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Title	Victimisation of street children in Addis Ababa: factors of resilience and susceptibility
Authors	Lalor, Kevin J.
Publication date	1997
Original Citation	Lalor, K. J. 1997. Victimisation of street children in Addis Ababa: factors of resilience and susceptibility. PhD Thesis, University College Cork.
Type of publication	Doctoral thesis
Link to publisher's version	http://library.ucc.ie/record=b1262549~S0
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Download date	2026-11-16 10:03:14
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Two volumes

Victimisation of Street Children in Addis Ababa: Factors of Resilience and Susceptibility.

Volume one

by

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A thesis presented to the National University Of Ireland in fulfillment of the thesis requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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January, 1997.



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Acknowledgements

The completion of this thesis owes much to those who have helped me along the way. In particular, Orla's supporting acceptance of my long periods away from home was a great source of strength, and was but one facet of her unfaltering support and encouragement throughout. More recently, she selflessly allowed me the time required for writing up.

My parents, brothers and sister, too, provided great encouragement for this venture. My parents, in particular, were ceaseless in their support. That this thesis even began is the culmination of many years encouragement and facilitation on their part. To them, a special thanks.

Professor Max Taylor provided excellent guidance when I required it and otherwise left me to my own devices. He did everything to provide all the material and infrastructural support required.

My thanks are also due to University College Cork for the provision of a Studentship Research Grant from 1991 to 1994 and to the Agency for Personal Service Overseas and the Nuffield Foundation for the provision of a living allowance and research grant, respectively.

Finally, I must thank the street girls of Addis Ababa. This thesis is dedicated to them in admiration for their strength and resilience in the face of circumstances which nobody should have to endure.

Abstract

Cross-cultural variations in conceptions of childhood are discussed, particularly with regard to child abuse and child labour. Regardless of cultural background, a universal minimum standard of child rearing is required. The street child literature is reviewed, culminating in an analysis of Ethiopian street children. Theoretically, this work is informed by victimology. Concepts shared by victimology and rational choice perspective are discussed, after Fattah (1993a). Victim surveys are described, highlighting their accuracy of crime estimates. Juvenile prostitution, runaways and rape are examined, particularly with regard to their relevance in Addis Ababa. Fifty five male and 135 female street children were interviewed. Interviews with boys focused on delinquency. An age-related pattern emerged, with younger boys less likely to drink, chew *khat*, steal or be sexually active. Interviews with street girls focused on the differences between girls living on the streets (*girls of the street*), girls working on the streets (*girls on the street*) and a sample of home-based girls. *Girls of the street* come to the streets for many reasons. Conflicts with a parent or guardian account for almost 50%. They are highly vulnerable to sexual assaults, particularly those 43% who have worked as prostitutes. *Girls on the street* experience considerably less victimisation. Urban poor girls live in socio-economic circumstances akin to *girls on the street* but enjoy almost universal protection from victimisation because they do not spend time on the streets. Unprotected by the stability which a

family provides, *girls of the street* experience high victimisation levels. Such victimisation is often the result of reliance on types of work, such as prostitution, which brings girls into contact with exploitative adults. Resistance to such victimisation is provided by a secure place to sleep, companions, and relatively safe types of work. Such protective factors are more readily available to family-based children as compared to those living independently.

Preface

Before dealing with the issue of the victimisation of street children, we need to define terms and concepts used widely throughout the text. For instance, what do we mean by "victimisation"? What is a "child" or "childhood" and, more particularly, what is a "street child"? When one is investigating behaviour in a society thoroughly different from one's own, to what extent must one consider cross-cultural sensitivity? These are the questions which need to be considered before tackling the issue of street child victimisation.

Chapter one focuses on the issue of childhood. In order to question whether our Western conception of childhood allows us to investigate the treatment of children in a non-Western setting, we shall consider what it means to be a child. Our emphasis is on childhood as a social construction. In particular, the focus is on child abuse from a cross cultural perspective.

Chapter two is dedicated to exploring the phenomenon of street children. This chapter describes the complexity behind the seemingly homogenous term "street children." The various types of street children and their lifestyles are described. In particular, the situation of street children in Ethiopia is described.

Chapter three introduces victimology, the study of crime victims and the situational variables which lead to victimisation.

We shall examine how victimology as a discipline emerged from classical positivist criminology, focusing on its similarities with the concept of the rational offender. The chief quantitative tool of victimologists, the victim survey, is reviewed. As well as a section on its history, main findings and methodological considerations, we shall be concerned with its application to a Third World setting. This chapter concludes by considering First World research on forms of child victimisation which are comparable to that experienced by Ethiopian street children; namely, prostitution, group rape and the abuse experienced by runaways.

Chapter four outlines the chronological sequence in which data was collected in Addis Ababa between July 1992 and December 1993. Each data set is considered in terms of objectives, interviewee selection, location and the actual interviewing process. The latter part of this chapter considers methodological issues encountered such as the language barrier, the need for facilitators and the importance of sensitivity and probing when interviewing street children.

Chapter five contains the results section. Data which was collected from structured and unstructured interviews with street boys and street girls is presented. For the most part, the data in this chapter follows the chronological sequence in which it was collected. The notable exception is data relating to *girls of the street* and the reader should carefully note the Introduction to

Interviews with Girls of the Street in Chapter five.

Chapter six compares data from the present study with what is known about street children in other parts of the world. Theoretical concepts discussed in Chapter three are applied to the data. Penultimately, factors which serve to increase and decrease Ethiopian street childrens' susceptibility to victimisation are discussed. Finally, recommendations for decreasing the levels of victimisation experienced by Ethiopian street children are presented.

Finally, the reader should note the glossary of frequently used Amharic words and the list of acronyms which is located in Appendix one. This should help the reader come to grips with the unavoidable widespread use of unfamiliar words and acronyms. Amharic words were deemed preferable to English where they represent items or ideas central to the lives of street children. The widespread use of acronyms was inevitable in a text which deals with UN agencies, academic research projects and politics. As Gill (1986) said, referring to the quagmire of incomprehensible UN acronyms one encounters in the literature, "If UN initials were edible, no one would have gone hungry in Ethiopia" (p. 121).

"Some day, maybe, there will exist a well-informed, well-considered, and yet fervent public conviction that the most deadly of all possible sins is the mutilation of a child's spirit"

Erik Erikson
J. Am. Med. Assoc. (1972).

Volume one

Chapter One

Historical and Cross-Cultural Aspects of Childhood

INTRODUCTION

What is "childhood"? In this chapter we shall examine the concept of childhood and how the interpretation of this concept can vary across time and place. We shall consider how perceptions on the nature of childhood have changed in Europe over the last four hundred years and how cross-cultural differences in the perception of childhood effect standards of child-rearing. In particular, we shall examine the issues of child abuse and child work from a cross-cultural perspective.

In addition, and related to the general issue of concepts of childhood, we shall examine the issue of children's rights. We shall consider how children's position in law has changed in recent times, particularly in relation to the United Nation's Convention on the Rights of the Child, and what this means for children worldwide.

It shall be argued that childhood is a social construct and that, as a consequence, child-rearing standards vary considerably worldwide. Nevertheless, universal rights and wrongs regarding the treatment of children do exist. That is to say, a purely relativist view of child-rearing shall not be contended.

CONCEPTS AND CONCEPTIONS OF CHILDHOOD

Concepts of Childhood

What is it that differentiates a "child" from an "adult"? It shall be argued below that the answer depends to a large degree on one's cultural or social background. How, then, can one begin to understand adult-child differences throughout the world, particularly practices which occur in a culture foreign to one's own? To begin, we must first make the distinction between a *concept* and a *conception* of childhood, as described by Archard (1993). A concept of childhood is a recognition of the differences between children and adults, an understanding that children and adults should not be treated in the same way. Such a recognition would appear to be universal. No society burdens children with the same responsibilities and duties as adults. Children are not, up to a point, held fully accountable for their actions. For example, in New Guinea it is believed that children under seven or eight years of age are unable to comprehend or reason. Serious misdemeanours (such as the killing of livestock) go unpunished (Langness, 1981). Similarly, in sub-Saharan Africa, "a child is not a valid human being until he reaches the age of 'sense', that is, until he is six or seven years old" (Levine & Levine, 1981, p. 44). In rural Turkey, babies and small children are considered to be beyond the control of parents. Children's actions are thought to be part of the natural environment, under the control and responsibility of Allah (Olson, 1981). The same leniency towards children is to be found in most

Western countries where a child is generally not subjected to the full rigors of the law until he or she is eighteen years of age. As the examples above illustrate, children are universally recognised to be qualitatively different to adults and lenient allowances are made for their lack of development and maturity.

Conceptions of Childhood

What would appear to vary from culture to culture and through time is the *conception* of childhood. This is a specification of the differences between children and adults and the most appropriate way to deal with these differences. Conceptions of childhood are determined by cultural factors such as religion, traditional beliefs, level of societal sophistication and, crucially, the economy, as experienced by parents or care-takers. Differing conceptions of childhood make different claims about

> "the extent of childhood (how long it lasts), its nature (precisely what qualities distinguish the child from the adult) and its significance (how important these differences are held to be)" (Archard, 1993, p. 24).

Let us consider this statement in greater detail. Firstly, "age" is clearly an important variable when we think of the differences between adults and children, but the boundaries and definitions are by no means clear. Humans of the same age may or may not be defined as children, depending on their culture, class, gender or the

historical period in which they live. That is to say, the length of childhood varies cross-culturally. For instance, the dependent child in one culture might quite acceptably be a married parent in another. There is no neat way of defining childhood simply in terms of age. As Tucker (1977) noted, "childhood may be lengthened and prolonged at some periods of history and abbreviated at others, according to adult perceptions, needs and expectations" (p. 26). The outer limits of childhood are largely determined by the prevailing social and cultural norms as to when an individual may take his or her independent place in society. These norms vary from culture to culture depending, largely, on the level of sophistication and complexity of the society. In a complex, modern society a child needs more time to master the various skills and abilities required to become self-sustaining.

Secondly, the significance of childhood varies between cultures. The prevailing Western view is that childhood is an extremely important period of life. Within the discipline of psychology, this view can be traced back to the work of Sigmund Freud (1949; 1960). Perhaps Freud's single most important contribution to psychology was his emphasis on how childhood traumas may lead to future adult psychopathologies. Consequently, children need protection from such traumas; or, in Freudian terms, children need to be facilitated in working through the various stages of psychosexual development, so as not to become "fixated." Piaget (1953; 1972), too, emphasised the importance of early childhood experiences. His work focused on how early stimulation aided future cognitive development. Bowlby (1969; 1988) and

Ainsworth (1977) placed particular emphasis on the first year of life as a time when the structures for later healthy socio-emotional development are laid down. The idea, then, that childhood is an important period of life is a basic tenet of developmental psychology and is a central feature of the Western conception of childhood.

However, the view of childhood as an important phase of life is not a universal one:

> "the majority of people in the world do not share this belief. For example, people in many Asian countries believe that experiences occurring after about 6 to 7 years of age are more important aspects of development than earlier experiences. This stance stems from the long-standing belief in Eastern cultures, that children's reasoning skills begin to develop in important ways in the middle childhood years" (Santrock, 1994, p. 22).

LeVine and LeVine (1981) highlighted the relative scarcity of emotional contact between the Gusii mothers of Kenya and their infants. The amount of eye contact between mother and infant declines rapidly and is rare after seven months. An infant's efforts to initiate play are largely ignored by its mother. The explanation for such a scarcity of emotional contact between mother and child is that "the primary maternal objective is still to ensure that the infant becomes a quiescent child ready to be put to work as soon as possible" (p. 53). This is not to say that the child is deprived of any

emotional reciprocity:

> "If in infancy a Gusii baby's efforts to initiate play are largely ignored by his mother, very often a sibling will respond to his attempts by taking him from their mother's lap for an extended period of play, interspersed with soothing behaviour. By the end of the first year, if not long before, babies have learned to direct their social behaviour away from their mothers to alternative and more responsive partners .... Thus, in a stable domestic situation children may find multiple sources of emotional nurturance and support, even though their mothers tend to be much less available to them, particularly after they have been weaned from the breast, than Western mothers would be" (LeVine & LeVine, 1981, pp. 44-45).

