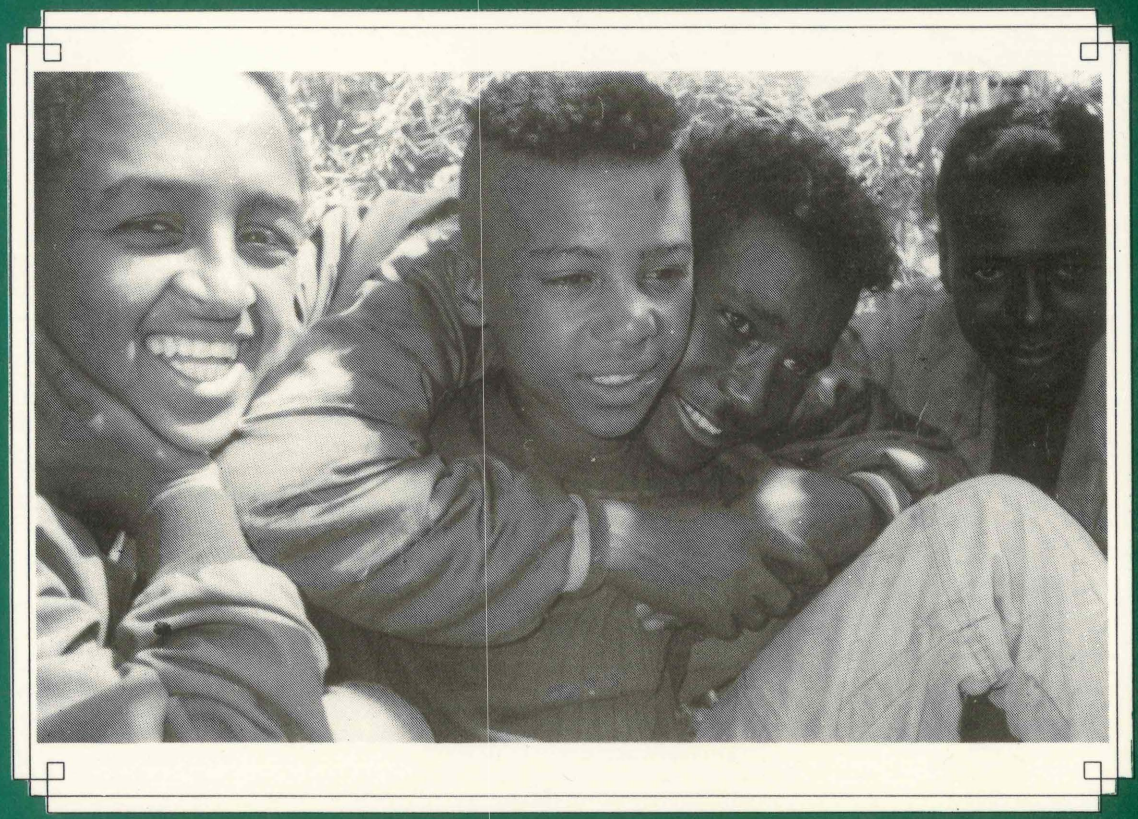
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Study on Street Children in Four Selected Towns of Ethiopia



1993

Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs

UNICEF, Ethiopia

University College Cork, Ireland

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University College, Cork, Ireland

1993

Study on Street Children in Four Selected Towns of Ethiopia

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Crime and Victimization - by Kevin Lalor

Sponsored by:

Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs
UNICEF, Ethiopia
University College Cork, Ireland

December 1992
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to the memory of Mr. Peter Tacon, whose work with street-children worldwide was unparalleled. His dedication and commitment inspired many and his death is a serious loss to all those who work with, and care about, street-children.

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The Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, UNICEF and University College, Cork would like to extend special thanks to all the children interviewees for their cooperation and specially to those included in the indepth interviews for being most patient and frank in discussing issues related to their private lives.

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Signed: Professor Max Taylor
Department of Applied Psychology
University College Cork

FOREWORD

The child is the most precious asset and the focal point of development for any country. However, unless children are brought up in a stimulating and conducive environment getting the best possible care and protection, their physical, mental, emotional and social development is susceptible to permanent damage.

Ethiopia, being one of the least developed countries of the world due to interrelated and complex socio-economic factors including man-made and natural calamities, a large portion of our population - especially children - are victimized by social evils like famine, disease, poverty, mass displacement, lack of education and family instability.

Owing to the fact that children are the most vulnerable group among the whole society and also because they constitute half of the population it is evident that a considerable number of Ethiopian children are living under difficult circumstances.

Therefore, as in a number of other third world countries there are many poor, displaced, unaccompanied and orphaned children in our country. A considerable proportion of these children work on the street with some even totally living on the street without any adult care and protection. These children are forced to the streets in their fight for survival. They supplement their parents meagre income or support themselves with the small incomes they earn doing menial jobs. In doing this, street children face the danger of getting into accidents and violence, they get exploited and abused, many are forced to drop out of school or never get the chance to be enroled at all and some drift into begging or petty crime.

This study is undertaken mainly for updating the findings of previous studies, monitoring changing trends, examining new facts of the problem and getting a better understanding of the phenomenon in the country by covering at least some of the major centres where the problem is acute. Thus, the outcome of this research can be useful in the formation of the social welfare programme of the country.

Finally, in recognition of the urgency of the problem and the limited resources available, the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs expresses appreciation to all agencies engaged in the rehabilitation of street children and prevention of the problem. The Ministry also calls for more co-operation and support between concerned governmental and non-governmental organizations in their efforts for improving the situation of street children and in curbing the overwhelming nature of the problem.

Menbere Alemayehu
Minister for Labour and Social Affairs

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EXECUTIVE

SUMMARY

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Study of Street-Children in Four Regional Towns in Ethiopia

1. The growing numbers of street children is one of the most serious urban social problems facing Ethiopia today. In the country as a whole, it has been estimated that as many as one hundred thousand children are engaged to varying degrees in street life activities. However, little is known about the exact nature and extent of involvement of children in street life in Ethiopia. This study explores the nature of the lives of working children and street children through the reports of the children themselves.

2. In order to develop a country wide policy related to street children, the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs and UNICEF recognised the need to have systematic and objective understanding of the "who, where and why" of street children across the country in order to identify the different regional priorities for addressing the immediate and long term needs of children. For this purpose, a situational analysis of street children was undertaken by the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs and the Department of Applied Psychology, University College Cork in four regional towns, Addis Ababa, Nazareth, Bahir Dar, and Mekele. The towns were chosen because they are recognised by the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs and UNICEF as having large street child populations with different background characteristics. Addis Ababa was chosen because of fast changing conditions in the city and the increasing population of groups vulnerable to loosing their children to the streets (internally displaced, ex soldiers and long term urban poor), Nazareth was selected as it is one of the fastest growing towns in the country, Bahir Dar because it is a large town in a predominantly rural area and the origins and factors pushing children to the street are relatively unknown and Mekele because of the combined effects of periodic drought and famine and 17 years of civil war which ended in 1991, which has resulted in a large proportion of the population being displaced, with resultant implications for children's situation and welfare.

3. Street children are not a homogeneous group. The most widely accepted approach to understanding types of street children are the UNICEF categories of street children viz. children at risk, children *on* the street (children who are primarily engaged in economic activities in the street), children *of* the street (children who are both economically and socially engaged in street life) and abandoned children. These categories are used in this study for the purpose of classification, and the primary distinguishing characteristic used to identify children *of* the street is location of sleeping.

4. A structured survey sample of 1000 children aged between 5 to 18 were involved in the study. The quantitative data yielded by the survey was supplemented by extensive qualitatively focused interviews of smaller groups addressing the extent and nature of victimization of street children (especially street girls), a community study of the families children *on* the street, and a study of displaced children and their families.

5. In addressing the problems of street children a distinction needs to be made between background dispositional factors such as poverty and displacement, factors which influence the child's initiation to street life, such as family disharmony or breakup and factors which sustain the child's continuing involvement in street life, such as a

sense of independence, freedom and personal control etc. Each of these factors may require independent policy interventions to effect change.

6. The primary policy related findings of the study are the need to:
   a) **Expand** existing services for street children and children at risk in Addis Ababa.
   b) **Decentralise** both awareness of the existence of street children and service provision beyond the capital city.
   c) Direct **preventative** intervention to parents and the family in general, addressing problems within the family that are associated with the initiation of children into street life.
   d) Identify and direct resources especially towards the families of children under 10 - 11 as a significant cut off point for **preventative** family intervention and towards single parent families as a particularly vulnerable group.
   e) Address **primary problems** in the areas of security, food, shelter, medical care, education and clothing for children already involved in street life, through an increase in the number of drop-in centres and night shelters, enhancing the quality of childrens lives and increasing contact with society.
   f) Target **girls** who sleep on the street or sleep in temporary shelters as an especially vulnerable group for the provision of sheltered accommodation and other facilities .
   g) Undertake a systematic study of the lives and conditions of **physically** and **mentally handicapped** street children, about whom there are grounds for concern.
   h) Systematically explore alternative forms of **income generation** for children who are economically engaged in street life.

7. For the sample as a whole, the average age of initiation into street life was 10.7 years, with profound poverty and crisis in the home cited as the most likely precipitating factors. Many of the street children surveyed attended school, and school attendance was generally valued by the children, even if they were unable to attend school.

8. The results of the study show that significant differences exist in the profile of street children in the four towns.
   a) The creation of street children in **Addis Ababa** is integrally linked to conditions of urban poverty. Three quarters of the street-children surveyed sleep at home every night and are economically engaged in street life while 92.5% of children have family living in the city.
   b) In contrast, 62.5% of **Nazareth** street children had left their families to come to the town, mostly from rural areas. The process by which children become street children in Nazareth strongly reflects the Gurage custom of parents sending their children to the nearest big town to work. They are encouraged to become independent of the family unit whilst making a financial contribution to their home. However, this arrangement may work well for many children in the town, as Nazareth had the smallest percentage of children *of* the street (11%) and many children were found to live with relatives or form households with peers. But, Nazareth also had the highest proportion of school drop outs and also reported higher levels of family conflict when compared to the other towns, possibly related to the high percentage living with relatives.

c) In **Mekele**, the high proportion of orphans (19.5%) and the proportion of children *of* the street (51%) strongly reflects the region's experience of war and displacement and consequent problems of unaccompanied children.

d) In **Bahir Dar**, the profile of street children was somewhat mixed; a quarter of street children were from families of recent migrants, a quarter were unaccompanied children who had left their families elsewhere to come to the town in search of work and half were born in the town, a product of urban poor families. 18% of children were classified as children *of* the street, the majority of whom were unaccompanied child migrants with family elsewhere.

9. Other points of note are as follows:

a) In **Addis Ababa**, the priority need is the further development of the existing excellent preventative programmes and programmes supporting working children. However, children who sleep on the streets in the city have been mostly ignored by programmes to date and yet they constitute the most vulnerable sub group of the population, both physically and psychologically (see victimization study). The establishment of child centred reception facilities and night shelters are therefore recommended.

b) In **Nazareth**, rural based projects through schools and community structures need to educate parents and children about the problems faced by children working independently in Nazareth (and also in Addis Ababa), and the impact changing economic circumstances and increased competition have on working opportunities for children.

c) In **Mekele**, reunification, alternative family programmes and the establishment of reception and night shelter facilities are the immediate priorities.

d) In **Bahir Dar**, training for migrant child workers, income generation support for urban poor families and support for children of the street are recommended.

INTERMEDIATE

SUMMARY

INTERMEDIATE SUMMARY

Study of Street-children in Four Regional Towns in Ethiopia

This study was carried out with the purpose of monitoring and evaluating the situation of working and street-children in Ethiopia's main urban centres. The report was commissioned by Unicef, Ethiopia on the recommendations of Mr. Peter Tacon, Unicef's International Consultant for Street-children and was carried out by the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs and the Department of Applied Psychology, University College Cork, Ireland.

A very high proportion of Ethiopia's children live in or have experienced conditions which worldwide are recognised as pre-disposing factors to street-life involvement, namely poverty, lack of education, war and displacement and the disintegration of families. In a total population of approximately 55 million, Ethiopia has 23.5 million children under 16 years of age. Figures from the State of the World's Children 1992 show that some 60% of Ethiopia's 6.2 million urban poor live below the absolute poverty line; some 1.1 million urban children are victims of debilitating poverty. In rural areas, the situation is similar and it is estimated that 65% of children live below the poverty line. In effect nearly two thirds of all Ethiopian families live on incomes below that required to meet the minimum basic needs of the family. Throughout Ethiopia, only 38% of children of the applicable age group are enrolled in primary school, although this figure is probably higher in the urban centres and lower in rural areas.

It is estimated that there are in excess of 100,000 street-children in Ethiopia (Tacon, 1991). The majority are living in conditions of severe deprivation which place them at both physical and psychological risk. Inadequate nutrition, long working hours and exposure to aversive weather conditions and physical abuse while on the street, endanger their development. Since the fall of the Dergue government in May 1991, there have been widespread fears that the numbers of children coming to the streets has escalated even further, exacerbated by high inflation rates, increased urban poverty, and the lifting of restrictions on freedom of movement which has resulted in an influx of economic migrants and displaced to the capital city Addis Ababa and other regional towns. Large scale movement of people are currently occurring throughout the country as people in resettlement camps return to their region of origin, and the displaced seek to return to their home areas. Similarly in the southern region, and in Eritrea, people have been forced out of their homes by ethnic tension. It was in the context of these changing political and economic conditions that this report was commissioned and carried out.

For the purposes of this study, a sample of 1000 street-children were interviewed in four urban centres in Ethiopia; Addis Ababa, Bahir Dar, Nazareth and Mekele. Four hundred street-children were selected in Addis Ababa while 200 children were interviewed in each of the other three towns. The criterion for inclusion in the study was that children were aged 7-17 years, were engaged in street-work of some form or were in the street environment at the time of interview unaccompanied by a parent or adult guardian. The survey instrument consisted of both open ended and closed questions which yielded both quantitative and qualitative information. Information was sought on childrens' familial and socio-economic background, their involvement in street-life and their present life circumstances. Indepth information on the extent of victimization, abuse and delinquency was gathered from 32 girls and 32 boys. In addition, interviews were conducted with 25 street-child and 15 non street-child families in an urban poor community. Twenty displaced street families were also interviewed.

This study sought to look at the causes of street-children through the reports of the children themselves. It sought to examine the condition of their lives and look at the process by which children came to be on the streets and the factors maintaining his or her involvement in street-life. In designing the study, an attempt was made to identify as far as possible the decisional points in a child's life that resulted in movement to the street. A fundamental assumption in this approach is that the behaviour of children is characterised by a degree of rationality. Behaviour is believed to be undertaken so as to benefit the child as the child tries to respond to and cope with his or her circumstances or situation. Rationality in this sense therefore refers to responsiveness to environmental events and pressures as perceived and experienced by the child. Often these events and pressures are essentially short-term, and may conflict with longer-term factors. The degree of control the individual child exerts over this process varies enormously. In cases of war, displacement or abandonment, the child may be in a position to exert little or no control over his or her circumstances and in this manner ends up on the streets. Other children exhibit evidence of having made a measured choice to move to the streets, given options of doing nothing or putting up with a situation which for that child was intolerable. Many reports describing the lives of street-children convey a sense of hopelessness and despair. This study in contrast seeks to emphasise the resiliency of street-children, to highlight their strengths and seek to identify ways that these strengths can be supported in the most appropriate way possible, given the circumstances of their lives.

General Conclusion

The phenomenon of street-children is recognised as a major problem throughout Ethiopia. The few programmes that exist for street-children are principally concentrated in Addis Ababa where a core group of agencies have established services specifically targeted for street-children and their families. Yet, even in Addis Ababa, the lack of support for street-children is highlighted in the finding that only 29% of street-children in Addis Ababa are aware of *any* organisation that helps children like them. This figure falls below 10% in Nazareth and Mekele. In the regional towns, street-children exist beyond the boundaries of government and non government organisation mandates, and in the towns sampled there was *no* agency responsible specifically for the protection or support of street-children. The primary finding of this report therefore is the need to expand support for street and urban poor children in Addis Ababa and to decentralise both awareness of the existence of street-children and service provision beyond the capital.

1 Children *on* and children *of* the street

One of the core issues in formulating policy for street-children is to understand the profile of the nature and extent of the childrens' street-life involvement. A useful way of categorising street children to reflect involvement in street life is the four fold UNICEF typology - children at risk, children *on* the street (who are economically engaged in street life), children *of* the street (who are both economically and socially engaged in street life), and abandoned children. In order to classify children according to the UNICEF typology, children were asked where they regularly slept and the reason for their initial movement to the streets. Sleeping place is used in this study as the main behavioural indicator of level of engagement in street life, although it is recognised that some children who sleep at home may still have minimal involvement with their family and the street may still be their main socialising influence.

In Addis Ababa, Bahir Dar and Nazareth, approximately three quarters of children, 74.8%, 71.9% and 77.5% respectively, were classified as "children *on* the streets". This means that they returned home every night to sleep. Over 80% of these children reported that they first became involved in street life to work, while another 10% first came to the streets to play or spend time with friends. Many of this latter group then progressed to being street workers. In Mekele, on the other hand, only 42% of children were classified as children *on* the streets, the majority of whom also first came to the streets to work.

The proportion of "children *of* the streets" among the street child population therefore varied between the towns. It was highest in Mekele, where 52% of children were classified as *of* the street and in addition 6% slept between home and street. This high figure is mainly due to the large proportion of children in the town who responded that they came to the streets because they were orphaned, displaced or for whatever reason had no supporter (29%). Examining this category in more detail, it appears that it is probably predominantly made up of orphaned children. The proportion of children who had lost one parent was also higher in Mekele than in the other towns.

Nazareth had the lowest proportion of children *of* the streets of the four towns. 11.5% of children slept full time on the streets and another 1.5% rented temporary shelter. Interestingly, although 77% of Nazareth children responded they slept at home, 62.5% of children did not have parents in the town. "Home" for many Nazareth children actually meant the home of relatives. Another relatively common living arrangement for Nazareth children was child headed households where children lived together in groups and established a home together. The pattern of living with relatives may explain the higher incidence of children who responded that they slept between home and street (10%). Living with relatives may result in more tensions for the child than living with natural family. However, this way of living must also work reasonably well for the majority of children in Nazareth given the fact the town had the highest proportion of children who responded they slept at home every night.

In Addis Ababa, 13.6% of children slept full time on the streets and another 7.1% rented temporary shelter. Conflating these categories suggests about a fifth of children can be considered as children *of* the streets. In addition, 4.5% of children in Addis Ababa reported that they slept between home and the street. In Bahir Dar, the percentage of children of the street was slightly higher; 18.1% slept on the streets and 5% in rented shelter. The proportion of orphans in Addis Ababa and Bahir Dar was roughly similar (7.9% and 7.7% respectively) and the higher proportion of children *of* the street in Bahir Dar appears to be made up of those children who left their family elsewhere and came unaccompanied by an adult to the town.

There is a strong relationship between age and sleeping place, and older children are more frequently living fulltime on the streets than younger children. Furthermore, a higher proportion of boys than girls slept out of home. Overall 66.7% of males aged 5-9 sleep at home whereas this percentage decreases to 46% of males aged 16-18 years. The proportion of young girls that sleep at home is higher than that of boys from the same age bracket (91.8% aged 5-9 years) which drops to 59.1% for girls aged 16-18 years. A fifth of girls in this age bracket slept on the streets (22.7%), 13.6% rented accommodation nightly and 4.5% slept between home and street.

The movement of children from being *on* the street to *of* the street appears to be integrally related to age. This supports arguments that there is a developmental continuum whereby

children move from being *on* to *of* the street. A significant factor in this may be because of increasing confidence in learning survival techniques of the street and adapting to the hardships of street-life, gaining higher income and feeling more independent.

An important issue for policy development, and the development of preventative strategies in particular, is to understand what factors are more likely to predispose some children to moving full time to the streets while others continue to retain their close links with family. Not all children from within a single family make the transition from *on* to *of* the street, despite the adverse circumstances. To examine this, this study looked at what home factors might differentiate children *on* the street from those of the child *of* the street. Previous studies suggest that poverty alone does not cause children to break their links with their family. In fact, the effects of poverty on families appears to be quite complex. Interviews with street children in Sudan indicated that poverty may affect relationships within families of street children in two different ways (Veale et al. 1991). On the one hand, poverty may actually *strengthen* family bonds as the welfare of the whole family depends on the economic contribution and psychological support of its individual members. This collective responsibility may serve to strengthen ties between parents and children, and children report a good relationship with their parents. However conversely, poverty may weaken family bonds if it produces a home environment where parents are physically or emotionally abusive towards their children or towards each other. Such parenting styles can be considered as a dysfunctional adaptation to the stresses brought on by poverty and associated negative life events. Psychological stress may be the most powerful factor mediating the link between economic hardship and dysfunctional parenting behaviour. Studies have consistently shown that parents under stress value obedience more, show lower responsiveness to childrens' socio-emotional needs and hit and scold their children more frequently than unstressed parents from similar socio-economic circumstances (Mcloyd, 1988; Conger et al. 1984; Gecas, 1979). Different family patterns of adaptation to conditions of poverty may provide a tool for differentiating between children at risk of breaking ties with their family in favour of the streets and children who engage in street life but where links with the family are maintained.

To explore this, levels of reported abuse at home, fighting or violence between parents and experience of lack of food often at home were compared for children *on* the street, those between home and street and children *of* the street. Children *of* the street were found to be characterised by a higher level of physical abuse at home than children on the streets. 18.7% of children who sleep on the street say they were often beaten at home, compared to 7.5% of children who sleep at home. Similarly, 19% of children who sleep on the street reported being beaten often with an object compared to 7.7% of home children. A greater proportion of children *of* the street also reported often being upset by fighting and shouting between parents (12.1%) and violence between parents (12.1%) compared to children who sleep at home (4.3% and 5.6% respectively). Proportionately more children *of* the street also reported being left unsupervised for long periods at home (17.1% compared to 6.5%).

In addition, proportionately more children who sleep on the streets reported they experience hunger often at home (64.1% compared to 56.6%). This suggests that the families of children *of* the street may be somewhat more economically deprived than families of children *on* the street but it is also more generally an indication of the low economic status of the majority of families of street children.

Overall, it seems that children *of* the street and those between home and street appear to experience physical abuse more often and witness fighting or violence between parents more frequently than children *on* the street. These are behaviours which are typically associated

with the parenting style of parents under stress. Such stress has been shown to be more likely to occur when a number of factors occur simultaneously. According to Pearlin and Johnson (1977), "the combination most productive of psychological stress (in parents) is to be simultaneously single, isolated, exposed to burdensome parental duties and -most serious of all- poor" (p 714). In fact, children *of* the street were more often from single parent families (only 17.9% had both biological parents in the home compared to 46.5% of children *on* the streets) and had more frequently experienced the death of their father. Children *of* the street also reported going hungry more often at home than children *on* the streets which may indicate more severe economic deprivation in their homes. The educational level of the fathers of children *of* the street was lower than that of children *on* the street, a factor which has been shown to correlate with lower income and parental stress (Gecas, 1979). Children *of* the street therefore came more frequently from background circumstances and exhibited parenting styles that have been demonstrated to be associated with higher stress levels in parents.

If this is the case, it has important implications for targeting intervention. It changes the focus for identifying children at risk of becoming fully fledged street children from the child to the parent. By identifying parents under stress, and helping parents to cope with the normative or situational stressor that affect the quality of their parenting and their interactions with their children it may serve to reduce the incidents of behaviour which push the child from the home to the streets.

2 Unaccompanied children from other regions

From both a humanitarian and policy perspective, unaccompanied children from other regions (i.e. children who have families outside the town of interview and who have left them for whatever reason to come to the town) are a significant group about which little is known. In Addis Ababa, this sub group accounted for 18.5% of the total sample, in Bahir Dar, 28%, in Nazareth, 62.5% and in Mekele, 52.2%. ie. 36% of total sample.

Developing policy for these children is difficult for their needs are difficult to ascertain. It is popularly assumed that such children are orphans but this is true only in a minority of cases. In Addis Ababa, Bahir Dar and Nazareth, the majority of children in this category report that they came to the town in search of work or because of a lack of basic necessities at home (40.6%, 33.9% and 65.6% respectively). In this regard, these children can be regarded as child migrants, forced from their home regions by strong economic push factors and attracted to the town by the opportunities believed to exist there. This was observed particularly in Nazareth where it is a long established custom of the Gurage tribe to send children from the rural area to the nearest large town or to Addis Ababa to work. Children return home with money for their family and this accords the child high status in the rural community. For many reasons, engaging in street-work as a form of income generation is attractive both to Gurage children and their parents and is regarded as an appropriate activity for children there.

Family problems were also a significant factor operating to push children from home to the town, ranging between 12.8% of cases in Nazareth and 23.2% in Bahir Dar. Coming to the town in search of educational opportunities was cited by 17.9% of children in this sub category in Bahir Dar as responsible for their decision to leave home. As mentioned above, in Mekele, war/displacement and the lack of a guardian was the most common reason for children leaving their home region unaccompanied (41%), followed by looking for work/the lack of basic necessities in the home (32.4%) and family problems (15.2%).

An important issue for this category of children is to what extent are they vulnerable to becoming children *of* the street? Place of sleeping is the clearest indication of this, and as above, wide regional differences were found. In Addis Ababa, the proportion of unaccompanied children who left their families to come to the city and ended up sleeping on the streets was 26.6% (another 20.7% rented shelter nightly). In Bahir Dar, 42% of children in this category slept on the streets (and 14% rented shelter) and 69% in Mekele (1% rented shelter). By comparison, only 11% of unaccompanied children in Nazareth were sleeping on the streets (1% rented shelter). As noted above, this low incidence can be explained by the fact that many Nazareth children leave their family to live with relatives in the town.

The important point that emerges from the above is that given the reasons for migration, many children who have arrived in the town or city unaccompanied by family or an adult guardian may be resistant to solutions which may initially appear best for the child (e.g. reunification). The problems that pushed the child to the street (poverty, lack of opportunity) are complex and difficult to tackle in the short term. Having had some experience of life in the town, the chances of successful reunification may be decreased even further. Many of the children surveyed in this category expressed an interest in returning to their families to visit but were not interested in returning home to live. Particularly for children living with relatives or older children renting shelter together, a supportive programme (helping with access to education, creating a savings scheme, offering basic protection at night if appropriate) might best serve their needs. Even though children may live in similar physical conditions on the street, the nature of choice exercised by the child in the process by which he or she came to be on the streets is undoubtedly an important determinant in the child's psychological adaptation to the circumstances (displaced children may be more psychologically vulnerable than child migrants, those who came to work or be independent). Recognising this, programmes for street children should try to assess and respond to the different risks (physical/psychological) as appropriate.

3 Reasons for initiation to the street

Across the four towns surveyed, between half and two thirds of children reported being on the streets "to work", "to help myself", "to help my family", "due to financial problems in the home", pressurised to contribute to the family income etc. In the analysis, these responses were combined and classified under the heading of economic factors and this collective category was cited as the causal initiation factor by 69.7% of children in Addis Ababa, 70.5% in Bahir Dar, 67% in Nazareth and 53.5% in Mekele. Family disharmony was the next most frequently cited factor pushing children to the streets (averaging 11.3% across the four towns), except in Mekele, where the second most frequently cited reason was displacement/lack of a supporter/orphaned (29%).

The average age of initiation to the street is 10.7 years, although children who came from outside an urban area were on average older than their counterparts who grew up in the town of interview. Initiation is often precipitated by a crisis in the home. One interesting finding to emerge from an analysis of age of initiation to the street and the occurrence of other significant events in the child's life at that time, was the age at which children came to the street following the death of a parent or the breakup of the family due to divorce or separation. Comparison of the ages suggested that, for young children (those aged up to about 10 years) who experienced the death of a parent or marital breakup, there was a time lag of a few years between the death/breakup and the child's initiation to the street (although such children generally ended up on the streets at a younger age than average). For older children on the other hand (children 10 years and over), the death/breakup and initiation

occurred almost simultaneously. An important preventative implication that emerges from this therefore is the need to support young families which experience the death of a parent or divorce or other serious family disruption, and to target support either at income generation opportunities for the remaining parent, providing child minding facilities if the remaining parent is out of the home for long periods of the day and particularly offering support to younger children to prevent their movement to the streets. In addition to the increased economic pressure on children, results showed that 56.7% of children who reported being on the streets because of family disharmony came from single parent or disintegrated family structures. Working with the family as a unit has the potential to be a powerful preventative strategy.

4 Socio-economic status of families of street-children

The situation of the street-child has its roots in both economic circumstances and the situation of the family. Throughout the world, street-children have been found to be predominantly a product of poor families, whether urban or rural. One correlate of low economic status is low educational level. Lack of education limits opportunities, particularly in an urban setting where the value of labour depends on the scarcity or otherwise of the skills on offer. Amongst the children surveyed in this study the educational status of parents was low. A third of fathers (31.9%) and twice as many mothers (60%) were reported by their children to be illiterate. (An encouraging pattern here however is that the proportion of girls in the sample attending school at the time of the study equalled or bettered that of boys and overall, school attendance patterns were higher than expected given the childrens' lifestyle).

Only 30% of fathers and 18.4% of mothers had attended regular education. However, of that 30% of fathers who had attended school, 40% of them were said to have attended grade 9-12 and 25% had attended grade 6-9. Some 65% of fathers therefore who had the opportunity to attend school completed elementary school (grade 6) and progressed into secondary level. 2% of fathers had even gone on to higher education. Of the 18% of mothers who attended regular school, only 26.6% went beyond elementary school (grade 6). While the majority of fathers were poorly educated, the results presented here cautions against claiming that the families of street-children are a homogenous group in these terms. Families appear to exhibit greater diversity of educational background than is commonly believed.

However, the generally low educational level of parents is a significant determinant of the types of jobs they were engaged in. 16.4% of fathers worked in the informal economy and of those who were government or private employees (30% and 4.3% respectively), the majority were engaged in lower income occupations such as guards, drivers or factory workers. 22% were farmers, 8.7% had a skill or trade and thus were self employed and the remainder were involved in a variety of activities. 72.1% of mothers of street-children were engaged in income generating activities at the informal economy level, which is a further indicator of the low income status of the households. As well as placing huge strain on mothers, this means that, for many children, both parents are out of the house for significant parts of the day. Thus young children may be left unsupervised, and heavy caretaking duties become the responsibility of one of the older daughters.

A quarter of all street-children surveyed were the children of ex-soldiers (ranging from between 29.5% in Addis Ababa and 17.8% in Nazareth) which highlights their children as an especially at risk category of becoming street-children.

5 Marital status of parents of street-children

The proportion of children with both parents living together was highest in Addis Ababa (41.7%) and Nazareth (46.4%), somewhat lower in Bahir Dar (37.2%) and lowest in Mekele (24.1%). Divorce or separation due to marital difficulties consistently averaged around 12% across the four towns. Circumstantial separation (for example to work, due to displacement) was responsible for parents separation in 11% of cases in Mekele, probably reflecting the effects of war and drought on family life in the region, and averaged 5-6% in the other towns.

Regionally, the percentage of children who had lost a parent through death was highest in Mekele when compared to the other three towns. In Mekele, 48.8% of children reported their father was dead compared to 38.9%, 37% and 31% in Addis Ababa, Bahir Dar and Nazareth respectively. Twice as many children in Mekele had lost their mother in comparison to the other towns (32.6%, compared to 12.1%, 17.1% and 15.2% respectively). Childrens' responses on open ended questions related to this showed that war, displacement, drought and resettlement programmes of earlier years were significant contributing factors to this high incidence of parental mortality among street childrens' families in Mekele. In all, 58.7% of street-children in Mekele had lost at least one biological parent, and 19.5% were orphans (compared to 7.9%, 3.6% and 7.7% in Addis Ababa, Nazareth and Bahir Dar respectively). 14% of street children in Mekele did not know their parents whereabouts.

89.5% of children classed as children *on* the street had their mother alive and 62.9% their father, compared to 51.9% of mothers and 34.3% of fathers of children *of* the street respectively.

6 Displacement as a causal factor

Displacement is widely believed to be a significant contributory factor in the creation of street-children, particularly in Addis Ababa and Mekele. There are two main categories of displaced; displaced families and unaccompanied displaced children.

The extent to which street-children in Addis Ababa were from either displaced category was low. Only 11.5% (N=46) of all sampled street children in Addis Ababa said their family had left their home region because of factors associated with displacement, war, political reasons, drought or famine. In fact, over two thirds of street children in Addis Ababa were actually born in the capital city and of the remainder who came with their families from other regions of the country, the more common reason was in search of work.

Within the category of unaccompanied children in Addis Ababa who had moved from areas outside Addis Ababa (74 children), 14 (18.9%) said they came because of war, because they were orphaned or had no guardian for whatever reason. These children accounted for only 3.5% of the total sample of 400 children. Thus displaced children did not emerge as a prominent category of street-children in Addis Ababa.

Displacement was much more significant as a factor responsible for families moving from the child's place of birth in Mekele. The influence of war and displacement as a causal factor in some childrens movement to the street was evident in childrens' qualitative accounts and 60% of all children who responded they were on the streets because they were orphaned, displaced or for whatever reason were without a supporter were in Mekele. Nearly a third of all street children in Mekele (29%) cited war or lack of a supporter as responsible for

their initiation to the street, compared to 5.7% in Addis Ababa, 7% in Bahir Dar, and 5% in Nazareth. Of the 105 unaccompanied children from other regions in Mekele, 43 children (41%) said they were forced from their home because of war, political reasons, orphaned or lack of a guardian. In cases where families left their home region, (38 children) 44.7% reported war or political factors as the reason for movement.

Comparison with an earlier survey of street children in 1988 suggests that in Addis Ababa there is some evidence that there are more orphaned children on the streets than before. The percentage of orphans on the streets has increased from 0.6% in the 1988 survey to 7.9% in this present survey.

7 Family residence in the town of interview

Three quarters of street children in Addis Ababa (75.2%) had parent(s) or guardian resident in the city. 5.7% reported that they did not have family and a further 1.8% did not know their whereabouts. Of the remainder, 7% had parents in another town and 10.2% had parents in a rural area. It seems, therefore, that in Addis Ababa the proportion of children who have family and know their whereabouts is very high (92.5%).

Two thirds of children in Bahir Dar had family living in the town (70.6%), but only 52% were born there suggesting approximately a third of children had migrated with their family to the town. In addition, 27% of children had family living outside the town. This latter group consisted of 12.5% of children who have family living in another town and 14.5% who have family in a rural area.

Nazareth, on the other hand, exhibited a quite different profile. Only 35% of children had family available in Nazareth itself; 40.5% of children had left their family in a rural area to come to the town and 14.5% had come from other urban centres. However, many of these children lived with relatives or friends. The situation in Mekele differed to the other towns. Only 37% of children had family available in Mekele itself. 25.5% of children reported that they had no family, either because they were orphaned (19.5%) or they did not know their parents whereabouts (6%).

8 Reaction of parents to childrens street-life involvement

Children were asked whether they thought their parents or guardians approved or disapproved of their street-life involvement. 64.5% of children felt their parents approved and unsurprisingly, approval was felt to be highest in the case of children who said they were on the streets for economic reasons (75%).

Overall, only 10.5% of children believed parents disapproved and the remainder either didn't care (5.8%) or the child didn't know the parents attitude (9.7%). Thus, the vast majority of children who work on the streets feel their parents approve of their behaviour and are supportive of their working in the street.

About half of working children felt their contribution to the family income was significant enough to make a difference. This leads to the conclusion that the income generation quality of children's street-work and its contribution to family income cannot be ignored when considering intervention.

9 Childrens' school attendance

School attendance patterns varied enormously across the four towns. In general, 79.3% of all children were enrolled in school for some period. However, a third of all street-children who had started school had dropped out, mainly because of financial constraints. At the time of the study, 48.5% of children interviewed in Addis Ababa were attending school, 53% of children in Bahir Dar, 37.5% in Nazareth and 36.5% in Mekele.

Roughly equal proportions of boys and girls were attending school in the 7-9 year and 10-12 year old bracket (45.2%, 42.4% and 46.9%, 43.6% respectively) but the proportion of older boys attending school is lower than that of girls (41.8% as compared to 63.6%). This may be reflective of the fact that more older girls sleep at home and therefore their lives are more structured.

The findings of the school enrolment pattern across the four towns showed that the highest number of school drop-outs were found in Nazareth and Addis Ababa, where 88% and 74% of children had started school and 39.5% and 36.5% had dropped out respectively. Mekele had the highest proportion of children who were never enrolled in school in the first place and this is probably due to the disruptive effects of the war in the region.

Furthermore, unsurprisingly, school attendance was strongly correlated with where the child sleeps. The attendance rates of children *on* the streets was actually quite high (66%) and may well compare favourably with attendance figures from the community as a whole. In fact, it was slightly higher than that of their siblings school going age, of whom 60% were attending school (and the majority were not involved in street life). However, only 15% of children *of* the street were attending school; yet this is surprisingly high given these childrens' lifestyle, and is indicative of the significance of education in their view of the world.

10 Childrens' street-work

The most frequently encountered street-occupations were peddlers, shoe shiners, and carriers/messengers (35.2%, 19.4% and 19% respectively). Over two thirds of girls worked as peddlers while occupations like car washing, taxi-boy, shoe shining and carrying were dominated by males. Different occupations were dominated by different age groups, which could provide a useful basis for targeting age and developmentally appropriate intervention. Some three quarters of children reported they worked more than a half day to a full day and earned up to 4 birr per day (80 US cents), with the average daily wage being approximately half this.

Summary Profile of the Four Towns

1 Addis Ababa

The creation of street-children in Addis Ababa (and to a lesser extent in the other towns) is integrally tied to the phenomenon of urban poverty. The majority of children are child workers who are on the street in order to contribute economically to the household. 75% of children sleep at home every night and the majority of children report that they have a good relationship with their parents. Only 13% actually sleep on the streets and 7% regularly rent temporary shelter. The vast majority (92.5%) of street-children in Addis Ababa have, or know the whereabouts, of their family. 75.2% have parent(s) or guardian resident in Addis

Ababa, 10.2% have parents in a rural area, 7% have families in another town. Only 5.7% did not have family and 1.8% did not know the whereabouts of their family (N=7).

The proportion of children living in female headed families in Addis Ababa is almost as high as those living with both their parents (28% as compared to 33%) and this perhaps is something that needs to be targeted specifically. Families of ex-soldiers were also identified as vulnerable. Nearly a third of children were from families of ex-soldiers, many of whom were precipitated to the street after the demobilisation of the army.

Surprisingly, the percentage of displaced and unaccompanied children encountered was very small. Of 64 children who came with their families from outside Addis Ababa, only 9.4% cited war or political reasons as responsible for their leaving, and 3.1% drought or famine. The majority of children cited economic factors as responsible and therefore families were migrants rather than displaced. Similarly, of the 74 children who left their family elsewhere to come to the capital city, 18.9% (N=14) cited war, being orphaned, rejected or lack of a supporter as responsible (the other main reasons were to work and because of family disharmony). Orphans accounted for 7% of the sample, and while the proportion is small, these children are probably the most vulnerable and options other than the street should be available to them.

The main factor precipitating children to the streets was economic problems in the home. 56% of children first came to the streets to work or "to help myself and my family". Another 13% were pressurised by their family to work and contribute, so in all 69% of children were on the streets to work. Another indicator of the extent of economic problems is the finding that two thirds of children (67%) often or sometimes felt hungry at home and hunger was mentioned by many children as a reason they first went to the streets.

81% of street-children in Addis Ababa had started school and 49% were still attending. When compared with the attendance of siblings at school, the findings indicate that street-life involvement interferes with childrens school attendance. However, many children would not have had an opportunity to attend school if they didn't work on the streets. Within the school appropriate age group 7-15 yrs, 57% of street boys and 68% of street girls were attending school which probably compares favourably with community norms.

