characteristics, metaphors, and descriptions of things.

In contrast, quantitative research refers to counts and measures of things. Quantitative methods are employed when one wishes to count or measure the extension of a phenomenon (Bryman 1989; Berg 2001). Also, qualitative methods can give the intricate details of phenomena that are difficult to convey with quantitative methods (Strauss & Corbin 1990). Qualitative techniques emphasize quality, depth, richness and understanding, instead of the statistical representativeness and scientific rigor that are associated with quantitative techniques; this does not mean that they can be used without any thought. Rather, they should be approached in as a rigorous a way as quantitative techniques (ibid). According to Strauss and Corbin (1990) qualitative methods can be used to uncover and understand what lies behind any phenomenon about which little is yet known. Or to gain novel and fresh slants on things about which quite a bit is already known. It is claimed that qualitative methods are a useful way of proceeding when we are interested in a multiplicity of meanings, representations and practices (Limb & Dwyer 2001; Berg 2001). It is also argued that it seeks answers to questions by examining various social settings and the individuals who inhabit these settings.

Qualitative researchers, then, are most interested in how humans arrange themselves and their settings make sense of their surroundings through symbols, rituals, social structures, social

roles, and so forth (Herndon & Kreps 1993; Berg 2001; Seidman 1991). The choice of research methods usually flows conceptually and logically from the research questions (Weinberg, 2002). There are many valid reasons for doing qualitative research. One reason is the conviction of the researcher based upon research experience. Another is the nature of the research problem (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Being a graduate student with no prior research experience, I think, the later is more valid than the former. But, the area of the study lends itself more to qualitative research since it attempts to uncover the nature of children's daily lived experience.

Qualitative methodology, which explores the feelings, understandings and pieces of knowledge, of others through interviews, discussions, or participant observation, is increasingly used by geographers to study some of the complexities of everyday life in order to gain a deeper insight into the processes shaping our social worlds (Limb & Dwyer 2001; Valentine 2001; Crabtree & Miller 1992). Qualitative researchers are more likely to confront and come up against the constraints of the everyday social world (Denzin &Lincoln 2000; Seidman 1991).This method enabled to study children's survival strategy that is mediated through every day experience in everyday space.

Though qualitative methods exhibit richness and depth, it is demanding for a beginning researcher like me as it requires some prerequisite skills. Doing qualitative research requires stepping back and critically analyzing situations, to recognize and avoid bias, to obtain valid and reliable data and to think abstractly. To do these, a qualitative researcher requires theoretical and social sensitivity, an ability to maintain analytical distance while at the same time drawing upon past experience and theoretical knowledge to interpret what is seen, astute powers of observation, and good interactional skills (Strauss & Corbin 1990).

To better understand children and represent a reasoned account of their everyday life I need to be able to explore and explain through the commonalities and diversities in their social experience across time and space (Christensen & James 2000). There are many ways of collecting information about street children's lived experience. No method, however, alone produce all knowledge needed (Qvortrup in Christensen & James 2000). Due to the fact that there is no single perfect method and/or tool of assessing livelihood strategies (Weinberg 2002), I used a combination of various methods to illuminate their daily lived experience.

Qualitative research is inherently multimethod in focus (Denzin &Lincoln 2000). Every method is a different line of sight directed toward the same point, observing social and symbolic reality. By combining several lines of sight, researchers obtain a better, more substantive picture of reality, a richer, more complete array of symbols and theoretical concepts, and a means of verifying many of these elements. The use of multiple lines of sight is frequently called triangulation (Denzin, 1978 in Denzin &Lincoln 2000; Berg 2001; Valentine 2001). Triangulation includes multiple data-collection procedures, multiple theoretical perspectives, and/or multiple analysis techniques (Denzin 1978 in Berg 2001:5). The use of multiple research-design strategies, theories, empirical materials, perspectives, and observers in a single study increases the depth of understanding an investigation can yield (Janesick, 1994; Miles & Huberman, 1983 in Berg, 2001) and adds rigor, breadth, complexity, richness, and depth to any inquiry (Flick 1998 in Denzin &Lincoln 2000).

Every method has its own merits and demerits (Strauss & Corbin, 1990) and thus weighing the strengths and limitations of each method and tool is essential in deciding which combination(s) of methods/ tools to use. I have employed different methods of data collection and hence, enabled me to deep understanding of the research problem. I have used key informant in-depth interview, focus group discussions, informal dialogue and participant observation. According to Strauss and Corbin (1990) one might use qualitative data to illustrate or clarify quantitatively derived findings; or one could quantify demographic findings. Or, use some form of quantitative data to validate one's qualitative analysis. Similarly, I employed a survey to generate quantitative data about children's soico-economic background. This will help to validate the qualitative analysis. However, this piece of research work relies, by and large, on qualitative methods for data collection and data analysis.

3.1.2. The case study approach

Case study methods involve systematically gathering enough information about a particular person, social setting, event, or group to permit the researcher to effectively understand how it operates or functions. The case study is not actually a data gathering technique, but a methodological approach that incorporates a number of data gathering measures (Hammel, Dufour & Fourtin 1993). The approach of case studies ranges significantly from general field studies to the interview of a single individual or group (Cassel & Symon 1994). It may focus on an individual, a group, or an entire community and may utilize a number of data technologies such as life histories, documents, oral histories, in-depth interviews, and

participant observation (Hagan, 1993, Yin 1994 in Berg 2001). Hartley (in Cassel & Symon 1994) further argues in case studies a number of methods may be used – and these may be either qualitative, quantitative or both, though the emphasis is generally more on qualitative methods because of the kinds of questions which are best addressed through these method.

The strength of case studies lies especially in their capacity to explore social processes. By using multiple and often qualitative methods, the researcher can learn much more about processes than is possible with other techniques such as surveys (Berg 2001; Hamel, Dufour & Fortin 1993). Similarly, it is argued that the open ended nature of much data gathering also allows for processes to be examined in considerable depth (Cassell & Symon 1994).

Extremely rich, detailed, and in-depth information characterize the type of information gathered in a case study. In contrast, the often extensive large-scale survey research data may seem somewhat superficial in nature (Champion 1993 quoted in Berg 2001). There exists a simplistic argument which says that case studies are 'meaningful' and 'rich' compared with the sometimes 'dustbowl empiricism' of quantitative techniques. They can shed light on the fine-grain detail of social processes in their appropriate context. The counter-argument (equally simplistic) is that case studies are lacking in rigor and reliability and that they do not address the issues of generalizability which can be so effectively tackled by quantitative methods (Hartley in Casell & Symon 1994). For many the question is not even necessary to ask. This is because there is clearly a scientific value to gain from investigating some single category of individual, group, or even simply to gain an understanding of that individual, group, or event. For researchers with a positivist orientation case methods are still useful and to some extent generalizable. When case studies are properly undertaken, they should not only fit the specific individuals, groups, and event studied, but generally provide understanding about similar individuals, groups, and events (Berg 2001).

Often, qualitative research of any type is viewed as suspect when questions of objectivity are asked. For many researchers objectivity rests on the ability of an investigators to articulate what the procedures are so that others can repeat the research if they so choose. As in any scientific research, findings from a single study are seldom accepted immediately without question and additional research investigations. In this light, case methods are as objective as any other data-collection-and-analysis strategies used by social scientists (Berg 2001; Hamel, Dufour & Forin 1994). Case studies are may be time consuming and expensive if they are to be comprehensive. Sociological research is about looking for commonalities among persons

or group of persons; research in childhood is no exception to this rule (Qvortrup in Christensen & James 2000). Given the scope of the method, case studies can be pointed in their focus, or approach a broad view of life and society (Berg 2001). Using the case study approach I would attempt to assess the social network of street children, their background, working conditions, activities, motivations and daily lived experiences.

3.2. Methods of Data collection:

The data collected comprises both primary and secondary sources. In the case of primary data, I employed key informant in-depth interview, focus group discussion, informal interview, participant observation and survey for 50 migrant children. These combinations of primary data sources made possible to have in-depth and rich information as to why they are on the street and how they survive in the streets of Addis Ababa. The secondary sources on the other hand comprised reviewing national and international literature in relation to (street) children.

3.2.1. Semi-structured key informant In-depth interviews:

Usually, interviewing is defined simply as a conversation with a purpose. Specifically, the purpose is to gather information (Berg 2001) and understanding the experience of other people and the meaning they make of that experience (Seidman, 1991). Qualitative interviewing is a great adventure; every step of an interview brings new information and opens windows into the experiences of the people you meet. Through this method you can understand experiences and reconstruct events in which you did not participate (Rubin & Rubin 1995). All qualitative interviews share three pivotal characteristics that distinguish them from other forms of data gatherings in social and political research. First, qualitative interviews are modifications or extensions of ordinary conversations, but with important distinctions. Second, qualitative interviewers are more interested in the understanding, knowledge, and insights of the interviewees than in categorizing people or events in terms of academic theories. Third, the content of the interview, as well as the flow and choice of topics, changes to match what the individual interviewee knows and feels (ibid).

In-depth interviewing is attracting considerable attention in geography, and, as our knowledge of the method broadens, our questions and concerns reflect greater sensitivity to a complex set of personal, political and place based processes (Valentine 1997). Interviewing vary from very conversational to more formal (Limb & Dwyer 2001). Less structured methods of interviewing are more appropriate for younger children (Christensen & James 2000).

However, it is possible to use both individual and group semi structured interviews with children who have reached the age of 7 (Scott in Christensen & James 2000). They are treated as partners rather than as objects of research (Rubin & Rubin 1995: 10).

The key informant in-depth interviews were administered with the help of an interview guide. Key informants differ from other informants by their intimate and longer relationship with the researcher that occurred in different settings. I made an in-depth interview with about 9 (three of them girls) street children to get an account of their daily life experience and of how they view their own world and the meanings they ascribe to it. Unlike survey interviews, in which those giving information are relatively passive and are not allowed the opportunity to elaborate (Rubin & Rubin, 1995) I was able to ask informants an open ended and follow up questions. In this respect, the aim is to explore the respondents' point of view and perspectives to find out what they feel and think about their own world. All provided vast information as to why they are on the street and how they cope the challenges of street life.

Street children initially are skeptical but remained friendly, free, and telling about their life as I keep in touch with them. This is partly because I entered into their space and paid attention for their stories with care and understanding over time. It is noted that in qualitative interviewing, the researcher is not neutral, distant, or emotionally uninvolved (Rubin and Rubin 1995). Similarly, I was emotionally involved in their stories and showed them belongingness. Due to this they knew that I was not there to exploit or control them but to listen to their voices and understand their lives. I met key informants repeatedly to further understand their livelihoods. As our communication strengthened or became more familiar with each other they were free to tell me everything in detail even for questions or issues I didn't raise. For example, Abeba and Frehiwot (my girl informant) told me many things which they were not supposed to tell to the other gender at least in the country or 'culture' where sex affairs are not openly discussed even among sex partners.

The worst problem that arises in collecting data is caused by not gaining the children's trust (Apteker & Heinonen 2003). This is actually an initial problem especially for survey informants. Researchers with good interpersonal communication skill can establish trust with children through time. I learnt that they often don't keep secrets when they tell about their lives after I established trust. Or to say the least they do not hide the reality in their daily lives. I recognized this by asking more probing questions. Probes provide interviewers with a way to draw out more complete stories from subjects (Berg 2001). I also cross check an

informant's account with the accounts given by other informants who adopt, more or less, similar survival strategy. I attempted to check out inconsistencies or distortions by examining informant's responses given at different time though the goal of qualitative research is not to eliminate inconsistencies, but to understand why they occur (Rubin & Rubin 1995). It is my feeling that most of my informants were relatively consistent while telling or narrating their lived experiences. I have got very limited answers in contradiction with each other. This will increase the credibility of the research (Cassell & Symon 1994; Rubin & Rubin 1995). I would argue that asking questions meaningful to street children's daily lives is important to receive relatively 'appropriate' answers rather than asking questions which are far from their daily experiences. They were not interested to talk about issues beyond their experience. They, for example, were not interested to talk about election though the third national election was top on the agenda of the general public during the fieldwork time. But they were concerned about the issue of violence because it is linked to their daily experience.

Children have good skills of presenting information about themselves as part of their survival skill (Aptekar 1990). Here their narrative skill by itself is not a problem. The problem is that very few of them narrate a fictious story and are able to adjust themselves to what is needed in a given time to get the benefit out of it. They know the expectation of the researcher. However, most rural children are giving straight and short answers. This is partly because they are not fully adopting the street life or absolutely integrated with other street groups.

The interview setting is quite important. It is argued that the place where children are interviewed is quite likely to influence the way they respond (Scott in Christensen & James 2000; see discussion in Anne Trine's thesis p.82.). Interviews usually conducted in the absence of another person and in places where the informant can talk freely.

3.2.2. Focus group discussions (FGD)

Another research tool that I used in the process of data collection was focus group discussion. The focus group may be defined as an interview style designed for small groups usually between four and eight individuals who are brought together to discuss a particular topic chosen by the researcher(s) (Burgess & Bedford 2001). Greenbaum (1988 cited in Herndon & Kreps 1993) identifies four characteristics of focus group: multiple respondents performing together, interaction of participants, presenter of a moderator and a discussion outline. Focus groups share similar advantages to interviewing but have the added benefit of enabling the

researcher to explore how meanings and experiences are negotiated and contested between participants (Valentine 1997; Lunt & Livingston 1996) however they are more 'focused' than a causal or spontaneous group interaction (Herndon & Kreps 1993).

This dialogic characteristic of the focus group gives the researchers access to the multiple and transpersonal understanding that characterize social behavior (Goss 1996 in Christensen & James 2001) which I missed while I conduct individual interviews. Focus groups place the individual in a group context. This method has made me to come in direct contact with key informants to solicit information by talking or discussing. As a moderator I followed a predetermined interview guide to direct a discussion in a group in order to get their perceptions, attitudes, and experiences on a defined topic (Weinberg 2002). But during the discussion I was not critical to follow the predetermined interview and I was flexible. Children were given enough time and chance to express themselves even if they raised issues unrelated to the moment's discussant topic. FGD was useful for an in-depth exploration of street children's views, priorities and problems and concerns in their lives. A relatively comfortable place, where participants could come together and maintain an informal atmosphere, was selected in each locale. For example, I have carried out the discussion undisturbed in a public park where children could freely express their views. The situations were simple and informal in the sense that promotes active participation and encourage ordinary dialogue among members of the group.

The techniques used to recruit focus groups are as important as the techniques used to run them. Participants should be roughly of the same socio-economic group, or have a similar background in relation to the issue under investigation (Burgess 1996). As it is argued elsewhere groups should be small, with no more than eight children at maximum (Scott in Christensen & James 2000; Stewart 1990).The focus group consisted of four groups of children each consisting of five members with common gender, ethnic and geographical origin and roughly involved in similar survival strategies. I tried to form groups which represent the major livelihood strategies to identify the common and shared characteristics of children who are involved in similar activities to make a living. One focus group consisted of five Gurage children who survived by shoe shining. I conducted this discussion in a small tea house on Sunday after lunch - the less busy time according to their schedule. The other group was Gojjamie working children who earn a living by selling lottery tickets. Another group consisted of five *berenda adariwech* (who usually beg and spend the night on verandas) - who

sleep on the main street of Piazza. In this discussion, I encouraged smaller children to speak to make sure that they were not dominated by older ones. I did this after I noticed that smaller ones fear to tell about some of the unpleasant relationships with older ones. Telling bad relations may be considered as accusing older boys in the presence of the research team. The discussion with these children was made with one of my assistants during lunch time in a small and quite café. I also made further informal discussion with three smaller kids' around Legehar. I made this to supplement what I get from the previous discussion.

It is my feeling that girls are another category of street children. Street girls were separated from street boys because they are partly involved in different survival strategies. And, at the same time, they often do not speak much, at least in my country, in the presence of boys, especially if there are more boys than girls in the group. I carried out the discussion of this group in the drop in center of Forum for Street Children (FSCE) - an NGO working with street children. They spend some of the day's time in this compound because FSCE provides them with informal education and sanitary service. But all leave the center late in the afternoons and survive on their own. I made discussion while they were there because that is relatively quiet time of the day. During the discussion foods and drinks were served and small gifts were presented since I was consuming some of their survival time.

For recording purposes, I have used a tape recorder and take notes. Besides, as a moderator I also tried to observe the process of the discussion, the flow of the dialogue, the emotional atmosphere, verbal and non-verbal reactions as the intent of focus groups is to develop a broad and deep understanding of the topic of interest rather than a quantitative summary (Limb & Dwyer 2001). I was assisted by two assistant researchers who were assisting me during the survey. One of them is a postgraduate student in AAU studying Journalism and another one works for an NGO working with street children.

3.2.3. Informal discussion:

I interviewed one social worker in the Addis Ababa labor and social affairs bureau, Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs and one in FSCE to get detailed information about the magnitude of the problem in the city. I chose individuals carefully in both organizations based on their knowledge about the children's living conditions. I also made informal discussions with seven policemen who work in the study area. I held an informal discussion with two police officers

who works in children's department of the Addis Ababa police commission. Such informal dialogue with policemen enabled me to get the attitudes of the police towards street children.

3.2.4. Participant observation:

Observational fieldwork involves placing oneself in direct personal contact with the social group one is intending to study as they go about their affairs (Weinberg 2002). Participant observation was originally forged as a method in the study of small, relatively homogenous societies. It involves living; working or spending periods of time in a particular 'community' in order to understand people's experiences in the context of their everyday lives (Valentine 2001 in Limb & Dwyer 2001; Denzin & Lincoln 2000). Jorgensen (1989 in Crabtree & Miller1992) defines participant method in terms of seven distinct features: the insiders' view point, the here and now of every day life, the development of interpretative theories, an open ended process of inquiry, an in-depth case study approach, the researchers direct involvement in the informants lives' and direct observation as a primary data-gathering device.

The fieldworker directly observes and also participates in the sense that he has durable social relations in a social system under investigation. It was argued that full participant observation with children is impossible for adults, mainly because of their physical size and it has been suggested that a semi-participant observer role is more suitable (James et al.1998). It is an ideal opportunity to carry out informal interviews and to talk about issues as they occur; turning conversations to certain topics of interest (Limb & Dwyer 2001) and implies simultaneous emotional involvement and objective detachment (and reflects the natives' own points of view (Denzin &Lincoln 2000)   It has been argued that because we cannot study the social world without being a part of it, all social research is a form of participant observation (Hammersley & Atkinson 1983 in Denzin & Lincoln 2000; Berg 2001).

By no means have I claimed that I was a complete participant during the field work. According to Simmons (1969) the true identity and purpose of complete participant in field research are not known to those whom he observes. He interacts with them as naturally possible in whatever areas of their living interest him and are accessible him in which he can play, requisite day-to-day roles successfully. I however played a participant observer role in many situations where both fieldworker and informant were aware that their relation, unlike complete participant, is a field relation ship (Simmons, 1969). The fieldworker may or may not play an active part in events, or he may interview participants in events which may be

considered part of the process of observation. In line with this, I feel that I was a participant observer since I spent a substantial amount of time with street children in different - natural and unnatural - settings. The street often is not looked upon at a natural place for any child. Home, family and schools are usually considered as proper places for children. The street, however, becomes natural for those children who spend most of their time on the street. On the other hand, I interviewed children in places where they never been before or been there for other purposes like begging in order to observe children's reactions, responses and activities when they were placed in different places, out of their usual settings.

Research with street children requires entering children's livelihoods space, eating together, talking to them in their space, understanding their typical 'language', acquiring knowledge of interpersonal relations and daily routines in the midst of the reality. For example, I used to have lunch together with children in small tea houses or *shiro bets* – small café's where children eat when they can afford. I also get an access to observe children in their sleeping place by acting as a family member of the house renters'. In both cases, I share direct experiences and have long conversation with informants because that is relatively quiet time. These allowed me to maximize attachment, involvement and contact with children and have made me to study their behavior. In addition, when I shared their life they become friendly so that it enabled me to establish trust, to build confidence and to know them in greater depth. While doing these utmost attempts were made to minimize attention from others. It is fair to tell that I couldn't able to enter their space during the nights to be part of the event. This was for security reasons. I, however, manage to observe their activities as a passer-by.

 I found this method, together with other methods of data collection, as a helpful technique to gain a comprehensive understanding of children's condition and their daily lived experience. Since I roam with them in the midst of the reality, I have observed aspects of their daily life that might not be revealed through other methods. Observation, direct or participatory, enhances the validity and reliability of the data in the sense that it gives the possibility of observing repeatedly occurring activities and/or behaviors of the same or different children in similar or different contexts. Participant observation is not a single method but as a type of research enterprise, styles of combining several methods toward a particular end (Simmons 1969). I adopted direct observation in all attempts of generating data. I have observed the general situation of children who live and work in the major streets of the city.

3.2.5. Self administered questionnaire

I administered a simple survey for about 50 rural migrant children who work and/or live in the selected areas to generate quantifiable data. The questionnaire consists of 27 questions providing general information on respondent's background, family- structure- related (contextual) and street based opportunity (situational) attributes and their future aspirations. Questions on the overall family dynamics or structure (demographic compositions) of respondents include age, sex, survival status of parents, marital status of parents; family size and what there parent were doing for a living. Questions which focuses on street based opportunities include: what causes them to live and/or work on the street, types of activities they were involved, how much they earned per day, what were their expenses, their level of street involvement, how many years do they had stayed on the street, dangers they are exposed to and who helped them while they live or work on the street, substance abuse and health status of respondents. Their future aspirations are likely to be influenced by the above mentioned contextual and situational variables. They were asked about their future intentions: whether they plan to continue to live/work on the street, rejoin family/relatives villages, expand street based activities, and/or to be placed in the custody of care-takers.

The first draft of the questionnaire was prepared in English and was directly translated in to Amharic (official language) using very simple words and phrases to avoid inconsistencies and communication barriers. There are some children who have minimum skills of speaking Amharic but most of them can communicate well in Amharic. Some of them learn from scratch and others improved their Amharic skills after they arrived in Addis since knowing this language is vital for their survival.

A purposive or judgmental sampling technique was used in administering the questionnaire in order to deliberately include street children with a rural background who pursue different livelihood strategies in four major areas of the city. I have chosen four core sample areas: Arat kilo- Piazza (shopping area), Leghar -stadium (railway and bus station) Gojjam veranda - Merkato area (largest open market and biggest bus station) and Betel area (new construction sites for residents) - where most children work and live. This helps me to be focused.

Attempts were made to incorporate children from diverse geographical origins, livelihood strategies, age, gender, working and living places. I had two assistants in facilitating interviews. One of them was working closely with street children related projects. The other

one was a journalist working for Ethiopian Television. The later one, as a journalist had good skills in interviewing people and his experience helped us to reach the informants. In addition, both of them were my old friends and this facilitates discussion among us during work and non-work time. However it is me who completed most (about 75 %) of the questionnaires. This helped me to made informal interviews while completing the questionnaires. This was helpful to get ideas about the informants' socio-economic background, causes heading them to the street and ways of making a living. This was also useful to choose relevant respondents for in-depth interviews and to reflect the fieldwork. I contacted them by intervening directly in their livelihood after I saw what they were doing for their survival and what they need from people passing by. I wouldn't show up with papers, pens, and tape records to minimize the hesitancy of children which rose from the post election political violence in the city. I, instead, indirectly discuss all the questions and fill it shortly after I depart from them. After the interview I gave gifts for them to compensate the lost working time and to thank them.

Once identification of the eligible respondent was done, I familiarized myself in order to minimize hesitancy and any possible discomfort among respondents. I think they feel that I deserve to get answers for the questions I raised since I intervene in their livelihoods. My bag was full of soft papers, roasted cereals, lottery tickets, cigarettes, etc which I bought to make contacts. Also, good approaches and comprehensive introduction about the purpose of the study let them understand that their participation in interview couldn't harm them. I have taken great care to avoid multiple interviewing provided the mobile nature of the respondents.

3.2.6. Secondary sources:

Secondary data sources that were relevant for the study were collected from NTNU library, online publications, libraries in the MOLSA, Addis Ababa University and NGOs working with street children such as FSCE, Goal Ethiopia and Hope enterprise. Statistical abstracts, reports, publications, brochures, etc would be critically reviewed among others.

3.3. Selection of the Sample

The logic of using a sample of subjects is to make inferences about some larger population from a smaller one. In quantitative survey, the investigator is keenly concerned with probability sampling (Berg 2001).Qualitative inquiry typically focuses in depth on relatively small samples, even single case, selected purposefully. Quantitative methods typically depend on larger samples selected randomly. These tendencies result from the underlying purpose of

sampling in the two tradition of inquiry. In quantitative research, one's sample should be representative of some larger population to which one hopes to generalize the research findings. In qualitative inquiry, sampling is driven by the desire to illuminate the questions under study and to increase the scope or range of data exposed – to uncover multiple realities. In general, quantitative sampling concerns itself with representativeness and qualitative sampling with information- richness (Paton 1990; quoted in Crabtree & Miller 1992).

The social sciences often examine research situations where one cannot select the kinds of probability samples used in large scale surveys, and which conform to the restricted needs of a probability sample (ibid). In these situations, nonprobability sampling tends to be the norm (Berg 2001). Since studying the entire population of street children in Addis was practically impossible, a manageable size had to be chosen for the survey. I administered a simple survey for about 50 children who work and/or live on the streets of the selected four areas to generate quantifiable data. It was not easy to find an accurate number of street children from which I could select a proper scientific sample by random method. Therefore the selection was based on convenience or opportunistic sampling, which basically means selecting the best group one could manage within a given time and resource constraints (Ennew 1994). Berg (2001) noted that convenience sample is sometimes referred to as an accidental or availability sample. This category of sample relies on available subjects – those who are close at hand or easily accessible. Experiences of researchers from India as quoted in Ennew (1994):

'*Since the street children keep moving it would have been very difficult to prepare any sampling frame, out of which to select the desired sample applying principles of random method. Instead, the places where the children were generally found were selected. There is no way by which the representative nature of the sample can be verified except to say that children have been selected from a very wide variety of job situations, which may ensure a good representative*'.

Another category of nonprobability sampling is purposive or judgmental sampling. When developing a purposive sample, researchers use their knowledge or expertise about some group to select subjects who represent this population (Berg 2001). This sampling technique was used in order to deliberately include street children with a rural origin who pursue different livelihood strategies in four major areas of the city. I have interviewed and observed children in the midst of the reality as they go for survival for about two weeks before I administered the survey. This enabled me to roughly identify categories of the subjects of the

study and map out the places they usually hangout. An attempt was also made to use quota sampling, another nonprobability method, based on some of the attributes (age, gender, survival strategy, geographical origin, etc) selected in line with the research problem.

I chose 20 children (about 10 from the previous 50 children) for focus group discussion who, I feel represent the major survival strategies of street children in Addis. I further chose nine children for in-depth interview. Livelihood strategies and gender were used as a criterion to choose these in depth informants. I have used snowballing method to get informants for the survey and in-depth informants. Snowballing is sometimes the best way to locate subjects with certain attributes or characteristics necessary in a study. I had chosen some children for in-depth interview while I completed the questionnaires and made informal interviews.