In spite of these alternative arrangements, the absence of a significant emotional bond between mother and child would be anathema for advocates of the idealised Western conception of childhood, to which we shall turn our attention below.

The Contemporary Western Conception of Childhood

As we have seen above, childhood is thought to be a very important stage of life in the Western World. The "ideal" conception of childhood prevalent in contemporary Western society views the child as being blissfully ignorant of the realities of the adult world. Furthermore, the child is considered deserving of

protection from such realities. Children living the "ideal childhood" are not required to work in an economic sense. They are not expected to provide materially for themselves in any way. As we shall see later in this chapter, such ideals were, for a time, incorporated into the International Labour Organisation's views on child labour. For many children in the West (and amongst the children of wealthier people in the developing world), the ideal conception of childhood has merged with reality to a large extent. That is, today's children are permitted a luxuriously long period of time free of adult concerns and fears in which to develop to their maximum potential - what Erikson (1968) called the psychosocial moratorium. Contemporary Western children have special clothes, games, language and stories which serve to segregate them from the adult world. There is a marked emphasis on childhood as a happy, carefree time. "Parental obligation consists of providing this happiness by centring the family on the child. The child becomes an object of attention and love" (Ennew, 1986, p. 18). The modern Western conception of childhood can be said to be child-centred. With a rather pessimistic leaning, Firestone (1971) suggested the following reason for the growth of the "cult of childhood":

> "It is clear that the myth of childhood happiness flourishes so widely not because it satisfies the needs of children but because it satisfies the needs of adults. In a culture of alienated people, the belief that everyone has at least one good period in life, free of care and drudgery dies hard. And

obviously you can't expect it in your old age. So it must be you've already had it. This accounts for the fog of sentimentality surrounding any discussion of childhood or children" (p. 93).

An important feature of the contemporary Western conception of childhood is sexual innocence. Children are perceived to be asexual. Sexual relations with a minor, even between minors, is forbidden by law. Ennew (1986) suggested that the cult of childhood innocence developed and strengthened towards the end of the last century as a defence or retaliation against advances in the awareness of the sexual life of children represented in theories like those of Freud. At the core of Freud's theories (1949) is the idea that, from birth, children are sexual beings whose healthy personality development is dependent on their working through oral, anal and genital stages of psychosexual development.

An alternative view of childhood sexuality, advocated by the radical children's rights movement, which was active in the 1970s in the US, argued that child-adult sexual encounters need not necessarily be abusive. The advocates of child sexual freedom argued that once a child freely consents, mutually fulfilling child-adult sexual relations are a possibility. A fundamental flaw with this view is that, because of the immense power difference, child-adult sexual relations can never take place on an equal level. Finkelhor (1985) argued that children are simply unable to comprehend, and thereby consent to, the change in a relationship that sexual activity with an adult implies. Sexual relations

between a child and an adult represent different realities to each party. Similarly, Ennew (1986) argued that:

> "Children possess differing information about the social rules surrounding intimacy and for judging the acceptability of sexual partners, as well as the social content of sexual activities and their physical and social consequences. Children can thus rarely give informed consent to sexual intimacy and there is a case to be made for protecting them from any situation in which they consent because of lack of information or false information" (p. 62).

Of particular importance in the event of child-adult sexual relations is the interpretation or perception of the event by each party. Can a precocious girl of thirteen relate sexually on an equal standing with a 30 year old man? Are sexual relations what she sought from her flirtatious activities? Or was she merely imitating the behaviour of grown women? The flirtatious activity of an adolescent may merely be a bid to be seen as an adult, not an invitation to sexual relations.

Legally, it is clear as to how an adult must respond in the event of possible sexual relations with a child - he must recognise that the flirtatious or precocious behaviour of a minor are the actions of a child and must not be interpreted sexually. Carnal knowledge of a minor is a serious offence, regardless of the degree of complicity. In the recent case of an English art teacher having regular intercourse with a fourteen year old girl, the judge ruled

that, "however willing the girl might have been, it was his duty to refuse a sexual relationship" (Guardian, 9/2/1994) and jailed the man for nine months.

To summarise, the contemporary Western conception of childhood emphasises childhood's importance as a stage of development; the economic dependency of children; fun and enjoyment; and asexuality.

Emergence of the Contemporary Conception of Childhood

Phillipe Ariès is credited with first describing the emergence of the modern conception of childhood. His *Centuries of Childhood* (1962) was the first general historical study of childhood. The chief premise is that a concept of childhood did not emerge in Europe until the late seventeenth century. Before then, Ariès argued, children were viewed as miniature adults and were accorded no special recognition or allowances. Indeed, before the seventeenth century children were seen as inferior to adults and unworthy of consideration. A fundamental change in this view occurred between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries due to a renewal of interest in education; the rise of capitalism; and the increasing maturity of parents. Particularly important was the growing emphasis on education which led to the perception that "the child was not ready for life, and that he had to be subjected to a special treatment, a sort of quarantine, before he was allowed to join the adults" (Ariès, 1962, p. 396). Thus, the lives of children and adults came to be separated. Prior to this, children shared

similar leisure activities and often the same kinds of work as adults: "as soon as he had been weaned, or soon after, the child became the natural companion of the adult" (Ariès, 1962, pp. 395-6). This separation of children and adults was elaborated during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and the child came to claim a central part of family life and to be accorded rights protected by the state. Children came to be treated as a particular category of persons, to whom special conditions apply and for whom special provision must therefore be made. Of course, economic realities prevented children from the full spectrum of socio-economic classes from attaining such a status. Education and a protected childhood were not available to the chimney sweeps and factory children of the Industrial Revolution. Nevertheless, this period saw an unprecedented concern for working children and the latter half of the nineteenth century was marked by the improving conditions for working children and the increasing availability of education.

de Mause (1974) supported Ariès's theory of a fundamental change in the way in which children were regarded. de Mause employed a psycho-historical approach to study the history of childhood; a mixture of evolutionary theory and psychoanalysis. He argued that societies undergo developmental processes regarding their view of children just as individuals develop or mature, and that these processes can be understood psychoanalytically. de Mause (1974) claimed that whereas parents in the past were repressive and sadistic, in more recent times they have been increasingly willing to accept the individuality of children and to

treat them more favourably. As the generations go by, he argued, some form of collective unconscious is maturing as regards the best way to treat children. The driving force behind this "maturity" is neither technology nor economics but psychogenic changes in personality occurring because of successive generations of parent-child interactions. de Mause attempted to put a time-frame on these different modes of parent-child relations. He began with the "Infanticidal Mode" of antiquity where the child was often viewed as a possession and where abandonment and exposure of unwanted infants was widespread, and he continued through to the "Helping Mode" which began in the middle of this century. The "helping mode" fully involves both parents in the child's life:

> "Children are neither struck nor scolded, and are apologised to if yelled at under stress. The helping mode involves an enormous amount of time, energy and discussion on the part of both parents, especially in the first six years, for helping a young child reach its daily goals, means continually responding to it, playing with it, tolerating its regressions, being its servant rather than the other way around, interpreting its emotional conflicts, and providing the objects specific to its evolving interests" (de Mause, 1974, p. 52).

Critique of the Evolutionary View of Conceptions of Childhood

Ariès's and de Mause's views of the emergence of the modern

conception of childhood are not universally accepted. de Mause (1974) wrote that:

> "the history of childhood is a nightmare from which we have only recently begun to awaken. The further back in history one goes, the lower the level of reported child care, and the more likely children are to be killed, abandoned, beaten, terrorised, and sexually abused" (de Mause, 1974).

As there is little or no detailed evidence of child-rearing practices in ancient times, it is difficult to know just how well-founded this view is. One method of appraisal we might employ is to examine child-rearing practices in traditional, pre-literate societies which still exist in isolated parts of the world today. When we do this we find little evidence of random, idiosyncratic, senseless violence against children; few examples of purposeless terrorising or harming of children (a review of child abuse in the anthropological literature is to be found later in this chapter). Ethnographic and anthropological studies have not found a people that systematically treat their children in the way proposed by de Mause and other proponents of his "maturing collective unconscious" view. Rather, child-rearing practices vary across time and place, depending on a host of social and economic factors. There is so much variety in child-rearing worldwide today that there is little evidence for the notion of child-rearing "progressing" linearly. Furthermore, there is nothing to indicate that this variety of the nature and quality of child care did not also exist in the past.

Pollock (1983) rejected Ariès's and de Mause's evolutionary theories of the history of childhood. She found no evidence of a dramatic change in child-rearing practices in the 1700s and argued that this is a myth "brought about by over-hasty reading, a burning desire to find material to support the thesis and a wilful misinterpretation of evidence" (p. 271). Pollock warned of the dangers of "presentism" or "temporocentrism" - the assumption that if things were different in the past to the way they are now, they were inferior. Pollock (1983) also highlighted the dangers of over-generalisation and noted a great deal of individual variation in child-rearing, both today and in the past.

Archard (1993) also found Ariès's work value-laden due to "presentist" interpretations. Archard argued that, "In fact what the past lacked was *our* concept of childhood. Previous society did not fail to think of children as different from adults; it merely thought about the difference in different ways from ours" (p. 19).

Shahar (1992) also suggested that Ariès did not consider the cultural context in which children were raised in the past; "The high rate of mortality of infants and children in the Middle Ages was the consequence of limited medical skills and not of the absence of emotional involvement" (Shahar, 1992, p. 2). He rejected Ariès's notion that no concept of childhood existed before the late seventeenth century. He argued that "a concept of childhood existed in the Central and Late Middle Ages ... and that parents invested both material and emotional resources in their offspring" (ibid., p. 1).

In addition, alternative interpretations of the evidence Ariès cited to support his arguments can be postulated. His work focused

on a small number of literate homes in medieval France and the diaries, letters and paintings that have been found in them. His evidence is drawn from, amongst other sources, a study of the portrayal of children in medieval art and the diaries of King Henri IV's physician. Much of his theorising is speculative and unsubstantiated. For example, as children do not feature in medieval paintings, Ariès deduced that childhood did not exist in medieval society. Ariès suggested that children were not significant enough to be the subjects of paintings. An alternative interpretation might be that the absence of children from medieval art mirrors the way in which adults treat children today. For example, few contemporary children are given lobster, oysters or other delicacies if the family eats out. It is more likely that children will be given a cheaper and simpler version of the adult menu, as they are thought not to know enough to appreciate fine foods. Perhaps medieval nobility felt that their children would be incapable of recognising the privilege of an expensive commissioned portrait? To conclude from the absence of children in medieval paintings that no concept of children existed in the Middle Ages seems to be quite a leap of logic.

Alternative Explanations for the Emergence of the Contemporary Western Conception of Childhood

In spite of the shortcomings discussed above, Ariès outlined very real changes in the *conception* of childhood. But to argue that there was *no* concept of childhood until recently does not fit with

the available evidence. The emergence of the modern conception of childhood can be described in terms which do *not* make reference to "fundamental shifts" or the "maturing of a collective unconscious," but which focus instead on the nature of peasant farming, education, economic changes and Christianity, and the effects these had on the family and the worth of children. We shall consider each of these factors in turn below.

Perhaps the single most important factor in determining a society's conception of childhood is its economy. In support of the view that changes in the conception of childhood are due to economic factors, Boyden (1990) argued that the modern view of childhood is a unique product of the capitalist countries of Europe and the United States. The modern conception of childhood is a result of the historical interplay between the Judaeo-Christian belief system and changes in the productive and demographic base of societies:

> "The expansion of capitalism ... has given the greatest impetus to contemporary images of the ideal childhood. Industrial production and urbanization had a dramatic impact on the lives of children in Europe, with mechanization in its early stages resulting in a marked increase in the exploitation of child labour. But mechanization also highlighted the need to foster socially responsible and economically useful individuals to supply a skilled and differentiated labour force .... Under capitalism the foundation for productive work in the family

was eroded. In urban areas particularly the extended family fell into decline and the smaller nuclear family emerged as the predominant household form within which child-rearing took place" (Boyden, 1990, p.186).