2 Nazareth

The profile of street-children found in Nazareth was influenced by the custom of the Gurage tribe and others of sending children from the rural areas to the urban areas to work. 56.7% of street-children in Nazareth were Gurages. The proportion of children *of* the street was quite small (11%) and 77.5% of children lived at home, which was the highest for the four towns. However the proportion of children between home and street was the largest of the four towns sampled (10%). This is probably due to the large percentage of children who are residing with relatives (32.5%). There is a tendency also for children to form households with other peers (18%).

Given the low numbers of children *of* the street, it was surprising to find that only 35% of street children in Nazareth had parent(s) resident in the town itself. 40.5% of children had parents living in rural areas (mostly in the Shoa province) and 14.5% had family in another urban centre. In addition, 4.5% responded parents were dead while 4% did not know the whereabouts of parents. Of those children who had left their family elsewhere to come to Nazareth (N=125 or 62.5% of sample), two thirds came for economic reasons or to look for

work. As such, these children can be considered as child migrants. The common pattern was for children to leave their family and move to Nazareth and live with a brother or uncle and engage in some form of income generation. However the higher number of children living between home and street compared to the other towns (10%) suggests such living arrangements may result in tensions and the child's position may be less tenable than if he or she is living with the natural family. On the other hand, Nazareth had the highest proportion of children living at home; thus for the majority of children, the relationship appears to work quite well. Movement to the town and engagement in street work is a traditional role for children in the Gurage tribe and is unlikely to be discontinued. However despite this, there is a need to provide support for children in their relationships with family or guardians.

In all, 68% of street-children in Nazareth first became involved in street-life to work. Children in Nazareth had the highest drop-out rate from school (36.6%) and this is probably as a result of the high proportion of children who have left their families. 37.5% of children were attending school at the time of interview and 21.5% never attended school (no response was 5%). Educational support should be a priority therefore for children in Nazareth, perhaps extending and adapting the street-educator model that has been operating successfully in Addis Ababa. Efforts to stem the flow of children to the towns from the rural areas by encouraging rural based projects would also be valuable and offers the only possibility of making significant inroads in curbing the further creation of street-children in Nazareth.

3 Bahir Dar

The profile of street-children in Bahir Dar was quite varied. A quarter of children were from families who had migrated to the town in search of work, a quarter were unaccompanied children who had left their families elsewhere to come to the town and half were from older, established families in the town. Two thirds of children had families resident in Bahir Dar. In addition, 12.5% of children had family living in another town and 14.5% had family in a rural area. The main reason these children left their family was because of the lack of food and basics (23%), to work (11%) and family disharmony (23%). Economic hardship both in the town and the rural areas was the main factor precipitating children to the streets.

72% of children were children *on* the street, i.e. returned to their family or guardian every night and the majority of these are on the streets to work. 18% of children were *of* the street and another 5% rented shelter each night. 63% of children first came to the streets to work and the highest proportion of children who reported being pressurised by parents to work were from Bahir Dar (33.5%).

An important sub category of children in Bahir Dar was children who came to the town to train to be a priest or to receive a traditional education, many of whom survived in the traditional way by begging. Bahir Dar is an important religious centre and therefore this pattern is probably unique to the town. This is a well established cultural pattern and therefore this category of children is probably not a high risk group.

Half of street children in Bahir Dar were attending school at the time of interview (52%). A quarter of children were school drop outs (25%) and 25.5% were never registered in school (N/R was 5%). In fact, Bahir Dar had the highest proportion of children attending school, followed by Addis Ababa (48.5%) and significantly higher than Nazareth and Mekele (37.5% and 36.5% respectively).

4 Mekele

The profile of street-children in Mekele is directly related to the effects of war and displacement in the northern regions. The findings from Mekele appear to be representative of the profile of street-children in other northern regional towns. Church and community leaders in Adigrat, for example, are also very concerned about the plight of displaced, orphaned and unaccompanied children in the town who they feel form the bulk of the street-child population there.

Only 37% of children interviewed in Mekele had family resident there, which at first glance is similar to Nazareth. However, the profile of why such a small number of children have family available locally is very different. 25.5% of children in Mekele did not have family, either because they were orphaned (19.5%, N=39) or they did not know the whereabouts of their family. Qualitative information from the questionnaires links these figures closely with the effects of war and displacement on children and their families. Overall, over half (52%, N=105) of the children sampled in Mekele had left their families elsewhere; 41% had become separated from their family because they were orphaned, because of war or displacement; 32% came in search of work and 15% because of family disharmony.

Given the above profile, it is not surprising that 51% of street-children in Mekele were children *of* the street, and all were male. Only 42% slept regularly with their family or guardians. As was found in the other towns, this latter group of children were mainly on the street to contribute to the family income and included most if not all of the street girls interviewed in the town.

Mekele had the lowest proportion of street-children presently attending school (36.5%) among the four towns and the highest proportion of children who never attended school in the first place (30.5%). However given the fact that over half the children are living full-time on the streets, the priority has to be to deal with this situation through reunification or alternative family schemes. A region wide reunification programme should be considered as the problem is not just confined to Mekele.

Changing Trends in the Street Child Population in Addis Ababa

Comparing the findings of the present study to those of the 1988 survey in 1992, 71% of street children were born in the capital city, compared to 66% in 1988 (an earlier survey in 1974 suggested that 72% of street children were born outside the city). Thus the profile of street children in Addis Ababa has changed somewhat in 20 years. It seems that the street child population is increasingly being drawn from established urban poor families (as opposed to recent migrant or displaced families, or unaccompanied children).

The proportion of children *of* the street has fallen from 37% in 1988 to 20.7% in 1992. In the present survey only 13.6% actually sleep on the streets, the remainder renting temporary shelter. The number of school drop outs also appears to have fallen. In 1988, 48% of children were school drop outs while in 1992, 39.5% were. The decline in the numbers of children *of* the street and school drop outs from 1988 to 1992 may be because a greater proportion of children were born in the city and therefore more street children may have family available locally.

General Conclusion

The principle findings of this study are that the needs and circumstances of children *on* and children *of* the street are quite different and therefore need to be responded to in different ways. Not surprisingly, the findings indicate that childrens' most pressing needs lie in the areas of **security, food, shelter, medical care, education and clothing**. Children who sleep on the streets and veranda cite their biggest problems as cold and exposure, hunger, and being beaten and having their blankets and money stolen by older boys and adults.

At present, there are few organisations dealing with the needs of children *of* the streets. There is a need for the establishment of a range of reception or night shelter facilities where children could go between the hours of 7 pm to 7 am at least and maybe longer if it was thought appropriate (taking into account the dangers of creating dependency while simultaneously providing for childrens' physical and psychological needs). Shelters might consider providing a meal and basic washing facilities for the children. Once children are in contact with the shelter, they could be screened for appropriateness for different types of rehabilitative measures, e.g. reunification, an alternative housing scheme, job training, employment opportunities, etc. Girls who live on the street are particularly in need of some sort of emergency shelter to cater for their immediate need for protection, where their longer term needs might also be addressed.

In Mekele, because of the effects of displacement and war, there is a serious need for a reunification programme for many of the children *of* the street with their immediate or extended family, where family can be traced. Dealing with the high percentage of orphans in the town should be a priority. Solutions involving institutions (orphanages, childrens homes) should be avoided and other solutions like establishing alternative families or fostering children with existing families should be explored. However, if reunification programmes are established in the other towns surveyed (where children generally left home because of their own volition and not because of the effects of war or drought), it has to be recognised that children did not leave their families without justifiable reason from their perspective and these reasons would have to be taken into consideration and dealt with for reunification to be successful. An important reason for separation from family was family conflict, and therefore family counselling and follow up would have to be an integral part of the programme.

For older children of the street, or those who do not wish to be reunified with family, the building of low cost housing which children *of* the street could rent cheaply but regard as their homes would fulfil many of their most immediate needs. This would serve the needs presently being provided by the cheap hotels and temporary nightly renting arrangements but with somewhat better living conditions and a sense of ownership and permanency. Such an arrangement would allow the introduction of a sense of structure into the childrens' lives, and would also allow a street-educator to have a relationship with the children who rent these homes should any of them wish to consult him/her over any problem.

Perhaps the most significant practical recommendation of the report is the need to focus attention on the family and parents. Many programmes target their help for the child on the street and just deal with his or her needs. The danger of doing this, particularly if it involves providing things for the child that parents are unable to provide, like food, is that it serves to loosen the ties of the child with home even more as the role of parents as providers is lessened. Programmes need to respond sensitively to this when trying to define how best to respond to childrens needs.

A focus on parents also might be the best way of preventing children moving full time to the streets. The results suggest that children *of* the street more frequently come from home circumstances which are related to higher levels of parental stress, and one indication of the manifestation of stress is higher levels of physical punishment and abuse of children and fighting or violence between parents themselves. Through involvement with the community, or through reports of children, parents experiencing stress or those at high risk of doing so (e.g. after the breakdown of a marriage, death of a spouse, sudden change in economic circumstances) may be identified and the appropriate psychological support provided.

CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND

CHAPTER ONE

Background

1.1 Introduction

This study was carried out with the purpose of monitoring and evaluating the situation of working and street-children in Ethiopia's main urban centres. The need for such monitoring has been seen as critical by both government and non-government organizations and United Nations Childrens Fund (UNICEF) in the light of changing political conditions and increasing urban destitution in Ethiopia.

As in many other African countries, the scale of the problem of street-children in Ethiopia has reached unprecedented levels. UNICEF's 1991 Annual Report (Ethiopia) noted with concern that in almost all the major urban centres of Ethiopia, the number of children needing assistance to achieve their basic needs had recently doubled. The Transitional Government of Ethiopia, through its Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs (MOLSA), has also placed the problems of children high on its agenda of priorities, including the problems faced by children in especially difficult circumstances and the problems of street-children in particular.

That street-children are one of the most vulnerable of Ethiopia's social groups is widely recognized. The basic rights of children enshrined in the Convention on the Rights of the Child; the right to survival, the right to an adequate standard of living for the child's physical and mental development, the right to protection from abuse and neglect, the right to be protected from the exploitative and debilitating developmental effects of child labour, the rights of children without family support to be adequately cared for and protected, are as yet far removed from the reality that is the lives of street-children in Ethiopia, and indeed street-children world-wide.

The ratification by Ethiopia of the Convention on the Rights of the Child in December 1991 indicates the Ethiopian Government's commitment to improving the quality of life of its children and offers a starting point from which policy related to children can be formulated and evaluated.

It is planned that the findings of this in-depth base-line survey of street children in Addis Ababa and three other regional towns will firstly provide a tool for the evaluation of the present needs of urban and displaced street-children and their families and communities. Secondly, it is hoped that the results shall provide a greater understanding of the processes relating urban poverty and issues of displacement to the creation of street-children. Thirdly and most importantly, it is hoped that the study will make an important contribution to the development of policy and appropriate intervention and prevention strategies related to street-children in Ethiopia and significantly improve Ethiopian children's attainment of their basic rights.

1.2 Background and Justification to the Study

In February 1991, UNICEF, Ethiopia invited the International Consultant on Street Children, Mr. Peter Tacon, to make an assessment of the situation of Ethiopian street children. His report indicated a serious cause for alarm. In total, he estimated the number of street-children in Ethiopia at more than 100,000. More worrying, however, he estimated that there were 500,000 urban children and out of school children at extremely high risk of becoming involved in street-life and another one million urban poor children at high risk of coming to the street. His report echoed the feelings of many Non Government Organisations (NGOs) that numbers of street-children were growing at an alarming rate.

Since the fall of the Dergue Government in May 1991, there has been widespread concern that this process has escalated even further, exacerbated by high inflation rates, increased urban poverty, and the lifting of restrictions on freedom of movement which has resulted in an influx of economic migrants and displaced to the capital city Addis Ababa and other regional towns.

Evidence of the deteriorating social and economic conditions throughout Ethiopia and in particular in the capital city Addis Ababa is clearly evident in the increasing numbers of people who have taken to the streets as a means of survival, through begging or petty selling. The city has also witnessed the burgeoning of makeshift plastic shelters in the main city streets, hard evidence of the influx of migrants and displaced and the fact that many people are looking to Addis Ababa and the main towns for the provision of their basic needs.

Large scale movement of people is occurring throughout the country as people in resettlement programmes return to their regions of origin and the displaced seek help in returning to their home areas. Similarly, in the southern region of the country and in Eritrea, the newly independent state in the North, people have been forced out of their homes by ethnic tensions.

The effects that these political and economic changes have had on the situation of children has not been documented. There are fears that as a result of the influx of migrants and displaced to urban areas since the lifting of travel restrictions, more orphaned or unaccompanied children may have come to the streets of the large towns, or been separated from their families in the movement process.

Furthermore, there are fears that, as economic conditions in the urban areas continue to deteriorate more and more, families from the lowest strata of urban poor may be pushed beyond a breaking point, forcing their members to the streets to survive. Thus, there are worries that a greater proportion of street-children are out-of-family children than before and of those children who retain contact with families, a greater proportion may have been forced to the streets as a result of parental pressure to contribute to the family income.

In the light of fast changing political and economical conditions in Ethiopia, UNICEF and MOLSA, on the recommendation of Mr. Tacon, decided to conduct a survey of street-children in Addis Ababa and other selected regional towns to monitor changing trends in the street child population. In addition to Addis Ababa, the three other regional towns selected were Nazareth, which it was felt merited attention because of its large street-child population, Bahir Dar in Gojjam province which was chosen as representing the north-west of the country and Mekele in Tigray, which has been badly affected by war and drought. It had initially been planned to include the towns of Jimma in the west and Dire Dawa in the

east in the survey but the political instability at the time of data collection made this impossible.

1.3 Defining a Street-Child

In this report, the term street child is used extensively. One of the dangers of labelling a particular social phenomenon or group is the implication that this group differs in some significant way from other similar groups and that a clear boundary delineates the experiences and needs of the labelled group from the broader social mileau in which it exists. Street children are a particularly disadvantaged group of children but their needs and the level of deprivation they experience may not be significantly different from that of other disadvantaged urban children. Labels imply clear boundaries which may not exist in reality and the line separating the urban poor child from the child who goes to the streets is often quite tenuous. Both the street-child and non street-child may come from a similar background with similar family circumstances and experience similar levels of physical and psychological deprivation. It is important to stress, therefore, that the focus of this work has to be on the rights of all disadvantaged children and that use of the label 'street child' is not to imply that street children form a category with psychological or physical characteristics or needs which differentiates them from other disadvantaged urban children. Nor does it imply that there is a homogenous group of children labelled 'street children' who share the same attributes and have a uniform set of needs.

Recognising that the term street children is merely a collective label, UNICEF have developed a typology which acknowledges that there are different types of street-children and differentiate between children according to their degree of involvement in street-life and family contact. Its categories include children at high risk of street-life involvement, children on and of the streets, and abandoned children.

Children at high risk are generally urban children who because of extreme poverty and deprivation in their homes, or inadequate care and supervision because parents are working, are at high risk of becoming involved in street-life.

Children on the street are children who spend most of their time in the streets or markets, usually as child workers. They maintain a strong family link, usually returning home at night, having spent all day away. The families are usually very poor and highly deprived, living in home environments lacking basic necessities, and the children can be characterized as having primarily an economic involvement with street-life, perhaps making a substantial contribution to the overall family income, or obtaining just the basic necessities for themselves. Few attend school regularly, the street being their main learning ground.

Children of the street, in contrast, are children who have in some sense chosen to fully participate in street-life not just at an economical level. They usually have a family accessible to them who they may visit from time to time, but the street is their principle home. There may be a developmental continuum from a child *on* the street to a child *of* the street, and any child may be located at a point along this continuum and move along it. A key indicator of a child *of* the street is his or her place of sleeping.

Abandoned children are those who have no home to go to either because of the death of, or the rejection by, their parents and the unavailability or rejection of their extended family. Rejection may be a response to profound economic disadvantage as much as rejection of the child per se.

Perhaps the most surprising thing to emerge when this typology is applied to street children is that as many as 80% - 90% of street-children world-wide are children *on* the streets (Tacon, 1984), and only 10 - 20% are children *of* the streets, whether runaways, abandoned or orphaned. As an indication of the situation of street-children cross-culturally, in Lima, Peru, it has been found that only 3% of street-children actually live on the streets (Boyden, 1986); in Colombia, 61% of children were found to have retained regular links with their families (Aptekar, 1989) and in Mexico, it was found that only 5% of children lived on the street on a full time basis (Lusk et al. 1989).

However there are many reasons to suspect that the profile of street-children in Ethiopia may deviate significantly from that of the Latin American profile. The long and bitter civil war in the north of the country and ongoing violence in the south compounded with the debilitating effect on rural areas of drought, famine and the breakdown of rural economies may mean the number of unaccompanied and *of* the street children in Ethiopia may be significantly greater than in other areas of the world.

1.4 Statement of General Objectives

1 To contribute to a greater understanding of the causes, nature of and consequences of being a street-child in Ethiopia by monitoring the profile and changing circumstances of street-children in the capital city, Addis Ababa.

2 (a) Gather information on street-children in other selected urban centres from which regional comparisons can be made.

(b) Gain an understanding of the relation between macro-level factors of urban poverty and displacement and the process by which children become involved in street-life, thereby contributing to the further development of policy and appropriate intervention and prevention strategies for street-children in Ethiopia and promoting advocacy for and on behalf of the rights of street-children.

1.5 Statement of Specific Objectives

1 Provide information on the familial, situational, socio-demographic and economic background of street-children and their families, through interviews with children in Addis Ababa, Nazareth, Bahir Dar and Mekele.

2 Describe the processes by which children in Ethiopia become involved in street-life activities and the factors maintaining that involvement.

3 Investigate the extent to which street-children are integrated with or marginalised from their families and communities and identify means by which such links could be strengthened.

4 Document in detail street-children's experience of victimization and abuse, and degree of criminal involvement and identify strategies to protect children against such abuse.

5 Assist in the development of clear government policy in relation to street-children and their needs, and to develop clear guidelines to serve as a basis for attracting donors to initiate and sustain intervention and preventative strategies to street-children and their families.

1.6 The Situation of Ethiopian Children

In a total population of approximately 55 million, Ethiopia has 23.5 million children under 16 years of age. An alarming percentage of those children live in or have experienced conditions which worldwide are recognized as pre-disposing factors to street-life involvement, namely poverty, lack of education, war and displacement and the disintegration of families. Figures from the 1992 State of the World's Children report allow no room for complacency. 60% of Ethiopia's 6.2 million urban population live below the absolute poverty line. That means that some 1.1 million urban children are victims of debilitating poverty. In the rural areas, the situation is similar; 65% of children live below the poverty line. This suggests that nearly two thirds of all Ethiopian families are on incomes below that required to meet the minimum basic needs of the family. This is reflected in figures indicating that 38% of 0-4 years old are moderately to severely underweight and 43% of 2-5 years old experience moderate and severe growth stunting. Throughout Ethiopia, only 38% of children of the applicable age group are enrolled in primary school, although this figure is probably higher in the urban centres and somewhat lower in the rural areas.

While children in the urban areas have better access to education and health facilities, their lives are probably more impoverished than rural children in other aspects. Many urban poor children live in dire conditions of over-crowding and this is particularly the case in Addis Ababa where some inner city awrajas (regions) have population densities of 40,000 people per sq. km or greater (Hicks, 1992). This inevitably creates serious environmental health problems due to huge waste generation and poor sanitation.

In her report, Hicks comments "An urban crisis is facing several cities in Ethiopia, most seriously Addis Ababa", and calls for attention to this "silent emergency". Conditions of over crowding and urban poverty puts families under serious strain, and places intolerable pressures on children to cope with their environment. It is an indication of the great resiliency of children that many, on the surface, seem to cope with some degree of adequacy, and it may be that street-life involvement can be thought of in this context as a rational adaptation to the difficult circumstances of their lives.

1.6.1 Unaccompanied and Orphaned Children

Another particularly vulnerable group of children in Ethiopian society are displaced children and undoubtedly, many have ended up in the main towns as children *of* the streets. Estimates of the numbers of displaced and unaccompanied minors are difficult to obtain but one estimate by the Relief and Rehabilitation Committee (RRC) in 1987 placed the total number at 250,000 of which 10%, 25,000, were drought victims.

Ethiopia, as a country not unused to drought, famine and civil unrest, has many traditional ways of dealing with orphaned and unaccompanied children. Orphaned children are sometimes given over to the church where they will be raised within the clerical institution. Another traditional practice is the concept of **Gudifecha**, an Oromo custom by which children are adopted by those willing to raise them if parents face hardship. Another is the system of **Yetut Abat** and **Yetut Inat** (foster father and mother) whereby the foster parents will raise the child as their own should the real parents be unable to.

However, as Eshete et al. (1990) note, these traditional practices can result in exploitation as children may be taken in for the value of their labour and foster and adopted children may become the first victims of deprivation and abandonment when times are tough. Furthermore,

these practices do not readily carry over to the urban environment which lacks the strong extended family system and binding religious values of the rural areas, which together provide a safety net for the orphaned child.

A more modern response to the problems of orphaned and unaccompanied children is orphanages and institutions. There are 101 institutions in Ethiopia which collectively care for 20,948 homeless and abandoned children (Eshete et al. 1990). One fifth of these are in Addis Ababa alone. The Children, Youth, and Family Welfare Organization (CYFWO) published figures in 1989 giving the geographical distribution of homeless children. As expected, the highest concentration is in the northern provinces which has experienced the worst of civil war and famine, where there are 8770 homeless children accounted for. In the southern provinces, the figure is 3580 children, in the central provinces, 5601, in the eastern provinces, 517, in the west, 2542 and in Addis Ababa there are 3916 known homeless children.

Displaced and unaccompanied children who are not registered with the Relief and Rehabilitation Commission (RRC) and other institutions are not included in these estimates, although UNICEF very conservatively estimate the numbers of unregistered children at nearly three thousand. Many of these children end up living either alone or in child headed groups as street-children in the towns and cities, outside the jurisdiction and help of any official organization. Information on the geographical distribution and knowledge of family whereabouts of these children is vital in prioritizing and designing intervention.

1.7 The Emergence of Street-Children in Ethiopia: Past Studies

The problem of street-children in Ethiopia is not a new phenomenon. In 1974, the problem caught the attention of the Rehabilitation Agency (RA) who conducted a survey in Addis Ababa which claimed to have identified all known street-children in the city between the ages of 5 and 18 years of age. They found that of the 5004 street-children in Addis Ababa, 4,955 were boys and 49 were girls. 72% of the children were born outside Addis Ababa. Of these children, 78% had come to the city because of economic problems, 9% because of family displacement, 7% in search of educational opportunities, 2% because of family breakdown and 4% for other reasons.

The most significant survey of street-children carried out in Addis Ababa was carried out in 1988 by the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs in conjunction with Radda Barnen. In comparison with the findings of the 1974 survey, this indicated dramatic changes in the extent of the street-child phenomenon and its profile and causes. The 1988 survey found that over two thirds (66%) of street-children were born in Addis Ababa. Another 18% came from the surrounding areas of the Shoa province and only 16% of the total were from distant parts of the country. While in 1974, 24% of street-children were children *of* the street, the proportion increased to 37% in the 1988 study. These are children who sleep on the veranda, in the grounds of a church or mosque and in hotels or other places. In 1974, children *on* the street, i.e. those children who were in close contact with their families accounted for 75% of street-children with 27% living with parents and 48% with relatives while in 1988 only 7.7% were living with relatives and 54.7% with parents.

The 1988 survey indicated that a high proportion of children were pushed to the streets because of economic reasons while still living with their parents. Most street-children were a product of urban poor families. When children were asked the main reason for their street-life involvement, 37% reported their own bad behaviour was responsible, 33% reported

economic reasons, 15% improper handling, 0.6% a dislike of school and 7% a combination of family breakdown, to be independent and migration. However, according to the reports of parents, over 80% of the children started street-life due to economic reasons.

In the 1988 survey, only 0.6% of children were orphans. 39% of children came from stable families in which both parents were in the home and 60.6% came from disrupted families in which one biological parent was missing from the home for whatever reason.

48% of children interviewed in 1988 were school drop-outs and 61% of those dropouts came from disrupted families, suggesting there may be more strain on children in single parent families, at least in terms of maintaining involvement with school. 71% of children first became involved in street-life between the ages of 9 to 12 years. This was also the age at which children were more likely to drop out of school and it was suggested that street life involvement adversely affected childrens school attendance.

A similar sample survey in Nazareth and a situational analysis in Dire Dawa which were both done on smaller scale involving 100 respondents each are of considerable relevance for comparative purposes.

The survey in Nazareth was conducted by MOLSA's Regional Office in 1991. The most striking finding was that 77% of the children interviewed were school drop outs. The proportion of children *of* the street was also much higher than that indicated for Addis in 1988. The survey also revealed that only about 15% of children came from far away places, 52% became street-children due to economic problems and 57% came from incomplete families.

The situational analysis of street-children in Dire Dawa was a joint effort of the Regional Office of MOLSA and Radda Barnen. This survey used random sampling of street children and revealed a surprisingly high (74%) proportion of children *of* the streets living either alone or with peers. About 30% of children in Dire Dawa migrated from other regions. 58% became involved in street-life because of economic reasons. 48% came from broken families and 59% of them are school drop outs.

The importance of these studies is that they provide a baseline for monitoring changing trends and profiles within the street-child population. This will be returned to later in the analysis of the results.

1.8 The Four Selected Towns: A Brief Situational Analysis

A. *Addis Ababa*

At the time this study was conducted in July 1992, the population of Addis Ababa was estimated to have doubled in the space of a year and a half, placing huge strains on sanitation, housing and means of income generation. Four distinct social groups can be identified in the city whose children were considered very vulnerable, contributing to the dramatic increase in the street-child population.

1 The urban poor

At the time the survey was conducted, inflation was running at 45% per annum. Given that nearly three quarters of the people in inner city areas earn less than 100 Ethiopian Birr a month (about 16 US dollars), it was expected that many of the new comers to the street would

be a product of families pushed beyond their subsistence level and forced to the streets to survive. In addition, poverty per se in Addis Ababa is compounded by other social problems. As many as one third to one half of urban families are headed by women (Hicks, 1992), and in some inner city areas, as many as 75% of households are female headed. Furthermore, it is estimated that nearly half the urban population is 14 years old and younger. In an environment with a young dependent population, very difficult economic problems and single parent families where that parent may be forced to spend long hours out of the home working (or in the home and dependent on income brought by children), the factors pushing children to streetism are very strong and their interaction complex.

2 Returnees

Since the end of the civil war in May 1991, many people have been returned, or returned of their own accord from abroad, particularly from Sudan and Eritrea. Up to 40,000 people were returned by the Government and the Ethiopian Red Cross and placed in camps around the country. Initially, these people were provided with emergency aid in rural areas but this ceased in February 1992 forcing some to continue their journey to Addis Ababa in search of assistance.

3 The internally displaced

There are no estimates available of the number of internally displaced in Ethiopia, nor the numbers that have made their way to Addis Ababa. However, reports by the I.C.C. say the number is significant. Many have moved in with relatives in inner city areas placing huge strain on their already minimal resources. In real terms there may be significant difficulty in differentiating between the urban poor and their internally displaced relatives as there may be little material difference in their circumstances. However, breaking in to even the informal labour market poses great difficulty for new arrivals as strong resistance exists from those already working in the over saturated informal market, and families (and in particular children) may have to undergo a difficult process of adaptation to the conditions of city life.

4 Ex-soldiers and their families

The fall of Lt. Col. Mengistu resulted in the disbandment of his army of nearly one million men without severance pay or pensions, reducing many of them and their families to destitution. While some assistance was forthcoming from groups like the Rehabilitation Organization for ex-soldiers, Catholic Relief Service, Norwegian Church Aid and others, at the time this study was carried out the situation of families of ex-soldiers was believed by observers to be especially vulnerable, and the children of ex-soldiers were thought to be one of the significant categories of newcomers to the street.

B. *Nazareth*

Nazareth is one of the fastest growing towns in the country and is situated quite close to Addis Ababa. The town has gained a reputation as an industrial and business centre, with the presence of two sugar factories, numerous small factories, different trade enterprises and the location of the Koka and Melka dams and hydro electric power stations in the area. The town is also on the trucking route from the main port of Assab to Addis Ababa and Kenya. It is also an important railway transit town for the trains from Addis Ababa to Djibouti. Being a stop-over point for truckers and trains the town has created a boom for the recreational and hotel industries and as a commercial centre it has attracted many migrants in search of work and better opportunities. With the continued growth of the town, there has been a growth in the numbers of children evident on the streets, many of whom seem to be attracted to the town for the same reason as the adults, on the strength of rumours of good

income generating possibilities. The town has also a large indigenous young population, with 46% of the population being under 15 years of age. Its proximity to Addis Ababa and its large street-child population made the town appropriate for inclusion.

C. *Bahir Dar*

Bahir Dar is situated in the north-west province of Gojjam and is the administrative town for that region. In comparison with other northern provinces, Gojjam is relatively affluent, producing Teff, a variety of grains, dairy produce and other food-stuffs and the population of the province is mainly rural. Although Bahir Dar has experienced some rural-urban migration, it is not comparable in scale to that experienced by Addis Ababa and Nazareth. Similarly, it is different to the towns in the other northern provinces, like Mekele, in that it has not been significantly affected by war and recurring drought. However, one of the effects of urbanization that Bahir Dar has not escaped is the emergence of a large population of street-children. The extent of the problem in the town was considered severe enough for it to merit inclusion in this study of street children, and it was chosen as representative of other large towns in predominantly rural areas where the origin and factors attracting or pushing children to the street are largely unknown.

D. *Mekele*

The northern region of Ethiopia has suffered greatly in recent years from the combined effects of periodic drought and famine and a bitter and disruptive seventeen year civil war against the Dergue Government. These factors have resulted in many people being forced from their homes, many of them fleeing to Sudan but a large number remaining in the country as internal refugees. In addition, a massive forced resettlement programme and drought affected people in the years 1984-86 and had very aversive effects on thousands of families and raised much controversy. These calamities have had serious effects on the demographic and socio-economic structure of the provinces of Northern Ethiopia, exacerbating wide-spread rural and urban poverty, creating shelter and food shortages, and splitting up families because of the death of a parent or parents or during the process of displacement or resettlement.

Mekele is the capital city of one of the hardest hit of the northern provinces, Tigray, and was chosen to be representative of the other towns in the northern region. During the war and drought, the town had been a focus for people migrating in search of relief and shelter, and longer term support. It has also attracted many children unaccompanied by parents or guardians. Many of these children have ended up sleeping in the veranda areas of the town. With the cessation of the war, the needs and circumstances of these children was felt by UNICEF and other observers to be a priority. However, not enough was known about the circumstances or origin of these children and the whereabouts or situation of their families to begin implementing intervention strategies immediately. The collection of systematic information on these points was felt to be vital so that specific groups of children could be targeted and measures appropriate to their situation taken.

1.9 Hypotheses

1 The majority of street-children in Addis Ababa, Nazareth, Bahir Dar and Mekele will be children *on* the street, who work, play or beg on the streets during the day but retain close contact with their families. Economic hardship in the home will be the main factor responsible for their street-life involvement. A smaller proportion

will be children *of* the streets, those who live full-time on the street and have severed contact with home.

2 There will be a greater proportion of working children on the streets than in 1988, and a greater proportion of children will be on the streets as a result of familial pressure to contribute to the family income.

3 A significant proportion of street-children in Addis Ababa will be children of families recently displaced to the city.

4 A larger proportion of street-children in Mekele will be children *of* the streets than in the other three towns. Street-life involvement will be integrally linked to the effects of war, famine and drought and the need to survive.

5 Street-children will be found to be marginalised from educational and health facilities and appropriate recreational outlets.

6 Due to economic pressure on children, large numbers will be involved in theft and crime, and older children will be engaged to a greater extent in crime and anti-social activities than younger children.

7 There will be wide-spread use of intoxicating substances to provide relaxation and well-being otherwise lacking in the street-children's lives.

8 Families of street-children who are working and contributing will have a more positive attitude towards their children's street involvement than those who are not contributing and even more so for those who are just playing on the street.

CHAPTER TWO

METHODOLOGY

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Methodology

The study was conducted through a standard questionnaire, supported by a more open-ended interview schedule. The following section briefly describes the different methodological stages of the survey construction and execution.

2.1 Developing the Questionnaire

The initial planning and preparation stage was carried out between April and June, 1992. A large meeting was held with representatives from all concerned organisations in Addis Ababa working with street-children. The purpose and objectives of the study were decided at this meeting, and a technical committee consisting of experts of the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, UNICEF and researchers from the University College Cork (UCC) was established to oversee the administration of the study.

In designing the survey questionnaire, attention was paid to the content of the 1988 survey and an effort was made to ensure compatibility between items of the 1988 and 1992 questionnaires so that items could be compared to monitor changing trends and profiles in the street-child population. The supplementary interview schedule was designed to examine childrens' origins, background, familial and socio-economic circumstances, educational background, initiation to street-life, nature of relationship with family, and present life circumstances. For the first draft, many of the questions were open-ended and based on the results of the pre-test and categories utilized in the 1988 survey. After their initial construction, the questionnaires and interview schedules were subject to a pilot pre-test phase. The final questionnaire can be seen in Appendix 1.

In designing this study, it was taken into account that street children adapt a variety of strategies to earn an income, and these strategies may affect the quality of life of the children. Children were therefore sampled according to street occupations. This was felt to be important to ensure that no significant category of street-child was overlooked or no category over represented at the expense of another category. For example, one category of working children in Addis Ababa is young boys who work on the taxis, shouting for passengers and collecting the fare. However, these children are a less visible sub-group of the street-child population and might have been omitted had special provision not been made for their inclusion. Conversely, shoe-shine boys are a highly visible and accessible sub-group of working street-children. Without constraints on sampling, it would have been easy to introduce a potential distortion in the results. The categories of street occupation selected were shoe-shiners, carriers and messengers, car washers and car "minders", street sellers/peddlers, beggars, children engaged in leisure and "other children in the street environment". The survey did not aim to include urban working children who may also face exploitation, (e.g child servants, shop workers) but who are not involved in street-life.

2.2 The pre-test

The pre-test was carried out in one day in mid-June in Addis Ababa. In all, 62 children were interviewed in three areas of Addis Ababa. Children and youths aged 7-17 were sampled and stratified according to sex (70:30 male, female) and street occupation as outlined above.

The pre-test highlighted a number of important issues and potential problems. With regard to the interview process, all interviewers experienced problems of obtaining sufficient privacy on the street in which to conduct the interview. To overcome this problem it was decided that as many interviews as possible be conducted in tea-rooms. This had been done in a number of cases in the pre-test and worked very well. However the option was left open to interviewers to conduct interviews in the streets and parks where it was felt more appropriate as some children were suspicious of the interviewer when it was suggested that they move to a tea-room. This was particularly the case with the older girls who overall were suspicious of the motives of the male interviewers and therefore distrustful. This had not been anticipated and it was decided that female interviewers be assigned to interview girls, particularly those 14 years and older.

The pre-test was also useful for indicating the absence of relevant items, highlighting irrelevant questions, and identifying structural or "flow" problems in the ordering of certain items. For some questions which were left open ended in the pre-test (fathers occupation, mothers occupation) it was possible to develop the most appropriate categories to make closed questions.

2.3 Outline of Final Questionnaire

The final questionnaire was organised under three broad headings; background information on childrens' personal and familial details, circumstances of childrens' initiation to street life and present life circumstances.

In the background section, information was sought on the family's migrational history, socio economic status (based on parents educational level, occupation, and housing conditions) and marital status. Children were asked about their personal and educational details and also the ages, educational background and street life involvement of their siblings as a basis for later comparison.

In the intermediate section, children were asked to respond to an open ended question on the circumstances of their initiation to street life. This section also probed other possible related problems they may have experienced at home at this time (abuse, lack of supervision, fighting between parents, hunger etc.).

The final section examined details relating to the child's working and street life and the nature of their relationship with home at the time of interview. Children were asked about their sleeping place, their parents attitude to their street life involvement, the quality of their relationship with home, the nature of their work, their experience of abuse, their working hours, their average pay, how they used the money they earned, their biggest daily problem and their health conditions.

2.4 Sampling Procedures

Sampling was stratified along three dimensions according to age, sex, and occupation. Four age categories were selected, 7-9 years, 10-12 years, 13-15 years and 16-17 years. The percentage breakdown across categories to be aimed at was as follows: 15% of 7-9 years old 35% 10-12 years old, 35% 13-15 years old and 15% 16-17 years old. These figures were selected with reference to the experiences of the 1988 survey which found the majority of the

street-children were in the 10-15 years old bracket. This was consistent with our own observations, and other studies of street-children world-wide.

Males and females were divided along the ratio 70:30. Again this figure was based on observation and the reports of people working with street-children in Addis Ababa.

An innovation in this study was the stratification of children according to street occupations, as mentioned earlier.

2.5 Selection and Training of Field Workers

Twenty social service experts of the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs were selected to conduct the interviews for the pre-test and the main survey. All were graduates of Addis Ababa University and had backgrounds in Psychology, Social Work or the Social Sciences. Many were already experienced at interviewing in difficult circumstances having previously participated in previous studies on prostitution, divorce and begging. In addition, there were four supervisors and three coordinators to direct, supervise and monitor activities.

A two day training session was held to introduce the interviewers to the objectives and background of the survey, the format of the questionnaire, how it should be filled and in interviewing techniques. A particular area of attention was advice and suggestions on how to approach and gain the trust the child respondent. A session was then devoted to translation issues, as the questionnaire was in English, to ensure consistency across interviewers interpretation and delivery of questions. Finally, a role play session was held in Amharic with staff taking on alternate roles of street-child respondent and interviewer, thus ensuring as far as possible that they were thoroughly familiar with the demands of the questionnaire.

2.6 Selection of Study Sites

In the towns sampled, areas with a high concentration of street-children were selected. In Addis Ababa, four main areas of the city were selected; Merkato, Piassa, Arat Kilo, and Higher 21. Between the four, the boundaries of the areas incorporated the central areas of the city.

The same approach was used in other towns and children were mainly selected from the central areas in other towns.

2.7 Data Collection

1000 children were interviewed in total. 400 children in Addis Ababa and 200 children were interviewed in each of towns of Nazareth, Mekele, and Bahir Dar.

To avoid double counting of children, it was decided to take each child's full name and conduct the interviews over as short a time as possible. In Addis Ababa, interviews were conducted over a period of two and a half weeks. In other towns, the interviewing period lasted 12-18 days. As decided from the experience of the pretest, few of the interviews were conducted on the streets, and tea-shops provided the main interview location. Some of the selected tea-shops were regular congregation points for street-children where they would play table football and where cheap food was obtainable. Others were quiet back-street places near busy central areas where the interviewers could work undisturbed. In Addis Ababa the Children, Youth and Family Welfare Organisation (CYFWO) and RRC offered space in their

compounds. In Mekele, interviewers used the office of the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs which was centrally located.

In each area a "facilitator" was used to select and bring the children to the interviews. The facilitator was paid 5 birr (100 US cents) per morning or afternoon session. The facilitator was generally an older boy who knew the children well, and would select children of the appropriate age, sex and occupation. Children were told the objectives of the interview and that the interviews were being conducted as part of a study on behalf of the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs and UNICEF. This appeared to be acceptable to the children and raised no suspicion. The data collectors were also told to give no false promises to the children who may have thought they were being "registered" for a donation of aid.

Each interview lasted approximately 45 minutes. In general, children were very cooperative and each child was given 2 birr (40 US cents) to compensate for the time taken to complete the interview schedule.

2.8 Monitoring and Supervision

Close and continuous monitoring and supervision of interviewers was carried out in all the towns. All questionnaires were checked the same night for incomplete responses and inconsistencies so that they could be corrected immediately. All questionnaires were carefully edited before coding commenced.

2.9 Coding and Data Processing

All questionnaires were coded for data processing. Open-ended questions were firstly categorized by isolating all the responses for each open ended question and then arranging them according to emergent categories. A coding manual was produced to guide the coding process and coding was carried out by MOLSA staff after a thorough training on the manual. Data processing was carried out by BECS, a private computer company and data entry was re-checked by MOLSA staff for errors. Frequency counts and cross tabulations were obtained for the relevant variables and data interpreted and analysed.