3.4. Methods of data analysis

3.4.1. Qualitative data analysis: Case history:

Denzin and Lincoln (2000) underscoring the multiple definitions that have surrounded the idea of life history by citing different authors as follows: it is also called 'the biographical method' (Schwandt 1997). Watson and Watson (1985) state that a 'life history is any retrospective account by the individual of his life in whole or part, in written or oral form, that has been elicited or prompted by another person. Watson (1976) argues that the only direct purpose of life history 'is as a commentary of the individual's very personal view of his own experience as he understands it'. Dollard (1935), in a classic context, has written that life history is 'an attempt to define the growth of a person in a cultural milieu and to make theoretical sense of it'. Denzin (1989) observes that life history is an 'account of a life based on interviews and observations'. Life history, because it is the actor's own history is a live and vibrant message from 'down there,' telling us that what it means to be a kind of person we have never met face to face (Weinberg 2002).Meaningful study of marginalized groups in a society can be made by adopting case histories that are characterized by an every day life perspective (Holt Jensen 1999). The life history more than any other technique except perhaps participant observation, can give meaning to the overworked notion of process (Limb & Dwyer 2001) and also provide a window on social change (Rubin & Rubin 1995). Data processing and data analysis would be mainly qualitative in its nature (Denzin 1989). In line with this, the dominant method for data analysis would be life history and participant observation of a group nine street children.

3.4.2. Quantitative data analysis:

Though the dominant method would be qualitative, I would attempt to employ some descriptive statistics to analyze the data, generated from the questionnaire. Quantitative information that surveys provide would be helpful in identifying the socio-economic background that has to do with the community rather than an individual child. The statistical data that would be presented in my findings would be processed and analyzed manually. The use of figures would be focused on for descriptive purposes. The quantitative analysis helped me to structure the data generated from qualitative resources.

3.5. Validity and Reliability of data:

Reliability is the degree to which the finding is independent of circumstances of the research and validity is degree to which the finding is interpreted in a correct way (Kirk & Miller 1992 quoted in Lucchini 1996). Informants' understanding about the relevance of the study and their willingness to participate affect the validity of the data. I gave them a comprehensive introduction about the nature and importance of research to enable them respond freely. I have tried to set a very clear objective and attempt to familiarize myself with respondents before I started any kind of data collection. I introduced myself as a local student but didn't disclose myself as a student coming from abroad (Norway).

There is a need to assess the reliability and validity of information and data from secondary sources. The statistics about street children are often deliberately exaggerated and misquoted in order to sensationalize and victimize children (Ennew 1994). Similarly, it is argued that statistics on the number of street children in developing countries are notoriously inaccurate and highly inflated mainly to seek attention from funding agencies (Aptekar &Abebe 1997). I will try to make comparisons between data and claims from a number of reputable sources in the last decade. As it is noted by Apteker (1990) children have good skills of presenting information about themselves as part of their survival skill. I attempt to cross check by asking probing questions. Probes provide interviewers with a way to draw out more complete stories from subjects (Berg 2001). I also cross check an informant's account with the accounts given by other informants who adopt, more or less, similar survival strategy. I attempted to check out inconsistencies or distortion by examining informant's responses given in different time.

Some street children do not know their accurate age and sometimes they report their age by guess. I am afraid this may affect the validity of the data to a certain extent. The choice was

either to believe them or make a mere guess as they do not have documents. I was also cross checking their age when they report events in terms of calendars/years. And, I took few samples from children whom I guess they are at later stage of childhood.

What is more, the fact that I have used a range of qualitative methods which reflects an attempt to secure an in depth understanding of the phenomena in question and gives room for cross-checking and thereby establishing the validity and reliability of the data I obtained. Berg suggest that the important feature of triangulation is not the simple combination of different kinds of data but the attempt to relate them so as to counteract the threats to validity identified in each. Triangulation is not a tool or a strategy of validation, but an alternative to validation (Berg 2001).

3.6. Field experiences: Problems and challenges

During my fieldwork there was a post election political violence in Ethiopia. The problem was serious in Addis. In the first ten days for example, there was no transportation service in the city which prevented me doing my work. I couldn't circulate and contact officials and informants as was planned and hoped in the initial fieldwork design. This time I was frustrated to do my work freely because research of this sort and life in general needs settled environment to accomplish decent results. However, the situation allows me to see what would happen to street children, in some parts of the city, during these hard times.

The situation however was getting better towards the end of the second week and I was able to administer questionnaires for fifty street children with rural origin. Identifying them was not an easy job. I, however, was able to identify most children who come from the North by their clothes and clothing style. I identified many others by making informal interview before I administer the questionnaire. In addition, due to the political unrest, some of them were suspicious while they saw me recording their responses on papers and even a few refused to be interviewed during the pre-testing session. Afterwards I avoided using of papers, pencils, and tapes during interviews. I, instead, orally discussed the issue and filled it on the questionnaire, usually in café's, shortly after we have done with.

I, most often, interviewed children in quiet places, I made few interviews in their usual settings when it was difficult to alienate them. Attempts also made not to attract the attention of other people. I only interviewed very few children in the presence of others because they may refuse or hide information's or not willing to talk about their personal matters if they are

interviewed in the presence of others especially the non-street ones and adults. Some informants were not willing to be interviewed in quiet places. It shows that some might have considered me as a potential danger since they didn't know my objective. They needed to be careful as danger is not uncommon on street life.

There is a wealth of literature on issue of power relations between the researcher and the researched. The difference in terms of age, physical appearance, clothes, money, and life style are almost unavoidable. Not only eligible informants but also the passersby were skeptical when they saw me sharing events with street children. In all research the relations and contexts with in which communication takes place fundamentally shape the nature and outcome of the research. Aldersen (1995, in Christensen & James 2000) further argued that the inherent power relations between researcher and researched in childhood studies must be seen as reinforced by more general cultural notions of the power relations which exist between children and adults. The relationship I built, the care I have shown, the attention I gave helps me to minimize the bias which may come as a result of the above differences. Most of them become friendly when they knew their stories mattered and that I am not harmful. I would say that researcher's approach and communication skills matters to feel the gap created by the above differences.

Similarly, there is an argument that giving money is bribing the mind of the informants. It is my feeling that giving gifts and incentives to informants of this research is a must to compensate the consumed survival time. Emotional involvement and contextual understanding, however, is important while intervening in their livelihood. For example, one day I learnt that Abeba's sheets were stolen by someone in rented shelter while she told me about her day. I felt that time was good to intervene into her life and I bought the sheet after I got her permission. This is only one example which I used to minimize the impact of money as a source of dominance in terms of power relation. This is more than just a response to receiving information but also supporting someone whom you know.

3.6.1. Expectation of the interviewee

In fact, this does not mean that I have never faced problems in connection with giving incentives for research participants. When I gave money or gifts for someone others expect me to do the same thing. For example, I bought *listro* (shoe shining equipments) for Tamru (a beggar), after I saw his courage to start work. Two of his friends were urging me to buy them

listro. In fact I bought them *listro* and they rejoined the street with new spirit. Similarly, when I interview someone others urged me to talk to them because they perceived me as an NGO worker. For example, one day a man stand behind me while I was interviewing a disabled child who begs around the national theater. I quit the conversation with the child and asked the guy to leave us alone. He gave me his HIV positive card and urged me to help him if I was an NGO worker. Some people disturb my work. For example, one cold evening of Monday three kids were chewing chat and smoking cigarettes on the street around Legehar railway station. I talked to them and allowed me to take their pictures. However, two people passing by suddenly shouted at me while I was attempting to take children's pictures. They shouted: 'we know you are begging *ferenji's* (white people) by showing the picture; we know you NGO people are getting rich in the name of these poor children'. I told them I was not. For them studying the lives of street children were irrelevant and they suggest me to study agriculture and industry. Firstly, these guys have no right to intervene on my work. Secondly, they do not know that streetism is a pressing social problem. Thirdly, nor do they understand the association between streetism and other sectors (such as agriculture and industry)

Though I had no plan to go anywhere outside the capital, the reality in the field drove me towards northern Ethiopia. The informal interview with many children and the survey showed me that the majority (roughly 80, 85%) of children from the North came from one locality – Merawi, which is about 530 km North from Addis. I wonder why that happened and decided to go there. This allowed me to cross check children's responses with interviewed officials and community elderly. It also enabled me to understood important points regarding the causes, trends and patterns of children's migration.

Like field entry leaving the field is also a problem. I have closely observed children's condition in the midst of the reality. Their situation and memory always come to my mind. I always worried about their future though I left them in the street as I found.

3.6.2. Meeting informants: how do I make contacts?

Interviewing requires that researchers establish access to, and make contact with, potential participants whom they have never met (Seidman 1991). I interviewed many street children with different personal and social attributes. I administered survey for about fifty street children; conducted discussion with four focus groups (20 children) and made in depth interview with nine children and informal discussion with many others. In deed, I have used

different strategies to select and contact informants. I contacted eligible respondents after I observe what they were doing for survival and their expectations from the passersby. I usually bought items or use their services in order to talk to them. I talked them about the benefit derived from their activities, the market, and slowly driving them to talk about their personal lives. Let's consider this story: Wami, a shoeshine boy, was waiting for customers. I went to him and got my shoes polished. In the meantime I start conversation with him about his attitude towards his 'customers'. He sited Aristotle and replied 'customer is a king'. He told me many things about his life. In the mean time I invited him for a tea in a small café close to his work place. That evening we communicated well and made another appointment. Afterwards, he introduced me his friends who also became my informants – snowballing.

Another example: Asmamaw is a lottery seller whom I met around Piazza rushing to finish his lottery tickets. I bought him a lottery ticket. We talked for a while and I asked to have some more time with him. But he refused even I promised him to compensate the time I consumed. He said... 'I have to rush to finish lotteries (worth Birr 150) at hand in three days. Other wise I will be in crisis. Finally, we agreed to meet after three days in a place where he knows better - in front of Saint George church in Piazza.

In similar fashion, I had chosen some children for in-depth interview while I completed the questionnaires. If I feel he or she is relevant for the study I will tell him or her about the purpose of the study and make appointments for further discussion. I found snowballing as a good method to get relevant informants. For example, I met Dessie while doing some gardening work. He came to Addis recently though he has been in Addis two years ago. It was not sound to take him as a case because relying on his memory might have some negative effects on the reliability of the data. I contacted Melkamu, Dessie's friend, after I learnt that he lived in Addis for about two years.

Similarly, I met some in depth informants through NGO's working closely with street children. For example, I contacted two female in-depth informants (Abeba and Frehiwot) through FSCE. I learnt from its head office that there is a drop-in center in its Mercato branch where female street children spend part of the days time getting some sanitation service and informal education about HIV/AIDS and reproductive health. They however leave the organization in the afternoon and survive in the street in their own. I contacted them through the social worker and the nurse of the organization.

Chapter Four

4. General background and context of the study area

This chapter provides background information to the study area. It gives an overview of key feature of the socio-economic characteristics of Ethiopia and then introduces some salient features of Addis Ababa, the study area.

4.1. Country profile: Ethiopia's socio-economic background

4.1.1. Geography

Ethiopia in the Horn of Africa covers approximately 1,221,900 square kilometers and shares frontiers with Sudan, Kenya, Somalia, and Djibouti. The major physiographic features are a massive highland complex of mountains and plateaus divided by the Great Rift Valley and surrounded by lowlands along the periphery. The diversity of the terrain is fundamental to regional variations in climate, natural vegetation, soil composition, and settlement patterns.

4.1.2. Demography

Surveys such as the DHS (demographic health survey) series provide essential insights into population trends in developing countries, most of which lack key data such as registrations of births and deaths. Some of the key findings of the 2005 Ethiopian DHS include:

- With a population of about 77 million, Ethiopia is Africa's second-largest country after Nigeria.
- The population is currently growing at about 2.5 percent per year, a rate that would double a population in about 28 years.
- About 85 percent of Ethiopia's population is considered rural (defined as those living in localities with less than 2,000 people.
- Ethiopia's total fertility rate (TFR)—the average number of children a woman would bear given the rate of childbearing of a particular year—at 5.4 for the three-year period before the survey. The urban-rural difference was substantial (i.e. for rural women averaged 6.0 children, while for urban women was 2.4). The TFR reported in 1990 by the National Family and Fertility Survey was 6.4, suggesting that there has been a very slow decline in national fertility. Nonetheless, it is quite apparent that fertility decline may be quite protracted in the rural areas where the great bulk of the population lives.

4.1.3. Economy: an over view

Ethiopia is one of the least developed countries in the world. Its per capita income is among the lowest of the least developed countries, and its reliance on agriculture among the highest in the group. The available evidence indicates that the rate of economic growth over the last three decades has been unsatisfactory. By the dawning of the 1990s the economy showed severe macroeconomic imbalances, severe food deficit, worsened social conditions, growing indebtedness and increased vulnerability (MEDAC 1999; ECA 2002).

After the 1974 revolution, the economy of Ethiopia was run as a socialist economy: strong state controls was implemented, and a large part of the economy was transferred to the public sector, including most modern industry and large-scale commercial agriculture, all agricultural land and urban rental property, and all financial institutions. Since mid-1991 the governemnt adopted a new economic poicy in 1992, the major principles of which are :reducing the role of the state in the economy; promoting private investment, enhancing popular particiaption in development; mobilizing external resources; and involving regional admistartions in economic management (FDRE 1996 in Degefa 2005; MEDAC 2000).

Given poverty reduction will continue be the core of the agenda of the country's development, the poverty reduction strategy paper (PRSP) is built on four major pillars, reflecting the national policy to address the poverty problem in the short and long term namely: Agricultural Development Led Industrialization (ADLI) and food security, justice system and civil service reform ,decentralization and empowerment ,and capacity building and private sectors(MOFED 2003). ADLI is seen as a long term strategy to achieve faster growth and economic development by making use of labor intensive and land augmenting technological process. The other three blocks designed to enhance the effectiveness of ADLI in reducing poverty and ensuring food security (ibid).The primary emphasis is on rural, agrarian based growth and the health, education, water and road sectors are designed mainly to facilitate rural development. Although the countries over all development strategy is in favour of the agricutural sector, its effect on rural devlopment is minimal.

One of the policies aimed at promoting peasant farming was to put a sound and helpful agricultural extension in place. Degefa noted that the country has long experience of implementing various types of extension programmes. Nonetheless, none of the programmes has brought about significant productivity increases to help reduce deep rooted povery and the

resultant food insecurity (Degefa 2005). As to the success of the programme, Degefa reviewd the litrature and found mixed observations. In the central highlands of Arsi and shewa, the technological inputs have enabled the farmers harvest better yields (Degefa 1996). The Ethiopian Economic Association (EEA) (2002 in Degefa 2005) also found that land productivity among extension-particiapting peasants is better than that of non-particiapting ones. On the other hand, farmers in drought prone areas of the country such as South Wello zone (Yared et al 2000), South Gondar zone (Degefa 2000), Oromiya zone (Degefa 2000) and Tigray region (Werede 2003) did not benefit from the programmee and rather fell into debt in certain cases (Degefa 2005). In line with this, many children migrate to the town from rural areas to earn income. Their motive of migration is to pay off the houshold's fertilizer debts.

Agriculture is the mainstay of the economy; it provides a livelihood for some 90 % of the population and accounts for perhaps 45 % of GDP growth rate for the last seven years (ECA, 2002; MEDAC 1999). The industrial sector's contribution to real GDP growth rate is 10.9 % for the last six years and 3 % of employment (ECA 2002; MEDAC, 1999; 2002). Services represent some 40 % of GDP and 7 % of employment. Many other economic activities depend on agriculture, including marketing, processing, and export of agricultural products. Production is overwhelmingly of a subsistence nature, and a large part of commodity exports are provided by the small agricultural cash-crop sector. Principal crops include coffee,pulses,(*e.g.,* beans), oilseeds, cereals, potatoes, sugarcane, and vegetables. Exports are almost entirely agricultural commodities, and coffee is the largest foreign exchange earner. Ethiopia's livestock population is believed to be the largest in Africa, and as of 1987 accounted for about 15 % of the GDP (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ethiopia#Geography).

Rural children are commonly involved in domestic chores, and are supposed to assist in manual labor in the agriculrture sector such as attending domestic animals, weeding and harvesting (CSA 2001). The social and economic problems of the country have cumulatively become severe and complex mirroring sharp contrasts between considerable potential and wide spread poverty in almost all social and economic indicators.The depressed rural economy put pressure on the lives of rural children who are often obliged to migrate to towns in search of employment to contribute to household income.

4.1.4. Poverty in Ethiopia: An over view

Ethiopia with more than 77 million population is the second most populous country in sub-Saharan Africa(DHS 2005).The country has long standing history, mosaic of people and diverse cultural heritage(FSS,2001).Ethiopia has reasonably good resource potential for development in agriculture, biodiversity, water resources, minerals, etc. Yet Ethiopia is faced with complex poverty, which is broad, deep and structural (MOFED 2002). It's PCI income is among the lowest of the least developed countries with on average GDP per capita income of USD 101.2 and real GDP growth rate of 2.8 % for the period 1996/97-2002/03 (NBE 2004)

Ethiopia remains one of Africa's poorest nations: many Ethiopians rely on food aid from abroad. Poverty in Ethiopia is widespread and multifaceted. The country also records the worst situation with respect to other indicators of well-being. The average life expectancy is 45.5 years and the age dependency ratio is 1 person for every economically active individual (UNDP 2004). The adult literacy rate is 41.5%, and less than the school age children had the opportunity to attend school (Brigsten et al. 2003 in Degefa 2005). Only 25 % of the total population and 15% of the rural inhabitants in Ethiopia obtain drinking water from protected sources (Degefa 2005). Most of the poor in urban and rural areas are not able to send their children to school and poverty demands children to engage in income earning activities.

According to FDRE (2002a, 2002b), 44.2% of the Ethiopian population is poor and hence unable to meet its basic needs –the minimum nutritional requirement and other non-food necessities. The 'poverty line' for the country was set based on the amount of money needed to buy a 'basket of food' yielding 2200 kilocalories, i.e. the minimum food requirement for adult per day. Considering the non food expenditure as well, *birr* 1075 is used as a poverty line (of which *birr* 647.81 is meant for food, and the remaining *birr* 427.22 for non expenditures). The national per capita consumption expenditure in 1999-2000 was birr 1057, with wider gap between rural and urban areas (Degefa 2005).

It is noted that the national average figures are very crude for depicting the spatial distribution of the incidence of poverty and its depth (Degefa 2005). Since the rural areas account for about 85 % of the country's population, poverty is primarily a rural phenomenon. The urban areas account for only 15 per cent of the total population, but also have a high incidence of poverty. The proportion of people in Ethiopia who are absolutely poor (those whose total consumption expenditure was below the poverty line) during the year 2000 was 44 percent

(Ibid). Poverty is prevalent both in rural and urban areas, with coverage of 47 and 33 percent of the respective population (World Bank 2003; MOFED 2003; Degefa 2005; Tasew 2004). Among the diverse faces of poverty, the decline of agricultural produce as opposed to rapid population growth and the sharp increase in the unemployment rate in urban areas have been proliferation of children working on the streets of many towns in Ethiopia (Tatek 2002).

4.1.5 Food insecurity

Ethiopia is a country with high prevalence of both transitory and chronic food insecurity. Both forms of food insecurity have become almost a way of life for the sizable proportion of the country's population (Degefa 2005). About half of the population is poor and vulnerable to chronic food insecurity, and some six million people depend on food aid every year (ibid). The percentage of population under food poverty in rural areas is about 41 % where as the corresponding figure for urban areas stood approximately 47 %.

 The history of Ethiopia is filled with terrible famine. Ethiopia experienced intermittent famines in the last four decades: the 1972-1974; 1984/85, 1989/90; and 2002/3 (Teshome 2001; Degefa 2005; Tatek 2002). The famine crisis of Ethiopia is not simply results of natural disasters such as drought, flood, etc; they are fundamentally the results of the socio-political crises of the country (Teshome 2001). The effect of famine manifested itself not only in distress migration, death of family members due to starvation but also in the social and psychological crisis it induced among victims (Mesfin 1984 in Degefa 2005). Although its effect is debilitating for all social groups, it is more pronounced among children and women, who are disproportionately disadvantaged on a number of grounds. In line with this Tatek (2002) noted that the consequence of famine to children through orphanhood, malnutrition and undernourishment is often unrecognized.

4.1.6. HIV/AIDS

Ethiopia's HIV/AIDS epidemic is classified as 'generalized' and continues to impact every society. According to the MOH, approximately 3.2 million Ethiopians are living with HIV/AIDS, though UNAIDS estimated a total of 2.1 million at the end of 2001, with an adult prevalence of 6.4 percent (UNAIDS 2002). Given the country's relatively large population, the number of people living with HIV/AIDS (PLWHA) in Ethiopia is third largest in the world next to South Africa and India. About 90 per cent of the reported AIDS cases comprise adults between the ages of 20 and 49, the most important group in terms of labor force and

reproduction of family. In many urban areas about half of the hospital beds are in fact occupied by AIDS patients. The emergence of HIV/AIDS crisis, despite the various efforts to arrest the expansion of the epidemic that have been undertaken in the past, lead to the adoption of an HIV/AIDS policy by the government in 1998 (PRSP 2000).

According to the MOH, sexual contact prenatal transmissions are the predominant modes of HIV transmission. As of October 1997, men comprised about 61% of reported AIDS cases. HIV prevalence among pregnant women in Addis increased from 5% in 1989 to 18% in 1997. As of 2001, about 200,000 children under age 15 were living with HIV/AIDS. Reversing years of progress in child survival, AIDS increased Ethiopia's infant mortality by 7% from 1995 to 2000. According to the MOH, as of December 2001, an estimated 1 million Ethiopian children had been orphaned due to HIV/AIDS. Most HIV infections in Ethiopia occur among young people in their teens and 20s, and young women are particularly vulnerable.

4.2. Profile of Addis Ababa: the study area

4.2.1. Addis: The capital of Africa

Addis Ababa, which means "New Flower" in Amharic, is an intriguingly indigenous African city. Unlike many other African capitals, it's founding, growth and development, are not rooted in colonization. Addis is the political, economic and social capital of Ethiopia. Addis is a major centre for international organizations, notably the headquarters of the African Union (AU) and ECA. Due to this Addis is usually referred to as the diplomatic capital of Africa. However, this has its own impact on the lives of street children. They are often arbitrarily rounded up and detained during international conferences to make sure that the street is clean.

4.2.2. Physical background

Addis, the capital of Ethiopia, is located at the geographical center of the country and lies between 8 degrees and 55 minutes north and 9 degrees and 05 minutes north latitude and 38 degrees and 40 minutes east and 38 degree and 50 minutes east longitude. The average altitude of Addis is 2408 meters above see level. More than 21,000 hectares in area, Addis Ababa is situated in the foothills of the 3000 meters Entoto Mountains. The city is endowed with numerous streams that start from Northwest and Northeast running towards the south and draining to the Awash River. The most important streams and rivers are the Kebena, the Ginfle, the Bantyiketu, the Akaki, and the Kechene rivers (Region 14 environmental protection bureau cited in Medac 2000).

The city has a warm temperate and rainy climate. In Addis, day-time temperatures rarely rise above 26°c and rarely fall below 7°c; the average mean temperature 17°c. Sharp drops in temperature occur in the late afternoon, and it is often chilly outdoors in the evening. Night-time temperatures are coldest in December and January. Addis can also be chilly during the main rainy season. The average rainfall amount is 1178 mms with variations between 8 mm in May and 2780 mm in August. The rainy months are mainly between June and September (ibid). This season has adverse impact on the lives of the poor who have insufficient shelter. Especially the problem is more pronounced in the lives of street children who spend significant amount of their time on the street without adequate clothes and shelter.

The city has shown an extensive physical growth. For example, in 1920s the area of the city was (33 km^2); in 1990 (518 km^2) and in 1994 (530.21 km^2) (Mekete 1997). The area grew 2.4 times in the period of ten years between 1984 and 1994. This is accompanied by many problems such as traffic congestion, shortages of facilities and infrastructure (MEDAC 2000).

4.2.3. Socio- economic condition

Demography

In 1950's the total population of the city was 392,000 while in 1980's it has grown to four fold and reached 1.18 million. The 1984 census put the population of Addis at 1.4 million while the 1994 census recorded 2,112,737 people. There is an increase of 0.7 million or 50 % increase over a decade period. The annual increase over the period 1984 – 1994 is 5 percent (MEDAC 2000). The population of the city in 2001 was 2.64 million (CSA 2001). Currently the total population of the city is believed to be more than 3.5 million. The population growth rate observed in the city for the last three decades was not in harmony with the socio economic and infrastructural service provisions. Because of this, the large majority of the city residents including children are forced to live under abject poverty conditions.

According to the 1994 CSA report, 45 % of the total populations of Addis (2,112,737) were children between the ages of 0 and 18. Among the total school aged population 16 % never attended school and out of which 66.8 % were girls. The net enrollment ratio for primary level education during the academic year was 72.68 percent. The ratio for junior secondary school was reported to be 34.58 %. The average household size was also reported as 5.1. According to CSA, child labor survey report, among the total children between the ages 5-17, nearly 70 % are working. These children are engaged in either productive activities, or housing keeping

or both. Again among the school attending children of the same age group 7 % are engaged in productive activities and 53.6 % engage in house keeping (CSA 2001; MEDAC 2000).

Migration and urbanization

Rural to rural and urban to urban migration accounts for a significant portion of the growth of the city's population. In 1994, 46.4% of the populations were migrants. Similarly, a labor force survey in 1999 showed that migrants accounted 47% of Addis Ababa's population (CSA 2001). The bulk of migrants in Addis Ababa are long term migrants (CSA 1999). The main reason for leaving to Addis is economic as the city enjoys relatively higher concentration of facilities and infrastructure compared with other parts of the country. Among the recent migrants to Addis, search for work is the highest ranking season (35.44%). This was followed by education (19.89%), accompanying of family (12.12%) and living with relatives (7.60%) (CSA 1999). Migrants also come both from urban (50.80%) and rural (49.19%) areas (ibid).

The situation of Poverty

Like other cities of the developing world, Addis is inhabited by persons of different socio-economic classes, encompassing the poorest of the poor who live in plastic houses to the richest of the rich who lead a luxuries life style. The situation of poverty in Addis is evident in the problems of unemployment, lack of decent housing and sanitary conditions, prostitution, beggary, streetism and crime. In 1994, 35 % of the economically active population (15-60 years) was considered to be unemployed. The city is the home of 5962 homeless people, which accounts more than 20 % of the total 29, 278 homeless persons in Ethiopia (Population and housing census 1994; see also FSCE 1998).

Poverty is terribly rampant in the inner city areas of Mercato, Piazza, Arat Kilo, Kazanchis, Shiromeda, and Kirkos. It is estimated that about three-quarters of the people in the inner city areas earn less than birr 100 a month (FSCE 1998). In my study I took four core areas of the city: Mercato, Arat kilo-Piazza, Stadium- Legehar and Betel area. Betel is a new residential area which is located at the outskirt of the city. In these areas there are many children who live and work on the street to earn a living. Among the total children between the ages of 5-17, nearly 70 % are working CSA (2001). Poverty increases the problem of street children in the city. The phenomenons of street children in Addis have been aggravated by other macro-level factors. Besides street children, the elderly, demobilized soldiers, displaced persons, war

victims, and unknown number of workers retrenched from government institutions became new recruits of the poverty profile of Addis (Solomon 1993 in FSCE 1998).

Unemployment

Out of the total population of the country, around 15% are said to be urban and close to one-third of this live in Addis. The growth of the city's labor force had reached an average annual growth rate of 8% during the late eighties and early nineties (MEDAC 2000). The labor force in the city has grown by 6% between the 1984 and 1994 census. The unemployment problem in Addis is very serious and has increased at alarming rate in recent years. In 1984 the unemployment rate was 10% and in 1994 the total unemployment are sharply rose to 35%.