Parton (1985), too, emphasised changes in the economic base which enhanced the differentiation between adults and children:

"Modernisation meant the dissolution of the structured, changeless, compact traditional order. Ties of the community were weakened, and ties binding members of the family together were reinforced. In the process the privacy of the family as a social and psychological form increased and the awareness of children as a separate category developed" (Parton, 1985, p. 25).

Furthermore, the economic changes brought about by the Industrial Age heightened concern for child welfare and brought about the recognition of children as a separate category of people, a fact reflected in some early Industrial Age legislation. Industry in the eighteenth century was almost entirely unregulated and very young children worked fourteen and sixteen hour days. This began to change during the nineteenth century. The Health and Moral of Apprentices Act of 1802 restricted cotton apprentices to twelve hours work per day. The Factory Act of 1833 limited the working hours of children and young persons working in mills (Parton, 1985). Throughout the nineteenth century in Britain, concern grew for the

victimisation of children, often originating in concern for the economic exploitation of children. Much of the campaigning for the better treatment of children was carried out by charitable organisations, the 1880s seeing the founding of Dr. Barnado's and the National Children's Home. The National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (NSPCC) grew directly from the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. The NSPCC's campaign contributed directly to the passing of the Prevention of Cruelty to and Protection of Children Act in 1889.

The advent of widespread schooling also provided an important break between the worlds of adults and children. The idea of the child (at least the upper-class child) needing to be shaped by formal education was firmly established by the beginning of the eighteenth century, as we can see from the writings of J.J. Rousseau. In *Emile*, Rousseau described various stages in the pupil's development: infancy, characterised by the training of emotions; childhood, characterised by the training of the senses; boyhood, characterised by the training of the intellect; and adolescence, the stage of moral, aesthetic and social education. Thus, the various stages of a child's ability and cognitive development in regard to learning and education, were recognised from an early date. At an even earlier date, Locke's *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (1693) sought to "give some light to those who venture to consult their own reason in the education of their children rather than wholly rely upon old custom." Locke's philosophy was empiricism, a belief in the mind as a "blank slate." Education, according to this view, was vital to

shape the minds of the young. Hoyles (1979) referred to the rising bourgeoisie of the time who wanted their sons educated in a particular way to prepare them for their adult jobs:

> "In the growing capitalist society literacy and numeracy were essential to understand the scientific revolution which was taking place .... Consequently the sons of the middle-classes were the first children as they had to be separated off from working activities and sent to school to undergo a long training in preparation for their adult working lives. This has led to the split between education and work which is with us today" (Hoyles, 1979, p. 28).

Christianity has also has contributed extensively to the contemporary Western conception of childhood. In the Gospels, children are portrayed as innocent and pure. For example, Christ commanded that to enter the Kingdom of Heaven, we must become like little children. This view of the child as innocent and heavenly has ensured that childhood has been accorded a special conceptual status throughout the Christian era. This is particularly so in the last few hundred years:

> "Childhood had not been a matter of much concern until the time of the religious reformation when moralists and theologians began to apply the discipline of doctrine and training to children in the hope of securing converts. It was during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that

qualities of innocence and nobility were first associated with children and the desire to foster these qualities through conscious parenting emerged" (Boyden, 1990, pp. 186-7).

Similarly, Plumb (1972) dates the cult of the Infant Jesus and childhood innocence to the seventeenth century; "Increased attention was given in religious literature and education to the holy childhood of Jesus ... Increasingly the child became an object of respect, a special creature with a different nature and needs, which required separation and protection from the adult world" (Plumb, 1972, cited in Hoyles, 1979, p. 2). Hoyles (1979) focused on the changing attitudes to childhood innocence which occurred in the seventeenth century. He contrasted the way children were viewed before an unspecified "turning point" in the seventeenth century with the way in which they were viewed after it:

Before - "Children were born with an inheritance of sin and wickedness so they were in the same danger of Hell as adults. They were treated as little adults and subjected to the same religious pressures, disciplines and experiences as adults. No concessions were made to the immaturity of the young" (Hoyles, 1979, p. 18).

After - "In the seventeenth century there was the beginning of the concept of childhood which stressed innocence and weakness rather than original sin, and this innocence had to be preserved, the weakness protected. By the eighteenth century, Rousseau had turned the doctrine of original sin upside down. In Emile, he wanted to protect the innocent child from society" (Hoyles, 1979, p. 22).

The Christian view of the child as pure, innocent and in need of protection remains the dominant view of children in Western society, but it is not the only one. Golding (1954) in *Lord of the Flies* dramatically challenged the modern conception of the child as innocent. In this novel, a group of English school boys are stranded on an island and set about creating their own society. Instead of creating an innocent, ideal child's world, free from adult oppression, the boys almost immediately become tribalised and set about trying to dominate and even kill each other. The novel is an extremely pessimistic view of human nature, highlighting man's capacity for greed, power and evil. These traits, Golding suggested, are innate in children and are not merely the result of socialisation by corrupted, disillusioned adults.

Summary

Hoyles (1979) summarised how the modern conception of childhood has emerged by highlighting the complex nature of changing conceptions of childhood across time: changes which are shaped by politics, revolution, economics, philosophy, urbanisation and religion:

> "In the sixteenth century, thanks to the growing strength of the manufacturing element in society, to its invention of printing, and to the Reformation, new bodies of ideas began to be formulated to challenge those traditionally accepted .... The urban way of life, pragmatic, utilitarian, and

individualistic, where things mattered more than words, experience more than authority, was in harmony with new trends in Protestant and scientific thought. Later, the French Revolution, the development of individualism, the growing importance of capital rather than land, the industrial revolution with its consequent geographical and social mobility, the division of labour, all have an effect on the life of the family and the concept of childhood" (Hoyles, 1979, pp. 27-8).

Conceptions of Childhood as Being Relative and Variable

In rejecting Ariès (1962) and de Mause's (1974) view of a maturing or developing improvement in child-rearing practices, we accept the idea of conceptions of childhood as being relative, conditional and variable across time and space. Historical differences in child-rearing practices should not be seen as a "development"; rather, they are brought about by economic, educational and religious changes. We should not envision an irreversible forward march in child-rearing practices by the people of the Western world. Rather, child-rearing practices are a reflection of prevailing economic and social conditions. The potential for child development is the same worldwide but is shaped by prevailing child-rearing practices which determine the physical, cognitive and emotional growth of the child. We have noted earlier that conceptions of children and the best ways to rear them have changed across time. Such variations suggest that

childhood is a social construction. Childhood must be considered in the context of a material culture; economic conditions; the political and social structure; and the prevailing beliefs and value systems of the particular community. There is no reason to believe that the current Western conception of childhood is a universal ideal. Rather, it exists within a certain economic and social context. Outside of this context, it may be inappropriate. Perhaps no two issues more so than child abuse and child labour illustrate the variability in child-rearing standards cross-culturally. Take for instance the issue of child abuse and neglect; when Western child-rearing techniques and practices are seen through the eyes of some non-Western cultures, the conclusion is that Western parents do not value children or care for them properly. In rural Turkey, for example, Western practices such as feeding a child according to a schedule, requiring it to sleep alone from a young age, bathing it regularly and not requiring it to wear a close-fitting cap in all weather as protection from chills are seen as grossly negligent and irresponsible by villagers (Olson, 1981). On the other hand, practices which Westerners may view as harsh and abusive are adaptive in certain cultures, as the following illustrates:

> "Westerners often point to examples of practice which appear to them abusive or neglectful - punishments such as severe beatings to impress the child with the necessary adherence to cultural rites, harsh initiation rites that include genital operations, deprivation of food and sleep, and so on. It is essential to note that the parent who 'protects' the child from

a painful but culturally required initiation rite would be denying the child a place in that culture. That parent, in the eyes of cultural peers, would be abusive and neglectful for compromising the development of the child" (Olson, 1981, p. 118).

The issue of child work also serves to illustrate the variable nature of conceptions of childhood cross-culturally. By modern, Western standards, the idea of a child doing a full day's work is cruel and exploitative. A child is not expected to be responsible for others through his or her work. However, this is true only within the *context* of a modern conception of childhood which separates the worlds of children and adults. In the absence of such a conception, the working child may be viewed in a different light. For instance, children in the Third World *are* expected to bear responsibility for others: "The idea of childhood as a period of lack of responsibility, with rights to protection and training but not to autonomy, may be culturally irrelevant in countries where a high proportion of children work alongside adults from an early age, or leave home to seek waged work from the age of 8 or 10 years old" (Ennew, 1986, p. 21). This is a crucial difference between First and Third World children. It is just such differences which must be recognised when we investigate cross-cultural aspects of childhood. In the words of Korbin (1981):

"If we do not include a cultural perspective, we will be entangled in an ethnocentric position of considering our own

set of cultural values and practices preferable, and indeed superior, to any other. At the same time, a stance of extreme cultural relativism, in which all judgements of human treatment of children are suspended in the name of cultural sensitivity, would be counter-productive to promoting the well-being of the world's children" (p. 3).

In the following sections we shall investigate in detail the issues of child abuse and child work from a cross-cultural perspective as both of these issues serve to illustrate the variability in conceptions of childhood worldwide.

CHILD ABUSE

Towards a Cross-cultural Definition of Child Abuse

A society's child-rearing practices are largely determined by that society's requirement for future adult behaviour. It was argued above that these requirements vary over time and place. What is considered damaging, indulgent or neglectful in one society may be the norm in another. In effect, there is no universal standard for child-rearing. Similarly, it is difficult to arrive at a universal standard for child abuse and neglect. The most serious of crimes in one society (for example, infanticide, sex with a minor) may be normal practice elsewhere. Similarly, what is seen as progressive in some regions (for example, the outlawing of spanking) may be seen as an unacceptable infringement of parental rights in another part of the world. Even within the confines of a single society, child-rearing practices vary from class to class. Newsome and Newsome (1978) reported that the nature of children's punishment varies between the social classes: the "smack" is more prevalent amongst working-class mothers, whereas middle-class mothers tend to use psychological sanctions. Lambert, Homers and Frasure-Smith (1979) studied child-mother interactions between working and middle-class parents in eleven national populations (Americans, English-Canadians, French-Canadians, French, English, French-Belgians, Flemish-Belgians, Greeks, Italians, Japanese and Portuguese). They found that parental responses varied more by class than by nation.

Given this variation in child-rearing, how can we reach a cross-culturally acceptable definition of child abuse? Two factors in particular must be considered:

1. The intent and beliefs of the adults concerning the behaviour in question. For example, even in the case of clitoridectomy, parents believe they are acting in the best interests of their child. Cantwell (1982) stated that "all socialization processes are, by definition, designed to prepare the child for an integrated life in the community and they do not, therefore, take place in a vacuum for no perceived good reason" (Cantwell, 1982, p. 272). Thus, practices which may appear abusive to an outsider may be, in fact, an attempt to prepare the child for the society in which it will live. As an example of an apparently abusive "initiation rite", Cantwell noted the very high levels of stress experienced by students proceeding through the education system in an industrialised country!

2. The second factor which must be considered in an attempt to reach a cross-culturally sensitive definition of child abuse is the interpretation children place on the treatment they receive from adults. For instance, when a group of New Guinea adolescents are being beaten and insulted by their elders during their initiation to manhood (Langness, 1981), they do not perceive their experiences in the same way as one child being singled out and continuously ridiculed by one particular adult. Even though the actual treatment may be identical in both instances, the perception of its value and

its consequences are entirely different. In spite of being frightened and feeling belittled, the group of New Guinea initiates recognise that their initiation is a highly valued progression in their society. On the other hand, the individual sufferer of idiosyncratic abuse at the hands of a cruel adult is unlikely to feel that his or her experiences are of any value.

