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Breaking the Silence: Children Living and/or Working on the Streets of Sarajevo.

Master's thesis in Childhood Studies
Supervisor: Marit Ursin
May 2023

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Abstract

This research aims to gain insight into the perspectives and experiences of children who spend their time living and/or working on the streets of Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina. The research focuses on three key aspects: the factors that contributed to their presence on the streets, the life experiences of street children, and the role of work in their lives.

The research is positioned within the philosophy of childhood studies, with an emphasis on key concepts such as listening to children's voices and recognizing children as social actors. This allows for a more in-depth understanding of children's worlds from their perspectives, recognizing that they have significant knowledge about their own experiences.

The research methodology is based on a qualitative research design, using an ethnographic approach and combining the methods of occasional conversations, observations, and individual drawings. The fieldwork was conducted over a period of 7 weeks, and included research both in a day center and on the streets of Sarajevo in order to gain a comprehensive understanding of the context and experiences of children. A total of 16 children participated in the research. Fieldnotes based on observations and interviews were essential for data analysis.

The analysis of the findings of this research indicates the complexity of the factors that lead to children ending up on the street, with socioeconomic factors playing a significant role. Children who spend their time on the street have a distinct daily experience that is influenced by a variety of factors, with their relationships with others being especially important. Life on the street provides certain benefits to children, but at the same time, it presents many challenges that they have to face. The analysis also reveals that work is an important aspect of the lives of street children, either as a source of income, a way to survive, or a means of achieving independence.

Acknowledgements

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Maps

List of Abbreviations

BAM	The Bosnian Mark
BIH	Bosnia and Herzegovina
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
ICLS	The International Conference of Labor Statisticians
ILO	The International Labor Organization
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NSD	Norwegian Centre for Research Data
UN	United Nations
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund

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1 Introduction

To go back in time, as a social work student, I learned about various topics concerning children, their protection and well-being, but the topic of "street children" remained untouched. Therefore, for my bachelor thesis at my previous studies, I decided to explore the topic of "street children" in Croatia and the world, and try to find out as much as possible about it. Since it was a theoretical work and a comprehensive review of the literature, I was left with the desire to conduct my own research and find an answer to a long-standing question - who are "street children"?

"Street children" is a population that often evokes strong opinions from people, though most of them are based on personal experiences rather than an actual understanding of their situations. That is why, in this project, an attempt will be made to 'hear' the voices of street children in the city where, many years ago, I saw barefoot children holding out their hands and pleading for help for the first time.

My perspective changed significantly after gaining new knowledge in the field of childhood studies. As a result, I can only partially agree with my bachelor thesis conclusion: *"A child who is left to fight for survival on the street is a picture of a society that is clearly incapable of caring for the most vulnerable"* (Cerimagic, 2020, p. 18). Today, I believe that before passing judgment on the "street children," we must understand why these children are on the streets in the first place, as well as their background story. Childhood studies inspired me to explore the topic of "street children" from a child's point of view. Therefore, the fundamental starting points for this research are the ideas of studying children from their perspectives and experiences, presenting children's views on issues affecting their own lives, and paying special attention to the specifics of each story in a geographical, historical, and social context. Furthermore, rather than simply observing children as research subjects, emphasis is placed on involving children in the research process itself.

This thesis seeks to explore the experiences of children who live and/or work on the streets of Sarajevo. Using the ethnographic approach and the methods of occasional conversation, observation and individual drawing, I will seek to gain insight into street children's interpretations of their lives. Three components are of particular importance; children's perceptions of street life, the causes of being a street child, and children's work. This thesis is theoretically positioned within the field of childhood studies, with a focus on the concept of exploring the voices of children who are viewed as social actors.

1.1 Problem Statement

Thousands of children around the world live and work on the streets of big cities. The circumstances for street children are often very complex and the reasons why children live and work on the street differ from child to child, and thus from country to country (Consortium for Street Children, 2019). The social, economic, political and historical frameworks in which such social phenomena occur in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) generally indicate the problem of poverty and social exclusion of certain groups of the population, most often members of minorities such as the Roma. To a lesser extent, it is associated with problems in education, dysfunctional system of social protection, recognition of problems, but also other reasons that can influence the prevalence of street children (Save the Children, 2013). Although all factors are equally important, economic poverty has a prominent role. While some children respond to absolute poverty through work, earning money for basic necessities such as food, others work in response to the frustrations of relative poverty, when they feel that their quality of life is below the prevailing level in the world. However, it is important to have in mind that 'not all poor children work and not all employed children are poor' (Aufseeser et al, 2017, p. 246).

The presence of children living and working on the streets has attracted public attention, making it one of the priorities for national and international child protection organizations advocating children's rights (White, 2002). In 2005, UNICEF BiH and Save the Children Norway survey found that a significant number of children live or work on the streets of BIH. Thus, the respondents reported about a thousand contacts made with street children in the period from 1999 to 2002. However, concrete estimates of the actual number of children are difficult to make due to the lack of systematic data collection by service providers and the police. That the problem has been recognized is shown by the fact that several institutions have been formed in BiH aimed at improving the assistance and realization of children's rights to protection from all forms of violence, abuse and exploitation of children working and/or living on the streets (Committee on the Rights of the Child, 2012). Despite this, no recent research on street children has been conducted in BiH since 2016, when it was part of a regional study of Save the Children on the prevalence of the street children in Albania, Montenegro, Serbia, and BiH.

1.2 Research Approach

1.2.1 Research Aim and Objectives

This project aims to gain insight into the personal views and experiences of children who live and/or work on the streets of Sarajevo. Using occasional conversations, observation, visual methods such as individual drawing, an effort will be made to explore the set aim. More closely, the objectives of the study are to:

- Explore the experiences of street children's lives in the context of their own culture
- Describe reasons why street children spend time on the street
- Discuss the role of work in street children's lives

1.2.2 Research Questions

This research is intended to answer to the following research questions:

Main Research Questions	Specific Research Questions
How do children perceive life on the streets?	How do children spend their days on the street? What are the characteristics of the places where they spend their time? How much time do they spend on the street? What does the street offer them?
What are the causes for being 'a street child'?	What are the individual factors / family-related factors / macro factors influencing the street life situation? How did the children get on the street?
What is the role of work in children's lives?	What kind of work do children do? Why do children work? Who do children work with? What do they do with their earnings? What do they think about work?

Table 1 Main and detailed research questions

1.3 A 'gap' in the research

If we put into Google search "street children in Bosnia and Herzegovina" and try to find information, we will see that this is not a topic that is completely avoided in the public sphere. "More than a thousand children beg in our biggest cities" (Ribic, 2015), "The burden of poverty on the backs of children" (Djugum, 2019), "Shock in BiH: A group of criminals who forced children to beg around the country were arrested" (Hina, 2021), "Street children: A painful survival strategy" (Maglajlija, 2017), "Street children - society's (un)care: In the vicious circle of poverty and violence" (Visoko.co.ba, 2016), are titles that one can hardly remain indifferent to. However, despite widespread public awareness of the issue, there has been little research about street children.

In BiH, street children are often mentioned in the context of the problem of human trafficking. Thus, since 2003, several action plans and strategies for combating human trafficking in BiH have been adopted, within which the goal of preventing forced begging and forced labor has been recognized, and measures to prevent cases in which children are subjected to forced begging and other forms of forced labor have been foreseen (Save the Children, 2013). The knowledge gathered through research shows that the issue of children living and working on the street has long been a problem that has not been brought into focus. Although there were sporadic reports, observations, and media releases indicating children were working on the streets in several towns in BiH and were occasionally observed turning over their earnings to adults, there was no substantial action by institutions and services.

In 2007, Save the Children Norway Regional Office for South-East Europe conducted research for the first time that included the experiences of street children, gathering significant information on street children and specific risk factors for child trafficking. The results of the research indicated a serious violation of children's rights when it comes to children living and/or working on the streets (Save the Children, 2007). According to research findings the majority of street children are legally invisible, outside the education system, and neglected in terms of health, education and hygiene. Such children are endangered and exposed to the exploitation of adults, and begging is cited as the most widespread form of such abuse. It is concluded that the problem of child labor on the street reflects first as a symptom of extreme social exclusion, and then as a result of the poverty of the families. Also, the research provided details on the various forms of street work performed by children in BiH: begging, car washing, collecting metals and other materials for recycling, and selling things on the street. Although harmful child labor in BiH is illegal, the problem of children living and/or working on the streets is still very much present (Save the Children, 2007).

A review of the literature revealed a relative absence of systematic data on street children as a distinct population, making it difficult to determine the number of children on the streets. Numbers are often prone to estimates and depend on the definitions used (Committee on the Rights of the Child, 2017). Namely, most of the existing research has focused on child trafficking and various forms of exploitation, and it is rare to find research primarily focused on street children. Also, most of the research participants are adults who are in contact with street children - the police, professionals such as social workers, teachers, psychologists, and not the street children themselves. This mirrors the dominant research approach in developmental theory within psychology and sociology in the 1990s, which focused on the perspectives of adults seen as experts while neglecting the experiences and viewpoints of young people living on the streets (Ursin, 2016, p. 4).

The absence of data leads to the problem of the visibility of street children in the policies and programs that are being developed. This approach leads to multiple rights violations that force children to the streets and continue to happen even when children are on the street. The absence of systematic data and their non-classification is an issue that concerns every country (Committee on the Rights of the Child, 2017).

1.4 Thesis outline

The thesis consists of six chapters.

Chapter 1 is the introductory part where the topic of this work is explained, the aim, objectives and research questions are presented and the gap of research on this topic is addressed.

Chapter 2 is about the research's background, BiH and its capital Sarajevo as a research region, the main terms 'street children' and 'children's work' will be defined, and existing information regarding the street children in BiH will be provided.

Chapter 3 presents the theoretical framework of the thesis. It will begin with an overview of Childhood Studies and the two perspectives that will be used; constructionist and actor-oriented perspective. The concept of agency, as well as its reconceptualization, will be presented. Also, the socio-cultural perspective and theory of intersectionality work and theory will be discussed.

Chapter 4 presents the research methodology. The qualitative research approach and ethnography as the main research method will be described. The fieldwork process, including accessibility and recruitment of the participants, as well as the researcher's role, will be explained. The method of participant observation, semi-structured interview and individual drawings will be presented. Also, ethical concerns and the approach to data analysis will be adressed.

Chapter 5 is the analysis chapter, in which the research findings based on empirical data will be presented. The chapter will detail the children's stories about their experiences, which will be divided into three sections: causal factors, street children's life experiences and realities, and children's work as a critical issue for street children.

Chapter 6 is the concluding chapter in which the findings of the analysis will be summarized, and the implications and recommendations will be provided.

2 Background and Context

This chapter provides an overview of the research site, BiH, along with the study area and the nation's capital, Sarajevo. Aside from a historical, cultural, and political review, special emphasis is placed on the war, which shaped and influenced the country's development. The chapter introduces the thesis's main terms, street children and children's work, and provides a brief overview of the background, findings, and situation in BiH regarding the street children.

2.1 Bosnia and Herzegovina
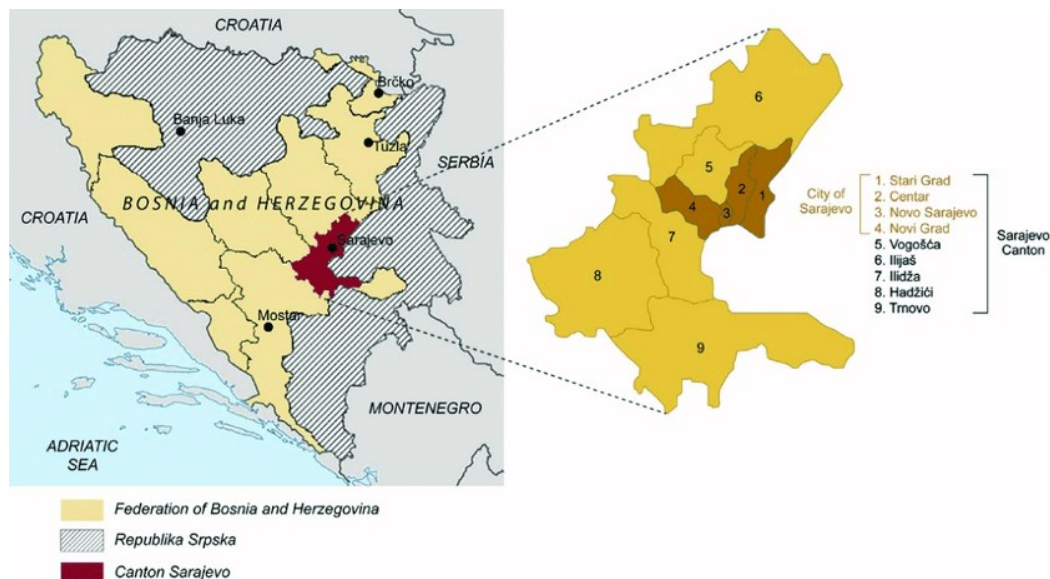
Map 1 Bosnia and Herzegovina and Sarajevo Canton with the districts of Sarajevo (Gül and Dee, 2015, p. 159-160)

BiH is situated in the heart of Southeastern Europe, on the Balkan Peninsula. According to the 2013 census, the country has 3,531,159 inhabitants spread across an area of slightly more than 52,000 km2 (FIPA, 2012). Despite the tragedies of the four-year war that lasted from 1992 to 1995, BiH remained a multicultural and multireligious nation. As a result, it is a trilingual state, with the majority of the population speaking one of three official languages: Bosnian, Serbian, or Croatian (FIPA, 2012).

One of the elements contributing to the instability of Bosnian-Herzegovinian inter-ethnic relations is the country's ethnic composition. Namely, the country is home to Bosniaks (50.1 %), Serbs (30.8 %), Croats (15.4 %), and Others (3.7 %), with Islam, Orthodoxy, and Catholicism being the three most prevalent religions (Federal Office of Statistics, 2013). It is also administratively divided into two entities: the Federation of BiH and Republic of Srpska, and the Brcko District. BiH is a parliamentary democracy with a bicameral system (House of Representatives and House of Peoples), a three-member rotating presidency, and a Council of Ministers (FIPA, 2012). BiH's Presidency is

constituted of three members: one Bosniak, one Croat, and one Serb. This division means that the previously mentioned 3.7% of 'Others' are members of ethnic groups that do not belong to one of the three constituent nations, implying that they are ineligible to participate in the highest state functions (Petricusic, 2014). 'Others' are assumed to belong to one of the seventeen officially recognized national minorities, raising concerns about how they are treated in terms of assimilation, discrimination, exercising their rights, and exclusion (Petricusic, 2014, p. 199).

The capital city, Sarajevo, is located in the central part of BiH a with an area of 141.5 km2 (Sarajevo.ba, 2021). Historical events have left a mark on the population of the capital. The city had about half a million inhabitants in 1991, but due to the war and disintegration of the city, the population dropped significantly to around 275 thousand people (Sarajevo.ba, 2021). Sarajevo, with its size, can hardly be compared to the big metropolises, but it is well known throughout the world for its rich culture, history, and natural beauty. It is the center for the largest higher education institution in the country, the University of Sarajevo, and a number of other higher education institutions, which are among the largest university centers in the entire region of Southeast Europe (UNSA, 2022).

On the other hand, one of the most pressing challenges in BiH is ensuring equal educational services in preschool and primary school across the country. In particular, BiH has the lowest enrollment rate in preschool institutions in Europe (UNICEF, 2020, p. 14). Preschool education is funded through municipal budgets and its availability determined by the economic development of different parts of BiH. It can be said that the system like this promotes inequality since economically depressed areas are less likely to develop pre-school services. Thus, children from rural areas, children from families with unemployed parents, and Roma children are the least represented in the total number of children attending preschool (UNICEF, 2020). However, access to primary and secondary education is generally satisfactory, with significantly lower attendance rates for children from vulnerable groups. Poverty, a lack of access to schools, and a lack of awareness of the importance of education are the primary causes of dropout from school, particularly among Roma children (UNICEF, 2020).

To understand the situation, it is necessary to mention the war that split BiH 'politically, administratively, economically, and culturally' (UNICEF, 2020, p.7), leaving an indelible impact on the country and its people.

2.1.1 The War and Its Consequences

BiH was one of the six republics of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia until 1992, when it declared independence, sparking a war that lasted until 1995 (Malcolm et al, 2023). The complex situation in which BiH found itself culminated in the 1990s. Croats and Bosniaks aspired to an independent and sovereign BiH, and on the other side were Serbs who wanted to remain in Yugoslavia. The country gained independence on March 1, 1992, following a referendum decision by the citizens of BiH. After that, the armed attacks of the Yugoslav People's Army on the cities of BiH began (Turbic, 2017). The attack on Sarajevo occurred on April 4, 1992, but the buildings of the Parliament and the Presidency of BiH were successfully defended, and the opposing army retreated to the nearby hills above the city, effectively putting Sarajevo under siege and terrorizing the citizens for over 1000 days. It is thought to be the longest occupation of a European city

since World War II (Turbic, 2017). The international community got involved and initiated negotiations on ending the war and establishing peace in BiH. The war in BiH was stopped by the Dayton Agreement in 1995, and resulted in over a million exiles and over 100,000 deaths (Turbic, 2017).

The country, which before the events of the war was the economic and industrial center of Yugoslavia, suffered enormous damage due to the destruction, which significantly affected the country's economy (Turbic, 2017). Due to the lack of an effective legal and institutional framework, war profiteers were able to enrich themselves through privatization. This further weakened BiH's economic structure (Papic, 2018). Serious strategies and policies of economic and social development remained in the shadows of the political conflicts in the post-war period (Papic, 2018).

All of these events contributed to the fact that BiH still has serious issues today, most notably significant unemployment; the country's recorded unemployment rate for March 2022 was 30.7% (FIPA, 2012), but also poverty that is thought to be passed down through generations in BiH. The fact that many children are not enrolled in school is linked to social exclusion, which increases the risk of street work and, as a result, child trafficking (Save the Children, 2007). Children, along with displaced people, the unemployed, and people with a low level of education, are the people most vulnerable to poverty in BiH, according to data. Furthermore, it is estimated that one-third of children in BiH live in poor families; poverty is especially prevalent in families where no one works. BiH has one of the lowest rates of female labor-force participation, which increases the likelihood of women seeking alternative sources of income (Reiter, 2005 as cited in Save the Children, 2007).

According to Turbic (2017), the main problems of BiH's economy are market competition, a lack of technological equipment, and an unstable political situation. The fact that BiH reached the level of GDP from the previous pre-war year (1991) around 2010, i.e. fifteen years after the war, best demonstrates how much the war set the country back. However, the main characteristics of BiH's economic situation today are slow economic development and rising public debt (Papic, 2018).

2.2 Definition of Street Children

When I first started researching and spending time with children, I had the impression that the children I meet every day in the day center are not 'typical street children'. However, the question is whether there are any 'typical' street children and how we define them. A variety of terms have been used over time, including:

> "street children", "children on the street", "children of the street", "runaway children", "throwaway children", "children living and/or working on the street", "homeless children" and "street-connected children" (Committee on the Rights of the Child, 2017, p. 3)

Throughout the years of describing this population, the term "street children", coined by UNICEF in 1979, following the UN International Year of the Child, has taken root and has remained the most prevalent (Aptekar & Stoecklin, 2014). There is no universal definition of street children, and many authors have proposed their own definitions in the hope that one of them will be accepted. Furthermore, some authors find the term "street children" problematic, so Glauser (1990) questioned the circumstances under which we consider a child to be a street child. As a result, we have a problem with precision, which leads to many children being labeled as "street children" when in reality they do not belong in that

category. Similarly, the term "street child" is used all over the world, despite the fact that the circumstances of children differ greatly between countries, particularly continents (Glauser, 1990).

One of the difficulties in defining street children is that they cannot be viewed as a homogeneous group. Their characteristics, such as age, gender, nationality, identity, and ethnicity, distinguish them from one another, resulting in different experiences (Committee on the Rights of the Child, 2017). Some publications use UNICEF's definition, which separates street children into children "of" the streets and children "on" the streets. Thus, the first category of children 'of' the streets includes children who live completely alone on the streets, most often as a result of running away from their homes as they are "functionally without family support", while the second category of children 'on' the streets consists of children who spend the majority of their time on the streets, but return to their homes every day where they have "inadequate and/or sporadic" family support (Williams, 1993, p.832).

The initial UNICEF classification included a third category, "candidates for the street", those children working on the streets but living with their families (Williams, 1993, p. 832), however over time, the basic division between children 'of' the streets and children 'on' the streets persisted (Aptekar & Stoecklin, 2014). On the other hand, some authors, such as Cosgrove (1990), argue that the term "street children" should be associated with children's characteristics. As an example, Cosgrove (1990, p.192) defines a street child as follows, based only on family involvement and deviant behavior:

> any individual under the age of majority whose behavior is predominantly at vanance with community norms for behavior and whose primary support for his/her developmental needs is not a family or family substitute

United Nations Center for Human Settlements (2000), on the other hand, connects the street children with the problem of homelessness, and their division is closely tied to the aforementioned UNICEF classification of children into three categories. However, the following definition from the Inter-NGO program on street children and street youth (1983, as cited in Williams, 1993, p. 832) is widely used:

> A street child is any boy or girl who has not reached adulthood for whom the street (in the widest sense of the word, including unoccupied dwellings, wasteland, etc.) has become her of his habitual abode and/or sources of livelihood and who is inadequately protected, supervised or directed by responsible adults.

Although it is essential to emphasize which definitions are used when conducting research with street children, it is also important to note that the definition of this population varies depending on the context and country in which the research is conducted (Aptekar and Stoecklin, 2014). Furthermore, Ursin (2016) points out that the terminology used depends on the geographical area, and the term "street children" is typically associated with the Global South. Despite this, research conducted in BiH and the region revealed that this term is commonly used in those areas (UNICEF, 2014, Save the Childen, 2013, Save the Children, 2016). However, the term "street child" is considered debatable due to its negative connotation, stigmatization, and impreciseness (Ursin, 2016). Given that this term is typically associated with negative aspects of street life, children in Georgia expressed a desire not to be labeled as "street children" (Wargan & Dershem, 2009, p. 3). During this research, only two children expressed discomfort with the term "street child" because they did not identify with the idea of belonging to the street, which is frequently portrayed as an essential component of being a street child (Ursin, 2016). Furthermore, because these children have recently reached

adulthood, the term "street youth," which is becoming more used in research, is likely more appropriate for them (de Benitez, 2011). To ensure consistency with previous research and for easier comparison, the decision was made to use the term "street children" for all of the participants in this research conducted in Sarajevo, even though it is acknowledged that there may be more appropriate terms to encompass the diversity of experiences within this group. It is also important to note that the term used does not obscure the heterogeneity and individuality of these young people, and that it is used to describe their situation rather than label or stigmatize them.