According to the ILO (2002) report, urban unemployment in Ethiopia was 25.7 percent showing the seriousness of the unemployment problem in urban areas (ILO 1999). The age distribution of the unemployed in 1994 revealed that the age groups 15-19 and 20-24 are among the highest unemployed people. These age groups account for 56% of the urban people. Ethiopia has ratified the UN convention on the rights of the child. Although Ethiopia has not signed any of the ILO convention on minimum age, the labor proclamation of Ethiopia stipulates that children below 14 years are not allowed to work. Employment of young workers between 14 and 18 years is subject to certain conditions such as maximum of seven working hours per day, prohibition of over time work, night work, and provision of weekly rest and public holidays (CSA 2001). The overall rate of growth of the city's economy has not been able to fully absorb the working age population. Recurrent natural disasters and man-made calamities, less agricultural productivity, low saving rate and capital formation have all contributed in depleting the capacity of the economy thereby promoting massive rural-urban migration, unemployment over the years.

Informal economy

The informal sector is usually described as an economic activity that takes place outside the formal norms of economic transactions established by the state or formal business practices but which is not clearly illegal by itself. In such context, the word applies to small or micro-businesses of an individual or family self-employment for the production and exchange of legal goods and services. These establishments or activities do not have appropriate business permits, usually violate existing zoning codes, fail to report or pay tax liabilities, do not comply with government or labor regulations and work conditions (MEDAc 2000).

This sector comprises different socio-economic activities and spatial manifestations, which either do not follow established procedures or do not contribute to government revenue. The role that these informal urban activities play in providing income opportunities for the poor is widely recognized. However in a city such as Addis, where more than two thirds of its inhabitants are "urban poor", the importance of this sector has been marginalized (ibid).

Informal economic activities such as trade, street hawking, brokering, small-scale manufacturing and business enterprises, handicraft, etc. employ a remarkable number of the local population and are the mainstay of a large portion of the of rural-urban migrants and mobile population. According to MEDAC (2000), the labor force participation had increase by 20% during this period and yet the economy was still 6% short of being capable of accommodating and integrating it within the formal system.

Housing

Rapid urbanization, inappropriate polices and inadequate capability of the government and the economy to deal with the housing needs of people in cities have perpetuated illegal construction and informal settlements. In addition, shortage of resources and the poor national economic performances do contribute to the worsening situation in the housing sector.

Housing the poor is one of the major challenges that developing cities like Addis Ababa are facing. The housing problem in Addis understood both in terms of quality and quantity. The majority of urban residents are condemned to live in unconventional living environment, facing multiple threats to their health, security and psychological well-being. The 1994 census revealed that 34.4 % of the houses are owner occupied while 57.3% are rented. Of the later, 38% are rented from kebele (MEDAC, 2000). These are below standard houses with very low rent and mostly housing the low income people of the city. Most of the houses with minimum standard are beyond the reach of the poor. Shortage is especially acute for low-income households that account for over 80 percent of the city's population (ibid).

Overcrowding and deterioration widely prevail. An estimated 60 % of the city's core is dilapidated, and about a quarter of all housing units have been built informally. The city is also not able to provide adequate services to the extension areas thus discouraging house construction and contributing to the expansion of the slums. Marginalized social groups such as street children built their shelter using salvaged materials such as plastics, card board, etc on the sidewalks, pavements, against walls of churches, offices, modern villas, and etc.

Chapter Five

5. Children on the move: From villages to city streets

5.1. Introduction

The data which was collected through the field work will be analyzed in the current chapter and other chapters that follow (6 and 7). Although the problem of street children is understood as an urban phenomenon, the factors exacerbating the problem are originated, by and large, in the rural villages. The foregoing chapter highlights children's socio-economic background and presents the causes, patterns and processes of their migration to the city from rural villages and thereby attempted to answer one of research questions: why do rural children migrate to the city? It also describes how migration exacerbates the problem of streetism in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

I will first try to shed light on children's socio-economic background with the assumption that the causes of children's migration are connected to the socio-economic reality that prevail in their families' and that of the local community. This chapter is based on empirical data generated from the survey and qualitative methods of data collection. In doing so, the qualitative analysis complements the statistical description.

5.2. Personal attributes

5.2.1. Age and sex

The study is consistent with the definition of a child, according to the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child,one who is below 18 years of age (UNICEF, 1995). Child migration may take place in two forms: either the child migrates alone or with adults. I have observed children as young as six who live on their own and as young as three begging with their parents, usually mothers. However, I will only consider children between 8 and 18 and who survive on the street on their own.

According to the survey, the overwhelming majority (80%) of the respondents is characterized by age group of 12 – 18 years, with the largest comprising the 12-15 age groups. This shows that children of all ages migrate to cities to make a living by their own.

Fig.1. Number of Children by Age and sex
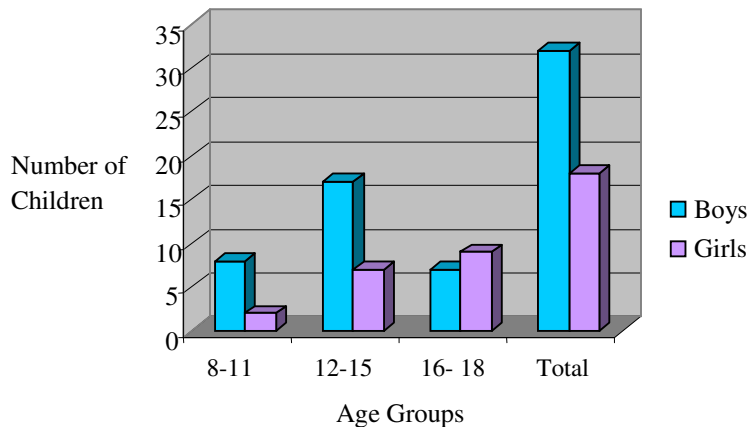
Source: Field survey, 2005

Among 50 respondents 32 (64%) are boys and the remaining 18 (36%) are street girls. This confirms previous studies which claimed that there are more boys than girls who work and live in the streets of Addis (FSCE 1999, 2003; Tatek 2002) and in other cities of the developing world (UNICEF 1996, Aptekar 1994; Aptekar & Ciano 1999). The smaller proportion of the later group may partly be explained by the fact that in most cases migrating to cities is an accepted way for boys than girls. Girls are engaged in viable economic activities in support of the families concurrently in the domestic sphere, which is claimed as the traditional role of women in most communities in Ethiopia and perhaps elsewhere in the developing world (see Adepoju in Baker & Aina 1995). In other words, girls are unpaid workers who immensely contribute to minimize the burden of the household work both indoor and outdoor (fetching water, herding, working on farms). It seems that rural households calculate the benefits of retaining girls at home than sending them out to earn income outside home. In addition, it is assumed that cities are dangerous for girls as it entails various physical, social, psychological, and urban related hazards and risks. Their low proportion can also be explained by the fact that women dominate short distance rural to rural migration (Adejopu in Baker & Aina 1995) and other small towns near to their villages.

Once in the city, they usually end up as housemaids, and find an economic niche in the informal sectors mainly indoor. Those who are on the street are often invisible for the researcher as they appear in the street during the night since most of them are involved in juvenile prostitution/ commercial sex work .

5.2.2. Household's size

I asked respondents how many sisters and brothers they had in their families before they left their villages. The aim here is to look into the possible relationship between the increase in members of a family and other socio-economic dynamics, such as streetism. Of 50 respondents only 9 (18%) respondents came from households with less than four family members. The majority (82%) of the respondents came from households with more than four children. Out of this 44 % have 4 to 6 and 34% have 7 to 9 sisters and brothers respectively. These children come from large nuclear families. This finding is analogous with the CSA (1994, 2001) report that family size is greater in rural than urban areas. The level of rural fertility between 1995 and 2000 was 6.4 and is almost twice as high as the total fertility rate in urban areas (ibid). This account shows that the increased number of siblings in the rural household undoubtedly sharpens the competition for the available household resources. The rural parents may not be able to fulfill the increasing food and other material and financial demands for children. The migration status of respondents is not discussed here as an important background since all of them are migrants who come from rural villages.

5.2.3. Parent's survival status

The following graph reveals the percentage distribution of survival status of respondent's parents.

Fig.2. Parent's survival status
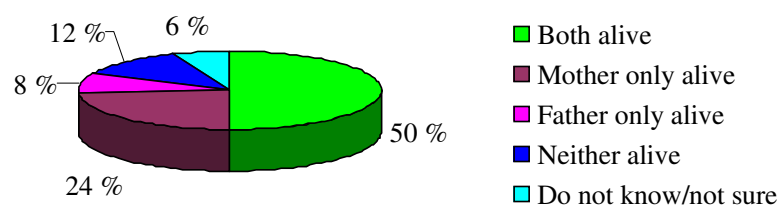
Source: Field survey 2005

Although many studies revealed that most street children come from female headed or step father/mother dominated households (FSCE, 2003), this study shows that half (50%) of them came from two-parent headed families. The availability of both parents, however, doesn't guarantee that children may remain home since many rural children come to the city to support their family and/or solidify household income. And others abandoned their families as a result of neglect, domestic abuse, and lack of love, and of protection among others. About a third of the respondents (32 %) come from one parent headed houses of which 24% come from female headed household. 12 % of the children are orphans who lost both of their parents and the remaining (6 %) do not know their parents' living status. The later groups have no contact with their families and often earn a living from begging. On the other hand, a considerable number of street families work and live on the street of the city.

5.3. Socio-economic condition

In this section I will explore the major socio-economic characteristics of the sample population which among others include ethnic affiliation, religion, education, parents' occupation, length of stay on the street and level of family contact.

5.3.1. Ethnicity

Street children in Addis are usually socialize with co-ethnics or co-villagers. I will discus further in the coming chapters. Based on the distribution of the survey I am compelled to conclude that the streets of Addis are not dominated by children from one ethnic group or geographical origin. Rather, they originate from various ethnic and geographical regions as all roads are leading to Addis, the primate city of the country.

Fig.3. Respondents by ethnic group

Source: Field Survey 2005

62
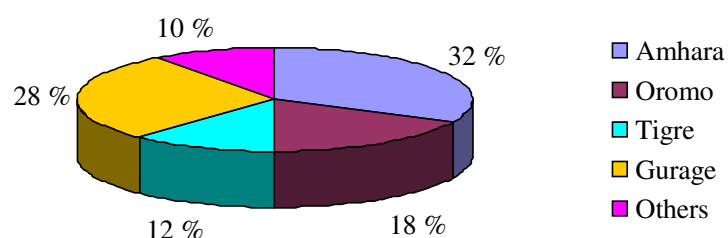
However, Gurage children's migration to the city is connected to a long and dominant tradition. Nowadays it seems that the Gojjamie children challenge the dominant position of the Gurage when it comes to the number of children migrating. Children mostly come from far away (hundred's of kilometers) and not from the rural areas bordering the city. The surrounding rural children, however, come to the city to sell unprocessed food items and return to the village at the end of the day.

5.3.2. Religion

Children were asked questions about their religious affiliation and it consists of both Christians and Muslims. The majority of the respondents (82%) is Christians (mainly orthodox) and followed by Muslims. Although the Muslim population constitutes the largest share of the country's population, the Muslim street children accounts only 18% of the sample.

5.3.3. Education

The graph below shows the educational status of respondents. I was also interested in the current enrollment status of street children in school and the connection between children's street work and education. It shows that street children have a low level of education.

Fig.4.The proportion of boys and girls by educational status
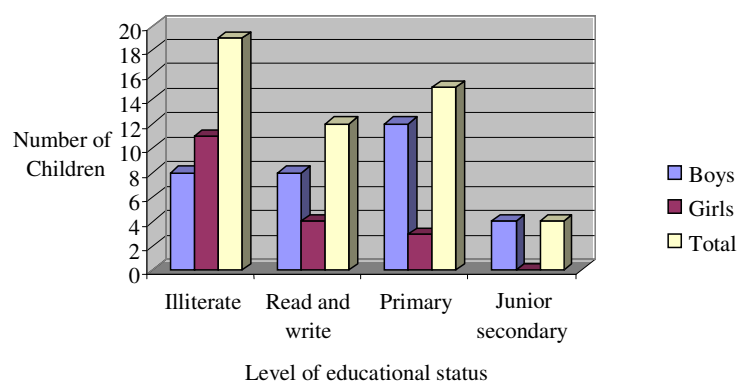
Source: Field Survey 2005

According to the survey, 30% of the respondents attended primary school while (38%) of the respondents have never enrolled in school. While 24 % of the respondents said they can read

and write through church and koranic informal education. Also, only 8 % of the respondents attended junior secondary school. In order to know their current education status, they were asked if they were attending school or not. Accordingly, the majority (80%) did not attend school at the time of interview and the remaining 20% are currently attending school. The latter groups of children go to school during the evenings while working the whole day on the street to finance their education. The former groups are school drop outs. It is important to note that the reasons given for not going to school are the need to start work in order to contribute to household's livelihoods.

This study found that migration to cities and working on the street has a dual effect on education. In some instances, it gives them a chance to go to school and exposes them to wider horizons and opportunities. For the majority, on the other hand, it leads them to drop out from schools as most of them were attending school prior to coming to the city and inhibiting them to break through the cycle of poverty. They mostly quit school because their families are unable to finance their education. In this case, the household resources are diverted away from education and are used to secure daily subsistence. In the time of economic hardships children are often obliged to quit school and joined the city streets in search of employment in the informal sector. In other words, poor rural parents are unable to provide their children with education and basic survival needs to rise out of the cycle of poverty. Street children in Addis discontinued education not because they are indifferent to school but either a result of lack assistance from families (either because of families' economic difficulties and disharmony). For instance, significant proportion of them (28%) drops out from schools to assist themselves and their families.

The overall educational level among children in general and rural children in particular is low in Ethiopia (CSA 1994). From the gender perspective, fewer girls enroll than boys. This can be explained by choices that rural families in Ethiopia make. Most of them opt to send boys to school than girls. Rural parents usually let girls get married than to go to *temari bet* (school). This account highlights, the claims that rural parents discriminates girls in education, thereby reducing their opportunity to get employed in the formal labor market. The high levels of illiteracy characteristics of rural children (in general and girls in particular) in Ethiopia as a whole were also evident in the study population. Low level of education among street children reduces their chance to get employment in the skill and training based urban labor market.

Regardless of their school enrollments status, almost all street children who were included in the study wished to go to school to change their present life style and to become *sew* (some body). What they lack is the opportunity. As Filho & Neder (2001) rightly argued for children who spend most of their time in the street, school is seen as important but beyond their reach. Education may enhance their potential and enlarge children's choice to survive in the city.

5.3.4. Length of stay on the street

Children's length of stay in the street varies from child to child. This is confirmed from both interview and the survey. The length of their stay ranged from a few days to as much as a decade or over. A large portion (52%) of respondents had been living on the street from 2 to 4 years whereas 20 % of them stayed there between 5 to 7 years. It is observed that there is a continuous flow in and out of the street. 24% of the respondents join the street recently (below a year). This account shows that there is a continuous flow of children from the rural areas to urban areas. Also (4%) of children lived on the street for more than 7 years. I observed that the majority of children who come from the North joined the street recently compared to children from other parts of the country, such as the south.

5.3.5. Parents' occupation

Poor families put their children to work much more than families that are better off. This is a strategy not only to augment household income, but also to avoid the risks of losing one or another income source (UNICEF& Radda Barnen in FSCE 2003; De Haans 1999). Street children were asked questions about their parents' employment status and occupation. Most of the respondents' families live in rural areas and are mostly small peasants (68%) and daily laborers (14 %) and *shimagle* elderly (6%) who are not involved in any kind of work. Some children come to the city to help their old parents as children in Ethiopia are social safety nets for parents at their later age or in Ayako's observation they are an assurance of the continuation of and renewal of humankind and family legacies (Ayako et al, 1991). The remaining respondents (12%) do not know their parents employment status.

5.3.6. Family contact

I was also interested in knowing whether these children have family contacts or not as this is one of the major criteria to define or categorize street children in different groups. For example, children "on" the street are engaged in the street but have regular contacts with their families. Children "of" the street live, work and sleep in the street (UNICEF 1996). However,

this classification is too rigid because it does not correspond to the realities found in most big cities (Aptekar & Heinonen 2003). This classification or dichotomy is considered as misleading. The two groups were presented as if they are distinct from one another, had their own characteristics, and found in all cultures (Aptekar & Abebe 1997).

Table 1. Proportion of respondents by family contact

Do you have family contact	Frequency	Percent
Yes	27	54
No	23	46
Total	50	100

Source: Field Survey 2005

Fig.5. Frequency of contact
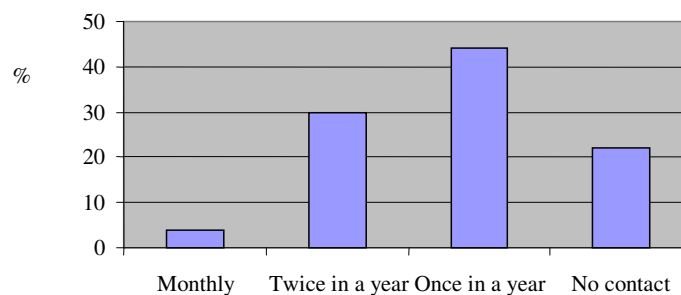
Source: Field Survey 2005

The major objective of the study is to uncover the lived experience of migrant children surviving on city streets alone – without any family, guardian and/or institution support or supervision. None of them reported they have family contacts on daily basis and therefore they couldn't possibly align to the term children 'on' the street.

Urban migrants avoid making a complete break with their rural socio-economic roots and keep the urban-rural link alive (Seifu 1976 in Aptekar & Heinonen 2003). The majorities

(54%) of migrant children have family contacts of which most of them (44%) visit their families, however, once in a year and 30% twice in a year. Most migrants maintain continuity between their rural area of origin and their current urban residence. As Heinonen rightly noted the Christian Gurage's return to their villages for Meskal (Feast of the Finding the True Cross) every year, just as the Muslim Gurage return home during Arefa after the Ramadan ceremony (Aptekar & Heinonen 2003).

Like their Gurage's counterparts, the family ties of most Gojjamie children are not disrupted by migration. But the Gojjamies unlike the Gurage's, return to their villages not to celebrate public holidays but to pay off parent's fertilizer debt. Their parents are mostly expected to pay fertilizer loans to the local government after the harvesting season, usually between January and March. The times to refund the loans is chosen with the assumption that farmers will afford to pay off the loan by selling their products but are they often unable to pay the loan and their children are expected to contribute to payoff the debt. However, the remaining (22%) of respondents have no family contact for different reasons including being orphans or having no idea about the whereabouts of their families, no money to return home, and etc.

5.4. Leaving rural villages

This section examines why and how rural children move to Addis Ababa. Migration means that one or more family members leave the resident household for varying periods of time, and in so doing are able to make new and different contributions to its welfare, although such contributions are not guaranteed by the mere fact of migration (Ellis 2000). It has increased in volume and diversity over time and involved steadily lengthening distances (Lewis in Ilbery 1998). This section helps to understand the patterns and processes of child migration from the countryside to Addis so as to reveal how migration exacerbates the problem of streetism.

Member of some cultural groups migrate more than others (Lewis in Ilbery 1998). For example Serbs in Yugoslavia and Kikuyu in Kenya contribute with large number of migrants to urban centers (Oberi 1986 in Doti 2005). In some cultures migration is considered normal and even mandatory part of young man's life (ibid). As it is shown above most of the children come from the Northern and Southern part of the country. The former mainly includes children from Gojjam (also called Komche), Wello and Tigray (most often accompanied by parents). The later groups, on the other hand, include children from Gurage, Oromo, Welayita, Dorze, and Hadya among others..

I met Asmamaw, a lottery vendor on the 23rd of June 2005. He lives with 18 children and all come from Merawi – a rural district about 530 km North from Addis. I also got many similar cases among lottery venders, porters, and daily laborers. Although it was not my plan to go outside of the capital, I went to Merawi, after I found in the field (from the survey and intensive informal interview with many children) that the overwhelming majority (roughly 80%) of children from the North came from this locality (see the methodology section). These enabled me to see the causes of migration and childhood marginalization both from the point view of children and the local government bodies, community elderly and etc.

5.4.1.Merawi: Case rural district

The district officials claimed that Merawi has about 335,531 populations, an average of 8 people per household and 0.5 ha cultivated per household. The district has both *kola* (semi desert) and '*dega* (tropical highland) type of climate. The *dega* part of the district is more densely populated than the Kola part though the later is over populated by migrants from the former. Thus, the *dega* people (from highly degraded six peasant associations from forty) move out of the district to earn a living. Productivity per hectare is extremely low (in the district in general and in the 6 peasant associations in particular) because of interwoven complex reasons such as shortage of land, environmental degradation, population pressure, poor off-farm and on-farm income, shortage of agricultural inputs like fertilizer, seeds, etc.

It is argued that once the degradation level reaches a level where the land capability cannot meet the demands of the user, than he/she has to find other means of survival than land based production (Krokfors in Baker & Aina 1995).As a result of this, migration becomes one of the most important livelihood strategies among the people of this district. Many children, the youth, and adults (except the elderly) move out of the district. Migration is part of a 'diversification' strategy, for keeping a foot on the farm, is perhaps the most common motive among adults and the youth of the rural society.

It is important to note that the land cannot produce anything without fertilizers and yet farmers have limited capacity to afford to buy fertilizers. Rural children's migration is associated with procurement of fertilizers. Poor parents are often forced to depend, besides their own effort, upon their children's incomes to maintain their household subsistence is a common feature. Beside; the youth who get married after the 1994 land (re)distribution have

no access to land so that they have to look alternative livelihood strategies. Thus they migrate to cities as a viable livelihood strategy.

The following figure shows the proportion of respondents by reasons for migration. Determinants of migration can be broadly divided into two categories: economic and sociological/anthropological (De Haans 1999; Todaro 1984) or economic and non-economic (Lewis in Ilbery 1998). I attempt to categorize the reasons for rural children's migration to cities into two broad categories. But the boundary between the two (sociological and economic) is not clearly distinguished because the structural problems that prevail in society in general and childhood marginalization in particular are complex and interwoven.

It also includes the socio-economic, political, demographic and cultural situations that underpin the life of the rural community. Rural children are expected to work and make vital contribution to the household's livelihood through domestic work, agricultural and waged work from the age of about four. Girls are supposed to support domestically and boys are supposed to look after cattle and work on farmlands.

Fig.6. Respondents by reason for migration
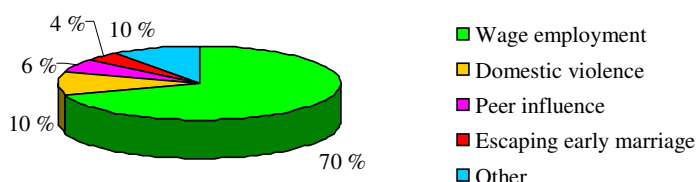
Source: Field survey, 2005

Reasons for migration differ from child to child. 70 % of the respondents leave their village to seek wage employment to help their families. While 30 % of the respondents migrated for other reasons like peer influence, looking for education, escaping early marriage, death of parents, parents retirement and wish to replace rural life by urban life style. Rural girl's migration to cities is better explained by cultural and sociological factors than economic ones.

The migration literature related to adults has dwelt on both 'pull' and 'push' reasons for migration to occur. Income differentials are seen as the major 'pull' factor; while seasonality, risk, market failures, erosion of assets, landlessness, and disasters leading to livelihood collapse are seen as 'push' factors (Ellis 2000). The pull – push factors vary from context to context. For example Brigsen (1996 in Ellis 2000) find that the pull of high wages is more important than the push of land scarcity in explaining migration decisions in Kenya; while Adams (1993 in Ellis (2000) finds the reverse in a study of the factors explaining international migration from rural Egypt. In practice, it is not easy to purely identify whether the reasons to move to the city either aligned to 'pull' or 'push' factors, and I would say that, it is a continuum – in between push- pull factors. All data in this study confirm that determinants of rural children's migration to Addis are not dominated by a single factor but caused by a combination of multiple interrelated factors.

The prime motive generating children's migration to the city, however, is to contribute for the improvement of their families' livelihood which is constrained by scarcity of land, low and disappointing agricultural productivity, high population pressure, inability to afford the costs of agricultural inputs like seeds and fertilizers, drought and environmental degradation.

Chronic livelihood poverty in rural areas of the country which traditionally relied upon subsistence farming, in general, leads children to move to cities to find economic niches in the low paid informal sectors of urban areas. However, the reasons to migrate to cities are not only explained by economic reasons. Economic reasons are not able to capture the whole picture as to why rural children move to cities. It is important to note that not only the children of the poor peasants move to Addis since migration, according to De Haans, has been an essential element in the livelihood strategies, of poor as well of better-off people (De Haans 1999). In some cases children (of the well to do peasants) moved to the city as they are pushed by non economic reasons like domestic violence, escaping early marriage, inability to go to school (as their parents are unwilling and/or unable to send them to school) and lack of health centers among others. This is more evident with rural girls than boys. In most cases, rural parents prefer to marry their daughters at early age rather than sending them to towns or schools. In some instances, there are some children who wish to escape a rural life for urban one. In other words, they are motivated in the 'pull' of the excitement of living in the city, which is aligned to an old theory of the so called the 'lure of bright lights'.

In many cases, movement is temporary and complements farm employment (Rakodi 2002) However; rural children's migration to Addis is not seasonal. Their migration is not necessarily tied to seasonal factors in agriculture since most of them do not return to their villages in the seasonal peaks in labor requirement of the agricultural sector. But this can be better explained in terms of search for employment and as a livelihood and survival strategy. In sum, children's migration is a response to social, economic, demographic changes in society which usually are visible at the household level. More specifically, their migration, often, is economically- motivated, looking for a better life for themselves and their families.

5.5. Decision to move and migration cost

The decisions to migrate are not always simple and 'free' and a wide variety of movement constraints operate within all societies (Lewis in Ilbery 1998; Kemper in Gmeltch & Zenner 2002). Until recently, female migration received relatively little attention compared with male migration. Indeed, women are usually stereotyped as associational migration. Studies in Zimbabwe, Uganda, Nigeria and Mali have shown that autonomous female migration is directed towards attaining economic independence through self employment or wage income (Adepoju in Baker & Aina 1995).

Similarly, children have often not been considered as subjects being able to take their own autonomous decisions- rather as dependents on the decision of adults, usually their parents. Children migrate to cities not only in the wake of families or adults but also on their own initiative to make a difference on the household's livelihood. It is argued that children are often looked up on as dependents, as human becomings, rather than beings (Qvortrup 1994). This study, however, is based on the assumption that children are competent social actors, capable of taking their own decisions in their everyday lives. My study confirms that many children tend to migrate alone, leaving their parents behind. My informants often had moving reflections about the difficult circumstances of rural poverty.

Melkamu, 15, has seven brothers and sisters. He came from Merawi, Gojjam two years ago.He says: '*When I see returnees of my age mates changing their cloths, buy sheep's and fertilizers for their parents I decide to come to Addis. My parents do not have enough land and do not afford to buy fertilizers. The land is not even sufficient to built tents for three people in the house let alone seven people. Moreover, my parents are getting old and need our help. I want to change myself and my families' condition. I also want to get blessing from*

71

my old parents. My parents didn't want to send me to the town. My mother was crying while I left the village. My parents say 'we better die together here in our home than you dye in other people's place'. I told them that you live in poverty and I don't want to be like you. I better go somewhere and try my best instead of dying by hunger there. I promised myself to help my mother. She carried me for nine months and fed me her burst for three years. I always regret that they didn't send me to school. My mother puts lots of efforts to nurture us. I saw poverty in my mothers face and promised to give her cloths once in a year and buy fertilizers.

Melkamu, 15 says ' *dihnetin enatie fit lay ayehu ena wede Addis Ababa metahu*' – I read poverty in my mother's face. And I decided to come to Addis Ababa. This commitment shows that children, like Melkamu, can make autonomous decisions hoping to change the prevailing condition to the better. Although, in most occasions, I would say that, the onus of initiating migration decision lies in the individual children, consensus comes from the family. Rural children from different parts of the country (for example, from Gurage, Dorze, Welayita and Gojjamme) have learned to treat migration as an alternative to stay in the villages.