Having considered these two factors and, it is hoped, having become sensitised to the importance of the perception and the context of child-rearing practices, we can suggest that the following criteria must be met if an act or the omission of an act is to be seen as abusive:

(a) The child must perceive the event as unpleasant, frightening or harmful.
(b) The offender should have no concern for the well-being of the child.
(c) The consequences for the child should be entirely negative.
(d) The behaviour should not be sanctioned by the society or community at large.

A dominant theme is the *perception* of the event by the victim and by society at large. Having considered these criteria for a cross-cultural definition of child abuse, we can posit the following definition:

Child abuse is any behaviour which is not socially

sanctioned, which is idiosyncratic, which results in physical, psychological or social harm and which is perceived negatively by the child.

In many instances, the negative consequences of abuse stem not from a physical act, but from the feeling of betrayal or the feeling of isolation. Idiosyncratic abuse is harmful to the child because it is not widely practised in society and is not experienced by other people in the community, thereby enhancing the child's feeling of isolation. For the purposes of our definition, the *context* in which a behaviour occurs is all-important, rather than the actual incident itself.

Child Abuse in the Ethnographic Record

Anthropologists have not traditionally focused a great deal of attention on the physical or sexual abuse of children. Korbin (1987) commented that "anthropology has tended to devote far greater research attention and theoretical emphasis to the regularities of cultural behavior than to deviance ... The underside of human behavior, then, is not often confronted by anthropologists" (p. 251). In a series of papers (1977; 1981; 1982; 1987), Korbin examined the incidence of child abuse cross-culturally. Of particular relevance is a review of adult-child sexual relations as presented in the ethnographic record (Korbin, 1987). The author firstly observed that, whereas there is a very large literature on incest taboos, information on transgressions is largely anecdotal and

limited to those cases that come to public notice, such as the pregnancy of a young girl. Much of the incest referred to in the literature applies to same-age children engaging in sex-play or to cases of sexual behaviour between consenting adults who are related. Korbin proceeded to discuss adult-child sexual contacts using the framework of three levels of abuse, namely:

(a) Practices which are viewed as acceptable in one culture but as abusive in another.
(b) Idiosyncratic abuse or neglect, which falls outside the range of behaviours tolerated by a particular culture.
(c) Societal abuse such as poverty and environmental and societal conditions which promote deleterious circumstances for children that are largely beyond individual parental control.

As we have adopted a relativist definition of child abuse, it is the second level of child abuse with which we are most concerned. Korbin presented the following examples from her review of the literature:

(a) Among the Gusii of East Africa, sexual relations between pre-pubescent girls and their fathers were reported to occur and were most often treated as religious offenses.
(b) Korbin reported from her field notes that a man had sexual relations with a teenage foster daughter in a community of

rural Hawaiian-Polynesians. The community regarded this as a matter of private shame and not something to be reported to the authorities.

(c) Finally, Korbin referred to Goldstein's (1964) study of *Ldab Ldobs*, a category of Tibetan monks known to kidnap both adults and young boys for homosexual purposes. The monks were generous with material goods for their homosexual partners, which was some compensation as well as an enticement.

Apart from widespread evidence from Europe and the United States, this is the extent of idiosyncratic child sexual abuse, or the extent of what we can call *culturally significant* abuse, uncovered by Korbin (1987) in the ethnographic record.

Other researchers have also commented on the apparent lack of, or relatively low levels of, child sexual abuse and child physical abuse in non-Western societies. The absence of the "battered child syndrome" (that abuse which involves impulsive, out-of-control battering of a child for minor misbehaviour) has been noted as far apart as South America (Johnson, 1981), New Guinea (Langness, 1981), India (Poffenberger, 1981), Turkey (Olson, 1981), and India and Arabia (Mahmood, 1978). Graburn (1987) referred to some cases of severe physical abuse of children among the Canadian Inuit. However, he pointed to his initial reluctance to publish this work because of the extreme rarity of mal-treatment of children among the Canadian Inuit:

"The vast majority of ethnographic accounts of the Canadian Inuit bear little evidence of any kind of child abuse among the Eskimo peoples - at least until the much changed, 'urbanized', alcohol available present ... The literature describes and emphasises the extreme permissiveness of Eskimo child-rearing [and] their abhorrence of anything like punishment" (Graburn, 1987, p. 212).

Indeed, Graburn's chapter on severe child abuse among the Canadian Inuit deals with just four individual cases of abused children: even though the author had spent over three years living in more than forty Inuit households in nearly twenty settlements between 1958 and 1976! This would appear to be an unqualified statement on the *absence* of physical abuse of children among the Canadian Inuit.

Lowie (1929) reported the near lynching by a community of a Somoan trader because he whipped his own child, an action which was seen as highly unacceptable. Lowie also quotes a Dr. George Grinnell who studied the North American Plains Indians for decades - "Indians never whip their children. Sometimes a Mother, irritated by the resistance of a yelling child, will give it an impatient shake by one arm as she drags it along, but I have never witnessed anything in the nature of a punishment of a child by a parent."

The sexual molestation of pre-pubescent children would also appear to be rare in traditional societies. Atkinson (1990b) stated that in traditional communities, such as pre-colonial Australian Aborigines, sexual assault was practically unknown. Pre-colonial

Aborigines in Australia are thought to have lived in a well-regulated society with discipline strictly maintained by tribal elders. Given the lack of anything but anecdotal evidence, it is unclear how confident we can be in such a statement.

Of course, it is most likely that the potential for physical and sexual abuse of children exists in most cultures. It seems unlikely that there exists a people who are not capable, given certain circumstances, of abusing children. We should not entertain an unrealistically positive view of traditional or non-Western child-rearing practices. Amongst the Zulus, for example, the head of a Kraal

> "could and did, though instances were very rare, administer physical and mental torture by thrashing, binding, starving, confining, bodily mutilating and even killing either wife, grown-up daughter or child. For instance, an irate husband might emasculate a paramour and kill the adulterous wife caught in *flagrante delicto* or impale a night prowler (suspected witch) or mortally wound a dangerously aggressive son" (Bryant, 1923, Bantu law and Ethics, unpublished manuscript cited in Olmesdahl, 1978).

Similarly, Mahmood (1978) noted that certain categories of children in India and Arabia are more prone to abuse: namely step-children, who are generally viewed as unwanted or "intolerable" in the reconstituted family; and illegitimate children, a category

which includes children born only a short time (less than six months) after the marriage of their parents. Far more frequent in India and Arabia, however, is the physical punishment of adolescents - "In Indian and Arab societies, cases of victimisation of adolescents inside the family greatly outnumber those of parental cruelty to infants and toddlers" (Mahmood, 1978, p. 282). The reasons for this ill-treatment of adolescents include the adolescent's failure to observe religious practices and beliefs; failure to pray; being profane; having a friend of lower status; not showing respect to elders; growing hair long; or showing curiosity about sex. Each of these behaviours "have been reported in innumerable cases as 'faults' for which children have been subjected to violent admonition. They are, as punishment, slapped, beaten, starved and insulted in many ways" (Mahmood, 1978, p. 285).

Sexual abuse, also, cannot be said to be solely a product of modern "dysfunctional" societies. Breckenridge (1992) detailed historical incidents of child sexual abuse, referring to the impregnation of girls as young as six and nine as chronicled by Savonarola (1497) and Mandelso (1658) (cited in Helfer and Kempe, 1987). She further cites statistical information from Germany where, between 1897 and 1904, recorded convictions for sexual offenses against children increased from 3,085 to 4,378. In addition, she noted the 9% of females experiencing sexual contact with an adult while under the age of fourteen, as reported in Kinsey (1953). Masson (1992) reviewed the French medico-legal literature initiated by Tardieu (1860) where details of horrific cases of sexual cruelty committed against children, frequently by their own

parents, were reported over 130 years ago. Bernard (1886) reported 36,176 reported cases of "rape and assaults on the morality" of children fifteen years and younger. Interestingly, he also observed that "Sexual acts committed against children are very frequent, especially in highly populated areas and industrial centres" (cited in Masson, 1984). Breckenridge (1992) argued that, historically, sexual offenses against children were common and, intuitively, this seems to be a reasonable proposition. There is nothing to indicate that child sexual abuse is a novel phenomenon of the late twentieth century. However, it would be irresponsible to broadly proclaim that the sexual abuse of children is something which has always existed and not to make note of societies where it is *apparently* far rarer than it is in modern, Western societies. Finkelhor (1979) is in no doubt that child sexual abuse does not occur uniformly in all sectors of society. He stated categorically that "sexual victimisation is not universal ... and there are undoubtedly parts of our own society where it is less common" (p. 29).

Factors Influencing Societal Incidence of Child Abuse

Why should child sexual abuse be more prevalent in some communities or societies than it is in others? Reasons frequently suggested are:

Family Structure

Epidemiological studies of child abuse most frequently refer

to family structure; that is, the tendency for modern, urban societies to adopt a nuclear family arrangement rather than to continue living within an extended family. Mahmood (1978) argued that, "The West has greatly aggravated the propensity for child abuse and enhanced its scope by adopting the nuclear family norm" (p. 283). It is typically argued that the extended family serves to protect children from physical and sexual abuse for a number of reasons. For example, Mahmood (1978) attributed the relative absence of child abuse in the extended family context to the physical presence of other people, which inhibits a parent from ill-treating his or her child; and to grandmothers, aunts or other relatives who are available to look after the child, thus "keeping the mother's temper even." Both Finkelhor (1979) and Poffenberger (1981) also referred to the social supervision of child-carers provided by the extended family and more tightly-knit communities. Korbin (1977), too, referred to the presence or absence of alternate caretakers as being important in determining the level of child abuse and noted that mothers who are unable to break continuous contact with their children are the most likely to react negatively towards their children. Korbin (1977) also cited Murdock and Whiting (1951) who stated that physical punishment is most frequent in mother-child households where the mother can punish the child without disturbing or being observed by other adults. Furthermore, in a modern society, a mother may not have access to traditional child-minders such as older siblings and grandmothers. While older siblings are often the chief carers of siblings in traditional societies, it is deemed irresponsible and abusive to

leave an infant in the care of a pre-pubescent sibling in a Western context. With regard to grandmothers and other relatives, high geographic mobility in modern societies means that parents often have no access to such child-minders.

Korbin (1981) referred to the level of "embeddedness of child-rearing in kin and community networks" as a predictor of child abuse. That is, the more people involved in a child's upbringing, the less likely the child is to suffer from idiosyncratic deviations from the norm by significant carers: the time a child spends with carers is diluted and the child is protected from any single abusive carer. In addition, a multitude of carers lessens the burden on parents.

Olson (1981) also stressed the importance of a strong social network in mitigating against child abuse - "Unlike the social environment of many American parents, the Turkish social structure provides many alternative sources of love and affection for parents besides their young children. As a result, it is suggested that traditional Turkish parents are unlikely to make the unrealistic and impossible demands for love and support from their immature children which [has been] described as typical of classic child abusers" (Olson, 1981, p. 105). In short, social isolation and the lack of adequate support systems are significant precursors of child abuse and neglect. "Cross culturally, mothers who are isolated in child care tasks, without others to relieve them periodically are more likely to be harsh with their children" (Korbin, 1981, p. 8).

Child abuse, then, appears to be a feature of societies which overly segregate the child from adult life and which structure their

family in a nuclear arrangement. Child abuse seems to increase in situations of rapid socio-cultural change, urban migration and family disorganisation. Each of these factors lead to the breakdown of the extended family. Child abuse, then, might be understood as a product of the structure of society.