In addition, given the diverse circumstances of the children who participated in the research, I will rely on the aforementioned Inter-NGO program definition, which, despite its simplicity, takes into account a number of factors that contribute to the classification of a street child. Therefore, when describing a street child, gender, age, place of residence, source of livelihood and relationship with adults stand out as factors to be taken into account. As a result, because they constitute the majority of Sarajevo's street children, this research will include children 'on' the streets who are on the streets during the day and return home at night. Furthermore, the definition of street children usually alludes to its causes, which will be discussed further below.

2.2.1 The Causes

The answer to the issue of why children end up on the streets varies not just between nations but also within them (Committee on the Rights of the Child, 2017). Thus, Lucchini (1996, p. 22) emphasized the importance of a number of parameters influencing the process of children going to the street, which he categorized as material conditions, identitary conditions, affective conditions, child's personal resources, family structure, gender, and other interrelated factors.

Poverty is often highlighted as the main cause for children being on the streets. In addition to economic status, the Committee on the Rights of the Child (2017) identifies racial and gender inequality as structural reasons. According to Stoecklin and Lucchini (2020), it is incorrect to single out one cause, but one of the most important factors is the impact of macroeconomic trends on the lives of the poorest sections of the population.

One of the crucial causes, according to Volpi (2002), is the quality of family relationships. While some children live on the streets with their families, others work to contribute to the low household income. On the other hand, neglect and abuse within the family are frequently the triggers for children to go to the street, but children can also follow in the footsteps of their older brothers and sisters who already live on the streets (Volpi, 2002).

According to Aptekar and Stoecklin (2014), children who lack formal identification, are exploited through trafficking and forced labor, are too young to assume the duties of 'adults' and enter into marriage, or are subjected to hazardous employment are especially vulnerable. In addition to poverty, they believe migration has a significant impact on family structure. Hunger, diseases, natural catastrophes, caregiver death, exclusion from education, substance addiction and mental illness, intolerance and discrimination are all factors that might force children to live on the streets (Committee on the Rights of the Child, 2017).

Ursin and Rizzini (2021, p. 27) argue that without taking into account the broader social, political, and economic context in which street children and their families live, an accurate image of their reality cannot be obtained. They also emphasize that by simplifying the causes, little attention is paid to understanding the connection between, for example, poverty and wider structural factors.

2.2.2 Street Children in Numbers

It is difficult to obtain trustworthy statistics on the street children since there are several classifications and categories that are difficult to compare and are not unified, as mentioned above (Stoecklin & Lucchini, 2020). According to Bhukuth and Ballet (2015), there are various reasons why estimating the number of street children is challenging. To begin with, these are usually broad estimates issued by international organizations in order to draw attention to their work and receive more funding. Furthermore, street children are generally unpredictable, and changes in their life occur fast and unexpectedly, making it difficult to track 'new' street children and children who have returned to their homes. Their mobility is one of the most difficult aspects of counting street children since they constantly relocate from one location to another in search of a better life, but also to avoid danger (Bhukuth and Ballet, 2015).

According to data from non-governmental organizations, roughly tens of millions of children grow raised on the streets of cities across the world (UNICEF, 2012, p. 32). However, as long as these projections lack a research foundation, they should be viewed with caution (Aptekar & Stoecklin, 2014). Furthermore, despite global population growth, migration, and increasing urbanization (UNICEF, 2012), it is impossible to say with certainty that the number of street children is increasing; thus, a local-level count is required to obtain more precise statistics (de Benitez, 2011).

2.3 Definition of Children's Work

The fact that the majority of working children are from low-income countries undermines the availability of reliable data on many aspects of the labor market. Furthermore, different definitions of "child labor" and the common assumption that all child labor is by definition harmful to children and includes economic activities that are detrimental to children's well-being contribute to this. Most working children engage in a variety of activities, and the benefit or harm of that work is determined by the circumstances of the activity itself. However, without including all aspects of work, a realistic picture of child labor cannot be obtained (Edmonds & Pavcnik, 2005).

There is no single definition of child labor that applies to all countries around the world. However, the ILO Convention No. 138 on the legal minimum age (1973), the ILO Convention No. 182 on the worst forms of child labor (1999), and the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) are widely accepted conventions that set legal limits on child labor. Despite the fact that there is no single statistical measure of child labor, the Resolution of International Conference of Labor Statisticians (ICLS) on child labor statistics mentions the factors of the child's age and the types of activities performed by

the child as elements that have been established to structure child labor measurement (Dammert et al., 2017).

The division by ICLS (2008, as cited in Dammert et al. 2017, p. 4) includes children aged 5 to 17 years old and distinguishes between "children in production activities," which includes "children in employment" who are involved in paid and unpaid production activities, and "children in other production activities," which refers to children who perform unpaid household services. In addition to "children in production activities," authors include "child labor," which excludes any children who work legally in accordance with the rules of the Convention.

According to Dammert et al. (2017, p. 4), a child laborer is defined as:

     i)   Any economically active child under the age of 12;
     ii)   Children in the 12-14 age category engaged in productive activities that do not fall under permissible light work;
     iii)   Children aged 17 and younger engaged in activities that are designated as "hazardous" (affecting the child's safety, physical and mental development) or the "worst forms of child labor"

Based on these definitions, the ILO (2013, as cited in Dammert et al., 2017, p. 1) estimates that 264 million children aged 5 to 17 were involved in economic activity worldwide, with 168 million of these children engaged in child labor. The fact that 85.3 million children were engaged in dangerous jobs was particularly emphasized.

A growing body of research supports the idea that poverty encourages families to rely more on child labor, but child labor is by no means limited to poor households. It is clear that there are factors other than poverty that contribute to child labor, so a broader framework is required to explain child labor (ILO, UNICEF, the World Bank, 2017). On the other hand, Aufseeser et al. (2017) argue that because of a lack of understanding of the nature of child labor, current child labor policies do not promote the best interests of children, especially those who are vulnerable due to poverty or children with limited access to formal education. Therefore, a holistic approach is needed when it comes to child labor interventions and legislation to guarantee that the protection of children does not really have negative effects on the children.

2.4 Street Children in BiH

The appearance of children living and/or working on the street in BiH is obvious, especially in the post-war period. Thousands of children throughout BiH spend their days begging on the streets of cities, going to intersections where they wash car windshields or sell at markets (UNICEF, 2014). Even though they are present and easily visible, street children are also called "invisible children" because they are often excluded from the social and health care systems and have no legal protection (Maglajlija, 2017).

The Roma national minority makes up the majority of street children in BiH, but UNICEF (2014) research shows that other ethnic groups are present as well. Furthermore, there is no discernible difference in the appearance of girls and boys on the street, so they can be found in equal numbers, with the majority of them being under the age of 14 (UNICEF, 2014). There is some information about children forced to work on the street, who are trafficked for the purpose of work, or are involved in organized begging, but there is no

solid evidence (Save the Children, 2007). Furthermore, while some children cross the border between Serbia and BiH and change the area of work, such movements are thought to be most often initiated by the child's family. Although there is no credible proof of criminal organizations using children for begging, such a possibility cannot be fully ruled out. Working on the streets, particularly begging, is regarded as a major risk of human trafficking in BiH. Furthermore, children who live and work on the streets are subjected to violence, exploitation, and criminality on a regular basis (Save the Children, 2007).

BiH, as a member of the United Nations and the Council of Europe, has ratified several important international documents concerning street children, including the Convention on the Rights of the Child, the ILO conventions - the Minimum Age Convention and the Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, the Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime, and The Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children (UNICEF, 2014, p. 32). Based on BiH's periodic report on the implementation of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, in 2012, the United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child compiled a list of issues, including the need to provide detailed information on concrete measures taken by the State party to prevent and eliminate discrimination against street children (Committee on the Rights of the Child, 2012). BiH's written response provided more specific information on the country's street child population. They specifically stated that child begging is one of the most common forms of economic exploitation for street children. However, the analysis is not considered reliable because the data is based solely on questionnaires from specific social work centers that are not located in areas with the highest concentrations of street children (Committee on the Rights of the Child, 2012).

There is national legislation that affects street children in addition to international regulation, though it varies depending on whether it is the Federation of BiH or the Republic of Srpska (UNICEF, 2014). I will, however, discuss the rules that apply in Sarajevo. Begging and vagrancy are prohibited by the Law on Offenses Against Public Order and Peace. For example, in Sarajevo, individuals who beg face fines ranging from 300 to 900 BAM (153 to 459 EUR), while those who arrange or assist a juvenile to beg face fines ranging from 500 to 1500 BAM (255 to 765 EUR). Furthermore, the Federation of BiH's Criminal Law provides for prison sentences of three to eight years for anyone, including parents, who force a child to beg to or engage in excessive or inappropriate work for the child (UNICEF, 2014). According to UNICEF (2014), the term coercion is problematic because it is sometimes difficult to prove that child labor is forced, even though most children are supervised and their earnings are used to support the family.

Save the Children (2013) research, on the other hand, highlighted the issue of the lack of clearly defined procedures and the responsibilities of competent institutions when it comes to street children. When police find a child working on the street in Sarajevo, they issue the parents a misdemeanor order and notify the Center for Social Work. To illustrate, UNICEF (2014) mentions an action initiated by Sarajevo police that took away work tools from children who wash windshields, preventing them from working in that area, but the children, according to the police, migrated to another location. Given that the children remained unidentified and were exposed to road hazards while fleeing the police, it is unclear what this action accomplished (UNICEF, 2014).

For a long time, countries throughout Southeast Europe, including BiH, ignored the topic of street children. The lack of a political, economic, and social response has influenced street children's poor integration and increased vulnerability, as well as the ineffective

protection of this marginalized population group (Save the Children, 2016). According to Save the Children (2013) research, the profession emphasizes prevention as the key to addressing the issue of street children. The approach of equating street children with juvenile delinquents or children who demonstrate unacceptable behavior has been proven to be incorrect and ineffective. The lack of coordinated and continuous cooperation of various professional actors particularly harms street children, because the work is focused on immediate and short-term "removal" of children from the street rather than long-term problem solving (Save the Children, 2013).

The establishment of day centers for street children was one of the most important preventive programs including street children. There are currently six such centers in operation in BiH, located in the cities of Banja Luka, Bijeljina, Mostar, Tuzla, Zenica, and Sarajevo. Almost all of the centers were founded and run by non-governmental organizations, with the exception of the Sarajevo day center, which was taken over by the government in 2013. Day centers play an important role in mediating service providers and children who live and/or work on the streets. However, they frequently face funding and state support issues, forcing the majority of them to work with limited budget resources (Council of Europe, 2021). Moreover, due to funding issues, some centers have previously been threatened with closure (Nurikic, 2012), creating uncertainty among children and center workers.

The day center in Sarajevo serves several purposes. The first is that street children can occasionally visit the day center to meet their nutritional and hygiene needs while playing or studying (Council of Europe, 2021). Second, social workers, i.e. the state, may temporarily remove children from the street or separate them from their parents. In this case, they are legally allowed to stay in the center for up to two months before being returned to their parents or transferred to long-term care in a social welfare institution.

The government has yet to develop a comprehensive response to the issue of street children (UNICEF, 2013). Although existing laws protect a wide range of children's rights, it is believed that the complex structure of the government in BiH is a major impediment to their full realization, leading to slow decision-making, unclear division of responsibilities and competences, and unclear communication and coordination among authorities. In order to establish a system for collecting and exchanging data for the purpose of monitoring children's situations and providing systemic assistance to street children, integrated and intersectoral cooperation in the child protection system is required (UNICEF, 2013).

2.4.1 Roma Children

The Roma are the largest, but also the most neglected and disenfranchised, national minority in BiH (UNICEF, 2020). According to UNICEF (2015), there is no statistically accurate data on the number of Roma in BiH, but estimates range from 40,000 to 60,000 Roma. Similarly, the number of Roma children is estimated to be between 10,000 and 20,000. The majority of Roma families in BiH live in a state of severe, multidimensional poverty (UNICEF, 2015).

Many Roma children face numerous challenges from an early age, including the lack of basic rights such as identification documents, access to education, and health care (UNICEF, 2015). Also, they are twice as likely to experience delayed growth, five times

more likely to be malnourished, and three times more likely to live in poverty than other non-Roma children in BiH, according to data from UNICEF (2020). Furthermore, their primary school enrollment rate is one-third that of their non-Roma peers (UNICEF, 2020). According to Council of Europe (2021), Roma children who do enter the education system face discrimination from teachers and peers, struggle to afford school supplies, clothes, and food, and must sometimes travel long distances to school.

This national minority faces social exclusion, which manifests itself in education, employment, health, and social protection (UNICEF, 2015). Although there are many children in BiH who beg and work on the streets for various reasons, the majority of the children are members of the Roma national minority (Save the Children, 2007). The most common misconception about Roma children on the street is that "it's in their blood" (Save the Children, 2007, p. 39). Begging, in particular, is considered part of their tradition, which is difficult to change, making it difficult to provide effective assistance to Roma children (UNICEF BiH and Save the Children Norway, 2005). Furthermore, it is assumed that children beg not only as a result of community tradition, but also as a result of the social deprivation that emerged in the postwar period. It is believed that the war increased the social exclusion of Roma in BiH, not only because the majority of them lost their jobs, but also because they had disproportionately limited access to the social protection system (Save the Children, 2007, p. 38).

Roma children are especially vulnerable to human trafficking because they are frequently unidentified (Council of Europe, 2021). The belief that Roma are "dirty, unreliable, unwilling to work, and prone to theft" is widespread among the BiH population (Save the Children, 2007, p. 82). Furthermore, despite the fact that many Roma families have employed parents and their children attend school, existing prejudice and discrimination against Roma contribute to social exclusion, which leads to child's work and possibly child trafficking. Regional research, on the other hand, points out that is correct to link the problem of street children with a lack of services for vulnerable children and their families, and incorrect to equate the street children with Roma culture, which solely leads to stigmatization of the Roma population and promotes social exclusion (Save the Children, 2016).

Institutional discrimination, according to UNICEF (2013), denies children from national minorities and vulnerable groups the right to quality education. Significant differences in Roma enrollment and attendance rates, imply that the majority of children who do not attend school in BiH are Roma, as well as other poor children from rural areas, children with disabilities, and children from other vulnerable categories.

In conclusion, the fact that the BiH Constitution does not recognize Roma and other minority groups as citizens equal to the three constituent nations, demonstrates how deeply ingrained Roma discrimination is in society (UNICEF, 2013).

2.5 Chapter Summary

This chapter provided a brief overview of BiH, which has faced numerous challenges since the end of the war. Furthermore, one of these challenges and the subject of research, the street children, is presented, along with its definitions, causes, and numbers. In addition, since it is frequently mentioned as one of the most important aspects of street children's lives, this chapter also discusses the topic of children's work. Also, the chapter provided a general overview of the situation of street children in BiH, both legally and through prior research with street children. The chapter concludes with a discussion of Roma children, who make up the majority of street children in BiH, emphasizing their vulnerability. In the following chapter, I will elaborate on the theoretical framework that will be used in the research.

3 Theoretical Framework

3.1 Introduction

This chapter will go through the concepts and theories that underpin this research. To begin, I will provide an overview of Childhood Studies, which serve as the underlying philosophy of this research. In line with the philosophy, both a constructionist perspective, describing how childhood is perceived in society, and an actor-oriented perspective, emphasizing the important knowledge that children have, will be used. Building on the actor-oriented perspective, the key concept of agency, which recognizes the child's ability to act, as well as its reconceptualization, which offers a broader approach to analysis, will be presented. Furthermore, the recognition and respect of children's knowledge will be discussed through the theorization of the concept of children's voice as a prominent way of understanding the world from a child's perspective. Within many concepts that exist in order to help us to get more complete understanding of children's complex reality, the socio-cultural perspective was chosen to explain the complexity of the children's work and theory of intersectionality, which takes multiple aspects into account allowing for a more in-depth understanding of the topic of street children.

3.2 Childhood Studies

Psychological explanations dominated child research during the twentieth century (Prout and James, 2015). The developmental psychology responses provided a framework for interpretations of the child's nature and childhood. After some time, new alternative voices emerged, resulting in a paradigm shift in the social sciences. The sociology of childhood was reconstructed in the 1980s and 1990s with a way of thinking that transcends psychology's disciplinary boundaries and influences sociological approaches to the study of children (Prout and James, 2015).

'Rationality', 'naturalness' and 'universality' of childhood are three themes that have been translated directly into sociological representations of childhood in the form of socialization theories (Prout and James, 2015, p.8). However, over time, the ways in which sociology and developmental psychology theorized and researched children and childhood were increasingly criticized. The proponents of the new *emergent* approach in researching children, the social studies on children and childhood, wanted to replace the ideas of the *mainstream* approach and its dominant theoretical perspectives, with the recognition of children as subjects worthy of study in their own right (Prout and James, 2015). With regard to social studies on children and childhood, there has been a shift from perceiving children as vulnerable beings, incompetent, and hence the object of adult research, to understanding children as competent social agents capable of contributing to the world (James, 2007).

Furthermore, children are viewed as beings of equal value in respect to adults, shifting the attention away from adults and bringing children's acts to the forefront, where they are equally valued (James, 2007).

In contrast to mainstream research in which children were viewed as objects, the new paradigm opened the possibility of doing research *with* children, with the aim of understanding children's lives and childhood from a child's perspective (Punch, 2002). It is believed that children have knowledge about their own lives and that they should be given a voice to gather valuable knowledge. One of the most common criticisms leveled at the adult-centrism approach concerns the fact that for a long time children were a 'muted' group (Hardman, 2001, p. 85), unable to express themselves (Hammersley, 2017).

Moreover, Prout and James (2015) build on the importance of studying children and childhood independently as a significant aspect of the paradigm. Since the positions of children and adults in society are quite different, children's experiences and perspectives should be valued individually and equally with those of adults (Hammersley, 2017). Similarly, Qvortrup (2009, p. 639) underlines the importance of viewing children as *human beings* and studying their present, as opposed to viewing children as *human becomings* and childhood as a period of preparation for maturity.

Childhood is also viewed as a social construction in the 'emergent' paradigm, according to Prout and James (2015, p. 7). They emphasize the significance of social aspects such as class, ethnicity, and gender in the construction of childhood. By highlighting structural and cultural aspects of childhood, the authors move away from viewing childhood as a natural and universal phenomenon. Likewise, they reject the idea of children's passivity and emphasize that children are active subjects in their own lives who contribute to the construction of society (Prout and James, 2015).

Childhood studies encompass diverse approaches from various theoretical positions for the study of children and childhood. Thus, the most common approaches to research in childhood studies: the actor-centered perspective, the structuralist conflict perspective, and the constructionist perspective, each of which has a different research starting point (Alanen, 2001). In the analysis chapter of this research, both the actor-oriented and constructionist perspectives will be used.

3.2.1 Childhood as a Social Construction

Ideas about childhood have changed over time, and we are now aware that various factors such as gender, age, ethnicity, and others influence it (Montgomery, 2003). We tend to believe that we know what childhood is because we have experienced it, but the question is if our idea of childhood is correct and whether that is a childhood that other children should have. Childhood and its definitions are variable and subject to cultural representations, leading to the conclusion that childhood is a social construction (Gittins, 2009).

Social constructionism quickly gained popularity in the study of childhood, relying on the idea of social historian Phillippe Ariès, who is regarded as one of the proponents of the belief that childhood is a social and historical construction, but also others who contributed to the development of the social sciences (Gittins, 2009, Alanen, 2015, Burr, 2015). As previously stated, the idea that childhood is a social construction became one

of the key features of childhood studies (Prout and James, 2015), implying that perceptions of children and childhood are formed through complex social and cultural processes, and that knowledge is context dependent.

If we understand children and childhood contextually, it means that we do not rely on existing assumptions and meanings of what children are and what childhood is like, but rather reject our previous knowledge as unreliable and open the possibility to new discoveries (Jenks, 2004). Furthermore, Jenks (2004, p. 89) adds that social constructionism imposes the idea that 'there is no absolute', and that childhood does not exist in a 'finite' and 'identifiable form'. In light of this, social constructionists argue that the universality and biological basis of childhood must be enriched with a sociocultural dimension (Hammersley, 2017). Moreover, the researcher must find the 'truths' that are influenced by the context and produced at a given time (Kjørholt, 2004, p. 23). Therefore, social constructionists provokes a change in previously held beliefs.

Burr (2015, p. 2) mentions several assumptions associated with social constructionism. To begin with, a critical approach is required to challenge the objective and taken-for-granted understanding of the world. Moreover, our understandings are influenced by 'where and when we live in the world' (p. 4), emphasizing the significance of historical and cultural contexts. Also, the author points out that our knowledge of the world is constructed through daily interactions within social life and it is closely related to social action.

Hammersley (2017) broadens the scope of constructionist thinking to include children's voices. This includes considering how social norms, values, and culture shape children's interpretations of the world. Since children are increasingly seen as capable of creating their own constructions and meanings, it is not unusual that children can interpret childhood and actively participate in its construction (Montgomery, 2003). It is crucial to understand how childhood is constructed in a particular society because it affects how children are treated. Montgomery (2003, p. 46) uses a historical example from the United Kingdom in the 1950s to discuss the construction of childhood, specifically the phrase "'children should be seen, not heard'" which means that no one cared what children had to say and their interpretations were ignored. Although this attitude and approach have changed significantly over the years and become 'outdated', the existence of power relations that are persistent in societies, as well as their influence on the construction of children and childhood, cannot be overlooked (Montgomery, 2003, p. 46).

In any case, it should be acknowledged that the meanings and interpretations created within a specific society are the basis for understanding children's reality. The social constructionist perspective provides an opportunity to improve the situation of marginalized groups by focusing 'on ideas rather than facts' about them (Montgomery, 2003, p. 46, Alanen, 2015). One of these groups are street children, who are described in a variety of ways depending on the context and discourses in which they occur. Previously, street children were viewed as a social problem, but this perception has shifted over time (Ursin and Rizzini, 2021). One of the reasons for this is the fact that street children are often perceived as the opposite or a different group compared to other children, given their vulnerability and exposure to risk. Accordingly, Panter-Brick (2004, p. 85) discusses how social constructions of childhood and risk influence how various groups of children are perceived. For example, street children were considered 'out of place' in urban areas, whereas impoverished children living in rural areas or distant neighborhoods were frequently overlooked. However, perspectives began to shift, the

importance of 'children's competence, creativity, and versatility' was recognized (Ursin and Rizzini, 2021, p. 19), and street children's agency became more prominent.

3.2.2 Children as Social Actors

An actor-oriented perspective stresses children as 'active and social subjects'. In addition, children are seen as 'complete' human beings from whom we can learn (Nilsen, 1990b, p. 9). Nilsen (1990b, p. 9) summarizes the essence of this viewpoint as follows:

> Before we can judge what is 'good for children', we have to know their standpoints, we have to know what children think is important, their interpretations, what they know, their skills and practices – on their premises.