Migration decisions are usually part of a continuing effort, consistent with traditional values, to solve recurrent problems to do with a balance between available resources and population numbers (De Haans 1999). Spontaneous movement and settlement, as in southern Ethiopia for example, are not unique or unusual events but part of a long term process of ecological and cultural differentiation (ibid). It is well known and documented elsewhere that Gurage's migration to urban areas is an age old tradition. The focus group discussion shows that migration for Gurage children can be regarded as a norm or a tradition as well as a coping mechanism. Decision to move to Addis will not be difficult for them as migration to cities is a usual trend among the Gurage's. In addition, most of them, at least, know people at their home place who moved to Addis preceding them in similar contexts.

Rural children are influenced by the returnees. Children are motivated to move to the city while they see returnees of their age with new clothes, buying sheep's and supporting his/her families. However, in some instants, returnees exaggerate when they talk about city life and their achievement while they were in the city and mislead other children's decisions.

In addition to this, the availability of relatives, friends and older siblings at destination trigger migration decision from villages to towns. Relatives at destination provide information about the availability of jobs and guide them on how to start life in the new environment. At times

they arrange a job before the potential migrant come to Addis and they also host them until they adjust to the city life. This shows that social ties and networks reduces urban risks for migrants and ease their decisions to move.

Belay, a Gojjamie child, says *'I came alone hoping that I will find co-villagers.'* Many children like Belay come to Addis hoping to meet village-mates since those who come from the same locality often reside in a given part of the city. For example, Komche's mostly reside in the outskirts of the city such as Zenebework and Total. In addition, rural children migrate to the city with their friends. Migrating to Addis in groups (of two or more) eases in making their decision to move to the city. Besides; it helps them to minimize the risks associated to the new urban environment. Almost all children familiarized to one or another group and absorbed into the social network through time as Phillips (in Rakodi & Lloyd-Jones 2002) stated that social capital is regarded as a resource that people use to achieve certain ends.

It can be argued that children's decision to migrate is constrained by lack of information, the inavailability of social ties, relatives at destination, inter-generational power relation, cultural barriers (for example, children especially girls are discouraged to migrate), lack of job and lack of money to finance travel costs and etc.

For example, Melkamu borrowed 50 birr from his uncle when he came to Addis. Migrant children covered initial cost of migration usually borrowing from relatives, friends and others by *arata*- traditional system of borrowing money with interest and from sale of grain, sheep and rarely from personal saving.

5.6. Selecting destination

The principal criterion in choosing Addis as a place of destination was the children's perceptions of the availability of work, of friends, of relatives, looking and getting information from returnees, a households ties with a place (usually known as location-specific capital (Ilbery 1998), and preference to urban life style than the rural one. In some instances, children are forced to come to the city as they are trafficked by adults. Let's consider this case: One Sunday morning I took a taxi to Shiromeda, a market day of Shiromeda. I met Bizuneh, a 12 years shoeshine boy, while looking for customers. I asked him about his story while polishing my shoes. He came from a village near to Chencha, Southern Ethiopia. His relative brought him to Addis six years ago. He promised the boy to let him go to school in Addis. In spite of the promise Bizuneh didn't get a chance since he came to Addis, six years

ago. Instead of sending him to school, his relative trained Bizuneh how to make traditional cloths –*shimena* (weaving). Bizuneh is engaged in *shimena* the whole week (except on Sundays) for more than 16 hours per day, for the last six years. He polishes shoes only on Sundays because it is a market day to sell their products - *shema* traditional cloths. He even started shoe shining 5 weeks ago. Bizuneh's relative does not allow him to contact with anyone (his families, friends, neighborhoods) and to go out of his place. Though Bizuneh stayed in the city for long, he doesn't know other parts of the city.

This account shows that there are children who are being trafficked by adults (including their own relatives) in the name of education or a better life. The causes of child trafficking are often to exploit children's labor. Although Bizuneh produces one dress per week which is sold for 30 Birr, his relative gives him only 3 Birr (less than one-tenth of the income from selling *shema)* on Sundays, after the market. Bizuneh uses this Birr to buy food because he doesn't get enough to eat in his relative's house. He escaped from his relative house and slept on the street for two days but was caught by his relative and returned to that way of life. Bizuneh do not choose his destination and livelihood on his own like most other children.

For instance, the people of Merawi used to move to the neighboring region (Metekel, Wellega, etc) to cultivate farmlands and to be employed as wage laborers. But the opportunities to get land and/or employment in these places deteriorate as a result of population pressure, shortage of farmlands, and introduction of new political administration. In 1995, these places (e.g. Metekel and Wellega) became part of another region (Oromiya and Benishangul) when the country shifted its administration system from unitary to ethnic based federalism. A shift of the country's political administration leads regions to administer by their own. This reduces free mobility and entitlements to assets, like land. Unlike adults, children often opt to move to cities (such as Addis) which seem less risky when compared with neighboring regions as the latter most often characterized by high incidence and prevalence of malaria, snakes, high temperature and related hazards.

Chapter six

6. Being in town

6.1. Introduction

The preceding chapter, children on the move, presented the major causes and processes of children's rural to urban migration. It also highlighted the major socio- economic background of the sample population. The actual and perceived economic opportunities available in urban areas attract rural children to the city. Once in the city, they have to struggle to survive, develop and integrate into the urban environment. This chapter is devoted to present children's daily lived experience in the town. The first section, 6.4, describes the major livelihood activities of street children. 6.6 focus's on children's attempt to meet basic necessities of life such as food, shelter, and clothing's. In both cases, emphasis is given for the dilemmas, challenges and strategies employed in their attempts to ensure survival, cope, and develop within the livelihood constraints. Also the study shows children's vulnerability, creativity, resilience, agency, and resourcefulness to win the competition of street life.

Before going into a detailed discussion about the social networks, I feel that it is appropriate and helpful to conceptualize who street children are in the Ethiopian context.

6.2. Understanding street children: understanding differences

To examine the variety of socioeconomic and political conditions behind the increase in street children, it is first necessary to know who they are and how they came to live on the streets (Marquez, 1999). Since its inception the term "street children" has been used to refer to children in a variety of circumstances, creating confusion about who street children are and what kinds of experiences that brought them to the streets (Aptekar1994; Hetch 1998).

A working definition for street children is that 'those for whom the street…more than their family has become their habitual (real) home. It includes children who might not necessarily be homeless, orphan or without families, but who live in situations where there is no protection, supervision or direction from responsible adults (Glauser 1990 in Hetch 1998; UNICEF 1994; Human rights watch and UN 1985 in Tatek 2002; FSCE 2003). For a long time a misleading dichotomy has been presented between children 'on' the street and children 'of' the streets (Aptekar & Abebe 1997; Hetch 1998; Marquez 1999). This distinction is usually referred to as a "UNICEF definition". Children "on" the street are engaged in the

street but have regular contacts with their families. Children "of" the street live, work and sleep in the street (Ennew 1996). The two groups were presented as if they were distinct from one another, had their own personality characteristics, and found in all cultures (Aptekar 1988; Visano1990 in Aptekar&Abebe1997).

Similarly I would say that the definition given above is too rigid because it does not correspond to the realities found in the streets of Addis because, as I have observed during my field work, the boundaries are very loose and fluid. Street children do not form a homogeneous group, nor do their life circumstances remain constant (Aptekar & Abebe 1997). The term 'street children', with all negative connotations, is popularly used, for *berenda adariwech*, who usually sleep on verandas and earn a living from begging. Although they usually sleep on verandas, they do not always sleep there. Many of them alternate between home and the street for various reasons such as weather, political stability/instability, harvesting/non harvesting season, harmony/disharmony with families, income status, etc.

In addition, street children involve in invisible or less visible work places (such as part time domestic helpers, waiters, hotel boys/girls, shop keepers' helpers, weavers, housemaids, etc); institutionalized (for example by NGO's or behavior correction institutions). They alternate between these places. For example, I lost Seba, my informant, after two weeks. He suddenly changed his 'status' from a shoeshine boy to a shopkeepers' helper. I also bought equipments and changed the 'status' of two of my informant's (Ahmed and Tamru) from beggars who sleep on the street to shoeshine boys who sleep on rented houses in a matter of a day.

In Addis children who spend considerable amount of time on the street: petty traders who sell items; or who offer special services do not consider themselves and/or considered by the mainstream society as *berenda adariwech* and/or *yegodana tedadariwech* (correspond generally to the term 'street children'). They, however, are considered as working children or children of the poor who use the public space to contribute for the household income.

Although there are many children at risk (Tatek 2000, Aptekar & Abebe 1997), little research has conducted on the categorization of at-risk children. Children at high risk are children living in absolute poverty in households that are not able to satisfy their basic human needs. There are also children who live on the streets with one or both of their parents. They are either born on the streets (second generation street children) or they have moved to the streets with their families, which may be referred as 'street families'. Rural-urban migrations are

76

exacerbating the problem of 'streetism' in Addis. Any one who moves across the streets of Addis can not fail to observe street families (often with rural origin) who live and work on the street. Often parents (usually mothers) are nominally in charge of these children, but, many, especially small kids, are unprotected and often engage in begging or selling small items, mainly soft papers. The forgoing discussion shows the fact that the definition of 'street children' is complex since it encompasses wide ranges of children with multiple identities.

6.3. Street lives: multiple professions

The challenge for rural boys and girls is double in a sense that the context in which they live is distinct from their original places. In other words, they are new both for street life and city life. As individual case studies implied, children who live on the street do not form a homogenous category. Nor do they earn their living similarly. Rather they adopt a range of survival strategies to confront the challenges of urban street life.

Individuals or actors are knowledgeable agents who usually have at least some resources (Giddens 1984; 1990) and choices between different strategies to achieve a goal (Bourdieu 1972 in Fontain & Schlumbohm 2000). Street children choose one or more activities for a living and they justify 'the why' of what they are doing as Giddens may call this 'knowledgeable agents'. Street life is constantly changing, and these changes require adjustment and adaptation. Heinonen rightly stated that all street children regard their form of obtaining income as "work" (Heinonen 2000 in Heinonen & Apteker 2003). Although the range of work is limited, street children survive through undertaking a wide variety of activities which mainly take place in the informal sector. They jump over opportunities based on the nature of the reward or the benefit they draw. This means they consider opportunities, risks, uncertainties, and constraints within which they live and/or work.

In order to understand street children's survival strategies I incorporate informants from diverse age groups, gender, geographical origin, ethnicity, profession, working and living place in the city. All these variables affect children's choices and outcomes of street carrier. Survival strategies, for example, are related to their place of origin. Children coming from the same geographical area and/or ethnicity are often involved in similar occupations or activities. For instance, Gurage's are dominantly *listro's* and Gojjammie's are lottery venders. Street children recruited and socialized into their street carrier by their friends, most often, by co-ethnics and/or co-villagers. However, this doesn't mean that *listro* and lottery vending are

exclusively dominated by these two groups. Nor does it mean that these groups of children are involved only in these activities.

Labor is the most important asset which help street children either to generate income directly through wage employment or indirectly through the production of goods (home made food, wood work, etc) and services (petty trade, shoe shining, lottery vending, car washing) which are sold in the informal market. Street children engaged in legal, semi legal and/or illegal activities in order to earn income. It is important to note that surviving in the city is a result of a combination of portfolios of activities. As Hetch (1998) noted, survival is a full time work.

6.4. Earning money

Urban space is a key element of physical capital in livelihood strategies for the urban poor (Nooraddin 1998 in Rakodi 2002). Street children often use the public space for economic purposes though differently. Although they mostly do not have a fixed career, the following major activities of earning money were identified through the fieldwork. Also, children or the general public have their own categories for different groups of working children.

6.4.1. Begging (shikella)

Street children as well as elderly, disabled people, and families beg in public spaces such as shopping areas, cinema and theater halls, stadiums, churches, mosques, busy streets or at the junction near traffic lights, café's, among others.

Pic. 1& 2: Children begging on the streets

Begging is a principal means of income for *Brenda adariwech.* However, working street children mostly are not involved in begging as they consider it as a shameful act. Gurage

children, for example, prefer to go hungry than beg someone for alms. Begging is considered as a 'taboo' in their culture. Due to this they have a better public image than others.

Berenda adariwech beg pedestrians by stretching their arms with phrases like *dabo gizalign* (buy me bread), *santiem sitegn* (give me alms), and *yemaderia (*give me for a shelter), etc. Sympathizers usually respond by either saying *yelegnim (*I have nothing) or *egziabher yistilign (*let God help you). People, most often, use the latter to let beggars away from them. In this case, kids usually do not have more arguments against and leave immediately. Although children often experience aggressive and unkind responses from the passersby, they will not be discouraged from doing their 'work'.

It is difficult to know the amount of daily earning from begging as what is obtained is usually consumed. Moreover, within groups of friends the high earners share out the income or use it for group consumption. But most of them (65%) reported that they managed to collect between three and five birr at the end of the day.

Pic 3: Children from the same family begging

Street kids consider begging as a job/ work – they usually call it *shikella* (making business). However, they understand that begging is not a sustainable means of living. The girl in the middle, in the above picture, who bowed her head, was not happy to be identified as a beggar.

 Street children adopt different skills, abilities or special talents to draw the attention of sympathizers. Some of them are engaged in singing a song either individually or in groups. Some of them narrate nicely as to why they are on the street and express their immediate

problems such as *rabegn* (I am hungry). Others sit together on the street and display onion, tomatoes and ask the passersby to let them fulfill the remaining ingredients to cook a dinner. It is also common to see children as young as four who sell soft papers for a little profit and this is an alternative to or part of begging. Some children act as if they are handicapped. According to my observation young street kids are more engaged in begging than older ones. They have better chance to get sympathy because their needs are emotional which provokes immediate sympathy than the older ones. Hetch (1998) rightly stated that age and success at begging are, unsurprisingly, inversely related. There is high competition among beggars to occupy better location which often, are accompanied by fight or quarrel. However, they negotiate within the group or among groups in order to reduce conflicts. A street kid who begs on taxi stops, for example, says '*tera betera enleminalen*' – we beg turn by turn.

Street children know who to beg, where to beg and how to beg to be efficient in their 'mission'. Strategy of begging differs in terms of time, place and contexts. They, for example, prefer to beg *ferenjis* (foreigners) than natives; drivers than pedestrians; and couples than single individuals. The first two groups are assumed to be rich whereas the last one with an assumption that gentleman gives alms when they are together with their girl friends or wife's to be labeled as kind or caring. This shows street children are aware of and use the mainstream culture for their own purpose – *shikella,* raising money.

6.4.2. Scavenging

 Street children usually search abandoned food from garbage bins. However, searching from garbage bins is not the primary source of food for most street children (see section 6.4). The garbage bins are an important source for old cloths, shoes, plastics, other equipments. If they get some scarps they will sell it back for their customers. Notably, street boys mostly scavenge early in the morning in order to be the first to search through the night's rubbish.

6.4.3. Prostitution:

Prostitution is one of the major social problems Ethiopia is facing. Habtamu (1996, in Mekuria, 2004) claims that there are about 100,000 street children in Ethiopia and one-fourth of them are females. From the total of female population of the street children; about 28% are engaged in prostitution and most of them are migrants from different parts of the country. Although they fail to give statistics, reports from different organization shows the problem is increasing at an alarming rate. Prostitution takes many forms in Addis. The types of female

prostitutes are usually classified according to the place of work, the money they charge and their social status. FSCE (2001) noted that the major types of prostitutes today are street walkers, brothel or 'house' prostitutes and call girls. Similarly Konjit (1996 in Mekuria 2004) classifies prostitutes into street- girls, the cubicles (kiosks) and the semi professionals.

All the data confirms that street girls were unable to get other jobs like house maids, cookers, baby-sitters, etc because of low level of education, lack of experience, trained job skills, and that of teyaj (guarantors). In this case, some of them felt that they had no real choice but resort to prostitution and sell what they have – their body. Some are forced into prostitution influenced by peers who knew the potential income they could earn. In both cases, however, they are not happy to be involved in prostitution. Many small girls use sex for survival in terms of supplementing their income. It is difficult to call them prostitutes. A prostitute most often refers to a professional sex worker. A small street girl who offers sex for food and a few Birr to rent a shelter and buy cloths is occasional prostitute. Whatever the name may be sex before marriage remains a means of survival for many street girls in Addis. In fact, prostitution is considered as a temporary alternative to economic distress and is not an occupation that one is willing to declare and depend on in the future.

Pic.4: A child prostitute in her 'work' place

Abeba, 15,(the pic. above) says: *'I live together with 6 friends in a rented house around the bus station. I used to work there. But nowadays I work in Piazza. I stay there until 3 am during the night'.*

She changes her 'work' place because of the availability of many prostitutes in her former work place. Girl children usually stand in front of hotels and night clubs waiting clients and also walk on the street to get picked up. They also beg pedestrians to pay for nightly shelter. They are probably as much at greater risk of acquiring HIV infection and other STDs because of multiple partnership, lack of detail knowledge, less power to negotiate safe sex, and are exposed to rape. In fact they are aware about HIV and other STD's compared to street boys. Abeba, for example checked her HIV status nine times in a two years time. She was negative. The time I left the field she was worrying since she didn't test in the last six months.

6.4.4. Listro (shoe shining):

On every street corner there is a young boy looking for someone's shoes to shine. Many boys have a fixed place and others are mobile. Street children are supposed to pay taxes in order to get a fixed work space in major streets of the city.

Pic. 5 & 6 :Listro's: mobile (left) and with fixed work place (right)

Mobile shoe shiners like Fantahun move from place to place in order to get customers. They attract fewer customers because many people do not trust these boys as they most often are perceived and accused for using less quality creams in the name of good ones. Lack of fixed work space exacerbates this accusation.

All the data confirmed that Gurage children are more involved in shoe shining than others. They borrow little money before coming to the town or from friends or older siblings after arrival to start *listro*. Starting *listro* requires some skills, some money, and choosing appropriate work spaces. It also needs negotiating skills to attract customers. However, many children like Sisay (the above picture, on the right) lack initial capital to start shoe shining.

For example, I bought him shoe shining equipments.. Afterwards, he rejoined the street with a new spirit and status (from beggar to listro) in a matter of two days.

6.4.5. Lottery vending

Selling lottery tickets is another livelihood strategy for many children. Listro is dominated by Gurage's whereas lottery vending is dominated by Gojjamie children (also called *komche* or *Gojje*- short of Gojjam – the region where they come from). They wear green *fota* (sheet) with *kumta* (short). The lottery administration uses them as icons while advertising its 'business' in Ethiopian Television. Lottery vending need initial capital and numerical knowledge. They buy tickets from the lottery administration or others and sell it back with a little profit - 0.15 cents. Just like other activities the competition to sell them is also intense. Lottery venders are by far the most mobile group. They go door to door selling their tickets. Asmamaw, for example, travels from Tor Hayloch to Kotebe (which is more than 15 kms), on daily basis to sell his lottery tickets. Most of them work in the inner city. Others work in the outskirts because the competition to sell tickets decreases as one goes from the center to the periphery.

6.4.6. Carrying luggage's / loads:

Street children mostly hang around the bus and railway stations where many passengers come to and leave the city. This gives them a chance to carry luggages in return of some Birr. Others carry loads in market places (such as Atikilit tera and Merkato) and construction sites. But only members of a certain laborers associations, usually the youth and adults, are involved to run this business. In most cases, such associations are found in almost every important locality so that non-members are prohibited from carrying loads. Street children are not often members of any laborers association. Thus they are usually involved in carrying passengers' luggages around taxi parks and the bus and railway stations. Most passengers, however, perceive street children as thieves and as a result opt to handle their belongings on their own. This minimizes the already limited work opportunity for street children. In fact, small children are often preferred to old children and adults in the informal labor market because they are cheaper, less threatening and easier to manipulate.

6.4.7. Petty trade

Addis is a rapidly growing city where street trade is a common phenomenon. Many children sell different items and commodities on public spaces and across the sidewalks. The type of commodity displayed on the street varies by time, season, holidays and location. The picture (left) for example shows a child giving services on the side walks to earn some income and the right picture shows children selling sugar cane close to a church.

Pic. 7& 8: Children earning money: giving service (left) and selling sugar cane (right)

The majority are peddlers who move from place to place to sell commodities. Children most often buy items at cheaper prices and then resell them for small profit.

6.4.8. Vehicle related activities

Children are involved in a range of income generating activities in relation to vehicles: washing, watching and parking. Also, they call passengers for taxi drivers and *weyalla's (taxi* assistants). According to informants car washing is a tiresome work but rewarding compared to other street jobs. Although street children are considered as thieves, drivers let them watch their vehicles when they park around hotels, and restaurants, etc. This is because street kids are willing to watch the car for long with little price. They also sit in the taxi as passenger when there is less passengers to encourage people to in. When the taxi is full these children leave the taxi. The driver gives them small payment. There are also children who change Birr notes into coins for a small commission usually for taxies and also for public phone users.

6.4.9. Pick pocketing and theft:

As part of survival some *berenda adariwech* are involved in illegal activities such as pick pocketing, stealing watches, cell phones, ornaments, etc in busy streets, market places and bus stations. Older street children order smaller ones to pick pocketing as their size is small and comfortable to steal. Some street gangs composed of older ones usually attack people and take money during the nights. One of them said he had trained in 'Tack wan Do' that enable him either to attack people or defend him while he involve in robbery.

Those who are involved in illegal activities have often behavioral problems and are usually addicted to drugs. Although these are marginal, it is widely covered by the media, literature and reports and conveys negative image for street children. Though these groups of children are accused for petty theft, they are not involved in more serious crimes. This blame may be goes to Latin American street children (see Hetch 1998; Marquez 1999).

6.4.10. Korale:

Collecting scrap is another surviving mechanism for children (and the youth). As Bjerkli (2005) rightly stated the word *korale* is an abbreviation of *korkoro yaleh* (have you got any scrap metal?), which the collectors call out as they walk around different parts of the city collecting material for recovery. Among street children *Korale's* and lottery venders are the two most mobile groups. Korale's move from house to house searching used and discarded plastics, metals, shoes which they sell back to their customers. It is a tiresome work since they carry the collected materials and shout the whole day to reach neighborhoods. When people at home hear *korale's* calling they come out with materials and sell them. Bjerkli's (2005) found that 76% of the *korales* in Addis sell the collected material to wholesalers in Mercato.

6.4.11. Wage labor in the construction sites and/or surrounding farmlands

The level of building construction activities is high in Addis. As a result of this, many street children manage to get a work in the construction sites of the city such as Betel and Asko.

Pic. 9: Daily labor in the construction sites, outskirt of Addis

In addition to finding economic niches in the street based activities, working children move to the surrounding rural areas to look for agricultural work, usually in harvesting season. In other words, they alternate between or combine agricultural and non agricultural income sources for a livelihood. *Komches* for example, are well known for agriculture related work since 90% of them is familiar to the sector. They are involved in cutting grass, harvesting, weeding and gardening in farmlands. Sometimes they stay for a while working in the surrounding villages and return to the city on daily or weekly basis. One of them said 'komche *emeslalehu, sew sira yaseragnal'* I look like *komches* so that people can call me for work. Most *komches* believe that they all are hard workers and benefited from their group 'identity' (notably good agricultural skills and conduct).

The ongoing discussion shows that children involve in all portfolios of activities in order to diversify their source of income and spread risk. Their survival or livelihood strategies involve drawing all sorts of skills, knowledge, labor resources and social networks. Street children center on income- earning activities mainly in the informal sector either as wage employees or self employment or other illegal means such as prostitution, begging, theft. According to the survey, significant size of the respondents are involved in lottery selling (20 %), shoe shining (18%), petty trading (16%), begging (14%), carrying loads (10%) and prostitution (8%). The remaining 10% includes messengers, car washers, park attendants and taxi passenger callers. Street children's work or activities, in most circumstances, are stigmatized and often portrays a negative image for street children.

6.5. Working hours per day, daily income and saving

Street children who participate in self employed informal sector work longer hours. Of the 50 children, 38 (76%) of them work for more than eight hours of which 44% work for more than ten hours per day. Working children usually work for about fourteen and fifteen hours a day and this may increase during weekends and holidays. However, 12% of respondents reported that they are not working though they are involved in one or another activity to make a living. These groups of children mostly stay 'idle' on the street. Although street children consider begging as *sira* (work) or *shikela (*doing business), the time spend for begging is not considered as work time.

It is my experience that children minimize their daily income when they are asked about it. Most children have problems to tell their daily, weekly or monthly income as what is obtained is immediately consumed. However, the majority (66%) of children earns 1 to 6 Birr per day of which 36% and 30% earns 1-3 and 4-6 birr a day respectively. Children are generally paid much less than adults for the same work. The payment will be systematically lower for street children, especially for girls and smaller kids. Children's daily income varies depending on the type of activity they are involved in. For example, child prostitutes, car washers and listro's earn better than others. Street beggars also gain relatively good income. Income size and number of street children have, unsurprisingly, inverse relationship.

An increase in the number of people seeking jobs and the dwindling of available opportunities result in a fierce competition among street children in Addis. Sizable amounts of street children earn below the poverty line and spend most of their earnings to meet daily subsistence. However, spending money varies from one group to another as children have different priorities, intentions, level of addiction to substances. *Berenda adariwech*, for example, uses the money mostly for cigarettes, chat and local alcoholic drinks.

6.5.1. Saving: beyond subsistence?

Considerably street based activities enable *berenda adariwech* meet their subsistence. Under this circumstance, saving money is almost unthinkable for most of them. In fact, they do not save money not only because they earn small amount but they most often spent their money for substances and gambling. Working street children on the other hand, try to save large shares of their income. Wami (Gurage shoeshine boy) says *'we members are Gurage's who come from the same village. We help each other and we save money'*. Participating in *iqub*

(informal saving associations) is almost a norm for Gurage working children. Mechanisms to facilitate saving can help in dealing with stresses and shocks and building up financial assets (Meikle in Rakodi 2002). *Iqub,* with the objective of being accumulating Birr (money) from the membership dues paid regularly, is formed by several individuals with similar geographical origin. *Iqub* encourages among members the principle of rotating loans which allows each member in turn to receive the amount contributed by the other members. The association is informal mainly based on verbal agreements, trust and reciprocity.

In addition to accumulating birr or money, *iqub* helps members to support each other and maintain solidarity. It is now generally accepted that understanding the vulnerability of the poor and the ways that they cope with it is essential for well informed policy and action (Moser 1996; Dersham & Gizirishvili 1998; Watkins 1995 in Rakodi 2002; carney 1998). Though street children are one of the most vulnerable groups, they can cope with shocks and exhibit resilience. For example, saving schemes have an important role in enabling children to cope with crises (when they are sick, hospitalized, death of family members occurs), to invest in their future (education), and to help families. The saved money will be used in time of economic hardship, emergency, to start new carrier, school, and enables them to cope to or with future uncertainties. Working street children try to exploit all possibilities to generate income, increase their savings and helping their parents. They can be labeled as economic agents for their families – beyond survival. Although, I would say, their concern is largely day-to-day survival, they are highly motivated and inspired for upward mobility

6.5.2. Minimizing expenditure

In order to increase savings or expand choices street children try to minimize their expenditure in many forms. They try to avoid or reduce expenditure for example, on food (reduce overall consumption of food, eating a meal per day and of less quality food, begging leftover food or scavenging rather than buying), on transport (they travel long distance on foot rather than using public means of transport (for e.g., city bus), on clothing (wearing less quality or old cloths), on shelter (sleeping on the street, verandas rather than renting) and on social services (avoiding leisure, etc). Unlike working children who attempt to hold back on consumption, *berenda adariwech* mostly exhibits high expenditure. They usually spent on substances, on leisure (e.g. watching movies, European football on DSTV) and gambling.