2.10 Constraints During Collection and Processing of Data

1 A serious problem encountered while conducting the field work was that other destitute children and adults kept approaching the interviewer asking to be 'registered' in the belief that aid was being given out. This belief was probably perpetuated by the presence of the two (white) researchers from UCC and the payment of a small incentive (2 Birr) to interviewees. This small payment increased the risk of double counting, but as the same team of researchers worked in the same area each day, double counting was kept to a minimum.

2 Since data collection was conducted during the rainy season it was somewhat difficult for interviewers in Addis Ababa to get around and select their targets. However, this problem was not found in other towns.

3 In Mekele, data collectors were arrested a few times because they were mistaken for religious preachers. Preaching outside the church or chapel has been prohibited according to an agreement between the Orthodox church and the Protestant churches.

4 There were a number of unavoidable delays in interpreting and analysing the questionnaires. The questionnaire was very detailed and therefore time consuming to edit and code, particularly for open-ended questions. Even though a detailed coding manual was prepared, open-ended questions were difficult to categorise and inevitably there were uncertainties and different views that resulted in coding errors.

5 The software used by BECS was Lotus 1-2-3. Even though it was possible to obtain the needed reports, it was not easy to manoeuvre such large data using this software. Therefore, there were some erroneous reports that prolonged interpretation and analysis much more than previously planned.

In addition to the formal questionnaire study, more detailed studies were conducted through less formal, open ended interviews of children and families (where appropriate), on experiences of victimization and delinquency (reported in Chapter Four), children and families in the community (reported in Chapter Five) and displaced families (reported in Chapter Six).

CHAPTER THREE

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

CHAPTER THREE

Results and Discussion

Section A. Characteristics of Sample: Age, Sex, Ethnicity, Religious Composition

In calculating percentages, responses of "not applicable", "don't know" and "no response" have been excluded from the analysis where appropriate. In general the "no response" accounted for less than 3 percent of the total. Qualitative accounts in Section B examining childrens initiation to the street are derived from childrens' responses to the open ended sections of the questionnaire.

3.1 Age by Sex Distribution

Table 3.1: Age by Sex (%)

Sex	N = 122 7 - 9	N = 344 10 - 12	N = 388 13 -15	N = 148 16 - 17	N= 1000 Total
Male N = 760	7.3	25	31.1	12.6	76
Female N = 240	4.9	9.4	7.5	2.2	24
Total N= 1000	12.2	34.4	38.6	14.8	100

The age range of street-children sampled was 7-17 years. Overall, males accounted for 76% of the sample and females for 24%, 12.2 % were aged 7-9, 34.4% were 10-12 years, 38.6% were 13-15 years and 14.8% were 16-17 years. The broad age and sex sample quotas were therefore largely met.

Although sampling had been stratified, there was some regional differences in the final sample composition as the quota for certain age/sex categories was difficult to achieve in some areas. In both **Addis Ababa** and **Mekele,** the percentage of girls interviewed was very close to the 30% laid out in the initial sampling framework (29% and 28.5% respectively), but in **Nazareth** and **Bahir Dar**, girls accounted for only 15.5% and 18.5% of the sample respectively. In both towns, it was found difficult to get the required number of girls and the final percentages were believed to reflect more accurately the real sex distribution. In Nazareth, an explanation for this may be the fact that a significant proportion of street children were Muslim (40%). The presence of a significant Muslim population in the area near Nazareth (the Gurages) may be a significant factor in the lower proportion of girls evident on the streets as such a measure of freedom which street life would imply would be inappropriate for Muslim girls. Another significant factor may be the large proportion of children in Nazareth who have left their families and come to the town unaccompanied by parents (62.5%). It is reasonable to expect on cultural grounds that this pattern would be more likely found amongst boys than girls. In Bahir Dar, the population of the town has

close links with the rural population and traditional roles for girls of remaining in the home may be stronger than in the capital. In Mekele, the proportion of girls to boys on the streets also appeared to be less than that in Addis Ababa and it was only with difficulty that close to the required quota of 30% was fulfilled. The reason for this may be more complex, and related to processes of displacement not so evident in the other towns.

In general across the four towns, street girls aged 16-17 years represented the smallest category in the sample. The sample quota for this group was 4.5% of the total but overall only half this (2.2%) was achieved. Mekele achieved a sample nearest the quota, 4% (8 girls). However in Addis Ababa, Nazareth and Bahir Dar, girls in the 16-17 year age group accounted for only 2.25% (N=9), 2% (N=4) and 0.5% (N=1) of the sample respectively. The small sample numbers here are important to note when interpreting results for this group. One of the problems of sampling this age group is a classification problem. In both Addis Ababa and Mekele, some of the girls in this age group had babies and they survived on the street by begging or selling foodstuffs. Interviews carried out on victimization of street girls in Addis Ababa (see page 73) found that it is not uncommon for street girls aged 15 and over to have babies and they survive by begging with their infants by their side. Such girls are less likely to be perceived as 'street girls' and are more commonly perceived as street families or street mothers. This differing perception would make it likely that these girls were for the most part overlooked in the selection of respondents by the facilitator and interviewers.

Another possible explanation for the low number of girls in this category is that it may reflect real trends. Interview material from the victimization study suggests that older girls would like to move off the street where possible because of their greater vulnerability to abuse, sexual abuse in particular. Interview material also indicates some older girls become bar girls, some find partners who support them and girls previously *of* the street try to rent temporary accommodation by night. Interviews with families of working children showed that parents were very concerned about their daughters vulnerability to sexual abuse and once their daughters reached 14/15 years of age, daughters were then kept within the home while younger children took on the responsibility of working. As girls get older therefore, changing situational factors could mean that older girls choose not to remain in the streets if at all possible, and girls or their families look for other options to survive.

3.2 Ethnic Composition

Table 3.2: Ethnic Composition by Town (%)

Town	N=459 Amhara	N=103 Oromo	N=164 Gurage	N=239 Tigrean	N=30 Other	N=995 Total
N= 395 Addis Ababa	49.6	20.5	18.0	6.8	5.1	100
N= 200 Bahir Dar	94.0	1.5	0.0	4.0	0.5	100
N= 200 Nazareth	37.5	9.5	46.5	2.0	4.5	100
N= 200 Mekele	0.0	0.0	0.0	100	0.0	100
N= 995 Total	46.1	10.4	16.5	24.0	3.0	100

Overall nearly half the sample, 46.1% of children were Amhara. Tigrians formed the second largest group, comprising 24% of the total. Gurage and Oromo comprised 16.5% and 10.4% respectively and other ethnic groups constituted 3%.

Looking at the distribution of each ethnic group across the four towns, half or 49% of street-children in **Addis Ababa** were Amhara. The proportion of Amhara children have increased by 10% when compared to the findings of the 1988 study. Although it is popularly believed that Gurage children form the most significant ethnic sub-group of street-children in Addis Ababa, they represented only 18% of the Addis Ababa sample. This is very similar to the 1988 figure of 18.7%. Oromo and Tigrians made up 20.5% and 6.8% respectively. The proportion of Oromo children has decreased since 1988, (by 6.6%) while for Tigrians the decrease was very slight (1.6%). The number of Tigrian children was surprisingly low given the expectation that a reasonably significant proportion of street-children in the Capital would be northern children displaced by conditions of war and drought, whether alone or with families. However, this was not borne out in these figures.

Gurage children formed the predominant ethnic group in **Nazareth**, where they accounted for 46.5% of the street-child population. Amharas and Oromos comprised 37.5% and 9.5% of the total street-child population in Nazareth respectively.

In **Bahir Dar**, the street-child population was overwhelmingly Amhara (94%), while the children interviewed in **Mekele** were all Tigrians.

3.3 Religious Composition

86.7% of the total sample was Orthodox Christian. 12.4% were Muslim and 0.9% were from other religions (mainly Catholic or Protestant).

Table 3.3 Religious Composition by Town (%)

Town / Religion	N=867 Christian	N=124 Muslim	N=9 Other	N=1000 Total
Addis Ababa N=400	90.8	8.0	1.2	100
Bahir Dar N=200	91.5	7.0	1.5	100
Nazareth N=200	60.0	40.0	--	100
Mekele N=200	99.0	1.0	--	100

In **Addis Ababa**, **Bahir Dar** and **Mekele**, 90.8%, 91.5% and 99% of children were Orthodox Christian and 8%, 7% and 1% of children respectively were Muslim.

A different profile was found in **Nazareth** where the proportion of Orthodox Christians was much smaller. 60% of children were Orthodox and Muslim children accounted for 40% of the total. This figure can probably be explained by the high percentage of Gurage children in Nazareth, of whom the majority are Muslim.

3.4 Street-Child Population Profile: Children *on/of* the street

Before an analysis is undertaken of the background of street children and the factors responsible for their involvement in street life in Ethiopia, it is useful to briefly examine the profile of the street child population across the four towns with regard to their status on the UNICEF typology outlined in the introduction. Two main indicators have been identified for classifying street children; their degree of family contact and the nature of their involvement in street life. As stated earlier, *children on the street* are usually child workers and their involvement in street life is mainly for economic reasons. *Children of the street*, on the other hand, are defined as those who have for the most part severed contact with their families and the street is their main living place. Sleeping place (home or street) is used here as the main indicator of level of engagement in street life although it is recognised that some children who sleep at home may still have minimal involvement with their family and the street may still be their main socialising influence. This will be explored in more detail later by looking at childrens working hours, participation in other activities like school and religion, and childrens reports of their relationship with their family.

Children *on* and *of* the street: Q57 Where do you usually go to sleep?

Table 3.4: Where Child Sleeps by Town (%)

Town	N = 679 Home	N=60 Home-Street	N=214 Street	N=43 Temp. Rented Shelter	N=996 Total
N = 397 Addis Ababa	74.8	4.5	13.6	7.1	100
N = 200 Bahir Dar	71.9	5.0	18.1	5.0	100
N = 200 Nazareth	77.5	10.0	11.5	1.5	100
N = 199 Mekele	42.0	6.0	51.0	1.0	100
Total % N = 996	68.2	6.0	21.5	4.2	100

68.2% of all street-children interviewed said they sleep at home. 6% sleep sometimes at home and sometimes on the street. 21.5% sleep on the street and another 4.2% sleep in temporary rented accommodation. As the shelter is rented on a nightly basis when the child has money, these children can effectively be regarded in the same category of children who sleep on the street.

Examining the situation according to the four towns, in **Addis Ababa**, three quarters (74%) of children reported they sleep at home. 4.5% sleep sometimes at home and sometimes on the street. 13.6% sleep on the street and 7% rent temporary shelter, usually on a nightly basis for 50 cents at a time. The proportion of children who sleep on the streets therefore is quite low. As analysis continues, the report will explore what factors if any (family circumstances, experience of abuse at home, circumstances of initiation to the street) differentiate children who sleep at home from those who sleep on the streets with the aim of developing predictive factors of children at highest risk of moving full time to the streets.

The highest proportion of children who sleep at home was found in **Nazareth**. This group accounts for 77.5% of street-children interviewed in that town. 10% of children sleep between home and the street and 11% sleep on the street. 1.5% rent temporary shelter each night. This is an interesting finding given the high proportion of children in Nazareth (62.5%) who will be shown to have left their family and come unaccompanied by parents to the town of interview. Therefore 'home' for many of these children is in fact the home of relatives and not that of their biological family. Although the profile of Addis Ababa and Nazareth look similar based on figures of where children sleep, the story of how children come to the street exhibits important differences which will be explored later.

In **Bahir Dar**, a slightly higher proportion of children are found to sleep on the street (18%), but still, nearly three quarters of street children (71.9%) sleep at home. 5% of children sleep

between home and street and 5% rent shelter. As in the other towns, this implies the majority of street children retain close ties with their family. From the profile of the town outlined in the introduction, a reasonable assumption was that many street children in Bahir Dar would be unaccompanied children who have come to the town from the surrounding rural areas and that a large proportion of children therefore would be children *of* the street. However this is not supported in the profile presented here and later analysis will show the majority of children in Bahir Dar have family residing there. However the question arises as to who the 18% of children living on the street are.

The profile of street children in **Mekele** is quite different to that found in the other three towns. Only 42% of children sleep with their families or guardian. A massive 51% of children sleep on the streets. An additional 6% sleep sometimes at home and sometimes on the streets and 1% rent temporary shelter. Given the northern region's experience of war and drought, it will be important to see to what extent these factors account for the high proportion of children living on the streets.

Examining further the profile of children *on* and children *of* the street (as a function of where the child sleeps) by age and sex, an important pattern emerges (Table 3.5). In general, a higher proportion of boys than girls sleep out of home and there is a strong relationship between age and sleeping place.

Table 3.5: Where Child Sleeps by Sex, by Age (%)

Sex	Male N = 72	Male N = 248	Male N = 308	Male N = 126	Female N = 49	Female N = 94	Female N = 75	Female M = 22
Age	5 - 9	10 - 12	13 - 15	16 - 17	5 - 9	10 - 12	13 - 15	16 - 17
Home N = 679	66.7	69.2	62.7	46.0	91.8	88.3	84.0	59.1
Home and Street N = 60	9.7	4.4	7.7	8.7	--	4.3	2.7	4.5
Street N = 214	22.2	22.0	23.8	34.9	8.2	7.4	12.0	22.7
Temp. shelter N = 42	1.4	3.6	4.8	10.3	0.0	0.0	1.3	13.6
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

For both males and females, the proportion of children sleeping on the streets increases with age. As can be seen from table 3.5, 91.8% of girls and 66.7% of boys aged 5 - 9 years sleep at home regularly. However, of the age group 16-17 years, only 59.1% of girls and 46% of boys sleep at home.

In the age groups 5-9 years, 10-12 years and 13-15 years, the proportion of boys sleeping on the street or in temporary shelter remains reasonably constant, and this can also be observed in the case of the girls (although there is a slight increase for both sexes in the 13-15 year old bracket). There is then a large jump in the proportion of 16-17 year olds sleeping on the streets or renting temporary shelter.

There are two possible explanations for this trend. Either children as they become older move from sleeping at home to sleeping on the streets, or the proportion of working children/children who sleep at home declines as these children leave street life and the more hard core street children, those who sleep on the streets, are proportionately more represented. The correct explanation is probably a combination of both factors. Either way this finding has important policy implications. It raises the issue of focusing on the natural process by which children who sleep at home leave street life and seek to strengthen this process through community or family based initiatives. A second issue relates to how to identify the best ways to prevent children who sleep at home from breaking with their family and moving to the street.

A consistent trend across all age categories is that the proportion of boys sleeping out of home is greater than that of girls. Boys therefore appear to be more vulnerable than girls to leaving home. There is a dual process operating here whereby girls are more likely than boys to be encouraged to remain involved with home because of their contribution to domestic chores, while boys choose to leave home more easily given a difficult home environment. Studies in other contexts show that in general, emotional stress seems to have a greater effect on boys than on girls. Most studies show that boys are much more likely to be stressed by family discard and disruption than girls, although there does not seem to be a completely satisfactory explanation for this (Humphreys, 1984)

A surprisingly high proportion of boys in the 5-9 year old age bracket sleep on the streets (22.2%) and this proportion is significant enough to merit serious examination of possible alternative care measures for this group.

Overall, there is a strong relationship between age and sleeping place, and older children are more frequently living full-time on the street than younger children. This supports arguments that there is a developmental continuum whereby children move from being *on* to *of* the street. This could be because of increasing confidence in learning survival techniques of the street and adapting to the hardships of street-life, gaining higher income and feeling more independent.

3.5 Family's Present Place of Residence and Migrational History

Q7.1 Where do your parents live now (this town, other urban, other rural)?

Table 3.6: Place of residence of parents: town of interview or elsewhere (%)

	This Town N = 575	Other Urban N=128	Other Rural N=183	Not applicable N=84	Don't Know N=27
Addis Ababa N=398	15.2	7.0	16.2	5.2	1.8
Bahir Dar N=200	65.0	12.5	14.5	7.5	0.5
Nazareth N=200	35.0	16.0	40.5	4.5	4.0
Mekele N=199	37.0	21.5	16.0	19.5	5.5

Three quarters (75.2%) of children in **Addis Ababa** have parent(s) or guardian resident in Addis Ababa. Of the remainder, 7% have parents in another town and 10.2% have parents in a rural area. Thus, the majority of street children in Addis Ababa have family available to them locally, in physical terms at any rate. 7.5% of children reported the question was not applicable either because they did not have family (5.7%) or they did not know the whereabouts of their family (1.8%, N=7). This latter figure is quite low given expectations outlined in the introduction that a significant proportion of children would be those who became separated from their families because of war and ethnic problems and resultant displacement. The proportion of children in Addis Ababa who have family and who know the whereabouts of their family is therefore very high (92.5%).

Similarly, two thirds of street children in **Bahir Dar** have parents(s) or guardian residing in the town. The proportion of children with families elsewhere is higher than in Addis Ababa (27% in all) and this is composed of 12.5% of children who have family living in another town and 14.5% have family in a rural area. The rural to urban movement of children is not as pronounced as expected and is matched by children moving from a presumably smaller town to the larger regional town. Over a quarter of the sample therefore have left their family for whatever reason to come to the town of Bahir Dar and the reasons for this will be explored later. 8% of children responded the question was not applicable to them either because their parents were dead (7.5%) or they did not know their whereabouts (0.5%, N=1).

The profile of family place of residence of street children in **Nazareth** is somewhat different to that of Addis Ababa and Bahir Dar. Only 35% of children have family available in the town itself. 8.5% do not have family, either because parents are dead (4.5%) or they do not know parents whereabouts (4%, N=8). Interestingly, 40.5% of street children have parents in a rural area and have left them for whatever reason to come to the town. Qualitative material from the interview schedules indicates that the decision to leave home for many children often mirrors that made by adult migrants (perceived attractions of urban life, search for opportunities, a better lifestyle, the wish to be part of a modern world). It is also possible that children have been forced to leave home by parents who send them to the city to work as a means of supporting the family. These issues will be looked at in more detail later in the section on unaccompanied children with families elsewhere. In addition, 16% of children have families in other urban centres and the reasons why these children have left their family and moved to Nazareth will also be explored later.

Finally, **Mekele** exhibits a rather different pattern again to that of the other towns. 37% of children had family living in Mekele itself, which is similar to Nazareth. However, 25.5% of children did not have family either because they had no parents (19.5%, N=39) or they did not know the whereabouts of their parents (5.5%, N=12). This may reflect the region's experience of war and displacement. A third of children (37%) have family available outside Mekele and have left them for whatever reason to come to the town. This is composed of 21.5% of children who have parents living in another urban centre and 16% who have parents in a rural area. This is an interesting reversal of the pattern found in Nazareth in so far as the proportion of children coming from an urban centre is more pronounced than children coming from rural areas. This may again be due to the effects of war which severely affected some of the towns in Tigray and Eritrea. The main point worth noting here however is that, compared to Addis Ababa, Bahir Dar and Nazareth, where 92.5%, 92% and 91.5% of children respectively have or know the whereabouts of their family, only 74.5% of Mekele street children do so.

Table 3.7: Children *on* and *of* the street and parents in town of interview (%)

Parents in Town	Children *on* the Street N=650	Home/Street N=52	Children *of* the Street N=179
Addis Ababa N=367	89.6	76.5%	45.2%
Bahir Dar N=183	87.6	44.4%	16.2%
Nazareth N=182	75.5	55.6%	29.6%
Mekele N=149	78.4	55.6%	17.5%

Above figures quoting the percentage of street children with family available in the town of interview hides important differences between children *on* and children *of* the street. In **Bahir Dar** and **Mekele**, the proportion of children who sleep on the streets who have family available locally is less than a fifth of the total for that group (16.2% and 17.5%). In Bahir Dar, of the remainder of children *of* the street who have family, 48% have family in rural areas and 37% in other urban centres. In Mekele, children have come equally from rural and other urban areas. Conversely, nearly half of children of the street in **Addis Ababa** have family in the capital city (45.2%) while in **Nazareth**, 29.6% do so. Availability of family locally may be an important consideration when devising appropriate intervention strategies for each town.

Q 6 Where were you born? Q7 Where do your parents live now (by province)?

Table 3.8: Place of Birth, Place of Parents' Residence of Town when child had knowledge (%)

Addis Ababa N = 400	Addis Ababa	Other Central	North	South	East	West	Total
Birth Place N = 393	71.0	16.0	5.8	4.3	0.8	2.1	100
Parents Live Now N = 371	81.4	11.4	2.7	3.1	0.3	1.1	100

Bahir Dar N = 198	Gojjam	Other Central	North	South	East	West	Total
Birth Place N = 198	68.2	0.5	29.8	0.0	1.0	0.5	100
Parents Live Now N = 184	79.9	0.5	19.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	100

Nazareth N = 200	Shoa	Other Central	North	South	East	West	Total
Birth Place N = 200	79.0	4.0	4.0	9.0	4.0	0.0	100
Parents Live Now N = 185	86.5	3.3	0.0	7.0	2.7	0.5	100

Mekele N = 199	Tigray	Eritrea	Other Northern	Central	Others	Total
Birth Place N = 199	83.9	14.1	2.1	0.5	0.0	100
Parents Live Now N = 158	91.1	1.9	0.0	3.8	3.1	100

The above tables present the respondents' birth place and place where parents are now living for the four sample areas. As can be seen the majority of children were born in the province of the town of interview. In **Addis Ababa,** 71% of children were born in the city while 81% had families now residing in Addis Ababa. This suggests 10% of the children migrated to the capital with their families. The largest proportion of migrants appear to have come from the central region (mainly from Shoa). While some families came from the Northern provinces, the proportion was not as high as might have been given the war etc. More recent migrants and war displaced did not figure as predominantly as expected.

Table 3.9: Children Born in Town of Interview and those with Family Now Residing There (%)

Town Born/Now live	"Born in this town" N=997	Town Born/Now Live	"Family now live in this town" N=898
Addis Ababa N=400	71.0	Addis Ababa N=371	81.4
Bahir Dar N=198	52.0	Bahir Dar N=184	70.6
Nazareth N=200	29.5	Nazareth N=185	37.8
Mekele N=199	28.6	Mekele N=158	46.8

The highest proportion of recent migrants were found in **Bahir Dar**, and this is consistent with the pattern of demographic movement in that area. As can be seen from table 3.9, 52% of children were born in Bahir Dar and 70.6% of children had family resident there at the time of interview (this implies 18.6% were migrants to the town) . Looking at the profile by province, 68.2% of street-children were born in Gojjam province, of which Bahir Dar is the regional town, while 79.9% of parents now reside in that province. Nearly a third of children were born in the northern provinces (mainly Gonder) and it is mainly from here that families from outside the province have migrated to Gojjam and Bahir Dar.

Nazareth shows little demographic change between the child's birth place and present family residence. 29.5% of children were born in the town while 37.8% now resided there with family (+8.3%). However, 79% of children were born in Shoa province and 86.5% of children had families residing there at the time of the interview, thus most children had family living relatively nearby. Movement to Nazareth, where it occurred, was mainly from the south and for economic or political reasons.

83.9% of street-children in **Mekele** were born in Tigray while 14.1% were born in Eritrea, most of whom were forced to leave because of the war and more recently, nationality problems between Eritreans and non Eritreans. However, only 26.6% of street children were actually born in the town of Mekele, and only 48.6% of children who knew the whereabouts of their parents or had parents residing there. Nearly a quarter of children were unable to give details of where their families now lived.

Therefore, the majority of children lived in the province of their birth and migration of families was generally to the closest big town or city. In Addis Ababa, interviews with family suggest that street-children were generally second or third generation urban poor and have lived all their lives in Addis Ababa, and this is supported by the finding that the majority of children were born in the city. Mekele has a large proportion of displaced families (see table). However, the problem of children of displaced families was not encountered to the extent expected in Addis Ababa.

Q 10 (If applicable) Why did your family leave their home region?

Table 3.10: Reason Family Left Home Region by Town (%)

	N= 39 War/Political	N= 7 Drought/Famine	N= 79 Work	N= 7 Health	N= 49 Other	N= 181 Total
N= 64 Addis Ababa	9.4	3.1	43.8	7.8	35.9	100
N= 26 Nazareth	34.6	0.0	34.6	3.8	26.9	100
N= 53 Bahir Dar	13.2	1.9	62.3	0.0	22.6	100
N= 38 Mekele	44.7	10.5	23.7	2.6	18.4	100
N= 181 Total	21.5	3.9	43.6	3.9	27.1	100

Search for work was the most common factor responsible for the movement of families from their home region, according to the children's own reports. Overall, 43.6% of families left their home region looking for work, 21.5% because of war and other political reasons such as nationality conflict, 3.9% because of drought and another 3.9% for health reasons. 27.1% left for other reasons.

On closer analysis interesting, but not surprising, regional differences emerge. For families who have come to **Addis Ababa**, the major reason was in search of work and this was cited by 43.8% of children who gave a reason. Only 9.4% of children said their families left because of war.

Conversely, in **Mekele**, 44.7% of families left their home region because of war. In **Nazareth**, an equal proportion of children reported both war and to find work as the reason (34.6% in each case where a reason was given). In **Bahir Dar**, 62.3% of children said families left their home in search of work, and 13.2% because of war.

Therefore, for those families that left their home region, the major reason was economic. Nearly half of respondents reported their families migrated in search of work. Fragmentation of land holdings, lack of investment in the agricultural sector, lack of alternative employment opportunities and lack of basic facilities in the rural areas are the major push factors. In Bahir Dar, migration in search of work accounted for two thirds of families while in Addis Ababa it accounted for nearly half the cases. In Mekele, war was the main factor responsible for families leaving their home region; thus nearly half (44.7%) can be considered as displaced, in contrast to the predominantly economic migrants of Addis Ababa, Bahir Dar and Nazareth.

3.6 Socio-Economic Status of Families of Street-Children

The situation of the street child has its roots in the economic and social situation of the family. Throughout the world, street children have been found to be predominantly a product of poor families, whether urban or rural. One correlate of low occupational status is low educational level. Lack of education limits opportunities, particularly in an urban setting where the value of labour depends on the scarcity or otherwise of the skills on offer. As indicators of socio-economic status, children were asked about the educational background of their parents, their occupational status, and the housing conditions of the family.

Table 3.11: Parents Educational Level (%)

Education Level	Father		Mother	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Illiterate	319	31.9	600	60.0
Read Only	27	2.7	25	2.5
Read and Write	188	18.8	124	12.4
Regular School	300	30.0	184	18.4
Did Not know (D/K)	160	16.0	67	6.7
Total	1000	100	1000	100

In general, the educational status of parents was low. A third of fathers (31.9%) and twice as many mothers (60%) were reported by children to be illiterate. From their childrens' responses, only a third of fathers (30%) have received regular education. 18.8% said their fathers could read and write and 2.7% said fathers could read only. 16% of children didn't know their fathers educational background (D/K).

Of the 30% of fathers who were reported to have attended school, 33% were said to have attended grade 1-6, 25% have attended grade 7-8 and 40% have attended grade 9-12. 2% of fathers have even gone on to higher education. While overall, the majority of fathers were poorly educated, this cautions against claiming that the families of street-children are a

homogenous group and appear to exhibit greater diversity at least in terms of educational attainment than is commonly believed.

The educational status of mothers was considerably lower than that of fathers, which is to be expected given the traditional lack of emphasis placed on the education of women. 60% of mothers were reported to be illiterate. Only 18.4% were reported to have attended regular education. 12.4% could read and write and 2.5% could read only. Of the 18% who have attended school, half (52.2%) were reported to have only attended elementary school, 15% have attended grade 7-8 and 11.6% have reached grade 9-12. None have gone on to higher education.

In general, the educational level fathers of children *of* the street was lower than that of children *on* the street and only 23% of fathers of the former group had attended regular education, compared to 32.3% of the latter, and 30.8% of children of the street said fathers' were illiterate compared to 37.1% of fathers of children *of* the street.

In the community study which was designed to complement the main study, parents were asked about their attitudes to education. Interestingly, many parents judged providing an education for their children as one of their main responsibilities. In general, parents were very aware of their low educational status and many parents blamed their own lack of education as the reason for their poverty. Many reported making sacrifices from their food so as to ensure their children have the opportunity to go to school.

Table 3.12: Father's Occupational Type (%)

Livelihood	Frequency	Percentage
Informal	164	16.4
Self-employed	87	8.7
Petty Seller	51	5.1
Gov. Employee	300	30.0
Private Employee	43	4.3
Farmer	224	22.4
Beggar	11	1.1
Others	65	6.5
Don't Know	53	5.3
No Response	2	0.2
TOTAL	1000	100

The low educational level of parents is a significant determinant of the types of job opportunities available to them.

The most common category of employment engaged in by men was as government employees (30%). However, this was generally in the lower income and status occupations such as

guards, drivers, factory workers etc. It also included those fathers who were soldiers (who had died) and soldiers of the Transitional Government. 16% of fathers worked in the informal sector, for example, as carriers and daily labourers etc. From interviews with families and discussions with community based projects, the average income for such work would be approximately 100 Birr (20 US dollars) per month.

Of the other employment categories, 22% of fathers were farmers. 8.7% had a skill or trade and thus were self-employed. 5% made their living from petty selling and 4% were private employees. 11 fathers, or 1.1% were beggars. 6.5% got their income from other sources (pension, unemployed) and 5.3% did not know their fathers' occupations.

Table 3.13: Mothers Occupational Type (%)

Livelihood	Frequency	Percentage
Informal	257	26.6
Street-Seller	133	13.7
Skill	54	5.6
Employer	30	2.1
House Servant	27	2.8
Beggar	23	2.4
Housewife	421	43.5
Other	29	3.0
No Response	3	0.3
TOTAL	967	100

72.1% of mothers of street-children were engaged in income generation activities of some sort, which is a further indication of the low income status of households. As well as placing huge strain on mothers, this means that, for many children, both parents are out of the house for significant parts of the day. Thus young children may be left unsupervised, and heavy care taking duties often become the responsibility of one of the older daughters.

26.6% earned their livelihood from informal sector employment, like tella selling, baking injera, collecting firewood or washing clothes. 13.7% were street sellers. 5.6% had some skill and were self employed (e.g. basketry, weaving, embroidery, hairdressing). 2% were employees and 2.8% worked as house servants. 2.4% were full time beggars and 3% got their livelihood from other sources (prostitution, gets assistance from government, pension). 14.2% were the wives of farmers and 27.9% of mothers were housewives and therefore not contributing economically to the upkeep of the family.

Table 3.14: Father Ex-Soldier (%)

TOWN	N = 243 Father Ex-Soldier - Yes	N = 731 Father Ex-Soldier - No	Total percent-age
Addis Ababa	29.8	70.2	100
Bahir Dar	25.8	74.2	100
Nazareth	17.8	82.2	100
Mekele	21.9	78.1	100
TOTAL N = 974	24.9	75.1	100

At the time of the study, a lot of concern was being expressed about the families of ex-soldiers as soldiers were disbanded from the Dergue army without pensions or alternative employment being provided. Children of ex-soldiers were believed to be particularly vulnerable to being forced to the streets because of the economic crisis the disbandment would have precipitated in their families.

Overall a quarter of street children (24.9%) reported they were the children of ex-soldiers. The highest proportion were in Addis Ababa (29.8%) and the lowest in Nazareth (17.8%). Interviews with children and with a group of families of ex-soldiers in Addis Ababa confirmed that the disbandment of the army precipitated many of their children to the streets to help support the family economically. It is difficult to judge if these children will leave the street once the crisis dissipates. Again, from interviews with children in the main study, children who came to the street to work to help bridge a temporary economic crisis in the family were encouraged to remain working once the crisis eased as either the family had become used to the extra income, or children had become familiar with the routine of the street and were happy to continue working.

In order to determine the living conditions of the families, children were asked about their families housing type and conditions. This refers to the house in which they are presently living with family or guardian, or if children are living on the street, the condition of the house in which they last resided with family or guardian before coming to the street.

63.8% reported that their families lived in mud houses, 15.7% in stone houses. 6.6% of families lived in structures made of bamboo or sticks, 6.3% tin, 1.3% plastic and scrap materials, and 1.7% have reported other types of shelter, such as tents or group camps. For 3.1% of children, the question was not applicable as they knew nothing about their families housing situation.

Table 3.15: Housing Conditions of Respondents' Families; Houses with roof leaking; houses with big holes, bad smell outside, availability of latrine facility, latrine shared by more than two families (%)

	N=1000 Roof Leaking	N=1000 Big Holes in Walls	N=1000 Bad Smell Outside	N=1000 Latrine Facility	N=1000 Latrine Facilities shared
Yes	56.7	40.9	41	42.4	72.2
No	38.1	53.7	54	55.6	27.8
Did not know/no reply	5.2	5.4	5	2.0	0
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

As can be seen from Table 3.15, 56.7% of the houses in which families of the respondents lived had roofs that leak. When asked if there are big holes in the walls or structure of the house, 40.9% of respondents said this was a problem, while 41% of children stated that there was a bad smell outside their home.

Thus, about half of street-children come from homes which are in bad repair. This constitutes a serious health risk for children especially during the rainy season, and is worsened by the lack of waste disposal and sanitation facilities in their communities.

Regarding the availability of latrine facilities in their homes, 55.6% of children responded they did not have any latrine facility while 42.4% have latrines, and of those who had latrines, the majority 72.2% were sharing with two or more families.

From the cities covered by the study, Mekele is the only place where stone houses are common, and these houses are generally sturdier and in better conditions than the mud houses found in the other cities. The worst housing is to be found in the inner city areas of Addis Ababa where the majority are in very bad repair.

15.9% of families were reported to live in temporary structures (tin, plastic shelters, tents etc); these were mainly displaced families.

As a result of lack of upkeep most of the houses of families of the respondents are in a bad state of repair, with holes in the roofs and walls. Most of these houses consist of one room, shared among more than one family and are thus extremely crowded. Having no space to move away from water dropping on their beds, people usually try to protect themselves from the wet by covering their beds with plastic scraps, and have little protection from the cold and wind. As indicated, more than half of the street-children come from homes where such problems exist. Inadequate waste collection, the lack of latrines and overflowing latrines where ones exist create extremely hazardous sanitary conditions leaving children vulnerable to illness.

3.7 Marital Status of Parents of Street Children
Q 25 What is your biological parents marital status?

Table 3.16: Parents Marital Status by Town (%)

	N = 374 Live Together	N = 67 Circ. Sep.	N = 118 Divorced/ Separated	N = 318 Widowed	N = 9 Other	N = 90 Both dead	N = 976 Total Percentage
N = 393 Addis Ababa	41.7	6.1	11.7	31.6	1.0	7.9	100
N = 196 Nazareth	46.4	5.6	11.7	31.6	1.0	3.6	100
N = 196 Bahir Dar	37.2	5.6	12.8	35.7	1.0	7.7	100
N = 191 Mekele	24.1	11.0	12.6	32.5	0.5	19.4	100
N = 976 Total	38.3	6.9	12.1	32.6	0.9	9.2	100

Overall, 38.3% of children responded that their biological parents were living together. This is comparable with the findings of the 1988 survey which found that 39% of families had both parents in the home. 32.6% were widowed and in 9% of cases, both parents were dead. 12.1% were divorced or separated and 6.9% were separated as a result of other circumstances, such as work or war. Other marital arrangements e.g. parents not married, accounted for 0.9% of cases.

Consistently across the four towns less than half of the families of street-children had both biological parents living together. The proportion was highest in Addis Ababa and Nazareth, where 41.7% and 46.4% of parents respectively lived together. It was somewhat smaller in Bahir Bar, where 37.2% of parents lived together. However in Mekele, less than a quarter of families, 24.1%, had both parents in the home.

These findings suggest that a large proportion (61.7%) of street children come from families where one or both parents are missing. In the absence of more general information about the incidence of single parent families, it is difficult to assess the significance of this as a factor related to street children. However, death of one or both parents, divorce or separation usually result in worsening the economic status of low income families perhaps pushing the children to join street life for survival. Another common serious effect is the weakening of parental control or inability to discipline children due to lack of time if the remaining parent is working.

Table 3.17: Children *on* and *of* the Street and Parents Marital Status (%)

Marital Status	Children *on* the street N=679	Home/street N=60	Children *of* the street N=256
Both parents at home N=374	46.5	30.0	17.9
Circumstantial sep. N=67	6.9	10.0	5.4
Divorced N=118	11.3	11.7	13.3
Widowed N=318	29.5	35.0	36.7
Both dead (orphaned) N=90	3.7	8.3	23.4
Other N=9	0.9	--	--
No response N=24	1.2	5.0	3.3

Interesting and possibly significant differences emerge when parents marital status is examined in relation to children *on* the street and children *of* the street. The percentage of children *of* the street (i.e. those for whom the street or temporary shelter is their main sleeping place) with both parents in the home is considerably less than that of children *on* the street. Examining this more closely, it can be seen that this difference is mainly due to the higher number of orphaned children and children who have lost one biological parent (i.e. 'widowed' in table 3.17).

Table 3.18: Frequency distribution of parents alive/dead (%)

Parent alive	Mother Frequency	Alive Percentage	Father Frequency	Alive Percentage
Yes	734	82.3	528	61.2
No	158	17.7	346	38.8
Total	892	100	892	100

As can be seen from Table 3.18, paternal mortality is about twice (38.8%) that of maternal mortality (17.7%). Regionally, the percentage of children with a dead parent is greater in **Mekele** than in the other three towns as can be seen in Table 3.19 over. In this town, 48.8% of children reported their father was dead compared to 38.9%, 37% and 31% in **Addis Ababa**, **Bahir Dar** and **Nazareth** respectively. Twice as many children in Mekele lost their mother in comparison to the other towns (32.6% compared to 12.1%, 17.1% and 15.2% respectively), and interviews showed this was directly related to results of the war,

displacement and resettlement programmes of earlier years in which some children became separated from their parents. Although not shown above, 89.5% of children *on* the street have their mother alive and 62.9% their father, compared to 51.9% of mothers and 34.3% of father of children *of* the street respectively.

3.8 Nature of Family Structure

Q28: With whom were you living before you started spending most of your time on the streets?

Table 3.19: Frequency Distribution of Who Child Lived with before coming to the Street (%)

Living with	Frequency	Percentage
Parents	439	43.9
Father	51	5.1
Mother	327	32.7
Other Relatives	75	6.0
Father and step mother	26	2.6
Mother and step father	19	1.9
Others	75	7.5
No Response	3	0.3
Total	1000	100.0

Much of the literature on street children suggests that children living in certain types of family arrangements are more likely to become involved in street life than children in other arrangements, notably female headed households and households with a step parent. Female headed households have been suggested as being more vulnerable to having children go to the street because of higher poverty and maternal stress levels compared to two parent families while physical abuse and psychological neglect of children in families with a step parent has been widely reported as a significant push factor for street children (Tacon, 1984).

Looking at the family structures of Ethiopian street children, 43.9% of children reported they lived with both parents before coming to the streets. 2.6% said they lived with father and step mother and 1.9% with mother and step father. However the incidence of children living with step-parents is probably higher than indicated here as children were not asked to differentiate between whether parents were biological or step-parents. A related question asked children "Do you have a step mother?" to which 11.6% replied 'yes'. Unfortunately children were not asked directly if they had a step father but the presence of a step mother is later indicated to be a causal factor in the movement of boys to the streets (table 3.22).

32.7% of street children lived in female headed families (mother only) while 7.5% with others, 5% with relatives, and 5% with father only. However, it is important to note that nearly half (44% or 48.4% including households with step parents) of street children come from two parent families which is noteworthy given popular assumptions that most street children are a product of broken homes.

SECTION B Initiation to the Street: Outlining the Process of Childrens' Movement to the Street

Children become involved in street life for a variety of reasons. Except in rare circumstances like displacement or the death of a guardian when childrens' precipitation to the street may be very abrupt, the involvement of children in street life appears to be characterised by a complex decisional process extending over time. This decisional process is affected by a wide range of long term and more immediate factors. Background factors (chronic poverty, parental marital status, lack of support, parental stress) often culminate in a specific event or set of circumstances which serves to push the child to the streets. The importance of understanding these precipitating factors is that they may offer valuable pointers as to when, and in what circumstances, intervention might be most effective in preventing children coming to the streets.