An empirical sensibility toward children as social actors was suddenly thrust into the foreground of childhood sociology, opening up space for analyzing and theorizing social phenomena that directly or indirectly affect children and childhood (Moran-Ellis, 2013, p. 303). Therefore, it is believed that children have significant knowledge about their own lives that can differ from adults' knowledge, who are often in a position to decide what is best for children. This perspective approaches to research on children and childhood differently, primarily because it addresses one of the shortcomings of mainstream research by giving children a voice (James, 2007).

Criticisms focused on the actor-oriented approach mention the risk of creating a narrow picture of children and childhood, that is, the idea of creating an isolated children's world in which children are autonomous and competent, distant from adults and society. However, as Corsaro (2009) underlines, childhood should not be separated from society or adults in general, because children are a part of all existing, interconnected cultures. Furthermore, Wyness (2013) emphasizes that adults' positions should not be marginalized in order to support children's participation. The author believes that understanding the complexity of children's participation and voice is impossible without first understanding the roles of adults and their relationships with children.

On this basis, by giving attention to children and recognizing them as active participants in society, we can gain insight into how social experiences are formed by the interaction of society and social structure, and how this interaction is influenced by the social behavior of its members (James and Prout, 1997 as cited in Abebe, 2019).

3.2.2.1 The Concept of Children's Agency

One of the key tenets in childhood studies is the idea of children having agency and actively participating in social life (Hammersley, 2017). Despite the fact that there is a growing corpus of material on children's agency, the concept is rarely defined. According to Abebe (2019), the concept of agency has its roots in both academia and policymaking. The first origin is linked to the actor-oriented approach that values individuals and their ability to act for themselves. Aside from academia, the concept of children's agency originates from the legal and moral framework of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, and its recognition of children's capacities and competencies. Thus, as legal subjects, children's rights to participation, autonomy, and self-determination are emphasized in international politics (Abebe, 2019).

According to Valentine (2011, p. 349) that children 'act purposively' is the simplest way to define children as agents. However, Robson et al. (2007, p. 135) provide a slightly broader definition that encompasses various aspects of children's lives;

> Agency is understood as an individual's own capacities, competencies, and activities through which they navigate the contexts and positions of their lifeworlds, fulfilling many economic, social, and cultural expectations, while simultaneously charting individual/collective choices and possibilities for their daily and future lives.

Seeing children as competent social beings means understanding their attitudes and actions meaningfully. Furthermore, 'thinking' and 'doing' are important components of the concept of agency which indicates the transition from children as 'human becomings' to children as 'thinkers' and 'doers' (Valentine, 1996 as cited in Robson et al., 2007, p. 135). Structure is thought to be closely related to agency. According to Qvortrup (2009), the key is the link between structural conditions and human activity, in other words, the interaction of possibilities and constraints within the structures in which children live. Despite the fact that the demands are imposed by structural forces, it has been shown that a person can have and use some form of action on their own (Robson et al., 2007).

Furthermore, Robson et al. (2007) believe that children actively define and shape the spaces in which they live, despite obligations and constraints. As a result, active and empowered action outperforms the previously accepted powerlessness of children. Nilsen (2009/2014), on the other hand, claims that we cannot properly understand agency unless we consider power and control.

Punch et al. (2007, p. 206-207) outline two approaches to power: power as object and power as relational. In the first approach, power belongs to certain people, resulting in an unequal distribution of power that favors some people over others. The second approach involves understanding power in Foucault's way; power cannot be possessed. Along with power, the Foucauldian perspective emphasizes resistance. Thus, power does not have to be limiting for children; it may help them recognize their own strength. Moreover, when researching children in the context in which they live, it is essential to recognize that power and control are part of what children face and experience on a daily basis. It is also important to understand the power of the place in which children are involved in variety of intergenerational and intragenerational power relations. However, regardless of how we define power, although invisible to the eye, it is omnipresent (Punch et al., 2007), and, in a sense, agency and power are inextricably linked.

Therefore, simply stating that children have agency is insufficient, and it is important to consider the aspects of children's lives within which the agency takes place in order to be able to recognize what kind of agency it is. In this research, the concept of agency serves as a starting point, recognizing the child's ability to act and each experience as unique while seeking to learn about their world. First of all, it is necessary to study children's agency in context and problematize it within the complex and often contradictory social reality (Punch, 2016). Moreover, critical reflections on the concept of agency have led to a reconceptualization that sheds 'new' light on the 'old' concept.

3.2.2.2 Agency: a (re)conceptualization

Many childhood studies scholars have criticized previous conceptualizations of agency as being limited and simplistic (Moran-Ellis, 2013, Hammersley, 2017, Abebe, 2019). Such an understanding of the concept can constrain views and repress future research. As a

result, understanding the concept of agency from various perspectives is essential. However, it should be noted that agency, as a qualitative notion, cannot be quantified; rather, its presence must be described contextually (Durham, 2011 as cited in Abebe, 2019). First and foremost, it is critical to consider what kind of agency children have, how they obtain and exercise it, and how it can relate to their family, community, and others. This opens up the possibility of revealing the cultural, material, and political contexts, as well as the relational processes that underpin agency (Abebe, 2019).

Abebe (2019) believes that in order to get a broader picture of children's agency, it is necessary to explore the concept of agency beyond the central idea that children are social actors. In this way, he expands ideas of Robson et al. (2007) by presenting two interconnected approaches to reconceptualizing agency: agency as a continuum and agency as interdependence. The premise behind the continuum of agency is that children have agency in certain contexts but not in others (Robson et al., 2007, Abebe, 2019). As a result, Robson et al. (2007) underline that an individual's ability to act is determined not just by his own will, but also by the limits that he faces on a daily basis. Agency is seen as a dynamic concept that varies based on where a person is, who they are with, and what they are doing (Robson et al., 2007).

Furthermore, Abebe (2019) states that children's agency is influenced and shaped by various types of intergenerational relationships. Children are thus considered independent, but also dependent on the needs of their families and other members of social networks. Clark (2021) argues that childhood and adulthood are not binary states of agency and powerlessness, that is, the presence of adults does not imply the lack of children's agency. In this sense, viewing children as individual actors is considered incorrect because it overlooks the socio-cultural and political-economic context in which children act (Abebe, 2019). On this basis, recognizing children's agency is difficult unless it is situated in a specific social context and social interactions, that is, until it is articulated as a social and relational process (Clark, 2021). Esser (2016, p. 57) stresses the relational approach to agency as a distinct approach that provides a broader view of agency by situating it in social interdependence rather than individual independence. Moreover, it is believed that agency, along with power, resilience and creativity, cannot come from the individual alone, and that emphasis should be placed on the fact that action is driven by relationships with others, or in other words, interpersonal relationships are crucial to agency (Landes and Settersten, 2019, Clark, 2021). Therefore, this perspective shifts the focus from individual actions to the social relationships and contexts that shape them (Landes and Settersten, 2019).

Considering the aforementioned, Abebe (2019) emphasizes the importance of researching the many components and effects of interventions on children's lives in order to prevent overemphasizing children's agency and resilience and diverting focus away from adults who are responsible for children. Therefore, the various reconceptualization of agency mentioned above will be used in this research to recognize how children exercise agency, what influences their ability to act, and what kind of agency the children participating in the research have.

3.3 Children's Voices in Research

The concept of children's voices, one of the fundamental ideas in Childhood Studies, piqued the interest of activists and policymakers all over the world (James, 2007). Children's right to express and share their own opinions on issues that concern them is recognized, and as social actors, they have the opportunity to influence social issues and policies that affect them (Tay-Lim and Lim, 2013). In other words, children are seen as experts whose voices can be more powerful and meaningful than those of adults who often have the possibility to act on behalf of children. Thus, listening to children's experiences can provide researchers with valuable data that can be used to develop child-centered policies (Woodhead & Faulkner, 2000, as cited in Tay-Lim and Lim, 2013).

The emphasis on children's voices is often founded on, according to Spyrou (2015), uncritical beliefs that voices reflect the truth. However, one must be aware that there are many difficulties involved in process of listening to children's voices. Thus, James (2007, p. 262) identifies three themes in contemporary childhood research that problematize the concept of children's voices. Firstly, the ways in which children who are somehow prevented from speaking are approached are viewed as a critical epistemological question related to authenticity. He connects this to translation and interpretation, specifically how adults can change and reinterpret what children say based on their own assumptions. All of this calls into question the representation of children's voices, precisely 'who is represented and for what purpose' (James, 2007, p. 262). Secondly, he discusses the problem of conceptualizing "the voices of children" or "children's voices" (James, 2007, p. 262). Specifically, conceptualization risks categorizing and homogenizing children without taking into account the diversity of their experiences which can result in the individual child's voice being silenced (James, 2007). Lastly, the author raises concerns about the nature of children's participation in the research process. Research *with* children is encouraged rather than research *on* children; that is, children are viewed as subjects rather than objects of adult research. As a result, childhood research encompasses many methodological critiques, particularly awareness of power differentials (James, 2007).

Spyrou (2011) agrees that the preoccupation with children's voices is justified, but he emphasizes the importance of taking a critical approach to research on children's voices. To begin, one should consider the research contexts in which children's voices emerge, as well as the power imbalances that shape them. He also believes that there is a lack of attention to issues concerning the representation of children's voices.

In addition to children's voices, Spyrou (2015) emphasizes silence as a more complex and problematic feature in research. Lewis (2010) mention and problematize silence as an important setting in research with children. Listening to voices also includes listening to silence (Lewis, 2010). Furthermore, silence should not be interpreted as a lack of voice or an absence of empirical material, but rather as 'silent speech' (Spyrou, 2015, p. 10). As Spyrou (2015) explains, when someone's voice is intentionally silenced or when they are not allowed to speak, silence can reveal a lot, but it is important to understand why it occurs. Moreover, if researchers do not include silence, the analysis will be incomplete, resulting in an inaccurate and simplistic image.

Within Childhood Studies, many kinds of findings are being produced based on children's voices. Therefore, it is important to think critically about issues of voice, but also silence, which should not be seen as a problem to be overcome, but as an integral part of voices

(Spyrou, 2016). The idea of "giving voice to children's voices" (James, 2007, p. 261) does not necessarily imply that children are encouraged to "speak their silences" (Spyrou, 2016, p. 116), but that they should be recognized and contextualized in order to understand their meaning.

In this research, the concept of 'voices' is used in two ways. First, as an integral part of this research, which tries to understand children's perspectives, that is, to learn what is important to children. Second, to observe how children talk about their experiences and understand the meanings of children's voices.

3.4 Understanding Children's Work: A Socio-cultural Perspective

Due to differing perspectives, the question of whether or not children should work usually provokes a number of discussions. The international discourse on the abolition of child labor imposes a universal response to children's reality, which cannot be said to be universal because it takes place in different contexts around the world. The socio-cultural perspective presented by scholars Abebe and Bessell (2011) gained ground in childhood studies because it stresses that children's work has its own socio-cultural meanings and contexts in which it occurs. Within this perspective, work is emphasized as an important part of children's lives, assisting them in developing skills and gradually transitioning into adulthood (Abebe and Bessell, 2011). Children differ in age, abilities, gender, and living conditions, and they require assistance and support, but work is not seen as necessarily harmful to the child (Bourdillon, 2006). What can actually be harmful to children is the prohibition of work since it it may deprive underprivileged children of the benefits that come with work, which are often necessary for their survival (Abebe and Bessell, 2011).

Abebe and Bessell (2011) point out that the sociocultural perspective does not offer a straightforward view that any work is necessarily a form of exploitation for children. However, it should be recognized that some forms of work, although accepted and chosen in limited contexts, may be harmful to children. The reality is that child work is present and that some children are forced to work, but from a socio-cultural standpoint, it is possible to understand the complex sociocultural factors that interact to create the environment in which child labor takes place (Abebe and Bessell, 2011). According to the ILO (2011), child labor must be seen in a broader context because focusing just on removing children from abusive or dangerous working conditions represent a short-term solution to the problem. In other words, the approach must be comprehensive in order to affect many aspects of children's lives.

More research is required to study and comprehend the circumstances that push children to work, as well as the dynamics that might transform work into exploitation. First and foremost, it is critical to listen to what children say about work while keeping in mind the social meaning associated to work, the motives for labor, and the complicated context in which work occurs (Abebe and Bessell, 2011).

When it comes to work and street children, the sociocultural perspective suggests that a child's experiences, upbringing, and cultural context can shape their attitudes and behaviors toward work (Abebe and Bessell, 2011). Some street children, for example, may regard work as a means of survival, whereas others may regard it as a burden or a form of exploitation. Work is viewed differently depending on cultural norms and values

(Bourdillon, 2010), so some children may be encouraged to contribute to the family's income from a young age, whereas children's work is strictly prohibited in other cultures. Social factors such as poverty, social exclusion and lack of education can also influence children's attitudes towards work. Children who are forced to work because of poverty may have a different view of work compared to those who work for pleasure or a desire for independence. Thus, a socio-cultural perspective will be used for this thesis in order to determine which factors influence children's work and to understand the social significance of work that appears in the local context.

3.5 Intersectionality: what it is and why it matters

The term "intersectionality," coined by scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989), is primarily used in feminist studies to analyze discrimination, but it is increasingly being adopted in debates about children and is no longer necessarily feminist-oriented.

Davis (2008, p.68) defines intersectionality as:

> the interaction between gender, race, and other categories of difference in individual lives, social practices, institutional arrangements, and cultural ideologies and the outcomes of these interactions in terms of power

The concept of intersectionality is appropriate for research that examines how multiple facets of an individual's life function together as well as how different types of inequality interact and reinforce each other (Crenshaw, 1989, Davis, 2008). Despite the fact that it is becoming more common in research fields concerned with the study of children, intersectionality has not yet taken hold in the social studies of childhood. It is clear that children's lives are also structured intersectionally, which means that many children's experiences, identities, and daily lives should be analyzed and analytically described within the new paradigm (Alanen, 2016). According to Konstantoni and Emejulu (2017), new findings that broaden the discussion about children and childhood within the framework of intersectionality are needed, particularly in childhood studies that are interested in complex issues of social inequality and identity in various spaces and cultural contexts around the world. In this way, intersectionality can be used to generate new knowledge about children's realities by considering the interconnected effects of several categories of difference such as gender, class, and national origin (Konstantoni and Emejulu, 2017). There are numerous studies that take into account more than one category in order to understand the experiences of children through the interconnection of gender, race, and class with age being the most common subject of research. The belief that "being a child is not all one is" outlines intersectionality by emphasizing the multiple categories that a child cannot be imagined without (Rodó-de-Zárate, 2017, p. 32). However, the study of intersectionality requires special attention from researchers since there are only a few developed specific techniques or methods for its use (Rodó-de-Zárate, 2017).

The use of an intersectional framework is thought to be particularly appropriate for the research with street children because they are among the most marginalized populations in the world. Intersectionality is used by Embleton et al. (2022) to describe significant gender, social, and health disparities among street children in Kenya. Scholars argue that street children's situations are the result of oppressive systems that shape their experiences and social identities (Embleton et al., 2022). Furthermore, they believe that taking into account the various factors in children's lives highlights the need to develop

policies and programs that intervene at multiple levels in order to cover multiple aspects (Embleton et al., 2022), but first and foremost, it is critical to focus on those who are currently marginalized (Crenshaw, 1989).

For the purposes of this thesis, intersectionality theory helps to understand how age, gender, and ethnicity shape the experiences of street children and how these multiple categories affect their situation. Taking into account these categories contributes to an intersectional analysis that examines their related significance in the everyday experience of children (Rodó-de-Zárate, 2017).

3.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter summarizes the theories discussed in this thesis. As a starting point, childhood studies are mentioned as the foundation for this research, with an emphasis on social constructivism and the actor-oriented perspective. Thus, the actor-oriented perspective allows us to see children as beings worthy of study and their knowledge as valuable. Social constructionism, on the other hand, broadens our understanding of children's knowledge by including a socio-cultural dimension and accounting for the context in which children create their experiences. Furthermore, since this research values individuals and their ability to act, the concept of agency, as well as its reconceptualization that expands the main idea that children are social actors, are important parts of this chapter. In addition, children are recognized as having agency, so their opinions and ideas about the world in which they live are valued. As a result, this chapter elaborates the concept of using children's voices in research. Finally, in order to consider everything that can have an impact on the lives of street children, this research applies both a sociocultural perspective and the intersectionality theory. The sociocultural perspective emphasizes work as an important part of children's lives, while also taking into account the sociocultural meanings and contexts in which work occurs. Besides, the intersectionality theory considers how various aspects of children's lives are interconnected and attempts to recognize and describe how they reinforce the marginalized position of street children. In the following chapter, the methodological approach used in the research will be presented.

4 Methodology

4.1 Introduction

The following chapter will provide an overview of the methodology used in this study. It will begin by outlining the fieldwork process, from gaining access and recruiting participants to the research sample. Furthermore, the chapter will discuss the data collection methods that were used, emphasizing their benefits and drawbacks and explaining their significance in this study. The chapter will conclude with a discussion of ethical concerns, as well as the approach used to write and analyze the data.

4.2 Qualitative Approach

Using a qualitative methodological approach, this research attempts to gain insight into the personal perspectives and experiences of street children. The purpose of qualitative research is to generate descriptive information about individuals and events. The active role and experiential perspective of the researcher who enters the natural environment and observes the subject of study are stressed as a prerequisite for the collection of rich data (Holosko, 2001, p. 267). Furthermore, qualitative research is thought to be effective when conducting fieldwork with 'muted', marginalized groups such as street children (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007, p. ix). According to Erickson (2018, p. 87), it also allows for the exploration and description of people's daily lives and actions.

In qualitative research, the use of triangulation is encouraged, that is, the use of multiple methods or sources of data for finding answers to research questions (Carter et al., 2014). According to Denzin and Lincoln (2018), triangulation is particularly useful for studying the social phenomenon. Accordingly, an attempt will be made to answer the research questions and improve the quality of the research results by combining the methods of watching, observing, and talking with ethnography as the primary methodological approach (Ennew et al., 2009). In addition, triangulation is regarded as a strategy for increasing the reliability and validity of qualitative research. Reliability refers to the 'replicability and consistency of findings' (Franklin and Ballan, 2001, p. 273) or the extent to which a study's results can be trusted (Abebe, 2008, p. 50). However, Lucchini (1996) claims that when it comes to reliability in qualitative research, rather than aiming for objectivity, one should simply avoid purely subjective interpretations. In other words, rather than determining whether or not participants are telling the truth and whether or not their statements are relevant, the aim of qualitative research should be to develop understanding. Validity, on the other hand, denotes the "appropriateness of the tools, processes, and data" (Leung, 2015), that is, whether the methodology chosen corresponds to the research's purpose and aim (Abebe, 2008).

4.2.1 Ethnography

It is difficult to find a single definition of ethnography because, over time, it has taken on many different meanings as a result of various disciplinary contexts and methodological approaches (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). However, the essence of ethnography can be found in its literal translation, "writing about people" (James, 2001, p. 246), as it is commonly used to describe specific cultures and peoples within those cultures. The ethnographic approach was chosen for this research precisely because of its ability to provide an in-detailed description of the selected population. The description is possible thanks to participant observation and fieldwork, which are key aspects of ethnographic studies (Lowery, 2001). James (2001, p. 247) provides a slightly broader definition, interpreting ethnography as follows;

> immersion in the lives of those we seek to understand, over a lengthy period of time, across a range of social contexts, and involving a variety of different kinds and levels of engagement between the researcher and his/her informants.

As a result, ethnography necessitates the researcher immersing himself in the world of the research participants, observing events, listening to stories, and seeking answers to questions through formal and informal interviews (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). Doing ethnographic research entails being open to a variety of qualitative methods, such as interviews and casual conversations, as well as simple observation of people or full participation in their lives (James, 2001, p. 247). In this particular instance, the ethnographic approach enabled the use of various methods to gain a deeper understanding of children who spend their time on the streets and enter their everyday world. In addition to regular conversations and observations, as a researcher, I was able to participate in their daily activities. In order to find answers to research questions, this methodological approach requires preparation and reflection, as well as thorough data recording (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007).

Among the many things to consider when conducting ethnographic research, Hammersley and Atkinson (2007, p. 3) highlight five features that are commonly present in ethnographic work. To begin with, research takes place in people's everyday lives, which means that the conditions are not created by the researcher and that any structured, artificial situations, are undesirable. Second, in addition to participant observation and informal interviews, the research should include a variety of sources. Also, the data collection process does not necessitate structure, which means that a detailed research design is not required, and the categories of data interpretation do not require a schedule of observations or questionnaires. Furthermore, a small setting or group of people is usually the focus because it allows for more in-depth study. Finally, descriptions, explanations, and theories are preferred over quantification and statistics when analyzing data obtained through an ethnographic approach.

Given the foregoing characteristics, it is not surprising that ethnography is a highly regarded methodological approach in the study of childhood, allowing children to be subjects of a research process (James, 2001). Nilsen (2005) observes that an increasing number of qualitative studies use children as participants. Although not the only qualitative method of research with children, ethnography paved the way for children's perspectives to be recognized and studied within social studies (James, 2001). In other words, ethnography "enabled the voices of those who would otherwise be silent to be heard" (James, 2001, p. 255).

According to Nilsen (2005), the most important advantages of ethnography are the ability of children to directly participate in the research and the ability of the researcher to directly participate in the everyday environment of children and, thus, gain knowledge about their experiences from their perspectives. Through this approach, children are viewed as competent interpreters of the social world as well as interpreters of their own lives (James, 2001, p. 250).

Using the potential of ethnography, I conducted the fieldwork that will be presented in detail in the following chapter.

4.2.2 Fieldnotes

When conducting ethnographic research, data obtained through observation and interviews are often recorded in the form of fieldnotes (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). The researcher's decision to write fieldnotes during or after the fieldwork is determined by the context of the research as well as the researcher's role. In other words, while taking fieldnotes during participant observation is generally preferred, it is not always appropriate. However, it is believed that notes should be written as soon as possible in order to prevent the quality of notes from deteriorating over time (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). Emerson et al. (2011, p. 142) stress the importance of 'headnotes' that researchers make during fieldwork and before writing down fieldnotes to record details and impressions. Such notes are thought to facilitate the writing of fieldnotes because they help the researcher in recalling their thoughts and impressions during an event (Emerson et al., 2001). Fieldnotes, whether taken during or after fieldwork, are selective and can never fully reflect the situation (Emerson et al., 2011).

For my fieldwork, I took written fieldnotes in the evenings in my apartment. In this manner, I was able to gather my thoughts in silence and reflect on the day spent with the children. I chose to write the fieldnotes after the fieldwork to avoid formalizing the conversations and situations. Moreover, the workers in the center advised me not to write notes while spending time with the children because it would make them suspicious. However, on the field, I made headnotes to save as much information as possible so I could later convert them into written notes. My fieldnotes included descriptions of everyday situations and conversations, as well as my emotions and thoughts. Emerson et al. (2011, p. 111) describe the process of selecting the information I wrote down as intuitive and empathic, since I focused on writing data that I believed was important for children but will also help readers understand the studied world. In addition to data collection, I used fieldnotes to document methodological challenges and decisions that I faced while working in the field. Writing fieldnotes also helped me in preparing for fieldwork as it enabled me to review and reflect on my existing knowledge and identify areas that I wished to explore further.