The Patriarchical Organisation of Society

Another common argument to explain the apparently high levels of child abuse in modern societies focuses on the patriarchical organisation of society. Sexual abuse, or the threat of it, is another means of controlling women. The hierarchical and male-dominated structure of society, and the view that family members are possessions, allows men to take unusual and usually undetected liberties with women and children; liberties that would be inconceivable in societies with a more equal balance of power between men and women. The patriarchical nuclear family, combined with the modern notion of children as innocent, partly explains the occurrence of child abuse, suggests Walklate (1989). The nuclear family serves to ensure the child's structural powerlessness by limiting its number of caretakers; and the view of children as innocent, and their subsequent demarcation from adult life, is an ageist strategy used to deny the child personal power:

"It is only by embracing an appreciation of the personal and structural powerlessness of children in their relations to

adults that we can begin to offer a framework for child abuse which encompasses an understanding of the features of both physical and sexual abuse. This framework permits an explanation which includes an understanding of children as property over which adult caretakers, both male and female, have unquestionable rights, which for female children are compounded by the rights of men to control women's sexuality. Thus structurally children are victims of a social system with particular characteristics and particular ideologies" (Walklate, 1989, p. 73).

However, as Finkelhor (1979) pointed out, this theory does not explain why child sexual abuse is apparently more prevalent in modern societies, where children have *more* rights/liberties, than societies where children are viewed as possessions and live in a traditional, non-apologetically male-dominated society. According to feminist theory, it might be supposed that child abuse should be *most* prevalent in those societies (traditional, explicitly patriarchical) where it would appear to be *least* prevalent.

Social Breakdown

A further explanation for the apparently higher incidence of child abuse in modern societies focuses on social fragmentation. According to this view, child sexual abuse is due to the increasing isolation of individuals and families from a sense of community; the result of increased mobility and the disintegration of

neighbourhoods, communities and kin networks. This isolation facilitates child sexual abuse as it deprives people of socially sanctioned forms of support and intimacy, so they turn instead to forms that are taboo. Finkelhor (1979) noted that a family much associated with incestuous behaviour is the socially isolated family. Such families shy away from social interaction and draw in upon themselves. Thus, sexual attachments that would ordinarily develop outside the family occur within the family. Sexual abuse, then, is a symptom of pervasive loneliness (Finkelhor, 1979, p. 30).

Two of the authors referred to earlier have commented on the increase of child abuse in communities which are, at worst, in a state of social disintegration or, at best, in a state of massive reorganisation. Greer and Breckenridge (1992) argued that the widespread sexual abuse of Aboriginal children is due to the breakdown of Aboriginal society which has been caused by the introduction of alcohol and the denial by the colonisers of an Aboriginal culture. They also point to the "devastating effects of sexual violence by white settlers towards women and children, and the consequent perpetration of sexual violence by many black men" (p. 191). Furthermore, Graburn (1987) commented that child abuse was extremely rare amongst the Canadian Inuit until contact with modern society and, again, alcohol occurred. If this is the case, we can speculate that child abuse will increase in the future as more societies come into contact with the modern industrial world, and traditional lifestyles and livelihoods are eroded, to be replaced by poverty, alienation, urbanisation and widespread anomie.

Lack of Reporting

Korbin (1977) suggested that perhaps child abuse appears to occur predominantly in Western societies due to widespread awareness of the problem there and consequently high levels of reporting. Modern societies have an infrastructure of professionals to detect, report, record and analyse incidents of child abuse. Such an infrastructure is generally lacking or is poorly developed in Third World countries: this is particularly the case in rural areas where informal justice, as administered by elders, is the norm. Consider, for example, the incident mentioned earlier from Korbin's (1977) field notes where a man had sexual contact with his adolescent foster daughter: the community in question (rural Hawaii) felt a collective shame and did not report the incident to the authorities. It is unlikely that this event would ever have been reported were it not for the presence of an inquisitive anthropologist.

In addition to a reluctance to reveal to outsiders information which is likely to cast the community in a bad light, further restrictions upon the collection of data on child abuse in an anthropological context might be an unwillingness by researchers themselves to insult their hosts by asking potentially offensive questions. Furthermore, there is the possibility that there are such low levels of child abuse in the ethnographic record because it is a non-issue in the communities which anthropologists study. That is, there may be little or no awareness of child sexual abuse; as it is never discussed, it is not on the political agenda. After all, only

twenty five years ago child sexual abuse hardly existed as an academic or public policy issue in the West. Only since the late 1960s has there been a growth in awareness and, consequently, reporting of this behaviour. Korbin (1987) commented that because a practice is not seen, this does not necessarily mean that it does not occur:

> "The unanticipated prevalence of child sexual abuse in the United States stimulated professionals and the public to action. It should alert anthropologists to the existence of sexual conduct with children as within the repertoire of human behaviour and disarm too facile assumptions that the incest taboo is strong enough to preclude the behaviour" (p. 261).

Conclusion

Child-rearing practices vary between and within cultures, depending on social, economic and cultural realities. In spite of this variation, it would appear that all societies recognise the vulnerable nature of childhood. Nowhere is child-rearing systematically or cruelly abusive on a society wide level. Indeed, some researchers suggest child abuse is the subject of a moral panic in the Western world, with estimates of its incidence grossly inflating reality, building a picture of a problem reaching crisis proportions. For instance,

"There is no convincing empirical evidence to substantiate such fears, to support these widely held beliefs, or to prove that these impressions are well founded" (Fattah, 1989b, p. 182)

and,

"it seems clear that the magnitude of the phenomenon ... has been exaggerated. Six thousand reported cases of physical abuse per year in a nation of 200 million, in spite of under-reporting, do not constitute a major social problem .... The classical Battered Child Syndrome is a relatively infrequent occurrence" (Gil, 1969).

The apparent absence of child sexual abuse in non-Western communities should not be allowed to seduce us into thinking that it occurs only in dysfunctional Western societies. It would seem intuitively reasonable that the physical and sexual abuse of children can occur in any society: some people simply make better parents/guardians than others, are more interested in their children or have more material, emotional and psychological resources. This variation is true regardless of whether one lives in the First or Third World.

CHILD WORK

In this section we shall consider cross-cultural variations in the nature of child work. We shall be particularly concerned with the appropriateness of child work and the context in which it is carried out.

In spite of alarmist media reports concerning sweat-shops and bonded labour, the bulk of child work is carried out in rural areas, generally in a family setting. In India and the Philippines, for example, an estimated 87% of the working children aged ten to fourteen work in rural areas (Blanchard, 1983). Ninety per cent of India's estimated 100 million working children live in the countryside (Economist Development Report, 1986, cited in Boyden, 1991). The work of rural children largely consists of weeding, sowing and reaping on the family plot and working in the house. Children will be found "stirring soup, kneading dough, hulling rice, washing roots, watching cattle, milking the goat, cleaning cooking utensils, carrying water, and toting the inevitable younger child around" (Bossard and Boll, 1960, p. 589). Traditionally, rural child labour has been looked upon as normal, even beneficial. It is considered a healthy and necessary aspect of life for the child; a form of vocational training for the economic role they will assume as adults. In the best of circumstances, children's work prepares them for their adult roles in society. A boy need not be much older than five in order to tend livestock. Girls of the same age can be trusted to mind their infant siblings. Children of seven or eight years of age provide much of the infant care in small scale

societies around the world (Whiting & Whiting, 1973). The work of rural children is generally carried out under the direct supervision of parents, relatives or older siblings. Children learn skills which will be of value in later years. In addition, they are productive members of their community. Their work on the land is valued and the female child in particular plays an important role as child-minder, which frees her mother for other tasks. The cross-cultural evidence indicates that children who undertake tasks that are important to the welfare of the household develop more positive social behaviours (Whiting & Whiting, 1973, cited in Korbin, 1977, p. 14).

However, not all rural, home-based work involving children is non-exploitative: context is crucial. For example, "the introduction of broader opportunities for formal education may change traditional child work into child exploitation. Even if the work remains the same, the fact that formal education is an option changes the perception so that child work becomes child exploitation if it prohibits children's access to that education" (Unicef, 1986, p. 3). However, in general, exploitation is not a feature of family-based child labour. Children are valued and their work is vital to a subsistence-type economy.

Broadly speaking, it is modern, urban rather than traditional, rural means of production which are exploitative of child labour:

> "Child work ... is a natural part of the learning process and a necessary part of growing up. Child labour became a scandal

> when this learning ceased taking place within a household ... So the rhythms of household-based, apprenticeship learning were replaced by the harsher rhythms of the wage-earning work place" (Ennew & Milne, 1989, p. 75).

Factory work takes children out of the home and puts them under the control of adults outside family or kin. No longer do children work for their parents or an immediate community. Instead, they become cheap, widely available, dispensable cogs in a system geared towards mass production and maximum profits. In labour-intensive industries, child labour often allows manufacturers to compete: children will work for less pay, for longer hours and their very size and manual dexterity may suit them for work for which adults are less able. In some cases, "child labour is used not just because children have certain physical attributes or because they are cost effective, but because they can be made to do jobs that adults find degrading or unpleasant. These are often especially dirty or dangerous, involving waste disposal, pollutants and toxic substances" (Boyden, 1991, p. 123). Furthermore, "children do not join trade unions, are accustomed to obeying adults, can be paid less for doing the same job, know that they are working illegally and cannot complain to anyone" (Ennew, 1994, p. 31). The pattern of widespread exploitation of child labour is found throughout the Third World: in Nigeria, 85% of the labour force in the leather industry consists of juvenile apprentices; in Bangkok, the clothing industry thrives as children work fifteen hour days, seven days a week to produce garments for well-known

Western fashion houses; in Sivakasi, India, about 25% of the workforce in the enormous match and fireworks industry is below fifteen years of age (Boyden, 1991, pp. 119-120).

Considering the contemporary concern for the working children of the developing world, it is ironic to note that the First World has a far longer history of exploitative child labour than the Third World. During the Industrial Revolution, child labour was widely exploited as a cheap way to avoid paying full wages to adults. Effective legislation curbing the widespread incidence of children working in abusive and exploitative conditions is less than 150 years old in Europe and North America. The social criticism of Dickens often focused on the plight of working children:

> "A dirtier or more wretched place he had never seen. The street was very narrow and muddy, and the air was impregnated with filthy odours. There were a good many small shops; but the only stock in trade appeared to be heaps of children, who, even at that time of night, were crawling in and out at the doors, or screaming from the inside" (Dickens, 1992 [1838], p. 69).

Oliver Twist was but one of many children of his time sold by almshouses into abusive apprenticeships. Conditions at the turn of the century were no better on the other side of the Atlantic, as we can see in Crane's classic *Maggie: A Girl of the Streets.* Crane detailed the miseries experienced by the children of an Irish-

American ghetto of New York - hunger, violence, child labour, delinquency, alcoholism and prostitution. As they were immortalised in books such as Dickens' *Oliver Twist*, Kingsley's *Water Babies* and Crane's *Maggie*, we know that the working conditions of nineteenth century children were frequently dangerous and unhealthy. Tolstoy, Dickens and Twain all noted and were appalled by the urban deprivation of nineteenth century Russia, Europe and North America. As well as fictional writers of the time, historians have commented on the widespread incidence of working children in the recent past: "The historian of industrial England cannot fail to be conscious of the children of the 'lower orders.' They were visible everywhere in the crowded thoroughfares as sweepers, beggars and pickpockets" (Cruickshank, 1981, p. 3). It was only in 1842, with the Shaftesbury's Mines Act, that underground employment of women and children under ten was forbidden. The use of small boys as chimney sweeps was only outlawed in England and Ireland in 1864 by the Chimney Sweepers Act. In 1926, the new Irish Free State passed the School Attendance Act making attendance at primary school level compulsory. This met with strong resistance from Michael Heffernan, "a prominent farmer deputy, who wanted more relaxed requirements to apply to the children of agricultural labourers, so that elementary education for the poor should not interfere with the higher priority of cheap labour for ... farmers" (Lee, 1989, p. 131).