In tracing the process by which children move to the street from childrens' own accounts, many children are able to identify the factor which precipitated their involvement to street life. However, once the initial movement to the street is made, a number of factors then serve to maintain the child's involvement in the street , and these may or may not be the same as those responsible for initial involvement, nor as obvious. From a policy perspective, the difference between *contextual, initiating* and *maintenance* factors may indicate that preventative and rehabilitative programmes need to define their focus by responding to these differences. Likewise, the cessation of street life involvement also involves a series of choices for children. Contextual factors most often relate to poverty and are generally not readily ammenable to immediate change. Initiation and maintenance factors are more local and personal in character, and much more susceptible to change. The challenge has to be to create a set of alternative choices for children whereby their needs, which were being served by the street, can be satisfied in a way that reduces their exposure to abuse, or responds to their circumstances in a more developmentally appropriate way. This section of the study attempts to isolate the factors associated with why and how children become involved in street life. It makes greater use of the qualitative data collected from detailed interviews.

3.9 Age Initiation

Overall, the average age of children sampled was 12.6 years. The average age at which children first became involved in street life was 10.7 years. Children were generally younger on initiation to the street in Addis Ababa than elsewhere, where the average age of initiation was 10.0 years, compared to 11.3 years in Nazareth and Bahir Dar.

3.10 Reason for Street-Life Involvement

Q 47 (open) Can you tell me the circumstances surrounding the FIRST time you came to the streets?

Table 3.20: Reason for Initiation to Street-Life by Town (%)

Reason / Location	N=546 Work for basics	N=37 Work for school	N=80 Pressurised	N=113 Family disharmony	N=75 To play/ join friends	N=105 Displaced/ orphaned	N=17 Medical/ education reasons	N=27 Others	Total
Addis Ababa N=400	51.7	4.8	13.2	9.0	12.5	5.7	1.8	1.3	100
Bahir Dar N=200	60.0	6.0	4.5	10.5	2.5	7.0	3.0	6.5	100
Nazareth N=200	61.0	2.0	5.0	14.0	9.5	5.0	1.0	2.5	100
Mekele N=200	48.5	1.0	4.0	14.0	0.5	29.0	1.0	2.0	100
Total N=1000	54.6	3.7	8.0	11.3	7.5	10.5	1.7	2.1	

Overall, 54.6% of children said they were on the streets to work due to lack of basic necessities in the home. This included responses like "to help myself", "to help support my family", "due to financial problems at home" amongst others.

Children who are forced to the streets to work generally are a product of one of two sets of circumstances. One is children who have grown up in conditions of chronic poverty. In many families like this, the pattern of street work for children is well established in the family. As children become old enough to work, they follow older siblings to the street and take on a degree of responsibility for helping to support the whole family. Many families living in circumstances of chronic poverty have multiple members of the family involved in income generation. The circumstances of one 12 year old boy in Addis Ababa is typical of many children interviewed. His 16 year old sister worked selling kolo in her free time, a 14 year old brother worked as a taxi-boy, and his 9 year old brother as a peddler. He himself started work selling kolo when he was 7 years old. "A problem at the time was that there was no one at home during the day. I asked my mother if I could sell kolo and she allowed me, not to stay at home without work. I went with my brother and he showed me how to measure the kolo so as to make a profit. I give all the money I earn to my mother and she uses it to buy injera and bread". All the children in his family attend school through the Kebele. Another 12 year old girl in Addis Ababa says that she came to the streets when she was 10 years old. "My father works as a daily labourer and my mother doesn't work. Since my family was very poor, my mother encouraged me to sell potatoes on the street. At that time, my friends were selling kolo so I started to selling potatoes and then became a kolo seller. My brother also works on the street as a shoe shiner and another brother works as a daily labourer. The two youngest children (aged 8 and 5) are still too young to work. My brothers and I go to school because the kebele and another donor organisation pays the registration fee".

The second type of circumstances frequently responsible for forcing children into street work is in cases where the family experiences a change in economic circumstances (e.g. a father's illness, a loss of employment, death of a parent or divorce). Precipitation to street life for children in such circumstances may be more abrupt than for children who always lived in

circumstances of chronic poverty. This was the case for one 14 year old boy in Addis Ababa. His father was a soldier but with the disbandment of the army, he became unemployed. His mother was forced to sell kolo to support the family but there were severe economic problems. "At that time there was nothing to eat at home and lack of money was a big problem. I just went out to see if I could get something to eat, then somebody invited me to watch a car. I did and I got 2 birr. I gave the money to my mother and with it she bought injera. The family were very happy so I continued. I am happy to work because at least I can cover the cost of bread for my parents. Also I have to get some money because it is only this way that I can continue my school". An 11 year old girl, also in Addis Ababa had a similar experience. "My father had no work because he was an ex-soldier. At this time life becomes very difficult so I suggested to my mother to prepare kolo and I would sell it. She agreed and I started to do so. I give the profit to my mother and she used it to buy injera every day".

In addition, 8% of children said they were pressurised by family members to go to the streets to work. A typical response from children in these circumstances is the story of this 12 year old boy. "My friends were working at this type of work and my family were always insisting that I do likewise. What I earn is only enough for myself. I have to work because my parents cannot afford to feed me". Another girl interviewed in Addis Ababa was from Nazareth and had been in the capital for 6 months. Her initiation to the street occurred in Nazareth. "When I was 10 years old, my mother suggested to me to go out and work and get some money for our food. There were these children who worked on the street who were friends of mine so I joined them. The I got a job as an assistant on a public bus on the Nazareth-Addis Ababa route and in this way I came to Addis Ababa. Because my mother is poor she cannot support me but I want to have enough money to be able to visit her".

Handicapped children are vulnerable to pressure to go to the streets because of the money they can earn from begging. One handicapped boy told how "My mother always drives me out so I am always begging". A deaf and dumb boy interviewed using a friend as a facilitator told how his mother would not leave him in the house, but harassed him during the day and made him beg for her. A night guard of a shop was his main friend and protector and he slept in the vicinity of his work place. However, it is difficult to say whether handicapped children are more at risk of being rejected or used by parents for begging purposes than other children. Analysis of childrens' sleeping place shows 34.1% of handicapped children (total N=41) sleep on the streets and 17.1% sleep between home and street which is higher than the sample average of 21.5% and 6% respectively. This suggests handicapped children may be at higher risk of rejection and this issue needs further exploration.

3.7% of children responded they were on the streets to work for money for school or clothes. However, this figure is not representative of the proportion of children whose work helps support their schooling as the earnings of many children in the above categories is partly used for this purpose. On reaching school going age, there is increased pressure on parents to raise extra funds for this purpose and this is often a factor precipitating children to the streets. "I started working on the streets when I was 7 years old. Both my parents work as daily labourers and my mother said I would have to sell kolo so that I could be able to pay to start school. What I am earning is saved only for me for my school expenses. My two elder brothers (aged 11 and 15 years) also work and they are also attending school".

Combining the figures for those children who came to the street to work, to support their schooling or because they were pressurised by parents, two thirds (68.3%) of children can be said to be on the streets for economic reasons. The proportion of children who cited

economic factors as responsible for their initiation to the street was highest in Bahir Dar (70.5% of respondents when the three factors above are combined), followed by 69.7% in Addis Ababa and 68% in Nazareth.

However these similar percentages hide important regional differences. A greater percentage of children in Addis Ababa reported being pressurised to work on the streets than in the other towns (13.2%) Also, while in Addis Ababa, the majority of working children are a product of urban poor families, in Nazareth, many of the children have left their families elsewhere and come to the town in search of work (see tables 3.6 and 3.28). This is in keeping with the Gurage cultural tradition of sending children to the towns from the rural areas where the children earn much valued cash through their work as shoe-shiners or other traditional child occupations. One 10 year old boy from a rural area in west Shoa said "My elder brother brought me here to bring me up by working on the streets. My brothers and sisters are also working here and I prefer living here to living at home in the rural area". Another said "my family is poor, so I felt sorry for them and ran away. I came here so as not to be dependent on them. There were many economic problems at home (for house rent, food and clothes) so I came here with a friend, although my family disapproved of my leaving". Asked why he has not returned home to visit, he replied "I think they still face problems and I don't want to see them while they are in problem". Another boy (12 years) left home because he felt life in the rural area involved too much hard work. "I am the only boy and all the work was left to me. Life in the rural area is too hard. I heard urban life is good. I have an uncle here so I came here to find a job".

The situation in Bahir Dar is more mixed than in Addis Ababa or Nazareth, and consists of both urban poor children and child migrants from urban and rural areas outside the town (see table 3.6). Some of the children's stories are similar to that encountered in Nazareth. "Since my parents are very poor, they could no longer afford food, clothes, school fees and exercise books for me, so I came here to find any job that would allow me to support myself" (15 year old boy from small town in West Gojjam). "Since my father died, my mother could no longer afford to support me so I came here is search of work". Another sub category of children unique to Bahir Dar are children who came to the town to obtain a religious education. Bahir Dar is a major religious centre in Ethiopia and children come to train as priests, and many survive by begging or other street work like peddling while they receive their religious training. "I came to this town to attend religious education because many teachers are available here" (15 year old boy, Bahir Dar).

Another common reason for initiation to the street is family conflict. 11.3% of street-children reported having left home for the streets for this reason. Responses like "I quarrelled with my father so I couldn't stay with him", "my father beat me because I came home very late in the night so I just ran away and joined my friends", "I came out onto the street after my father and I quarrelled and that was my first contact with the street-life" were typical of responses in this category. Problems at school was also a sub theme in pushing children from home to the streets. One boy interviewed explained how he ended up on the streets. "My father had given me a warning that if I failed 6 grade again, I should leave home. When I found out I had failed, I was afraid of my family and I ran away from home and came here (Bahir Dar) in search of work". Problems with a step parent was also a recurrent theme as a source of family conflict. "My father died and I left home to find work because of conflict with my step-father. Another typical story was that of the following 8 year old boy. "I quarrelled with my step-mother and I hit her with a stone. Then she beat me and told me EPRDF soldier was coming to catch me, so I hid myself and then ran away from home. I caught a bus to Addis Ababa with 15 cents I begged at the station. I met a street boy and

asked him where Merkato is. He asked me why had I come and I told him, then he invited me to stay with him". Children who have left home because of family conflict frequently do not wish to return home to live. When asked if he had any wish to go home, he said "My step mother beats me and I don't want to go back". One of the boys above, when asked why does he stay on the streets replied "It is preferable to being at home".

A further 10.5% of children were on the streets because they were orphaned, rejected, abandoned or for whatever reason had no one to support them. Comparing these figures with those of the proportion of orphaned children per town (in Addis Ababa, orphans account for 7.9% of sample , in Bahir Dar, 7.7%, Nazareth, 3.6% and Mekele 19.4%, see table 3.16) suggests that orphans probably account for the bulk of this figure over displaced and abandoned children and this is supported by interview material. "Since my parents died when I was 10 and there was no one willing to help me, I just came here to find a job" (13 year old boy, Bahir Dar). "My mother died two years ago and I don't know whether my father (a soldier) is alive or dead so I came to the streets after my mother's death" (boy from Shoa region, interviewed in Addis Ababa). However, in Mekele, the proportion of orphaned children on the streets is significantly less than the proportion who responded they were there because they had no one to support them (19.4% compared to 29%) and interview material indicates many of this group of children are in fact displaced and have become separated from their families during the displacement process. One boy told how "Because of the war, my mother went to Sudan, I don't know where my father is and I came to Mekele" (14 year old boy from Asmara interviewed in Mekele). Another became separated from his parents during the resettlement programme of the previous government; "My parents were taken by the Government to a resettlement area and I was brought to this town by EPRDF soldiers and I work as a carrier to survive". At the time the study was carried out, a significant problem was the ethnic conflict in Eritrea between Eritreans and non Eritreans, and this was cited by many children as responsible for their being in Mekele. "I don't know where my father is. The rest of my family was forced to leave Asmara because of the war and the problem of nationality and discrimination. They say that Eritrea should only be for Eritreans, we were not accepted there. So my mother went to Addis Ababa and I came here (Mekele) to look for my father" (15 year old boy).

Only 7.5% of street-children expressed their involvement in street-life in terms of pull factors. These are children who came to the streets to play or to join friends. Many of these children gradually become street workers. This boy's story was not untypical. "I went out to the street to play then somebody asked me to clean the car so I did and I got 2 birr. Then my mother asked me to continue so I did". The proportion of children who come to the streets to play or to join friends is higher in Addis Ababa and Nazareth, (12.5% and 9.5% respectively) compared to the other two towns.

In addition, 1.7% of children were attracted to the town in search of educational or medical opportunities, and in all cases, these children came from other small towns or rural areas outside the town of interview.

In general, children who came to the streets to play or to join friends and working children became initiated to the street at a younger age than children in other categories (family disharmony, medical/educational opportunities, war or orphaned and others). Two thirds of children who came to join friends (68.9%) and nearly a half of all children who came to the streets to work (47.4%) were ten years or younger, while only 22.5% of children who cited family disharmony were ten or younger at initiation. In Addis Ababa, 60.7% of children who

came to the street to work and 76% who came to play or join friends were ten years or younger. 16.5% of child workers in Addis Ababa were seven years or under.

3.11 Children *on* and Children *of* the Streets

Although children who spend much of their time in the environment of the street are all referred to by the same label "street-children", the term hides the different circumstances which brought children there and differences in the way they live. One of the most fundamental differences is whether the child lives part of his or her life on the street and part at home or whether the street is his or her full time home (i.e. the distinction between children *on* and children *of* the streets). It is often assumed that children who live on the street are more at risk physically and psychologically than children who live at home. Why then do some children still choose to live on the streets, for all its dangers and openness to abuse, over living at home? More importantly, how can an understanding of the factors that have led children to make this decision indicate predictive factors to help identify children at risk of moving full time to the streets *before* the break with family is severed?

Table 3.21: Children on and of the Street by Reason for Initiation (%)

Reason for initiation	N=673 Children *on* the Street	N=60 Home/Street	N=256 Children *of* the Street
To work N=544	67.5	23.3	29.7
Work for school N=36	5.1	-	0.8
Pressurised N=80	9.5	11.7	3.5
N=112 Family disharmony	3.7	25.0	28.1
Join friends/play N= 74	8.3	11.7	4.3
War/Orphaned N=105	2.1	23.3	30.1
Medical/education N=17	1.2	5.0	2.3
Others N=21	2.7	--	1.2

As can be seen from table 3.21, the vast number of children who sleep at home are on the streets to work (67.5%). When this is combined with those children who work for extras like money for school or clothes and those who reported they were pressurised to work, this group accounts for 82.4% of children *on* the street. In addition, 8.3% went to the streets initially to play or to join friends and many of these children then progressed to street work.

The reasons why children who sleep on the streets first came to the streets are quite varied. 30.1% first came because they were orphaned, displaced or for whatever reason had no supporter. In addition, 28.1% of children left because of family disharmony. Another 29.7% of children of the street came to the streets initially to work. However from the data here, there is no way of knowing why these children severed their links with family. Not surprisingly, of the 112 children who cited family disharmony as responsible for their initiation to street life, 64.2% were sleeping on the streets, while only 11.2% of children who said "to work" were doing likewise.

The figures of children who are between home and street reflects the profile of the children *of* the street in terms of initiation reasons. Family disharmony (25%), to work (23.3%) and orphaned, displaced etc (23.3%) were the most commonly cited initiation factors.

Therefore, the likelihood of children who cite "to work" etc. as the reason for their initiation to street life maintaining their links with family appears to be quite high. However, children who cite family disharmony as the reason for their movement to the street would appear to be at higher risk of moving full-time to the streets.

Table 3.22: Family disharmony as Reason for Initiation by Presence of a Step Mother and Sex of Respondent (%)

Step-Mother			N=106 Family Disharmony as reason
Males - Stepmother	Yes	N=38	35.8
- Stepmother	No	N=55	9.0
Females- Stepmother	Yes	N=16	6.3
- Stepmother	No	N=12	5.6

As mentioned earlier, the presence of a step parent is widely believed to be a causal factor in pushing children to the streets. Many children reported that neglect or tensions between them and their step-parent were responsible for their decision to go to the street. From the interview material responses like "I left home because of a disagreement with my step father", "the absence of a good relationship with my step mother", "I ran away due to a quarrel with my step father" were not uncommon. A 12 year old boy in Bahir Dar told how "Since my mother died, my father married another woman. My step mother always beat me and didn't give me food and truly she forced me to leave home. Because of her treatment of me, I left my family".

Analysis of the results shows that boys from families with a step mother more frequently cited family disharmony as responsible for their initiation to the street compared to boys in non step mother families (35.8% compared to 9%). Furthermore, the proportion of boys from families with step mothers sleeping on the street is higher than the sample average for males (38.5% sleep in street/temporary shelter compared to 30.1%). Interestingly, the same pattern was not found for girls. It is possible that girls are less at risk in the presence of a step mother as the mother may not feel girls are a challenge to her authority or perhaps girls serve a function doing domestic work and their labour is valued by the mother.

In order to determine the quality of children's home environment, children were asked about the frequency with which they experienced conditions identified in previous studies on street children as important indicators differentiating the home experience of children *on* and

children *of* the street (Veale et al., 1991). The factors examined in this study were physical abuse (defined as being beaten or beaten with an object), violence or ongoing verbal abuse between parents, absence of a parent or care giver for long periods of the day, and too strict supervision in the home.

Previous studies suggest that poverty alone does not cause children to break their links with their family. In fact, the effects of poverty on families appears to be quite complex. Interviews with street children in Sudan indicated that poverty may affect relationships within families of street children in two different ways (Veale et al. 1991). On the one hand, poverty may actually *strengthen* family bonds as the welfare of the whole family depends on the economic contribution and psychological support of its individual members. This collective responsibility may serve to strengthen ties between parents and children. However, conversely, poverty may weaken family bonds if a parent or parents are under stress. Psychological stress mediates the link between economic hardship and dysfunctional parenting behaviour. Stress is more likely to occur when a number of factors occur simultaneously. According to Pearlin and Johnson (1977), "The combination most productive of psychological stress (in parents) is to be simultaneously single, isolated, exposed to burdensome parental duties and most serious of all - poor" (p 714). Parents under stress have consistently been shown to value obedience more, show lower responsiveness to children's socio emotional needs and hit and scold their children more frequently than unstressed parents from similar socio economic circumstances (Mcloyd, 1988; Conger et al. 1984; Gecas, 1979). It is these different family patterns of adaptation to conditions of poverty that may differentiate between children at risk of breaking ties with their family in favour of the streets and children who engage in street life but where links with family are maintained.

Table 3.23: Children *on* and *of* the Street who experience Abuse Often at Home (%)

Abuse at home	N=679 Children *on* the street	N=60 Home/Street	N=256 Children *of* the street
Spanked N=995	8.5	21.7	22.6
Beaten N=995	7.5	13.3	18.7
Beaten with object N=995	7.7	11.7	19.0
Violence between parents N=995	4.3	8.3	12.1
Fighting and shouting at home N=995	5.6	8.3	12.1
Unsupervised for long periods N=995	6.5	16.7	17.1
Too strict supervision N=995	21.2	18.3	21.8

This argument is supported by the findings in table 3.23. As can be seen, children *of* the street are characterised by a higher level of physical abuse at home than children *on* the streets. 18.7% of children who sleep on the street say they were often beaten at home, compared to 7.5% of children who sleep at home. Similarly, 19% of children who sleep on the street reported being beaten often with an object compared to 7.7% of home children. A greater proportion of children *of* the street also reported often being upset by fighting and shouting between parents (12.1%) and violence between parents (12.1%) compared to children who sleep at home (4.3% and 5.6% respectively).

Proportionately more children *of* the street also reported being left unsupervised for long periods at home (17.1% compared to 6.5%). The proportion who reported that they received too strict supervision at home was the same (21.2% and 21.8% respectively).

Table 3.24: Children *on* and *of* the Street who Experience Lack of Food at Home (%)

Where sleep / Hunger	N=679 Children *on* the Street	N=60 Home/Street	N=256 Children *of* the Street
Not enough to eat at home N=995	56.6	58.3	64.1
Experience hunger often at home N=995	17.4	33.3	25.0

Proportionately more children who sleep on the streets report they experience hunger often at home (64.1% compared to 56.6%), and the figures indicate that over half of all street children regularly do not get enough to eat at home. In addition, 25% of children who sleep on the streets reported that they went hungry often at home compared to 17.4% of children who sleep at home. This suggests that the families of children *of* the street may be more economically deprived than families of children *on* the street but it is also an indication of the low economic status of the majority of families of street children.

Therefore, children *of* the street and those between home and street appear to experience physical abuse more often and witness fighting or violence between parents more frequently than children *on* the street. These are behaviours which are typically associated with the parenting style of parents under stress.

Examining again the familial characteristics of children *of* the street, the educational level of the fathers of children *of* the street was lower than that of children *on* the street, a factor which has been shown to correlate with parental stress (Gecas, 1979). Moreover, children *of* the street were more often from single parent families (in fact, only 17.9% had both biological parents in the home compared to 46.5% of children on the streets) and had more frequently experienced the death of their father. Children *of* the street also reported going hungry more often at home which could indicate more severe economic deprivation in their homes. Children *of* the street therefore came more frequently from background circumstances that have been demonstrated to be associated with **higher stress levels in parents**. If this is the case, it has important implications for targeting intervention. It changes the focus for identifying children at risk of becoming fully fledged street children from the *child* to the *parent*. By identifying parents under stress and helping that parent to cope with the normative

or situational stressor that is affecting the quality of their parenting and their interactions with their children, it could serve to reduce the incidents of behaviour which push the child from the home to the streets.

The presence of friends on the street seem to be a reasonably powerful factor in the process of children's movement to street-life and this came out strongly in the interviews with children. There is a culture of children working on the street in Ethiopia and for many children the movement to this lifestyle is not necessarily negative or traumatic but it is a recognizable and acceptable occupation. However for those children who experienced strong push factors to the street (pressurised, runaways, rejected or orphaned children), the process is far more sudden and abrupt. Approximately half (45.8%) of street-children already had friends on the street before they themselves became involved in street-life activities. Table 3.25 examines the presence of friends on the street at initiation with relation to child's sleeping place.

Table 3.25: Children *on* and *of* the Street with Friends Already on the streets (%)

Friends	N=679 Children *on* the Street	N=60 Home/Street	N=256 Children *of* the Street
Friends already on streets	52.7	48.3	27.3

As can be seen from the table, over half of children who sleep regularly at home had friends already on the streets at the time of their initiation to street life. Conversely, just more than a quarter of children who sleep on the streets had friends there. This implies that for many children *of* the street, their initiation to street life was quite abrupt and they had little previous knowledge of street life. As can be seen from table 3.25, this is supported by the fact that most street children who came to the streets without having friends there were orphaned/displaced children, those who experienced family disharmony and interestingly, those pressurised by family to work.

Table 3.26: Children with Friends Already on Streets by Reason for Initiation (%)

Friends on Street	N = 669 Work	N = 24 Work for Extras	N = 27 To play with Friends	N = 48 Pressurised	N = 88 Runaway	N = 48 Attracted by street life	N = 30 Rejected	N = 7 Medical Education	N = 50 Others
YES N = 454	46.2	70.8	74	39.6	28.1	81.3	26.7	42.9	28.0
NO N = 537	53.8	29.2	25.9	60.4	70.8	18.7	73.3	57.1	72.0

Of children who came to the streets to work, and of those who came to work for extras like clothes etc, 46.2% and 70.8% respectively had friends already on the streets. 81.3% of children who stated they came to the streets because of the attractions it held for them had friends already there. Conversely, of those children who said their parents pressurised them to work on the streets, 60.4% did not have friends previously involved in street work and of runaway children, only 28% knew children already on the streets. Likewise, 73% of orphaned/displaced children and 72% of children separated from their parents for other reasons went to the streets without having friends there.

3.12 Unaccompanied Children with Family Elsewhere

A sub category of street children were those who have families outside the town of interview and who have left them for whatever reason to come to the town in which they were interviewed. This group accounted for 18.5% of the total sample in Addis Ababa (N=74) and 28% in Bahir Dar (N=56). In Nazareth, it accounted for a huge 62.5% of the sample (N=125) and in Mekele, 52.2% (N=105).

These children are not for the most part orphans and have family available and therefore have made a choice for whatever reason to live independently of family in favour of the streets. Developing policy for this group is difficult for their needs are difficult to ascertain. Why have they left their family? With whom do they live? Are they vulnerable to becoming children *of* the streets? And to what extent do their needs differ to those of other categories of street children, especially those that have family available locally? The following analysis therefore examines why children have chosen, or been forced to leave their home region and have come independently of their families to the town where they were interviewed.

Table 3.27: Reason Child Left Family (%)

Reason	Frequency	Percentage
To work	128	35.3
Lack of basic necessities	37	10.2
Problem with family	58	16.0
War/lack of support	72	19.8
Pressurised by family	10	2.8
Educational Opportunity	20	5.5
Medical Treatment	5	1.4
Others	30	8.3
No response	3	0.8
Total	363	100

35.3% of children left their families and home regions and came to the town of the survey to work. 10.2% left because of the lack of basic necessities in the home. 16% had a conflict with their families. 19.9% left because they were separated from their parents by war or had no supporter for other reasons. 2.8% reported they were pressurised by family to leave, 5.5% came in search of educational opportunities and 1.4% came for medical treatment.

Table 3.28: Reason Child Left Family by Town (%)

	N = 128 Work	N = 37 Lack Basic Necessities	N = 58 Problem with Family	N = 72 War/ Orphaned	N = 10 Pressurised	N = 20 Education	N = 5 Medical	N = 30 Other	N = 360 TOTAL
Addis Ababa N=74	33.8	6.8	17.6	18.9	4.1	9.5	4.1	5.4	100
Bahir Dar N = 56	10.7	23.2	23.2	10.7	8.9	17.9	-	5.4	100
Nazareth N=125	62.4	3.2	12.8	7.2	0.8	2.4	-	11.2	100
Mekele N=105	18.1	14.3	15.2	41.0	1.0	-	1.9	8.6	100
TOTAL N=360	35.6	10.3	16.1	20.0	2.8	5.6	1.4	8.3	100

Looking at the pattern across the four towns, in Addis Ababa, 33.8% of children left their family to work or support themselves. 6.8% left because of the lack of basic necessities in the home. 17.6% left because of family conflict or as a runaway, 18.9% because they were orphaned or had no supporter, 4% were pressurised by family to leave and 9% and 4.1% came for educational and medical reasons respectively.

In Nazareth, the vast majority of children (62.4%) came to work. This is consistent with the fact that street-children in Nazareth are predominantly Gurage. Other reasons included; lack of basic necessities, 3%; family conflict/runaway, 12.8%; no supporter, 7.2%; pressurised by family, 0.8%; and 2.4% and 11% were for educational and other reasons.

In Bahir Dar, family conflict and lack of basic necessities in the home constituted the two most important reasons why children left their families and in each case accounted for 23% of the total. 10.7% left home to come to work and 10% left because of war, orphaned or had no supporter. 8.9% were pressurised by family to leave and significantly, 18% came in search of educational opportunities. 5.4% left for other reasons.

In Mekele, the single most important reason for children leaving their families and home region was because they were orphaned or had no supporter (41%). Of the remaining, 18% came to work, 14% due to lack of basic necessities, 15% because of family conflict, 1% because of family pressure and 2% for medical treatment. Other reasons accounted for 8.6%. 60% of all children who became separated from their families because of war, orphaned or had no one to support them, were found in Mekele. 40% of children on the street because of lack of basic necessities in the home were from Mekele.

Analysis of children's family place of residence shows that in Addis Ababa, Bahir Dar, Nazareth and Mekele, 44.8%, 50.9%. 60% and 26.5% of children respectively were from rural areas.

Table 3.29: Unaccompanied Children with Family Elsewhere by Age by Sex (%)

Age / Sex	N=26 7 - 9	N=96 10 - 12	N=151 13 - 15	N=87 16 - 17	N=360 Total
Male N=320	7.2	26.3	42.2	24.4	88.9
Female N-40	7.5	30.0	40	22.5	11.1

The vast majority of street children in this group were male (88.9%) and only 11.1% (N=40) were female. This is not surprising given the traditional role for young men to be migrant workers and the fact that cultural and situational factors (vulnerability to abuse for girls travelling unaccompanied) discourage females to take this option. In general, the average age of children in this group was older than that of the average sample age; the majority of children fell in the 13 to 15 year old age group, while the average sample age was 12.6 years.

Table 3.30: Unaccompanied children: *on* or *of* the Street by Town (%)

Town	N=186 Children *on* the Street	N=32 Home/Street	N=170 Children *of* the Street
Addis Ababa N=85	45.8	4.7	49.4
Bahir Dar N=55	31.6	10.5	56.1
Nazareth N=135	76.3	10.4	13.3
Mekele N=113	23.0	7.1	69.8

Where do these children end up on their arrival in the town of their choice? Table 3.30 shows that the profile differs hugely across the four towns. In Nazareth, 76.3% sleep at home (the next table shows this is usually the home of relatives or with peers) while in Mekele 69.9% (N=79) of children in this category end up sleeping on the streets, which is somewhat higher than the sample average for that town (51%). In Bahir Dar, 56.1% of children become children of the streets, while in Addis Ababa, 48.3% do so. However, of the Addis Ababa group, 20.7% stay in temporary rented shelter so only a quarter end up fulltime on the streets.

Table 3.31: Unaccompanied Children: With Whom Resides by Town (%)

	N=12 Both parents	N=5 Father	N=10 Mother	N=123 Alone	N=103 Peers	N=108 Relatives	N=31 Other	N=392 Total
Addis Ababa N=87	8.0	--	4.6	34.5	21.8	27.6	3.4	100
Bahir Dar N=57	--	--	5.3	77.2	--	14.0	3.5	100
Nazareth N=135	0.7	1.5	1.5	13.3	21.5	48.1	13.3	100
Mekele N=113	3.5	2.7	0.9	27.4	48.7	9.7	7.1	100

As can be seen from table 3.31, the majority of street children in this sub group in Addis Ababa, Bahir Dar and Mekele are living either alone or with peers. When these are combined, 56.3%, 77.2% and 76.1% of children respectively survive in this arrangement. In Nazareth, a different profile emerges as 48.1% of children are living with relatives. Nazareth has the lowest proportion of children living alone (13.3%). When comparing the figures of children in Nazareth sleeping alone (N=18) with those of children sleeping on the street (N=17, table 3.4), the figures are broadly comparable. This implies that the 28.2% of children living with peers have established child headed households and this provides some stability. This also appears to exist to some extent in the other towns but it does not appear to have happened in Mekele where the numbers sleeping on the streets (N=79) is broadly equal to those living with peers or alone (N=86).

3.13 Orphaned, Abandoned and Displaced Street Children

Another vulnerable category of street children is those children who have been orphaned, displaced, abandoned, rejected or for whatever reason have been left without a supporter. It is impossible from this study to generalise and make comments about what happens to children who experience these circumstances in general just as it is impossible to estimate what percentage of these children end up on the streets. However, of the 10.6% (N=105) of the sample who cited orphaned/displaced etc. as responsible for their initiation to the street, 73.3% were children of the street (i.e. slept on the street, see table 3.21). Only 13.3% returned home (to a caregiver) every night. In addition, 13.3% (N=14) lived between home and street and thus can be considered as having only loose ties with a caregiver.

The figures indicate that the majority of this group are orphaned rather than displaced children or children who have been abandoned for other reasons. The proportion of children who reported that both their parents were dead (N=90) is quite close to the numbers of children who cited orphaned/displacement etc as responsible for their initiation to the street (105) so it is reasonable to assume a large proportion of children in this category are orphans. The overall analysis also indicates that over half (55.2%, N=58) of this category of street children were encountered in **Mekele**.

3.14 Other Significant Factors Influencing the Movement of Children to Street-Life

Analysis of the results indicates that a number of factors would appear to significantly influence childrens precipitation to the streets. The following analysis gives indications of the vulnerable times in a child's life of moving to the street after a traumatic family event like the death of a parent or family breakdown and is valuable in highlighting when and with what age group intervention would be most effective.

(i) Death of a parent

Table 3.32: Age at Fathers Death By Age Initiation to Street Life (%)

Age at Fathers Death	N= Below 7 yrs	N= 7-9 yrs	N= 10-12 yrs	N= 13-15 yrs	N= 16-17 yrs	NR/ DK	TOTAL
Below 7 yrs N=141	**9.9**	**36.2**	36.9	14.2	1.4	1.4	100
7-9 yrs N=47	2.1	**42.6**	31.9	14.9	4.3	4.2	100
10-12 yrs N=63	1.6	11.1	**58.7**	25.4	1.6	1.6	100
13-15 yrs N=32	3.1	3.1	21.9	**53.1**	18.8	0	100
16-17 yrs N=2	0	0	0	0	**100**	0	100

There appears to be a strong relationship between the age at which a child lost his or her mother or father and the age at which he or she became involved in street-life. In all 354 children lost their father. Of those whose fathers died when they were less than 7 years old, 36.9% came to the street between the ages of 7-9 years and another 36.9% before they were 12 years. Of those who were 7-9 years when their father died, 42.6% became involved in street-life during the same period, of those aged 10-12, 58.7% came to the street at that age, and of those who lost their fathers when they were 13-15 years, 53.1% came to the street when aged 13-15. Initiation is also greater in the next age category following the death of father. This is consistent with the fact that the death of a father would have severe economic repercussions for families, forcing children to bear some of the burden for income generation. It may also reflect psychological repercussions for children of the death of a parent, which affect children most in the 2 year period following the death.

Table 3.33: Age at Mothers Death by Age Initiation to Street-Life (%)

Age at Mothers Death	N=8 Below 7 yrs	N=41 7-9 yrs	N=47 10-12 yrs	N=34 13-15 yrs	N=8 16-17 yrs	N=4 NR/DK	N=142 TOTAL
Below 7 yrs N=60	**10**	**38.3**	26.7	18.3	0.0	6.6	100
7 - 9 yrs N=37	2.7	**35.1**	37.8	16.2	8.1	0.0	100
10-12 yrs N=28	3.6	17.9	**53.6**	25.0	0.0	0.0	100
13-15 yrs N=13	0	0	15.4	**76.9**	7.7	0.0	100
16-17 yrs N=4	0	0	0	0	**100**	0.0	100

The death of a mother also appears related to the initiation of children to street-life, as can be seen from the table above. Children became involved in street-life in the same age period that they suffered the death of their mother. Again, children are particularly vulnerable of moving to the street at this time for psychological and economical reasons.

The importance of psychological factors and familial problems experienced by children after the death of a parent is strongly supported by findings that 42% of runaways came from families where one of the biological parents had died.

Children are particularly vulnerable of coming to the street after the death of a parent and special support should be provided for at risk families at this time.

(ii) Divorce or Separation

Table 3.34: Age at Parents, Divorce/Separation by Age of Initiation to Street-Life (%)

Age at Divorce/ Separation	N=8 Below 7 yrs	N=38 7-9 yrs	N=52 10-12 yrs	N=42 13-15 yrs	N=10 16-17 yrs	N=1 NR/DK	N=151 TOTAL
N=76 Below 7 yrs	7.9	**36.8**	34.2	15.8	3.9	1.3	100
N=24 7-9 yrs	4.2	**33.3**	33.3	16.7	12.5	0.0	100
N=31 10-12 yrs	3.2	6.5	**51.6**	35.5	3.2	0.0	100
N=19 13-15 yrs	0.0	0.0	10.5	**78.9**	10.5	0.0	100
N=1 16-17 yrs	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	**100**	0.0	100

Age at which parents divorce or separate also appears to be strongly related to the child's street-life involvement. As can be seen from table 3.34, children more frequently come to the street at the time of their parents divorce/separation, or in the period immediately following it.

Parents marital status also seems related to the reason children initially came to the street. Although "to work", "to support myself", "to support my family" was the most commonly cited reason across all classes of parents marital status, 16.8% of runaways came from families where parents were divorced (in all 56.7% of runaways came from one parent or disintegrated family structures). Likewise 57% of children who said they came to the street because of the attractions of street-life were from families where parents were divorced (while such children made up only 12% of the sample). This could be due to either a weakening of control over children as a result of parents divorce or it could be due to the effects of a bad home environment, which could make the street seem a more attractive place for children to spend time over home.

3.15 Parents Attitude to Childrens Street Life Involvement

To conclude this section, the study sought to examine how children felt their parents perceived their involvement in street life and whether their street work or activities was perceived to have any significant impact on the family's economic circumstances.

Table 3.35: Parents Approval (%)

Approved	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	645	64.5
No	105	10.5
Don't Care	58	5.8
Don't Know	97	9.7
No Response	95	9.5
Total	1000	100

Children were asked whether they thought their parents or guardians approved or disapproved of their street-life involvement. Table 3.35 summarizes their responses. 64.5% of children felt their parents approved of their being involved in street-life. Only 10.5% of children felt their parents disapproved. 5.8% believed their parents or guardians didn't care and 9.7% replied they didn't know. These were mainly runaways, children who didn't know the whereabouts of their parents or children whose parents were dead.

When parents approval was compared with reason for street-life involvement, an interesting pattern emerges. 75% of children who are working on the street felt their parents approved of their situation. Of those who said they were attracted to street-life by friends or to play or other factors, only 54% of children felt their parents approved of their behaviour. Only 15% of runaways felt their parents approved of their being on the street.

Therefore, the vast majority of children who work on the streets feel their parents approve of their behaviour and are supportive of their working in the street.

3.16 Impact of Children's Street-life Involvement on Family's Economic Situation

Table 3.36: Changes in Families Economic Conditions since Child's Street-life Involvement

Economic Conditions at Home	Frequency	Percentage
Improved	308	35.6
No Change	261	30.4
Worsened	97	11.2
Did not know	197	22.8
Total	863	100

Excluding 13.7% (137) of the respondents who have no families, children were asked whether their family's condition had changed since they came to the street. 35.6% of children said their family circumstances had improved. 30.1% said there had been no change in their families' situation. 11.2% said conditions at home had worsened as a result of other factors. 22.8% of children didn't know as they were not living with their families, even though living in the same city.

The large numbers of children who said their work made no difference to their family circumstances is possibly a result of over saturation in traditional child occupations like kolo selling and shoe-shining, in spite of the long hours children work. There is a need for either creative thinking on new and appropriate income generating activities for children, with appropriate management and supervision, or a focus on developing further income generating strategies for parents.

SECTION C Present Life Circumstances

3.17 With Whom Child Lives

Table 3.37, with whom child lives, gives details of with whom children are living with now. Those living with parent(s) or relatives compares broadly with the percentage of those who responded they sleep at home every night (children on the streets).

Table 3.37: Who Child Lives with, by Town (%)

TOWN	N=230 Parents	N=30 Father	N=237 Mother	N=136 Relatives	N=182 Alone	N=131 Peers	N=51 Others	N=997 TOTAL
N=399 Addis Ababa	33.6	2.8	28.8	9.8	15.0	6.8	3.3	100
N=199 Bahir Dar	25.1	3.5	31.2	9.0	28.6	1.0	1.5	100
N=200 Nazareth	8.0	3.0	15.5	32.5	10.5	18.5	12.0	100
N=199 Mekele	15.1	3.0	14.6	7.0	22.1	32.7	5.5	100
N=997 TOTAL	23.1	3	23.8	13.6	18.3	13.1	5.1	100

Overall, 23% of street-children live with both their parents. A similar proportion, 23.8%, live with their mothers only. 3% of children live with their fathers only, 13.6% live with other relatives, 18.3% live alone and 13.1% live with friends. 5.1% lived in other arrangements (e.g. with a neighbor) and 0.3% gave no response.

The highest proportion of children living with both parents is to be found in Addis Ababa, where they account for 33.6% of children interviewed. 28.8% of street-children in Addis Ababa live with their mother only. 2.8% live with their father. 15% live alone and 6.8% live with friends. 9.8% live with other relatives and 3% live in other arrangements.