Many ethnographers choose to rely on fieldnotes as the primary source for their published texts (Emerson et al., 2001, p. 362). This approach was also adopted in the present research, where the fieldnotes, comprising of recorded data and personal reflections, formed the foundation for analysis.

4.3 The fieldwork process

Fieldwork in ethnographic research entails living with a group of people for an extended period of time in order to learn about and document their way of life, beliefs, and perspectives. Unstructuredness, changes, and adaptations characterize fieldwork, particularly when it comes to sampling and method use (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007).

In the following sections, I will describe the fieldwork that I did for 7 weeks, from September 5, 2022 to October 23, 2022. I will focus on the fieldwork process, which includes gaining access and recruiting participants, as well as utilizing methods and conducting research. As Lucchini (1996, p. 169) points out, "without deep experience in the field, even the best methods are nothing," so I will discuss the challenges I encountered, as well as my overall experience conducting ethnographic qualitative research.

4.3.1 Accessibility and Recruitment of Research Participants

Gaining access to the population of interest is thought to be the most challenging stage and prerequisite for conducting research (Thyer, 2001, Shenton and Hayter, 2004). My initial thought was to conduct research with street children solely at the center since I could contact the institution ahead of time and request permission for the project. Additionally, I reasoned that it would be safer to conduct research inside the facility than to wander the streets of Sarajevo alone.

Although it is commonly assumed that access is easier when conducting research in a public setting, such as a street, because anyone can enter and no negotiation process is required (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007), in my case, access to informants through an organization meant the possibility of preparation. On the other hand, if I had chosen the streets as my study location, I would have been left to the circumstances I would have encountered there, and the research would have been questionable up to the moment of my arrival.

The fieldwork began with contacting the gatekeepers, who are responsible for granting access to the children (Punch, 2002). In April 2022, I got in touch with the center and explained my intention and aspiration to conduct my fieldwork within the premises, and they responded positively to my request. In addition, I submitted the research proposal to NTNU for approval and applied for approval to the Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD) (see appendix 1). After my project was approved, I notified the center that research would begin in September.

However, as a researcher, I was aware of the issue of 'assumed' consent of children that can occur when the gatekeeper allows access to the institution (Heath et al., 2007, p. 409); that is, it is critical to recognize that the gatekeeper's consent does not imply the children's consent to the research. As a result, I created two versions of the informed consent letter in two languages: English and Bosnian (see appendices 2 and 3).

The researcher should be prepared to answer questions about the specifics of the research, particularly the time frame for the research and data anonymization (Shenton and Hayter, 2004). This is understandable given that the researcher is 'external' to the

gatekeepers and his presence may pose a risk to the organization due to his unfamiliarity with the structure (Clark, 2011, p. 488). As a result, I used a strategy known as openness, as defined by Shenton and Hayter, to gain access to the institution (2004, p. 226). During my first visit to the center, I explained why I chose this specific location for fieldwork, the purpose of the research, and introduced myself to the center employees. Throughout the process, they were friendly and eager to help and encourage me. Also, they gave me detailed information about the center's activities, allowing me to plan my visits accordingly.

In accessing children, I was helped by a gatekeeper who, according to what I was told, has the greatest trust of street children. The gatekeeper thus briefly introduced me to the children, allowing me to explain my reason for arriving and provide information about the research. In this regard, the day center employees fully matched the definition of gatekeepers, acting not only as mediators between me as a researcher and participants, but also as supporters of the research process (Clark, 2011).

My strategy for the approach to street children corresponded to what Shenton and Hayter (2004, p. 228) refer to as the "chameleon" approach, which is thought to be essential in ethnographic research. Namely, I tried not to disrupt the work of the center with my appearance, but to adapt to the activities and structure. Moreover, with my appearance, clothing, speech, and behavior, I attempted to blend in rather than stand out. Another strategy was to emphasize the value of personal contributions by expressing gratitude to children for their time and cooperation (Shenton and Hayter, 2004).

I also used the aforementioned access strategies in my second research location, the streets of Sarajevo. Although initially, I had no intention of conducting research outside of the day center, after the first few weeks, I became convinced of the unpredictability of the research process. Namely, as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic in the beginning of 2020, the center had to suspend its activities involving street children as a precautionary measure to ensure the safety and well-being of both the children and the employees. Although I began the research a little more than two years later, some measures remained in effect, and as a result, only a limited number of children came to the center. Consequently, I decided to change my initial plan and start collecting data both on the streets and in the center.

Therefore, I began collecting data on the streets with street children a month after arriving in Sarajevo; this was the time I needed to adapt to the city and feel ready to collect data on the streets. It is important to note that the workers at the center encouraged me and provided me with all of the necessary information about the possible locations where the children were. In addition, I had the assistance of a center worker who served as my fieldwork assistant in the areas I visited in search of street children.

Overall, the variety of research sites allowed me to gain a more comprehensive understanding of street children's lives. I was able to observe their daily environment on the streets as well as their activities. However, the naturalness of the situation is both an advantage and a disadvantage of fieldwork on the street, so it is crucial to establish contact carefully in order to protect both ourselves and the children. My work at the center, on the other hand, was of a different nature, allowing me to spend more time asking questions and conducting in-depth research without the influence of outside factors. However, it is not without challenges, because the presence of center workers may influence children's responses.

4.3.2 Research Sample

In a qualitative approach, the purpose of sampling is not the quantity of samples but the quality of information obtained (Sandelowski, 1995). According to Marshall (1996), a sufficient sample size is one that can provide answers to the research questions. Furthermore, there are no predefined methods for determining the minimum number of samples in the research; however, the researcher can estimate the amount of data collected by considering the aim and purpose of the sampling, as well as the method used. As a result, Sandelowski (1995, p. 179) uses the phrase "small is beautiful" to describe qualitative research sampling, implying that individual cases rich in information are valued rather than numbers per se (Sandelowski, 1995, p. 179).

In this research, both purposive sampling and snowballing technique were used, and there was no predetermined quantity of participants. Having in mind that the essence of the qualitative approach is naturalism, that is, the study of people in natural environments, not only individual characteristics but also the research context must be taken into account (Marshall, 1996). More specifically, the complexities of street children's lives, as well as everything that affects them, should be considered. Therefore, in this research the informants were street children who were chosen based on the broad criteria of living in Sarajevo and having prior experience of street life. The study only included children who gave their informed consent to participate. Furthermore, the age limit for participants was up to and including 18 years old, which included those who had reached adulthood while being on the streets. The children from the center were sampled using the purposive sampling method, while the children on the streets were sampled using the snowballing technique. The total number of children involved in the research was 16, with 7 females and 9 males. According to Ennew et al. (2009), when conducting research with children, it is critical to determine the age group, and in this case, the youngest participant I spoke with was three years old, and the oldest was 18. Table 2 summarizes research participants by gender, age, and ethnicity.

Research participants pseudonym		Gender	Age	Ethnicity
1.	Dalia	F	14	Roma
2.	Erna	F	18	Bosniak
3.	Emil	M	7	Roma
4.	Anur	M	3	Roma
5.	Emrah	M	12	Roma
6.	Melina	F	13	Roma
7.	Amina	F	9	Roma
8.	Ali	M	13	Roma
9.	Nejla	F	8	Roma
10.	Jusuf	M	8	Roma
11.	Zana	F	13	Roma
12.	Ismail	M	15	Roma
13.	Omar	M	18	Bosniak
14.	Ajla	F	7	Roma
15.	Demir	M	16	Roma
16.	Bilal	M	15	Roma

Table 2 Information about research participants

At the first research site, a day center, I made contact with five children who came regularly and provided informed consent. Using the snowball technique, I also encountered eight children on the outskirts of the city who spend their days on the street. In addition, I found two street children who had reached adulthood on the street. It should be noted that the total number of 16 children represents only a small proportion of the street children on Sarajevo's streets; however, the 16 children's perspectives and life stories will provide a more in-depth look. Therefore, while the sample of children may not be representative, it can be used to illustrate the situation.

According to Hutz and Koller (1999), obtaining a representative sample of street children is difficult due to the complexity of their circumstances. Furthermore, researchers are unable to learn about the situations of children who are not present in the research locations; however, by using children as informants, researchers increase the likelihood of obtaining a representative sample.

4.4 Methods of Data Collection

Fieldwork and qualitative methods are the principal means of giving children a voice as research actors (Nilsen, 2005). The researcher's choice of research methods with children is influenced by the way children are perceived, as well as their specific circumstances. Specifically, the strict separation of children's perceptions in research as being the same or different from adults has resulted in the labeling of certain research methods as 'child-friendly' (Punch, 2002, p. 329). Conducting research with street children is considered challenging, especially when the researcher is an outsider, which is why many researchers choose so-called child-friendly methods (Young and Barret, 2001). The aim of using child-centered methods is to reduce power imbalances between researchers and children while also making children more comfortable with the process. On the other hand, it is assumed that using traditional methods such as interviews and participant observations implies that the researcher regards children as competent individuals equal to adults (Punch, 2002). Choosing a particular method does not suggest that we view children as similar or different from adults, rather, it indicates that some methods are more appropriate for children, as noted by Ennew et al. (2009). Therefore, it is critical to think about which methods will allow children to share their knowledge and experiences with researchers without making them feel uncomfortable (Ennew et al., 2009). Punch (2002, p. 330) suggests that the most effective way to conduct research with children is to combine traditional research methods with techniques considered more appropriate for children, such as task-based methods.

The research employed various methods, including observations, interviews, and drawings. The subsequent sections will outline each method's specific role in research with street children. Additionally, the advantages and disadvantages of these methods, along with my personal experience when applying them, will be discussed.

4.4.1 Participant Observation

Participant observation, that is, 'learning through first-hand experience' is considered the main method of ethnography (O'Reilly, 2009, p. 150). Observation is only the beginning of understanding a social phenomenon (Grigsby, 2001) or as emphasized by Ennew et al.

(2009, p. 5.9) 'the basis of any good research'. As a process, it requires spending time with the population of interest and participating in their daily activities (Ennew et al., 2009). However, in addition to participating in the activities, the researcher actively records the events and behaviors of the other participants in order to analyze the context and extract meanings (Grigsby, 2001). In both research locations, the center and the streets of Sarajevo, I used the participant observation method. The observation took place in the center, during a time when the children were playing, eating lunch, learning, and engaging in other activities. Using this method, I was a participant observer, so I joined the children in their activities, which helped to build relationships and my understanding of the children.

Observing children on the street allows for a rich source of information about children's behavior in their natural setting (Punch, 2001). It is also a great addition to interviews, allowing for a more in-depth understanding of what was said and reality (Grigsby, 2001). Namely, while interviewing street children about their daily lives, it is probable that the children would leave out aspects that are an important part of their lives, such as the activities and jobs they engage in, which the researcher will be able to notice during the observation. Likewise, children's interpretations and reality may differ (Punch, 2001). Moreover, unlike relying on the 'spoken word', the observation method enables the study of children's interactions and their behavior, providing information that is sometimes richer than words (Warming, 2005, p. 54).

However, simultaneous participation and observation is challenging, even contradictory (O'Reilly, 2009, p. 151). In other words, being a participant necessitates active participation in interactions and activities, whereas being an observer necessitates watching and listening from a distance. Nonetheless, conducting the observation method on the street was more challenging than observing children in a structured setting of the center where I was familiar with the environment and accustomed to established behavioral norms. On the street, the situation was more complicated as I was exposed to real-time events. Namely, we were in their natural environment, where they primarily worked. Therefore, I spent that time simply observing their behavior, surroundings, and interactions with others. Also, we would go for walks together in the areas where they spend the most time. In this manner, I was able to spend time with the children on the streets by participating rather than simply observing.

In general, the participant observation method is challenging and has some limitations. According to Grigsby (2001, p. 338), this method is time-consuming, and participation depletes the researcher's energy, which is essential for its effective application. Furthermore, immersion in a situation presents the researcher with the difficult task of objectivity while also posing the risk of bias. As a result, the role of the researcher can be overlooked in comparison to the role of the participant. Punch (2001) adds that the observation method's drawback is that it can only cover a limited sample of children due to the time needed. Furthermore, participant observation can be dangerous for the researcher, especially when looking into illegal behavior. Moreover, focusing attention on observed events while avoiding potential danger can jeopardize the quality of experience and data collected (Grigsby, 2001).

Despite some disadvantages, observation has numerous benefits for the research process. To begin, participant observation is beneficial for understanding a specific problem because it tracks events and processes over time (Grigsby, 2001). In addition, the researcher can observe the context that reveals specific meanings of events and

comprehend their relationship within the social setting. Similarly, the researcher's constant presence contributes to participants becoming accustomed to the researcher and not needing to change their behavior (Grigsby, 2001). Therefore, using the participant observation method, I learned not only about children but also about the context in which they live.

In the field where events are constantly changing, the observation method heavily relies on flexibility and taking advantage of opportunities (Punch, 2001). As a result, this method necessitates the researcher's flexibility without relying on planning, which is difficult to implement in real-life situations. Despite its challenges and shortcomings, the method of participant observation, with its benefits, serves as a useful complement to the other methods used in this research.

4.4.2 Interview

Through qualitative research interviews, the researcher attempts to learn about the world from the perspectives of others and to comprehend the significance of their experiences (Brinkmann and Kvale, 2014, p. 3). Interviews, or 'conversations with a purpose,' as Ennew et al. (2009, p. 5.36) refer to them, are the most commonly used method of social research because they focus on the perspectives of social subjects (Eide and Winger, 2005). Nonetheless, the interview is not always regarded as the best method for conducting research with children because the researcher assumes authority when asking questions to which the children respond (Young and Barret, 2001). In contrast, Eide and Winger (2005) highlight that the interview method, when approached with caution and expertise by the researcher, can significantly contribute to the pursuit of knowledge.

The interview was the primary method used in my research with street children. The initial questions asked of the children included basic information such as their age, place of origin, educational background, family members (parents and siblings), and similar queries. Even though my interviews with the children appeared to be ordinary conversations, I prepared for each meeting by going over my notes and writing down topics that I wanted to discuss with the children during my next visit. The vast majority of the data was gathered through semi-structured interviews. Thus, the use of semi-structured interviews, in which the researcher establishes broad topics of discussion while allowing participants greater control over the direction of the conversation, is regarded as more sensitive to the needs of the children in the research (Ennew et al., 2009). Although similar to casual conversation, a semi-structured interview has its own purpose and involves the interviewer planning questions. In addition, the interview guide and the interpretation of the responses are viewed through the lens of the chosen theoretical frameworks (Eide and Winger, 2005). Furthermore, open questions are preferred over closed and suggestive questions, which can lead to dishonest responses from children (Ennew et al., 2009). The benefits of this type of interviewing include flexibility, as the interaction can spark new conversations and topics that the researcher had not previously considered. It also helps to relax the participants, which benefits the relationship between the participant and the researcher. Furthermore, this method is appropriate for a more in-depth understanding and research of sensitive topics (Brinkmann and Kvale, 2014). According to the words of Eide and Winger (2005, p. 81), there are "no wrong answers" in semi-structured interviews. However, in order to establish a relationship with children and hear their voices, the researcher must first

ensure that the child understands his role in the interview. Specifically, many children's lived experiences can influence their perception of the interview situation, particularly when it comes to relationships and conversations with adults (Brinkmann and Kvale, 2014).

In total, I interviewed 16 children who gave their consent. I tried to ask open, non-suggestive questions, and I encouraged the participants to engage in conversation. I also paid close attention to the information given to me by the children so that I could recall them and write about it later. Namely, despite the fact that audio recorders are commonly used to record interviews (Brinkmann and Kvale, 2014), I chose to take fieldnotes. Even though I was aware of some drawbacks, such as the possibility of forgetting precise linguistic formulations or losing certain information (Brinkman and Kvale, 2014, p. 206), I believed that memorizing the conversation was the best way to create an atmosphere of casual conversation. Moreover, because the interviews were more like informal conversations, I had no problem asking the children to clarify some of their answers or repeat them if necessary. However, Brinkmann and Kvale (2014, p. 18) argue that the simplicity and similarity of the research interview to the everyday conversation are somewhat illusory. The researcher must consider many factors that can influence the participants and their responses, most notably, the context and its own influence (Hammersley, 2007). Specifically, with the street children in the center, the conversation took place through activities rather than one-on-one interviews. On the other hand, interviews with street children on the streets were more formal because we were not doing activities at the same time, and the only way to gather information and establish relationships was through conversation. However, in these situations, the presence of a field assistant who listened to and remembered the children's responses helped me in writing fieldnotes. Aside from context, Hutz and Koller (1999) think it is critical to understand how children's expectations influence their responses, especially when conducting research with street children. More specifically, if children believe their responses will not cause harm, they will be more willing to provide them. In addition, the presence of adults, such as the police or pimps, can also influence the answers (Hutz and Koller, 1999).

As with the participant observation method, conducting interviews on the streets was much more challenging than in the center. To be more specific, I drew the attention of the general public on the streets, especially in the city center, where there were many people present at the locations where I conversed with the children. On several occasions, my presence provoked reactions from passers-by. While most of them were warnings to be vigilant, there were also a few unpleasant encounters. For example, when I was holding the baby of a street girl in my arms, a passerby made an inappropriate comment, insinuating that perhaps I should take the baby because 'it looks better with me'. In such situations, I encountered external factors that made conversations difficult but also my role as a researcher in general.

In addition to clearly recognizable speech, the researcher must also discover silences (Spyrou, 2015), which are "sometimes inaudible, sometimes ignored, sometimes misunderstood, but always present" (Mazzei, 2003, p. 355). Furthermore, Mazzei (2003) asserts that when recognizing and interpreting silence, it is methodologically risky for the researcher to assign his own meanings rather than allowing the silence to speak for itself. In the context of the interview, the recognition of silences is partly dependent on the skill of the researcher. Accordingly, Mazzei (2003) claims that it is challenging to determine whether the participants' silence is due to a lack of knowledge or a failed

attempt by the researcher to elicit more specific information through conversation. In this research, the silences mostly appeared during the initial stages of meetings with children, especially when questions about their privacy were asked. Nonetheless, it was later revealed that these silences were the children's way of protecting their privacy and assessing the interviewer's intentions. While the meaning of these silences can mostly be only inferred (Mazzei, 2003), they were also observed in the later stages of the study when children were discussing their families. Furthermore, Brinkmann and Kvale (2014) highlight ambiguity as an important feature of qualitative interviews. As a result, the participant may provide ambiguous and even contradictory answers, which the researcher must capture and attempt to understand. Sometimes the ambiguity of the answer reflects unsuccessful communication between the researcher and the participant or the personality of the participant, and other times the ambiguity truly reflects the contradiction of the participant's reality (Brinkmann and Kvale, 2014).

Overall, I attempted to make our conversations enjoyable so that the children did not feel like they were being interviewed. I believe that the interview method provided me with crucial insights.

4.4.3 Drawings

In addition to using traditional methods of observation and interviews, I chose drawing as a visual method that has been highlighted as useful for research with children (Ennew et al., 2009). Instead of answering direct, individual questions, children can express themselves through drawings in a less formal, usually more comfortable manner. At first, the children drew whatever they wanted, and then I gave them two topics to choose from: My home and Myself. However, in order to properly understand children's drawings, it is crucial to obtain the child's explanation so that the drawings are not misinterpreted (Ennew et al., 2009, Fargas-Malet et al., 2010). In addition to children's interpretation, the drawings should include the child's age, gender, and other personal characteristics (Ennew et al., 2009, p. 5.13).

There are numerous reasons why researchers choose to use the drawing method in research with children. To begin with, drawings can help children relax, especially when they do not want or are unable to express themselves verbally or in writing. Also, it can be used to address sensitive issues or issues that children find difficult to discuss (Ennew et al., 2009). This method allows children to think about what they want to show, giving children more control over the process rather than researchers (Fargas-Malet et al., 2010). Furthermore, researchers are able to see details that I would not normally notice or value as important (Ennew et al., 2009). Drawings, when compared to interviews and observation methods, provide significant information and rich visual illustrations of the world as seen by children in a relatively short period of time (Punch, 2002, Fargas-Malet et al., 2010).

In this research, I used the visual method of individual drawing only with children in the center. Specifically, I did not find the time and place for that activity during fieldwork with children at the second research location, and it seemed inappropriate to use it. Furthermore, the majority of the children were not enrolled in the educational system and were therefore unfamiliar with such activities. Moreover, I was concerned that proposing such an activity to them might seem inconsiderate of their circumstances, so I

refrained from imposing anything on them. Similarly, because those were working children, they may find it childish. Thus, the center was a more appropriate location to employ such a method, since children usually do such activities there.

Therefore, as with other methods, there are some drawbacks that the researcher should be aware of. Not all children find drawing to be enjoyable, and this activity is not appropriate for every child (Fargas-Malet et al., 2010). Furthermore, children who lack drawing ability or are unfamiliar with using pencil and paper may find drawing embarrassing (Ennew et al., 2009). Instead of their ideas, they can draw what is easy to show or what they believe the researcher would like to see (Fargas-Malet et al., 2010). Also, even obtaining children's interpretations of drawings can be difficult. According to Punch (2002), researchers should be cautious when requesting interpretations of drawings by children since they may believe that the researcher cannot understand what is in the picture due to their drawing abilities.

It turned out that the children were insecure about their drawing abilities, and one girl even expressed her apologies for her drawing not looking good. Even after I made it clear that drawing was not a task they had to complete and that I would not grade the drawing, I still got the impression that the children did not enjoy it. In addition, in order to address issues of power imbalances, I participated in the drawing activity, attempting to demonstrate to the children that I am not a teacher or someone who evaluates their work.

In general, drawings can be an enjoyable and crative means for children to convey their thoughts and ideas. Nevertheless, it is incorrect to assume that drawings are an effortless or instinctive technique to employ with children, as stated by Punch (2002, p. 331). Rather, it is crucial to evaluate if this approach is suitable not just for the situation but also for the children being studied.

4.5 Ethics

Ethical concerns are an essential component of social research, especially when children are involved (Hutz and Koller, 1999, Young and Barrett, 2001). Ennew et al. (2009, p. 2.5) argue that ethical considerations should not only be taken into account during the research planning phase, but rather, they should be integrated throughout the entire research process, starting from selecting the topic, to collecting data, and publishing the report. Furthermore, Hammersley and Atkinson (2007, p. 209) suggests that while the aim of the research is to produce knowledge, researchers should not pursue its realization at all costs. In other words, precautions should be taken to ensure that research participants do not suffer harm by participating in research (Young and Barrett, 2001). The way researchers deal with ethical issues is determined by the circumstances in which the children find themselves, and for street children, researchers must deal with numerous ethical questions (Hutz and Koller, 1999, Young and Barrett, 2001).

The following sections will discuss the ethical issues that arose during the research process with street children. Firstly, the concept of reflexivity will be discussed, relating not only to the phase of fieldwork and data collection but also to the writing process undertaken by researchers (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). In addition, I will describe my role as a researcher. The sections will also encompass the issues of informed consent, privacy and confidentiality, and power imbalances.