Today, the view of the International Labour Organisation (ILO)

is that rural child labour is less harmful than urban child labour because it is unpaid and the family is able to provide protection and care for its younger members. In the cities, families are less likely to work together and children are more vulnerable to hazardous working conditions and more liable to exploitation (Bequele & Boyden, 1988). Historically, both the League of Nations and the United Nations opted for an abolitionist stance on child labour. Children under a certain age were not permitted to work. However, no amount of legislation can change the fact that large numbers of young children are *willing* to work long hours for little pay. It is estimated that 100 to 200 million children work worldwide (First Call for Children, 1995). Boyden (1990) observed that this reality of millions of children eager to work has now been adopted by international agencies, such as the ILO:

> "Whereas at one time the International Labour Office advocated total abolition of child labour, the overwhelming impact of poverty in the South has forced it to adopt a compromise in recent years. The present aim, therefore, is to encourage policies that prohibit child labour in occupations damaging to health and development and to regulate child labour in non-hazardous occupations" (p. 196).

Boyden (1991) further questioned the usefulness of the abolitionist stance and argued for the inclusion of children within the formal economy:

"Is abolition even feasible in the present world economic situation? So long as children give firms a competitive advantage and so long as adults cannot earn sufficient to maintain their families, juveniles will continue to work. This is especially true in countries without an effective labour inspectorate. Legislation will have no impact on child labour unless it is enforced and until it is complemented by measures to combat poverty. Greater prosperity and the better organization of the adult labour force would have far greater impact on the incidence of child labour than policing national legislation or signing international conventions ... Unfortunately, under present circumstances, abolitionist laws drawn up with the best of intentions merely force children out of the formal labour market into unregulated sectors of the economy inaccessible to inspectors. Moreover, the denial in law of workers' rights for children in employment means they have no protection whatsoever against abuse and no redress in cases of dismissal or accidents at work" (Boyden, 1991, p. 127).

Similarly, Ennew (1994) takes a relativist stance and questions the need to prevent children from working at all. She argued that the desire to remove children from working on the streets, and elsewhere, is the result of a modern, idealised conception of middle-class childhood which views children as weak and powerless. Intervention programmes and projects for street and working children tend to be based on this idealised image of

Western childhood, so poor children of the South are pitied because they are not having a "childhood." Ennew challenges this view and points out that such a model of childhood

> "ignores the very real strengths and actual experiences of working and street children. It leads to an attitude of pity rather than empathy, which is reflected in projects that try to rescue children from work and the street without thinking of the consequences for the children or their families. Families may need the income provided by the child. Children can be proud of the work that they do and the contribution they make, or the fact that they support themselves. They may need help, but this needs to be on their own terms and in the context of the lives they lead, otherwise even more harm may be done" (Ennew, 1994, p. 11).

Conclusion

What this foray into the history of child work in the West and the state of child labour in the developing world serves to illustrate is that what is considered appropriate work for children varies across time and space and depends, largely, on the prevailing conception of childhood:

> "The incidence of child work is not determined only by poverty: cultural attitudes to childhood are also crucial. Organizations concerned about child work are only now beginning to

recognise the difference between a child's right to do useful work under proper conditions and with fair pay, compared with the child's right to protection from exploitative labour practices which can mean lives and dreams lost forever" (Ennew & Milne, 1989, p. 75).

RIGHTS OF THE CHILD

Introduction

The 1989 United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (appendix two) sets international standards for child care and protection. Recognising cultural differences, it strives to ensure the safe-guarding of children's rights, regardless of their origin or cultural background:

> "Those who drafted the Convention took the view that, although methods of upbringing, socialization and opportunity varied greatly from one country to another, concern to protect a broad range of children's rights was shared by all peoples. Experience suggested that the reactions of all communities and nations were essentially the same when children were subjected to torture, separated from their families, deprived of food or proper medical care, or maimed in armed conflicts" (UNCHR & Unicef, p. 3).

The Convention on the Rights of the Child has been the most significant event for children's rights since their liberalisation and emancipation in Britain during the nineteenth century. The Convention was adopted by the General Assembly in November 1989, and entered into force in September 1990. It was drafted by the UN Commission on Human Rights at the suggestion of the Polish government, over a ten year period following the International Year

of the Child in 1979. The Convention operates on the principle that there are universally accepted pre-conditions for any child's harmonious and full development. The Convention is an unprecedented attempt to collect in one document the minimum rights of all children in the world. The Convention recognises that children have needs and human rights which extend far beyond basic concepts of protection: children are recognised as having a full range of civil, economic, social, cultural and political rights. Specifically, the Convention has 54 articles detailing the individual rights of any person under eighteen years of age to develop to his or her full potential, free from hunger and want, neglect, exploitation or other abuses. Each child has the right to life; to a name and state; to a freedom from discrimination of any kind; to rest and to play; to an adequate standard of living; to health care; to education; and to protection from economic exploitation and work that may interfere with education or be harmful to health and well-being. The Convention also includes the child's right to stay with his or her family if the family has the child's best interests at heart; and to be cared for elsewhere if the family is abusive. Furthermore, the child's right to protection from exploitation through child labour, through being kidnapped and sold, or through sexual abuse is safe-guarded (UN, 1991).

The Convention replaces and surpasses the 1959 Declaration on the Rights of the Child. A United Nations Declaration has no more than symbolic force whereas, by ratifying a Convention, a nation declares itself willing to be fully bound by its provisions and answerable to the international community if it fails to comply

with them. Signatory countries to a United Nations Convention undertake to incorporate the Convention into their national laws. By January 1997, the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child had been ratified by all but five nations: Oman, Somalia, Switzerland, the United Arab Emirates and the United States.

A Giant Step for Children's Rights

In many societies, children tend to be viewed as the property of their parents. This is an ancient tendency - "Not only under the Roman law, but in the old Persian, Egyptian, Greek and Gallic legal codes, a father was given absolute power over his children" (Bossard & Boll, 1960, p. 594). This view is what the Convention hopes to alter. Within the Convention, the child is treated as an independent legal entity, no longer merely a possession of his or her parents. Consequently, the Convention is a milestone in the way we think about children. Children have been "promoted" to full status in the eyes of international law. No longer are they simply appendages to their parents or their community. They are recognised as equal to adults, but with their own special needs and rights:

> "The promotion of separate rights for children is a comparatively modern development. Not until the reform movements of the nineteenth century did the State accept responsibility for protecting the child against the power of parents, economic exploitation or social neglect" (UN, 1991,

p. 1).

The view that children have rights of their own, rights which transcend the family setting, is a new concept. Unlike earlier statements of children's rights, such as the 1924 League of Nations Declaration and the 1959 Declaration of the Rights of the Child, the 1989 Convention is liberating as well as protective. The Convention is unique in that it allows for the child's own wishes and opinions to be expressed and given careful consideration. As stated in article 12 - "States Parties shall assure to the child who is capable of forming his or her own views the right to express those views freely in all the matters affecting the child, the views of the child being given due weight in accordance with the age and maturity of the child" (UN, 1991, p. 20). This a dramatic move away from the traditional view of children as secondary or subordinate to adults.

An Improved World for Children?

Lest one become too optimistic regarding the fate of children in a post-Convention world, the following illustrates that the Convention is an idealised statement. The reality is that the rights of the World's children, as enshrined in the Convention, are *not* being safe-guarded. For instance, consider that:

(a) An estimated fifteen million children die annually from easily preventable diseases. Diarrhoea alone accounts for

five million of these. "By the end of 1987 only half the children in the developing world had been fully immunized against preventable but killing diseases" (Ennew & Milne, 1989, p. 35).

(b) An estimated six million of the World's twelve million refugees are children. In many cases, over 80% of displaced persons in settlements and refugee camps are women and children (Ennew & Milne, 1989).

(c) An estimated 100 million children worldwide work or sleep on city streets in dangerous, hazardous conditions (WHO, 1993).

The following articles from the Convention are pertinent to street children and they read particularly poignantly when we consider the reality of the lives of millions of street children throughout the world:

1. Article 9: The child has the right to live with his or her parents unless this is deemed to be incompatible with the child's best interests. In the Preamble to the Convention, the UN recognises that the child "for the full and harmonious development of his or her personality, should grow up in a family environment, in an atmosphere of happiness, love and understanding" (UN, 1991, p. 12).

2. Article 20 (1): "A child temporarily or permanently deprived of his or her family environment ... shall be entitled to special

protection and assistance provided by the State" (UN, 1991, p. 25).

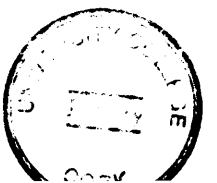
3. Article 24: "States parties shall strive to ensure that no child is deprived of his or her right to access to ... health care services" (UN, 1991, p. 30).

4. Article 28: "States parties ... shall make primary education compulsory and available free to all" (UN, 1991, p. 34).

5. Article 32 is probably the most pronounced instance in the entire Convention of the ideal being distant from reality for street children. This article recognises "the right of the child to be protected from economic exploitation and from performing any work that is likely to be hazardous or to interfere with the child's education, or to be harmful to the child's health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development" (UN, 1991, p. 36).

6. Article 34: "States parties undertake to protect the child from all forms of sexual exploitation and sexual abuse" (UN, 1991, p. 37). Prostitution is specifically mentioned as a form of child sexual exploitation.

The idea that there could be an enormous worldwide improvement in the lives of Third World children loses some of its



naivete if we consider the changes that have taken place in Europe since the start of this century. After all, only 100 years ago there were hundreds of thousands of working children in the United States and Europe (Clopper, 1912) and the infant mortality rates were higher than they are in Africa today (Grant, 1985). Child labour in the West has now been largely brought under control due to a change in our perception of what is good for children. Perhaps the Convention will facilitate such a shift in attitudes worldwide. Speaking of the physical, sexual and emotional abuse of children, Flekkøy (1991) suggested that: "these ways of treating children are no longer universally accepted and are more often done under duress or under cover and are often characterised as criminal, objectionable or otherwise negatively sanctioned" (p. 215). She hopes that widespread abuses such as working children, child prostitution and un-immunised children may become less acceptable and therefore less prevalent. Archard (1993) argued that, even concerning widely acceptable practices, a minimum standard of child care should be universally imposed. He argued there must be limits to the extent to which social context can be taken as excusing all harms. Some practices, while being widely culturally acceptable, may be fundamentally inegalitarian. He argued that one cannot be relativist about certain fundamental values, such as a commitment to the equality of all the members of a society. "It is unacceptable to think that something as fundamental as human equality has value only relative to certain cultures" (1993, p. 152). Having an international instrument such as the Convention on the Rights of the Child, it is hoped, will help

the process of ensuring that the rights of all children are safe-guarded, regardless of their cultural background.

SUMMARY

The primary subject matter of this work is the victimisation experienced by street children in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Given the exotic nature of this sample and the culture within which they live, how are we to avoid the pit fall of extreme cultural relativism, whereby street children's experiences are considered "normal" in the socio-economic niche they inhabit in one of the world's poorest nations? Equally importantly, how can we avoid investigating practices in a foreign culture through the filter of a Western conception of childhood? These are the questions which we sought to answer in this chapter. We have seen that childhood is a social construction, that conceptions of childhood vary across time and place depending on social, economic and religious forces. We examined the emergence of the Western conception of childhood. Far from being a universal ideal, we saw that it was created as a result of social, economic and educational changes brought about by the Industrial revolution. A recognition of the relative and variable nature of childhood helps us in examining childhood experiences in a society which is not dominated by a Western conception of childhood.

In this chapter, we have examined the issues of child abuse and child work. We have seen that both issues can be examined from a relative perspective. We have examined the apparently low levels of child abuse in traditional societies and have concluded that, although child sexual abuse would appear to be more prevalent in some societies than others, no culture condones the widespread

sexual exploitation of children by adults. With regard to child work, we have seen that it need not necessarily be an abusive, exploitative experience, but, especially in an urban context, it often is. Given the relativity of concepts such as child abuse and child work, we have adopted the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child as a universal standard by which we can examine the experiences of Ethiopian street children.