In Nazareth, the highest proportion of children live with other relatives. 32.5% of children live in this situation. Again, this can be explained by the high proportion of Gurage children who have left their families in the rural areas to come work in the town. Only 8% of children in Nazareth are living with both parents. 15.5% live with their mother only and 3% with father only. 10.5% of children live alone and 18.5% live with friends.

In Bahir Dar, the largest proportion of children are those living with mothers only (31%). The second largest percentage are those living alone (28.5%). A quarter live with both parents and 3.5% live with their father. 9% live with other relatives, 1% with friends and 1.5% live in other arrangements.

The proportion of children living in child only arrangements is significant enough to cause alarm, ranging between 20%-30% in the towns of Addis Ababa, Bahir Dar and Nazareth. However in Mekele, over half, or 55% of street-children are living without the protection or supervision of adults. Nazareth, as mentioned elsewhere in the report, offers a peculiarly

unique profile as many children are living with other relatives or with friends. This is consistent with findings that the majority of street-children in Nazareth are Gurage and have left their family to come to the town to work. It is also significant that Nazareth has the highest proportion of children living between home and street, indicating this living arrangement with relatives may be related to this.

3.18 Children's Present Relationship with Family
Q 38: How often do you see your family?

Table 3.38: Frequency of Seeing Family by Town (%)

Frequency	N=605 Every day	N=15 Every week	N=11 Every month	N=109 Rarely	N=171 Never	N=91 1 Total
Addis Ababa N=362	81.8	1.6	0.6	6.9	9.1	100
Bahir Dar N=191	70.2	1.0	0.5	4.7	23.6	100
Nazareth N=193	51.8	2.6	1.0	20.2	24.4	100
Mekele N=165	45.5	1.2	3.6	21.8	27.9	100
Total N=911	66.4	1.6	1.2	12.0	18.1	100

Overall, 66.4% of street-children in Ethiopia see their parents or guardian every day. This proportion is highest in Addis Ababa (81.8%) and lowest in Mekele (45.5%). 1.6% of children see their family at least every week, 1.2% see them at least every month and 12% see their family irregularly or rarely. Of those that have families, 18.8% never see their families.

70.2% of children in Bahir Dar see their family every day while 23.6% never see them. This figure probably represents those children who have left their family in the rural area and come to the town in search of work.

A similar pattern is evident in Nazareth, except it is more pronounced. 20.2% of children rarely see their families while 24.4% never see them. This again is due to the fact children have left their families elsewhere to come to Nazareth to work.

The smallest proportion of children who see their families every day are in Mekele (45.5%). About half of children (45.5%) rarely or never see their families. These figures exclude those children who have no families to return to, who have been orphaned or displaced. As can be seen by a quick glance at the respondent numbers in the left hand column for whom the question was applicable, 17% of the total Mekele sample of 200 children did not have families to return to. Thus the proportion of children in Mekele with no effective family contact is very high.

Therefore, two thirds of street-children see their families every day, supporting the hypotheses that many Ethiopian street-children are still integrally involved with their families.

Three quarters of street-children in Addis Ababa see their families every day, supporting findings that the main cause of streetism in Addis Ababa is economic involvement rather than separation from family. However, 40% of all street-children in Mekele effectively have no family contact of any kind which seriously hampers their long term prospects for getting off the street and reintegrated in conventional society.

Table 3.39: Reasons for not Returning Home and Staying on the Streets (%)

Reason	Frequency	Percentage
Too expensive	86	28.2
Came for a reason	48	15.7
Will return shortly	17	5.6
No wish to return	65	21.3
Can't return: family reject	51	16.7
No one to return to	31	10.2
Others	7	2.3
TOTAL	305	100

Those children who reported that they see their families a few times a year, rarely, irregularly or never, were asked why they did not return home. 28% reported it was too expensive (includes no money for transport, too far away, no home to return to). 15.7% said they came to the town for a reason (e.g. to work, to support myself, to help my family, to get an education, to live with relatives because family too poor etc.) and therefore there was no point in going back. 5.6% said they planned on returning home shortly to visit or to bring money home. 21.3% didn't want to return. These children gave reasons such as "I prefer to live here", "I don't want to see my parents", "I have no interest in returning", "I do nothing there so why should I return". Another 16.7% said their family wouldn't accept them. Children said such things as "My mother won't allow me back", "My father chased me", "I feel ashamed of my torn clothes and bad conditions", "My family won't accept me". 10.2% reported having no-one to return to and 2.3% had other reasons, such as father visits.

Therefore, some of the children who rarely see their families may benefit from a reunification programme with a significant family counselling component, including those who said to return home was too expensive, those who planned on returning shortly and those who were afraid their families wouldn't accept them. However, it is important to recognise the fact that many children have had a good reason in their own eyes for leaving home in the first place and alternative measures would have to be devised for those for whom reunification failed and those for whom reunification would not be suited in the first place.

Table 3.40: Reason Child Stays on Street by Town (%)

TOWN	N=774 To Work	N=28 To Play	N=20 To escape home	N=11 Pressure to Work	N=21 Temporary Problem	N=73 No Alternative	N=35 Others	N=1 D/K	N=9 N/A	N=28 NR	Total %
N=400 Addis Ababa	80.5	3.5	0.5	1.2	1.25	6.5	3.0	0	0.5	2.2	100
N=200 Bahir Dar	89.5	2.0	0.5	2.0	0.5	3.5	2.0	0	0	0	100
N=200 Nazareth	76.5	4.0	5.0	0.5	4.0	4.5	3.0	0.5	0.5	1.5	100
N=200 Mekele	60.5	1.0	1.5	0.5	3.5	15.5	6.5	0	3	8.0	100
Total %	77.4	2.8	2.0	1.1	2.1	7.3	3.5	0.1	0.9	2.8	100

When asked "Why do you stay on the street?" the majority of children said they remained there because they have to work, or support themselves, to survive or to help their family. The proportion of children who gave other responses are quite low; 7.3% said they had no alternative, 2.8% to play, 2% to escape bad home situation, 2% to overcome a temporary problem, 1% due to pressure from home, and others, don't know and not applicable accounted for 3.5, 0.1 and 0.9% of responses respectively.

Regional trends remain clear: proportionately more children in Addis Ababa and Bahir Dar remain on the street for economic reasons (80.5% and 89.5% respectively). Relatively more street-children in Mekele remain so because they have no alternative (15.5%) and more children in Nazareth remain on the street to escape family conflict than in the other towns (5% compared to between 0.5% and 1.5% in the other three towns).

3.19 Educational Details of Respondents

Q41/42: Have you ever attended school? If yes, type school? If not, why not?
Q43/44: Are you presently attending school? If not, why not?
Q45: If attended school (or still attending), final grade completed?

Table 3.41: Type of School Child Attended (%)

Type of School	Frequency	Percentage
Priest School	34	3.4
Koran	5	0.5
Regular School	746	74.6
Not applicable	209	20.9
No response	6	0.6
Total	1000	100

74.6% of children attended regular school at some point. A small percentage, 3.4% and 0.5% attended traditional schools. 20.9% of children had never attended a school for whatever reason.

Of the 20% of street-children who never attended school, financial constraints were cited by 46% of children as the main factor responsible for their non-attendance. 11% of children said they never attended school because the family income would have been reduced because of the inability of the child to work. 10% helped the family non-financially, 10% said there was no school available to them and 20% gave other reasons.

43% of street-children were school drop-outs. When asked the reason why they dropped out of school, 23% said their family could no longer afford the school fees. 30% said their families could not afford the extras like clothes and books that would have been needed for school and 7% dropped out of school to work. Therefore, 60% of dropouts left school for economic reasons and 3% to help their family. 7% had no supporter, 5% disliked school, 8% dropped out, preferring to spend their time on the streets, and 17% for other reasons.

Table 3.42: School Attendance by Town (%)

Town	N=448 Presently Attending	N=345 Drop-outs	N=196 Never attended	N=7 NR	N=996 TOTAL
Addis Ababa N=397	48.5	39.5	10.5	1.5	100
Bahir Dar N=200	53	25	21.5	0.5	100
Nazareth N=200	37.5	36.5	25.5	0.5	100
Mekele N=199	36.5	32	30.5	1.0	100
TOTAL N=996	44.8	34.5	19.7	1.0	100

As can be seen in Table 3.42, when the percentage of children presently attending school and the percentage who have dropped out are combined, 79.3% of street children in Ethiopia have attended school at some stage. Of this 80%, roughly 60% were still attending school at the time of interview.

School attendence patterns exhibit some differences across the four towns. In Addis Ababa, half (49%) of children were still attending school at the time of the study. However, 40% of children were school drop-outs and 11% of children never attended school.

In Nazareth, 38% of children were attending school at the time of the study. 37% were drop-outs and 26% never attended school. Nazareth therefore had the greatest proportion of school drop outs. This can probably be explained by the large number of children in Nazareth who have left their family elsewhere to come to the town, mainly for work reasons.

In Bahir Dar, 53% of children were attending school, 25% of children had dropped out of school and 22% of children had never attended.

In Mekele, only 37% of children were attending school. A third (32%) were dropouts and 31% never attended school. This high proportion of children who never registered in school probably reflects the disrupting effects of the war and the series of bad droughts and famine in the region.

However, examination of the school grade reached by street children shows that quite a few have completed grade 4 and some have completed grade six. 53.4% of Children *on* the street have completed Grade 4 while 29.2% have completed Grade 6. However, only 28.9% of Children *of* the street have Grade 4 education and only 13.3% have attained Grade 6. Education to the level of Grade 4 had been reported by some NGO's and community workers to be sufficient when working with people at a community level and is a desirable minimum level of educational achievement.

Table 3.43: Age and Sex and Present School Attendance (%)

Present School Attendence	7 - 9 N = 122		10 - 12 N = 344		13 - 15 N = 386		16 - 17 N = 148		TOTAL
	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	N = 1000
N = 453 Presently attending	45.2	46.9	42.4	43.6	41.8	56.0	50.8	63.6	45.3
N = 400 Presently not attending	43.8	38.8	38.8	44.7	43.4	26.7	38.1	31.8	40.0
N = 143 Never attended	10.9	14.2	18.4	11.7	14.1	16.0	11.1	4.5	14.3
N = 4 NR	0	0	0.4	0.6	6	1.3	0	0	0.4
TOTAL N = 1000	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Of children aged 7-9 years, 45.2% of boys and 46.9% of girls are attending school. In the 10-12 age group, 42.4% and 43.6% of boys and girls respectively are attending. In the 13-15 age group, 41.8% of boys and 56% of girls are presently attending and of those aged 16-17 years, 50.8% of boys and 63.6% of girls are going to school.

These findings are not as expected. It was expected that there would be a drop off in the number of children attending school from the younger to the older age groups, but this was not found to be the case. One possible explanation for this is the literacy campaign which was conducted in Ethiopia until a few years ago, which encouraged children of all ages to go to school. Such children, once started would now be old enough to work to support themselves in school and hence continue their education. The numbers of children enrolling in school in recent years may have lessened due to increased costs, and interviews with families indicate that parents are not sending their children to school until they are 9 or 10 and therefore old enough to work and help contribute to the costs.

Table 3.38: Age and Sex and Present School Attendance (if started) (%)

Present School Attendence	7 - 9 N = 90		10 - 12 N = 299		13 - 15 N = 342		16 - 17 N = 122		N=853 Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
YES N = 453	50	72.2	60	70.4	50	60.3	25.2	46.7	53
NO N = 400	50	27.8	39.9	29.6	50	39.7	74.8	53.3	46.9
TOTAL N = 853	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Half of boys aged 7 - 9 who started school have dropped out. This may be a direct result of having to spend time on the street working. Although less girls aged 7 - 9 have enrolled in school compared to boys (14.2% of girls never enrolled compared to 10.9% of boys), over 70% of girls aged 7 - 9 continue to attend school once enrolled. This pattern of maintained school involvement for girls is greater across all age groups, and is indicative of the pattern that girls remain more integrally tied to family and community than boys across all age-groups.

Table 3.44: Percentage of children *on* and children *of* the street attending school (%)

	N=611 Home	N=54 Home/Street	N=184 Street
Attending School	66.6	27.%	15.2

In fact, quite a high proportion of children who sleep at home attend school (66.6%). Given that the majority of these children are on the streets to work, street work does not appear to be as significant in disrupting childrens school attendence as is commonly believed. However, interviews with parents of children in the community study did suggest that children who work during the school term are more tired and have to repeat school grades more often than their siblings not engaged in street work. Surprisingly, 15.2% of children who sleep on the streets reported that they were also attending school. It is possible children were just saying this as they were ashamed of not attending school, but in the course of interviewing, we did met a few children who kept their school books with them on the street and continued to attend school. If this percentage is taken as real, then it attests to the huge desire for education expressed by the majority of street children interviewed.

3.20 Siblings of the Respondents: Family size; position in family

Respondents were asked about the circumstances of their siblings under 18 years as regards their educational background and involvement in street activities. The purpose of this section was to compare the situation of children who are on the street with that of their siblings, and in cases where the respondent was the only member of the family to be involved in such activities, to determine as far as possible, why this was the case.

The age distribution of the siblings of respondents was 29.8% below 7 years of age. 16% aged 7-9 years, 19.9% 10-12 years, 16.9% were 13-15 and 9.7% were 16-17. There was no response from 5.9% of the respondents and 1.8% did not know any details about their siblings.

Table 3.45: Frequency Distribution of Siblings' School Attendance (%)

Siblings School Attendence	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	1012	47.5
No	734	34.5
Not applicable (too young)	349	16.4
Did not know	34	1.6
Total	2129	100.00

Out of a total of 2,201 siblings, 1852 (84.1%) are over six years of age and are expected to attend school, while 349 (15.9%) are under age. Of the former group, 54.5% were attending school and 39.6% were not. From the total, the remaining 1.6% did not know and 3.5% gave no response.

Of those siblings of respondents of school going age, almost 60% were attending school. Although overall non street-children from the same families as street children are more likely to be going to school (60% compared to 44.8%), a slightly higher proportion (66%) of children who sleep at home are attending school when compared to siblings attendance. Thus for children on the street, being involved in street life does not appear to adversely affect their school attendence. Given the fact that many children's street work supported the economic costs of their education, this is not as surprising as it initially appears.

Table 3.46: Frequency Distribution of Siblings' Street-Activity (%)

Siblings Street Involvement	Frequency	Percentage
Work	516	24.5
Play	35	1.7
Beg	48	2.3
No involvement	1464	69.6
Did not know	40	1.9
Total	2103	100.00

When asked if any of their siblings had any involvement in street-activities (working, playing, begging, or sleeping), 23.4% of siblings worked on the streets, 1.6% played there, 2.2% were involved in begging but the majority 66.5%, had no involvement in street-life. 4.6%

gave no response, and 1.9% didn't know. 93.7% of siblings slept at home, and only 1.1% slept on the street and between home and street. The remainder didn't know or gave no response.

In cases where the respondent was the only child in the family on the street, he or she was asked why, in their opinion, this was the case. 30.1% said it was because the other children were too small or too young, or because he or she was the eldest and therefore came to the streets to help support the family. 25.9% said it was because he or she was interested to work, and wanted to help him or her self and the family. 11.7% said they were on the street because of a quarrel with a family member and due to problems at home which they chose to escape from by going to the street. 9.6% said it was because the other children were not allowed to because they were girls, or because they had to help at home. 5.8% were ordered to work or forced to work because of neglect at home, 3.9% were displaced or unaccompanied and 3.9% because they like being on the street to play with friends. 9.1% gave other reasons.

3.21 Childrens Street Work

Table 3.47: Occupation by Age and Sex

Age	N=117 7 - 9		N=379 10 - 12		N=372 13 - 15		N=141 16 - 17		N=969 Total %
Occupation	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
N=190 Shoe-Shiner	24.6	-	30.7	1.1	22.3	-	22.3	0.9	19.4
N=344 Peddlar	27.5	65.3	28.7	72.8	24.8	69.0	15.7	68.2	35.2
N=65 Taxi-boy	4.3	-	6.6	-	12.6	-	5.8	-	6.7
N=31 Carwasher	-	-	1.2	-	5.8	-	8.3	-	3.2
N=186 Carrier/ Messenger	14.5	2.0	18.9	2.2	25.2	5.6	37.2	3.0	19.0
N=36 Other	2.9	2.0	1.6	9.2	1.9	12.7	3.3	9.0	3.7
N=117 None (begging)	26.1	28.6	10.7	16.3	6.8	12.7	23.8	18.5	12
N=969 Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Overall, the highest proportion of child street-workers, 35.2%, were peddlers and street sellers. 19.4% were shoe shiners, 19% carriers or messengers, 6.7% were taxi boys, 3.3% car washers, 3.7% reported other occupations like car watching, nail polishing, bringing customers to small hotels, playing traditional musical instruments like "Masinko" in bars and gathering and selling different vegetables and grains that overspill in market places. 12.8% of the respondents were not working. They were on the streets begging or playing.

Out of the male respondents 25.3%, 24.9% and 24.1% consisted of shoe-shiners, peddlers and carriers respectively while 68.2% of the females were street sellers.

All the 65 taxi boys and 31 car washers were male. Similarly 98.9% of the shoe-shiners and 96.7% of the carriers were male. However, out of those who reported to be occupied in other activities 61.1% were female while 38.9% were male.

Different occupations are dominated by different age groups, which could provide a useful basis for targeting age and developmentally appropriate intervention. For example, car-washing is dominated by older boys. Over 90% were aged 13-17. Carriers and messengers were predominantly from the middle age group. 44.6% of the 13-15 year olds were carriers/messengers. 52.1% of the youngest age group (7-9) are peddlers/street sellers or shoe-shiners and 26.1% play on the street or beg.

It was purposely tried to include equal numbers of respondents from each occupation in the selected areas. However, it was not possible to achieve this goal during the actual data collection so percentages probably reflect real trends.

Relating occupation to sex, two thirds of the street girls are peddlers/ street sellers while one quarter of the males are involved in this occupation. This is because a large number of street girls are "kolo" (roasted cereal) sellers, which is traditionally a female occupation.

Taxi boy and car washer are both completely male occupations. High male predominance is also observed in shoe-shining (98.9%) and those working as carriers (96.2%). The existence of more working opportunities for males may be a significant factor attracting more boys to the streets.

From the total, 117 street children do not have any street job. Out of these 70.1% (75 children) are engaged in begging as a means of survival, 14% are dependent on their immediate families or other relatives, 11.2% are using a combination of different survival tactics, 2.8% admitted that their means of survival is stealing and the rest 1.9% did not respond to the question.

Table 3.48: Frequency Distribution of Type of Secondary Job (%)

Occupation	Frequency	Percentage
Shoe Shiner	7	0.8
Pedlar/Street seller	24	2.7
Taxi Boy	16	1.8
Car Washer	14	1.6
Carrier/Messenger	115	12.9
Others	26	2.9
None	692	77.3
Total	894	100

From the 894 street children who reported that they are earning their livelihood by working 77.3% have no secondary job. 12.9% have reported to be carriers or messengers, 2.7% do pedling or sell things on the street as a secondary job and the rest, 7.1%, are those who do shoe-shining, assist on taxies, car washing and do other jobs whenever available.

Out of the working children, it is found out that the majority make no clear distinction between primary and secondary occupations. They engage in whatever they can get because few have any guarantee of working at activities of their preferences.

The above also suggests that carrying things or acting as a messenger is the only opportunity available to every street child whenever they cannot find activities of their primary choice.

Table 3.49: Type of Work by Ethnic Group (%)

	N = 190 Shoe-Shiner	N = 344 Pedlar	N = 63 Taxi-Boy	N = 31 Car-Washer	N = 184 Carrier	N = 36 Others	N = 117 None	N = 965 TOTAL
N = 162 Gurage	53.1	22.8	4.9	1.9	9.9	3.1	4.3	100
N = 99 Oromo	10.9	27.7	7.9	5.9	27.7	9.9	7.9	100
N = 450 Amhara	13.2	36.2	8.2	4.0	19.2	4.0	14.6	100
N = 224 Tigrian	10.6	49.8	2.6	1.8	18.9	0.9	14.1	100
N = 30 Other	30.0	6.7	13.3	-	3.3	3.3	13.3	100
N = 965 TOTAL %	19.7	35.6	6.5	3.2	19.1	3.7	12.1	TOTAL

Some clear trends emerge when street occupation is related to ethnicity. Over half of Gurage children work as shoe shiners (53.1%), which is a traditional child occupation for children from the Gurage tribe. 49.8% of the Tigray children, 36.2% of the Amhara and 27.7% of the Oromo, are pedlars or street sellers. The proportion of carriers/messengers among the Oromo is equal to that of pedlars/street sellers (27.7%).

Half of Gurage children are shoe-shiners which is in keeping with the fact that the Gurages send their children to the city to work and earn money first as shoe-shiners then as pedlars, "Kiosk" (small shop) keepers from which some move up to the status of shop owners.

The finding that over a quarter of the Oromo children are carriers/messengers may be due to the fact that their first contact to the city is at the Saturday and Wednesday markets where many Oromo children come with their parents to sell farm products. Carriers are concentrated in market places where their service is needed most. The rural children coming to these markets may well be attracted by the income earned in this way.

Table 3.50: Present School Attendance by Occupation (%)

Attending School	N = 164 Shoe-Shiner	N = 310 Pedlar	N = 62 Taxi-boy	N = 30 Car-Wash	N = 155 Carrier	N = 30 Others	N = 76 None	N = 827 TOTAL
N = 445 YES	51.2	74.2	46.8	40.0	29.7	60.0	34.2	53/5
N = 382 NO	48.8%	25.8	53.2	60.0	70.3	40.0	65.8	46.5
N = 827 TOTAL %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

When occupation is expressed in relation to present school attendance 74.2% of pedlars/street sellers, 60% of those employed in other activities, 51.2% of shoe-shiners, 46.8%, 38.7% and 29.7% of taxi boys, car washers and messengers/carriers respectively are presently attending school.

The occupational groups with the highest school attendance are pedlars, shoe-shiners and those engaged in other activities (children with weighing scales, bed-room dealers etc.), with the highest being pedlars, with three-quarters of children attending school. Perhaps significantly, these are jobs which require some capital and parental support to initiate so it may also reflect occupations in which children are well integrated with their families, and their lives may be more stable in general than children who have to create their job opportunities independently. These activities also bring stable income and children doing these jobs can still make money for their survival and school expenses.

The reason that a high proportion (60%) of car washers do not go to school seems to be because of the high income gained from this occupation. Since this activity is usually dominated by young men over 17 years old, those children who are able to get the chance to work as car washers do not want to lose the income and risk the opportunity, attending school half day. There is high competition for this work and also customers prefer to get service from the same familiar boys because they cannot leave their car to just anybody. Likewise taxi-boys also earn relatively good wages. However, boys who merely call customers for taxi's have very low incomes and need to work long hours for little return. These boys are generally younger than taxi-boys.

Almost three quarters (70.3%) of children who work regularly as carriers or messengers and 65.8% of children with no occupations do not attend school. Carriers/messengers have to hang around and wait until their service is needed. Since the demand for this service is not regular children engaged in this activity do not earn stable incomes and perhaps as a result these children can not afford to spend part of the day at school. The majority of children with no occupations survive by begging. Many of these are from displaced families, and a greater proportion are young children (under 12 years) and girls.

Table 3.51: Frequency Distribution of Begging (%)

Frequency of Begging	Frequency	Percentage
Always	110	11.0
Often	14	1.4
Sometimes	97	9.7
Rarely	40	4.0
Never	736	73.6
No Response	3	0.3
Total	1000	100.0

When asked if they are involved in begging 73.6% of the children said that they never beg, 11% admitted that they always beg while 9.7%, 4% and 1.4% respectively reported that they sometimes, rarely and often beg. Summing up those who beg always, often and sometimes it can be observed that 22.1% of street children admit that they are involved in begging. It is possible that many of the children who are involved in the activity occasionally may not admit it so readily, and these figures are probably underestimated.

Table 3.52: Frequency Distribution of Working Hours Per Day (%)

Working Hours	Frequency	Percentage
Less than half day	132	14.8
Half a day	88	9.8
More than half a day	355	39.7
Full day	271	30.3
Whenever Possible	27	3.0
Did not know	13	1.5
No response	8	0.9
Total	894	100.0

The frequency distribution of working hours is shown on the above table. Some three quarters (70%) of the respondents report they are working more than half to a full day. 14.8% work less than half a day, 9.8% work half a day, 3% work whenever they get the opportunity, and the rest 1.5% do not know their working hours and 0.9% did not respond to the question.

This suggests that the majority of the respondents or street children covered by this sample study are engaged in street activities of any kind on almost full time basis. The rest may be those who live with their parents and go out to the street for a limited period during the day to subsidise their parents' income or pay their school fees.

A factor here is that the study was concluded during the school holiday period so the long street hours indicated may not be characteristic of behaviour during term time.

3.22 Income Earned and Level of Spending

Table 3.53: Frequency Distribution of Earnings per day (%)

Earning	Frequency	Percentage
Up to 1 Birr	141	14.1
1 to 2 Birr	208	20.8
2 to 3 Birr	212	21.2
3 to 4 Birr	125	12.5
4 to 5 Birr	87	8.7
Did not know	126	12.6
No response	2	0.2
Not applicable	99	9.9
Total	1000	100.0

This finding simply shows that more than three fifths or 68.6% of the children have daily earnings ranging from 0 to 4 Birr (1 Birr = 20 US cents). The highest frequency is observed under 2 to 3 Birr followed by 1 to 2 Birr. Only very few of the respondents (8.7%) have reported to have a daily earnings reaching 4 to 5 Birr. Therefore, from the above it can be concluded that a great majority of street children are spending most of their time on the street for a very minimal amount of daily earnings which can hardly cover the most basic needs of food and shelter.

Children were asked about how they spend their money. 64.4% of the respondents have reported that they spend money on food. The children were also asked to report the amount of money they give to their family. 51.1% stated that they give money at home; 17.7% give up to 1 Birr, 12.8% give 1 to 2 Birr, 15.4% contribute 2 to 6 Birr and only 1.9% give above 6 Birr. As regards to spending for school, entertainment, shelter, clothing and others the majority of street children 90.9%, 79.2%, 84%, 81.5% and 73.7% respectively stated that they spend nothing for these items. 14.3% spend up to 1 Birr per day for entertainment. 14.9% 'save' money for clothing, 12.3% use their money for shelter and 9.3% save for education.

Therefore, about half of the children interviewed contribute towards their families' income. Although only 9.3% of children report they use their money for education, in practice the proportion is much higher as many parents save their childrens money for this purpose.

3.23 Nutrition

Table 3.54: Frequency Distribution of Meals (%)

Number of Meals (Per day)	Frequency	Percentage
Once	37	3.7
Twice	324	32.4
Three times	578	57.8
Irregular	54	5.4
No response	7	0.7
Total	1000	100.0

Table 3.55: Frequency Distribution of Type of Food (%)

Type of Food	Frequency	Percentage
Variety	28	2.8
Injera/Bread	384	38.4
Bread only	153	15.3
Left Overs only	94	9.4
Kolo only	299	29.9
No response	42	4.2
Total	1000	100.0

57.8% reported that they eat three times a day, 32.4% eat twice, 5.4% eat irregularly whenever they can, 3.7% eat once a day and 0.7% gave no response.

The children were also asked to specify the type of food they eat most of the time. 38.4% eat injera and bread, 29.9% kolo, 15.3% bread, 9.4% eat left over food, 2.8% eat different varieties while 4.2% did not respond.

3.24 Health Status

Table 3.56: Frequency Distribution of Health Problems (%)

	N = 1000 Skin	N = 1000 Eye	N = 1000 Ear	N = 998 Stomach	N = 1000 Teeth	N = 1000 Headache	N = 996 Nazal	N = 1000 Handicap Injury	N = 935 Others	TOTAL
YES	7.6	13.7	8.1	28.6	8	28.5	15.2	4.1	12.1	100
NO	92.4	86.3	91.9	71.4	92	71.5	84.8	95.9	87.9	100

Looking at the different health problems children have, 28.5% each reported that they have headache and stomach problems, 15.1% reported nasal bleeding, 13.7% eye problems, 8.1%

ear problems, 8% had problems with their teeth, 7.6% said they had skin problems, 4.1% are handicapped or had permanent injury and 11.3% have other health problems.

When respondents who reported some health problem were asked if they received treatment (medical or traditional), two thirds (64.8%) said Yes, (which also indicates the problem must have been reasonably severe).

Out of those who received medical treatment only 16.1% were still on treatment. The majority (82.6%) said they were not receiving any treatment at the time of the interview. When asked why 72.1% responded that they were cured, 16.7% discontinued due to financial constraint while the remaining 11.1% said they had no time, gave other reasons, did not know or gave no response.

When the respondents were asked where they go when they get sick the majority or 72.4% responded that they go to medical centers, while 8.1% said that they use traditional medicine. 8% said they have nowhere to go. The remaining 11.5% gave other responses, such as did not know, treatment at the Missionaries of Charity or gave no response. The Missionaries of Charity or "Sister-bait" as it is known amongst the children, provides an invaluable service to children who do not know of anywhere else that will provide them with medical treatment.

Almost all the health problems reported by street children are probably closely related to their life style. Headache and nasal bleeding are usually caused by over exposure to the sun. Poor personal hygiene, overcrowding and inadequate water supply are also the main causes of stomach ailments, eye and ear infections as well as dental and skin problems.

3.25 Knowledge of or Contact with Street-Child Organisations

Table 3.57: Knowledge of Organisation which Helps Children like You by Town (%)

Knowledge of Organisation	N = 217 YES	N = 780 NO	N = 997 TOTAL
N = 397 Addis Ababa	29.0	71	100
N = 200 Bahir Dar	33.5	66.5	100
N = 200 Mekele	9.0	91.0	100
TOTAL %	21.8	78.2	100

Approximately a third of children in Addis Ababa and Bahir Dar said they knew of organisations which helped children in their circumstances. However nearly all children in Nazareth and Mekele said they knew of no such organisations.

Table 3.58: Frequency Distribution of Contact with Such Organisation by Town (%)

Contact with Organisation	N = 87 YES	N = 214 NO	N = 301 TOTAL
N = 161 Addis Ababa	33.5	66.5	100
N = 70 Bahir Dar	24.3	75.7	100
N = 21 Nazareth	23.8	76.2	100
N = 49 Mekele	22.4	77.6	100
N = 301 TOTAL	28.9	71.1	100

Of children who knew organisations which help children (21% in total), when asked if they have had any contact with such organisations, 71.1% of the sample taken reported that they have no contact while 29.9% reported that they have some contact. Proportionately more children in Addis Ababa had had contact with an aid organisation. Only 17, 5 and 11 children in Bahir Dar, Nazareth and Mekele respectively had contact with a helping organisation, highlighting the urgent need to de-centralise aid to street-children.

Overall, 64.9% of children who approached an agency received food and clothing, 9.6% health services, 5.3% educational assistance, 17% did not get any assistance from the agencies and 3.2% gave no response.

3.26 Perception of Present Conditions and Future Apsirations

Table 3.59: Frequency Distribution of Life Satisfaction (%)

Satisfied with Life	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	698	69.8
No	302	30.2
TOTAL	1000	100

When the respondents were asked if they are satisfied with their life, 69.8% responded that they were not satisfied while 30.2% responded positively.

Table 3.60: Frequency Distribution of Biggest Problem (%)

Biggest problem	Frequency	Percentage
Obtaining food	626	62.6
School Expenses	30	3.0
Abuse on Streets	34	3.4
Emotional needs	29	2.9
Health problems	17	1.7
Bad living conditions	45	4.5
No problem	153	15.3
Others	66	6.6
TOTAL	1000	100

When the question of the biggest problem faced by the respondents was asked, 62.6% reported food, 3% school expenses, 3.4% abuse on the street, 2.9% emotional needs, 1.7% health problem, 4.5% bad street life, 15.3% said they have no problem, 4.8% have reported others, 1% said they don't know and 0.8% gave no response.

Looking at the alternative conditions children might have to leave street life, of the total number of interviewees 30.1% have reported that they will leave street life if they are provided with basic needs (meaning support for the child or family by an organisation), 25.4% if employed, 15.1% if their families get better jobs or their income status improved, 1.7% if reunified with their family, 3.7% said they have no alternative, 1.8% stated that they do not want to leave street life, 5.8% have reported other alternatives, 5.5% said don't know and the rest 1.3% gave no response.

Table 3.61: Frequency Distribution of Future Plan (%)

	Frequency	Percentage
Professional	470	47
Skilled Worker	297	29.7
Artist/Athlete	31	3.1
Office Worker/Clerk	30	3.0
Priest	10	2.1
Street-Worker	80	1.0
"God knows"	21	6.1
"Others"	51	80
TOTAL	1000	100

Regarding the future aspirations of the respondents, 47% want to become professionals (doctors, pilots, teachers, engineers, etc.), 29.7% skilled workers (mechanics, technicians, etc.), 3.1% artists/athletes, 3% said they want to become clerks, 2.1% priests, 1% street workers (pedlars, taxi boys, etc.), 5.1% said God knows, don't know, don't think about it etc., 8% have given other responses and 1% gave no response.

Over four fifths (81.9%) of street children therefore have very high aspirations like becoming a doctor, a teacher, an artist, etc. Even if these are mostly unrealistic dreams, it is encouraging for intervention since it indicates that these children have not lost hopes and became apathetic. It is also in keeping with the the enthusiasm and desire for education expressed by many of the children interviewed.

CHAPTER FOUR

VICTIMIZATION AND DELINQUENT ACTIVITIES SURVEY

CHAPTER FOUR

Victimization and Delinquent Activities Survey

4.1 Introduction

In addition to the main questionnaire, a series of in-depth questionnaires were administered to a sub-sample of children to examine their experiences of victimization and criminal involvement. These additional interviews were designed :

1 To identify the main types of abuse and exploitation suffered by street-children.

2 To identify the nature of street-children's criminal or anti-social behaviour.

3 To gain some understanding of characteristics of street-children which pre-disposes them to either abuse or anti-social behaviour.

4 To develop effective, data-driven intervention strategies which will relieve the problems street-children experience due to abuse, exploitation and criminal involvement.

Methodology

Children might well be reluctant to expose their activities and experiences in the sensitive areas of crime and victimization. This problem is an integral part of carrying out a self-report survey and can never be completely overcome. However, a number of steps were taken to ensure maximum openness :

(a) Interviewees were screened by the interviewer during the main survey questionnaire. Thus, a child who appeared cooperative, open and readily admitted to anti-social behaviour was recommended as a suitable candidate for the in-depth questionnaire.

(b) The presence of a foreigner during the interviews facilitated frankness among the children. This has largely to be credited to the novelty felt by children of talking with a *farenge* and the certain knowledge that he would not be linked to the police or government in any way. (This was particularly relevant in the wake of government round-ups of criminals in the first half of 1992).

(c) In so far as possible, a facilitator trusted by the children was used. This greatly facilitated openness for three reasons (1) it put the child being interviewed at ease, knowing that there was a friend at hand (2) the facilitator knew the kind of information that was required and would prompt, encourage or scold the interviewee as necessary, in order for the desired information to be revealed and (3) when interviewing delinquents, it was found that the facilitator knew a lot of the children involved in criminal activity. Once the interviewers had worked with him for a few days and built up a trust, he had no reluctance in bringing these children forward.

In total, 32 females and 28 males in Addis Ababa between the ages of 12 and 18 were interviewed. The results from these interviews are presented under the headings of (1) Victimization and (2) Delinquency. Each of these two headings are in turn divided into

female and male sections. In addition, the results from the questions on the main survey questionnaire dealing with crime and abuse (Questions 73 to 77, 85 and 86) are presented.

4.2 Victimization of Street-girls

The information below is taken from interviews with 32 girls carried out in October - November, 1992.

QUANTITATIVE DATA:

Pregnancy:
Of the 32 girls, 7 had been pregnant. One of these was due to rape, one was due to prostitution, two to legitimate marriages (traditional type early marriages) and three due to relationships where the girl was taken in as a "wife" by an older boy. In all three of these latter cases, the boys severed contact with the girl when she became pregnant.

The street is not a favourable environment for child-rearing. The following is the outcome of these seven pregnancies:

- baby died from cold one month and ten days after birth.
- baby born two months premature after girl was beaten by delinquents. Hospital told her that she couldn't look after the child and that they would keep it. She now believes the child was stillborn.
- baby was stolen at four months of age.
- baby is two years old and is growing up begging with the mother.
- baby due in two months time.
- baby died from intestinal disease at 4 months of age.
- baby due in two months time.

The average age for these girls to become pregnant was 15.8 years.

Rape:
Of the 32 girls, 12 have been raped. As noted above, one of these resulted in a pregnancy. Briefly, their accounts are as follows:

- Age 14. Refused to go to bed with a delinquent. He beat her so she went.
- Age 6. Gang of 6-7 boys raped her when her Mother took her out of Addis to the countryside to visit relatives.
- Age 14. When she was new to street life, a man tricked her into carrying goods for him. He took her to a room and threatened her with a razor blade and said he would kill her if she resisted.
- Age 17. Group of 7 boys held her down while one raped her.
- Age 14. Taken by force to a hotel
- Age 17. Gang of three attacked her. One raped her.
- Age 13. Raped by two boys on the street at knife point.
- Age 15. Taken by force to a hotel.
- Age 18. Raped in the house where she worked as a maid.
- Age 15. Attacked by three boys. Two raped her while threatening her with a razor-blade.
- Age 15. Taken to hotel by knife point.
- Age 13. Taken to hotel by knife point.

These accounts are of the girls' first experiences of rape (Average age for this is 14.25 years), but many of them report multiple instances of rape. These rapes usually involve a number of boys. As interviews with street-boys illustrate, they will most often rape girls when they are in a group after drinking. The reasons they give for raping girls are that they have no money to pay for prostitutes and also that they feel certain that a girl who is not a prostitute will not have any venereal diseases or AIDS.

As well as these 12 instances of rape, 3 girls were taken in as "wives" by older boys. In each case they were "dismissed" once they became pregnant. Although this may not be violent rape, it is clearly exploitation and sexual abuse of vulnerable young girls.

Sexual Attacks:
Apart from the 12 girls who were raped, an additional 9 reported that boys had attempted to attack them. As noted later, this usually involves beatings as well.

In summary, 21 of the 32 girls interviewed had been sexually attacked. 12 of these resulted in rape. Those girls who have not been attacked are either younger than Age 12 or are already pregnant or have a child with them.

Prostitution:
9 of the 32 girls admitted to prostituting themselves. There was probably considerable under-reporting of this, but it is impossible to say to what extent.

Solicited for Sex:
22 of the 32 girls had been asked to act as prostitutes either by bar-owners (many bars in Addis employ a number of girls to work for them as "bar-ladies". Their function is to serve food and drink, to encourage customers to drink and to act as prostitutes), or by private individuals requesting their services. Informal conversations with other street girls suggests that this regularly happens to most sexually mature street-girls. The 10 girls not solicited in the sample reported here were either sexually immature or had a child.

Beatings:
21 of the 32 girls reported experiencing beatings. The majority said they were most often beaten by boys when they refused to have sex with them. 7 said they were most often beaten by older street-children, especially boys, who robbed them of their money. Most girls also reported being beaten, insulted and spat upon because they were begging and not working.

Theft:
23 girls reported having had things stolen from them on the street. In 9 cases this involved money being stolen by street boys. This seems to be a frequent occurrence, especially for younger girls. 12 reported their spare clothes being stolen from them. This will usually happen when they are new to the street and have no safe place to keep their possessions. One girl had her baby stolen.

Qualitative Data

The following was collected from unstructured group discussions with street girls. It is presented in the form of a chronology, describing experiences as related by the children. The chronology is indicative of the lives of these girls and suggests 'typical' or expected experiences.

Age 12:
Large numbers of people, both male and female, prey on younger girls who are vulnerable due to their small size and age. There is a tendency on the streets for people to take advantage of any situations in which they are superior due to age or sex. Younger girls are at the bottom of this age/sex hierarchy.

Even at age 12, a girl will be aware of the dangers of sexual assault. At this point, most girls stop sleeping on the 'veranda', (outside, under shop awnings, in bus shelters, or simply in the lee of a wall). Although relatively rare, girls of this age are raped. The fear of rape begins to become real for them. From now on, it is an ever present possibility - a possibility they worry about, are afraid of, and begin to take precautions against.