4.5.1 Reflexivity

Reflexivity is regarded as an important part of the research process because it allows the researcher to become aware of his role. In addition to critical thinking about how the researcher's prior experiences and beliefs influence the research process, reflexivity includes thinking about methods, as well as conceptualizations within the data analysis process (Punch, 2002, Nilsen, 2005). In other words, reflexivity is essential at all stages of the research process, from research planning to conclusion (Berger, 2015).

Furthermore, Berger (2015, p. 220) equates reflexivity with self-appraisal, in the sense that the researcher recognizes his position and accepts responsibility for the impact it may have in the research process. In other words, knowledge is considered dependent on the researcher who generates it rather than objective.

Throughout the research, I tried to be reflective, thinking about myself, my own actions and beliefs, and how they might affect the research process. At the beginning of my research and acquaintance with street children, I found myself comparing my own childhood to theirs, feeling sensitive to their stories and vulnerabilities. The fact is that street children are in need, whereas researchers are mostly middle-class (Aptekar and Stoecklin, 2014), so I felt privileged in some ways when compared to them. Furthermore, although children's lives may not correspond to our ideal idea of childhood and the way they should grow up, it is important to be open about their experiences and the decisions they make (Aptekar, 1992). However, I believe that during the early stages of research, it is inevitable to feel as if 'we are not one of them'. Also, I was aware that the fact I was a foreigner might pose challenges because I did not share the same culture as the other participants. This was especially apparent when I interacted with Roma children who spoke Bosnian as well as the Romani language, which I was unfamiliar with. Despite the fact that such a position required more preparation and time to establish relationships, it added to my sense of being a researcher seeking knowledge and viewing the participants as experts in their own lives.

Aptekar (1992) pointed out that distortion of information obtained from children is unavoidable in research with street children. Therefore, due to the close relationships I formed with some of the children, I had to be cautious not to fall into the trap of bias both during the research and in the interpretation of the data. According to Aptekar and Stoecklin (2014), the close relationship between the child and the researcher can lead to bias because the researcher puts effort into the relationship, potentially leading the child to manipulate information in order to please the researcher or achieve certain outcomes. I have tried to overcome this threat by asking something I call "double check questions". Hence, when children told me about specific situations in their lives, I would remember them, and after a few days I would return to the topic and ask more specific questions to confirm the story they told me. In one case, a girl claimed that she stole clothes from a store, but when I asked her about it again a few days later, she claimed that she did not steal, but that it was given to her as a gift. Finally, I sought to present the research findings objectively, avoiding "romanticizing" or "dramatizing" street children's experiences (Aptekar and Stoecklin, 2014, p. 150).

4.5.1.1 My role as a researcher

When a researcher gains access to children, it does not always imply that the children are at comfortable in his or her presence. Furthermore, children may perceive the researcher as an adult 'invading' their personal space (Punch, 2002, p. 328). Therefore, one of the most important stages of child research is determining and shaping the nature of the researcher's role (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007).

I wanted to clarify my role with all research participants at the start of my fieldwork, so I presented myself as a student who came to Sarajevo to do research. In that way, I established my role as an *outsider* due to my lack of knowledge and competence in different facets of the setting I entered. The fact that I am not from BiH and came to Sarajevo on a visit was a mitigating factor for me, seeing as researching children and childhood in another culture is sometimes easier than in our own (Punch, 2001). This is because, as researchers, we enter a new setting with no prior knowledge or assumptions, and we aim to learn about others by participating (Warming, 2005). Furthermore, an ethnographer conducting research in an unfamiliar setting, according to Hammersley and Atkinson, should assume the role of a "novice" (2007, p. 79). This means that the researcher can learn about the context and culture of the participants by listening, watching, and asking questions. The unfamiliarity allows the researchers to identify the meanings that the participants take for granted because they are part of their daily lives (Warming, 2005).

During the fieldwork, I had to deal with a number of potential issues that come with being an outsider. Firstly, I had to adapt to the regional vocabulary, speaking in simple language and using Croatian as little as possible so that the children did not perceive me as a foreigner. I initially thought that being a young woman would be a disadvantage, but there was no significant gender difference in the study's sample of participants (see table 2). Furthermore, I found it easier to approach and build relationships with girls who saw me as a female figure empathizing with them. Aside from that, I have noticed that, despite my age of 26, children do not regard me as an adult. I remember one boy from the center telling me that he could not believe I was 26 and not 18, because I appeared younger and played with children. Moreover, according to Hammersley and Atkinson (2007, p. 76), ethnography is a field of younger researchers who find it easier to adopt the role of the 'incompetent,' 'outsider,' or 'marginal' person. Moreover, young people usually have the time to conduct ethnographic research.

However, as James (2001, p. 253) states, "the researcher is not a child," and while some researchers choose roles that bring them closer to children, his primary role, which he always returns to, is that of an adult. One of these roles is what Mandell (1991, as cited in James, 2001, p. 254) refers to as '*at least adult role*,' in which the researcher chooses involvement and participation in activities over the authoritative approach. I can say that my role fits that description as well, allowing me to progress from complete incompetence and outsider to a *friendly* role that many researchers choose to accept (Abebe, 2008). I became more involved in activities with the children, and we formed a bond through cooperation. Furthermore, I attempted to minimize my power, particularly when children from the center addressed me as 'teacher' rather than by name. I also tried not to stand out by employing various techniques, including previously mentioned, changes in dress code and the use of the local language (Abebe, 2009).

Furthermore, I would emphasize the children's interest in my personal and social life as an important aspect of relationship building. I felt comfortable answering questions about my personal life because I wanted to show openness and I believed in the saying 'the more you give, the more you get'. It was critical to me that the children feel that our relationship is mutual and that they feel comfortable not only answering but also asking me questions. Consequently, using caution approach without imposing authority on children led to the development of a friendship-like relationship (Mandall, 1998 as cited in Abebe, 2008).

According to Hammersley and Atkinson (2007), the personal characteristics of the researcher in the research, as well as the characteristics of the fieldwork assistant, can be significant in developing a relationship with children. Specifically, the fieldwork assistant was a young male who already had a friendly role in the relationship with the children, so the children associated me with him, which I doubt would have been the case if I had approached them on my own without his assistance. However, I believe I was more successful in establishing a friendly role with children from the center than with children from the street, with whom I spent less time and was predominately an outsider.

4.5.2 Informed Consent

One of the main requirements that must be met for research to be ethical is obtaining informed consent from participants. Informed consent implies that the participant made a voluntary decision to participate in the research and that he or she is informed about, and understands, the research's aim, methods, and topic (Ennew et al., 2009, p. 2.14). However, Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) argue that it is not always simple to obtain informed consent in ethnographic research since research takes place in natural settings where control is very limited. In other words, it can be difficult to ensure that every participant is aware of all the specifics of the research in such a situation. However, to avoid potential difficulties, the researcher must carefully plan how he will obtain informed consent, taking into account the age and origin of potential participants (Ennew et al., 2009).

Hutz and Koller (1999) claim that obtaining informed consent is particularly challenging when conducting research with street children. In particular, in some countries, acquiring the informed consent not only of the child but also of their parents is necessary, which is often challenging to achieve due to the circumstances in which street children live. However, merely the consent of an adult is insufficient (Ennew et al., 2009, p. 2.20), and it is critical to obtain the child's consent individually. Children must give consent voluntarily, without coercion or persuasion, but with an explanation appropriate for their age and education (Ennew et al., 2009). However, Hutz and Koller (1999, p. 67) argue that regardless of the fact that street children are independent and have the ability to act, it is questionable whether they have the cognitive capacity to comprehend what research is and what its potential consequences are.

Given the vulnerability of street children, I paid particular attention to the process of obtaining informed consent. As the first research location, I obtained consent from the center's director first, and then from the children individually. I decided to give the children some time to get to know me before explaining why I came to the center and letting them decide whether or not to participate in the research. As I mentioned in my thesis, even though I was conducting ethnographic research, it was critical for me that

the children understood that I was a student who had come to Sarajevo to conduct research. The majority of the information was on the informed consent form (see appendices 2 and 3), which the children agreed to let me read to them before I gave them the opportunity to ask additional questions. I believe that the children in the center gave their informed consent with understanding, owing to the fact that the center is a place where volunteers, students, and others come, and it is not the first time they have encountered new activities and people.

On the streets, I sought informed consent from both the children's parents and the children themselves. Since I visited the container settlement where the children live, I had the opportunity to meet their parents. The presence of the fieldwork assistant, I believe, helped me significantly in this situation because he was the first to approach them and explain the reason for our arrival. As a result, they did not regard me with suspicion and allowed me to elaborate on the topic and the implications of the research. Some communities, according to Ennew et al. (2009), do not have a tradition of signing or are illiterate, which may affect their willingness to provide informed consent. To avoid that issue, I thought it was inappropriate to provide an informed consent form at this research site, but I read it to them and asked for verbal consent. In addition, I obtained individual informed consent from participants I encountered in the city center who were of legal age at the time of the research.

Furthermore, I used simple language to explain to the children all of the details of the research, which I primarily referred to as 'school work'. Some children who had previous contact with social services thought that I was a social worker and sought information about school enrollment. There was also a case where one of the children understood what it meant to be a researcher and attempted to explain my role to the other children in his own words. However, although I had no difficulty in obtaining informed consent, I sought to remind the children of the purpose of the collected data and that they have the right to withdraw from the research at any time, all in order to uphold the ethical standards of social research.

4.5.3 Privacy and Confidentiality

In ethnographic research, concerns have been raised about the publication of private information (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007, p. 212). The issue of privacy is closely related to the previously described informed consent due to the fact that the publication of children's stories requires obtaining their permission. However, the difficulty of maintaining privacy emerges throughout the research process, particularly if the interview method is used (Abebe, 2009, p. 64). Ennew et al. (2009, p. 2.16) emphasize privacy as one of the ethical rules that the researcher must follow, beginning with respecting the decision of children who do not want to answer and avoiding insensitive questions.

The difficulty of maintaining privacy was especially noticeable during my fieldwork with street children. To begin with, it was challenging to have a conversation in public, in the presence of other children and, on occasion, parents. However, children are accustomed to being in public places and in each other's company, and I had the impression that taking a child to a more secluded, and perhaps more appropriate, location for a conversation would cause discomfort. In addition, regardless of their exposure to public space, children appeared to be in a conversational mood. On the other hand, the

presence of parents was an aggravating factor in some situations. Parents would frequently join in on conversations and, on occasion, answer questions for their children. Despite the fact that my research focused on children's perspectives, I always listened to the parents in order to respect their space and mutual power dynamics. This concern came to the fore during a discussion with Roma children who do not use the Bosnian language completely but communicate with their parents in the Romani language as well. I attempted to address this issue by selecting topics of discussion; that is, if parents attended the conversation, I made certain that the topics were general in the sense that they did not infringe on the children's privacy.

I had to take care of the confidentially regardless of whether the children told me something in private or in front of others. First and foremost, the participants' identities must be protected by not disclosing as well as changing their names (Ennew et al., 2009). So, at the beginning of the research, I informed the participants that their real names would not be documented and that I would assign different, pseudonymous names to each of them individually. By not naming the children in the research, it is impossible to track them in any way (Ennew et al., 2009). Likewise, in addition to the children's names, the names of the locations and the center where the research was conducted were also anonymized. Furthermore, the participants were informed that all collected data would be used for the purposes of the thesis and that my supervisor and I would have access to the data until the end of the analysis, after which it would be deleted.

4.5.4 Power Imbalances

The ethical implications of power dynamics are especially important in child research, and many authors emphasize that power imbalances between children and adults are common in children's lives (Abebe, 2009). Accordingly, Punch (2002, p. 323) regards children as 'marginalized in adult-centered society', while Ennew et al. (2009, p. 2.8) consider children as 'the most powerless members of society'. Power imbalances are an inevitable part of children's daily lives, and as such, they are also regarded as a feature of research processes (Abebe, 2009). Furthermore, it is believed that children expect adults to have power over them rather than being treated as equals (Punch, 2002); thus, adults should not deny the power they have, particularly over the research process (Abebe, 2009).

What is more, ethical issues concerning power imbalances can arise from the selection of data collection methods, particularly with the use of traditional methods like interviews and observations (Young and Barrett, 2001). Brinkmann and Kvale (2014, p. 37) highlight that despite the intention of ethnographic researchers to create interview situations that mirror everyday conversation, there is still the issue of power imbalances present during interviews that plays a role in knowledge production. However, the researchers should not try to eliminate it completely; instead, they can confront it in various ways.

The researcher's position of authority in the research process can create a power imbalance, and many researchers attempt to minimize its impact by adopting a specific role (Abebe, 2009). To further alleviate this power imbalance, some researchers adopt the strategy of 'atypical' adults to blur their status, allowing children to have greater control and agency in the research process (Corsaro, 1996 cited in Abebe, 2009, p. 458).

Another potential power imbalance in child research is the risk of coercion. To avoid this, I explained the purpose of my visit and made it clear to the children that their participation in the research was entirely voluntary and that they were under no obligation to do so. In addition to emphasizing voluntary participation, I took steps to address other power imbalances by adjusting my clothing, language, and speech. I made sure to allow the children to express themselves and actively listened to them without interruption. When possible, I participated in activities with them. I also took care not to offend anyone who shared information with me, and showed respect for the participants by avoiding criticism or disapproval of their lives (Ennew et al., 2009).

In summary, power imbalances in research with children can have significant ethical implications, and researchers must take steps to minimize their impact on the research process and the children involved.

4.6 Data Analysis

Following fieldwork, the next phase entailed reviewing fieldwork materials, which included selecting, analyzing, and interpreting the materials before they were transformed into written texts (Emerson et al., 2011). Writing ethnography, according to Hammersley and Atkinson (2007, p. 191), is a crucial part of the research process. It is necessary to carefully read the descriptions of events in order to convey to uninitiated readers the world that was researched (Emerson et al., 2011). There is no best method of ethnographic writing, just as there is no single way to describe the social world, therefore, each researcher determines how to transform their experience into a social science text (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007, p. 191).

Following the overview of the fieldwork materials, I proceeded to translate the fieldnotes into English and categorized them in accordance with the research questions to facilitate further analysis. The approach to writing and analyzing the collected data will be presented in the sections that follow. It will focus on the narrative analysis, which was selected as the preferred approach for presenting the research findings.

4.6.1 Narrative Analysis

The term "narrative" has many meanings, but in general, it refers to "storied ways of knowing and communicating" (Kohler Riessman, 2005, p. 1) or "structures of knowledge" (Cortazzi, 2001, p. 384). Narratives primarily report on events, but the emphasis goes beyond mere reporting to include the narrator's point of view. Cortazzi (2001, p. 384) points out that the structure of the narrative is divided into three categories; the report of the event, then the description of the context required to understand the event, and, the structure of the evaluation, that is, the meaning of the narrative from the perspective of the narrator as the main part.

Narrative analysis is particularly useful in the analysis of data collected through ethnography because most people express the meaning of key events in their lives through narratives. In general, researchers gain insight into participants' understanding of the world by analyzing content, context, and narrative styles (Cortazzi, 2001). However, since narrative analysis is time-consuming, it is rarely used in projects with a large number of participants (Fraser, 2004, Kohler Riessman, 2005). However, research

with a smaller number of participants allows the researcher to analyze 'line by line,' yielding detailed results (Fraser, 2004, p. 186). In addition to time, narrative analysis necessitates the researcher's attention to details, such as the relationship between researcher and participant, as well as context as a key element of the narrative (Cortazzi, 2001, Kohler Reissman, 2005).

As previously stated, field notes were the primary source of data analysis in this study. I started the analysis by reading the field notes and labeling sections of the text with letters like "C" causes, "SL" street life, "W" work, "R" relationships, and so on. I was able to sort the information about each child by topic and organize it into meaningful stories this way. I included and analyzed a wide range of topics, including school enrollment, family circumstances, reasons for going to the streets, street activities, family and peer relationships, perceptions of street work, and street life. Using this approach, I read the fieldnotes for each child individually, organizing the information in a meaningful way. Then I chose quotes to serve as support for the text in the analysis and translated them into English.

According to Cortazzi (2001, p. 385), there are four primary reasons for using narrative analysis in ethnography. To begin, narratives enable tellers to express the meaning of their own experiences. Aside from the representation of experience, another reason is the concept of voice, because certain groups can be heard through the sharing of experience. The third reason is human portrayal, or how stories can highlight human qualities. Cortazzi's fourth and final reason is that ethnographic research gives the impression of a story and is commonly presented in the form of a narrative. Narratives are an important tool in ethnographic research because they allow researchers to comprehend and interpret the experiences of others. Nonetheless, reflexivity is required to comprehend the underlying factors that shape these narratives (Cortazzi, 2001).

4.6.2 Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I outlined the methodology chosen for the research project, which began with a qualitative approach and the use of ethnography as a common method in studying children and childhood. The fieldwork process was then presented, with a detailed explanation of the steps taken to gain access to and recruit participants. I described the methods used, including participant observation, semi-structured interviews, and individual drawings, and I reflected on my experience using them. In addition, I discussed ethical considerations and emphasized the importance of being reflective throughout the fieldwork process, as well as my role as a researcher. I also addressed informed consent, privacy and confidentiality, and power imbalances. Finally, I discussed narrative analysis as the primary data analysis approach.

5 Analysis and Discussion

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, an analysis based on selected theoretical concepts that support the research findings will be presented. The emphasis will be on in-depth insights into the experiences and perspectives of research participants, and these data will be used to argue the analysis. The data revealed key themes, and each theme and its sub-themes are categorized and explained in detail in the text to provide a better understanding of the research approach. This categorization makes it easier for the reader to navigate the research and allows for a deeper analysis while also establishing connections with other relevant topics.

In accordance with the research objectives, the chapter is divided into three sections that deal with different aspects of the topic. The first section delves into the process and reasons why children end up on the streets. The second section focuses on the life experiences and realities of street children in order to comprehend their situation and the challenges they face. The third section focuses on children's work, which is critical for street children and represents one of the most important aspects of their lives. The three-section chapter structure allows for a more in-depth look at the topic of street children, attempting to cover all significant aspects of their experience in greater detail.

5.2 Becoming a Street Child

As stated in chapter 2, section 2.2.1, the causes of becoming a street child are numerous and complex. Despite their importance in understanding the lives of street children, researchers rarely focus on causative factors in their research (Save the Children, 2016). Unlike in other countries where a single cause, such as natural disasters, migration, or war (Ennew, 2003, de Benitez, 2011), often results in a child becoming a street child, in Sarajevo, it is a combination of factors. In order to illustrate the main causes of street children in Sarajevo, stories from the lives of four street children will be presented, along with their direct quotes. The stories I will present will showcase the diversity I witnessed among the participants, emphasizing the differences in their experiences and perspectives. They will also serve as background stories and a foundation for understanding further discussions.

5.2.1 Melina

I will begin with Melina, a thirteen-year-old girl who has been coming to the center since she was four years old. She lives with her parents and siblings. The mother and father are both unemployed, but the mother makes a living by collecting items and selling them at the market. Melina has been involved in work since she was a child.

> ...mother goes early in the morning and collects items all day, while father does nothing.. he stays at home..

According to Melina, she lives in an unfinished house with no windows or doors and is heated with wood. They do not have running water and only have electricity on occasion, depending on whether they can borrow it from a neighbor. Melina said that the house has two bedrooms, one for women and the other for men, where everyone sleeps. As a result, she has trouble sleeping and rarely gets enough sleep. Melina stated that she is dissatisfied with the sanitary conditions in which she lives and that the center allows her to meet basic hygiene needs that she cannot meet at home. However, as she gets older, she becomes more sensitive to a lack of hygiene, such as not showering, especially since she goes to school.

My house by Melina (13)

Melina drew her house with a roof "that is not there, but that's how a house should look like", and with windows "through which everything can enter" because they are not closed. What stands out is the light bulb that is in the center of the drawing. Melina explained that her father was able to arrange for a neighbor to lend them electricity, which meant a lot to her. She stated that other houses in the area are similar to hers and that the majority of the residents are Roma. When I asked if she was afraid while in the house, Melina replied, "No, I am not afraid of anything."

Despite living in difficult existential circumstances, Melina is the only member of her family who attends school. She told that only one of her sisters finished elementary school; the others mostly dropped out. Melina tries to attend class on a regular basis, despite being "sleepless and tired" most of the time. Occasionally, the meal she receives at school is the sole meal of her day since she eats merely once or twice per day, depending on whether her mother prepares lunch. When I asked her how she managed to go the entire day without eating, she replied, "I have to, some days it is difficult, but I am used to it." Despite the fact that her family is entitled to food assistance in the form of meals in a public kitchen, they do not use it because the kitchen is located in Republic of Srpska, where they are legally entitled to go. However, Melina's father is opposed to receiving help from them. This point of view has its roots in the deep divisions that are present in society. These divisions deepened significantly as a result of the war described in background and context chapter (see section 2.1.1). As a result, barriers between various ethnic, religious, and political groups in the larger community have emerged, impeding their ability to engage in dialogue and cooperation.

> Researcher: Why don't you take that help, so you have something to eat?
> Melina (13): Father said "we are not going to take that food".

47

Melina outlined that everyone in her family is responsible for themselves, but she emphasized a special bond she has with one of the sisters who brought her to the center. She explained that the sister was the only one who cared for her, but now *"we have to do everything by ourselves, there is no one to prepare anything for us... for anything I need, I have to do it myself...".* Specifically, the sister became mentally ill, and Melina said that the entire family, including herself, is struggling to deal with it. Because they cannot afford medicine, the sister does not follow the prescribed treatment and can be aggressive at times.

Melina is proud that she attends school and that she "speaks Bosnian the best in the family," even though the Romani and Albanian languages are primarily used in family communication. Melina understands that living in difficult circumstances has limited her options, but she hopes to effect positive change by working on the streets while continuing her education.

5.2.2 Ali

The second story is about Ali, a thirteen-year-old boy who comes to the center with his older brothers. Ali has a home where he lives with his parents and siblings, but he also works on the streets. Ali was referred to the center by the school's professional service because he was identified as a child at risk due to his street work, and he needed assistance with his school duties. Ali stated that he enjoys going to school and believes it is important for his personal development. He regards himself as the best student in the family.

However, he perceives his life to be quite typical and comparable to the lives of other children within his community. He expressed this sentiment descriptively, using the following words to paint a picture of his daily experiences:

> My day is good. I wake up, eat, and then go to school... sometimes I go to the center after school, but I usually go home. When I get home, I eat something, then go work something, or we carry wood, collect old waste... and then I play and sleep... but if my brother gives me a cell phone, then I am awake until 3-4 a.m.

Furthermore, Ali considers his living conditions in his own home to be satisfactory, implying that he is comfortable and that there are no major issues with the quality of life in that space because they have water and electricity. On the other hand, despite working, he does not believe he spends enough time on the streets to be able to describe what life is like on the streets. He sees his work as a way to assist his unemployed parents rather than as a way of life.