6.6. Survival livelihoods

Street children's survival strategies are complex and interwoven. The preceding section described a great deal about children's experience in earning money, saving, minimizing expenditure, and also highlighted an account of their creativity or capacity to figure out appropriate strategies to maximize benefit. This section attempts to shed light on how these children survive or meet the basic needs of life. This analysis is based on qualitative ways of data collection - observation, interview and focus group discussion - with different groups of street children. The survey is also used to make some generalizations.

The American personality psychologist Abraham Maslow has distinguished five basic needs, which must be seen part of a whole. He sees man as a seeking being, who seeks to satisfy a new need as soon as one has been satisfied. Even so, Maslow believes certain needs to be more fundamental than others and arranges the needs in a hierarchy in which the primary needs come first (Simonnes 1996). The needs are divided into two main categories: deficiency needs and being needs (ibid). The principal concern of this chapter is deficiency needs which are the necessary needs a human being must have satisfied in order to survive, and these primary needs are thus to be found at the base of the hierarchy. Being needs, on the other hand, consist of the needs over and above these primary needs and of course will be discussed while I discuss social life of street children in the next chapter (chapter 7).

There is a wide range of other services that may be essential for an individual to reach self-sufficiency. This varies from society to society or context to context. In the context of marginalized children the basic needs of life are food, water, shelter, and clothing. These four are indispensable to the existence of street children (and all human beings in general). Unlike the rural economy, the urban economy depends on cash. (Wratten, 1995; Satterthwaite Rakodi 2002) and street children need cash income and offer service to meet basic necessities of life.

6.6.1. Searching daily meals

Sitegib edesetalehu sirbegn degmo ebesachalehu I am happy if I have enough food but angry and frustrated whenever I am hungry…' one street kid said.

Getting the day's meal remains the major priority for many street children in Addis. They attempt to meet their daily meal requirements from different sources and they have hierarchies of priorities or to say choices in securing their daily subsistence. Of 50 children, 22 (44%) beg

bulle (leftover food) usually from hotels and restaurants. This means most street children survive from begging *bulle*. They usually get *bulle* from hotels in exchange of emptying garbage, carrying loads, gardening, cleaning and washing dishes. They negotiate with hotel managers, gate keepers and waiters. They mostly are knowledgeable as to how, when and where to get *bulle*.

Pic. 10 & 11: *Bulle*: **means of survival**

17 (34%) of street children buy foods usually from small tea houses, street café's and venders. They for example, eat bread with cup of tea for breakfast in street café's and *injera* (a flat pan cake like bread made of flour from local grain) with *'shiro'*- (a kind of stew made of pea's flour) either for lunch or dinner from small tea houses. The remaining 7 (14 %) children search abandoned food from garbage bins. These groups of children consist mainly of *berenda adariwech* and even they do this under extreme circumstances. In the survey, the 'other' category (10%) get food from NGOs, church yards, individual residences (in exchange of work). They also collect perished vegetables in vegetable markets and cook tea at their rented home. They go to churches on all patron saint's days because many orthodox followers give food and alms for yene bities (humans but unfortunate ones) (see the above picture).

According to UNICEF most of the street children (43%) in Addis get only two meals a day. About 38% indicated that they get three meals a day (UNICEF, 2000). Though children go hungry in some instances, they can get plenty of *bulle* from restaurants. Many of them reported that they had better and a greater variety of food (both in quality and quantity) than other siblings who remained in the rural villages. However, I observed a tendency that hotels are selling *bulle* for marginalized children. And, some individuals are engaged in it to make a profit. They buy *bulle* from hotels and sell it back to the 'street community' with some profit.

This is a challenge for many children who survive from begging *bulle* since their daily income is insufficient and/or irregular) to buy *bulle*.

6.6.2. Finding shelter:

Housing the poor is one of the major challenges that Addis is facing. The housing problem understood both in terms of quality and quantity. In fact these are beyond the reach of the poor (MEDAC 2000). Economic migrants from rural areas and people displaced internally due to civil strife continue to exacerbate the housing crisis in the city. As a result, the children of newer in-migrants inevitably face more difficult conditions (Tegegne & Daniel 1997 cited in Apteker &Heinonen 2003).

Pic 12 : Sleeping on the pavement, side walks

Shelters of street children are scattered across the city. However, street children 'house' themselves in areas where they feel that it is safe. These which among others include church yards, busy streets, banks where there are night guards and other areas with nightly activities.

The term 'street children' defined based on family contact and where they spend the night and classified into children 'on' the street and children 'of' the street (see next chapter, page). But the definition is criticized elsewhere (Aptekar 1994; Aptekar & Abebe 1997; Aptekar & Heinonen 2003; Hetch 1998; Marquez 1999). This study confirmed that mobility between sleeping places makes the definition of 'street children' blurred. In Addis *veranda adariwech*, who most often grouped as 'children of the street' do not spend the night always on the street. Children's mobility between places often depends on the availability of income, the weather (season), political stability/instability, experience of street life, harmony/disharmony with families/relatives, relations made with friends and circle of contact with other people.

Street children with rural origin have no families in the city where they can return during the nights. They were asked where they mostly spend the night. Among 50 respondents, the majority 29 (58%) spent the night in rented shelter at the time of interview. They rent shelter either on daily or monthly basis. 15 (30 %) of the respondents spend the night on verandas. The 'other' category (12%) spends the night often in video houses, abandoned buildings and cars. Although the majority of children do not have sufficient shelter, they are capable of organizing their own shelter construction adjacent to modern buildings, public parks, and against walls of churches.

Ahmed, 13, said:

'I sleep on the street together with two of my friends. I never sleep in the middle. Sleeping in the middle is warmer than sleeping on the side. One of them sleeps in the middle and the other one has the dog on his side but no one in my side. I have no cloth for the nights. I have only one cloth even for the day. But we shared one old blanket -that belongs to one of them. We sleep on the road side if there is no rain but we will search for verandas if it is raining'.

Ahmed's account shows that there is a problem for street kids to locate better verandas to pass the night. This is partly because street children are considered either as thieves or will cooperate with thieves. Most street children claimed that sleeping on the street during *bega* (the dry season) is not difficult but it is terrible during *kiremt* (the rainy season). During *kiremt* they are forced to pay in cash or in kind for gang leaders who occupies verandas before them. They have to negotiate to get verandas within and among groups, business owners; gate keepers and police since street life require advanced skills of negotiation. Gang leaders consider the place as their own territories while the newcomers are considered as invaders.

I observed that most *veranda adariwech* have dogs together with them. They collect abandoned puppys from the garbage bins and let grow by sharing their own food. Dogs protect children from danger that comes from other gangs and police during the nights. And, as Ahmed's account shows, children feel warm when they sleep side by side with their dogs. In addition, they keep dogs because they believe that puppy's are abandoned by the society. Some street children also go to slum video houses and watch movies during the nights. They watch, for example, one Indian and one American movie which together take roughly about 5 hours (for 0.50 cents). The movies usually start around 10 pm and continue until 5 am. Children see the night video houses as both a place for entertainment and a shelter (or a place to spend the night). They avoid sleeping on the street twice or three times a week.

On the other hand, most street children usually manage to rent a shelter on a daily or monthly basis. There are many places where about three dozens of children spend the night together in small dirt floored rented room. The room is so crowded, dirty and also suffocating because there is no window to let fresh air in. All of them sleep on every corner on the floor on carton boxes. They also form groups and rent common rooms from private house owners which usually located in the slums. They share the cost and pay on contractual basis. Migrant children opt to house with fellow villagers or co-ethnics. Similarly Heinonen (2000) in (Apteker & Heinonen 2003) rightly stated many Gurage boys and street workers live communally with their peers, older siblings, or relatives. But this is true among other ethnicities such as Dorze, Welayita and Gojjsmie children. For example, a 15 year Welayita child said: *'when I come to Addis I stayed for a week with borcos'* (Heinonen define *borco* as an adulteration of the Italian words sporco, meaning filthy/dirty or porco, meaning pig) (Heinonen 2000 in Aptekar &Heinonen 2003). After that I got two boys who speak *welayitegna'*, the same language I speak. They introduced me to three others and now six of us are living in one room. Similarly a Gojjamie child said *'I live with 17 children in one room. All of us are from Gojjam. 5 of us knew each other before we come to Addis'*. Even *berenda adariwech* often make groups and occupy territories based on ethnicity and places of origin. However, in the case of girl's ethnicity and place of origin is less important. It is rather gender based. Frehiwot's group consists of six girls with diverse geographical and ethnic origin and their life is communal.

Street children choose a place to spend the night based on its social, security and economic advantages. They, for instance, prefer to occupy a suitable work space, or a place that enables them to access *bulle*, water, streams (to take shower and wash their cloths), shade, toilet, employment or if it enhances other livelihood prospects and spatial clustering in which economic opportunities can flourish. If the place has these potential, they prefer to sleep or spend the night even in places where there is marginal security and unhealthy places. For example, many *veranda adariwech* sleep and hang around garbage bins which enables them to collect abandoned food and other equipments.

In many circumstances*, berenda adariwech* do not prefer to dwell in the fringe of the city because they believe that it reduces their access to livelihood opportunities. However, some of them (for e.g. Gojjamie children) usually live in the periphery because cheaper rental houses are more easily available in the outskirts of the city. In fact they mostly alternate between the

inner city and the periphery. Due to this they spend several hours a day traveling, most often, on foot (and of course sometimes on overcrowded city buses) between the inner city and the periphery. Cost of travel between the periphery and the center (more than 10 kms) is a major constraint on their struggle to survive. The time, energy and sometimes the money lost in travel represent a heavy cost for many of them. For children who live in the fringe and work in the center, the place they live is not suitable because it doesn't allow them to stay up working in the center during the evenings. House renters impose many restrictions on them. For example, they will be supposed to pay extra for coming late in the evening. They are not allowed to use mattress while sleeping on rented rooms. This is due to the fact that mattress take more spaces and couldn't allow house renters to add more people. In spite of this, sleeping on rented common rooms is the major survival strategies for street children. These nightly shelters are by far better than the mere *godana* (street) or *taza* (veranda) from security, emotional, economic reasons. It also gives them a chance to discuss their daily experiences, problems, challenges, future aspirations and opportunities. Living communally allows children to socialize and cope with the urban challenges.

6.6.3. Clothing:

As I observed elsewhere in the city, street children do not have proper or sufficient clothes to suit all weather and are usually bare footed. Most of them use one and the same clothes during the days and the nights. Some of them sew their blankets *dirito* by connecting old rags together which can not protect them from the external harsh environments like the nights cold. In some case their clothes and *dirito* are infested with fleas and bedbugs, and hence exposing them to communicable diseases.

However, it would be far from the truth if one attempts to conclude that street children wore dirty cloths because they lack better ones. They, for example, can afford to buy better second hand clothes with cheap prices from second hand markets. They also manage to get new or better cloths from sympathizers and some times from garbage bins. For example, Ahmed says: *if I look better no body thinks that I am a poor child.* Street children mostly assume that if they wear better clothes they wouldn't be successful while they look for work or beg people for alms or *bulle.* This is partly because the sympathizers prefer to give alms or food for the neediest ones. Moreover, children fear that delinquents may take-off their clothes if they wear better ones. During the fieldwork for example I bought clothes for Ahmed but it was taken

over by gangs in less than three days. Similarly, I suggest another kid (Ahmed's friend) to buy him a shoe but he refused because he claimed that the shoe would be taken over.

In addition to these, street children like (Gojjame's) are not interested to buy or wear new clothes while living in the city. Most of them visit their families once in a year and prefer to buy when they are about to leave for their villages. Many of these children do not care about their clothes and clothing style since they are living in a town where nobody knows them. They noted that they will be ashamed if they return to villages without changing their old clothes. Most of them prefer to buy cloths few days before they return to their villages because they have no safe places to keep these clothes for long.

In sum, street children engaged in a broad spectrum of income generating activities in order to meet their subsistence. Their livelihood depends on the efforts of a combination of portfolios of activities. They draw diverse forms of assets or resources (income, negotiating skill, labor, social networks, etc) in the process of gaining their subsistence. Although street children mostly pursue a marginal existence, they do not have the same range of livelihood outcomes.

6.7. Substance abuse: a way of life or a response to failures to meet basic needs?

Street children in Addis often eat plenty of *bulle*. However, there are times when they spend days without eating anything. Moreover, children spend quite large time during the night without sleep to avoid the night's violence. They don't have proper clothes to avoid the night's cold. In many occasions children may not have enough food, clothing and shelter. In this case street children adopt different strategies to deal with the problem at hand.

It is very common to see children who slept on the street until around the midday every where in the city. These children don't get enough sleep during the night for many reasons. Some want to stay awakened in fear of violence, look for possible jobs; and the inavailability of *bulle* before lunch. Some of them prefer to sleep when they felt hungry. They adjust their sleeping time based on the time they feel they get *bulle*. Others, like Abeba and Mekuria, find scant relief from their hunger by sniffing benzene. In this case, glue sniffing is another alternative for hunger and avoiding the night's cold. Almost one fifth of street children in Addis are addicted to substances (FSCE, 2003). In my study, 32 out of 50 respondents are free from any kind of substance abuse. 9 out of 16 female respondents however, are addicted to substances. Girls who are involved in prostitution mostly addicted to chat, cigarettes and alcohols. Tatek (2002) argued that considerable amounts of working street children in

95

southern Ethiopia are addicted to chewing chat. But working street children in Addis are less often involved in chewing chat and abusing other substances. However, *berenda adaraiwech* are mostly addicted to drugs and benzene to kill their hunger and avoid the night's cold. This is partly explained by children's place of origin. About half of my informants come from the northern part of Ethiopia where chewing chat is uncommon.

Pic. 13: Street children chewing chat at night

 Street children explain as to why they use drugs differently. Hetch (1998) found that they (Northeast Brazil street children) took drugs simply because they like it. Street children in Addis use drugs to kill hunger and avoid cold, to generate mood (*mud lemechar*) and to spend good time (*medeberia).* The kid in the middle (the above picture) says as a street child how could you survive without chewing chat and smoking cigarettes. Unlike working counterparts, *berenda adariwech* including the above three kids consider it as part of their life style.

According to Hetch (1998) most of Northeast Brazil street children who have spent more than a few months on the street have used drugs. I, unlike Hetch's study, found that most working street children in Addis do not use substances though they had been on the street for long. In other words, they don't adopt delinquent behavior. This is due to the fact that most of them have life projects and working to become *sew* (some one) and are cultured. They have an optimistic worldview which lies in between the present needs and future hopes. Street children are not hopeless victims but they are often hopeful and purposeful agents who attempt to change their lives and of their parents to the better.

Chapter Seven

7. Social life, negotiation, power relation and hierarchies

7.1. Introduction

An essential point of departure for understanding livelihoods in any context must be the analysis of social relations between people and the communities they belong to (Beall in Rakodi 2002; Ellis 2000).

Pursuing a livelihood depend on children's personal competence. Although street children are financially insecure their supportive informal network acts as a buffer against livelihood constraints. Studying their social networks is helpful in gaining a better understanding of how they gain access to resources, jobs, and pursuit their livelihoods. The current chapter, attempts to understand the informal networks established between and among street children, the rural folks, and other segments of the urban population. Section 7.2 explores the nature, basis, and importance of social networks in the lives of street children. It also presents the meanings and functions of the street, the existence of multiple identities and complex power relations and hierarchies in street life. Section 7.7 attempts to understand the seemingly non-existent but available networks between street children and other social actors of the city and of their rural folks. It reflects on how street children negotiate and contest on the way of appropriating the public space and handling complicated, fluid and complex social interactions.

7.2. Social networks: resilient features of street life

No matter what has driven them to the street, street children live together in the street. They interact with each other through multiple networks and over the range of issues and concerns that constitute social life. Street children who usually occupy the same territory interact and support each other on their day-to-day life. Although street children are economically disadvantaged, they have a strong social capital.

Social capital and cultural capital can indeed be converted into economic capital and investment in social networks regarded as a sort of insurance, social and cultural dimension merit inclusion in the analysis of survival strategies (Fontaine & Schlumbohm 2000). Unsurprisingly, many forms of social networks which are observed in the mainstream society also exist among street children. The relationship and networks formed by street children are,

of course, mainly between themselves. It is almost a norm for a street child to be part of a certain social network that they use to achieve certain ends.

The informal networks of street children are formed based on personal, social and economic attributes which among others include age, gender, kinship, ethnicity, *yager lij* (a common area of origin), religion, iqub (informal saving associations), 'profession' or means of survival, institution based, and rarely based on hobbies or ways of spending time (for example, going to small video houses, going to churches', mosques and/or schools). However, the informal networks in the street are dominantly established on the virtue of place of origin and/or ethnicity. Gojjamie, Gurage and Dorze children, for example, establish relations among their own kind. In the street, like in the mainstream society, co-villagers and co-ethnics socialize with each other. But things with considerable value in the mainstream society may not necessarily have equal value among street children because the later is not formal, solid and permanent and often subjected to frequent changes as a result of mobility between occupations and places. But this is not always the case. Social networks formed for saving purposes for example *iqub* are relatively solid because being a member of a certain *iqub* requires trust, strong reciprocity and guarantee.

Street children with rural origin have no frequent ties with their families and establish strong friendships and reciprocity, most often, with their peers, to fill this void. In other words, friends are vital in substituting families. The informal networks support children socially, morally, economically and remain resilient feature in their street life.

7.2.1.The street – a sphere of socialization and solidarity

The street is a place where street boys and girls separate themselves from family or adult's supervision. This is especially true for migrants who live away from their villages. The street has different meanings for different street children as all are not driven by the same reasons. The street, most often, is considered by society, medias, institutions, as a place of violence, danger, vulnerability, abuse, alienation and this usually neglect other dimensions. For example the street, according to my informants, is also a place of freedom, adventure, socialization, and peer solidarity. In line with this NSPCC argued that children are statistically more likely to be abused in 'private space' by a person known to them than in public spaces, and that many children experience the home as a place of domestic conflict, strife and

98

parental pressure(Valentine 1997). In addition, Street children develop knowledge, creativity, skills (technical, negotiation etc) and above all skills of making a living independently.

Because of exclusion from the mainstream society, there is an intense solidarity among street children of Addis. The solidarity, however, is better explained at the subgroup or local level. In many scenarios street children emerge as a unified group toward the 'outside' world. This is partly because they create a sense of belonging to a common marginal group and perhaps a new sense of 'family' for being on the street. When the issue dealt with the 'outer world' they converge into 'oneness' as they all are 'street children', in its broadest sense, marginal children, sharing more or less similar experiences of street life. For example, they are highly committed to defend their group members from 'others' especially from the non street ones

Children manage to create organized functional social groups. These group friendships provide children with a sense of strength, a feeling that they are not alone on the street. Within the peer group they both share and compete for resources. Street children rely on their relationships, associations and networks to survive on a day-to-day basis. Their relationships entail opportunities and risks though the former overweighs the latter. When I asked Abeba about her relationship with her peers, she says: '… *ehitina wendim mallet nen* – we are just like sisters and brothers. '*beteseb ayinet neger*' – we are like one family'.

Street children, for example, share *bulle,* night cloths, money, emotional support and basic information about jobs, security, etc. If a child is sick or injured they would take him/her to the clinic or try to give him a sort of first aid. For example, when the police come to arrest them, they pass the information to every child on the street. They, however, do not pass information to the police if they feel it harms the security of their friends. There is a continuous flow of information on the street to capture new events, in fact events relevant to their lives. The social network among street children is crucial in their livelihood strategies. Despite of these, there is also exploitative relation between street children. This fact may misguide or question the notion that the street will offer children with freedom and autonomy.

7.2.2.The street - a sphere of violence and exploitation

In spite of limited opportunities, the number of children, youth, women and adults who earn a living from the street is increasing. Under these circumstances, survival requires intense competition among the 'street community'. Street life is not easy and some of the children are led to behave in a certain way (i.e. in harmful and anti social activities) just for survival.

Ahmed lives together with his two friends, older ones. He says: '*when older street children need cigarettes they send me to beg and earn some money. If I fail to bring them they most often beat me'.* This shows that such undesired behavior and perhaps inevitable outcomes of child poverty and activities may reduce the persisted warm reciprocity among street children.

Frehiwot, a girl says:

'In 1999, the same year which I went out to the street I have faced one big problem which I don't forget in my life time. It was around the middle of the night. I and Hanna (a street girl) wereat sleep at that time. I woke up andwalked around the bridge to urinate. At that time two guys came and took me to the bush and raped me. This is the worst experience I had in street life. Hanna told the police and they took me to hospital. I was hospitalized for about a month. I couldn't know who raped me and I always worried that those guys were not punished for the sins they made. I feel depressed, I feel angry when I think of this bad experience'.

The street may have different faces and its safety varies temporally and spatially. It is also gendered. Frehiwot's account shows that street life is challenging for children, especially for girls. During the nights, for example, the street becomes insecure and turns itself into a sphere of violence and exploitation. Of course this does not mean that all places are insecure during the night. There are dangerous street corners which are occupied by certain groups/gangs who involve in crimes. The violence comes from different parties such as street gangs, drunkards, the passersby, police, local *kebele* (lower level government structure) guards, business owners, and the local people. The general publics' perception towards street children varies, modulated by age, space and time. Those who perceive street children as *duriyes (*vagabonds) harass them for no reasons.

7.3. Power relations and Hierarchy

As shown above, living in the street is not the same as living alone. Children develop a circle or networks of friends for reasons mentioned above. As survival requires grouping, their relations and way of life is characterized by hierarchies and power relations. One of the ways power operates and is felt is through the production and reproduction of difference (Katz in Holloway & Valentine 2003; Giddens 1994; Holt-Jensen 1999). In the process of continuous interaction, street children construct the notion of 'sameness' and 'otherness' to justify their claim of inclusion and exclusion to the street, different street groups and other social actors.

Although street children do not lend them into a simple hierarchical arrangement, through interviews and observations I identified some of the basis of hierarchy formation. Power relations reflected the virtue of age, gender, street experience, migration status, family contact, 'profession', etc. These power relations are complex, informal, invisible; most often not in the form of top-down or not in the sense of I can 'boss' or 'monitor' you.

7.3.1. Seniors Vs new comers

I discussed with children who have been on the street from only for a week to a decade. It is interesting to note that seniors can identify who are newcomers and who are not. They identified newcomers based on many scenarios. According to seniors, the new ones: 1). most often have better and clean clothes. 2). most often are shy, depressed and unstable. 3). most often have 'smooth' or 'soft' childhood voice. In other words, children who have been on the street for a long time have *gornana dimit* (hard voice) despite of their age. 4). Most often are unfamiliar to yearada *kuankua* (words and expressions used by *duriye's* (vagabonds) and are not easily understood by other people). One senior exemplifies this in the sense of 'we' and 'they': We say *bulle* but they (newcomers) say food. We say *chella* – they simply say *'birr'* (or money). We say *chireba* but they simply say *matalel* (cheating).

Pic. 14: Newcomers and seniors: begging during the night, Piazza

The newcomer (Abebe) came from Gondar (a town in the Northern Ethiopia) two months ago. As it is observed in the picture Abebe hides his face from the camera and it seems that he did

101

not accept his new carrier. He was in fact not willing to have the picture taken until he was convinced by his seniors.

Belay, 14, a disabled street boy who came to Addis a few months ago says *'I really didn't know what to do. That time every thing was complicated. I was even ashamed to beg'*. This shows that street life is tough for newcomers with rural origin in the sense that they are new to the street and city life. As Belay's account shows they are reluctant and most often feel ashamed to start begging. Moreover, they don't have the skills and techniques for efficient begging. However, once they come in contact with others they gradually learn survival skills from seniors through participation. This relates to Giddens (1984) argument that agents know a great deal about the workings of society by virtue of their participation in it, and it is through such participation that learning takes place usually in interaction with knowledgeable members.

Newcomers make efforts to gain entry to the prevailing networks and/or develop a new one. In many occasions seniors give all round support for newcomers. Seniors, as experts of the street life, know what to get where, when and how. I.e. they know how to earn income, where to get basic necessities and services for free or with cheaper price. This sort of information will be diffused to the newcomers and perhaps to other seniors (visitors) who come from other places. When seniors change their living and/or working place they need information where to get what in the new place though they are aware the strategy to get them. In line with this Sahlu and Mekuria who lived on the street for about four years said: *'Where ever it is, street life is similar'*. I got in touch with them around Tourist hotel in Arat kilo. They came to Arat kilo from Wellosefer three days ago. They were slowly familiarizing with the rest of street children so that they show them key places of the new place.

Seniors share their expertise and experiences for the good of new comers. Abeba, 15, says:

'If she is a girl we will advice her to go back home. We will tell her that she may be raped like me. If he is a boy we will tell him that there is cold, violence on the street. If he/she has the address of relatives we will call them to take her/him back. But in the meantime we will give him/her' bulle' and pay him/her for nightly rented houses if we manage'.

Abeba's account shows that seniors give age and gender based advice and information for newcomers. Their support goes to the extent of reintegrating them to their siblings. But seniors also draw benefits from the newcomers. Habtamu, 17, had been on the street for more than 7 years, for example, said *'new comers are good because they always say eshi (ok) when*

we order them'. This shows that newcomers are usually affirmative for orders coming from seniors and they rely on the instruction of their seniors until they get used to it. But the already acquainted ones challenge or refuse the order of the seniors because they need no one to tell them what to do. I would say that their relation is mutual in the sense that newcomers and seniors draw benefits from their interaction. However, I will not romanticize their relationships since street life demands competition. For example, seniors avoid newcomers and deny them access to the limited livelihood opportunities available in the street. The former do not let the latter work and earn money. In principle, it seems that the specific place belongs to those who usually work there. The new ones will face problems to being accepted of work on that specific place and this becomes challenging until they get used to it.

7.3.2. Old and small street kids

As it is noted above street children make groups based on different attributes. One is based on age. Children about the same age (peers) roam and hang around together. But I observed that most of the groups are a mix of the younger and older children. Older ones urge younger kids to beg for alms and *bulle* since sympathy diminishes with age (see also Hetch 1998). In addition, older children feel ashamed because they feel that they are too old to beg. The society reacted to older children differently because it is believed that older children involve in illegal activities and partly for their threatening appearance.

Street gangs in many occasions fight each other. Thus smaller kids seek the protection of the older boys. In return older children tended to use smaller kids for fulfilling immediate daily needs. However, I feel that older boys dominate the younger ones. While domination is getting high, small kids usually escape from the group and earn a living on their own. Some street kids are in dilemma between leaving the group and surviving alone. Similarly, Heinonen (2000, in Apteker & Heinonen 2003) found that children expressed a desire for autonomy coupled with a need to feel part of the group. These conflicting desires, exacerbated by the constant violence between and within groups, precluded the formation of enduring affective emotional attachments and therefore a sense of responsibility for one another.

7.3.3. Gender difference on the street

The street and working children of Addis and elsewhere cannot be understood without considering gender differences (see Aptekar & Ciano 1999; Apteker & Heinonen 2003; FSCE 2003; Mekuria 2000). The gender ratio for working street children in Ethiopia is

approximately four boys to one girl, especially among those aged nine years and more (Wondimu 1996 in Heinonen & Aptekar 2003; FSCE 2003).

Frehiwot, 15, comes to Addis from a village around Hosanna with her aunt while she was three. She says:

I have five sisters and brothers. Both parents were alive the time I left the village. My aunt promises to let me go to school while she brought me here. But I never went to school. I stayed with her for about six years doing many jobs. I clean the house every day, I cook some food, and do shopping and wash clothes. This is ok with me but the problem was she beats me hard whenever I do small mistakes. She never sent me to school in all these years. In 1999, six years ago I just left her once and for all after she seriously beats me with electric cable. I do not know any one here except my aunt. I just go out to the streets and fortunately I introduced myself to a street girl who lives around Habte-giyorgis Bridge. She introduced me to the rest of her friends. Now, I live together with them. All of us stand in front of Meklit hotel during the night looking for alms and, perhaps, sometimes clients. We are good friends and sisters'.