Street girls of this age still show the characteristics of children. For entertainment, they dance and sing and skip and act out little dramas amongst themselves.

Age 13:
Street girls of this age begin to acquire some independence. Whereas younger girls will take large levels of abuse in the home, a girl in her early teens seems to have reached an 'abuse threshold'. Her age gives her an independence and a self-sufficiency which younger girls do not have. In an abusive home situation, her new-found capacity for independent decision-making may manifest itself in her choice to leave home and make her own way on the street. The average age for initiation to street life among the 32 girls interviewed was 13.25 years and the single most common reason given was conflict in the home. This suggests that moving onto the street is widely perceived to be a more attractive option than continuing to live in a negative home situation. For the sample interviewed here, they, or their guardians, felt that girls are able to manage independently on the street from about age 13.

Girls of this age are in the grey area between being asexual children and sexually mature women. This grey area has become clear by age 14. 12 and 13 year olds still do not have the widespread fear of rape evident amongst 14 year olds. They are in a transition period - some of the younger looking ones laugh at the very idea of being sexually attacked, it's simply not a reality for them. On the other hand, those 12 and 13 year olds that do sleep on the street are beginning to become very wary of the possibility. They may have received a scare or may have actually been raped. It would be unusual for a girl of this age to be still sleeping on the veranda.

Individuals are beginning to solicit girls for sex at this age. Bar-owners will not be approaching them yet - this comes when they are a little older. However, the vast majority are not prostituting themselves yet. In the group interviewed, only one girl of 13 admitted to prostitution. She was unable to get money from begging and an older girl asked her why she went without nice clothes when she could be paid for sex.

Age 14:
Most of the girls are now sexually mature. They reported that they are routinely solicited for sex. Fear of *deriyeas* (delinquent boys) and sexual assault is something many of them have to live with continuously. This is the age when girls begin to be raped (the average age for a first experience of rape is 14.25 years). It begins to happen that they are beaten by *deriyeas* when they refuse them sex.

The 'cute little girl' charm begins to wear off. This used to offer a measure of protection from the general public. Now girls will begin to experience abuse from passersby because they are begging. This will come in the form of beatings, insults and being spat upon. One girl was in the process of carrying some goods to a man's house when he suddenly told her to stop, that she looked like a thief and he beat her until her face bled.

Girls start getting suggestions from people to be prostitutes at this age. For the more mature looking girls, bar owners will start inviting them to be prostitutes. The last of the girls have moved into rented rooms at this stage.

Age 15:
An increasing proportion of the girls report having been raped. Some of them now are associating with *deriyeas*. They are becoming part of a hardened sub-culture. This may involve becoming sexually active, prostitution,. theft, chat chewing (mild amphetamine ingested by chewing fresh chat leaves) and drinking. It should be noted, however, that such girls are a minority among street girls and the sample interviewed here presents a skewed view of the life of the street girl. Many more are religious and moral, maintaining the standards by which they had been brought up. The hopes for the former of any kind of effective rehabilitation are becoming increasingly slim. Girls who wish to avoid this life style see the importance of staying away from *deriyeas*.

For those engaged in a marginal street-life, pregnancy starts becoming a problem at this age. Very few of the girls use any effective form of contraception. Pregnancies may be as a result of rape, prostitution or through being taken in as a "wife". The children from these pregnancies are at a very high risk of illness and accident.

Deriyeas may try to cash in on prostitutes by threatening to beat or kill them unless they hand over a share of their earnings. This experience is not confined to prostitutes. Petty traders and even beggars are liable to pay such a "tax" to older boys. Punishment for not doing so can involve a severe beating.

Age 16:
The level of sexual solicitation or assault has reached the point where one girl summed it up by saying, "It doesn't happen every day, but it happens often". While some girls are becoming more involved in a *deriyea* sub-culture involving prostitution, others (particularly girls of this age who are new to the street) do not lose the standards they were brought up with, "I would never do it, even if I was starving. I'd rather eat kolo and water". Others take a more pragmatic approach, "I know I can get good clothes and food from it, but this will not compensate for unknown diseases."

Girls who arrive on the street at this age are seen as easy pickings. As one street wise 14 year old said, "They are from the country. They know nothing." They have not been hardened to street life and have not developed the skills necessary to survive there.

Age 17:
Ex-street girls start becoming full time prostitutes or bar-ladies. They wear new clothes, rent nicer rooms and lead a far superior material life than younger street girls. As one 15 year old said, "They were like us once, now they are rich." This move is seen as a step up by many of the girls.

4 out of the 5 seventeen year olds interviewed had been raped. Each of the 4 were raped by a group of boys. All those interviewed in this age group reported being routinely solicited for sex and 3 of the 5 admit to prostituting themselves. Girls of this age who don't prostitute themselves will be teased, "Why don't you?", "What makes you so different?"

One of the girls interviewed was pregnant and one had already had a baby (which was subsequently stolen).

Girls of this age who are prostituting themselves are no longer doing it as occasional acts of desperation. Rather, it has become a part of their life style. They are better off materially and, to sustain this life style, they continue to prostitute themselves.

Age 18:
There are a number of clearly identifiable paths girls can take at this stage. The paths which emerged in the interviews were:

(a) The *deriyea*. This girl is a full-time prostitute and thief. She mixes with a gang of males and females who spend a lot of their free time and money on drink, hash and chat. She has no interest in a "normal" life style and feels no particular affinity with society - "I don't give a shit about anyone, as long as I'm happy". Relative to the other types of street girls described below, she is much more wealthy. "What's the worst thing you've ever done?" I killed a guard during a robbery.

(b) The law-abiding street girl: This girl believes stealing is wrong, prostitution is a sin against God and does not mix at all with *deriyeas*. She aims to be a full and productive member of society and greatly regrets that she never got an education. She would go hungry and sell her clothes rather than prostitute herself. The insults she receives for begging really hurt her. She lives by begging and longs to leave the streets. She lives a subsistence life style. "What's the worst thing you've ever done?" I insulted an old woman who wouldn't give me left over food.

(c) The single mother: Either through rape, prostitution or consenting sex, this girl has a baby to care for. The only way she can rear the child is through begging. Still, this only allows her to barely survive. The child receives little or no proper medical care.

The above interviews concern those girls who stayed on the street. It may, of course, be the case that girls who are begging are those who could find no way out of their predicament. Thus, it cannot be assumed that they are representative of girls who have spent some time on the street. It is rather more likely that they are representative of girls who have spent relatively longer stretches of time on the street. Those who leave the street get married, sell tella, wash clothes, become full time prostitutes or bar-ladies, become maids, or work in bars, hotels or restaurants.

Case Study 1:
Aden's mother died when she was 14. Her step-father remarried almost immediately. Her new step-mother beat her incessantly, as did her step-father. She was forced to leave her home. Her first night on the street, a group of drunk boys approached her and offered her a bed for the night. She refused but they beat her and one of them took her to a hotel where he raped her. Shortly after this a taxi-boy suggested they live together. She agreed and at Age 15 she gave birth, at which point her "husband" disappeared. After one month, her baby died from the cold. Aden now sleeps in a rented room for 50 cents and continues to beg on the streets. Her greatest fear is to be raped again and to become pregnant.

Case Study 2:
Gennet left Nazareth at Age 14, on being made an orphan. She was told she could find work in Addis. After a month in Addis, a man tricked her into carrying goods into his house where he raped her at knife point. Her only way to survive is to beg and, when she is desperate for money, to prostitute herself. Because she didn't understand about contraceptives, she almost immediately became pregnant. The baby was born premature after she was assaulted by a group of boys. The hospital decided to keep it. She never saw it and fears that it is, in fact, dead. Her greatest fear is that she won't be able to beg enough each day for her rent (50 cents), in which case she'll have to stay out after dark and almost surely be raped.

These two stories are not unusual among street-girls in Addis Ababa.

Conclusions
Thus, to summarise, the principle form of victimization reported by the street-girls interviewed centred around sex. It seems that many of them are raped. To avoid this, they have to be indoors before dark. For those girls whose lifestyle offers opportunity for rape, a nightfall curfew is effectively imposed on them. It also seems likely that the majority will be sexually attacked at some point. For those who become pregnant, they are destined to a life of begging with their child. There is a wide-spread perception that street-girls are freely available for sex by (a) street-boys (b) bar-owners (c) members of the general public. Almost all sexually mature street-girls with this lifestyle will be routinely solicited for sex. A number of street-girls turn to prostitution.

Much of the beatings street-girls receive are related to refusing sex to *deriyeas*. However, younger girls especially may be beaten and robbed of their money. Any possessions they don't keep in a safe place, such as clothes, are also likely to be stolen from them.

4.3 Victimization of Street-boys

This section looks at the abuses which street-boys suffer during their time on the street. The data was collected during interviews with 28 street-boys in July 1992.

Beatings:
26 of the 28 boys report having been beaten on the street. The beatings are a regular occurrence, happening a number of times a week for 15 of the 26 boys. These beatings are often very serious. Detailed below is a very brief synopsis of each child's account of his most serious beating :

- Fractured skull and stabbed in leg by criminals because he informed on them. He had been forced to inform because he'd been tortured by the Dergue (head ducked repeatedly under water).

- Stabbed by other boys because he tried to work in their area. Dergue beat him with sticks in order to rob him.
- Bruised in the face by robbers.
- Stabbed in the hand by robbers.
- Swollen face by beating from EPRDF.
- Bruises from beating with sticks by robbers.
- Both front teeth knocked out from stick of a Dergue police-man.
- Tortured by Dergue (electric shocks to feet).
- Permanent scar and dent on forehead where he was stabbed by robbers.
- Stabbed in side by Dergue. Stabbed in neck by robbers.
- Permanent scar on head where skull was fractured by Dergue.
- Broken collar-bone by Dergue.
- Stabbed in hand by older boys trying to rob him.
- Ankles tied with wire by thieves.
- Hung from his wrists with wire by his father who wanted money from him because he is addicted to chat.

We can see from these accounts, that the sample of street-boys interviewed live in a remarkably violent world. No less than 7 of the 28 boys interviewed had been stabbed - a staggering 25%.

However, it should be noted that many of the boys in this sample were chosen for their involvement in delinquent activities. Thus, it is probable that they live in a rougher environment than street-boys who have no part in delinquent activities.

12 children reported having been beaten by robbers. More often than not, these thieves were older, bigger boys. Any child who is known to have money will almost certainly be robbed of it. This is evidenced by the fact that they have strategies for ensuring that they don't have much money on their person, for example, paying a month's rent in a boarding house in advance, buying clothes or leaving their money with somebody they trust.

As in many other countries, the police in Ethiopia are often responsible for the beatings street-children receive. In the following paragraph concerning police beatings, a distinction has been made between the "Dergue Police" (those of the former President, Lt. Col. Mengistu Haile Mariam ousted in May 1991) and the soldiers of the EPRDF (the former rebels responsible for ousting Mengistu, and who were responsible for policing the city from May 1991 until early 1992).

Eight children report having been beaten by the Dergue police. In two instances this went as far as torture - (1) electric shocks to the soles of the feet (2) repeatedly ducking the child in a bath of water. This was done, in both cases, to extract information concerning criminals they felt the boys knew. Other reasons given for being beaten by the Dergue were:
- In order to steal money from the child (1).
- Because the child was gambling (2).
- Because the child was caught stealing (3).
- Because the child was a "known thief" (2).

EPRDF soldiers have not been slow to beat the children either but they appear to have been more constrained than the Dergue were in their treatment of street-children. Reasons given for being beaten by the EPRDF were:
- Caught stealing (3).

- For being a street-child; usually involves moving them on (3).
- Known thief (1).
- Caught quarrelling with other boys (1).
- For gambling (1).

The children's relationship with law enforcers is discussed in greater detail overleaf.

Three children in the sample reported being beaten by adults who were strangers to them. In Ethiopia it is quite acceptable for an adult to discipline a child who is mis-behaving, and this seems to be what happened in these three instances. Ten reported having been beaten by other boys. We have already seen above that many of the thieves who rob street-children are, in fact, older boys. Other reasons given for being beaten by older street-children were:
- Fighting for work or a job (competition) (6).
- For trespassing in their territory (1).
- For informing to the police on them (3).

In the face of these beatings the children are, largely, powerless. Of the 26 boys who reported being beaten on the street, 21 did nothing about it; 1 told his family and 4 told the police. This latter option was dangerous in itself, in that in two out of these 4 cases the children were later beaten by those they had informed on. This is one of the reasons street-children are reluctant to go to the police with their problems.

Only one of the 28 boys reported having been sexually attacked. In this instance a man attempted, and failed, to molest him. Homosexuality, be it voluntary or forced, seems to be practically unheard of among this population.

Theft:
20 of the 28 boys have had things stolen from them. For the most part, clothes and money were stolen. As mentioned earlier, the culprits were usually older street-boys. Most boys in the sample (particularly the younger ones) reported that it may happen a number of times a week. It is not an exaggeration to say that street-boys are likely to be robbed of anything remotely valuable, usually by older street-boys, unless they can find a safe place to keep it.

A more indirect, but no less common, form of theft from street-boys is non-payment for services. 19 of the 28 reported having been cheated in this way. Of the 19, 9 were taxi-boys who weren't paid by the driver at the end of the day. Other jobs for which children had not been paid included shining shoes, minding cars and carrying goods. Apart from 3 cases where the child said it only happened once, all the others said it happened very frequently, sometimes as often as every day. It is clear that there is wide-spread exploitation of working children. They are the most vulnerable section of the labour force and are frequently abused by those making use of their services. In the face of this abuse, the children are largely helpless (the exception being the widespread practice of tyre-slashing and window-smashing by taxi boys who have been cheated).

Relationship with the Police:
We have seen in the preceding pages how the Dergue police were exceedingly cruel and exploitative towards street-children. Most of the children report negative experiences at the hands of the Dergue. The EPRDF are widely seen as an improvement. 8 children spontaneously mentioned favouring the EPRDF over the former Dergue police. Nevertheless, albeit on a smaller scale, the EPRDF also appear to have been guilty of victimizing street-children.

The policing situation has changed twice since May 1991. At that time, EPRDF soldiers took on the role of policing, having overthrown the last regime. The EPRDF continued to be solely responsible for policing until the Transitional Government established a new police force in the Summer of 1992. Thus, a whole new set of police are now on the streets of Addis Ababa (although a significant proportion come from the ranks of the old police). It remains to be seen how they will treat street-children.

Conclusions

In conclusion, then, the vast majority of street-boys were physically attacked, frequently severely, largely by robbers (usually older street-boys) and sometimes the police. In the face of such treatment they are, for the most part, powerless. Theft amongst themselves is widespread and it is the younger boys who will most often be victimized. As in many other parts of the world, the police play a large part in the lives of street-children. During the Dergue regime, violent and exploitive acts against street-boys were perpetuated. The EPRDF, although not blameless, are widely seen as an improvement by the street-children themselves. They spontaneously praise them and say they can rely on them for help if they are in trouble.

4.4 Female Delinquency

On the basis of the small sample described here, there seems to be a marked difference in involvement in delinquency between males and females. It is true to say that the large majority of Ethiopian street-girls will never become involved in delinquent behaviour. The most common responses to "Do you steal?" were:

- It is against God.
- Citing of the Ethiopian sayings "others money is no good" or "that which is stolen from others will never satisfy you".
- It is better that I sell my clothes or not eat than I steal.

When pressed to explain why girls are so much more law-abiding than boys, the usual explanation was that boys are stronger and less afraid and also that, whilst it is culturally unacceptable for a boy to steal, it is much more so for girls.

While very few street-girls are involved in theft, there is a definite category of girls whose life on the streets leads them into undesirable activities. However, even this category of girls, (unlike their male counterparts), could not be described as a danger to society. They cannot be described as delinquent but, rather, their activities are self-damaging. Typically, this girl will be in her late teens and will have been living as a street-girl for a number of years. Her male associates will be *deriyeas* (delinquents) and will be quite active in crime. However, she herself will not take part in such activities, except to occasionally help by keeping watch or luring victims into quiet places where they can be robbed by the boys. She will chew chat and drink tella and beer with these friends. (Even for those girls not associated with *deriyeas*, chat, hashish, and alcohol will be occasionally used as an escape and means of relaxation). She will earn much of her money through a combination of begging and prostitution. Relatively few girls will commit themselves solely to prostitution due to the very real fears of disease and pregnancy.

This hardened category of street-girl is, without doubt, the exception. Most girls, even those who regularly prostitute themselves, do not adopt the trappings of a delinquent life-style which is so much more common among their male counterparts, that is, stealing, fighting,

chewing chat, smoking hashish, drinking and generally staying on the fringes of society by not working.

To conclude, female delinquency in Addis Ababa is very low key and cannot be seen as a major social problem.

4.5 Male Delinquency

The findings reported below were collected from interviews carried out with 28 street-boys in July 1992. It is imperative to understand that this sample is NOT representative of street-boys as a whole. The children interviewed here were chosen particularly for their involvement in anti-social activities. The purpose was to collect a data base on the kind of activities delinquent children are involved in.

Research Findings

Delinquents activities are examined under a number of headings - theft, violence and substance abuse.

Theft:
Pick-pocketing: This is widely viewed as a skill and is only done by the more daring boys. Some boys specifically ride the buses in order to pick-pockets, especially on market days when people will have more money with them. They are facilitated in this by the way the buses are grossly overcrowded. Another tactic is to wait until people are bending over to get into a taxi or to wait in large crowds, such as those outside the theatre or cinema.

Bag-snatching: This is usually a team effort. A group of boys will crowd the victim, pulling his/her arm or jabbing their side to distract them. Thus, momentarily disorientated, the victim will not realise until too late what has happened. Once the bag has been snatched, the thieves run off in different directions, and will divide the gains later. A common tactic is to carry a razor-blade and to cut bag straps or to slit the bag open.

At night, theft is less devious and more straight forward. A group of boys will assault passersby and take anything valuable. If resistance is offered they will use knives or razor-blades to subdue the victim. *Deriyeas* concentrate on those able to offer least resistance. Thus, common victims are young street-children, middle-aged women and intoxicated people who are helpless. It is interesting to note that most boys report a respect for elderly people and would never rob them.

Burglary is not widely practised by younger street-boys. This is the reserve of older, more experienced and more hardened delinquents.

The above are the main types of street-crime. There exists, however, a large if unquantifiable category of boys who are always on the look out for opportunities - whether it be to intimidate a little girl into buying cigarettes or to steal fixtures from an unprotected vehicle.

Some thieves also have jobs, but many concentrate solely on theft. It can provide a very comfortable life-style. All the interviewees were asked what was the largest amount they ever stole. Answers of several thousands of Birr were not unusual.

There seems to be a clear relationship between age and degree of involvement with theft in the sample interviewed. This profile ranges from the young boy involved in petty theft, such as stealing fruit, to the older teenager who continues to steal, develops expensive habits and tastes and gets further drawn into a delinquent lifestyle with all that that entails: more and more serious crime, an unwillingness to work, large consumption of alcohol and chat, grouping oneself in a gang, which often necessitates fighting for the gang, and a casting off of society's rules and norms of good conduct (for example, the willingness to commit other peoples crimes for money).

Violence:
Delinquents often lead a very violent life-style; they are both the recipients and givers of much serious injury. This is because much of the violence of street-boys is directed at other street-boys. Injuries from stabbings, slashes from razor-blades, fractured skulls and broken bones were quite common even among this small sample. In the majority of cases, as stated above, these injuries will have been received at the hands of other street-boys.

This violence is often related to gangs. If a member of a gang is insulted or attacked, this will often lead to a much larger dispute among two groups of boys. Indeed, there is evidence of quite an active rivalry between groups of boys involving fights using knives, chains, sticks and razors. A number of boys reported deaths during such fights. Among the older, more hardened adolescents to carry a knife or a razor-blade is the norm. The knives are carried (a) because everyone in the gang carries them, (b) for cutting bag-straps, (c) for self-defence or fighting.

The main reasons given in the interviews for beating people are outlined below:

- If somebody attacks me or one of my friends, then we will all beat him.
- Sometimes our gang fight other gangs if they insult us or if they come into our area (each gang has a defined area in which they are "allowed" to steal. Crossing the boundaries into another area will lead to a fight with the boys who "own" that area).
- Sometimes we attack people when we steal from them.
- Sometimes I have to fight for work, for example, if many boys want to carry one box.

Substance abuse:
The above heading may be misleading. Substance abuse as it is known in Europe or North America or, indeed, among the street-children of South America, does not seem to exist in Ethiopia. No evidence of hard drugs (heroin, cocaine) was found. Even the notion of glue-sniffing was alien to most of the boys interviewed. None reported using it.

The drugs which are used among street-children in Ethiopia are :
Chat: Chat is a mild narcotic leaf. It's use is wide-spread all over East Africa. Nevertheless, especially among children, it is viewed as an undesirable behaviour. Children report that it makes them feel happy, relaxed and free. Chat use among the sample of boys interviewed can be divided into two groups :

1 Those who chew once a week with friends. The reasons given for chewing chat are to relax with friends and feel happy and content. This could be called the social side of chat chewing. This category wouldn't spend more than 10 Birr a week on chat.
2 However, a smaller group could be said to fit into a less innocuous form of chat chewing - this is where chewing occurs almost every day and large sums of money are spent on it. 20, 40 and even 60 Birr were reported as weekly expenditure on

chat. At this point, a person could be said to be addicted to chat. In order to obtain this kind of money, a boy will have to steal.

Sniffing benzene: The main reason given for this activity is to be protected from cold and hunger. It is usually practised among the younger boys as they do not have the money for other substances such as chat and alcohol. Among older boys it is seen as a very childish activity over which chat and alcohol are favoured.

Of the 11 boys who reported using, or having used, benzene only two said they sniffed it for fun. If the problems of cold and hunger were removed, the problem of benzene sniffing would largely disappear.

Alcoholic drinks: It is not very informative to ask if children drink tella or tej as it is the norm in Ethiopia for children to drink such alcoholic drinks on holidays, when they are made in the home. Nevertheless, a large proportion of street-boys drink outside a family setting. For the most part it is limited to once a week with friends in order to relax - often it is a part of chewing chat. Thus, like chat-chewers, the children involved can be divided into two categories:

1 Those who drink once a week and rarely spend more than a couple of Birr a week.
2 Those who drink every day or many times a week and can spend anything up to 50 Birr a week on drink.

Smoking: Of those respondents who do smoke (about 60%) the average age for starting is 13 years.

Hasish is frequently smoked among older street-children, both male and female and is widely available in certain parts of the city.

For the moment Ethiopia has none of the drug problems amongst the young apparent in other countries. Nevertheless, involvement in those substance abuses which do occur tend to discriminate between delinquents and non-delinquents. A number of reasons can be suggested for this :

(a) A child or adolescent who chews chat or drinks is engaging in an activity which is traditionally frowned upon. This turning away from what is socially acceptable at large to embrace the activities of a smaller group may then help to sustain, or initiate, other anti-social activities such as violence and theft.

(b) Involvement in such activities will bring younger children into contact with older delinquents. This may then become the reference grouping for the younger child and processes such as peer-pressure and desire of acceptability will lead the child towards a delinquent life-style.

(c) Once delinquent activities have been established they may be maintained by the need for money for expensive tastes which develop such as chat, clothes, drink and so on.

In short, those street-boys engaged in chewing chat, drinking and smoking seem to be more likely to be involved in theft and violence. These habits are another aspect of what we can call the delinquent life-style. They are not confined to, or definitive of, delinquents. They simply play a larger part in their life-style than they do in the life-style of non-delinquents.

Conclusions

On the basis of the small sample interviewed, juvenile delinquency in Addis Ababa does not represent the threat to society which delinquency in other parts of the world does. By and large, the children on the streets of Addis Ababa are moral and law abiding. Nevertheless, there exists a hard core of delinquent street-boys who rob, assault, hang around in gangs, rape girls, fight, beat up younger children, drink and chew chat to excess and use prostitutes.

The longer a boy stays on the street, it is reasonable to assume the more likely he is to become involved in a delinquent life-style. As street-boys progress through adolescence an increasing proportion are likely to become more involved in a delinquent life-style.

The future of juvenile delinquency: Compared to some regions, for example, South America, the problem of delinquency in Addis Ababa is not very severe. Delinquents are rarely armed with firearms and there is an absence of hard-drugs. Unfortunately, all the indicators point to an increase of this delinquency in Addis Ababa. The population of the city continues to grow at an alarming rate, jobs or work is increasingly scarce, family breakdown is widespread, poverty is rife (and thus the need for children to work on the street) and no serious or effective efforts have been made by the authorities to contain, or deal with the problem of delinquency. Such an environment fosters a growing sub-culture of delinquents. Even now, whole areas of the city are out of bounds, especially at night, because of the presence of delinquents and older criminals. Due to these factors, the level of juvenile delinquency in Addis Ababa can only be expected to increase.

Responses concerning delinquency and victimization as administered to the sample of 1000 in the main questionnaire survey

A number of questions concerning anti social behaviour (Questions 73-76) and abuse (Questions 77, 85 and 86) were included on the main questionnaire. The information elicited is outlined below :

Question 73 On "Anti-Social" behaviours.

The questionnaire responses reveal a total lack of hard drugs among street-children in Ethiopia. Even glue sniffing (a common problem among children in many parts of the world) is practically unheard of in Ethiopia. Substance abuse which does occur is associated with alcohol and chat. Such activities usually begin in the early teens. For the most part, it is confined to once a week and the reasons given for using such substances are to relax with friends. It is predominantly males who engage in such activities. However, there is a very clear indication that higher levels of consumption of alcohol and chat (a number of times a week) is associated with a delinquent lifestyle due to increased spending money and large amounts of free time. Addiction would appear to be very rare and, when it does occur, exists among males in their late teens who have been involved in theft and delinquency for many years.

Benzene is used, reportedly by 18.26% of the 10 - 12 year old male sample - those over 13 or 14 report no usage. It is used for protection against hunger and cold. A negligible amount of boys report using it for pleasure. Its use is almost exclusively confined to Addis Ababa.

Whilst Benzene use stops at age 13 or 14, consumption of alcohol, chat and tobacco increases through the teens. Rates of reporting on this question however, were low.

The figures for smoking and chat which emerged from this question are very low. This can only be ascribed to under-reporting as casual observation suggests widespread use. 12.35% of males over age 13 reportedly chew chat. These results broadly confirm the group discussion data discussed above.

Question 74 : Do you ever steal things from the markets or other places?

62 (or 6.2%) of respondents report that they steal. This does not tell us much on its own. However, when this is broken down by age and sex, some interesting results emerge which support the findings of the in-depth questionnaires on delinquency. Namely, males are far more involved in theft than females (of the 62, 75.81% are male, as opposed to 24.19% female) and stealing is most widespread among young to mid-adolescents. At the age of 15-16, a majority of boys appear to decrease their delinquent activities whereas a minority will continue to steal, perhaps becoming more hardened young adult criminals. This information can be seen in the table over.

Table 4.1: Frequency of stealing by age and sex

7 - 9		10 - 12		13 - 15		16 - 17		Total	
M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
2	1	13	4	26	7	6	3	47	15

Such stealing behaviour as does exist occurs predominantly in Addis Ababa. 39 of the 62 were from Addis Ababa. Thus, 9.75% of the Addis sample admitted to stealing as against 0% from Mekele. The figures for the other two towns were 4.5% and 7% in Nazareth and Bahir Dar respectively.

It is certain that the incidence of theft is much higher than the reported 6.2%. By and large, street-children are quite crime resistant and are slow to adopt a delinquent lifestyle. Nevertheless, it is difficult to imagine that 93.8% of street-children would not steal if an opportunity presented itself.

Question 75 Have you ever been caught by the police?
and
Question 76 If Yes, why?

10 or 11% have been detained by the police at some stage. After "Other" (40.57%), the most common reason (32.76%) was "For being a street-child". Stealing only accounted for 16.38%.

From this, we can conclude that street-children are most commonly detained by the police as part of an effort to prevent them from begging, selling, or working on the street. During the Dergue regime and, unfortunately, even late in 1992, there seems to have existed among the authorities the perception that "rounding-up" of beggars and detaining them overnight will act as a deterrent to this very visible social problem. Of course, this is not the case. The children are back on the street the next day, as they have no other means of income.

Question 77 Have you ever been beaten or hurt on the streets?

A total of 67.3% report that they are never (45.6%) or rarely (21.7%) beaten or hurt on the streets. 3.7% report they are often beaten and 28.5% say they are sometimes beaten. These results conflict with the in-depth interview results which suggests widespread and regular beatings of both street-boys and street-girls. This may be a reflection of the different samples used. The indepth interviews were with acknowledged delinquent children; perhaps beatings are a quality of a more general lifestyle. On the other hand, experiences suggest that beatings are more common than the responses to this question would indicate.

Question 85 Have you ever done any sexual acts for money or goods?

596 respondents were asked this question, that is, all those over 12 years of age. In total, 97 females over 12 years of age were asked this question. The 36 who responded positively to this question were all female and no evidence whatsoever of male prostitution was found. Thus, approximately 36% of the girls over age 12 admitted to prostituting themselves. This is slightly lower than the estimated 40-50% revealed during the in-depth interviews.

Question 86 Has anyone ever forced you to do any sexual acts?

Again, although initially aimed at males and females, the questionnaire response yielded only females. 28 responded positively to this question. Thus, approximately 28% of girls over age 12 reported having been forced sexually. As above, this figure is somewhat lower than the estimated 50% raped, collected during in-depth interviews with 32 street-girls. However, these 32 were all *of* the street, unlike the sample of 97 above which contained girls *of* and *on* the street. Thus, it is still likely that although girls *on* the street face less rapes and sexual attacks than girls *of* the street, they still report an alarming level of rapes.

Summary

Level of delinquency: The levels of crime and delinquency among Ethiopian street-children seem to be much lower than in many other countries. This can be partly credited to the large number of children who have maintained links with the family and home. Religion and the traditional cultural norms of behaviour are also strong in the lives of many of the children. Nevertheless, delinquency does occur. Theft is common and as the street-boy gets older he may become involved in very serious crimes. Given the mushrooming growth of population in Addis Ababa, the high incidence of family breakdown and poverty, juvenile delinquency can only be expected to increase.

Level of abuse: Regular beatings are relatively common for the majority of street-children. These largely occur at the hands of older street-boys who steal from those younger than them. Sexually mature street-girls will face relatively high risk of sexual attacks and rape.

4.6 Discussion

Although based on a very limited and skewed sample, the results presented above are both revealing and worrying. Whilst there is undoubtedly under-reporting of involvement in crime in the main survey questions, the overwhelming impression from both formal and informal discussion with children is that street-children are not as heavily engaged in crime as the commonly held stereotypes suggest. Furthermore, when they are involved in crime, the distinguishing criminological factor seems to be opportunity rather than disposition. The nature of the marginal lifestyle of street children creates opportunities for crime and the

children respond to those opportunities; there is little evidence of street children actively seeking criminal opportunities, or planning crimes. Indeed, where there is a sense of deliberate engagement in crime, it seems to relate primarily to 'victimless' crimes, such as prostitution, which also of course in these circumstances is primarily situationally determined and opportunistic in character. What also emerges from the study is that the principle victims of street child crime are not citizens in general, but other street-children.

Quite clearly, the image of the street-child as an agent of crime, or as a predator victimizing society is wrong. In the context of extreme urban poverty, the criminal involvement of street children is surprisingly limited. The study indicates clearly that the directions for the management of crime committed by street-children lies in the control of situational factors. A positive approach to these problems will involve much greater emphasis on social and educational supports, addressing the lifestyle of the children, rather than their 'criminality'. What is also clear, however, is that the initial marginal involvement in crime can in some circumstances grow, trapping the child further into a marginal lifestyle.

When we turn to the extent of victimization of these children, the situation is much more serious. Rather than being the agents of crime, the street-child appears to be primarily a victim, often of older street-boys, but also of adults and society in general. As in the discussion of crime, the principle causal factor appears to be opportunity, which is an integral function of their lifestyle. Of particular concern is the situation of girls *of* the street. The nature of their lives create opportunities for exploitation and victimization. The relative vulnerability of young girls (and young boys) makes them particularly susceptible to theft by older children, but later this exploitation seems to primarily relate to sexual assaults. It has to be accepted that the pressures that result in children adopting street lifestyles, and becoming economically engaged in street life will remain. Efforts to assist these children should, at least in the short term, focus on ways of making their lives less vulnerable, through addressing the opportunities for crime and victimisation which are an inherent correlate of street life at the moment. Both boys and girls need to be helped to become engaged in less vulnerable employment, and there needs to be initiatives developed to address creative ways of generating employment opportunities. Some greater engagement with adult supervision is also desirable, not from the point of view of control, but as a means of helping children to more satisfactorily take control over those aspects of their lives that make them vulnerable to both crime and victimization. There is also a pressing need for initiatives to address the needs of street girls, through provision of night shelters.

CHAPTER FIVE

COMMUNITY STUDY

CHAPTER FIVE

Community Study

Although small in scale, a useful supplementary study to the main questionnaire was a series of interviews conducted with families of street children in one of the poorest communities in Addis Ababa. The selected community was near Piassa, in one of the central market areas of the city. The study was conducted with the help of staff from the Mobile Unit for Street-Children which runs a rehabilitative and preventative project in the area. A loosely structured questionnaire was used which sought qualitative rather than quantitative data. Questions explored parents migration to Addis Ababa, their impressions of the city compared to a rural life, differing experiences of childhood for them and their children, the decision to allow their children work on the street, their attitudes to education and their concerns and worries for their children. 23 families of street-children were interviewed. Respondents were usually mothers but in some cases, both parents participated in the interview. Each interview lasted approximately half an hour and parents were paid 5 birr for their participation.

5.1 Background details

Length of Time Parents are in Addis Ababa: Of the 23 families interviewed, the majority have been in Addis Ababa twenty years or more (69.6%). Most were born in rural areas and men came to the city in search of work and women usually as a result of marriage. Thus their children are second generation urban poor and were mainly born in Addis Ababa and have only ever known life in the city. About half the families were originally Gurage, the others were from Wollo, Gambeta, and Tigray.

Family Structure: Given the common stereotypical portrayal of families of street-children as disintegrated and female headed, (to some extent supported in the survey reported here) a very high percentage of families in this community study had both parents in the home. 78.3% had both parents living together. 13% were divorced and in 8.7% of cases, the father had died, leaving the mother responsible for supporting the family.

5.2 Why do Parents Send Their Children to the Streets?

Inevitably, the interplay of factors responsible for a child's involvement in street-life is quite complex. The whole process is affected by events operating at different levels, the combined effects of which pushes the child to the streets. Events at the macro level; war, long term poverty, government changes, impinge directly on the family. The forced movement of the family from their place of origin or a father's loss of employment can result in a child being pushed to the streets to work or survive. Normal family events like the birth of a child forcing the mother to quit work can also push a child to the streets. Accounts of the process by which children end up on the streets is best understood in the context of the whole family situation. Most usually, there is a strong identifiable factor responsible for pushing children onto the streets. Interviews with families indicated that initiation to street-life is often precipitated by a specific event within the family which whilst it may be a normal life event, in poor families it may prompt a crisis.

Case study 1:
This family had been in Addis Ababa for fifteen years. They were displaced from Tigray in 1978 by drought and came directly to Addis Ababa. (Mother) "For many years after we arrived, life was incredibly hard for us. We were unable to find shelter and people let us stay on the floor of communal kitchens. Problems of shelter and survival were exacerbated by political problems. People blamed us for the political situation by saying "You are EPLF (a rebel faction during Mengistu's regime)", and few sympathised with us. My husband got a job as a pedlar selling brooms and we were then able to rent a room. Then he got sick and had to stop work. It was at that time the children had to start work to bring money for food and rent. Now, my husband works as a night guard but he only earns 50 Birr a month and it is not enough to feed a family. I have 6 children, the eldest is 20 years and the youngest is 3 years. The eldest has attended school to 6 grade but then he had to drop out because of financial problems. The 16 year old is in 8 grade and used to work on the streets. Another son 13, is in grade 6 and works as a shoe-shiner. Another 10, is in grade 5 and only works during the summer holidays. My second youngest is 8 years and attends the Kebele project. I cannot afford for him to go to school...".

Initiation to the street is not always precipitated by a crisis but is regarded by parents as an acceptable and appropriate way of life, given the difficult circumstances in which they live, and teaches children about adult roles and responsibilities. Interestingly, while street children come from all ethnic groups, Gurage parents view street-life involvement in a more positive light than any other groups, particularly Amharas and Tigreans. The following case study shows the attitudes of one Gurage father.

Case study 2:
(Father) "I came to Addis Ababa 20 years ago. I am from a rural area, my family were farmers in Gurage but I am handicapped and have a bad leg so I couldn't work on the farm. This forced me to come to Addis Ababa looking for work. My children have been on the streets selling kolo since they were old enough to work. The optimum age for starting work is 6 or 7, they (the children) consider it a must. They know of our economic problems and that I can't work, I can only sit here and sell wood. They are good children, they are responsible and they are trying to make our lives better. At times when there is nothing at all, they just cover themselves and sleep, they don't disturb me. They are trying their best to help me and I don't ask or demand from them anything above their ability. In our ethnic group, all the small children are working, not disturbing people. They are responsible, not like children from other ethnic groups. The eldest boy is now 15 years and is going to school and works sometimes as a shoe shiner. The other four are girls and none are going to school. Their health is not good. The girl 12, sells kolo sometimes but more often she is too ill. My 9 year old daughter works full-time selling kolo. The others are young yet."

Child birth can also become a major crisis for a family. Many children go to the streets to bridge a temporary problem, but once there, become accustomed to the demands and routine of street-work, and remain working even once the crisis is past and the mother is back at work.

Case study 3:
(Mother) "I came to Addis Ababa 20 years ago from Shoa province. My husband works as a daily labourer. I have made kolo since I first came to Addis Ababa and used to sell it myself. By the time the eldest child was 6 years, I was expecting another child and I could no longer prepare the kolo. More and more children meant a higher and higher cost of living. A relative suggested I send my eldest son to work. He bought him a weighing scales and he started to work with the scales. That is how he started. The others then followed suit as they got older. I have stopped them working now because there is no money to be made in it, maybe 25 cents a day and that they spend on chewing gum. If they spend money wastefully, it is bad. That is why I stopped them going out. I have six children and they are all attending school. The eldest is 15 and is in grade 11, the second youngest is 8 years and had just started grade 1".

Unsurprisingly, the greater the number of children in the family, the greater the pressure is for the eldest to start being self supporting and if possible to contribute to the family. Another mother explained simply, "Life just became harder and harder ...with more and more children came more and more poverty so I started to send my children to work".

Once a child reaches school going age, it adds increased pressure on the family, according to parents. A decision has to be made about which is the worse of the two evils; to keep children secure within the home but illiterate or to send them to the streets to work, with the attendant worries experienced as a result, but improving the child's long term chances. In low income families, the only difference between families of street-children and families where children didn't work on the streets was often the decision reached by parents on this cost-benefit analysis.

5.3 The main responsibility of a parent and attitudes to education

Each parent was asked what he or she regarded as the main responsibility of a parent towards his or her children. Of the 15 families of street-children asked this question, 11 mentioned education and 5 placed it as the most important responsibility. This is surprising, given the very low income status of the families and the difficulties experienced of meeting even essential needs. Why should this be the case?

Education was associated in parents minds with the long term welfare of their children. It was strongly associated with future employment opportunities. "It is very important. It is important to get a job", said one parent. "We are sending them assuming it will help them get a job, but I'm uncertain if it will be helpful or not", responded another. Many parents associated their own poverty with their lack of education, "I am poor because I am illiterate" said one. Another explained also from her own perspective. "In rural areas, children are burdened with work and don't go to school. That is why I am in the situation I am now in. I didn't go to school and that's why I can't get a job, and that's the reason for my poverty". Parents also valued education in its own right however, not just as a means of escape from poverty - "Education is important firstly, for getting a job, but also an educated person can see things differently in his life than non educated people and he can have better control of his emotions. He doesn't go through life blindly", "It brightens their mind", "What I wish for is education for my children because I couldn't have it myself". From the responses of children in the main survey, it is obvious that the children have also taken on board their parents concern with education and the interest expressed by children to learn was a common theme.