Ali emphasized that he regards his father as a strong figure in the family who frequently imposes strict rules for him and his siblings to follow. However, due to their financial difficulties, Ali also works on the streets to help support the family financially. Ali clarified that it is necessary for him and other family members to take on responsibility and contribute to improving the family's financial well-being.

5.2.3 Jusuf

Jusuf, an eight-year-old boy I meet on the street near his home, has been a street child since birth. Until this year, he and his family lived in an informal settlement with other Roma families, where they built shacks with no electricity or running water. The municipality then relocated them to the city's outskirts in a container settlement. Jusuf and his eight brothers and sisters live in one of those containers.

His family allowed me to go inside the containers, which are located by the side of the road and are surrounded by a chain link fence. Jusuf complained about his family's living conditions, citing a lack of running water and electricity, as well as a lack of containers to house all of the adults and children. According to Jusuf, the younger children sleep on the floor next to the wood stove with their mother, while the others sleep "wherever there is room."

He understands the Bosnian language, but speaks it better and usually uses the Romani language. Jusuf wants to go to school "to learn to read' and write", and the first question he asked me was: "When will I go to school*?*". He showed me the bag he had packed for the first day of school. Apart from him, none of the other children in the family attend school. The reason for this, according to Jusuf, is that they "don't have papers," that is, they are not registered and lack the resources to attend school.

His parents are unemployed and have no means of support. He claims that the mother occasionally receives assistance and diapers for the baby, but that *"everyone has to work something."*

> ...my sister goes (to work), other children go, and sometimes my brothers go... so I go too.

Jusuf mostly begs on the streets and occasionally assists in the collection of secondary raw materials. When asked about his daily life, he stated, "We walk, and we ask for help*."* He is not concerned that someone will harm him; the only thing that bothers him is when it rains or is cold. In the winter, they heat themselves with wood that they "haul" from the forest with their brothers. If given the opportunity, he would gladly trade his time on the street for school.

5.2.4 Erna

The fourth and final story is about Erna, a girl to whom the street became home a few years ago. She is eighteen years old and came to Sarajevo from a small town in BiH looking for a better life. Erna's mother abandoned her when she was a child; she grew up in difficult financial circumstances with her father before deciding to move to the capital. She has a brother and a sister, but described their relationship with the words "It feels like I do not have them*."* Erna is the mother of two children, the older of whom has been placed in an orphanage and the younger that is still with her. Her father, who always helped her "as much as he could", passed away a few days ago.

Erna spends her days begging with her one-year-old daughter. She stated that she is aware that being on the street is an unsafe environment for a mother and her child, but it is the only job she can have right now.

> We also have food here, and someone always buys us something, so we never go hungry.

She expressed concern for her daughter because she is not registered and does not have access to health care.

> She scared me to death the other day, she had a high fever.. and I have nowhere to take her..

The most important thing for her is to earn enough money to rent an apartment. When I inquired about their current living situation, she stated that they all "sleep" in "some" apartment where the child's father and brothers also reside. Despite the fact that they are out on the street until late at night, they avoid sleeping there for the safety of the baby.

Erna has finished her schooling but is unable to find work. Her most recent job was in a grocery, where she was fired due to her inability to function due to her pregnancy. She is not eligible for social assistance because she does not live in Sarajevo. She put her situation into words: "It is as if I do not exist".

She has a strong desire for change; she is dissatisfied with her situation and believes she is not receiving help from anyone, despite the fact that she is the person who would help anyone. She said that she has always put others ahead of herself.

> ...when I see someone begging, I give him the first coin I earned that day... that is the kind of person I am... that is why I am in this situation.

Erna was recently placed in a safe house with her daughter, but she did not stay long because of a "lack of freedom".

> They took all my things, they did not let me out, just like in prison... I cannot do it like that.

Erna ultimately decided to leave the safe house and return to the street life. She said that she is losing hope because the situation has not changed in a long time, making it difficult for her to see the good in anything.

5.2.5 Causative Factors

Although there is a growing emphasis on the importance of understanding fundamental structural and other factors, children frequently lack awareness of these elements in their surroundings (de Benitez, 2011, Ursin and Rizzini, 2021). As a result, they are less likely to recognize the impact of these factors on their lives (Ursin and Rizzini, 2021). Since this research is based on the children's perspective, the emphasis is on the factors that they identified as the primary causes of their situation on the street. Furthermore, it has been shown that children focus primarily on current situations and the fulfillment of their needs and desires in these situations. In other words, children often perceive their situation as a black-and-white picture and interpret their reasons and behavior solely based on what happens in their daily lives.

According to the aforementioned stories of children, it can be seen that in the context of street children in Sarajevo, poverty stands out as a common cause. All of the participants in this research come from families affected by poverty, so life and work on the street can be viewed as a 'means and not a goal' for the children (Lucchini, 1996, p. 10). Children mostly referred to the lack of food in their home, but also to the lack of income.

In the mentioned narratives, all children point out the unemployment of their parents and other adult family members as one of the main reasons for their situation. In other words, the lack of employment among the adults in their family appears to be a significant factor influencing children who end up on the streets. Some families receive social benefits, the majority of which are child allowance. According to Omar, the social assistance that his mother received was insufficient for their monthly needs, and he was quite often hungry.

> ...and the mother received 100 BAM in monthly assistance; what can we do with 100 BAM?

Omar stated that he spent the majority of his time on the street, trying to find his way and earning money for his socially disadvantaged family. The monthly social allowance, however, is often insufficient to meet the needs of entire families. Consequently, families that depend on social assistance may face challenges in meeting their basic needs, prompting some to seek alternative means of income. This is especially evident in marginalized and low-income families, because their exclusion from the formal economic sector forces them to participate in the informal economy, frequently relying on children whose income is required to meet basic life needs (Ferguson, 2006). The experiences of Melina, Jusuf, and Ali, who work to improve their family's financial situation, demonstrate the aforementioned. However, while poverty is a significant factor, it cannot be considered the sole cause. In other words, poverty is a "necessary but not sufficient" condition for street children (Aptekar and Stoecklin, 2014, p. 12). Moreover, there are other factors that can influence the likelihood of a child becoming a street child.

Furthermore, there is a problem with the lack of registration for some of the children who participated in the research. Children without BiH citizenship are at risk of poverty and denial of basic rights such as education and health care (Save the Children, 2016). According to Jusuf's story, the lack of registration makes access to education difficult, so neither he nor his siblings attend school. Despite the fact that school is compulsory in Sarajevo, ten of the sixteen street children who took part in the study were never enrolled in the educational system. Jusuf and his siblings stated that they are mostly motivated to attend school and cited a lack of financial and material resources as the primary reason for not enrolling, in addition to the previously mentioned lack of registration. De Venanzi (2003) attributed the rise in the number of street children to parents' inability to cover the basic expenses required to keep their children in school. Other reasons cited include some children being "too old" for school and thus being denied enrollment because they have spent years on the streets. For example, Dalia stated that she was able to learn to read and write within a few months at a center. However, she could not enroll in school anymore as she was deemed too old.

Another critical factor for children was their family situation. In their stories, the children mostly referred to situations of neglect, including lack of supervision or illness. Aside from neglect, many children come from dysfunctional families with a variety of issues such as substance abuse, mental illness, and other difficulties. However, it is critical to consider the larger picture of insufficient economic assistance and widespread poverty, which causes many parents to struggle to support their families, leading to some leaving their homes or engaging in harmful behaviors such as drug abuse. While holding the family responsible for the problems of children living on the streets is neither constructive nor beneficial (Ursin and Rizzini, 2021), it should be acknowledged that these children frequently perceive their family's situation as a trigger for their situation of being on the streets.

In addition, some children stated that they chose to go to the street to make a change, gain financial independence, or a sense of freedom. This is consistent with de Benitez's (2011) recognition of children's agency, in which children can tactically choose to go to the streets to improve their or their family's prospects. As seen in Erna's story, a lack of freedom in certain places can drive children to the street, where they believe they have more control. Her decision to leave the safe house is about the interaction of agency and power. In this case, her decision to leave the safe house reflects her desire to take control of her own life and make a decision that is more in line with her own desires. For her, the safe house represented helplessness and being under control, whereas she had more freedom on the street. Therefore, she took steps to assert her autonomy and regain control of her life by leaving the safe house and returning to the streets. Aside from the fact that children go to the streets to earn money, they also meet their nutritional needs and can play on the streets, as seen in Erna and Jusuf's stories.

Furthermore, the findings showed that the majority of street children are ethnic Roma, which builds on the findings of previous research in the context of BiH, in which street children primarily, but not exclusively, identified as Roma ethnic group members (Save the Children, 2007; UNICEF, 2014; Save the Children, 2016). I would argue that Roma ethnicity cannot be considered as the cause of children living on the street, but it should certainly be noted that they are affected to a greater extent than others. This is primarily due to the fact that Roma in BiH face social exclusion to a greater extent than others (Save the Children, 2007, p. 35).

However, some scholars, such as Aptekar and Stoecklin (2014, p. 21) state that Roma children should be excluded from being street children, referring to the UN definition which states that street children do not have adequate protection and are not under the supervision of a responsible adult. Moreover, one of the arguments for excluding Roma children from the category of street children is that Roma children are usually accompanied by their parents and that they have strong ties to their families. Nevertheless, such a stance cannot be applied to the context of BiH and this approach endangers Roma children on the streets.

According to the stories told, it is clear that there is no single story of Roma children, and that each Roma child lives in circumstances that differ from those of other Roma children. Furthermore, it can be noticed that even Roma children often go to the streets alone and unprotected. Accordingly, this raises a question: does Roma ethnicity implies a lower risk for Roma children than other street children? The fact that Roma children live and/or maintain contact with their families does not diminish the significance of other factors which place Roma children in the category of street children. In other words, it is understandable that we cannot claim that every Roma child will become a street child, nor that every child from a poor family will become a street child. Hence, a set of circumstances is what makes a child, whether Roma or not, a street child. By separating Roma children from other street children, we contribute to the social exclusion and marginalization of the Roma ethnic group that has existed for centuries (UNICEF, 2013).

In addition, exclusion reduces the possibility of identifying all of the factors that contribute to children's willingness to work on the street. Furthermore, some go so far as to define the reasons for social exclusion as racism (Save the Children, 2007, p. 38). However, if we initially exclude Roma children from the category of street children without listening to their stories and reasons for being on the street, they will not only be unable to participate in the research, but they will also be excluded from programs aimed

at protecting street children. If the circumstances indicate that they are street children, and we deny them the opportunity to be understood as such, those children will be Roma and nothing else.

However, it should be noted that none of the aforementioned factors can be regarded as decisive (Stoecklin and Lucchini, 2020, p. 62). Deprivation and poverty, for example, which are frequently highlighted as very important factors and appear in all of the previously mentioned children's stories, cannot be solely determined as reasons why children are on the street. Furthermore, the presence of several factors does not imply the outcome of life on the street. The only way to understand causes is to gain insight into the meaning that the children themselves ascribe to certain factors, and this can only be done by listening to their stories and observing them in various contexts (Stoecklin and Lucchini, 2020).

5.3 The Life Experiences and Realities of Street Children

> On the street, we live, work, play...everything. (Zana, 13)

> For me, the street is good - I can earn money, I have something to eat. (Emrah, 12)

> If I had a better place to be, I would not sit on the street. (Erna, 18)

The experiences of street children differ from one another. Given the variety reasons why children end up on the streets in the first place, their experiences also differ in terms of how much time they spend on the street and what activities they engage in. Thus, Lieten and Strehl (2015) emphasize that it is challenging to find children who fully fit the category of street children due to their constant changes in activities and lifestyles.

The following sections will describe a day in the life of a street child and present the characteristics of their life. It will also address the relationships that children form with their peers, as well as the "other" side of street life that can bring unpleasant experiences for children. Finally, decisions and choices in the context of children's agency will be discussed.

5.3.1 A Glimpse of a Day in the Life of a Street Child

Many factors influence what a day in the life of a street child looks like. To begin with, the activities that children participate in are diverse and take place in various times. Then, some children attend school, so their day on the street is shorter than that of other children who begin their day on the street. Furthermore, family and friendship relationships shape children's actions on the street and can influence children's day-to-day experiences.

Each child described their daily experience on the street in their own words, demonstrating that each child has a unique daily routine. There is, however, a discernible difference in the daily routines of children who attend school and those who do not.

Children who attend school have certain responsibilities and often have a more structured day.

> It depends. If I go to school, I wake up at 7 a.m., get dressed and go.. I am never late for school, I enjoy going there.. It can be difficult for me to wake up at times, such as when I go to bed at 4 a.m... At school I study, I eat, hang out.. After school, I go home, sometimes to the center to shower... and then I have to work something.. if there is something to eat - we eat... sometimes I go to collect items, sometimes I walk to the shopping center, or I walk to the city with my niece... I am always going somewhere and going to bed late. On weekends, however, things are different; I get up at 6 a.m. and spend the entire day selling items at the market with my mother. (Melina, 13)

On the other hand, out-of-school children face greater challenges in terms of predictability in their daily lives, especially when they are on the streets.

> I go to the street almost every day, while the younger ones go only occasionally... or they stay at home with mother... I go to the street to work..I used to go on my own, but now that we are so far away, I need someone to drive me. I do not always enjoy going.. I used to be able to play more when I was younger, but now I either work or look after the younger ones. I also take them out on the streets on occasion.. When I am not going, I help my mother at home by doing things like washing clothes in a pot of water. (Dalia, 14)

In addition, the weather can have a significant impact on how a street child's day unfolds. Bad weather, for example, can limit the availability of certain activities, whereas warmer weather can open up new opportunities and allow children to be outside.

> And when it is cold like this, I am not really out on the street all day... I am usually around in the afternoons and evenings... I do not sleep much.. there are a lot of us in that apartment, it bothers them when the baby cries... that is why sometimes I go out with her and walk. You can find me every day here (sitting on the street)..it is easier in the summer because it is warm, and it is difficult in the winter - cold, snow..I never know how long I will be out on the street that day, it depends on how many people are around, whether the baby is calm.. but I often take a taxi and leave, what do I care?..I earned that money.. (Erna, 18)

It is noticeable how children's days are filled with school and/or work, and play, with the latter being an important part of street children's lives. Children recognized the value of play, and some expressed a desire for toys: "I would like to have a car toy" (Anur, 3).

> Researcher: What do you like to do the most?
> Emrah (12): I like to play with the ball.

Play can be viewed as a form of resistance to the widely held social belief that street children do not have a play-filled childhood (Adriany et al., 2021). Children expressed a preference for various forms of entertainment, such as games like hide and seek, activities involving listening to and dancing to music, role-playing, and many others.

Thus, although a street child's day is often filled with challenges and unknowns, children do have some control over their activities and how they spend their time. Regardless of the difficulties, children are capable of adapting to unpredictable situations and finding ways to fit into their setting.

5.3.2 Exploring the Characteristics of Street Life

According to the findings of this research, the lives of street children in Sarajevo are characterized by many factors that shape their everyday reality. Children are involved in various activities that shape their experience, and their situation is influenced by a

number of factors, including the environment in which they live. It has also been observed that some children on the street are accompanied by peers or relatives, with only a few children being alone. Furthermore, small children and newborns are typically accompanied by their mother or another female family member.

The children pointed out that they spend majority of their time in the same areas and places, allowing them to make the most of the opportunities that arise in those locations (Ursin and Abebe, 2016). The majority of street children in Sarajevo can be found in congested areas such as markets and shopping areas, tourist areas such as Bascarsija and Ferhadija, but also near religious buildings and at traffic intersections. These areas are characterized by the potential to generate income due to the large number of people who pass through them every day, but they also provide opportunities for children to meet their basic needs for food.

> ...I sometimes stand in front of a shopping center, where people give you money or buy you food... (Zana, 13)

The children involved in this study are only on the streets during the daytime, and they spend their nights in various accommodations with their family or relatives. Merely a few children have had the experience of spending a night on the streets. Children cite the cold and snow, the inability to work at night, and the danger as reasons for not sleeping on the street. Although most children avoid spending the night on the street, the situation changes during the summer, when children spend more time on the street than usual. Seasonal changes are the primary factors influencing the variety of children's activities. In winter, when temperatures frequently fall below freezing, income opportunities are limited, as is the range of available activities. Summer months, on the other hand, are marked by higher temperatures and a greater abundance of opportunities for children to participate in various activities, as well as a particularly important tourist season.

In addition to stating the main characteristics of street life, street children expressed ambivalent emotions and attitudes toward street life. In other words, they see the street as a place where they can meet their basic and other needs such as the previously mentioned play, as well as a 'necessary evil', which can be linked to the difficult conditions that children face on the street (De Venanzi, 2003).

> ..the street was never my home, you are on the street because you have to... (Omar, 18)

The children's attitudes toward life on the street was also influenced by whether they were on the street temporarily or permanently. Thus, those who only spent occasional periods on the street viewed it as a place to work, emphasizing that they have a family home and expressing belonging to that home. Some children even found the term 'street child' offensive, not only because they rejected the sense of belonging to the street, but also because of its negative connotations. As previously stated in chapter 2, section 2.4.1, street children in BiH are frequently equated with Roma children and their culture (Save the Children, 2007), hence, for some children whose primary activity is working on the street, the street is a necessity rather than a way of life. In contrast, children who left their family home and saw the street as a positive change were more likely to regard the street as 'something their own'. This altered their perception of home as more than just a physical location (Aptekar and Stoecklin, 2014).

Researcher: Where do you keep your belongings?
Erna (18): I leave everything down there.
(points to a busy area near the kiosk)
Researcher: There? Will someone take it?
Erna (18): No, no one is allowed... everyone knows that this is my place.

According to Ursin (2011), soon after leaving home, children tend to establish their own sense of territory on the street. This gives them a feeling of autonomy, safety and belonging, something that their family home should have but does not mean for them. As a result, many children associated their attitudes toward the street with a sense of belonging, i.e. whether they belonged to the street or not. Nevertheless, despite the widespread belief that these children belong on the streets (Ursin, 2011), some of them have expressed contrary views. Moreover, in the study being discussed, it was found that most of the street children had homes or temporary places to stay or had some sort of connection to their families, which will be discussed in the following sub-chapter.

5.3.3 The Vicious Circle of Choices and Decisions

Despite widespread belief that street children act for themselves (Bourdillon, 2010), research has revealed that these children face daily constraints that limit their ability to act. The story of Dalia will be presented to contextualize children's agency, calling into question the power of decisions made by street children on their own.

Dalia is a fourteen-year-old girl who has spent her entire life on the streets, working to support her family. Dalia recognized the importance of her contribution to her family, despite the difficult circumstances surrounding her work and living conditions. However, she made a deliberate choice to live a life other than the one that was expected of her. She contacted social services and, at her request, was separated from her family. Dalia desired a different future and perspective for herself, despite the fact that this was a difficult step for her. She had never had the opportunity to attend school, but in a short period of time at the institution, she learned to read and write and was no longer a street child. However, Dalia was eventually moved to another institution in a different city in BiH, where she felt misplaced and isolated. Simultaneously, her family put pressure on her to return to her old life, promising her changes. She eventually left the institution and returned to her family and the streets. Dalia justified her decision by stating that she wished to "return to her mother" and that loneliness was not for her.

This story demonstrates that although children can make the decision to change, they face many obstacles that are beyond their control. The lives of children are intertwined with a number of other factors that shape their experiences. First and foremost, the relationships that street children form with others in their environment shape their lives. These relationships are important for their survival, but they can also be an obstacle. Furthermore, when considering the actions of street children it is necessary to consider how the rational and emotional aspects of interpersonal relationships influence their choices and behaviors (Burkitt, 2016). Street children are frequently confronted with decisions that affect their safety and well-being, and their choices are frequently motivated by a sense of belonging and emotional attachment to others. According to Burkitt (2016), interpersonal relationships, particularly those of street children, are a complex topic that must be carefully considered. As a result, when discussing the life experiences and realities of street children, we cannot ignore the importance of family

and peer relationships.

5.3.3.1 Family Relationships

While it is commonly assumed that children who live on the streets are estranged from their families and that the street is opposed to the family (Van Blerk, 2012), research has shown that these children maintain some forms of relationships with their families. Furthermore, the narratives presented at the beginning of this chapter demonstrate that the majority of the children are on the street to help their families, indicating the existence of connections between street children and their families. Also, through children's statements, it can be observed that relationships shape the contexts of children's activities.

> ..And I was a child - hungry, living with a brother and a mentally ill mother... I would ask people on the street for a coin or two, and bring it home so my mother could buy something to eat. (Omar, 18)

The children who participated in the research revealed that groups of children on the streets are mostly family-related, with siblings being the most common members of these groups. The groups are made up of children of different ages, with the older children usually having more power than the others. However, in addition to power, older children are mainly in charge and look after younger children, especially girls, who often go out into the street with the youngest members of the family. Also, children frequently rely on one another, and the bond they share can be seen as critical to their functioning. These findings shed light on interactions between children and emphasize the significant role of family relationships in shaping their experiences.

> ..when we go to Ilidza, there are a lot of us, I usually take this little baby with me (one-year-old sister).. (Dalia, 14)

> We always look out for one another. I missed a year of school to be in the class with my younger brother. He was bullied before I arrived, and no one has touched him since. (Demir, 16)

This suggests that children are involved in intragenerational relationships that connect them to their families (Van Blerk, 2012). Younger children stated that, in addition to receiving protection from their older siblings, they also learn from them. Some children who were taken to the street by their older sister or brother when they were younger said they learned the skills required to live and work on the street in this manner. For instance, Melina stated that she is trying to teach her 8-year-old niece numbers so that she can also work at the market.

> She still does not sell on her own at the market because she does not know how to count; I am teaching her, but she makes mistakes.. She will learn. (Melina, 13)

Aside from their relationships with their relatives and siblings, the children reflected on their relationships with their parents and, so-called, intergenerational relationships. Melina stated that she has a special bond with her father and believes she is his favorite of all the children, but she also believes her father demands the most work from her and places the greatest sense of duty on her. Similarly, it is clear from Ali's narrative that he portrayed his father as a powerful figure with the ability to control him and his siblings.

Ismail (15): I decided to get married.
Ali (13): Let him go…he did not tell the father that - and when he does, he will see then...he would never let him do that, no way.
Researcher: Is your father strict?
Ali (13): A lot.

It is clear that children's daily lives cannot be seen as separate from others and solely connected to the street (Van Blerk, 2012). As a result, it is critical to recognize that street children's actions must be viewed through the lens of relational agency, which means that their behavior cannot be explained solely individually, but must also take into account the interpersonal relationships that exist (Burkitt, 2016). The children pointed out that older children have more freedom and ability to make decisions, and usually have power over younger children, whereas younger children often have to follow the instructions of older children, and their actions are thus limited, especially when it comes to work. It is important to note, however, that as children grow older, so do the expectations of those around them, especially the family, which can result in increased responsibilities and decision-making pressures, as seen in Melina and Dalia's stories.