Unlike Nairobi's street girls (Aptekar &Ciano 1999), street girls in Addis form strong relationship among themselves. Their life is communal in the sense that they share cash, materials, and tools; give emotional support and defend themselves collectively. However, resources in the street are limited and earning money often demands competition, fight, petty theft, and violence. Because of culture and gender based inhibitions, these add further challenges on the lives of street girls. They have to fight with boys and adults to share whatever opportunities the street offers and whatever risk it entails. In Ethiopia, as in many African countries (Nelson in Gmelch & Zenner 2002; Ellis 2000), society treats girls as inferior to boys which is reflected at home, in schools, and in the street. FSCE noted that the role of the female child is usually undervalued compared to that of boys, and her needs as well as her interests are circumscribed by a wide range of cultural practices which are presumably though to define feminine attributes (FSCE 1998).

Boys are usually allowed to move far away from home unsupervised and to spend time outdoors more so than girls (Van Vliet 1983; Bkorklid 1985; and Katz 1993 in Valentine 2004). But street girls transform traditional sex-based behaviors since they use the public space equally to boys. They expand their spatial range. Abeba, a street girl says: '*an old lady always tells me not to smoke cigarettes in public because I am a girl'. I don't agree. After all I am a street girl'*. This shows that street girls often resist the socially constructed gendered roles and responsibilities. In fact it is not always appropriate to perceive street girls as being at

high risk. Frehiwot, a street girl, for example, says: *'Nobody attacks me when I walk from Piazza to Merkato after mid night. But I need to be serious and confident'*.

Her account reflects the fact that they take timely and appropriate actions to reduce and to cope with the public spaces' threatening environment. Street girls, like boys, adopt a variety of strategies to avert risks that might arise from working/ living on the street. One of their coping strategies is establishing close contacts with noted gang leaders or street boys who have a say in a given locale. Street boys took street girls as 'wives'. In her study of street girls in Dire Dawa, Ethiopia, Mekuria found that 'husbands' were content to let their wives live with the dual roles of wife and prostitute (Mekuria 2004; see also Aptekar & Ciano 1999). This is also true in Addis. However, the relation between street boys and girls in Addis is not only explained by sexual contracting or by 'husband' -'wives' relations but also by the sense of 'neighborhood' or for occupying the same territory for a living. Gangs in Addis are mostly territorial. The 'local' street boys protect street girls of their own locale from outsiders simply for being their 'neighbors'. Bigger boys will fight with external ones whereas smaller boys report to the police when they see these girls are attacked by 'outsiders'. In addition, some street girls get protection by giving Birr to street boys or buying them cigarettes, *tella, tej, araki* (local alcoholic drinks), bread, chat, drugs, etc. However, most notably, street girls collectively defend themselves by ganging up, shouting, screaming. They also ask the passersby to give them protection. They hang around the police and security quarters. However, some street girls are harassed by the police in return of temporary protection.

In spite of all these co-operation and intense solidarity, the focus group and interviews show that there is a certain tension within and among female street children. They sometimes fight each other for small things like exchange of words, and insults. They also steal each others property and this often leads to a fight or a quarrel.

7.3.4. Profession based: 'workers' and 'beggars'

Street working children in Addis are defined by the behavioral activity while street children are defined by a descriptive, yet vague pejorative way of life (Aptekar & Abebe 1997; Heinonen & Aptekar 2003; Tatek 2002). These distinctions however, are blurred. It is worth to note my informant case. Tamru, 13, came from a village in Arsi. One rainy morning we were talking about his life while having breakfast together in a café. He says:

'I beg people for alms so that I can buy bread, tea, and sometimes to rent a shelter. Instead of begging I prefer to work. But the problem is I have no money to start work. There are works one can start with some money such as listro'.

Tamru has an ambition to start a certain kind of job but suffered from lack of money. I saw courage in him and decided to give him money that enables to start *listro*. Next day Tamru was waiting for me with his *listro*. He was so happy when he saw me and even polished my shoes for free. That very day he earned 7 birr- five birr from *listro* and two birr from carrying luggages. I too was happy to see him involved in work so that he can buy his food and rent a shelter. I was observing him by hiding myself for a couple of days. And he was continuing his work as a *listro.* That evening Tamru was waiting me with his friend Sisay. Sisay also urged me to do the same. Of course I did. Both of them rejoined the street with the new spirit – as a *listro*, not as a beggar. By getting into their livelihood space I helped these children to change their 'statuses from beggar 'non-working' to *listro* 'working' children in a matter of a day.

Street working children and 'street children' (usually refers to *berenda adariwech*) are defined separately. The power relations reflected here on the basis of children's street based carrier or profession. Street working children, like the main stream society, are skeptical towards *berenda adariwech.* They do not look at themselves and are not looked upon by the public as street children, meaning in large part that they are not considered as deviant or obnoxious. On the other hand*, berenda adariwech* as *borcos*, and deviants, who involve in theft, robbery, begging, prostitution, being drug dependents and indifferent to local norms.

7.3.5. Local / migrant

Although I was interested on street children with rural origin, I interviewed 'local' street children, who are originally from Addis. A 'local' child says: '*we call them (rural children) 'Arsenal' because they always wear shorts.* We also call them *fara* (who have no idea about city life style)'. A friend of this child says *'they (rural children) even can't cross the zebra'*. This account highlights that locals aligned themselves to the 'modern', 'civilized' urban dwellers who are aware of city life and who knows even international affairs and they label their rural counterparts as *balager* ('traditional'), *fara,* and peasants who have no idea about city life and are vulnerable to urban related risks like traffic accident. On the other hand, migrants do not usually assimilate with the 'local' ones because they define them as *duriyewech* (vagabonds), thieves, indifferent and *borcos*. There is also confrontation between

the local and migrant street children. Migrants are willing to work with smaller wage than local ones. People let the first group to work as the cost is lesser compared to the local street children. In this scenario the 'local' ones harasses and insults migrant street workers.

7.4. Being street children: victims, villains or heroes?

The term 'street children' include a wide range of children who work and live on the street. Does this term give each child a collective identity? It is very controversial. Based on interviews, I found that street children have multiple identities. They construct their identity in their everyday lives. Some street children perceive themselves as innocent children (who use the street to generate income), victims (of poverty, domestic abuse, etc), vagabonds (who involve in theft, prostitution and drug dealing), hard workers (who are important to their families), heroes (who survive in desperate circumstances).

Frehiwot, a child prostitute, *'we all are street children. I mostly sleep in a rented house. Others sleep on the street. But we are similar because we have similar life style'*. This shows that sometimes the term 'street children' gives them an identity and a sense of belonging since all earn a living from the street. In many occasions, the term street child stigmatizes. Fekadu, *listro* says *'I am legal. I am here to work but nothing else'*. Here it seems that Fekadu is excluding himself from the often stigmatized term.

Although identity is regarded as changeable over space and time (Katz in Holloway & Valentine 2003), street working children (such as komche's and Gurage's) maintain their 'rural identity' while living in the city. Although these children have been in the city for many years, they look like rural boys in their dialects, clothes and clothing style. The reality of living in the city has not changed the migrants' loyalty to their peculiar rural traditions. '…since the metropolis is more like an onion, with many layers of boundaries, everyone who lives within bragging distance of the metropolitan center can claim it as their home' (Rotenberg in Gmelch &Zenner 2002). In contrast, these children neither associate themselves with the street nor with the city though they live and work in the metropolis. This is partly because they are not assimilating with others and perhaps socialize among co-villagers.

Komeches and Gurage's have often a definite sense of identity, at an individual and collective level. Because of their collective group identity, Komches assume the privilege of getting certain kinds of jobs such as agricultural and labor work in the construction sites. Gurage's who are often identified by their dialect, are known for their hard work, creativity and saving

'culture'. These children are reconstructing the cultural values of their ethnicity. They engaged in all form of income generating activities except begging, which is claimed to be a taboo. They are classical examples in showing how a life can be changed to the better through hard work. In fact, in some cases they are considered as cheaters.

The notion of place can be understood in terms of location (a specific point on the earth's surface), a sense of place (the subjective feelings people have about places, including the role of place in their individual and group identity) and as locale (a setting and scale for people's daily actions and interactions (Castree in Holloway & Valentine 2003). However, working street children often do not define their identity in terms of the street as 'street children'. They define themselves as working children who use the public space to earn a living. Of course, some associate their identity with the street on a temporary basis. Importantly, they define themselves in relation to what they want to be in the future or according to an ideal identity.

Unlike working children, *berenda adariwech* are attached with social and cultural problems, being drug dependent or criminal, having a deviant behavior. The public most often characterize them- stereotypically (see also Heinonen 2000 in Heinonen & Aptekar 2003). Different stereotypes pertaining to behavior, habits and actions designate most children not only as unworthy of charity but also of love and respect. They are deprived a privilege of individual or collective honor since the term often portrayed negatively.

 Street children's self image or identity is multiple and often are subjected to change. In my opinion, it is not possible to label all street children as victims, valiance or heroes because factors that turn them to the street and their way of life vary. Kjorholt argued that all subjects, whether adults or children, move between different and shifting positions of dependence and independence, competence and incompetence (Kjorholt 2004:220). In line with this, I this three (victim, villains, and hero) are often observed in their daily lives. It may not be sound to draw a victimized picture and also considering them as causes of social evils. Nor would it be right to romanticize their agency. A multiple identity can be generated in a given child when we try to understand why he/she is on the street, what problems he/she faces, how he/she handles the problem and what resources he/she has or lack. For example, when we see the reasons why they come to the city – they mostly become competent social actors or agents (as Giddens calls) who respond actively to the physical and social environment and the structure (e.g. rural poverty) that constrain their life. At the same time, they are victims of rural poverty and domestic violence. In fact when we look at their daily urban lives they are vulnerable to a

wide range of risks and shocks. In sum, one, two or three of this (victim, villains, and hero) may color street children's sphere of life and it seems that the reality is encompassing all.

7.4.1. Language: as an identity

In his study of youth and violence in Caracas, Marques found that young people use language very creatively. Language functions as a kind of cultural marker that situates speakers for themselves, for their peers, and for society (Hewitt 1986 in Marques 1999). Anthropologists and socio-linguists have long recognized that language can be an important index of identity (Cook in Gmelch & Zenner 2002). Street children and street youth in Addis use 'unfamiliar' words to the mainstream society which, in fact, are labeled as *yeduriye kuankua* (vagabond's language). They have their own vocabularies which are different from the normal or the standard. These vocabularies are shared within a group and are mainly (and perhaps only) used by street children in their daily lives. As part of the street life, street children are supposed to know these vocabularies to ensure meaningful communication and becoming competent members of the 'street community'.

7.5. Childhood: A departure from western based definition

'…without the image of the unhappy child, our contemporary concept of childhood would be incomplete (Holland 1992 in Hatch 1999). However, this knowledge is constructed based on western realities. There is no one universal concept of childhood within which children of different cultures supposed to act accordingly. Rather it should be embedded in a given socio-cultural settings. For example, street children are making decisions in every day lives. They define the notion of 'childhood' differently from other groups such as home children of the middle class in the sense that they are the owners of their own lives. I and Ahmed were talking in a café near to the Lions zoo in Sidist kilo. Ahmed lived in the streets of Kemise (about 300 kms from Addis) for two years before he came to Addis. Ahmed and his friend traveled on foot for six days to reach Addis from Kemise, a town in Wello.

Q : how old are you, Ahmed

Ahmed: … *13.*

Q: you are a small kid. How come you traveled for six days by foot?

Ahmed: *do you think I am a kid? No. I am not a kid any more.*

Q: why?

Ahmed: *No one is helping me but myself.*

Q: hmm but you are a child.

Ahmed: '*godana kewetu behuala lijim lijinet yelem'* – there is no children and childhood once you are on the street.

I purposely asked Ahmed a leading question (...but you are a child) to probe his idea about childhood. The notion of childhood in Ethiopia reflects the fact that children are innocent, dependent, and perhaps weak who always need support and protection from adults. However, from the discussion, it is understood that the notion of children and childhood in the street should be separated from its 'traditional' and/or western based meaning which most often characterizes 'home' children of the middle class who usually have no problems to solve.

Street children mostly feel that they are the boss of their own life. They do not see the meanings of childhood from the perspective of age and nurtured children. Working street children, for example, see childhood as a stage in which they nurture their little siblings and families (see also Hetch 1998). This is a departure from its western based meaning. While attempting to nurture their families' children mostly do acquire important skills and knowledge to ensure their future. Unlike the literature (such as Blanchet 1996), many of my informants explain that they do not miss their childhood because they are playing, socializing, and enjoying the freedom of street life. Some of them confirmed that they missed these privileges while they were home, with parents.

7.6. The street as a territory

Young people sleeping on the streets occupy spaces that are always contested (Marquez 1999). Place is not only a fact to be explained in the broader frame of space, but it is also a reality to be clarified and understood from the perspectives of the people who have given it meaning (Tuan in Olwig & Gullov 2003; see also Holloway & Valentine 2003). Street children have detail knowledge of the public space and are usually derive benefits out of it. A certain groups of children define their living and working place and use all opportunities that the place offers or entails to them. Street children in Addis as in other cities like Caracas (Marquez 1999), Northeast Brazil (Hetch 1998), Cali (Apteker 1998), Katmandu (Larsen 2003) have to move around the city in order to make a living. Street children in Addis often have mental maps which they follow in their day-to-day life. The maps have both temporal

and spatial legends. They know what to get where, when and perhaps how to get them which is acquired through experience of negotiation, and learning through participation

Wami, a shoeshine boy, works around Ambassador Theater for long since this place enables him to get many customers who come to watch movies on daily basis. Frehiwot and her friends who involve in prostitution often hang around Meklit hotel in Gojjam Berenda to be picked by the customers of the hotel. They also get *bulle* from the hotel in exchange of cleaning and emptying garbage. This account shows that accessing a given territory means accessing better livelihood opportunities. The specific street corner, by default, belongs to those children who usually work there. In addition, children's territoriality is better explained in terms of the series of chains and networks that has been established for being in a defined place for long. This often requires high competition and they are also supposed to defend their territory from other street children, which may be labeled as invaders or outsiders.

Although street children in Addis move across the city on daily basis, they mostly occupy a certain place (territory) to make a living. Knowing the area, its activities and people (shop keepers, hotel managers, waiters, police, and other inhabitants) is part of the children's efforts and survival strategies to stake out a particular area or locale, and therefore develop a sense of belongingness. They continuously interact with other inhabitants and thereby attempt to ensure security at local level. Changing living/working place within a city means the loss of social capital that may have been in the making for years. In this case, they are supposed to establish new social ties with street children and other social actors mentioned above.

Another interesting dimension is that street children safeguard their local inhabitants or 'neighbors' from any form of attack which may come from others. Let's consider this case. Esayiyas, 45, is a civil servant who lives around Piazza. Berhanu, Melaku and Simon are street children who live around Esayiyas's place. They know each other. One midnight these children saw Esayiyas walking alone during midnight. They warn him that it is dangerous for him to travel alone during this time and they accompanied him until he arrived to his place.

The choices of territories are not only based on the opportunities the place/territory offers but also the risks associated to the place that they live or work. It is argued elsewhere that risk assessment and decision making are increasingly important features of daily life (Giddens 1984; 1992; Beck 1992 in Valentine 1997; Fraser 1997). Risks and opportunities have an impact on the free mobility and use of the public space. Most informants claim they are free

111

in their actions and reactions as opposed to their home based counter parts who, according to Valentine, have strict spatio-temporal rules and boundaries that are squeezing them out of public space (Valentine 1997).

7.7. Street children and other social actors

'The human being is a social creature and its development depends on to what extent a human being can manage to interact with other human beings' (Erikson in Simonnes 1996). Street children are not isolated individuals but they are active agents who interact with various social groups and respond actively for the physical and social environment which surround them. They form a part of the structure of society and actors that run life projects with different parties. Their projects are usually aiming at improving their own and their families' livelihood. The social networks established by street children are not limited to their social groups but also extends to non-street social actors. This section highlights the relationships between street children, rural folks and other segments of the urban population.

Rakodi argues that the level of social capital and the ability to call on the social networks involved vary in space and time (Rakodi 2002). Street children were asked questions to define these social groups with whom they have frequent social and economic relations. Street children who work and live in a given place or locale know each other, interact and create a sense of 'neighborhood' with other social actors such as the police, the local *Kebele* guards, shopkeepers, churches, NGOs, local people, petty traders, taxi drivers and waiters.

In these interactions street children attempt to draw benefits and at the same time want to establish trust. Giddens may call the latter 'ontological security'. Giddens argues that agents know a great deal about the workings of society by virtue of their participation (Giddens 1994). Similarly street children try to behave and monitor their actions according to a given social setting (i.e. their conduct or actions varies with the spatio-temporal dimension). They, for example, do not use *yarada kuankua* while talking to the non-street social group. They act and react according to the context in which they are in. Street children appropriate the meanings given for their actions. Meaning, they know what they are expected to be and not to be, do and not to do in different social settings. Their lives attest the fact that they act consciously like knowledgeable agents. Giddens noted that it is through participation that learning takes place (Gidddens 1984). Similarly, street children learn and develop negotiation

skills through their continuous interactions with different social actors. In and through their interactions, they, as active agents, reproduce and turn the conditions into their advantage.

I interviewed both groups in order to gain a better understanding about the terms and benefits of their relations. However, I will give emphasis on key segments of the population which I think has the most frequent relations with street children. The analysis emphasized on whether these interactions create an enabling or constraining environment for the lives of street children since structure are not only constraining but also enabling (Giddens 1984). In addition, I will also attempt to construct the society's perception for street children.

7.7.1. The Shop keepers: center for security, social and economic investment

In their day to day lives street children and shopkeepers have a close contact. Seba, 14, a shoeshine boy works around Ambassador Theater said:

'From the very start I was a mobile listro. I had no fixed work place. My friend introduced me to a shop keeper, named Beyene. He is good for me. He allowed me to work nearby his shop. I put my listro (work equipment) in his shop when I leave for home in the evening and I pick it up in the morning. I have a box in his shop where I can put Birr when I earn extra'.

Shopkeepers like Beyene allow street children to work close to their shops or give them work spaces that enable children to earn income. They are also an alternative to or substitute of modern banks. They usually reserve boxes in the name of the child and keep the saved money there and they give them back when a need arises. They consult as to how they utilize the money. Moreover, they give small loans for children who usually work close to their shops.

In addition, shopkeepers facilitate the informal networks of street children. I lost Seba in a matter of a week. Beyene find him a job in his friend's shop as a shopkeeper's assistant. Also, I was able to keep contact with my informants with the help of shopkeepers during the fieldwork. Street children usually give the telephone address of the shopkeepers when they are asked about their address. The shopkeepers' place is a reference point to deliver and receive messages from their friends and others. Mostly shopkeepers facilitate children's interaction with different social groups and create enabling environment for their livelihoods. In return, street children buy food and work equipment from the shop where they have close links. They also help the shopkeepers as messengers, porters and guards. The relations between children and shopkeepers are mutual and usually based on exchange of services.

7.7.2. Police: protectors or threats?

'*The police often arrest us and beat us; they don't like to see us on the front…always they say go away and hide…hmm… we don't know where to hide and from whom we should hide ourselves*' Berhanu, a street child said

'The police control the street in three ways. First, the physical presence of uniforms on the street provides symbolic reassurance of order and control. Second, the police use active surveillance to monitor those in public. Third, they intervene to establish order' (Valentine 1997). However, it is argued that police violence and abuse inflicted on street children seems to be a norm in many countries. Street children are often arbitrarily rounded up and detained simply because they are homeless and particularly when it is time to clean the streets during international conferences. Sometimes, street children are killed (e.g. Colombia and Brazil) as reported by Human Rights Watch, in 2003).

It is argued that the meaning of a place is made up of what the place contains and what the place permits (Rotenberg in Gmelch & Zenner 2002) and reflects and signifies social divisions and variations in influence and power (Olwig & Gullov 2003). I observed that there is conflicting interest between police and street children especially in using public spaces. The police have an interest to restrict activities carried out by street children. It seems that the public assumes that the public space functions well if there were no street children. And street children need the public space in order to earn income from various street based activities.

Also, street children in Addis are vulnerable to abuse and are often targets of police brutality. However, literature reviewed, fails to acknowledge the fact that street children have different attitudes toward the police. B*eranda adariwech*, for example, have usually negative attitude towards the police. So too have policemen/women. They see each other as enemies. These groups of children do not consider the police as protectors. There is also a tendency that the police associate all sort of undesirable activities to *berenda adariwech* and see them as vagabonds, thieves, and idlers. The police most often see street children as trouble makers not as social actors who lead their lives directed by their own life projects. But this does not necessarily mean that street children do not engage in shoddy activities. They sometimes do. For instance, some of them I interviewed confess that they sometimes steal; pick pocket and fight as a survival strategy. Although these activities are marginal or less pronounced, the police uses this representation to justify detention to control their behaviors in public spaces.

Like *berenda adariwech,* working street children (e.g. peddlers, petty traders, porters and mobile shoe shiners) who have no proper work spaces consider the police as enemies. They are usually harassed simply because they occupy the public space to sell their items. Some of them are harassed for their refusal to give information to police officers about people who engage in criminal activities. The police claim that street children know about crimes committed in their respective locales.

Recently the city administration gave small shops for some street workers who can pay taxes. Working street children who have their own work space usually consider the police as protectors. For example, shoe shiners with fixed work spaces pay taxes to the government and are considered as legal. A lottery vender says: *'I feel secure when I see police around. They protect us from gangs and vagabonds'.*

Although lottery sellers are peddlers who have no fixed work space, they are favored by the police because they generate income for the government through selling lottery tickets to the public. It is important to note that lottery 'business' is run by the government and lottery venders are helping the government in this regard. Due to this police assumes lottery vendors as 'legal' workers and do not chase them away while they occupy the public space. In addition, it is claimed that they do not involve in illegal activities because most of them are rural children who often considered as cultured children (who obey social norms and rules).

Wabi Ali, listro, says:

'About 650 children who shine shoes, who sell lotteries, news papers, and other small items, carry loads, etc took training in Lideta sub city before 6 months. The police trained us. We listro's pay 10 birr to get the uniform. The police declared that no one can work without having uniforms. I paid 10 birr in order to get the uniform. Now it seems that we got a legal title, not suspected as thieves. They even change the name from listro to yechama tsidat agelgilot serategnoch- which roughly means 'shoes shining service workers'.

The interviews with Wabi and other shoeshine boys' shows that no *listro* appeared in uniforms mainly for two reasons: 1. the uniform is made of plastic and it is too warm. 2. It is boring to wear uniforms and being identifies as *listro's*. In addition, they claim that the police didn't consult them about its color, the text written on it, the type, etc. The police was urging them to wear the uniform for sometime but through time they forget it. Some children claim that working with the police boost their moral and reconstruct their public image. They claimed that they were recognized as responsible citizens who create jobs.

7.7.3. The church: a public space or a place for prayer?

'Living on the street is horrible but with God I can manage. Had it not been for his help, I couldn't survive' Frhiwot, 15, a street girl**.**

Various services given by the church attracts congregations of different groups of people. The Orthodox religious people go to church almost every morning and evening to confess, pray and to hear gospel. Although street children do not get direct help from the church, the church with their constant throngs of people, offers opportunities for children to beg for alms or food. In addition to begging, street venders crowd around church doors in the hope of selling small items which are important for or during worships (such as candles, spiritual songs, books, pictures, grasses) and other items. Marginal children can obtain shelter, food and sleep in and around a church which can be identified as 'physical needs'. From these perspectives, the church is used as a public space which is important for the lives of street children.

Pic 15: Street children and elderly sleeping in church yards, Bole Medhanialem

However, marginalized children's problem should not only be considered as material or economic but of social exclusion. To be respected is a basic human right. Different stereotypes pertaining to behavior, habits and actions designate most children not only as unworthy of charity but also of love and respect. Jesus said to them, *'let the little children come to me, and do not hinder them, for the kingdom of God belongs to such as these'*. However, I observed that gate keepers chase street children away from church yards. Understanding and respecting marginal children's religious beliefs and observances by the biblical community is an important step in the process of cohesion, and can help to relieve

116

much anxiety and to contribute developing a sense of identity and of their spirituality. In this case, churches help these children to fulfill their spiritual needs which, according to Bradford's classification, includes to giving meaning to life, to be aware of the mysteries of life and to develop one's own beliefs and get acceptance for them (Bradford 1995 cited in Crompton 1998).

Street children usually define as meaningful the life at home and not a life on the street. Church, therefore, is considered by these children as home where they can get peace. Street children, go to church since church and the biblical community accepts or recognizes them as part of their group or co-religionist…as they have grace in the Gods kingdom. In addition, sharing worship with co-religionists offers them a sense of identity, cohesion, emotional nourishment, and of promotion of self-esteem (see also Bradford 1995). Spirituality is awareness of feelings and beliefs which in turn stimulate self-awareness and answers to 'why' questions about life (Crompton 1998). Many children like Abeba and Wami have established a close bond with religious institutions such as church and mosque. Wami is a Muslim shoe shine Gurage boy. He goes to the mosque close to his work place about five times a day for worship. He stays there for about 20 minutes and goes back to his work.

Although religious belief and practices may not seem important to street children, it is an integral part of their survival. It is important to note that religious institutions are a refuge for street children (and elderly) both from worldly and spiritual point of views.

7.7.4. Institutions (NGO's)

There are many institutions which work with or for street children in Addis. Street children have relatively frequent contact with organizations (such as Hope Enterprise and FSCE) which provide them with food, sanitation service and informal education with reproductive health. They also go to organizations (like Sisters clinic) when they are sick and injured due to fight or work related accidents. This indicates that street children are aware of and interested in organizations which provide things important for their immediate survival.

The mainstream society mostly perceives NGOs as institutions with the aim of raising money on the name of poor children. On July 20, I was taking the picture of three street kids while they chewed chat during the night. They shouted at me: *'we know you NGO people are making business out of these poor children'*. Street children mostly have 'similar' perception about NGO's. In spite of this, most of them are willing to benefit from the privileges given by

institutions. When I interviewed a child, in most occasions, others came and asked me what I was looking for and urged me to include them to whatever I was doing. . They do this for two reasons: one, they want to turn every condition on the street to their advantage. Two, they considered me as a social worker. Most of them experienced that their friends were picked up by social workers of different NGO's on the street.

In his study of street children in Northeast Brazil, Hecht (1998) argued that street children tend to view the social service institutions as an integral part of street life, not as a way out. It is also true among street children of Addis. They are eager to join these institutions. Leaving them either is not a difficult decision. It is common to meet children who had been in an institution. They, however, return to the street after having spent some time under the supervision of a given institution. Street children left these institutions for many reasons which among others include fighting with peers, missing street life and friends and being tired of many rules and regulations ('do's and 'not dos') set by institutions. They don't want to lose the freedom of the street. The freedom of the street has become a way of life for them and they do not accept impositions or 'normal' way of upbringing adopted by these institutions. Thus, institutions may need to learn lessons from children's street lives instead of imposing many rules and regulations which may turn them back to the street.