5.4 Sacrifices parents have made to educate their children

Although not a separate question, it emerged that many parents have had to make big sacrifices to send their children to school. Money is obtained for school expenses mainly by parents cutting down on their own or the families food. A mother, asked how she afforded the registration fee to send her three children to school responded - "By closing my stomach". A number of parents mentioned that they sold the food quotas they got from the Kebele or other aid organisations to raise the necessary money. Other mothers have begged money from relatives. The decision whether or not to send children to school is a big one for parents given the constraints involved. Another mother recalled the dilemma she and her husband experienced once their children reached school-going age. "We had saved money with the intention of returning to our home region. We decided instead to use the money we had gathered to pay for the childrens schooling. That was a very big sacrifice. I worked very hard as a housemaid, at the same time preparing and selling kolo and making tella, even when I was sick, to get the money together".

5.5 Parents concerns for their children

Parents immediate worries for their children concerns the dangers associated with working on the street. Many parents worry that their children will pick up bad or delinquent behaviours from being on the street. Most families retain tight supervision of their working children and insist they are home at a certain time and if not, they go out in search of them. 70% of parents were not happy with having their children working on the street. The reasons given by parents were varied. Exposure to the sun and rain was one worry. Another was fear of children becoming delinquent; "It exposes them to bad behaviours, theft and maybe running out of home totally". The abuse children are vulnerable to in the streets was a particular worry for many parents, "I worry about car accidents, police beating them, being beaten by older boys ...in fact, I worry about them constantly". Another man said, "As a father of daughters, I'm afraid they may be sexually abused". Another said "Some people slap them, throw or steal their kolo". Other worries were related to education; "It affects their education. Two of my children have repeated twice the same year because they are preoccupied with their work. It involves them in making money and making money will distract them from their education". In spite of these serious concerns, many parents also reported that their children who worked on the street were more mature and responsible than their other children, better understood their parents problems and situation and were happy to work to alleviate it.

5.6 Parents hopes for their children

Parents expressed their hopes for their children in terms of their behaviour, that they would be good children and good adults and also in terms of job opportunities and a degree of economic security. To a large extent, this was associated with the hope that their children would be able to lift them out of their poverty and unsurprisingly, be able to provide for them when they would be too old to support themselves - "When they finish school and get a job, I hope they would help me then like I help them now, help me get rid of this poverty and the worry it brings so that I could relax and rest". Another mother responded similarly, "I am labouring now so that they will be able to get a job so that I can rest and they can support me". Another mother put it very simply, "To improve my standard of living so I can live in standards suitable for a human being...".

5.7 Conclusion

These interviews contradict many of the negative portrayals of street-children's families that are common in the popular press and amongst welfare agencies. Parents expressed concern for their working children, supervised their comings and goings closely and appreciated their children's contribution to the survival of the family. While two thirds of parents disliked having to send their children to work, they felt they had no other alternative open to them. In many cases, parents viewed street-work as a short-term investment for long-term solutions to their poverty for both their children and themselves, as it allowed them to afford schooling which it was hoped would improve children's later life chances. Until the economic level of urban poor communities is improved, children will be forced to contribute to their own survival and well being. Street-work in itself is not necessarily damaging to children and parents have commented that it even has positive qualities, but they worry about the abuse children are vulnerable to. The role that street-work plays in the lives of urban poor families cannot be ignored in intervention regarding street-children. Intervention needs to support the child while simultaneously offering some degree of protection. Income generation projects for parents, affording them a reasonable standard of living, offers the best means of protecting children. Development of long term policies for urban poor communities offers the only real solution for curbing the creation of street-children.

CHAPTER SIX

STUDY OF DISPLACED FAMILIES

CHAPTER SIX

Study of Displaced Families

6.1 Introduction

The following results are based on interviews with 20 families who are living in plastic shelters on the streets of Addis Ababa. Families were selected from those living near Ragual Church in Merkato and at the back of the Black Lion Hospital. Interviews were conducted in the nearby Kebele house. The interviews were loosely structured, took on average 20 minutes and each parent was paid 5 birr for participating.

(i) Origins of Families

Table 6.1: Immediate Origin of Displaced Families

Origin	Frequency	Percentage
Northern Region (Tigray/Eritrea)	9	45
Resettlement Programme (Wollega)	8	40
Others	3	15
Total	20	100

As can be seen from Table 6.1, nearly half the displaced families interviewed were from the northern province of Tigray and the newly independent state of Eritrea. In keeping with the fact that a significant percentage of displacement in Ethiopia is urban-urban displacement, most of the families were from urban areas, particularly Asmara. 40% of families came to Addis Ababa from settlement programme areas in Wollega. They were forced to flee the settlement areas during the war, when guerilla fighters burned their crops and houses. Most of these families were in fact originally from Addis Ababa and had previously lived on the streets of the capital city. They were taken as part of a round up of beggars and destitutes from the streets during the Dergue and sent to a resettlement programme in Wollega. Many years later, they find themselves back on the same streets. These families had established temporary shelters near Ragual church. The families from the northern regions had established themselves in plastic shelters at the back of Black Lion Hospital although there were families from other regions there also.

(ii) Reason for Displacement

Table 6.2: Reason for Displacement

Reason	Frequency	Percentage
War	12	60
Nationality Conflict (since war)	5	25
Economic reasons	3	15
Total	20	100

60% of families were displaced by war. Many of them had been in Addis Ababa for over a year and half. 60% of families had been in Addis Ababa over a year. 35% more than 2 years and 5% less than 6 months. 25% of families were forced to leave their homes because of nationality conflict in the aftermath of the war. These families were mainly from Asmara. 15% came to the city for medical treatment or in search of a better life.

(iii) Family Circumstances

Table 6.3: Family Structure

Family Structure	Frequency	Percentage
Both Parents	14	70
Mother Only	6	30
Total	20	100

Surprisingly, 70% of families consisted of both father and mother and only 30% were female headed. There is no way of knowing how this reflects the family structure of the broader population of displaced street-families but it had been expected that the percentage of female headed families would be higher.

(iv) Means of Survival

Table 6.4: Family Members Involved in Income Generation

Income generators	Frequency	Percentage
Female headed family - Mother & children	6	30
Two parent families: Father Only	2	10
Father, Mother only	2	10
All (Father, Mother & Children)	4	20
Mother, children only	4	20
Dependent on relatives	2	10
Total	20	100

For survival, most of the families are dependent on the financial contributions of all its members. Mothers and children are the main income generators in the families as what they get from begging can equal or exceed what the father can earn from casual labour in the informal economy. In 60% (12) of families, mothers and children are engaged in begging. Two families have saved a small amount of capital to allow the father to establish himself as a petty trader, selling a very small selection of vegetables and cigarettes.

None of the mothers were happy about having to beg to survive. "My daughter stays in our plastic house or sits beside me while I beg. I haven't begged for the past two days because I'm afraid of this round-up. However, I'm most worried about my daughter because she is sick and has lost weight. Begging is not good for us and I can't afford the needs of my children", said one Mother. Most of the mothers kept their young children with them while begging, toddlers by their side or infants on their back. However, many mothers were worried about the psychological effects begging might have on their children. One mother's worries expressed that felt by many mothers. "If they start begging, they get money and then may want to continue and not want to work at another thing. I myself beg for money and leftovers but I don't want my children to be beggars". Another mother was worried about the abuse her children have sometimes experienced while begging, and while she tries as far as possible not to send them to the streets, sometimes it is unavoidable if the family are to survive. "I beg so they can be kept in good condition. They wear clean clothes and shoes so nobody gives them anything because they don't look like beggars. I wouldn't mind them working on the street but I do not want them begging. Adults beat the children while they are begging so I don't want to expose my children to that condition, but sometimes begging is the only option". Another family have made the decision not to send their children begging. The father explained "I don't make my son beg. I beg myself to feed him but I don't want to turn my son into a beggar. I gave birth to him and it wasn't to have him a beggar. It is my duty to feed him and not his duty to feed me". This father was one of the lucky ones. With 50 birr given to him by an individual who sought to help him, he established himself as a petty trader. Other parents equally disliked asking their children to beg but felt they had no other option available to them to survive.

Table 6.5: Health Status of Children

Children ill/malnourished	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	14	70
No	6	30
Total	20	100

70% of parents reported that their children are or have suffered sickness due to malnutrition or exposure because of the appalling conditions in which they live. 40% said their children were suffering from cold, exposure and malnutrition on their arrival in Addis Ababa and at that point they were at their weakest. The majority of parents reported that their children were often sick since their arrival. Exposure to adverse weather conditions, lack of adequate clothing and food were identified as responsible for this. A few parents mentioned that their children regularly cry because of lack of food and this upset them greatly. Some of the mothers cried as they recounted the hardships of their lives for themselves, and particularly, their children.

Table 6.6: Number and Age of Children

Age of Children	Frequency	Percentage
Under 5	14	26
Over 5	39	74
Total	53	100

A quarter of children were under 5 years. Within the month preceding the time the interview took place, two of the mothers had given birth to babies in the plastic homes on the side of the street, with another woman of the group acting as mid-wife. The health risks to both mother and baby of giving birth in such conditions needs little elaboration. Although other families in the group supported both women and their families by sharing food while they were unable to work themselves, both were back begging at the time of the interview.

Table 6.7: School Attendance for Children Over 5 Years

School Attendance 75 years	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	17	43
No	22	57
Total	39	100

Surprisingly, almost half (43%) of the children over 5 years of age were attending school, from 8 different families (40% of total). This exhibits the degree to which parents considered education a priority for their children. Although in all but one case parents did not have to pay for the schooling it still meant the child was unavailable for a significant proportion of the day for income generating activities. 9 children attended school free through the Kebele. 4 children attended school through SIM (missionary's). For 3 children, passers-by paid the school fees, and one mother saved the fee by cutting money from food expenditure. Parents wanted education for their children so their children could lead a normal life and would have some chance of improving their situation in the future. However, in practically all cases, children were only attending school because the opportunity arose and it was free. The two priorities expressed by all plastic home families were **food** and **shelter**. In this context, education was not a priority.

6.2 Case Studies

Case Study 1:
This woman had 2 children, a four year old and a new born baby. It was six months since she first arrived in Addis Ababa. The following is her account of how she came to be living in a plastic shelter in Addis Ababa.

"The family used live in Wollega where my husband was a government employee but we were forced to leave there because of the war, our house was burned to the ground. From there we went to Arsi in the south but we were forced out of there 6 months ago because of the ethnic conflict; again our house was burned down. In the ensuing turmoil I became separated from my husband. I left without taking anything, fleeing in the middle of the night

with just my daughter. I was pregnant at the time. It was midnight and the EPRDF soldier came to us and told us to leave the village. I ran and my husband ran but we never met up again. When the time came to give birth to my baby, I didn't even have clothes. Someone gave me the clothes I am wearing now. On delivery day, I didn't even have clothes to go to the hospital so I gave birth to my daughter in the plastic shelter with the help of another woman. On our arrival in Addis Ababa, we were a lot of people together and it was night. We just sat down on the street and these plastic house people saw us and asked where did you come from and every plastic house owner took one person of family as their guest. Then some left for their place of origin or where they were born but I have no where to go and now with a young baby, I decided to stay. I live with an ex-soldier and his wife, they have no children so there are 5 of us altogether in these make shift shelters. Next to us is a family of children whose mother is very sick in "sister bait" (Missionaries of Charity hospital). I survive by begging, and my daughter sits beside me. I want to go back to Wollega, my mother and father are there but only when my baby is stronger. Otherwise I will have to give her away, to an orphanage or a childrens home, or a family who will look after her".

Case Study 2:
This woman was one of those who had previously lived on the streets of Addis Ababa and was then rounded up and sent to the settlement programme in Wollega. Herself a street-child in her youth, she is now the mother of a street-family, with two daughters aged 5 and 3 years.

This womans own personal story was interesting because she was also a street-child in her youth.

"My parents died when I was 7 years old and I came alone from Haran to Addis. I came on the train without paying anything. After I arrived in Legar, I met a man who reared me until I was 14 and then he died. I had no-one then to look after me. The house was taken by the Kebele and I went to the streets. I worked as a messenger and survived as a street-girl. I came to Merkato from Legar and lived on the street in a plastic house around Raguar. I gave birth to a baby there. After that I had a quarrel with my boyfriend and he took the baby and gave it to his family. After that, I continued to live on the streets, then I was rounded up with all the others and taken to a resettlement programme in Wollega. Then when the EDLE burned our crops and houses, we were forced to flee to Addis Ababa. We have been here over a year. My husband works as a daily labourer when he can get work and our main source of income is what I can make by begging with my daughter. I worry about the future especially for my children. Because of our poverty they can't go to school and I'm afraid they will learn this life of begging".

Case Study 3:
This family was displaced from Asmara, because of ethnic conflict there. Both parents came together to Addis Ababa with their young daughter and the mother recounted their story.

"We left our area because of the war. As the EPLF descended on Asmara we fled to Dijibouti because we were afraid of what would happen. My husband was a Dergue soldier. In Dijibouti I got very sick. We were in a desert and no-one was willing to get involved to help us. It was so hot, the ground was nothing but sand and we were all sick - no food, no water and exposure to the sun. We stayed 2 months and once recovered we made our way to Addis Ababa. Carrying my child, we travelled by train to Dira Dawa then an EPRDF car brought us to Addis Ababa. We came to Sittis Kilo and I started begging because my soldier husband had to go to an ex soldiers rehabilitation programme, or otherwise we wouldn't have

got any aid from the government. I started begging with my child and stayed 2 months on the street, and then my husband returned. We survive now on what I make begging with my daughter and what my husband earns as a carrier. My second child was born 10 days ago and I worry constantly about what will happen to my children growing up on the side of the road".

6.3 Conclusion

The extent of deprivation and hardships experienced by displaced street-families and their children in Addis Ababa ought to be cause of extreme concern. Families have fallen outside of the government and UN support structures because they have been defined as everyone's problem and no-one's. At the time the study was conducted, no government Ministry was in charge of these families, and since arrival in Addis Ababa, they had received no support whatsoever, except for sporadic help from the Kebele. Their most crucial and immediate priority was shelter. Parents said they were willing as a group to build their own low cost housing if materials and space were provided. A few families wanted to return to their home region but the majority had no wish to go back. They wanted to remain in Addis Ababa if they could get better shelter. A telling and heartbreaking indication of the extent of the families plight is that two mothers begged us to take their young infant, others asked about organisations which would take care of their children, one woman gave her child to a nurse who worked in the hospital because she could give her nothing and another sent her 9 year old daughter to work as a maid without pay for food and board.

Families and children are particularly vulnerable on their arrival to the city. Churches are often the first place families turn to for support and could serve as a point of contact between supporting agencies and new arrivals. Families already on the streets should be registered, their wishes and needs assessed, and materials for adequate shelter made available to them as a matter of urgency. A strong group spirit exists among the families. The families are each others best support and this should be recognised in potential housing programmes. This could be utilized in supporting income generation activities through the provision of loans to small groups to establish a type of co-operative venture, building on already existing skills possessed by some of the parents (weaving, clothes making etc.)

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

CHAPTER SEVEN

Conclusions and Recommendations

The phenomenon of street-children has been shown to be a major problem throughout Ethiopia. The few programmes that exist for street-children are principally concentrated in Addis Ababa where a core group of agencies have established services specifically targeted for street-children and their families. In spite of this, only 29% of street-children in Addis Ababa are aware of *any* organisation that helps children like them and this figure falls below 10% in Nazareth and Mekele. In the regional towns, street-children exist beyond the boundaries of government and non government organisation mandates, and in the towns sampled there was *no* agency responsible specifically for the protection or support of street-children.The primary finding of this report therefore is the need to decentralise both awareness of the existence of street-children and service provision beyond the capital city. The following section briefly answers the hypotheses outlined in Chapter 1 and summarises the main profiles of the four selected towns and this is followed by general and specific recommendations.

7.1 A Review of the Study Hypotheses

1 The majority of street children in Addis Ababa, Nazareth, Bahir Dar and Mekele will be children *on* the street, who work, play or beg on the streets during the day but retain close contact with their families

This hypothesis was supported in three of the four towns. In Addis Ababa, Bahir Dar and Nazareth, approximately three quarters of children, 74.8%, 71.9% and 77.5% respectively, were classified as children *on* the streets. This means that they returned home every night to sleep. Over 80% of these children first became involved in street life to work, while another 10% first came to the streets to play or spend time with friends. Many of these then progressed to being street workers. In Mekele, on the other hand, only 42% of children were classified as children *on* the streets, the majority of whom also first came to the streets to work.

The proportion of children *of* the streets among the street child population therefore varied between the towns. It was highest in Mekele, where 52% of children were classified as *of* the street and in addition 6% slept between home and street. This was due to the high proportion of children in the town who responded they came to the streets because they were orphaned, displaced or for whatever reason had no supporter (29%). Examining this category in more detail, it appears that it is probably predominantly made up of orphaned children as 19% of street-children in Mekele reported that both their parents were dead. The proportion of children who had lost one parent was also higher than in the other towns.

Nazareth had the lowest proportion of children of the streets of the four towns. 11.5% of children slept full time on the streets and another 1.5% rented temporary shelter. Interestingly, although 77% of Nazareth children responded they slept at home, 62.5% of children did not have parents in the town. "Home" for many Nazareth children actually meant the home of relatives. Another relatively common living arrangement for Nazareth children was child headed households where children lived together in groups and established a home.

This pattern of living with relatives may explain the higher incidence of children who responded that they slept between home and street (10%). Living with relatives may result in more tensions for the child than living with natural family. However, this way of living must also work reasonably well for the majority of children in Nazareth given the fact the town had the highest proportion of children who responded they slept at home every night.

In Addis Ababa, 13.6% of children slept full time on the streets and another 7.1% rented temporary shelter. Therefore about a fifth of children can be considered as children *of* the streets. In addition, 4.5% of children slept between home and the street, while in Bahir Dar, the percentage of children *of* the street was slightly higher; 18.1% slept on the streets and 5% in rented shelter. The proportion of orphans in each town was roughly similar (7.9% and 7.7% respectively) and the higher proportion of children *of* the street in Bahir Dar appears to be made up of those children who left their family elsewhere and came unaccompanied by an adult to the town.

2 There will be a greater proportion of working children on the streets than in 1988 and a greater proportion of children will be on the streets as a result of familial pressure to contribute to the family income

This hypothesis was also supported in part. In the 1988 survey, 33% of children reported economic reasons as responsible for their initiation to the streets. When the economic reasons for initiation in this study are combined (to work,.to support my family, to work for school fees/clothes, pressurised by family to contribute o the family income), 69.7% of children in Addis Ababa (66.3% of children overall) reported economic factors as responsible for their being on the streets. In addition, 9% of children in Addis Ababa (11.3% overall) in this study cited family disharmony as responsible (which was higher among children of the street than children on the street). "Displaced, orphaned or lack of a supporter" was cited by 5.7% of children (10.5% overall). Interestingly orphaned children accounted for only 0.6% of the street child population in Addis Ababa in 1988; in 1992, 7.9% of street children in Addis Ababa were orphans. 12.5% of children said they were on the streets "to join friends/to play" (7.5%) and 3.1% (3.8%) said other reasons. The extent to which there is now greater pressure on children to contribute to the family income is impossible to gauge since this was not asked in the 1988 survey, but it appears likely that this is the case given the much higher incidence of children who in this study responded that economic factors were the cause of their being on the streets.

3 A significant proportion of street children in Addis Ababa will be children of families recently displaced to the city

This hypothesis that a significant proportion of street children in Addis Ababa would be a product of displaced families was not strongly supported. Only 11.5% (N=46) of all sampled street children in Addis Ababa said their family had left their home region because of factors associated with displacement; war, political reasons, drought or famine. Over two thirds of street children in Addis Ababa were actually born in the capital city and of the remainder who came with their families from other regions of the country, the more common reason for families to move was in search of work. Displacement was much more significant as a factor in the involvement process of children in street life in Mekele than in Addis Ababa. However as mentioned above, the proportion of orphans on the streets increased significantly in Addis Ababa in the intervening time period, from 0.6% to 7.9%.

4 A larger proportion of street children in Mekele will be children *of* the streets than in the other three towns. Street life involvement will be integrally linked to the effects of war, famine and drought and the need to survive

The hypothesis that a greater proportion of street children in Mekele would be children *of* the street when compared to the other towns was shown to be the case. Over half of all street children in Mekele (51%) slept on the streets, compared to between 11.5% and 18.1% in Nazareth and Bahir Dar respectively (52%, 13% and 23.1% respectively if those children who slept in temporary rented accommodation are included in the category of children *of* the street).

One fifth (19%) of the total sample of street children in Mekele were orphans. The influence of war and displacement as a causal factor in some childrens movement to the street was evident in children's qualitative accounts and the finding that 60% of all children who responded they were on the streets because they were orphaned, displaced or for whatever reason were without a supporter were in Mekele supports this. Nearly a third of children (29%) cited war or lack of a supporter as responsible for their initiation to the street, compared to 5.7% in addis Ababa, 7% in Bahir Dar, and 5% in Nazareth. Furthermore, the greatest proportion of children who said their families left their home region because of war, political displacement or drought and famine were in Mekele (N=17, or 44.7% of those whose family left home region).

5 Street children will be found to be marginalised from educational and health facilities and appropriate recreational outlets

The results here are quite mixed and appear to be based on the nature and extent of children's street life involvement. The results indicate that while children *of* the street were indeed marginalised from normal institutional support for children like school and health facilities, children *on* the street were quite integrated in such structures.

For example, only 15% of children *of* the street attended school (which is still surprisingly high given their lifestyle). However, 66% of children *on* the street were attending school. To place this in context, children were asked about the school attendance of their siblings. 60% of siblings of school going age in street childrens' families were reported by children to be attending school. These figures imply that street work does not interfere with childrens attendance at school to the extent expected (interviews with mothers in the community study suggested that street work affects the *quality* of childrens' school work rather than their physical attendance, thus programmes offering working children support with their studies are addressing their real and immediate needs).

Both working children and children *of* the streets have limited access to health facilities. Children *of* the street were aware of charity organisations like the Missionaries of Charity who provide free medical treatment and children *on* the street reported parents would take them to a clinic or hospital if they were sick. It is difficult to make any comment about the general health status of street children based on childrens self reports of health problems but stomach problems, headaches and eye infections were the most common complaints reported. This would reflect the nature of childrens street life, with exposure to the sun, poor nutrition and the practice of eating leftover and thrown away food.

6 Due to economic pressure on children, large numbers will be involved in theft and petty crime, and older children will be engaged to a greater extent in crime and anti social activities than younger children

In general, Ethiopian street children appeared to be quite crime resistant. Although on questions related to petty criminal involvement, it is realistic to expect significant under reporting, the impression of the interviewers was that the low reported rates of stealing and solvent abuse were indicative of the general absence of crime amongst the majority of street children. However, it did appear to be related to age and sex and extent of street life involvement. Children *of* the street were more likely to be engaged in petty crime and solvent abuse than children who lived with their families, more boys than girls admitted to stealing offenses and older boys were more involved in criminal and anti social activities than younger children.

7 There will be widespread use of intoxicating substances to provide relaxation and well being otherwise lacking in the street children's lives

As with criminal involvement, the use of solvents and alcohol was less frequently reported by children *on* the street than by children *of* the street, and less than 10% of street children overall reported using glue, benzine or other solvents. The frequency of solvent abuse was highest in Addis Ababa and lowest in Mekele.

8 Families of street children who are working and contributing will have a more positive attitude towards their children's street involvement than those who are not contributing and even more so for those who are just playing on the streets

Two thirds of all street children believed that their parents approved of their street life involvement. Three quarters of working children believed this. Therefore, the vast majority of children who work on the streets feel their parents approve of their behaviour and are supportive of their working in the street. As predicted, parents approval is closely tied to the reason why the child became involved in the street. Only 54% of children who came to the street to play or to join friends felt their parents approved of their behaviour and only 15% of those who left home because of family disharmony felt their parents approved.

7.2 Profile of Street Children across the Four Towns

Summary of Profile of Four Towns

1 Addis Ababa

The creation of street-children in Addis Ababa (and to a lesser extent in the other towns) is integrally tied to the phenomenon of urban poverty. The majority of children are child workers who are on the street in order to contribute economically to the household. 75% of children sleep at home every night and the majority of children report that they have a good relationship with their parents. Only 13% actually sleep on the streets and 7% regularly rent temporary shelter. The vast majority (92.5%) of street-children in Addis Ababa have, or know the whereabouts of their family. 75.2% have parent(s) or guardian resident in Addis Ababa, 10.2% have parents in a rural area, 7% have families in another town. In addition, 5.7% did not have family and 1.8% did not know the whereabouts of their family (N=7).

The proportion of children living in female headed families in Addis Ababa is almost as high as those living with both their parents (28% as compared to 33%) and this perhaps is something that needs to be targeted specifically. Families of ex-soldiers were also identified as vulnerable. Nearly a third of children were from families of ex-soldiers, many of whom were precipitated to the street after the demobilisation of the army.

Surprisingly, the percentage of displaced and unaccompanied children encountered was very small. Of 64 children who came with their families from outside Addis Ababa, only 9.4% cited war or political reasons as responsible for their leaving, and 3.1% drought or famine. The majority of children cited economic factors as responsible and therefore families were migrants rather than displaced. Similarly, of the 74 children who left their family elsewhere to come to the capital city, 18.9% (N=14) cited war, being orphaned, rejected or lack of a supporter as responsible (the other main reasons were to work and because of family disharmony). Orphans accounted for 7% of the sample, and while the proportion is small, these children are probably the most vulnerable and options other than the street should be available to them.

The main factor precipitating children to the streets was economic problems in the home. 56% of children first came to the streets to work or "to help myself and my family". Another 13% were pressurised by their family to work and contribute, so in all 69% of children were on the streets to work. Another indicator of the extent of economic problems is the finding that two thirds of children (67%) often or sometimes felt hungry at home and hunger was mentioned by many children as a reason they first went to the streets.

81% of street-children in Addis Ababa had started school and 49% were still attending. When compared with the attendance of siblings at school, the findings indicate that street-life involvement interferes with childrens school attendance. However, many children would not have had an opportunity to attend school if they did not work on the streets. Within the school appropriate age group 7-15 years, 57% of boys and 68% of girls were attending school which probably compares favourably with community norms.

2 Nazareth

The profile of street-children found in Nazareth was influenced by the custom of the Gurage tribe and others of sending children from the rural areas to the urban areas to work. 56.7% of street-children in Nazareth were Gurages. The proportion of children *of* the street was quite small (11%) and 77.5% of children lived at home, which was the highest for the four towns. However the proportion of children between home and street was the largest of the four towns sampled (10%). This is probably due to the large percentage of children who are residing with relatives (32.5%). There is a tendency also for children to form households with other peers (18%).

Given the low numbers of children *of* the street, it was surprising to find that only 35% of street children in Nazareth had parent(s) resident in the town itself. 40.5% of children had parents living in rural areas (mostly in the Shoa province) and 14.5% had family in another urban centre. In addition, 4.5% responded parents were dead while 4% did not know the whereabouts of parents. Of those children who had left their family elsewhere to come to Nazareth (N=125 or 62.5% of sample), two thirds came for economic reasons or to look for work. As such, these children can be considered as child migrants. The common pattern was for children to leave their family and move to Nazareth and live with a brother or uncle and engage in some form of income generation. However the higher number of children

living between home and street compared to the other towns (10%) suggests such living arrangements may result in tensions and the child's position may be less tenable than if he or she is living with the natural family. On the other hand, Nazareth had the highest proportion of children living at home thus for the majority of children, the relationship appears to work quite well. Movement to the town and engagement in street work is a traditional role for children in the Gurage tribe and is unlikely to be discontinued. However there is a need to provide support for children in their relationships with family or guardians.

In all, 68% of street-children in Nazareth first became involved in street-life to work. Children in Nazareth had the highest drop-out rate from school (36.6%) and this is probably as a result of the high proportion of children who have left their families. 37.5% of children were attending school at the time of interview and 21.5% never attended school (no response was 5%). Educational support should be a priority therefore for children in Nazareth, perhaps extending and adapting the street-educator model that has been operating successfully in Addis Ababa. Efforts to stem the flow of children to the towns from the rural areas by encouraging rural based projects would also be valuable and offers the only possibility of making significant inroads in curbing the further creation of street-children in Nazareth.

3 Bahir Dar

The profile of street-children in Bahir Dar was quite varied. A quarter of children were from families who had migrated to the town in search of work, a quarter were unaccompanied children who had left their families elsewhere to come to the town and half were from older, established families in the town. Two thirds of children had families resident in Bahir Dar. In addition, 12.5% of children had family living in another town and 14.5% had family in a rural area. The main reason these children left their family was because of the lack of food and basics (23%), to work (11%) and family disharmony (23%). Economic hardship both in the town and the rural areas was the main factor precipitating children to the streets.

72% of children were children *on* the street, i.e. returned to their family or guardian every night and the majority of these are on the streets to work. 18% of children were *of* the street and another 5% rented shelter each night. 63% of children first came to the streets to work and the highest proportion of children who reported being pressurised by parents to work were from Bahir Dar (33.5%).

An important sub category of children in Bahir Dar was children who came to the town to train to be a priest or to receive a traditional education, many of whom survived in a traditional way by begging. Bahir Dar is an important religious centre and therefore this pattern is probably unique to the town. This is a well established cultural pattern and this category of children is probably not a high risk group.

Half of street children in Bahir Dar were attending school at the time of interview (52%). A quarter of children were school drop outs (25%) and 25.5% were never registered in school (N/R was 5%). In fact, Bahir Dar had the highest proportion of children attending school, followed by Addis Ababa (48.5%) and significantly higher than Nazareth and Mekele (37.5% and 36.5% respectively).

4 Mekele

The profile of street-children in Mekele is directly tied to the effects of war and displacement in the northern regions. The findings from Mekele appear to be representative of the profile of street-children in other northern regional towns. Speaking with church and community leaders in Adigrat, they are also very concerned about the plight of displaced, orphaned and unaccompanied children in the town whom it was reported formed the bulk of the street-child population there.

Only 37% of children interviewed in Mekele had family resident there, which at first glance is similar to Nazareth. However, the profile of why such a small number of children have family available locally is very different. 25.5% of children in Mekele did not have family, either because they were orphaned (19.5%, N=39) or they did not know the whereabouts of their family. Qualitative information from the questionnaires links these figures closely with the effects of war and displacement on children and their families. Overall, over half (52%, N=105) of the children sampled had left their families elsewhere. 41% had become separated from their family because they were orphaned, because of war or displacement. 32% came in search of work and 15% because of family disharmony.

Given the above profile, it is not surprising that 51% of street-children in Mekeke were children *of* the street, and all were male. Only 42% slept regularly with their family or guardians. As was found in the other towns, children of this latter group were mainly on the street to contribute to the family income and included most if not all of the street girls interviewed in the town.

Mekele had the lowest proportion of street-children presently attending school (36.5%) among the four towns and the highest proportion of children who never attended school in the first place (30.5%). However given the fact that over half the children are living full-time on the streets, the priority has to be to deal with this situation through reunification or alternative family schemes. A region wide reunification programme should be considered as the problem is not just confined to Mekele.

7.3 General Comments

The problem of street-children is complex and needs to be tackled at many different levels. Firstly, this survey has sought to identify the circumstances and needs of children within the street environment. At this level, a number of initiatives need to be taken to make street work and street life safer and less exploitative. Secondly, street-children cannot be helped in isolation. Families have to be empowered to protect, care for and educate their children. Rehabilitation and family support programmes are now well established in Ethiopia and issues are identified below which may compliment the agenda of established programmes.

Thirdly, the survey has shown that the creation of street-children in Addis Ababa (and to a lesser extent in the other towns) is integrally tied to the phenomenon of urban poverty. Within Addis Ababa, the problem will most likely be long term. Thus it is important to focus on the problem at the community and societal level. Programmes which attack the problems of urban poverty will indirectly lessen the incidence of street-children. The recently established preventative programmes in Addis Ababa should play an important role in the above and in checking the progress of children from drifting along the continuum of streetism, from working children to fully fledged street-children. Fourthly, at the government level, Ethiopia has ratified the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child and this provides

a hopeful basis for the implementation of policy and laws which seek to protect children from exploitation and abuse. Finally, at the project, community and government level, there is a need for continued emphasis on the advocacy role, to create more understanding and tolerance towards street-children and remove the negative stereotype they have in Ethiopian society. Suggestions are given for how the advocacy role on behalf of street-children can be promoted and strengthened.

In the course of the study reported here, particular concern emerged about the condition of handicapped street children. This is an area of particular concern, and requires a more detailed study than achieved here. Whilst the concern noted related to physically handicapped children, it is reasonable to assume that mental and intellectual handicap are also potential sources of concern.

7.4 Specific Recommendations

1 Addis Ababa

a Children of the street

Not surprisingly, our findings indicated that childrens' most pressing needs lie in the areas of **security, food, shelter, medical care, education and clothing**. Children who sleep on the streets and veranda cite their biggest problems as cold and exposure, hunger, and being beaten and having their blankets and money stolen by older adults and boys. At present, there is no organisation dealing with the needs of children *of* the streets. At the time of writing there exists one night shelter in Addis Ababa but this has a capacity for only 16 boys. Given these realities, the following measures are urged as a matter of high priority:

* The establishment of large scale reception or night shelters where children could go between the hours of 7 pm to 7 am at least and maybe longer if it was thought appropriate. The shelter might also provide a meal and basic washing facilities for the children.

  Provision of basic recreational and educational facilities for some hours of the day should also be considered, but children would be free to continue their street-work and involvement in street-life. Once children are in contact with the shelter, they could be screened for appropriateness for different types of rehabilitative measures, e.g. reunification, an alternative housing scheme, job training, employment opportunities, etc. These could be provided as the shelter develops or in co-operation with already existing projects. This type of a reception centre has been developed in Sudan (SABAH) amongst other places, and the programme consists of a hierarchial structure which progressively aims to remove children from the street and back into a normal family or community environment. One of the dangers inherent in offering services like shelter and food to children is the danger of creating dependency and interfering with children's natural coping capacities. However, protection from abuse, shelter and food are also defined as childrens' basic *rights* and while there is a need to be sensitive to issues like dependency, provision of such services should be considered in the light of this.

* The establishment of a reunification programme or agency for children who have become separated from or run away from their families. However, interview material with children shows that children did not leave their families without

justifiable reason (e.g. economic, family problems) from their perspective and these reasons would have to be taken into consideration and dealt with for reunification to be successful. An important reason for separation from family was family conflict, therefore family counselling and follow up monitoring and support have to be an integral part of any initiative in this area.

* Children who left home because of economic conditions may need different sort of support to reunification. Training in a skill they could bring back to their home areas would be the best long term solution to the situation that pushed them to the street in the first place. Reunifying children without creating other options for them would not address their needs. Alternatively, opportunities should be created in Addis Ababa for children which would provide them with an income and some sort of marketable skill.

* For orphaned children or children who cannot or do not want to be reunited with their families, an alternative family scheme would best suit their developmental and psychological needs. This programme would only be necessary for young children as older children, (possibly with the support of street educators in finding a suitable place, managing rent and bills and other psychological support), could rent shelter with other peers and remain autonomous.

* Another potential solution for older children of the street would be to build their own low cost housing financed by some organisation which they could rent cheaply but could regard as their homes. This would serve the needs presently being provided by the cheap hotels and temporary nightly renting arrangements but with a slightly better living conditions and a sense of ownership and permanency. A street-educator could have a relationship with the children who rent these homes should any of them wish to consult him/her over any problem.

* For children between home and street, family support and counselling services might play an important role in halting the process of children moving from *on* to *of* the street. As the study suggested that parental stress could be a significant factor differentiating children *on* the street from children *of* the street, identifying parents under stress, through monitoring high risk families in the community or through the reports of children (the Holistic Integrated Urban Development Project provides a good working example of this system), and then providing appropriate psychological support could be important in preventing children breaking links with family.

b Children on the street

Given the present economic and social conditions of street-children and their families in Addis Ababa, it is not realistic to seek to eliminate or remove children from working on the street. The issue is how best to protect them from abuse and exploitation while they are working, how to ensure that their links with family and education are kept intact and how to provide greater opportunities for their normal physical, social and psychological development. While the situation of children *of* the street in Addis Ababa is grim, the most prevalent problem in the city is the high proportion of unprotected working children who are highly vulnerable and subjected regularly to abuse by both adults and other children. They work very long hours and are exposed to difficult weather conditions, all for very low remuneration. While the long term aim is to ensure no child has to be exposed to such a lifestyle, the short term aim must be to offer support to those children and make their working environment safer and less exploitative.

* The majority of child street-workers work in traditional child occupations like kolo selling and shoe-shining. However, with the increased numbers of children now on the streets, these markets have become over-saturated and remuneration therefore is very low. Organisations working with street-children in Addis Ababa were asked to identify alternative or creative income generation ideas which might be suitable for children and that would fulfil local market demand. The following ideas were suggested and could be explored further for viability.

  - It is a well known fact that Addis Ababa needs cleaning up (sanitation). In co-operation with the city council, children could be grouped into a city cleaners brigade and assist in the sanitation of their surroundings. To show that the government is serious, training by experts should be provided and responsibility entrusted to the children officially. The basic necessities of the children (education, shelter and food) shouldn't be violated in the due process of training (suggested by Christian Childrens Fund Inc.).

  - Training in tyre repair for older boys.

  - Construction of small kiosks in major public areas and allow older children to sell foodstuffs, or items made by street-children in leather and craft work programmes.

    Provide older children with loans or seed capital in order to establish themselves e.g. assist children so they can have newspaper and magazine stands in major public areas (suggested by Municipality).

  - A messenger or courier service (suggested by CYFWO). A model of this type of programme already exists in Sudan, the SKI (Street-kids International) bicycle courier service and the idea could be explored and adapted to needs in Addis Ababa or the other regional towns.

  - Increase training and production or products in crafts and leather work, e.g., grass weaving, basketry, embroidery, candle making, shoe and sandal making etc. (suggested by Mobile Unit) There would also be an opening for high quality art products like wood-carvings, artistic greeting cards, etc. if relevant training could be provided.

* Many organisations are hostile to street-children who work in their vicinity as it is feared the children are petty thieves or aid and abet older criminals. Programmes have been tried successfully in other countries of organising a group of shoe-shiners to work for companies on a regular basis. Children are provided with materials of a high quality and a distinctive uniform, for example a tee-shirt and trousers, which they are responsible for. The staff come to know and trust the children, children have a guaranteed market and they can be organised to work on a rota basis to ensure their education is not neglected.

* Support for working children while in the street, and for children and their families if relationships become strained could improve childrens coping abilities by providing counselling and family support when necessary. Extending the role of street-educators could be an important resource in providing this service.

* A problem faced by working children is in how to save their money, for example, to use for paying their school expenses or for clothes etc. The establishment of a savings scheme through the schools, in the classroom, might encourage and help children to do this. Small sums of money could be managed by the teacher and the child keep a savings card which records money saved in this way and it could then be "withdrawn" when needed.

c *Children at high risk of street-life involvement*

* The findings of the study indicate that there are certain times when children are more vulnerable to being pushed to the streets than at other times. One such occasion is after the death of a parent, particularly a father, or in the aftermath of divorce or family break up. An important finding is that, while older children generally go to the street in the period immediately following a parent's death or divorce, there is a time lag of a few years for younger children (although children who experience the death of a parent while very young tend to come to the streets at a younger age than average). Poor families who experience a death of parent or divorce can be considered at high risk of having children go to the street. Given the different effects on younger and older children, different interventions might be useful depending on the ages of children in the family. Older children might be better served by supporting their decision to work on the streets, if that seems to be the best available option to the family, by providing capital for work materials, tutorial assistance to ensure he or she does not become disadvantaged in school, and psychological support. Given the time lag for younger children's initiation to the street after the death of a parent, more long term solutions could be initiated, focusing on the parent, by providing a loan to enable him or her to start a small business, and possibly some sort of child minding support if necessary while the parent works.