Furthermore, the relationships they form can be contradictory as well as challenging for children to act on (Burkitt, 2016). This tends to happen in family relationships, where children must often balance their desire to belong and emotional attachment to their parents with dealing with the requests they face from them. This is especially evident in the relationship between children and parents, where children, regardless of age, express the power they face from their parents and, as a result, have limited ability to act. Furthermore, according to Robson et al. (2007), the concept of agency as a continuum implies that an individual's level of agency is dependent on their situation and environment. In this context, it is worth noting that children often have a greater sense of agency on the street than they do at home, where they face greater restrictions and rules from parents who play an important role in managing the child's behavior.
In addition to discussing the importance of relationships with family members, the children emphasized the importance of relationships with peers in their daily lives, which will be discussed further below.

5.3.3.2 Peer Relationships

Peer relationships are frequently highlighted as an important characteristic because they can have a significant impact on the lives of street children and, as such, are commonly the subject of research. Furthermore, they are often being studied in terms of peer groups, which should be distinguished from gangs characterized by a clear hierarchical structure, codes of conduct and criminal activities, whereas peer groups are less formal, with rarely set rules and fluid social roles (Aptekar and Stoecklin, 2014, p. 78-79).

> You can always talk to someone, and borrow a cigarette... at the very least, we are not alone... (Erna, 18)

Furthermore, the children stated that being a part of a group can be both fun and socially beneficial because it allows them to spend time together, play, and learn from one another. Similarly, group members frequently share food and other resources to ensure that everyone's basic needs are met. As a result, this type of assistance in groups of street children emphasizes the significance of mutual relationships in that context.

In relation to this topic, street children's experiences and opinions varied. While some children were enthusiastic about their experiences and attitudes toward their peers,

others were skeptical and suspicious of such relationships. Some thought that other children's enthusiasm was due to a lack of experience. As an example, Omar stated that the majority of 'such' children know each other and that they find each other easily because they were on the street in a group or stayed in one of the institutions together. He claimed, however, that the child must be cautious about who he or she trusts, primarily because street children function in volatile and risky circumstances, their relationships with other children are also insecure.

> I have a lot of friends, these are all my friends here and everyone on the street.. (Amina, 9)

> ..but you cannot rely on anyone... I would not wish that on anyone... you know how people say 'from an evil father and an even worse mother (folk saying). (Erna, 18)

According to the findings of this study, there are noticeable differences in the experiences of children regarding their peer groups. While some children feel safe and protected in their surroundings, others do not believe they can rely on their peer group, particularly in groups with risky behavior. Erna stated that her extensive experience was essential in shaping her negative perception of peer relationships. She claimed to have had a lot of negative experiences, which is why she has such an opinion, and that she only believes to herself. Aside from the fact that she is twice Erna's age, Amina had a completely different experience on the streets because she felt protected by her older siblings. Similarly, it was discovered that girls prefer to connect with family members, whereas boys prefer to hang out with friends rather than relatives. As a result, those who do not rely on family connections as much, such as Omar or Erna, tend to have more connections and experience in peer relationships.

In general, street children can rarely be seen wandering the streets of Sarajevo alone. They are almost always accompanied by other children who share their situations and circumstances. In the first place, children form groups to find support and protection in an environment that can be hostile to them, such as the street. Regardless, street children are frequently forced to rely on other children for survival and may be subjected to various forms of violence and exploitation. As a result, one should be aware that these relationships can quickly change and endanger street children.

5.3.4 The Other Side of Street Life

> Being poor is itself a health hazard; worse, however, is being urban and poor. Much worse is being poor, urban, and a child. But worst of all is being a street child in an urban environment (de la Barra, 1998, p. 46)

While the street provides opportunities for children, it can also be a 'contradictory place' in terms of their well-being and exposure to violence (Aufseeser, 2017, p. 120). I began with the statement that focuses on the negative consequences of living on the streets in a city, particularly for poor children, who are exposed to a variety of health and other risks while on the streets. It is believed that not only does the street setting endanger children, but that the activities children engage in on the street can have an impact on their safety and well-being (Bhukuth and Ballet, 2015). Nonetheless, the children who took part in this research admitted that the street provides them with certain benefits, such as the ability to meet basic life needs, first and foremost by generating income. However, in addition to the positive aspects, they also recognized the negative aspects of being on the streets. These children face a variety of challenges and obstacles, which add

to the complexities of their experiences. Although many researchers challenge the idea of street children as victims by emphasizing street life as one of children's responses to adversity (Stoecklin and Lucchini, 2020), Aufseeser (2017) points out that the emphasis on children's freedom and resourcefulness should not be used to ignore all of the risks that street children face.

Violence is one of the most common risks that children face when they are out on the streets (Aufseeser, 2017). Furthermore, street children perceive violence as one of the most significant challenges they face, and this is most often manifested through various forms of violence that they encounter on a daily basis. These sources of violence can originate from domestic conflicts, attacks by passersby, police, as well as from other children on the streets. On the street, children face inconveniences ranging from insults to harassment and assault (Bourdillon, 2010). Moreover, street children, according to De Venanzi (2003, p. 485), are the 'most harassed section of the population'.

> ..the other day, one boy pulled a knife, some boys argued... but I just moved away from them. (Ali, 13)

> ..people curse us and all that, but they do not hit us. (Jusuf, 8)

> I keep an eye out for cops, then I go for a short walk to avoid sitting all of the time... but I have to be careful because of the baby... (Erna, 18)

However, street children are vulnerable not only to physical violence, but also to other forms of violence that exist in their surroundings (Aufseeser, 2017). According to the children who participated in the study, they are more frequently exposed to various forms of stigmatization and prejudice on the street than they are to physical violence. Furthermore, the children stated that they are subjected to violent reactions from society on a nearly daily basis, creating a constant sense of discomfort in their lives. According to Aptekar (1992) while street children can be violent, they are also afraid of the reactions of those around them.

Each child has his or her own story about the other side of the street, which causes fear, discomfort, and insecurity. They believe that society's violent reactions are motivated by a lack of interest for them and their situation, as well as ignorance, which is why people hold certain opinions and attitudes toward street children.

> ..there are few people who are interested in our situation. (Erna, 18)

> I stole, robbed, did all kinds of things... and they would accuse me of all that, but no one ever came and asked "why you did it?"... everyone is only interested in WHAT you did, not WHY... (Omar, 18)

Following that, the children described various situations in which they felt discomfort, and sometimes fear, as a result of people's actions toward them. The majority of the situations mentioned are related to passersby, particularly at intersections, where children are frequently insulted and cursed. Erna, for example, claimed that she is subjected to daily insults and threats from police, and that she has been attacked on several occasions by passers-by.

> I want you to know what happened to me...I was sitting on the floor as usual and the baby has just fallen asleep, when a woman walks by and yells at me 'Shame on you!', I asked her why she is saying that to me... she told me that I had drugged the little one to sleep, that I had given her something..I asked her '..would you do that to your child? She would not.. then why do you think I would?..then I woke the baby up to prove to her that I did not given her anything, she said that she was going to call the police, so I had to...she really made me angry because she mistreated me...and I would never do that to my child. (Erna, 18)

In addition, children living on the streets are subjected to a variety of inappropriate situations, such as inappropriate comments and offers from strangers. Erna also shared her experience when an unknown man approached her and offered to take her to Turkey. Such offers can be extremely dangerous, especially when made by unknown individuals, and particularly for street children who are vulnerable to human trafficking (Save the Children, 2007). Furthermore, the children stated that society generally regards them as thieves, criminals, and delinquents. However, it is not uncommon for street children to become victims of theft and fraudsters who steal their earnings from begging and other sources.

> They stole from me... once I got 50 BAM, I went to the store - I looked, I could not find them... someone took them... if you are not careful, someone will take them. (Dalia, 14)

Furthermore, ethnic differences may contribute to the stigmatization of some street children (de Benitez, 2011). For example, Jusuf claimed that people make the most common remarks about his Roma ethnicity: "They ask..who sent us, and to whom I bring money..because we are Roma".

Furthermore, some of the children expressed feelings of shame, owing to the stigmatization they face in society. Shame is a common topic in research with street children because street children do not fit into the image of the 'mainstream discourse of universal childhood' that is widely accepted today (Aufseeser, 2017, p. 121), and this disparity between street life and 'the kind of life children should have today' exacerbates the feeling of marginality and the appearance of shame. For instance, Melina mentioned how embarrassed she feels when she sells things at the market and someone she knows comes by.

> Melina (13): ..I do not like it when someone I know from school comes... and when that happens, I ask someone else to sell it to them, I tell them it is my friend..
> Researcher: Why?
> Melina (13): I feel ashamed, when they see me standing there - working.

Melina explained that the shame developed over time; as a child, she enjoyed going to the market to sell and do work because it was something "that all children did." However, once she started school, she met children who were not involved in work, which changed her perspective and made her feel ashamed of her own situation.

Children expressed concern about health issues, emphasizing specific risks affecting their physical and mental health that are detailed in this analysis. The aim is to provide specific local information about children in order to avoid overly general descriptions of health risks, and to ensure appropriate contextualisation (Panter-Brick, 2004). According to findings, children frequently become ill as a result of poor shoes and clothing, as well as weather conditions, and symptoms of colds and fever are common. Two girls mentioned that they have had a toothache for a long time, and that the pain is so severe that they are unable to sleep and frequently cry. Furthermore, some children report difficulty sleeping along with periodic nightmares, indicating that their situation may be affecting their mental health. On the other hand, children show the ability to cope with and adapt to a wide range of health challenges. They have grown accustomed to the frequent illnesses and difficulties they face and attempt to cope in a variety of ways, such as taking painkillers found at home or obtaining medication from a pharmacy. However, children are aware of their limitations. They assert that they do not have enough information about different diseases and do not know where to seek medical help, especially if they do not have health insurance or a parent who can take them to a doctor. This lack of health care can lead to long-term pain and other health problems.

However, it is impossible to say how many of these issues are directly related to street life and how many are caused by poverty and social deprivation.

According to Bourdillon (2010), when street children face various obstacles that exist on the street, they can lose control. Children involved in this research revealed that life on the streets comes with many difficulties. Street children face a variety of challenges that can jeopardize their well-being and opportunities. They are also subjected to discrimination and stigma in society, which contributes to their marginalization and exclusion. However, stories about street children demonstrate that they are capable of adapting to adversity.

5.4 Children's Work: A Critical Issue for Street Children

This sub-chapter will go over the various types of work that children do on the streets, as narrated by themselves. In addition, I will look into the reasons why children engage in street work, as well as how they spend their earnings. This will allow for a better understanding of the nature of children's work and their work-related experiences.

Furthermore, it will challenge the belief that child labor is inherently harmful and discuss the arguments for this belief. Additionally, arguments will be presented to support the idea that street children can benefit from their work. Finally, the perspectives of street children on the future will be presented.

5.4.1 An Overview of Street Children's Economic Activities

To begin with, it is important to note that the work of street children consists of a wide range of activities. Despite this, their options for generating income are quite restricted. They tend to engage in activities that provide minimal compensation, offer little societal recognition, and are susceptible to unpredictable income (Lieten and Strehl, 2015, p. 29). This means that these children often find themselves engaging in work that does not provide much financial security and is generally perceived as socially inferior.

The children provided valuable insight into the wide range of jobs they perform and demonstrated that each job has its own specifics. Their narratives revealed how their experiences differ depending on their gender, age, socioeconomic status and ethnic identity, therefore the following text will be presented through the lens of the concept of intersectionality.

Begging has been identified as a common economic activity among street children in BiH by the research conducted by Save the Children (2007), UNICEF (2014), and Save the Children (2016). This finding is further supported by the present study in Sarajevo, in which 13 out of 16 children cited begging as an economic activity in which they participated at some point in their lives. Understanding begging necessitates an understanding of how children perceive themselves and their relationship to this activity (Abebe, 2009). Although there is some debate about whether begging is considered child labor (Save the Children, 2007), this study found that street children see begging as a form of work because it allows them to earn money. Furthermore, these children rarely

use the word "begging" to describe their activity, preferring to call it "work." As a result, in this study, begging will be considered as a type of work.

Children typically beg alone, which is referred to as "lone begging," or in smaller groups of two or more children, which is known as "group begging" (Abebe, 2009, p. 288). Furthermore, children primarily beg verbally. Some of the children claimed that "age matters" when it comes to begging, but it also plays an important role in the variation of job types. As previosly mentioned, older children are more likely to engage in higher-paying activities, whereas begging is more appropriate for younger children. According to Abebe (2009), this is due to a shift in public perception of child beggars as they grow older.

> When you are a child, people feel sorry for you and give you money; but as you get older, they push you away. (Bilal, 15)

Specifically, because they are still young, they are perceived as innocent or as victims of circumstances that led them to beg. However, as they grow older, the public perceives them as more dangerous and risky to society, especially when they reach adulthood. As a result, the transition to adulthood brings with it new forms of discrimination and stigma, particularly for Roma. According to Abebe (2009), social maturity, in addition to age, influences children's participation in begging or their gradual abandonment of it.

> Well, when you are a small child, begging is the only thing you can do, and you later want to do something else.. (Bilal, 15)

One of the observed similarities among beggars on the street is that they are most active during tourist season and religious holidays. Furthermore, children tend to gravitate toward central city areas or other congested areas such as shopping malls. This is referred to as "mobile begging," in which children frequently change locations in order to be visible to people giving alms (Abebe, 2009, p. 288).

When the topic of begging was brought up, some children chose to remain silent and did not want to discuss their participation in such an activity. Furthermore, some children were open to discussing other children begging but refused to admit their own involvement. This behavior is justified by the fact that in society, begging is stigmatized as a shameful activity. Also, most children stated that they are aware that begging is against the law.

Furthermore, among children who beg, there is a distinction between those who beg out of necessity and those who engage in so-called professional begging, which is associated with common prejudices about begging as part of Roma culture. Some children, on the other hand, saw begging as their job and as completely natural because it had been a part of their family for generations.

> Researcher: What exactly do you do?
> Amina (9): I am involved in begging.
> Researcher: How long have you been doing this for?
> Amina (9): Since I was a baby.

Furthermore, for some children, working on the streets is a way of life rather than just a way to make a living (Save the Children, 2007). Some girls, for example, explained that they used to go begging with their mother as children before they started to go out on their own.

In addition to begging, some street children participate in the collection of secondary raw materials, such as scrap metal. This is not a simple activity, however, because it usually involves more children and, on occasion, adults, and necessitates the use of a vehicle to transport the materials. As a result, collecting secondary raw materials is typically the responsibility of older children who are physically capable of doing so. Scavenging is a term used by children to describe this activity.

> We sometimes do the waste bins. (Jusuf, 9)

Children can also earn money by selling items in markets. This activity may necessitate a variety of skills, including negotiation, product presentation, and basic mathematical knowledge of money and price manipulation. They usually go to the market with some of the older family members who guide and supervise them. In addition to earning money, the children expressed that this type of activity helps them develop social skills and self-confidence. For instance, Melina stated that she was able to sell a 'simple' box to one man for 10 BAM, which she initially valued 15 BAM. She described the box to the man as very useful because he can put a lot of things in it. She was confident that the man bought it because of her persuasiveness and presentation skills.

A few children shared their experiences of cleaning windshields at a traffic lights. Such jobs are typically weather-dependent and frequently unpredictable. In addition, some children work in more difficult jobs, such as construction workers, which require physical strength and endurance and are frequently better suited to older children.

> My older brother, who is 15 years old, works with our relatives doing construction work, that is good money.. (Ali, 13)

The children who participated in the research stated that there is a difference in the types of work that boys and girls do, and that this difference is usually based on their gender role. Many studies have identified common patterns in child labor (Borudillon, 2010). Certain gender roles patterns apply to the situation of the children involved in this research. Thus, one of the common patterns is that boys are more often engaged in more physically demanding jobs, while less demanding jobs are reserved for girls (Bourdillon, 2010, p. 76). Although it cannot be said that a strict division of labor was observed, it was noted that boys were more involved in jobs such as collecting secondary raw materials, cleaning windshields at traffic lights and construction work, while girls were more likely to beg and work in the market. In addition, it was common for girls to lack agency in the matter, whereas boys, particularly those who were older, had more autonomy to decide whether or not to engage in work.

> My brothers do not have to work if they do not want to, they come to the market when they want...they do a little work and then leave, whereas my mother and I really have to. (Melina, 13)

In addition to working on the street, girls are usually responsible for doing housework, and caring for other family members. Although the importance of paid work is often emphasized, unpaid work performed by girls within their own families has a significant impact on their lives. Unfortunately, despite the emphasis on contextualizing children's lives, sociocultural discourse rarely recognizes the importance of children's domestic work (Abebe and Bessell, 2011).

> When I see my mother, I know what my life will be like and what I will do. (Dalia, 14)

Although boys participate in similar activities, children of both genders tend to participate in stereotypically "feminine" or "masculine" activities, with "masculine" activities typically associating boys, while girls are rarely assigned such tasks (Abebe and Bessell, 2011). Furthermore, girls who do not attend school are particularly vulnerable. Working within the family, along with the sense of responsibility that comes with it, has also been shown to encourage girls to go to the streets, but it can also return them back home. The examples of street children show that, in addition to gender, there is a generational division of labor that maintains and reproduces patriarchy (Abebe and Bessel, 2011, p. 776).

The above analysis suggests that young, impoverished girls, particularly those of Roma ethnicity, embody the concept of intersectionality. Consequently, young girls are vulnerable to engaging in child labor, both on the street and within their households at a young age. Furthermore, they may face discrimination and prejudice from other members of society as a result of their ethnicity, in addition to cultural expectations from their own community. Moreover, some girls may lack access to education, which further curtails their ability to effect change.

5.4.2 The Reasons Behind Street Children's Involvement in Work

The reasons why children work in the streets and why children are on the streets are closely related (see section 5.2.5). However, there are some reasons that are more frequent than others, and according to the children themselves, the most common motivation for working is to meet their own and their family's basic needs. They are driven by a sense of necessity, and working enables them to contribute financially (Bourdillon, 2010). In other words, since it can ensure their survival, work is important in the eyes of children.

> My work is valuable and essential because without it, we would have nothing. (Melina, 13)

> When I am working - it is good.. We have money for food.. (Emrah, 12)

In addition to the foregoing, children express a sense of obligation to contribute financially to their family. Due to poverty and other factors that contribute to street life, children are frequently forced to assume the role of adults and care for their families. As a result, some children believe that they have no choice but to accept responsibility. As time passes, children increasingly associate their work with the material well-being of themselves and their families.

> Researcher: What would happen if one day you said you didn't want to go to work?
> Melina (13): Well, I keep saying that.. but mom comes and says that then we won't have food, necessities.. then I get dressed and go.
> Researcher: So you consider work to be an obligation?
> Melina (13): Well, if not me, who will?! Without that, we have nothing.

While some children work because they want to, this is not true for all. Some children, in particular, are forced to work and have no choice. The majority of children are compelled to work by their parents. In such cases, children may believe that their work is vital and that they must continue even if they are not comfortable. As a result, it is critical to acknowledge that children who work under poverty pressure may have limited freedom

of choice and may feel trapped in an unfavorable situation. Moreover, children acknowledged certain behaviors, habits, or patterns that exists in a family for several generations, and children frequently internalize these behaviors as their own.

> I despise having to get up early in the morning (6 a.m.)... I despise it because I have to go to the market and work whether it is raining or sunny... (Melina, 13)

> ..that is how it is always been, (begging) that is what my family does, and that is what I do. (Dalia, 14)

In addition to the fact that some children do not have the freedom to choose whether or not to work, they also have no control over the type of work they do (Bourdillon, 2011). Children are frequently assigned specific jobs, and the most common is begging. Only three of the children who took part in the research did not engage in begging, while the rest begged either exclusively or in addition to other jobs. In addition, the vast majority of those who begged said their parents encouraged them to do so. Furthermore, as previously stated, children are frequently taught begging skills at a young age while begging with their mothers. In many cases, the parents of today's children who beg were forced or encouraged to beg from a young age. This practice is common among Roma parents but it is not limited to them (Save the Children, 2007, p. 80). In this sense, this mode of operation can be viewed as the transmission of means of subsistence from generation to generation as well as the transmission of the value of begging within the community (Abebe, 2009).

Some of the children are devoted to their families and thus do not reveal the true motivations for their work. They believe that their work is necessary for the family's survival, and they are concerned that any further investigation into this topic will cause problems or inconvenience to their family. Furthermore, some children stated that working allows them to afford items or services that they would not be able to afford otherwise. In other words, work gives them the opportunity to earn money and thus improve their quality of life.

5.4.3 Children's Earnings

It was difficult to obtain a precise answer regarding earnings from the work of street children because the amount of money that children can earn depends on many factors, such as their location, time of day, and the type of work they do.

> Researcher: How much money can you make standing there?
> Erna (18): Well, sometimes I make more, sometimes I make less... but people always gives something...
> Researcher: Approximately?!
> Erna (18): When I come to work, I know that I will make at least 10 BAM, and sometimes you are lucky and someone will give you much more, like 50 BAM and so on...

In addition, answers to the question of what children do with their earnings varied. Some children who work on their own keep the majority of their earnings for themselves. However, children frequently give their earnings to their families and have little control over their earnings.

> I give all of my earnings to my mother... Then she buys food and the rest... but lately everything is expensive for people, they do not have money, so we have less, and my mother spends it right away. (Melina, 13)

66

> To the parents.. then they have. (Dalia, 14)

> You take something for yourself and something you take home.. (Omar, 18)

It begs the question of how familiar children are with how their money is spent after they bring it home. Children assume that money is used for basic needs such as food, but they also believe that some parents spend money on their own needs.

Unfortunately, there are instances where children give their money to adults who exploit them. However, because the research did not include children who were victims of exploitation, such information was obtained only secondhand, that is, from other street children.

5.4.4 Questioning the Harm of Street Children's Work

As previously stated, living on the street and working on the street can endanger children's safety. Most jobs performed by children have positive and negative aspects, therefore, it is not always possible to categorize the work as good or bad, or to consider it inherently harmful (Bourdillon, 2010, p.155). In order to understand the benefits and harms of street children's work, it is essential to take a broader perspective and consideration of the problem in a specific context (Aufseeser et al., 2017).

The children who took part in the study emphasized the importance of their work as a necessary way to earn money and provide basic life necessities for themselves and, in some cases, their families. Despite being aware of the already mentioned unpleasant situations that their life and work on the street can cause (see section 5.3.4), some children choose to prioritize the benefits because they do not believe they have alternatives that can provide them with the same or similar benefits. The children also stated that they feel better when they earn money and can contribute through their work. For instance, Omar said that he is most satisfied when he gets paid and can give something to his family, whereas Erna stated that she is most proud when she purchases something for herself and the baby with her own money. In other words, work often helps children become more resilient and instills in them feelings of pride, self-confidence, value, and self-esteem because they contribute to the family income (Abebe and Bessell, 2011).