To conclude, this chapter illustrates that, although childhood may be a social construction, with differing conceptions of what constitutes child abuse worldwide, there are, nevertheless, universal minimum standards of child care.

Chapter Two

Street Children

INTRODUCTION

The lasting impression of one's first visit to Addis Ababa is likely to be the multitude of beggars in evidence on the streets: amputees hobble after you, lepers call out to you, mothers send infants to catch hold of your clothing and older children run alongside you. All are crying out for food or money: "Mother dead, Father dead, please help me", "Stomach zero, give me money", and so on.

As a first-time visitor, one's reaction is to see all of these people in a common light, that is, beggars desperately in need of assistance. All of the children seem equally destitute. However, to borrow an expression from psychophysics, there are "just noticeable differences." After a period of time, one no longer categorises all children one sees on the street as "street children." Instead, one learns to differentiate between the healthy child and the sick one; between those with plastic shoes, "tyre shoes," or no shoes at all; between the child peddling goods and the child simply begging; between the playful, lighthearted, well-dressed boy begging for money to buy sweets or to play table-tennis and the depressed, beaten looking boy begging for his next meal. In short, one learns to distinguish between the many different types of children one sees on the streets. Street children are not a common mass. Each child has his or her own history, background and family situation, some more fortunate than others. It is this individualism we must grasp if we are not to fall prey to the usual stereotypes of street children. We must understand that the term "street children"

is a generalisation encompassing a wide variety of children engaged in a wide variety of activities.

The term "street children" encompasses the African boy who shines shoes in his town square after school, the Brazilian drug peddler and the Gypsy beggar in Moscow. These children come from vastly different cultural, religious and economic backgrounds, yet each is labelled a "street child." Each child varies in terms of age, family background, economic and material security, health, education, length of time on the streets, degree of street life involvement and overall quality of life. Each child will adapt in his or her unique way to his or her particular set of circumstances. Some will be clever, bright and well-adjusted, and will be working towards concrete goals. Others become enmeshed in a delinquent and destructive lifestyle.

This chapter attempts to describe the complexity behind the simple term "street children." We shall attempt to move beyond the surface level view of street children; we shall examine definitions and descriptions of street children, focusing in particular on the Ethiopian context, and we shall review the academic literature which exists on the subject of street children.

DEFINING THE TERM "STREET CHILDREN"

In addition to the term "street children", many expressions are in circulation to describe children who spend time on the streets independent of adult supervision: "children without families", "high risk children", "working children", "abandoned children", "unattached children", "children in especially difficult circumstances." Each of these terms overlap to a certain extent. All are used loosely to describe a large and diverse population of children who spend time on city streets. The following examples give an indication of just how loose the collective term "street children" can be:

> A fourteen year old Tanzanian boy who has recently begun shining shoes on Saturday mornings, and who returns home to an intact family in the evening, is a "street child" because he works on the street.
>
> A Kenyan boy of the same age who has lost both parents, has slept and lived on the streets since he was seven years of age and who is heavily involved in crime and drug use, is also a "street child."

These two boys have little in common except that they spend time on the streets. Their degrees of *involvement* in street life differ widely. The Tanzanian shoe-shiner may only spend a few hours a week on the streets. He will almost certainly not stray far from home and will probably be under the supervision of watchful

older relatives or neighbours. The Kenyan orphan, on the other hand, is fully immersed in street life. He eats there, works there, plays there and sleeps there. Another difference between these two boys may be the degree of *choice* involved in coming to the streets. The shoe-shiner may have *chosen* this activity willingly as a chance to supplement his family's income. On the other hand, the orphan may have been left destitute and have had no choice but to adapt to street life or starve. Clearly, different push and pull factors for coming to the streets may be operating for each boy. These examples illustrate that the term "street child" encompasses a wide variety of children with varying degrees of (a) involvement in street life, and (b) varying levels of choice or control over this involvement in street life. A workable definition of street children would have to take into account each extreme of position on each of these two variables. That is, children fully immersed in street life versus those who work there only very occasionally; and children who freely and happily made the decision to work on the streets versus those who were forced there. The interaction of these two variables is illustrated in Figure 2.1 overleaf:

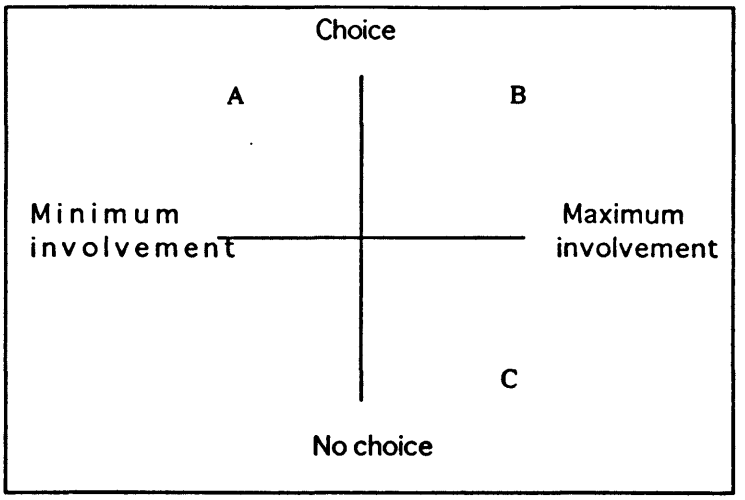


Figure 2.1: "Choice" and "involvement" as descriptive labels for street children.

This diagram illustrates the variety of types of street children, depending on whether the children *chose* to be on the streets and on their degree of *involvement* in street life. Three examples have been illustrated; A, B and C. Street child A is only slightly involved in street life and has chosen to spend time on the streets. He may shine shoes at the week-end in order to have some extra money or he may want to spend time with his friends. If things become uncomfortable, or if he does not like the work, he may have the choice to stop spending time on the streets. Street child B also chose to come to the streets, but is fully immersed in street life. Perhaps her step parent treated her very badly. So, she made the decision to fend for herself on the streets and now has no interest in returning home. Street child C is also fully immersed in street life but did not choose to live this way. Perhaps his family

were separated or killed by war or drought and he had no choice but to fend for himself on the streets.

It will be appreciated that a street child can occupy any combination of points on these two variables, choice in coming to the streets and degree of involvement in street life. The potential variety of street children, as indicated in Figure 2.1, illustrates the pitfalls in using a single term to describe such a heterogeneous population. Definitions of street children should incorporate the full variety of street children, particularly as these definitions have important implications for intervention and rehabilitation. The child at point A may need no intervention at all, his work being of benefit both to him and to his family, whereas the boy at point C needs a comprehensive programme to meet his needs. For the girl at point B, family intervention is the most appropriate approach. Unfortunately, not all definitions attain the desired flexibility and comprehensiveness. Take for example the definition for street children drawn up by the Inter-NGO Programme for Street Children and Street Youth and adopted by the International Catholic Child Bureau (ICCB):

> "those for whom the street in the widest sense of the word (i.e. unoccupied dwellings, wasteland etc.) more than their family, has become their real home, a situation in which there is no protection, supervision or direction from responsible adults" (ICCB, 1985).

This narrow definition assumes or suggests a serious break

with the family as the child's chief socialiser. This is indeed a reality for some children but, as we shall see below, the vast majority of children who spend time on the streets maintain links with their families. A definition, or typology, which is more sensitive to the differences between kinds of street children is that used by the United Nations Children's Fund (Unicef); for example Unicef (1984b). This typology suggests a number of distinct categories of street children, as Figure 2.2 illustrates:

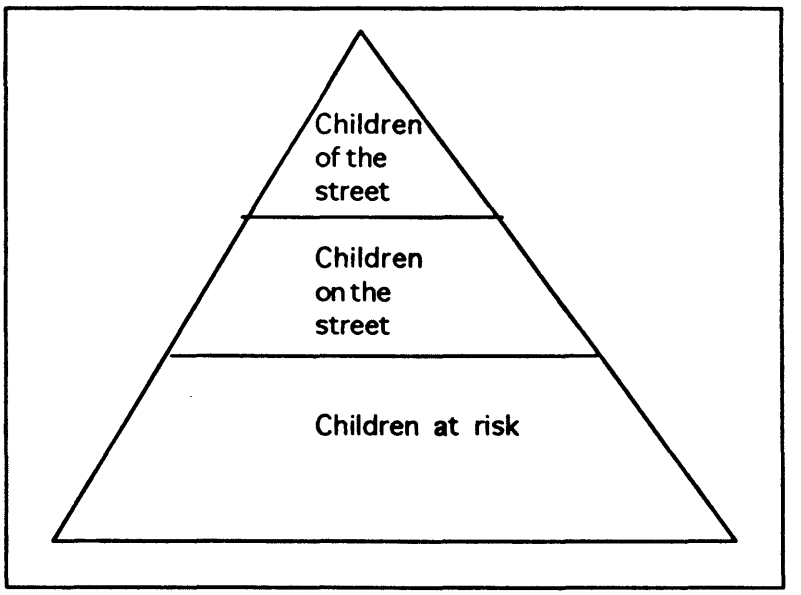


Figure 2.2: Unicef street children typology (from Tacon, 1991).

The largest group in the Unicef typology are the *children at risk*. These are the children of the urban poor. Because their parents are working, they receive little adult supervision. They are frequently deprived of basic requirements such as adequate health

care, nutritious diet and education. This huge category of deprived children who live well below the poverty line form the reservoir from which street children emerge. They are sometimes called "street candidates."

The first category of actual street children is *children on the street.* These children spend varying lengths of time in the street environment. The vast majority are on the streets to work in order to supplement their families' income, and they will return home at night time. A significant number attend school on a part time basis. Others may devote themselves fully to their school work and work on the streets only at weekends and holidays. Worldwide, there is not much variation in the work these children do - they shine shoes, wash and mind cars, sell lottery tickets, magazines and newspapers, carry goods and peddle cigarettes, sweets and chewing gum. The defining characteristic of this category of street children is that they are not on the streets full time. They have retained contact with their families. "Their families have not abandoned them, nor have they abandoned their families, but extreme poverty has forced them out of their homes to become at least partially self-supporting" (Unicef, 1986, p. 14).

For *children of the streets,* the street is their main living place. Family ties may exist but are remote and their former home is visited infrequently. A fourth category of street child in the Unicef typology is that of *abandoned children.* This category includes orphans, runaways, refugees, displaced persons and others who have no contact with significant carers. In terms of lifestyle and daily activities, *abandoned children* are very similar to *children*

of the street. They are distinguishable in that all ties with a family have been severed, either through death, displacement or abandonment. *Children of the street,* on the other hand, have occasional contacts with their families. Of all street children, the category *of the street* and *abandoned* is the smallest. *Children of the streets* are "hard core" street children and are likely to make their livelihood by illegal means.

> "They become premature adults and develop behaviour patterns which can be summarised in a rejection of authority, aggressiveness, an absence of limits, independence and a lack of affection. They are also ... characterised by problems with drug addiction, alcoholism, delinquency, prostitution and moral and physical abuse" (Unicef, 1984).

Lusk described children *of the streets* as having "a rougher appearance and the ways of the street-wise — more distant, mistrustful, calculating and cynical" (1989, pp. 298-299). Furthermore, "their relationship to the larger society is predatory and exploitative; such children are truly at the fringes of conventional social organization" (Lusk et al., 1989, p. 293). It is this small category of street children which has caused what sociologists call "moral panics" in some countries, as they are seen as a serious threat to society. It is usually estimated that only between 5% and 10% of street children belong to this group of *children of the street.* Speaking of the vast majority of street children, Tacon (1992) stated "while almost all such boys and girls

are street workers, that is, children on the street, societies frequently confuse and muddle this vast majority (95% or more) with a very much smaller but more vociferous number of out-of-family young street residents or children of the street" (p. 4).

Most writers who attempt to categorise street children identify this minority group of hard-core, street-wise children. As we have seen, Unicef uses the term *children of the street*, as do Lusk et al. (1989). Felsman (1981), Aptekar (1988) and Connolly (1990), writing in a South American context, use the term *gamines*, a nineteenth century French word for delinquent.