* Preventative programmes offer the best hope of changing the situation responsible for the creation of street children. There are two main preventative programmes in Addis Ababa, which are relatively new but are operating in relative isolation with little evident flow of ideas and innovations between them. While there is an existing structure for the flow of ideas at the project level through the street-child forum, there is a need for more communication at the level of the street educators. They could learn from each other and be a source of mutual support. Specific training for the street-educators would also be valuable in supporting them in their task.

* One of the problems mentioned by children was the expense of school materials, particularly books and the difficulty of finding the time at home and a quiet place to study given poor and overcrowded housing conditions. Establishment of a library for children in some of the poorest areas in the city would contribute towards solving this. The objective would be to provide children with a place where they can read and study as many live in conditions which make study difficult. School and reference books could be made more widely accessible to children, easing the difficulty on parents of providing all childrens text books. It could also serve as a recreational centre at certain times for young children, perhaps supervised by older children. It could be run by someone from the community who would get a small salary for the service. The possibility might be explored of using a room in the Kebele house for such a service at designated times of each day (after 4 pm for example).

* One of the biggest problems mentioned by parents in the community study was the difficulty of paying school fees and expenses in one bulk sum at the start of the school year. Many parents started saving for these expenses many months before the start of term. Allowing parents to pay school registration fees and to buy books and materials in weekly or monthly instalments would make the costs of schooling less of a burden on parents. If possible, schemes presently run by the Kebeles whereby extremely poor families are exempted from paying school fees should be extended.

* The situation of street-children will not really improve until the standard of living of their communities as a whole improves. More programmes like the Holistic Integrated Urban project which attempts to tackle simultaneously all aspects of the problems of urban poverty results in raising the living conditions of the whole community. UNICEF and other bodies would be in a valuable position to identify needs and co-ordinate such efforts.

d *Street-girls*

* There is an urgent need for a hostel or night shelter for girls. Female street-educators could make contact with the girls. The street-educator should be someone who is already from the streets and who knows the girls. Most of the older girls *of* the street survive by begging so the establishment of some sort of a co-operative money making venture would also be a priority. This would have to include child-minding facilities which could be organised as part of the co-operative idea. The shelter ideally should provide a range of essential services such as safety, clothing, washing facilities, sex-education, reunification etc.

There is an urgent need for advocacy in this area and to create awareness of the special needs and circumstances of street girls. Street girls lives are made more difficult by the attitudes they experience from people who traditionally regard them as prostitutes. In conjunction with the advocacy role, further research is needed to develop a clear picture of the nature and extent of the problems faced by street girls. As the report on female victimization shows (chapter 4), street girls are very vulnerable while on the streets and especially at night. The high reported incident of sexual abuse amongst the girls interviewed is a cause for grave concern and the situation of street girls should be a priority.

e *Children who come in contact with the police*

* Inevitably, some street children come into contact with the police. With a new police force having been recently established, this is an opportune time for the legal authorities to create a policy position on how to deal with street children. At the time this study was conducted, the police had no structures or procedures for dealing with juvenile offenders (including street children). Training for police on the causes of street children might serve to sensitise them to the problems of street children. The establishment of a unit of the police who would be assigned to dealing with juveniles would be another idea. A comprehensive rehabilitation programme needs to de developed in line with the Ethiopian Penal Code, in order to ensure that juvenile offenders are dealt with separately to adults, and also addresses their needs as children and not just as offenders. In general, systems and structures need to be created which will deal humanely with the street child who comes in contact with the law.

f *Displaced children and street families*

* The needs and circumstances of displaced children differ significantly to that of urban poor children. All have been forced to leave their home, their routine and everything that was familiar, most had to endure a difficult journey under conditions of severe deprivation and now live in conditions of extreme hardship. Children of street families are particularly vulnerable as living conditions are very exposed and this, combined with inadequate diet, has affected childrens' health negatively. Some children have lost family members in traumatic circumstances and parents reported the difficulty for children of adjusting to the new circumstances and their inability to understand what was happening and why. Parents reported children cried more and other indications of psychological distress were also reported by parents e.g withdrawn or aggressive behaviour.

* Psychologically, displaced children are very vulnerable and stability is an important and fundamental requirement for rehabilitating them and helping to normalise their lives. Temporary solutions of placing families in camps have been initiated in Addis Ababa and elsewhere but this can only cause long term instability in the childrens' lives. Settling families therefore has to be a priority. Training in job related skills need to be provided for families who do not wish to return to their home region for whatever reason as many families are from rural areas and do not have the skills appropriate to the urban environment. Recognising that support and training for displaced families could be a sensitive issue in communities where established families also experience extreme poverty and lack training and skills, it might be worthwhile working these schemes through established community projects, expanding the mandate and funds to target displaced families. Where families wish to return to their home region, transport and seed money for re-establishing should be a priority.

* The ideas outlined above apply to all the towns surveyed and should not be regarded as applying specifically to Addis Ababa. However, given the different regional profiles of the street child population across the towns, the following points should also be considered for Nazareth, Bahir Dar and Mekele.

2 Nazareth

* Rural based projects that would encourage Gurage children and others to remain within their region rather than travelling to Nazareth, Addis Ababa and other towns in search of income generation opportunities is the best long term solution to the creation of street-children in that region. This should also be accompanied by an education package aimed at children and their parents giving information on the difficulty of life in urban areas for child workers and the inherent dangers involved in street-work. Many children leave home on the basis of stories from other children of the golden opportunities in the towns and the riches to be made. This is backed up by the sight of other children returning home to give money to their families. These stories disguise the reality of long working hours in over-saturated traditional markets for children, and while perhaps historically appropriate, increased competition in the urban areas has meant that street-work as a route to establishing a small business is much more difficult. This changing reality needs to be realistically responded to.

* As many street-children in Nazareth are living with relatives, these family relationships may need particular support to prevent the child moving from working on the street to living on the street. Street-educators could play a role in dealing with and averting family conflict where appropriate.

* The provision of a night shelter for children who have no where else to go as a result of family conflict or because they are newly arrived in the town would go some way towards addressing the immediate needs of the most vulnerable street-children in Nazareth. This night shelter could be linked into a hierarchy of programmes (reunification, vocational training etc) that could best respond to the child's needs once an assessment is made of the reason why the child is on the streets in the first place.

* As Nazareth has the highest proportion of drop-outs across the four towns, educational support or skills provision should be a priority in service delivery for street-children.

3 Bahir Dar

* For many of the regional towns, there needs to be an increased emphasis on the decentralisation of resources, especially in terms of income-generation opportunities, education and health facilities. By decentralisation is meant decentralising emphasis from Addis Ababa to other regional towns but also from the towns to the rural areas. Increasing access to these facilities to people in the rural areas, possibly through the provision of outreach services and support to villages would be one way of developing this.

* As in the other towns, special immediate assistance is needed for children who are living full-time on the streets. Provision of a night shelter which could direct children into an appropriate intervention programme is essential. Adoption, fostering and alternative care programmes should also be explored.

* As many children in Bahir Dar are on the streets because of economic pressures at home, and a third of street-children were pressurised by their families to contribute financially, income generation assistance for families or the availability of loans to enable families to develop a business would go some way towards relieving the pressures causing street-children.

4 Mekele

* The most pressing need in Mekele and throughout Tigray is for a comprehensive reunification programme for children and families, or extended families where immediate families cannot be traced. Some successful and cost effective programmes have been operating in other African countries (e.g. using photographs of unaccompanied children that are sent to regional areas for potential identification by parents with wide advertisement for the programme). The scheme should draw on the experience of other reunification programmes to identify the best way of handling this complex process.

* Alternative family schemes should be established for those children whose families cannot be traced. Adoption or fostering has a local tradition and advertising the need

for families to take in homeless children, with related support for families should be explored (e.g. the advantages and disadvantages of providing monetary assistance to adopting families needs to be clearly thought out, as do questions of whether support should be provided for the adopted child's schooling, etc, which may need to be decided in the context of the adopting family).

* The immediate needs of the children should be addressed by providing some sort of night shelter offering security and protection. As above, this should be viewed as a reception centre which, once the situation of the child is assessed, then responds by providing training, reunification, alternative family structures, family support etc. as appropriate.

* Mekele had the highest proportion of children who never attended school due to the disrupting effects of the war and drought. Strengthening educational facilities and increasing enrolment levels in school should now be targeted. There is presently an upsurge in building and development in Mekele and throughout Tigray. This would be a good time to provide appropriate training for children in related skills or provide loans to enable older children and poor families to establish themselves in service provision or trade.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

The Questionnaire

QUESTIONNAIRE ON THE STUDY OF STREET CHILDREN

IN FOUR SELECTED TOWNS

Name of interviewer: .....

Name of town: .....
/__/__/
Date: .....
Time: From ..... To .....
Area: .....
/__/__/

SECTION 1: Demographic and Familial Details

A. Background and Origins.
Name ? .....
1. Sex ?
1. male .....
2. female ....
/__/__/

2. Age ? .....
/__/__/
3. Ethnic group?
1. Amhara .....
2. Oromo .....
3. Gurage .....
/__/
4. Tigrian .....
5. Other(specify)....
6. Don't know .....

4. Religion?
1. Orthodox .....
2. Muslim .....
3. Other(specify)....
/__/
4. Don't know .....

5. How often do you attend a religious ceremony?
1. Daily .....
2. Every Week .....
3. Occasionally ....
/__/
4. Rarely .....
5. Never .....

6. Where were you born? (name of place) .....
Administrative Region .....
/__/__/

6.1 1. This town/city .....
2. Other urban .....
3. Rural .....
/__/

4. D/K .....
5. N/A .....

7. Where do your parents live now
(name of place) ..... Adm. Region .....
/__/__/

7.1 1. This town/city .....
2. Other urban .....
3. Rural .....
/__/
4. Don't know .....
5. N/A .....

IF IN THIS TOWN, PLEASE STATE AREA .....
/__/

IF FAMILY HAS MIGRATED TO THIS TOWN, SEE Q8,9,10.

8. Where were your parents living directly
before coming to this town? (name of place)
/__/__/
..... Adm. Region .....

8.1 1. Urban .....
2. Rural .....
3. Don't know .....
/__/
4. N/A .....

9. What age were you when your family come to this
town?
/__/__/
Age .....
Don't know .....
N/A .....

10. Why did your family leave their home region?
1. War .....
2. Draught/famine .....
3. To find work .....
4. Health reasons .....
/__/
5. Other(Specify) .....
6. Don't know .....
7. N/A .....

IF FAMILY LIVING IN REGION OUTSIDE THIS TOWN,
SEE Q11,12,13,14,15

11. Why did you leave your family? .....
.....
/__/
.....

11.1 How old were you at that time? .....
/__/__/

12. With whom did you come to this town?
    1. Alone .....
    2. With siblings .....
    3. With other relative....
/__/
    4. With friend(s) .....
    5. Other(specify) .....

13. How did you travel?
    1. By foot .....
    2. By bus .....
    3. By train .....
/__/
    4. By hitching lift intruck or car ...
    5. Other(specify)

14. Did you come directly to this town from your home region?
    1. Yes ....
/__/
    2. No ....

14.1 If no, in how many other towns did you stay?.....
/__/

15. Why did you come to this town? .....
/__/

B. Family Details.

16. Is your father still alive? .....
    1. Yes ...
    2. No ....
/__/
    3. Don't know ....
17. How does/did your father earn his livelihood?
IF MORE THAN ONE; TICK MAIN SOURCE OF INCOME ONLY.
/__/
    1. Informal/daily labourer .....
    2. Self-employed, has skill or trade ....
    3. Petty seller or trader .....
    4. Government employee .....
    5. Private employee .....
    6. Farmer .....
    7. Other(specify) .....
    8. Don't know .....
17.1 Was your father soldier?
    1. Yes ....
/__/
    2. No .....
18. What is/was your father's educational background?
    1. Illiterate .....
    2. Can read only ...
    3. Can read and write ....
/__/
    4. Regular education .....
    5. Don't know .....
    6. Other(specify) .....

18.1 IF REGULAR EDUCATION
Highest grade completed .....
/__/__/
Don't know .....
N/A .....

19. IF FATHER DEAD How old were you when he died? .....
/__/__/

20. Who supports your family?
TICK ANY THAT APPLIES
1. Father only .....
2. Mother only .....
3. Extended family .....
/__/
4. My self .....
5. Other children .....
6. Step-father .....
7. More than one of the above .....
8. Others (specify) .....
9. N/A .....

21. Is your mother still alive?
1. Yes .....
/__/
2. No .....
3. Don't know .....

22. What is/was your mother's means of livelihood?
1. Informal/daily labourer .....
2. Street-seller .....
3. Skilled worker/self employed .....
4. Employee .....
/__/
5. House servant .....
6. Beggar .....
7. Housewife .....
8. Other (specify) .....
9. D/K .....

23. what is/was your mother's educational background?
1. Illiterate .....
2. can read only .....
3. Can read and write .....
/__/
4. Regular education .....
5. Don't know .....
6. Other (specify) .....

23.1 IF REGULAR EDUCATION
Highest completed grade .....
/__/__/
Don't know .....
N/A .....

24. IF MOTHER DEAD How old were you when she died?
/__/__/

25. What is your biological parents marital status?
1. Living together .....
2. Circumstantial separation(e.g. work,war etc.) .....
3. Divorced or separated (due to bad marriage) .....
/__/
4. Separated because of death .....

5. Don't know .....
6. Others (specify) .....
7. N/A (e.g both parents dead) .....

26. IF DIVORCED CIRCUMSTANTIALLY SEPARATED how old you were at that time? .....

/__/__/

27. Do you have a step-mother?
1. Yes ....

/__/

2. No .....
3. D/K ....

28. Who were you living with before you started spending most of your time on streets?
1. Family (two parents) .....

/__/

2. Father .....
3. Mother .....
4. Other (specify) .....

C. ON HOUSING

REFERS TO FAMILY HOUSE OR IF CHILD LIVING WITH GUARDIAN.

Where child lived before coming to the street

29. What type of house does your family live in?
1. Brick/stone .....
2. Mud .....
3. Tin .....

/__/

4. Bamboo/sticks .....
5. Plastic scarp materials .....
6. Other (specify) .....
7. Don't know .....
8. N/A .....

30. Condition of family house

	House Condition	1. Yes 2. No 3. D/K
30.1	Roof leaking	
30.2	Have many big holes	
30.3	Bad smell outside	
30.4	Latrine facility	
30.5	Latrine used by more than two families	
30.6	Electricity	
30.7	Clean drinking water	
30.8	N/A	

31. How many rooms are in your house?
/__/
..... rooms N/A .....

32. How many people in total live in your house?
/__/__/
..... N/A .....

D. ON SIBLINGS

33. How many brothers and sisters do you have?
Brothers .....
/__/
Sisters .....
/__/

34. Where do you come in the family?
1. Only child .....
2. Eldest .....
/__/
3. Middle .....
4. Youngest .....

35. Can you tell me some brief details about your brothers and sisters? N/A
/__/

ONLY ASK FOR THOSE SIBLINGS UNDER 17 YEARS. WRITE AGES IN DESCENDING ORDER. FOR QUESTIONS 35.1, 35.3, 35.4, 35.5 FILL IN RELEVANT NUMBER

No.	35.1	35.2	35.3	35.4	35.5
	SEX 1=M 2=F	AGE	1=attending school 2=not attending school 3=N/A 4=D/K	strret-activity 1=Work 2=Play 3=Begging 4=D/K 5=No	Sleeps? 1=Home 2=Home/street 3=Streets 4=D/K 5=N/A
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					
6					
7					
8					
9					
10					

36. IF NOT OTHER SIBLINGS ON STREET why, in your opinion, are you on the streets when your other siblings are not? /__/
.....

E. PRESENT RELATIONSHIP WITH FAMILY

37. With whom are you living now?
1. Both biological parents .....
2. father .....
3. Mother .....
/__/
4. Other relatives .....
5. Alone .....
6. With friends .....
7. Other (specify) .....

37.1 IF LIVING WITH PARENTS/GUARDIAN
How do you get along with?(the guardians
/__/
or parents the child lives with) .....

38. Usually,how often do you see your family/parents/siblings/relatives/other guardian?
1. Every day .....
2. At least every week .....
3. At least every month ....
/__/
4. Few times a year .....
5. Really .....
6. Irregularly .....
7. Never .....
8. N/A .....

39. IF NEW TIMES A YEAR/REALLY/NEVER Why do you not return home?.....
/__/

40. When did you last see your parents/family/guardian?
1. Today/this morning .....
2. 1-3 days ago .....
3. 4-7 days ago .....
/__/
4. 1 week-2 weeks ago .....
5. More than 2 weeks ago but less than a month .....
6. 1 month-2 months ago .....
7. 2-6 months ago .....
8. 6 months or more (specify) .....
9. N/A .....

F. EDUCATIONAL HISTORY

41. Have you ever attended school?
1. Yes .....
/__/ 2. No .....

41.1 IF YES, 1. Priest school .....
2. Koran .....
/__/
3. Regular school .....
4. N/A .....

42. IF NO Q41, why not?
1. Financial constraints .....
/__/
2. Child works and family income will be
3. Helps family (non-financially). If he/

she goes to school, the family will be inconvenienced .....
4. There is no school available for the child .....
5. Other .....
6. N/A .....

43. IF YES ON Q41, Are you still attending school?
1. Yes .....
/__/
2. No .....

44. IF NO Q43, Why did you leave school?
1. family could no longer afford school fees ....
/__/
2. child had to work to supplement family income ...
3. had to remain at home to help family (did-financially) .....
4. did not have money for cloths, books, extrs .....
5. no supporter
6. disliked school ....

45. When did you leave school?.....years ago....
/__/ 46. IF ATTENDING SCHOOL, OR HAS ATTENDED IN THE PAST, to what grade have you completed?....
/__/

47. Can you tell me the circumstances surrounding the FIRST time you came to the streets? (i.e whether
/__/
to play, to work, or as a runway etc.) USE CHILD'S OWN WORDS .....

48. So you come to the streets/left home, because ....
/__/

49. How old are you at that time? .....
/__/__/

50. Did you come to the streets
1. alone .....
2. with friends .....
/__/
3. with family member .....
4. with relatives .....
5. with other(specify) .....

51. At that time, was there enough to eat at home or where you lived?
1. Yes .....
/__/
2. No .....

52. At that time, did you have friends already on the street?
1. Yes .....
/__/
2. No .....

53. Were there any other problems for you at home?
1. Yes .....
/__/
2. No .....

54. Do you think your parents/guardians approved or disapproved of your living/working/or playing on the street?

1. approved .....

/__/

2. disapproved .....
3. didn't care .....
4. don't know .....
5. N/A .....

55. Have conditions of your family improved or worsened since the time you come onto the streets?

1. improved .....

/__/

2. no change .....
3. worsened .....
4. D/K .....
5. N/A .....

Why? .....

/__/

56. Have you ever experienced any of the following at home?

		1=Often 2=sometimes 3=rarely 4=never
56.1	spanking/pinching	
56.2	beaten	
56.3	beaten with some object	
56.4	hunger	
56.5	frustrated by violence between parents	
56.6	upset by fighting and shouting	
56.7	unsupervised by adult for long periods in the home	
56.8	too strict supervision in the home	
56.9	drinking in home which upset you	
56.10	prostitution in home which upset you	
56.11	other (specify)	

SECTION 3: Present Life Circumstances

57. Where do you usually go to sleep?
/__/
1. home .....
2. home and street .....
3. street .....

57.1 IF STREET, specify (eg. veranda, church yard, bus stop) .....
/__/

58. What do you usually do to play or have fun? .....
/__/

59. How many times a day you eat? .....
/__/

60. What kind of food do you have for lunch or for dinner? .....
/__/

61. Do you work?
1. Yes, regularly .....
/__/
2. Yes, sometimes .....
3. No .....

61.1 IF NO, how do you survive? .....
/__/

62. What types of jobs do you work at?
62.1 Main job .....
/__/
62.2 Secondary job .....
/__/

63. Usually, how many hours a day do you work?
..... N/A .....
/__/__/

64. How much do you earn in a day?
..... N/A .....
/__/__/

65. Who helps or protects you while on street?
1. No one ..... 2. Siblings .....
/__/
3. Friends ..... 4. Groups .....
5. Parents ..... 6. Other adults ....
7. Others (specify) .....

65.1 How do they help protect you? .....
/__/

65.2 When do they help or protect you? .....
/__/

66. Do you beg?
1. Always .....
/__/
2. Often (usually) .....
3. Sometimes .....
4. Rarely .....
5. Never .....

67. IF YES, How much do you get begging on a usual day?
/__/__/__/__/

68. What did you do with the money you earned all together in a usual day?

68.1 FOOD Birr .....
/__/__/__/__/__/__/
68.2 FAMILY Birr .....
/__/__/__/__/__/__/
68.3 SCHOOL Birr .....
/__/__/__/__/__/__/
68.4 ENTERTAINMENT Birr .....
/__/__/__/__/__/__/
68.5 SHELTER Birr .....
/__/__/__/__/__/__/
68.6 CLOTHES Birr .....
/__/__/__/__/__/__/
68.7 OTHER (specify) ..... Birr .....
/__/__/__/__/__/__/

69. IF GIVES MONEY AT HOME How does (mother/father/guardian) use the money you bring home? .....
/__/

70. What is your parents/guardian's reaction to the contributions?
1. Happy .....
/__/
2. Sad .....
3. Angry .....
4. Indifferent .....
5. Don't know .....
6. N/A .....

70.1 Give your opinion about the contribution .....
/__/

71. Have you ever pressurized to contribute to the family income?
1. Yes .....
/__/
2. Sometimes .....
3. No .....
4. N/A .....

72. Why do you stay on streets? (use child's words) .....
/__/

73. On Anti-social Behaviors

	Behavior	1. Every day 2. Every week 3. Rarely 4. Never
73.1	Drinking	
73.2	Smoking	
73.3	Chat	
73.4	Glue/Benzine	
73.5	Other (specify)	

74. Do you ever steal things from the markets on other places?
1. Yes .....
/__/
2. No .....

74.1 IF YES, What? .....
/__/
75. Have you ever been caught by the police?
1. Yes .....
/__/
2. No .....
76. IF YES, Why?
1. for stealing .....
/__/
2. for being a street child .....
3. for no reason .....
4. other (specify) .....
5. N/A .....
77. Have you ever been beaten or hurt on the streets?
1. Often .....
/__/
2. Sometimes .....
3. Rarely .....
4. Never .....
78. What is the biggest problem you face most of the time? .....
/__/
79. Are you satisfied with your life now? .....
/__/
80. Under what conditions would it possible for you to leave street life ? .....
/__/
81. Do you know places or organisations that help children like you? (please name) .....
/__/
82. Have you ever had any contact with it/them?
1. Yes .....
/__/
2. No .....
3. N/A .....
83. IF YES, what was your experience of it? . .....
/__/
84. What do you want to be in the future? .....
/__/
85. IF RESPONDENT OVER 12, Have you ever done any sexual acts for money or goods?
1. Often .....
/__/
2. Sometimes .....
3. rarely .....
4. Never .....
5. N/A .....
86. Has any one ever forced you to do any sexual acts?
1. Yes .....
/__/
2. No .....
3. N/A .....

87. Health Check-list

	Problems	1. Yes 2. No
1	Skin problem	
2	Eye problem	
3	Ear problem	
4	Stomach problem	
5	Teeth problem	
6	Headache	
7	Nasal bleeding	
8	Handicap or permanent injury	
9	Others (specify)	

88. Have you received any treatment?
1. Yes .....
/__/
2. No .....
3. N/A .....

89. IF YES Where? .....
/__/

90. IF NO Why not? .....
/__/

91. Are you still receiving treatment?
1. Yes .....
/__/
2. No .....
3. N/A .....

92. IF NO, SPECIFY WHY NOT .....
/__/

93. Where do you usually go to get help when you or someone is sick? .....
/__/

94. INTERVIEWERS COMMENTS

A. Appearance:
1. Well dressed and clean .....
/__/
2. Torn cloths, but clean .....
3. Torn and dirty cloths .....
4. Other (specify) .....

B. Health:
1. Healthy and strong .....
/__/
2. Weak and skinny .....
3. Not well or malnourished .....
4. Other (specify) .....

C. Most striking non-verbal behavior:

1. Cold and friendly .....

/__/

2. Shy/Reserved .....
3. Sad/unhappy .....
4. Alert/active .....
5. Smiling/happy .....
6. Friendly/open .....
7. Mischievous/delinquent .....
8. Other (specify) .....

D. Level of Co-operation

1. Very good .....

/__/

2. Good .....
3. Fair .....
4. Bad .....

E. Recommendation .....

/__/

.....

F. Other comments .....

/__/

.....

APPENDIX 2

List of Key Persons Interviewed

Appendix 2

List of Key Persons Interviewed

	Name	Organisation and Position
1.	Ato Abera G Sellasie	Head, Social Services Department, Rehabilitation Agency
2.	W/ro Almaz Worku	Program Officer, Red Barna
3.	Ato Amakelew Cherkos	Head, Social & Health Services Department, A.A. Municapality
4.	W/ro Askale Makonen	Program Officer, Italian Cooperation
5.	Ms Margaret Curtain	Childrens' Affairs Officer, Goal
6.	Ato Fassil W Mariam	Project Manager, SCF, USA
7.	W/ro Genet Pantalio	Program Manager, CCF
8.	Hailu Belay	Program officer, UNICEF
9.	Ato Lulseged Tefera	Expert, CYFWO
10.	W/ro Mekdes G Tensay	Senior Expert, MOLSA
11.	Ato Mengiste Ayela	Project Coodinator, Rehabilitation & Prevention Project for Street Children, MOLSA
12.	Ato Tedla G Mariam	Project Coordiantor, Forum on Street Children
13.	Ato Tsegaye Chernet	Program Officer, Radda Barnen

APPENDIX 3

Interview Schedules

Appendix 3

Forum

Interview Schedule for Programme Officers and Policy Makers Working with Street Children

MOLSA-UNICEF 1992 base-line survey on street-children.

1 What services is your organisation presently offering to street-children?

(a) *preventive street children project*
(b) *Advocacy role for street children*
(c) *free consultancy service for interested individuals/agencies who wish to initiate new programmes.*

1.1 How many street children benefit directly from your programme?

Three hundred high risk children are directly benefit from the preventive street children project.

2. What are your short and long term plans for developing your services to street-children and their families?

(a) *to create awareness among policy makers, professionals and the community at large, so as to intensify their involvements in caring for street children.*
(b) *facilitate the co-ordination of efforts being made by various agencies to offer services to street children*
(c) *initiate and implement preventive street children projects*

3. Do you believe the interventions of the agencies dealing with street-children and their families are adequate?

Yes
No
If no, what do you recommend as improvements?

To promote advocacy service on the behalf of street children so that the involvement of the community in caring for street children.

4. What are the major problems encountered in implementing intervention strategies for street children and their families?

(a) *Lack of fund*
(b) *Low-level public awareness about the problem of street children*

Interview Schedule for Programme Officers and Policy Makers Working with Street Children

MOLSA-UNICEF 1992 base-line survey on street-children.

1. What services is your organisation presently offering to street-children?

Night Shelter

1.1 How many street children benefit directly from your programme?

Twenty

2. What are your short and long term plans for developing your services to street-children and their families?

We hope to expand the service to give shelter to more homeless children.

3. Do you believe the interventions of the agencies dealing with street-children and their families are adequate?

Yes
No

If no, what do you recommend as improvements?

More street children need to be reached by expansion of existing programmes or introduction of new ones.

4. What are the major problems encountered in implementing intervention strategies for street children and their families?

Inconsistent attendance at programmes due to low income
Long working hours etc.
Behaviourial problems
Inability of the kids to participate in physical activities due to under nourishment.

Interview Schedule for Programme Officers and Policy Makers Working with Street Children

MOLSA-UNICEF 1992 base-line survey on street-children

1. What services is your organisation presently offering to street-children?

The type of services catered:
- *vocational training in leather and woodwork*
- *non formal education, informal class and school provision*
- *sport and recreational activities*
- *guidance and counselling service to children and their families*
- *savings and credit scheme for parents.*

1.1 How many street children benefit directly from your programme?

780 street and high risk children

2. What are your short and long term plans for developing your services to street-children and their families?

Concerning the short term plan of the organization, it will extend its service to additional two Kebeles and is in the process of initiating saving and credit schemes. As a whole the major plan of the organisation to minimize the number of children from being drifted to street life and to put higher emphasis on the prevention strategies.

3. Do you believe the interventions of the agencies dealing with street-children and their families are adequate?

Yes
No
If no, what do you recommend as improvements?

The few projects addressing the need of street-children are mostly on experimental stage which in other words indicate their limitation in their out-reach. Therefore emphasis should be given on integrated urban development programmes which aim at improving the quality of urban poor families.

4. What are the major problems encountered in implementing intervention strategies for street children and their families?

(a) Experienced and skilled manpower
(b) Inadequate local resources and support for projects from the government and the public at large

Interview Schedule for Programme Officers and Policy Makers Working with Street Children

MOLSA-UNICEF 1992 base-line survey on street-children.

1. What services is your organization presently offering to street-children?

The Social Defence Department works with the Italian Cooperation and Radda Barnen, on the Street Children Project' Rehabilitation and Prevention Project for Street Children. This project has vocational educational, and guidance and counselling, health services and family support programmes in the centre and in three kebeles. The department assists this project in many aspects. The department in another way makes policy studies about street children. Advises NGO's for projects concerning street children.

1.1 How many street children benefit directly from your programme?

806 street-children benefit directly from the project in different ways.

2. What are your short and long term plans for developing your services to street-children and their families?

To strengthen the vocational training and the informal education system to the street children.

To strengthen the credit facility system for more effective method and for more families to benefit from the fund.

Interview Sschedule for Programmes Officers and Policy Makers working with Street Children

MOLSA-UNICEF 1992 base-line survey on street-children.

1. What services is your organisation presently offering to street-children?

   - *Sport, play and recreational*
   - *Educational programmes (non-formal, tutorial and study) and educational support.*
   - *Health education and medical service in collaboration with Goal Ireland and Ministry of Health Addis Ababa region.*
   - *Guidance and counselling services*
   - *Vocational training (wood work and leather craft)*
   - *Support in fulfilling basic needs at home through provision of credit facilities to parents.*

1.1 How many street children benefit directly from your programme?

More than 806 street and high risk children

2. What are your short and long term plans for developing your services to street children and their families?

In the short term plan it is intended to include other two Kebeles and restrengthen the activities. In the long term plan there is a tendency to replicate its programmes in other Administrative regions where problem of street children is found to be acute.

3. Do you believe the interventions of the agencies dealing with street-children and their families are adequate?

No
It is limited to a very small area of the city and its service is not all rounded and renders to very small fraction of victim population of street and high risk children.

Response to MOLSA UNICEF
1992 base line Survey on Street Children
Children Youth and Family Welfare Organization
CYFWO

1. The Children Youth and Family Welfare Organization is a semi-autonomous government agency within the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs. It is entrusted with the task of:

   - Creating public awareness on the plight and needs of poor children in difficult circumstance.
   - Co-ordinating, assisting and facilitating the work of NGO's in their effort to plan and implement programmes regarding the integration of these children into society.
   - Sharing and exchanging information, knowledge and experiences.

CYFWO has basic agreement and is working closely with NGO's involved in the problem of street children by co-ordinating their activities under a newly-formed Forum on Street Children activities the members of which meet regularly.

The 5 NGO's involved in Street Children Programmes under the umbrella of CYFWO are:

- Save the Children Federation (USA) which has established "Drop in Centre" in Addis Ababa. With facilities catering to the children's physical, physchological and vocational needs.
- Swedish Save the Children conducting a "mobile" unit in Addis Ababa for 180 Street Children on the street and conducting educational and other programmes in their own environment, also providing support to their families.
- Norwegian Save the Children has implemented a programme to try to reunite children with their parents with credit systems.
- Hope Enterprises has a long established programme for street children focusing on rehabilitation and vocational training programmes such as soap manufacturing while looking after them in its boarding homes.

1.1 The above organisations caters the services for the following beneficiaries.

- Save the Children Federation (U.S.A.) - 150 children
- Swedish Save the Children - for 180 street children and 500 members of their families.
- Norwegian Save the Children - 100
- Hope Enterprises - 102
- Christian Children's Fund - 200

Total - 1052

2. CYFWO is currently encouraging the six NGO's involved in street children programme to start new ones in Addis Ababa or other towns in Ethiopia.

   CYFWO is also encouraging NGOs with whom it has agreements to become involved in street children programme by providing information on the

magnitude of the problem to this regard a number of NGOs have expressed their willingness to start meaningful programmes.

More specifically looking at the short on a long term plans of NGO's working with CYFWO for street children, the following can be sited.

2.1 Short term

- Conducting a nation-wide survey to obtain accurate information of the number of street children and the type of problems they face.
- Creating on awareness among the public of the existence of street children their problems and their taboos surrounding them.
- Organizing workshops at a national and local levels on the problem and needs of street children.
- Strengthening existing programmes and collaborating among NGOs.

2.2 Long Term

- Ensuring that the basic rights of the street children is protected through the appropriate.
- Consulting with the Ministry of Education and other concerned parties regarding ways to reorganize the school "shift" which at present is contributing thousands of children to become idle and be on the street picking up various habits.
- Exploring various possibilities to discourage children from migrating to urban areas by way improving and expanding integrated services in rural areas.
- Formulating a well-coordinated and comprehensive plan of action involving governments and NGOs.

3. Yes.

4. The Street Children Phenomenon in Ethiopia, particularly in the capital Addis Ababa and other major towns is growing at an alarming rate (every year street children population is expected to increase by 5%) and rapidly becoming a major social problem, but the services rendered to this group is very minimal.

- Being a more or less recent development, Ethiopian society does not really, understand the problem in most cases looking at the street children as delinquents and deviants rather than those in serious need of assistance; which urges much remains to be done to bring about attitudinal charge and public awareness.
- Hunger is a perpetual problem for Ethiopian street children due to low income earnings, a rehabilitation programme for self-sufficiency will have to take much more time and effort.
- Lack of resources (fund).
- 5 Since local government are set up in most regions in the country, it is believed that they can cooperate for any rehabilitation programme, by providing land for construction, transportation cost man power, and labour. 6 The street children in Addis and other major towns can participate.
- in selling newspapers and magazines, hence, there are too much magazines in the country.
- Car watching and car washing.
- Working on taxis, minibuses as assistants "Woyalas".

- Acting as messengers in private houses and "business centres".
- Engaging in small business like selling used clothes (Salvages)
- Peddle - engaging in small petty trades.

Red Barna

Interview Schedule for Programme Officers and Policy Makers Working with Street Children

MOLSA-UNICEF with Street Children

1. What services is your organisation presently offering to street-children?

It is family based rehabilitation for 100 street children and their families. The activities of our project are, income generation for the parents through channelling grants in form of credits, education of children and siblings, leisure activities for children, provision of clothes, shoes, school materials and registration fees, construction of houses for families who have housing problem.

1.1 How many street children benefit directly from your programmes?

68 street children have benefited from the 1st street project (project 4013) which phased out at the end of 1992.
171 street children are now benefitting from the second street children project (project 4014)

2. What are your short and long term plans for developing your services to street-children and their families?

To reduce the selected street children's physical and psychological vulnerability to calamities of any nature to enhance full utilization of their resources and capabilities in line with their own best interest, to stabilize their situation and to promote a healthy and harmonious upbringing within the family framework.

3. Do you believe the interventions of the agencies dealing with street-children and their families are adequate?

Yes
No
If no, what do you recommend as improvements?

Since the number of children included in the existing programmes is very small compared to the magnitude of the problem, these agencies have to extend their services in order to reach more children. However the participation of other agencies and the community is very important.

4. What are the major problems encountered in implementing intervention strategies for street children and their families?

- *You find a lot of equally needy people, when you start working with families. With a limited resource you have in your hand you couldn't respond to their demands.*
- *The unstable economic situation pervading is an obstacle to the efforts made to make families of street children economically self-sufficient.*

Municipality

Interview Schedule for Programm Officers and Policy Makers Working with Street Children MOLSA-UNICEF 1992 base-line survey on street-children.

1. What services is your organisation presently offering to street-children?

   (1) Lodging food for abandoned children in a youth-aid centre.
   (2) Lodging, food and schooling for orphans youth.
   (3) Facilitate programmes of street and other socio-economic developments run by NGO's in Addis Ababa like acquisition of place of work, work with local authorities (kebele officials) selection of programme areas etc ...

1.1 How many street children benefit directly from your programme?

35 infants at kebele Tsehai
253 Youth Aid Centre

2. What are your short and long term plans for developing your services to street-children and their families?

<u>Short term</u>
- *To help other NGO's involve more in street children programme by the magnitude of the problems.*
- *Solicit adequate fund for the realization of the programmes.*

<u>Long term</u>
1. *Conduct city-wide survey on street children with the view to take the problem on large scale.*
2. *Intensify a large scale street children programme in different zones of Addis Ababa.*

3. Do you believe the interventions of the agencies dealing with street-children and their families are adequate?

Yes
No

If no, what do you recommend as improvements?
- *Those involved in the implementation of the programme should join hands to deal with the problem rather than operating individually to avoid duplicate of efforts - and overlap of programmes.*
- *It would also be advisable if programmes focus on or attempt to address the causes of the problem rather than dealing with the effect.*

4. What are the major problems encountered in implementing intervention strategies for street children and their families?

Interview Schedule for Programme Officers and Policy Makers Working with Street Children
MOLSA-UNICEF 1992 base-line survey on street children

1. What services is your organisation presently offering to street children?

We offer: provision of school fees and school materials; one meal a day for five days; medicine and medical services, vocational training, income generating activities, credit scheme to children and parents.

1.1 How many street children benefit directly from your programme?

One hundred and seventy one street children directly benefit from our programme.

2. What are your short and long term plans for developing your services to street-children and their families?

Short Term Plan
- *Credit system to porters and families to start or strengthen petty trade;*
- *Provision of basic materials to shoe shiners to improve their business and assist themselves and their families;*
- *Fulfil the rights of education to the beneficiaries;*
- *provision of one meal a day to very poverty stricken children.*

Long Term Plan
- *Vocational training in various skills e.g. mat production, weaving, soap making, leather work;*
- *Continuation of medical services for a healthy, physical and mental development;*
- *Provision of meal to all children;*
- *Continuation of case studies to know the children better as they grow up;*
- *Strengthening and widening relationships with other NGO's involved with street children projects;*
- *Study ways and means for the continuation and growth of the project.*

3. Do you believe the interventions of the agencies dealing with street-children and their families are adequate?

Yes X
No ____

4. What are the major problems encountered in implementing intervention strategies for street children and their families?

Even though, the meals we provide are not that much nutritious, it really help. But educational achievement and performances can not be attained when sometimes a child doesn't get his breakfast or dinner or both. Therefore, we believe that this is one obstacle to street children and their families..

APPENDIX 4

List of Participants in the Study

Appendix 4

List of Participants in the Study

A. Data Collectors

For Addis Ababa

Hailu Bedaso
Habtamu Getnet
Tenagne Tena Gashaw
Amsale Ulfata
Ayalew Egigu
Etalemahu Aboye

For Bahir Dar

Shekur Nuru
Mesfin Abebe
Murad Abdella
Tewachew Amare

For Mekele

Destalem Abreha
Hagos Kenfe
Leake Assefa
Tsege Gebre Egzibher

For Nazreth

Negussie Degene
Hailu G/Tsadik
Simeneh Tadele
Fekadu Sisaye

B. Supervisors

Simelis Assefa
Temesgen Afeta
Ameha Berehe
Anteneh H.Wolde

C. Secretaries

Teruwork H/Giorgis
Tsehai

D. Assistant Coordinators

Almaz Meku
Mekdes G/Tensay

E. Coordinator

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F. Authors

Angela Veale
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H. Computer Analysis by BECS

I. Computer Printout by

Computer and Documentation Service, MOLSA