7.7.5. Family

Although rural children's day-to-day living is far away from rural villages, their relations with families are maintained through letters, greetings and occasional visits made during public holidays. In the survey most (70%) children visit their families once in a year. Street children are not isolated individuals but they are considered or function as family unit or part of social groups. The distance does not break the value of kinship relations because most of them are responsible and have strong economic and moral attachment with their families and the rural folk. Wabi Ali, Gurage shoe shine boy says:

 'In Gurage culture every one should go back to visit families once in a year. I am Muslim and go in Arafa and Christians goes there in Meskel (the foundation of the true cross). We communicate with our parents and relatives though they are far away. When Local Gurage merchants come to Addis they come to our work place to pass greetings from the rural folk. Those who work around know each other. The merchant come and ask one of us in our language to help him to locate the child he is looking for. When I receive a letter from merchants I understand that there is something serious. My parents send me letters if they need me badly. For example, if someone in the family is sick and need to see a doctor, or if they are imposed to pay taxes, or if there is serious cattle disease and so forth. In these cases

they need me to contribute with what I can. I contribute with some money to help them solve the problem they faced. I will send the money via the merchant. If there is no serious stuff they don't send a letter- they simply tell the merchant to say hello…'

Even if one is not able to visit his/her parents for some reason they help each other to let him/her communicate with their parents. For example, Wabi says:

'one of our friends father died last month. Our friend doesn't have enough money to go and attend his father's funeral ceremony. We collect money and let him able to attend the funeral. We even give him extra money to buy coffee, sugar and gas for his families'.

Research has shown that preventing poor children from working in the streets may undermine their ties with their families (Hetch 1998). Rural children earn relatively higher and a more regular amount of money in town than in the countryside and are able to remit to their parents. Due to this, their migrations to the city help children enjoy good status both at the family and village level. A Large share of children's income goes to their parents and will not be spent to establish their future life. This is due to the burden of poverty among the rural households.

7.8. Images of 'street children': 'Bad children or competent 'civilized' actors?'

Often the term 'street children' is not far away from the word 'problem' and their lives are reduced to a condition to be cured (Hetch 1998). Almost every study of street children in various cultures concludes that the children's worst fear is not of going hungry or missing the security of their families, but of hostility from the public and police (Aptekar & Stocklin 1997, Ritcher 1989b, Swart 1990a in Aptekar & Abebe 1997;Marques 1999).The public is further intimidated by the press who dramatize the 'bad boy' image of street children (Aptekar & Abebe 1997) and also 'bad girls' who act or behave in contrast to 'normal' Ethiopian girl. The negative image is constructed and mobilized through the neighborhoods or parents who fear for their children's safety in public spaces, police, and media's.

Abeba says *'police is always chasing us for no reason. She questions what do they (police) teach the public'*. Abeba believe that the police produce/reproduce and portray the negative image given for street children like many other children. It is obvious that street children have a marginal position in the society. They are usually labeled as 'bad' children that the 'home' children and adults try utmost to keep a distance from them. They occupy a marginal position because some of them are engaged in dishonorable activities such as begging, prostitution, petty theft and substance abuse. The majority of them are on the street neither because they are indifferent nor abandoned but to use the public space for economic purposes.

119

Although street children are generally portrayed negatively they are active citizens who have a life project and are responsible for their household's livelihoods. In some cases, street children are considered as ye*arada* lij ('civilized' and well informed) who are aware about urban life and other contemporary issues through their exposure and multiple carriers.

There are street cafes and small tea houses serving the street people for cheap price. There is a good relation between such small tea houses and street children who work around. For example, Fekadu and Wabi shoeshine boys, can eat their lunch in a small tea house close to their work place even if they don't have money to pay. They can pay at the end of the day when they have earned an income. In many occasions, however, guards and waiters do not like the presence of children who beg for alms or who sell small items because they believe that it reduces their clients comfort and as a result they are usually kicked away.

Street children have different attitudes towards different segments of the urbanites. Like wise, perception from outside about them also varied, modulated by age, gender, place and time. The perception ranges from compassion to fear. Myers in Schieffelin (1990) define the concept compassion as a recognition of 'relatedness' – a recognition of shared identity or empathy between the person who is compassionate and another.

Although street children engage in a wide variety of income-generating activities mainly taking place in the informal sector, urban dwellers do not consider children's street based or urban based work as 'work'. They are often assumed to be lazy who hate to work in the farm. Belay, a lottery vender, says: '*many people ask me why I don't go back to the villages and work'*. That is why people urge these children to return to their villages. It can be argued that the general public give due respect to formal civil service works more than to informal works. In addition, there is a tendency that the public fails to understand as to why these children come to the town. Rural children usually come to the city as part of an adaptation of the rural households to rural poverty. Thus, many street children interviewed claimed that they are misrepresented in the public opinion. In most cases, the negative image raised for street children is the fact that some of them involve in anti social behaviors just for survival.

7.9. Labor wage, conflict and labeling

If any notion of society embraces particular formations of identity and difference, it is in their production, reproduction and alteration that power and resistance are worked out (Katz in Holloway & Valentine 2003). It is suggested that power operates through the production of

particular forms of difference and that, for geographers, it is particularly important to understand how power is spatialized (ibid). There is a high level of construction activities in the outskirts of Addis. The urban poor and the surrounding landless peasants have been working in these sites. By now, these construction sites are flooded by migrant children who are willing to work with little wage compared to the local inhabitants who have been working for a relatively higher wage. Moreover, the rural children's performance at work is better since they have work experiences which are relevant to the current labor work. It is, therefore, rational to give contracts of labor work for these children since it is ideal for the constructor to get quality work with little wage.

Therefore, getting a job is a challenge for the surrounding people as the competition is intense. Thus, the local people (usually the surrounding landless peasants/adults and the urban poor) develop negative attitudes towards these groups of children and mobilize themselves to chase them away from the construction sites. The local people not only intimidate, beat, and insult migrants but also accuse them for crimes like theft, robbery, and fighting. Street children mostly roam together in the city for economic, social and security reasons. However, this unique feature is wrongly interpreted and labeled them as dangerous criminals who are threats to the neighborhoods peace. As Marquez (1999) rightly observed criminalizing street children is one way to bring them under control. Inhabitants in the outskirts of Addis used this strategy to evacuate children from the construction sites.

7.10. Back home or being an urban citizen?

Respondents were asked about their perception of their destination prior to coming to the city. Dessie, 15, says: *'before I came here I heard that I can get work and money'*. Rural migrants mostly perceive that the city could give them easy access to work and let them live a better life. But after they came to Addis, all the children I interviewed recognize that life is challenging at least until the time they get used to it. This does not mean that they are not successful but it is not in line with their earlier perception.

They have different attitudes and perceptions about the city. Some of them are happy to be part of the urban life style and seeing the crowd, vehicles; buildings and in general the urban milieu. However, in most occasions, migrant children do not feel that they are part of the urban reality. They regard themselves as rural boys/girls who simply live there to earn a

living. Habtie, 16, (from Gojjam) says: *'the buildings, vehicles, crowds are fascinating. 'gin lenie min yifeyidalu' - but what do they do for me?'*

Children are mostly critical about the urban life style and usually see its value from the perspective of its real contribution to their life. Melkamu for example says:

'I would like to go to temari bet (school). But, I am not going either here (Addis Ababa) or ager bet (in my village).

Children like Melkamu do not see a difference between the countryside and the city as their plans and priorities are not met in both places. Here, the priority is getting education access or going to school as schooling is perceived as an asset for a better life/career.

In addition, they tend to see the urban environment as more risky than their villages in terms of physical security, theft, and health risks among others. Obviously, they are vulnerable to risks associated to the new urban life. Livelihood strategies can determine health status and health status can affect livelihood strategies. In some instances, girls will be exposed to rape and prostitution and that subsequently makes them vulnerable to HIV/AIDS and other STDs. Some believe that the rural girls are cultured and are free from HIV/AIDS and employers would employ the rural girls with a hidden agenda; and result into abuse of the housemaid. Migrants also blame the urbanites for less reciprocity and of weak social networks.

Children were also asked about their plans and future aspirations and where they wanted to establish their future; in town or villages? The answer for this question depends on children's socio-economic background. For example, Gojjamie children are mostly interested to return home and establish their future in *ager bet*. Belay, 14, says: *'I want to work here. I will save money and I will marry to a girl in my villages'*. Children like Belay consider their street carrier as a transition stage to build their future in *ager bet*. These groups of children do not consider street based activities as a reliable economic resource. However, their migration to the city helps them to find a niche in the informal sector. On the other hand, street children like the Gurage's usually have no interest to return to *ager bet*. They instead want to change their life style by either upgrading their street carriers which is usually based on the lesson learnt from old street children's success stories (i.e. from *listro*, vender, *berenda adari* etc to taxi driver, shop owner, police, college students, garage workers, etc) and want to remain in the city and become an urban citizens.

Chapter Eight

8. Summary and Conclusion

8.1. Objectives, theoretical framework and methodology

The primary aim of this study was to uncover the lived experience of rural migrant children who live on the street or earn a living from street based activities in Addis Ababa. The study also depicts and analyses the forces behind children's migration, their encounters and experiences while attempting to cope with the new environment. It also attempted to understand how street children become competent members in their interaction with their social group, rural folks and other segments of the urbanites

Analyzing involves applying theory in order to gain insight into an empirical situation. Structuration theory and livelihood approach were employed as a theoretical framework to address the research problem. Structuration theory is an approach to social phenomena concerned with the intersection between knowledgeable and capable human agents, the wider social systems, and structures in which they are implicated (Giddens 1984). Giddens provides an account of human agency which recognizes that human beings are purposive actors, who virtually all the time knows what they are doing (ibid).

Children form a part of the structure of the society, and as actors are struggling to adjust themselves to livelihood constraints. More specifically, the structuration theory and the livelihood approach helped to make a more realistic understanding of factors that shape the lives of street children within their society and of how they cope with and/or survive. On the other hand, I would say that research with street children can further our understanding or significantly contributes to theories of agency and competency and of risk and resilience. Although in research on poverty poor households are too frequently presented as passive victims of economic and political circumstances (Cohen 1989), this study sees children as active agents who have freedom of choice and action to adjust to livelihood constraints.

The strategies that street children adopt to attain livelihoods is highly influenced by their asset position. At the heart of the livelihood approach is an analysis of the capital assets of households or individuals, divided into natural, physical, financial, human and social capital (Ashley and Carney 1999; Scoones 1998; Ellis 2000). In fact, for street children special emphasis was given to agency and to what the street children can do for themselves in the

process of pursuing their livelihoods. Assets, structures, processes and vulnerability contexts have an adverse impact on the survival strategies and outcomes of the urban poor (Ellis 2002) in general and of street children in particular. The livelihood approach moves beyond a money-metric approach to poverty analysis. The livelihood approach therefore was used because of its advantage on analyzing the situation of street children and the strategies they adopt to cope with impoverishment, to maintain their security, or to improve their well being by informing 'diverse ways in which they make a living and build their worlds' (Bobbington 1992 in Rakodi 2002; Rakodi 2002).

Any theoretical position rests ultimately upon two philosophical components: ontology and epistemology. Epistemology gives guidance on how to work scientifically; ontology provides a basis for understanding the world. Giddens' structuration theory is largely ontological in its orientation (Holt-Jensen 1999). Giddens has tried to develop ontology of human society (focusing on theorizing human agency) and to consider the implications of this theorizing for the analysis of social institutions (Peet 1998). The methodology section has described the rationale upon which my study was based and explained the means adopted to answer particular research questions. It has described field experiences and raised ethical and analytical issues relating to the socio-political context of researching children living and working on the streets of Addis Ababa.

Due to the fact that there is no single perfect method and/or tool of assessing livelihood strategies (Weinberg, 2002; Burgess 1988; Qvortrup in Christensen & James, 2000), various methods: participant observation, key informant in-depth interview, focused group discussions have been employed. Giddens (1984) sees qualitative and quantitative methods as complementary rather than antagonistic aspects of social research. Though the study is, by and large, qualitative in its nature, I employed a survey to generate quantifiable data to complement. This process of drawing on different sources is known as triangulation (Denzin & Lincon 2002; Valentine 2001; Berg, 2001). The study includes multiple data-collection procedures, multiple theoretical perspectives, and/or multiple analysis techniques. All this is the nature of triangulation (Denzin 1978 in Berg 2001:5).

8.2. Summary of findings according to objectives

8.2.1. Children's socio-economic background and the reasons for migration: the interplay

One of the specific objectives of the study was to understand the reasons why rural children migrate to the city. The study has presented the patterns and processes of child migration from rural villages to Addis Ababa. It also attempted to highlight the interplay of children's socio-economic background and migration in exacerbating the problem of streetism in Addis.

Research on street children will gain little if it confines itself to their lives alone. In order to understand 'the why' of children's migration, the study first attempted to shed light on children's socio-economic background. The streets of Addis are not dominated by children from one ethnic group or geographical origin. Rather, they originate from various ethnic and geographical origins. Lewis argued that members of some cultural groups migrate more than others (Lewis in Ilbery 1998). Gurage children's migration to Addis is a long and dominant tradition (FSCE 2001). But it seems that children from the Northern part of the country, especially from Gojjam, are challenging this tradition. The principal criterion in choosing Addis Ababa as a place of destination was the children's perceptions of the availability of work, of friends, of relatives, a households ties with a place (usually known as location-specific capital (Ilbery 1998), and preference for urban life style than for the rural one.

The majority of rural children come from large nuclear families. The increased number of siblings in rural households undoubtedly sharpens the competition for the available resources. Although many studies reveal that most street children come from female headed households (FSCE, 2003), this study shows that the majority come from two parent headed households. The availability of both parents, however, doesn't guarantee that children may remain at home since many rural children come to the city to support their parents' livelihood.

According to the survey, street children have a low level of education. However, migration to cities and working on the street has a dual effect on education. In some instances, it gives children a chance to go to school and exposes them to wider horizons and opportunities. For the majority, on the other hand, it leads them to drop out from schools. In the time of economic hardships children are often obliged to quit school and move to the city in search of employment in the informal sector. Regardless of their school enrolments status, street children wished to go to school to change their present life style and to become *sew* (some

body). In order to help children to go to school it is important to support their ongoing productive activities.

Although the problem of street children is understood as an urban phenomenon, the factors exacerbating the problem have their origin in the rural villages. Rural children's migration to Addis Ababa is not dominated by a single factor but caused by a combination of multiple interrelated factors. It is usually in response to the deterioration of the living conditions in villages and the ensuing poverty. Children are highly motivated to contribute their share for the improvement of their parents' livelihood which is constrained by shortage of land, low agricultural productivity, low farm and non-farm income, population pressure, drought, environmental degradation and inability of farmers to afford the costs of agricultural inputs like fertilizers and seeds among others.

Chronic livelihood poverty in rural areas of the country which traditionally relied upon subsistence farming, in general, leads children to move to cities to find economic niches in the low paid informal sectors of urban areas. However, the reasons to migrate to cities are not only explained by economic reasons. These reasons do not capture the whole picture as to why rural children move to the city. It is pointed out that migration has been an essential element in the livelihood strategies, of poor as well of better-off people (De haans 1999). The study found that 26 % of the children moved to Addis pushed by socio-cultural reasons including domestic violence, death of parents, peer influence, escaping early marriage, looking for education, health facilities, parents' retirement and wish to replace rural life by urban life style.

The migration literature has dwelt both on the'pull' and 'push' factors for migration (Lewis 1953; Baker and Aina 1995; De haans 1999). In practice, it is not easy to purely identify whether the reasons to move to the city either aligned to 'pull' or 'push' factors, and I would argue that, it is a continuum – in between push- pull factors. Children's migration to Addis is not mostly tied to seasonal factors in agriculture since most of them do not return to their villages in the seasonal peaks in labor requirement of the agricultural sector. It can be argued that children's migration is a response to social, economic, cultural changes in society which usually are visible at the household level. More specifically, children's migration, most often, is economically- motivated. Poor parents in a rural community are forced to rely, besides their own effort, upon their children's help for the economic survival of their households.

However, there are few children who are motivated in the 'pull' of the excitement of living in the city, which is aligned to an old theory of the so called the 'lure of bright lights'.

Children's decision to move to the town is rational when knowing the lack of opportunities in the rural villages. Rationalization of action happens as a process whereby the agent maintains a tacit understanding of the grounds of their actions (Giddens 1984). Although children are often considered as depending on the decision of adults (e.g. parents), this study actually confirms children to be competent social actors, with their own capacity of decision making. Although, in most occasions, I would say that, the onus of initiating migration decision lies in the individual children, consensus comes from the family. In fact, returnees and the availability of relatives, friends and older siblings at destination trigger migration decision from rural villages to urban centers.

Children's street based activities are part of the household's livelihood strategy and provide a way to spread risk by diversifying the earnings- base of households. By working in the city, children can contribute to improving the income of their parent's household hundred's of kilometers away. This may be a useful point of departure to understand the fact that household livelihood strategies encompass the efforts of its members including children's income earning activities which has taken place far away, usually in towns. Any policy that attempts to address marginalized children's problem need first to understand street children as competent social actors who lead their own lives and second, to understand their activities in combination with their parent's households or within a community focused framework.

8.2.2. Survival livelihoods

The actual and perceived economic opportunities available in urban areas attract rural children to the city. Once in the city, they have to struggle to survive, develop and integrate into the urban environment. Another specific objective of the study was to highlight how street children manage to survive and cope with livelihood constraints of the city. The challenge for street children with rural origin is double in a sense that the context in which they live is distinct from their original places. As individual case studies implied, children who live on the street do not form a homogenous category. Nor do they earn their living similarly. Street children survive through undertaking a wide variety of activities which mainly take place in the informal sector. They usually do not have a fixed career. In other words, they jump over opportunities based on the nature of the reward or the benefit they

draw or do it in combination. Street children's choices and of outcomes of career are profoundly influenced by age, gender, ethnicity, place of origin and informal networks.

It is argued that urban space is a key element of physical capital in livelihood strategies for the urban poor (Nooraddin 1998 in Rakodi 2002). In all sort of activities street children use the public space and the social environment for economic purposes. In order to benefit from the public space they compete to occupy better locations to access livelihood opportunities. Street children engage in or are compelled to pursue their livelihoods within the limitations of the contexts and resources available to them. I would say that street children mediate between constraints and actors (i.e. street children survive and develop within institutional constraints which normally requires children agency). Their activities in the public space are constrained by municipal authorities and police while providing them with no alternatives. Instead of destroying children's street based income generating activities and dwelling units, institutions working with or for children need to create enabling and supportive environment to reinforce their resilience, competence, and entrepreneurial skills. From policy perspectives, these institutions have to consider street children as development partners.

They work in marginal occupations and usually in the informal sector where, because of their escalating number, they compete against each other and receive low pay. In fact children's income levels in urban areas are relatively higher and more regular than in rural villages. Street children are either self employed or casually employed and in fact alternate between the two. Street children of Addis mostly involved in shoe shining, lottery vending, porting, petty trade, Korale, car washing, watching, casual labor in the construction sites and surrounding farmlands. They are also engaged in semi legal and/or illegal activities including begging, prostitution, theft and robbery. In order to win the game street children show complexity of skills in their daily lives. They know a great deal about the conditions and consequences of what they do in their day-to-day lives.

It is underlined that individuals or actors are knowledgeable agents who usually have at least some resources (Giddens 1984; 1990) and choices between different strategies to achieve a goal (Bourdieu 1972 in Fontain & Schlumbohm 2000). Children's choices of means of survival are a result of an interaction among risks, uncertainties, constraints and opportunities. It also depends on the availability of different forms of assets, mainly human (labor, skills, knowledge) and social capital. For example, the study found that children coming from the same geographical area and /or ethnicity are often involved in similar occupations or

activities. This is due to the fact that street children recruited and socialized into their street carrier by their friends, most often, by co-ethnics and/or co-villagers.

The highly 'commoditized' urban sector depends on cash. Goods such as water, food, and housing have to be bought in the market whereas in rural locations access to these resources, for many rural households may not involve cash purchases (Wratten, 1995; Satterthwaite, 1997 in Rakodi 2002). Survival for street children means obtaining food, clothing and shelter, and protecting themselves against violence and other forms of abuse. Getting the day's meal remains the major priority for many street children in Addis. They attempt to meet their daily meal requirements from different sources and have hierarchies of priorities or to say choices in securing their daily subsistence. *Bulle* (leftover food) is the principal means of survival for many children. Street children also buy cheaper food from street vendors; street café's and slum tea houses and *shiro bets*. In extreme circumstances, however, they especially *berenda adariwech* search abandoned food from garbage bins. Though children go hungry in some instances, many of them had better and a greater variety of food (both in quality and quantity) than other siblings who remained home.

Housing the poor is one of the major challenges that developing cities like Addis Ababa are facing. Among 50 respondents, the majority 29 (58%) spent the night in rented shelter at the time of interview. Street children tend to have small and uncertain incomes, of which large proportion is spent to secure shelter. Street children either rent shelter on a daily basis or they form groups and rent rooms on monthly basis. They usually opt to house with fellow villagers or co-ethnics. This study reveals that a majority of children do not have proper or sufficient shelter to pass the night. Although one of the major definitions of the term 'street children' lies on where they spend the night (UNICEF 1995), mobility between sleeping places makes the definition of 'street children' blurred. Their mobility depends on the availability of income (affordability), the weather (season), political stability/instability, experience of street life, harmony/disharmony with families/relatives, informal networks established with their social groups and other social segments of the urbanites. They choose a place to spend the night based on its social, security and economic advantages.

In addition to shelter, street children do not have proper or sufficient clothes to suit all weather and are usually bare footed. However, it would be far from the truth if one attempts to conclude that street children wore dirty cloths because they lack better ones. They know how

they are perceived by the public. Street children behave, dress, and act as 'street children' to be efficient in begging and finding jobs.

Street life depends on the child's continuous action or capability to cope with the changing and competitive urban environment. Income diversification is common to secure or expand livelihood outcomes (Scoones 1998; Ellis 2002). Similarly, street children's livelihood depends on the efforts of a combination of portfolios of activities. They draw diverse forms of assets or resources in the process of earning their livelihoods. Although street children mostly pursue a marginal existence, they do not have the same range of livelihood outcomes. Among street children, there are some who struggle for the day-to-day survival. When survival becomes an issue, long term strategies tend to be constrained by the need to fulfill the most basic necessities of life. In fact, street lives are not only about surviving. There are many children who attempt to achieve long term security by investing on human capital through education and skill training. Children's street based carriers often give solution for problems caused by economic hardships and social exclusion or domestic violence.

8.2.3. Social life, power relations and hierarchies

An essential point of departure for understanding livelihoods in any context must be the analysis of social relations between people and the communities they belong to (Beall in Rakodi 2002; Ellis 2000). This study attempted to understand how street children interact with their social group, rural folks and other segments of the urbanites. By exploring the nature, basis, and solidarity of social networks the study has attempted to address one of the specific objectives of the study: what kind of relations developed on the street and what kind of support do they offer them?

Street children interact with each other through multiple networks and over the range of issues and concerns that constitute social life. These help them acquire knowledge and negotiation skills through daily interaction with other members of their social group and the urbanities. Unsurprisingly, many forms of social networks which are observed in the mainstream society also exist on the street. Although street children are economically disadvantaged; they have strong and supportive social networks which act as a buffer against vulnerability, shocks and livelihood constraints. These social networks are called social capital (Scoones 1998; Rakodi 2002; Ellis 2000). Most street children develop a community life since street life requires an ordinary cooperation to spread risks and provide protection from life's dangers on daily basis.

It is stated that social capital is regarded as a resource that people use to achieve certain ends (Phillips in Rakodi 2002). The relationship and networks formed by street children are less visible, informal and are strongly influenced by age, gender, kinship, ethnicity, *yager lij* (a common area of origin), religion, *iqub* (informal saving associations), type of work/occupation, institution based and rarely based on hobbies or ways of spending time. Although the social networks are loose, temporary and fragile, they remain a resilient feature in the life of street children.

Informal networks of street children are chained by supportive safety nets of close friends and villagers. This informal network provides children with a sense of strength, a feeling that they are not alone on the street. The street is both considered as a sphere of solidarity and socialization on the one hand and a sphere of violence and exploitation on the other. Above all the street is a place where children can find a solution to the problems of poverty and the satisfactions of basic needs –for example sharing of *bulle*, food, shelter, clothes, and cosmetics, working tools/equipments and of basic survival information which helps to support their income earning activities and physical security. Because of exclusion from the mainstream society, there is an intense solidarity among street children of Addis. This study reveals that solidarity is based on reciprocity and mutual assurance of life over short and long term basis. The informal network helps children to protect themselves from the insecurity of the present and covering insurance for future uncertainties. Survival requires intense competition among the 'street community'. Street life is not easy and some of the children are forced to behave in a certain way just for survival. Beall (1995 in Rakodi 2002) argued from a policy perspective, it is important to remain clear that reciprocal relations among the very poorest are particularly fragile and provide an unstable base for long term security.

As survival requires groupings, street children's relations and way of life is characterized by hierarchies and power relations. One of the ways power operates and is felt is through the production and reproduction of difference (Katz in Holloway & Valentine 2003; Giddens 1994; Holt-Jensen 1999). Although street children do not lend themselves into a simple hierarchical arrangement, this study has observed some element hierarchy formation. In the process of continuous interaction, street children construct the notion of 'sameness' and 'otherness' to justify their claim of inclusion and exclusion to a certain social group. The hierarchies are formed based on the virtue of gender, generational ranks, street experience, migration status, family contact, ethnicity, living place, and working status, and 'profession'.

The term 'street children' is generic and includes a very wide range of children. In deed, the term is problematic in a sense that it obscures the heterogeneity in children's actual circumstances and does not correspond to the ways many children relate their own experiences or to the reality of their movements on and off the street. This study found that the term doesn't give them a collective identity or they do not have homogenous self image. The perception from outside about street children is also varied, modulated by age, gender, social class, place and time. The perception ranges from compassion to fear. Although identity is regarded as changeable over space and time (Katz in Holloway & Valentine 2003), the reality of living in the city has not changed the migrants' loyalty to their peculiar rural traditions. It is argued that the meaning of a place is made up of what the place contains and what the place permits (Rotenberg in Gmelch & Zenner 2002). Most migrant working children neither associate their identity with the street nor with the city though they live and work in the center of Addis. It is argued that all subjects, whether adults or children, move between different and shifting positions of dependence and independence, competence and incompetence (Kjorholt 2004:220). Street children's self image or identity is multiple and frequently subjected to change. This study confirms that it is not possible to label street children either as victims or valiance or heroes because the reality down there is encompassing all.

8.2.4. Street children and other social actors

Socialization is a product of interaction. It is constructed by participants; it is not a preexisting process or entity (Schieffelin 1990; Giddens 1994). Urban street is a place where many individuals or social groups spend significant amount of their time. The informal networks established by street children are not limited to the members of their social groups but also extends to other social actors including the shopkeepers, the police, the church, hotels, NGO's, the neighborhood. This was another specific objective that this study was attempted to highlight. It is understood that street children always try to benefit from their interactions. In these interactions, street children try to create a sense of 'neighborhood' and want to establish trust. Giddens may call this 'ontological security'.

The reflexive capacities of the human actor are characteristically involved in a continuous manner with the flow of day-to-day conduct in the contexts of social activity (Giddens 1984). Giddens argues that agents who know a great deal about the workings of society by virtue of their participation (ibid). Similarly street children monitor their actions or try to behave

according to a given social setting. I would say that their conduct or actions varies with the spatio-temporal dimension. In this case, street children appropriate the meanings given for their actions. Their daily lived experience attests the fact that they are knowledgeable agents who act consciously as Giddens assumes in his theory. Giddens argued that it is through participation that learning takes place (Gidddens 1984). Accordingly, street children learn and develop negotiation skills through their interactions with other social actors. In and through their interactions, they reproduce the structure and turn the conditions into their advantage. The relationships and interactions between street children and the other social groups are both positive and negative since structures are both enabling and constraining (Giddens 1984; Ellis 2002). Although it seems less visible, the informal networks established with other social actors are an integral part of their survival strategy. The interactions are usually important for children's well being because they draw social, emotional, economic, material benefits from these actors. Thus, it would be important to identify, understand and empower or support the existing informal networks established between and among street children and other social actors.