As a result, focusing solely on the negative aspects of work overlooks the positive aspects and creates the false impression that all forms of work are harmful (Bourdillon, 2010). Accordingly, the complex situation of children working on the street is simplified into the perception that all forms of their work are unacceptable. Melina, for example, sometimes distorts her story and shows it the way she wants it to be, rather than showing reality as it is, because she feels she "should not be working." However, she still believes that her work is essential for her and her family. Without work, she claims, they would not be able to survive and provide themselves with the basic necessities of life, as well as afford some minor pleasures.

> My mother occasionally gives me 3-4 BAM for school, so I buy chips. (Melina, 13)

Furthermore, the negative effects of child's work are frequently illustrated by drawing a comparison between work and other activities such as education and play. This approach is heavily influenced by the discourse on global childhood as a time for play and education (Aufseeser, 2017).

This study found that street children who attend school can successfully combine school and work, despite social structures such as poverty and limited resources that can hinder their agency, making it harder for them to exercise their own choices. Street children showed determination to attend school and they take steps to make this happen, such as seeking support. The children especially emphasized the understanding and support they receive from the teachers and the school's professional service, as they help them cope with the structural barriers they face. In addition, the center provides school supplies such as notebooks, writing and drawing utensils, and other items. Although the children do not have excellent academic records, they make an effort to attend school on a regular basis. They did, however, claim that it is not always easy to strike a balance between concentration and attention in class and the energy required to work after school. Children stated that they often feel tired, making it difficult for them to maintain focus in school. However, with the support of the education system, these obstacles can be overcome to enable a successful combination of school and work obligations. It should be noted that education is frequently used to alleviate poverty and inequality, and while many children work due to their circumstances, they still have the right to formal education (Bourdillon, 2006). Hence, the focus should be shifted from the idea of abolishing child labor to a flexible approach that enables children to combine earning and learning (Bissell, 2005 as cited in Bourdillon, 2006). Moreover, a socio-cultural perspective opens the possibility that street children not only show their parents 'the money they earned at the end of the day, but also their school papers' (Aptekar and Stoecklin, 2014, p. 6).

Furthermore, it is commonly assumed that play is the polar opposite of work and that the two activities are fundamentally distinct (Aufseeser et al., 2017). However, research with street children shows that children often mix play and work, and that the boundary between these two activities tends to be unclear and usually overlaps (Bourdillon, 2010). Moreover, the children stated that work does not have to take up all of their time on the street and that they have the option of playing on the street. However, as Adriany et al (2021) note, street children face the challenge of negotiating their responsibilities with time for play. Melina, for example, stated that she used to try to sell items as soon as possible at the market because she knew she would have more time to play with other children who also worked there. The statement suggests that street children are able to navigate and utilize their time on the street in a way that allows them to have fun and enjoy themselves despite their challenging circumstances. Their experiences also support the thought that streets for children are not only places for work, but also places for play (Lieten and Strehl, 2015).

Work, according to street children, is more than just an economic activity; it also has social, cultural, and other aspects that society should consider. The work of street children is frequently a result of deeper issues arising from their environment and life circumstances (Aufseeser et al., 2017). The way people react to child labor is usually influenced by the beliefs of dominant groups in society about what constitutes a 'good' childhood, which implies the idea that children should not participate in economic activities (Aufseeser et al., 2017, p. 242). Although it would be ideal for everyone to live in a society where work is an unnecessary option for children, this is simply not the reality for street children in Sarajevo.

5.4.5 Envisioning a Better Tomorrow

Street children have a strong desire for a better future, but they lack the knowledge and resources to make that desire a reality. They expressed their hope for better living conditions, such as a roof over their heads and food on the table. Children regard their work as an important means of advancing in any field. Furthermore, when asked what they would like to have if their basic needs were met, some children expressed a desire for items such as a mobile phone or a television. Street children would like to be included in modern life and to be part of the widely accepted image of childhood.

There is an obvious difference between children who attend school and those who do not, in that children who participate in education recognize the importance of education for their future success. They also have a clearer picture of what they want to accomplish in the future.

> I want to finish school. I would like to work as a hairdresser, make-up artist, or nail artist. I would like to have my own job and apartment. I do not want to get married yet, at least not until I am 17... but now I am not thinking about getting married... now I would like to have my own mobile phone. (Melina, 13)

> I would like to become a hairdresser, or repair cars, have my own car service...but first I have to finish school, but I know I will... I have to buy a car and find a job and then get married. (Ali, 13)

> I will be a handyman, fixing everything... I will finish elementary school but I will not go any further.. (Ismail, 15)

> I would like to work as a waiter because it suits me..I would like to work on the coast for a season and see the world. (Omar, 18)

> I would like to start living normally, doing normal job so that I can pay my rent. (Erna, 18)

In contrast, the majority of the other children's responses did not indicate specific interests. When asked about the future, the children just shrugged, and only a few girls responded. However, because these were all Roma children who face frequent discrimination and stigma in society, their outlook on the future may be limited. Despite this, the majority of Roma children want to stay in their community and emphasize a strong connection with the people who live there.

> When I grow up, I would like to be on television... or work in a pharmacy. (Dalia, 14)

> I would like to work in a bank, counting money. (Zana, 13)

> I would like to get married and have children. (Amina, 9)

All things considered, the fact is that the poverty in which children grow up often directs their priorities towards money as a key component for meeting their needs. Despite the numerous obstacles and challenges they face, these children do not give up hope for a better future and continue to fight. They, like any other child, have dreams and aspirations to succeed and achieve their goals, but the road to success is often more difficult for them.

5.4.6 Chapter Summary

In this chapter, the data analysis results were presented in three sections. The first section featured four street children's personal stories, with direct quotes from their accounts. Furthermore, the primary factors influencing the appearance of street children in Sarajevo were depicted. The section that followed described a typical day in the life of a street child, including living conditions and social interactions with peers. The second section also discussed the negative aspects of street life that children may encounter. Furthermore, the section delved into the theme of children's agency and decision-making, specifically the choices made by street children and the circumstances surrounding those choices. The third section focused on various types of work done by children on the streets. It also addressed the potential benefits of street work for children and questioned the notion that child labor is always harmful. Lastly, the final section looked at how street children perceive their future.

In summary, this chapter not only presents data analysis results, but also delves into the personal stories and experiences of street children. It sheds light on various aspects of street life and questions generally accepted assumptions about children's work. This chapter also emphasizes the need for a more nuanced understanding of their lives and experiences. In the following section, I will draw a conclusion based on the research findings.

6 Conclusion

6.1 Introduction

The aim of this research thesis was to explore the lives of children who live and/or work on the streets of Sarajevo by gaining insight into their unique perspectives and experiences. In order to explore the overall aim, a set of three research inquiries were formulated: How do children perceive life on the streets?, What are the causes for being 'a street child'?, What is the role of work in children's lives? The data were gathered by employing methods such as participant observation, interviews, and individual drawings of children. Using the narrative analysis approach, I analyzed key narrative elements to gain a deeper understanding. The analysis revealed the complexities of the experiences of the children who participated in the research. The interdependence of their experiences with various factors that shape their life stories, such as gender, age, ethnicity, and socioeconomic status, was established. All of these factors have a significant impact on how children experience life on the streets and deal with the various challenges arising from such an environment.

The sections that follow will summarize the analysis's key findings, which will be presented in the order presented in the analysis and discussion chapter: causes of becoming a street child, life experiences of street children, and the role of work in their lives. The final section will additionally include recommendations and suggestions for future research, as well as limitations of this research.

6.2 Summary of the Findings

6.2.1 Causes of Becoming a Street Child

Every child's journey to the street is shaped by an intricate interplay of different factors that interact with one another. Finding suggests that the poverty was identified as one of the most common causes, as these children come from economically disadvantaged families. The main issues they face are a lack of food and a lack of income in their homes. Many children also emphasized their parents' and other adult family members' unemployment. Findings suggest that some families receive social benefits, however, children acknowledged that the amount received is insufficient to cover their families' essential expenses because they struggle to make ends meet.

A major issue affecting street children is a lack of formal registration, which prevents them from accessing education. These children are frequently not enrolled in school due to a lack of necessary documentation and financial resources. Furthermore, the family situation in which children grow up is also an important factor that significantly influences their tendency to live on the street. In particular, neglect and dysfunction within the family often contribute to children ending up on the streets. Moreover, some children are driven by a strong desire to change their circumstances, whether it is financial independence or a greater sense of freedom.

Generally speaking, the reasons why children end up on the street are multiple and vary greatly depending on the specific circumstances of each child and the context in which their situation occurs.

6.2.2 Life Experiences of Street Children

In order to describe the lives of street children, we must consider the street from the children's point of view and listen to how they interpret their situation. As Bourdillon (2010, p. 35) states 'it is worth knowing'. The participants made statements emphasizing the fact that each child has a unique day-to-day experience. Furthermore, factors such as involvement in education, participation in work, and the quality of relationships in which street children are involved have a significant impact on their daily lives and shape their perspectives. The findings suggest that street children spend the majority of their time in places where they can earn money, such as popular tourist areas. Furthermore, children are frequently seen working on the streets during the day, but when night falls, they return to their family homes or other temporary accommodations.

Research findings show that street life provides children with a number of benefits, income generation being just one of them. Life on the street not only allows them to earn money, which is essential for their survival, but it also meets other critical needs of children. Moreover, the street also provides children with a place to play and have fun. Findings suggest that a significant number of street children found on the streets are seen in the company of their peers or relatives, with only a small proportion of them being unaccompanied. The study emphasized the significance of intergenerational and intragenerational relationships among street children. These relationships not only provide support and cooperation, but also create a dynamic of control. The analysis found that not only do parents have control over their children's actions, but that older children frequently take control over younger ones and serve as a role model for them to learn from. Findings suggest children's actions are influenced not only by their own desires and intentions, but also by their interactions with others and the social norms and expectations that shape these interactions. As a result, any understanding of children's agency must consider how interpersonal relationships influence individuals' actions. It is also worth noting that, while street children make decisions that affect their actions on a daily basis, their situation is rarely one of choice. Rather, it is a result of their difficult circumstances and social problems they face.

Another main finding from the analysis concerns to the risks that children face on the streets. In addition to facing insults, harassment and even assaults, street children also face violent reactions from society on a nearly daily basis, disrupting their sense of security and comfort. Health issues are also a major concern for these children, as they can cause a number of problems that endanger their well-being.

6.2.3 The Role of Work

The final key aspect of the analysis to explore is the role of work in the lives of street children. According to findings, these children are involved in a variety of activities to earn money. The findings also reveals that studying intersectional factors such as

gender, age, ethnicity, and socioeconomic status allows us to better understand how the distribution of jobs and experiences varies among street children. According to the analysis, begging is the most common economic activity among street children. It is more common among younger children because older children are usually involved in better-paying jobs. Secondary raw material collection is also present and often necessitates the cooperation of several children. Children also sell items at markets or clean windshields at traffic lights, though these jobs are often unpredictable and weather dependent. Older children are frequently involved in more physically demanding jobs, such as construction. The analysis also identified gendered patterns of child labor, with boys more often involved in more physically demanding jobs, while girls are more often engaged in less demanding jobs and responsibilities at home.

Another important aspect of the analysis was determining the reasons for the work. Children on the streets are frequently motivated by the desire to meet their basic needs, both for themselves and their families. Financial contribution becomes critical in their lives, and many of them also feel a moral obligation to their family, believing that their work is essential. Sometimes children hide the true motives of their presence on the street and consider that their work is necessary for the survival of their family. Furthermore, some children are encouraged to work by others, most notably their parents, who assign them tasks. The findings suggest also that children often add their earnings to the family budget, leaving control of their income to their parents. At the same time, it is important to note that some children keep the majority of their earnings for themselves.

Child labor's negative consequences are frequently compared to other activities such as education and play. Despite social obstacles such as poverty and limited resources, research has shown that street children can successfully combine education and work. They demonstrate determination by attending school and balancing school and work. Furthermore, despite the difficult circumstances of the street, street children frequently mix play and work, finding ways to have fun and enjoy themselves. Moreover, the findings show that street children actively exercise their agency by taking the initiative and making decisions to balance school attendance, work, and play.

Street children yearn for a better future, but they face an unfortunate lack of both knowledge and resources, which prevents them from realizing their dreams. Their voices, which are frequently silenced and ignored, sustain their marginalization. Working on the streets, according to the findings, is frequently required for children to survive in the world they live in.

6.3 Implications and Recommendations

This research only scratched the surface of the issue of street children in Sarajevo. Unfortunately, due to a lack of research on this topic, particularly in the local context, there is a lack of a deeper understanding of the lives of street children. Therefore, this thesis represents an important step forward in research that has rarely been addressed in this context. Additionally, it is the first time that this topic has been explored through the lens of childhood studies.

One of the key strengths of this work is the emphasis on children's voices and the recognition of children's agency. Learning directly from children allows us to gain a better understanding of their experiences and attitudes. Furthermore, instead of viewing childhood solely through adult eyes, this approach allows the child's voice to be central and essential to the research.

However, it is also important to consider the research's limitations. Given the lower presence of children in the center and on the streets as a result of COVID-19-related measures, the sample is not representative of the general population of street children, but serves as an illustration of the situation. In addition, the study was conducted over a shorter period of time. A longer research period would allow for more data to be collected and a more detailed picture to be created. Furthermore, it was difficult to ensure that the researcher's presence did not influence the children's behavior or interfere with their activities.

It is critical to recognize the need for more comprehensive research involving a larger sample of children and observing their lives over time. Longitudinal research would help us better understand long-term outcomes and the effects of various factors on children's lives. It would also be interesting to see how the situation develops for children who have reached adulthood in order to gain insight into how they fare after spending time on the streets. Furthermore, future research should include other relevant stakeholders to obtain a multi-layered and nuanced picture of children's reality. In addition to the children themselves, it is critical to include families, civil society organizations, schools, authorities, and social work experts who work with children.

Overall, despite its limitations, this thesis lays the groundwork for future research and discussion in this field, encouraging us to gain a better understanding of the worlds of street children. Maybe I did not get answers to all of my questions, but I had the opportunity to enter into the street children's worlds, gain their trust, and become a part of their life stories. Much has been said, but much remains unsaid and unexplored. Ultimately, this project has left me not only richer for one research project, but also with invaluable life experience.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: NSD Confirmation Letter
Appendix 2: Consent Form (English)
Appendix 3: Consent Form (Bosnian)
Appendix 4: Interview Guide

Appendix 1: NSD Confirmation Letter

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Assessment of processing of personal data

Reference number	Assessment type	Date
518019	Standard	29.08.2022

Project title
Breaking the Silence; children living and/or working in the Streets of Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina

Data controller (institution responsible for the project)
Norges teknisk-naturvitenskapelige universitet / Fakultet for samfunns- og utdanningsvitenskap (SU) / Institutt for pedagogikk og livslang læring

Project leader
Marit Ursin

Student
Jasmina Cerimagic

Project period
01.09.2022 - 15.05.2023

Categories of personal data
General
Special

Legal basis
Consent (General Data Protection Regulation art. 6 nr. 1 a)
Explicit consent (General Data Protection Regulation art. 9 nr. 2 a)

The processing of personal data is lawful, so long as it is carried out as stated in the notification form. The legal basis is valid until 15.05.2023.

Notification Form ☑

Comment
ABOUT OUR ASSESSMENT
Data Protection Services has an agreement with the institution where you are carrying out research or studying. As part of this agreement, we provide guidance so that the processing of personal data in your project is lawful and complies with data protection legislation.

We have now assessed the planned processing of personal data in this project. Our assessment is that the processing is lawful, so long as it is carried out as described in the Notification Form with dialogue and attachments.

IMPORTANT INFORMATION
You must store, send and secure the collected data in accordance with your institution's guidelines. This means that you must use online survey, cloud storage, and video conferencing providers (and the like) that your institution has an agreement with. We provide general advice on this, but it is your institution's own guidelines for information security that apply.
ASSESSING THE NEED FOR A DPIA
Data protection services considers that there is no need to carry out a data protection impact assessment according to Article 35 based on an overall assessment where we emphasize the following elements:

- You will give information to participants
- Participants/parents will give their consent
- Short duration of processing
- Limited amount of information will be processed

TYPE OF DATA AND DURATION
The project will process general categories of personal data and special categories of personal data about health until 15.05.2023.

LEGAL BASIS

The project will gain consent from the parents of data subjects to process the personal data of their children. We find that consent will meet the necessary requirements under art. 4 (11) and 7, in that it will be a freely given, specific, informed and unambiguous statement or action, which will be documented and can be withdrawn.

The legal basis for processing general categories of personal data is therefore consent given by the parents of the data subject, cf. the General Data Protection Regulation art. 6.1 a).

The legal basis for processing special categories of personal data is explicit consent given by the parents of the data subject, cf. art. 6.1 a), cf. art. 9.2 a), cf. the Personal Data Act § 10, cf. § 9 (2).

PRINCIPLES RELATING TO PROCESSING PERSONAL DATA

We find that the planned processing of personal data will be in accordance with the principles under the General Data Protection Regulation regarding:
• lawfulness, fairness and transparency (art. 5.1 a), in that data subjects will receive sufficient information about the processing and will give their consent
• purpose limitation (art. 5.1 b), in that personal data will be collected for specified, explicit and legitimate purposes, and will not be processed for new, incompatible purposes
• data minimisation (art. 5.1 c), in that only personal data which are adequate, relevant and necessary for the purpose of the project will be processed
• storage limitation (art. 5.1 e), in that personal data will not be stored for longer than is necessary to fulfil the project's purpose

THE RIGHTS OF DATA SUBJECTS

We find that the information provided to data subjects about the processing of their personal will meet legal requirements for form and content, cf. art. 12.1 and art. 13.

So long as data subjects can be identified in the collected data they will have the following rights: access (art. 15), rectification (art. 16), erasure (art. 17), restriction of processing (art. 18) and data portability (art. 20).

We remind you that if a data subject or parent contacts you about their rights, the data controller has a duty to reply within a month.

FOLLOW YOUR INSTITUTION'S GUIDELINES

Our assessment presupposes that the project will meet the requirements of accuracy (art. 5.1 d), integrity and confidentiality (art. 5.1 f) and security (art. 32) when processing personal data.

When using a data processor (questionnaire provider, cloud storage, video call etc.), the processing must meet the requirements for the use of a data processor, cf. art. 28 and art. 29. Use suppliers with whom your institution has an agreement.

To ensure that these requirements are met you must follow your institution's internal guidelines and/or consult with your institution (i.e. the institution responsible for the project).

NOTIFY CHANGES

If you intend to make changes to the processing of personal data in this project it may be necessary to notify us. This is done by updating the information registered in the Notification Form. On our website we explain which changes must be notified. Wait until you receive an answer from us before you carry out the changes.

FOLLOW-UP OF THE PROJECT

We will follow up the progress of the project at the planned end date in order to determine whether the processing of personal data has been concluded.

Good luck with the project!
Contact person: Markus Celiussen

Appendix 2: Consent Form (English)

Breaking the Silence; children living and/or working in the Streets of Sarajevo

My name is Jasmina Cerimagic. I come from a school called Norwegian University for Science and Technology which is in Norway. I'm doing a master thesis project and would like to involve you.

I want to learn more about street children in Sarajevo by hearing their experiences and opinions. If you agree to be in this study, what you have to do is to help me understand what it is like to be a street child in Sarajevo. If you agree to participate, this will involve occasional conversations, observations and drawings. The questions will concern your everyday life on the street and your answers will be recorded on paper.

Even though the adults have agreed for you to be a part of this research, it is important for me to get your consent personally. I think it is important to ask the children themselves about this, and not only the adults. If you say yes to participating in this research, it does not have to be a final yes, which means that at any moment you can change your mind and no longer be part of the research. Also, you can always ask me to show you the personal data that is being processed about you, request the deletion or correction of personal data about you, or if you wish, you can get a copy of your personal data.

When I write my thesis, I would like to write the things we talked about. I will make sure that your name and other private things you tell me are not included - so no one will know what you told me. This project ends in May 2023 – all data will be deleted by then.

If you are interested in anything else, feel free to ask me or my supervisor.

Jasmina Cerimagic: +387603369781 or jasminac@stud.ntnu.no
Marit Ursin: +4773596243 or marit.ursin@ntnu.no

You can agree to the research in two ways - by signing or by circling a smiley face at the bottom of this paper.

Place and date:
The child's name:

OR

Appendix 3: Consent Form (Bosnian)

Breaking the Silence; children living and/or working in the Streets of Sarajevo

Moje ime je Jasmina Ćerimagić. Dolazim iz škole koja se zove Norveško sveučilište za znanost i tehnologiju u Norveškoj. Radim projekt za diplomski rad i htjela bih te uključiti.

Željela bih saznati više o djeci ulice u Sarajevu kroz njihova iskustva i mišljenja. Ako pristaneš biti dio ovog istraživanja, ono što bi trebao/trebala učiniti je pomoći mi da shvatim kako je to biti dijete ulice u Sarajevu. Ako pristaneš sudjelovati, projekt će uključivati povremene razgovore, promatranja i crtanja.

Iako su odrasli pristali da budeš dio ovog istraživanja, važno mi je da dobijem tvoj pristanak osobno. Mislim da je važno o tome pitati i samu djecu, a ne samo odrasle. Ako pristaneš na sudjelovanje u ovom istraživanju, to ne mora biti konačno DA, što znači da se u svakom trenutku možeš predomisliti i više ne sudjelovati u istraživanju. Također, imaš mogućnost zatražiti prikaz osobnih podataka koji se odnose na tebe, zatražiti brisanje ili ispravak tih podataka ili dobiti kopiju tvojih osobnih podataka.

Tijekom pisanja diplomskog rada, željela bih uključiti ono o čemu smo razgovarali. Pobrinut ću se da tvoje ime i druge privatne stvari koje mi kažeš ne budu uključene - tako nitko neće znati što si mi rekao. Ovaj projekt završava u maju 2023. – svi će podaci do tada biti izbrisani.

Ako te još nešto zanima, slobodno pitaj mene ili moju mentoricu.
Jasmina Ćerimagić: +387603369781 ili jasminac@stud.ntnu.no
Marit Ursin: +4773596243 ili marit.ursin@ntnu.no

Na istraživanje možeš pristati na dva načina - potpisom ili zaokruživanjem smajlića na dnu ovog papira.

Mjesto i datum:
Ime djeteta:

_____   ili

Appendix 4: Interview guide (English)

<div align="center">**Interview Guide**</div>

How old are you?

Where do you live?

Who do you live with?

What does a typical day in your life look like?

What activities and tasks usually make up your daily routine?

Which places do you like to visit?

How much time do you spend on the streets?

What does the street offer you?

What are the advantages you encounter on the streets?

What are the drawbacks you encounter on the streets?

How do you feel on the streets?

How did you get on the street?

What kind of work do you do?

Why do you work?

Who do you work with?

How much do you earn?

What do you do with your earnings?

What do you think about work?

What is your perspective on your future?