In addition to the urbanites, street children contact with their parents and the rural folk. The distance does not break the value of kinship relations because most children have strong economic and moral attachment with their families. Research has shown that preventing poor children from working in the streets may undermine their ties with their families (Hetch 1998). Similarly, the urban employment of rural children has become a great opportunity to earn income and remit to their parents. This also led children to promote their ties with their families and enjoys respect at the village level. However, a significant size of this money goes to improve the living standard of their families and will not be spent to establish children's future life. This is due to the burden of rural poverty. Children's migration to the city helps them mostly to find a niche in the informal sector and not to build their future. Children's future aspirations vary depending on their origin and socio-economic contexts. For example, most children who come from the North are interested to return home and establish their future in *agar bet* (the countryside). They consider their street based carrier as a transitional stage to build their future in *agar bet*. On the other hand, children from the south such as the Gurage's often have no interest to return home. They instead want to change their life by upgrading their street carrier or searching a better job, and perhaps become an urban citizen.

8.3. Suggestion for future research and policy implications

Finally, I would like to suggest future research areas, their policy implications and their contribution for intervention mechanisms that attempt to improve the lives of street children. Researches give habitual attention on street children's vulnerability and/or see the street as unacceptable way of life for them. However, the street is a source of livelihood for many children. For example, this study shows street children in Addis are important contributors for the household resources. It would be important if policies and interventions mechanisms aimed at improving the livelihoods of marginalized children move their concerns from vulnerability and causes of social evils to children's agency, adaptability, competence, resilience. It is important to study street children's entrepreneur skills and the outcome of street based carriers in their lives and that of their families. they should be seen as competent social actors, development partners or as part of the solution rather than simply seen as 'objects of concern'. I.e. policies should be participatory and start from what they have as livelihood framework clears.

In fact, research will gain very little if it confines itself to the lives of street children alone. It would be important to see the root or structural causes that lead children to the street rather than focusing only on the street environment. This may help interventions in a way that encompasses children's families or households or the communities' at large.

There are many children with a potential to become street children. This may be a challenge for future research and policies since this may involve huge number of children in rural and urban areas. Policies may give close attention to reduce the flow of children to the street.

Also, it is important to study street children's generational continuity and discontinuity. Substantial evidence shows that the definition of street children is blurred but little is done to conceptualize who street children are and the basis of variation or differences. In doing so, it is important to start from the children's self perception. However, such researches should not only focus on categorizing children in to different groups since this may not benefit their practical lives. Rather researches may help if they pay due attention to the diversity of their experiences and realties that prevail their lives in order to enrich existing polices or inform future one's in a way that interventions would be participatory and consider gender, ethnicity, and other cultural differences.

References

Ambert, A.M. (2001) *The Effect of Children on Parents* (2nd ed), The Haworth Press, New York.

Aptekar, L. (1994) *Street children in the developing world: A review of their condition*, In *Cross Cultural Research*, Vol.28, No.3, Sage Publication, London

Aptekar, L. & Abebe, B. (1997) "Conflict in the neighborhood: street and working children in the public space", in *The international journal of children's Rights*, Sage Publications.

Aptekar, L. & Ciano, L. (1999 "Street Children in Nairobi, Kenya: Gender Differences and Mental Health." *In Developmental issues among homeless and working street youth: New Directions in Childhood Development*, Rafaelli, M. & R. Larson (eds.), pp 35-46. SF, CA: Jossey Bass.

Aptekar,L. & Heinonen, P. (2003) "Methodological implications of contextual diversity in research on street children", *Children, youth, environment*, Vol. 13, No.1.

Baker, J and Aina, T (1995)*The migration experience in Africa, GOTAB*, Sweden.

Baker, J. & Aina, T.A. (eds.) (1995) *The Migration Experience in Africa*, The Nordic Africa Institute, Sweden.

Baker, J. (1997) *Rural-Urban Dynamics in Francophone Africa*, Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, Uppsala.

Batyamisango, R.K.J. (2000) *An Urban Study of Street Children in Kampala City, Central Division: Exploring the role of interventions in alleviating the problem* (M.Phil Thesis in Social Change), Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim.

Berg, B. L, (2001) *Qualitative research methods for the social sciences*, Allyn and Bacon, United States

Berg, B. L. (2001) *Qualitative research methods for the social sciences*, Allyn and Bacon, United States.

Blanc, C.S (ed) (1994) *Urban Children in Distress, Global Predicaments and Innovative Strategies*, UNICEF, International Child Development Center, Florence, Italy.

Blanchet, T. (1996) *Lost Innocence, Stolen Childhoods*, University Press Limited, Dhaka.
Bryant, D.M. & Graham, M.A. (eds.) (1993) *Implementing Early Intervention: From Research to Effective Practice*, The Guilford Press, New York & London.

Carney, D. (1998) *Sustainable rural livelihoods. What contribution can we make*, DFID, London.

Cassell C & Symon G, (1994) *Qualitative methods in organizational research: A practical guide*, Sage publication Ltd, London

Cassell, C. & Symon, G. (1994) *Qualitative methods in organizational research: A practical guide*, Sage Publication Ltd, London.

Central Statistical Authority (2001) *Ethiopia Child Labor Survey Report 2001*, Central Statistical Authority, Addis Ababa.

Chambers, R. & Conway, G.R. (1992) *Sustainable rural livelihoods: practical concepts for the 21st century*, IDS discussion paper No.291, Brighton.

Chatty, D. & Hundt, G.L (eds.) (2005) *Children of Palestine: Experiences Forced Migration in the Middle East*, Berbabn Books, New York.

Chouinard, V. (1996) "Structure and agency: contested concepts in human geography, savage", in *the compendium of history of geographical thought*, Department of Geography, NTNU.

Clark A, Kjorholt A & Moss, P. (2005) *Beyond listening: children's perspectives on early childhood services*, the polity press, Great Britain.

Clark, A., Kjørholt, A.T. & Moss, P. (eds.) (2005) *Beyond Listening*, *Children's perspectives on early childhood services*, The policy Press, UK.

Clark, J, Modgil C & Sohan Modgil (eds.) (1990) *Anthony Giddenes Consensus and Controversy*, The Falmer Press, London.

Cohen, I. (1989) *Structuration theory: Anthony Giddens and the constitution of social life*, Macmillan, USA.

Corsaro, W. (1997) *The sociology of childhood*, sage publications Ltd, California.

Crabtree, B.F. & Miller, W. L. (1992) *Doing qualitative research: research methods for primary care*, volume 3, Sage publications, London.

Crabtree, B.F. & Miller,W.L. (1992) *Doing qualitative research: research methods for primary care*, volume 3, Sage publications, London.

Crompton, M. (1998) *Children, Spirituality, Religion and Social Work*, Ashgate Publishing Company, Aldershot.

CSA (1998) *The 1994 National Population and Housing census of Ethiopia, country report*, Central Statistical Authority, Addis Ababa.

CSA (2002) *Ethiopia: statistical abstract*, Addis Ababa.

Cuffaro, N. (2001) *Population, Economic Growth and Agriculture in Less Developed Countries*, Routledge, London.

De Haan, A. (1999) "Livelihoods and poverty: The role of Migration – A critical Review of the migration literature", in the *journal of Development studies*, Vol.36.No.2, Frank Cass, London.

De Haan, A. et al (2000) *Migration and livelihoods: case studies in Bangladesh, Ethiopia and Mali*, IDS research report, Brighton

De Haan, A., Drinkwater, M., Rakodi, C. & Westley, K. (2002) *Methods for understanding urban poverty and livelihoods,* www.careinternational.org.uk/download.php?id=138

Degaga, D.T. (2005) *Rural Livelihoods, Poverty and Food Insecurity in Ethiopia: A Case Study at Erenssa and Garbi communities in Oromiya zone, Amhara National Regional State* (Doctoral thesis), Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim.

Denzin, N.K. & Lincoln, Y.S. (2002) *Handbook of qualitative research*, 2nd ed, Sage Publications, Inc.

Drinkwater, M. & Rusinow, T. (1999) *Application of CARE's livelihood approach*, paper presented as NRAD 1999. http://www.livelihoods.org

ECA (2002) *Ethiopian demographic and health survey*, Addis Ababa.

Ellise, F. (2000) *Rural Livelihoods and Diversity in Developing Countries*, Oxford University Press.

Ennew, J. (1989) *Lives of third world children*, zed publishing, London.

Fass, P. (2004) *Encyclopedia of children and childhood in history and society*, Macmillan, USA.

Fontaine, L. & Schlumbohm, J. (eds.) (2000) *Household Strategies for Survival 1600-2000: Fission, Faction and Cooperation*, University Press, Cambridge.

Fraser,M.W. (ed) (1998) *Risk and Resilience in Childhood (*2[nd]ed.*)*, NASW Press, Washington, D.C.

FSCE, (2003) "Sample survey on the situation of street children in Eight major towns of Ethiopia'', Forum on street children in Ethiopia, Addis Ababa.

Giddens, A. (1984) *The constitution of society: outline of the theory of structuration*, Cambridge: polity press.

Gmelch, G. & Zenner, W.P. (eds.) (2002) *Urban Life: Reading of the Anthropology of the City* (4th ed), Waveland Press, Inc. USA.

Government of Ethiopia (2002*) Ethiopia Intrim poverty reduction strategy paper*, Addis Ababa ,Ethiopia.

Hatloy, A. & Huser, A, (2005) *Identification of street children, characteristics of street children in Bamako and Accra*, Fafo-Report 474, Norway.

Hecht, T. (ed.) (2002) *Minor Omissions- Children in Latin American History and Society*, The University of Wisconsin Press, Wisconsin.

Held, D. & Thompson, J.B. (eds.) (1989) *Social Theory of Modern Societies: Anthony Giddens and His Critics*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Herndon, S. L. & Kreps, G.L. (1993). *Qualitative research: application in organizational communication,* Hampton press, New jersey.

Holloway, Sarah .L. & Valentine, G. (eds.) (2003) *Key Concepts in Geography*, SAGE Publication, London.

Holloway, Sarah, L. & Valentine, G. (2000) *Children geographies: playing, living, learning*, Routeledge, Taylor and Francis group, London.

Holt-Jensen, A (1999) *Geography: History and concepts, a student's guide*, the Cromwell press, sage publications, London.

Holt-Jensen, A (2001) "Territoriality, place and space" in *the compendium of history of geographical thought*, Department of Geography, NTNU.

Howe, D. (2005) Child Abuse and Neglect: Attachment, Development Intervention, PALGRAVE MACMILLAN, New York.

ICCB (1995) *Working with street children, Selected case-studies from Africa, Asia and Latin America*, UNESCO Publishing, International Catholic Child Bureau.

Ilbery, B. (ed.) (1998) *The Geography of Rural Change*, Prentice Hall.

ILO (2002) *Urban unemployment in Ethiopia.* , Addis Ababa.

IMF & World Bank (2004) *PRSP Annual Progress Report ,the Case of Ethiopia.* Addis Ababa.

Jaggar, M.A. & Rotenberg, S.P. (1993) *Feminist framework*, McGraw-Hill,Inc.,USA

James, A. & Prout, A. (1997) *Constructing and reconstructing childhood: contemporary issues in the sociological studies of childhood*, Falmer press, London.

James, A. Jenks, C. & Prout, A. (1999), *Theorizing childhood*, Blackwell publishers Ltd, UK.

Jordan, E. (2001) "From independence, to dependence and independence: home and schooø learning for traveler children" in *Child Hood, A Global Journal of Child Research*, Vol.8, No.1, SAGE Publication.

Kassahun, D. & Assefa, M. (2005) *Issues in Urban Poverty: Two Selected Papers*, FFS Studies on poverty No. 5, Forum for Social Studies, Addis Ababa.

Kemper, R.V. (2002) "Migration and Adaptation:Tzintzuntzenos in Mexico city and Beyond" *in Gmelch, G. & Zenner, W.P Urban Life: Readings in the Anthropology of the City* (4th edition), Waveland Press, Inc., Illinois.

Kjorholt, A.T. (2004) *Childhood as a social and symbolic space: Discourses on children as social participants in society* (Doctoral thesis), Norwegian university of science and technology, Trondheim.

Kjørholt, A.T. (2004) *Childhood as a Social and Symbolic Space: Discourses on Children as Social Participants on Society* (Doctoral thesis), Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim.

Kopaka, P. (2001) *The problem of street children in Africa: An ignored tragedy*. Published on the internet by the SAP-project at http://www.fiuc.org/iaup/sap/

Larsen, H.B. (2003) *Children of the City: A study of street children in Kathmandu, their social practices and territoriality*, Department of Geography, University of Bergen.

Libel, M. (2003) "Working Children as Social Subjects: the contribution of working children's organisations to social transformation" in *Child Hood, A Global Journal of Child Research*, Vol.10, No.3, SAGE Publication.

Limb, M. and Dwyer, C. (2001) *Qualitative methodologies for geographers, issues and debates,* Amold, Great Britain.

Manen, M.V. (1997) *Researching Lived Experience*, The Althouse Press, Canada.

Marquez, P.C. (1999), *The street is my home, youth and violence in Caracas*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, California.

McKeganey, N. & Barnard, M. (1996) Sex work on the streets: prostitutes and their clients, Open University press, Buckingham.

MEDAC (1999) *Survey of Ethiopian economy*, Addis Ababa.

MEDAC (2000) An overview of urban poverty in Addis Ababa, Ministry of Economic Development And Cooperation, Addis Ababa.

Meikle, S. (2002) "The Urban Context and Poor People", in Rakodi, C. & Lloyd-Jones, T. (eds.) *Urban Livelihoods: A people-centered approach to reducing poverty,* Earthscan Publications Ltd, UK.

Mestrivic, S.G. (1998) *Anthony Giddens: The last modernist*, Routledge, London.

MOFED (2002) *Poverty profile of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa,

MOFED (2003) *Sustainable development and poverty reduction strategy (SDPRSP)*, Addis Ababa

Mulat, D., Fantu, G & Tadele, F. (2003) *Growth, employment and poverty and policies in Ethiopia: An empirical investigation*, Addis Ababa.

National population office of Ethiopia (2003) *The impact of migration on development of the city of Addis Ababa*, paper presented for a workshop, Addis Ababa.

Nelson, N. (2002) "Surviving in the City: Coping Strategies of Female Migrants in Nairobi, Kenya" " *in Gmelch, G. & Zenner, W.P Urban Life: Readings in the Anthropology of the City* (4th edition), Waveland Press, Inc., Illinois.

Olwig, K.F. & Gulløv, E. (eds.) (2003) Children's Places: Cross Cultural Perspectives, Routledge, London.

Panther-Brick, C & Smith, M.T. (eds.) (2000) *Abandoned Children*, Cambridge University Press, UK.

Peet, R. (1998) *Modern geographical thought*, Blackwell publishers Ltd, UK.

Peters, R.D. & McMahon, R.J (eds.) (1996) *Preventing Childhood Disorders, Substance Abuse, and Delinquency*, Sage Publications, London.

Phillips, S. (2002) "Social Capital, Local Networks and Community Development" in Rakodi, C. & Lloyd-Jones, T. (eds.) *Urban Livelihoods: A people-centered approach to reducing poverty,* Earthscan Publications Ltd, UK.

Ploeg, Jan van der & Scholte, E. (1997) *Homeless Youth*, SAGE Publication, London.

Poluha, E. (2004) The Power of Continuity: Ethiopia through the eyes of its children, Nordiska Afrikainstitutet.

Punch, S. (2001) "Multiple methods and research relations with children in rural Bolivia", in Limb and Dwyer (2001) *Qualitative methodologies for geographers*, Arnold, Britain.

Quinsey, V.L., Skilling, T.A, Lalumiere, M.L. & Craig, W.M. (ed.) (2004) *Juvenile Delinquency: Understanding the Origins of Individual Differences, American Psychological* Association, Washington, DC.

Qvortrup, J. (et al) (1994), Childhood matters: social theory, practice and politics, Ashgate publishers Ltd, UK.

Rakodi, C. (2002) "A Livelihoods Approach-Conceptual Issues and Definitions" in Rakodi, C. & Lloyd-Jones, T. (eds.) *Urban Livelihoods: A people-centered approach to reducing poverty,* Earthscan Publications Ltd, UK.

Rakodi, C. (2002) "Economic Development, Urbanization and Poverty" in Rakodi, C. & Lloyd-Jones, T. (eds.) *Urban Livelihoods: A people-centered approach to reducing poverty,* Earthscan Publications Ltd, UK.

Rakodi,C. & Jones, T.L. (eds.) (2002) *Urban Livelihoods*, Earthscan Publication Limited, London.

Rizzini,I. (ed.) (1994) *Children in Brazil Today: A challenge for the third millennium*, Editora Universitaria Santa Ursula, Rio de Janeiro.

Rotenberg, R. (2002) *"The Metropolis and Everyday Life" in Gmelch, G. & Zenner, W.P Urban Life: Readings in the Anthropology of the City* (4th edition), Waveland Press, Inc., Illinois.

Rubin, J. & Rubin, S. (1995) *Qualitative interviewing: the art of hearing data*, Sage publications, London.

Rutherford, S., Harper, M. & Grierson, J. (2002) "Support for Livelihood" in Rakodi, C. & Lloyd-Jones, T. (eds.) *Urban Livelihoods: A people-centered approach to reducing poverty,* Earthscan Publications Ltd, UK.

Satterthwaite, D.& Tacoli,C. (2002) "Seeking and Understanding of Poverty That Recognizes Rural-Urban Differences and Rural- Urban Linkages" in Rakodi, C. & Lloyd-Jones, T. (eds.) *Urban Livelihoods: A people-centered approach to reducing poverty,* Earthscan Publications Ltd, UK.

Schieffelin, B.B. (1990) *The give and take of every day life: language socialization of Kaluli children*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Schuwatzman, H.B. (2001) *Children and Anthropology: perspective for the 21st century*. Greenwood Publication Group.

Scoones, I. (1998) *Sustainable rural livelihoods: A framework for analysis*, IDS working paper No.72, Sussex, UK.

Simonnes, A. (1996) *When Children are at Risk-Ministering to Children and Their Families in Crises Situation*, Fagbokforlaget, Bergen.

Strauss, A. & Corbin, J. (1990) *Basics of qualitative research: grounded theory, procedures and techniques*, sage publications, London

Stuart, C. A. (2001) *Geographies of Young People: the morally contested spaces of identity*, Routledge, London.

Tari,D. (2005) *Rural and urban opportunities among Borena labor migrants Nairobi , kenya,* (Master thesis) Norwegian university of life sciences,

Tassew, W.H. (2004) *The experience of measuring and monitoring poverty in Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa, Zed books, London.

Tatek, A. (2000) *Geographical Methods –power and morality in geography*: ACTA Geographica, Trondheim, Series A, No 2.

Tatek, A. (2002) *At risk children in social change, a comparative study of SOS village and working street children in southern Ethiopia*, M.Phil. Thesis, NTNU, Trondheim.

Teshome, D.Z. (2001) *Famine, Vulnerability and Coping Strategy in Ethiopia: The case of Boreda Abaya district* (M.Phil Thesis in Social Change), Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim.

Tobias Hetch, T. (1998) *At home in the street, street children of Northeast Brazil*, Cambridge University Press.
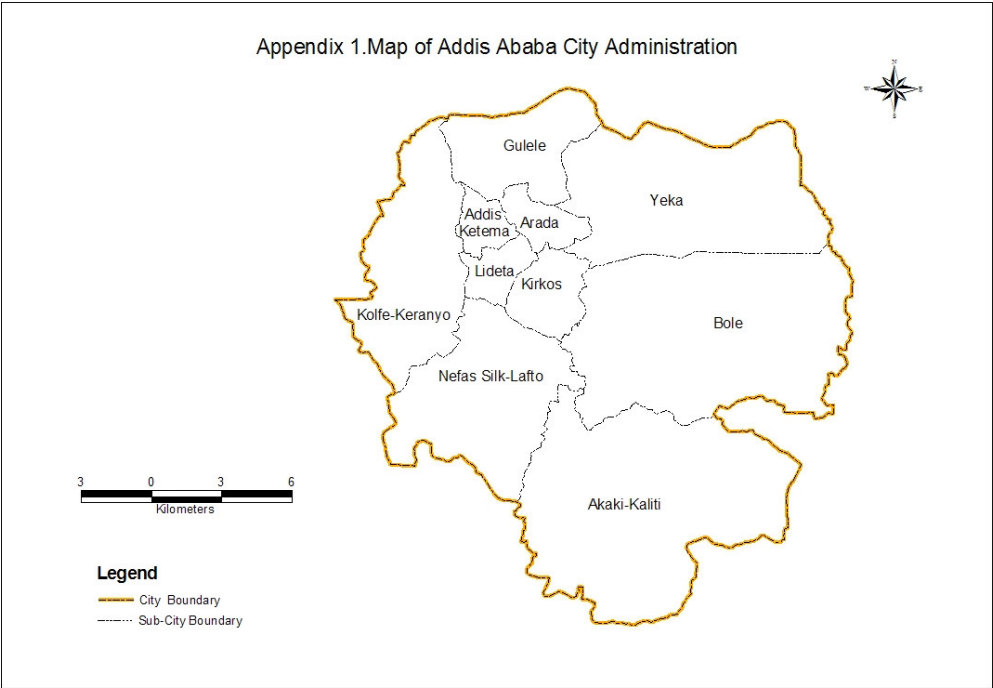
UNICEF (1996) *The state of the world's children1996*, New York: UNICEF/Oxford university press.

Valentine, G. (2004) Public space and the culture of childhood, Ashgate Publishing Limited.

Weinberg, D. (2002) *Qualitative research methods*, Blackwell publishers.

Appendices

I. Map of Addis Ababa

Appendix 1.Map of Addis Ababa City Administration

II. **Questionnaire**

The purpose of this section is to generate numerical data about street children. The general objective of the study is to explore the livelihoods and survival strategies of migrant children in Addis Ababa. The research is conducted purely for academic reasons and, thus, all your answers are confidential.

1. Age in years … A. 7-10 B. 11-14   C.15- 18

2. Sex…. A. male B. female

3. Religion: A. Orthodox   B. Muslim…C. Catholic…D. protestant E, others, specify

4. Ethnicity: A. Amhara B. Oromo C. Tigre D. Gurage E. others, specify

5. Level of education: A. never attended B. read and write C. elementary (1-6) D. Junior (7-8) E. high school (9-12) F. College

6. Do you currently attend school? A. Yes B. No

7. If your answer is no for Q.6. Give reason (s)?

   A. lack of money B. No one assist me C. Because I have to work D. lack of interest E. Others, specify

8. You have been raised by A. parents B. relatives C. guardians D. foster home E. others, specify

9. Parents survival status A. only mother alive B. only father alive C. both alive D. others, specify

10. Number of children in the family: A. less than 4 B. between 4 and 6 C. between 7- 8 D. more than 8

10. What your parents do to live in the village?

   A. Farming B. Herding C. Daily labor D. Fishing E. Others, specify

11. Mother's educational level

A. primary school B. junior school C. high school D. College E. Do not know

12. Father's educational status A. primary school B. junior secondary school C. high school D. college E. do not know

13. Estimated family income per month

A. less than 50 birr   C. 101 – 200 birr   E. above 3000

B. 51- 100 birr   D. 201- 300   F. Do not know

14. Place of origin …………………………………………………..

15. Reason(s) for leaving home

    A. Looking for a job   C. Family fight/quarrel

    B. Family displacement   D. Peer pressure   E. others, specify

16. How long have you been living on the streets of Addis Ababa?

    A. 1 to 2 years   C. 4-6 year's   E. 10 and above

    B. 2- 4 years   D. 7 -9 years

17. Where do you usually sleep at night?

    A. with friends in common rooms   C. in shelter (plastic house on the street corner)

    B. Privately rented house   D. On pavement

    E. Others, specify

18. Did you know any one in Addis before coming to the streets?

    A. yes   B. No

19. If the answer for Q.18 is yes, what kind of relationship do you have with him/her?

   A. family member   C. Friend

   B. extended family member   D. co-villager   E, others, specify

20. Who usually help you when you have faced problems while you live and work on the street?

A. Family B. friends C. Police D. NGO's   E. others, specify

21. Major activities of earning income

A. begging   C. Street vending E. Carrying luggages

 B.   shoe   shining   D.   Prostitution   F.   car   washing/watching   G.   others,   specify

22. How much do you earn per day from your activities?

A. None B. 1-3 birr C. 4-6 birr D. 7-9 birr E. more than 10 birr

23. For what purpose do you spend your income (check one or more of the boxes?)

 A. to buy foods   C. to buy school materials

 B. to buy drugs and drinks   D. to rent shelter   E. others, specify

24. How do you usually spend your leisure time or vacation?

    A. No leisure time   C. Playing in the street   E. Watching radio and TV programs

    B. Looking for job   D. chewing chat   F. gambling   G. Others, specify

25. Do you have contact with families

    A. yes B. No

26. If yes, how often? A. Daily B. Monthly C. Once in 6 months D. Once in a year E. others, specify

27. From where do you get your daily meals?

A. leftover from restaurants C. small café's

B. street venders'   D. garbage bins   E. others, specify

28. What kind(s) of problem(s) do you face while living in the street?

29. What is your future plan?

 A. rejoining family

 B. Be placed in the custody of care givers like NGO's

 C. continue to work/live on the street

 D. expand street based activities

III**. Issues for focus group discussions for street children:**

This part consists of unstructured questions asked to a group of street children. The purpose is to get detailed information as possible by allowing respondents to express and state their views freely and openly.

Demographic background: name, age, gender, religion, education, place of origin, household size

Migration history:

How long did you live here?

How did you come to Addis Ababa?

From where did you come?

With whom did you come?

Where did you go when you came first?

What made you move here?

Who made final decision for your migration?

What was your expectation before you come here?

What did you do in your village before you come?

What are the main sources of income for your family?

Everyday activities:

Do you work?

What kinds of work do you perform? How do you perceive you work?

Nature of work and associated hazards

How did you get the jobs, if any?

Where do you usually sleep?

What you have to do to survive on the streets each day?

How do you find shelter, food, Clothing?

What are your priorities?

Do you have any contact with families, relatives in the city, local community like shopkeepers, district governance, NGOs?

Do you have contact with peers, other street children, police and other gangs? What is their importance to you?

What are the most pressing problems of your life?

How do you cope with?

Who help you when you face problems?

What living and coping skills do you have or do you lack?

How do you learn new survival skills?

How do you spend time?

Do you move a lot in different parts of the city? Why?

How do you budget your time?

What do like about living and working on the streets?

What resources are accessible to you?

Issues of education, sanitation, recreation, substance uses?

How do you characterize yourself and your work?

What is your dream in the future?

IV**. Interview guide for government officials (MOLSA)**

Name, age, sex, profession, position, work experience

How serious are the problem of streetism in the city?

What are the major causes that lead children on to the street?

How many children live on the street?

How many of them are children 'of' the street? How many of them are children 'on' the street?

How do you define and categorize street children?

What are the major problems of rural migrant children?

What measures does your office take to alleviate the problem?

What are your intervention mechanisms to deal with the problem?

How is your office relation with NGOs working with street children and how do you evaluate other NGOs activities in dealing with the problem?

V. Check list for direct and participant observation

Children's physical appearance (clothes, shoes) and physical condition,

Migrant children living and working place (physical quality of the surrounding environment)

Income generating activities

Interaction with other street children, police, shop keepers and institutions

Where they get meals, water, clothes, and shelter

Recreation, play ground and sanitations