A criticism of the Unicef typology of street children is that it cannot be said to be wholly comprehensive, as pointed out by Glauser (1990). Working in Paraguay, he observed many children whose situation did not fit easily into any of the Unicef categories. For example, boys who choose to work in the central bus station at night and sleep at home by day as there is less competition by night or because there are no late bus connections home; those who stay on the streets during the day and go home only for the weekend; those who sleep on the streets only during the warm summer nights but who return home in the winter; those who continuously move between the streets, shelters, institutional homes and prison; and, finally, young prostitutes, who spend much of their time on the streets at night, but who are usually categorised separately to street children.

A further criticism of the Unicef typology of street children is

that its categories are static. Street children tend to be viewed as either *of the street* or *on the street*. Riccardo Lucchini (1993a) emphasised the fluidity of street life and the fact that the different types of street children overlap and interact to a large degree. He argued that one must recognise the ever-changing dynamics as the child alternates between home and the street, and as he acquires new competencies through experience. No one category must confine a street child to one stereotypical role. The street child's position in the street milieu changes from day to day, from hour to hour:

> "He can be deprived of liberty, or lose his working instrument, or not be able to go back home, or temporarily attend school .... All this allows the same child to transit very easily from one category to the other. The condition of a street child corresponds to a complex and moving reality which is overlooked by a too simple definition" (Lucchini, 1993a, p. 12).

Lucchini identified two key variables which determine the child's degree of involvement in street life: contacts with responsible adults and permanence in the street. These variables can be mapped as follows:

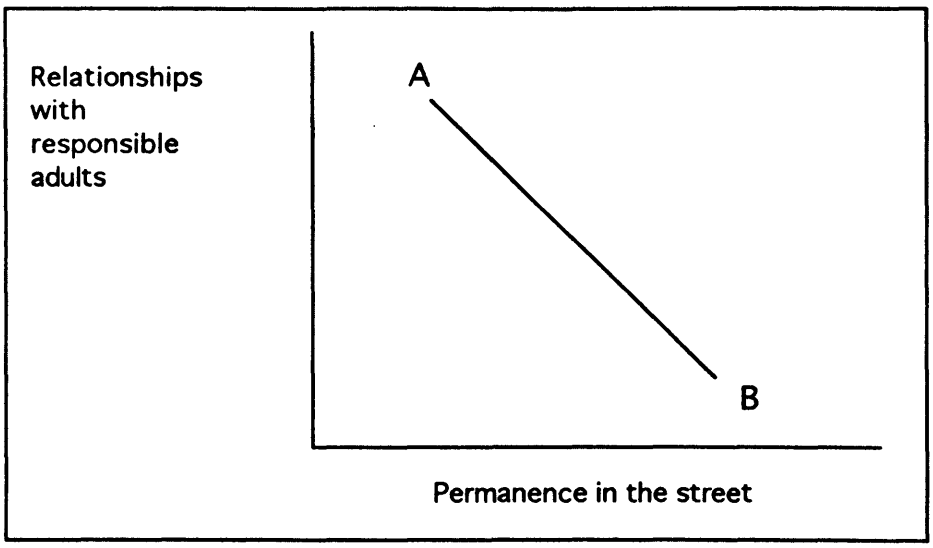


Figure 2.3: The bi-dimensional model of street life involvement (Lucchini, 1993a).

The child at point B is heavily involved in street life and has few contacts with responsible adults. The child at point A is little involved in street life and has extensive contact with responsible adults. Lucchini's bi-dimensional model is more subtle than the Unicef typology of street children as it readily illustrates the possibility of "progress" along the continuum of street life involvement (that is from point A to B). It explicitly allows for movement or dynamism. The Unicef model describes fixed points and makes no reference to flux or change in a child's position. "The child who transits on the axis A-B is progressively becoming a street child" (Lucchini, 1993a, p. 15). Lucchini calls this the bi-dimensional model. The child's position on the continuum is also influenced by other factors such as age, sex, family, the child's

previous experience of the street, degree of involvement with street peers, the availability of profitable street activities, police oppression, and victimisation by other street members. "These different factors are interdependent and their possible combinations are multiple. These combinations, as well as the nature of the factors which compose them, accelerate or on the contrary slow down the street child's career" (Lucchini, 1993a, p. 15).

While Lucchini's bi-dimensional model captures the different degrees of involvement possible in street life and the way this involvement can become more or less intense, he argues further complexity needs to be included to understand "the psycho-sociological and cultural complexity of the phenomenon" (ibid., p. 16). A weakness of the bi-dimensional model is that it assumes the incompatibility of "relationships with responsible adults" and living "permanently in the streets." For example, the model does not account for the child who returns home regularly but who has no relationship with a responsible adult or, on the other hand, the child who is permanent in the street but who has regular relationships with responsible adults (for example, a street family). In order to further illustrate the complexity of street children, Lucchini (1993a) developed an eight factor model of the street child. By examining a child's position on each of these factors, we are capable of making very subtle discriminations regarding the type of street experience the child has. These factors are:

(a) Progressive movement to the street. This includes the nature of the departure from home and the degree of alternation between home and the street.

(b) The dialectic between familial socialisation and street socialisation. That is, the degree to which the child relates to familial socialisation. If this is strong and positive, the child is less likely to be influenced by street socialisation. Conversely, if the child's relation to family socialisation is weak, the child is more likely to internalise street socialisation.

(c) The street child's career. Three main stages are identified:

- The child's progressive distance-taking from home and the final departure.
- The alternating street (the street is seen as of indeterminate nature, neither good nor bad).
- The refused street (the child sees that the street offers him no options anymore).

(d) The images of the street.

(e) The degree of alternation between the street, home and institution.

(f) The collective and individual identity. This is the degree to which a child adopts the label of street child. The child most likely to do so, and consequently engage in "secondary deviance" as a direct result of adult stigmatisation, is likely to have a positive image of the street, to have positively decided to engage in street life and, most importantly, is not

looking for an alternative life.

(g) Age, sex, drug consumption, personal competencies, street career.

(h) Degree of involvement in street culture. "The integration in the sub-culture ... depends on the image the child has of the street and on the relationships he has with reference adults" (Lucchini, 1993a, p. 20).

Lucchini (1994a) called these eight factors and their effect on the career of a street child, the "child-street" system. Each of these factors impinges on the street child, with a very wide variety of possible outcomes for the child's health, well-being and socialisation.

Summary

Lucchini's (1993a) bi-dimensional model of street life involvement is a sophistication of the Unicef model in that it allows for *two* key variables (permanence in the streets and relationships with responsible adults) as against Unicef's *one* variable (degree of involvement in street life). A further elaboration of the definition of street children is Lucchini's "child-street" system. This descriptive account of street life helps us think about the complexity involved in each child's life. The full range of possible influences on a child's development are considered. Lucchini's "child-street" system has given us the most elaborate description of the realities of street life to date.

STREET CHILDREN AS A POLITICAL CONCEPT

In the preceding section we have seen that the simple term "street children" masks the heterogeneity of street children's experiences. The reason the term "street children" is used so sweepingly and why the complexities behind the term are often not investigated is that it is, in many ways, an appealing term. By juxtapositioning the word "street", and its implicit associations of toughness, harshness and brutality, with the word "children", and its associations with helplessness, innocence and the need for protection, a very strong effect is created. Broadly speaking, people feel either compassion and sympathy or, where children are reported to have become "streetwise", they feel fear and mistrust of violent and ruthless thugs. The reaction depends on whether the focus is on the word "street" or the word "children." Those who write about street children are often trying to create one of these two effects and make no effort to delve any further into the realities of these children's lives. In short, the search for clarity and a realistic understanding of the street child phenomenon is often confounded by the politicisation of this issue. That is, the way in which the problem is presented, or packaged. Street children can be marketed, so to speak, in two ways: the first is typical of aid agencies, charities and other humanitarian organisations and consists of portraying the child as a helpless victim in need of assistance; the second is more typical of police forces and governmental agencies and consists of portraying the unsupervised child or adolescent as a threat to society because of

his or her activities in theft, drugs and prostitution.

Glauser (1990), in an attempt to deconstruct the term "street children", argued that the way we think of street children is a reality defined by the politically and socially powerful. He questions how the term "street children" was generated; in response to what problems and issues did it arise; and whose interests and needs does it serve? As a loaded political concept, street children are of concern to at least three powerful sectors within society, each of which choose to present the problem in their own way. Below we shall consider how aid agencies, the mass-media and governments conceptualise the issue of street children.

The Portrayal of Street Children by Aid Agencies

The issue of street children appeared as a major concern for local and international agencies in the wake of the International Year of the Child (1979). It was only in 1982 that the Geneva based Inter NGO Programme on Street Children and Street Youth (established by the International Catholic Child Bureau) appeared. In the same year, Unicef launched a campaign of increased involvement in work on behalf of street children in Latin America. In 1986, Unicef's Executive Board approved priority measures on behalf of *children in especially difficult circumstances.* Special emphasis was placed on street children and for "developing strategies ... which would defend their rights, avoid their exploitation, and respond to their personal, family, and community needs" (Tacon, 1991, p. 1). Thus, the interest of most aid agencies

in street children dates to only about fifteen years ago. Since then, a huge industry has produced countless publications on the issue of children who spend time on the streets. Much of what has been written tends to be quite emotive; what Aptekar calls "the quickly written and readily acceptable prose that describes the unfortunates in melodramatic terms, terms that dwell upon their misery" (1988, p. 12). Below we see some examples of well-meaning but essentially stereotypical and, occasionally, inaccurate writing on the subject of street children:

> "A slum child ... is a child who has never known the joys of childhood. He is literally a child without a childhood" (Mahadevan, 1975, p. 42).

> "Drugs are used to relieve the burden of the horrible reality of their lives" (Daglish, 1988, p. 2).

> "Ragamuffins who struggle to survive, by fair means or foul, in a hostile adult world which has rejected them" (Fall, 1986, p. 47).

> "All this leads us to a dream of a peaceful army of street educators who in squares, streets and corners of Latin American cities will quietly sing, as troubadours of our time, a song of hope for the millions of children of Latin American streets, carrying to the sleeping ears of Latin American adults the children's cry: "We want to live, too" (Morch, 1984, p. 2).

"The fear of death does not move them because their world has become cold and faceless" (Morch, 1984, p. 2).

Such writing belongs to what Agnelli calls "the romantic school of writing, sensation-seeking or sentimental, which sees street children as strange and exotic; study of their daily lives is described in terms of 'descending into the depths' of human experience" (1986, p. 105). Typically this kind of writing will focus only on some of the more negative and horrendous features of street life. This is not to say that there is no truth in such statements. They may be written in the best interests of the child and are dramatised for maximum effect. Presumably they serve the purpose for which they were written - advocacy, creating awareness, fund raising and perhaps even pricking consciences. At best, such accounts of the lives of street children motivate the target readers to action. But, at worst, they may have the effect of perpetuating inaccurate stereotypes; of giving dramatic and false impressions of the everyday realities of street children's lives.

Glauser (1990) quite radically discounts any degree of altruism in the work carried out on behalf of street children. He suggests that action taken on behalf of street children "attend the activists interests in the first place" (Glauser, 1990, p. 148). He discusses two different types of charitable organisations to be found in South America; the "Ladies' Charity" and larger scale projects run by NGOs:

1. With regard to the numerous middle- and upper-class ladies'

charities found in the Latin American context, charity towards street children fulfils a need to do something for the needy. Being an urban phenomenon, street children are within easy reach of the activists and do not require travel to remote rural areas. As the problems of street children are so immediate, an activist need only be concerned with treating symptoms such as lack of food, shelter, medical care and need not be concerned with the deeper problems and causes. "In this way, 'street children' help to fulfil an urge to help without requiring a deeper involvement in political action or a more profound analysis of social conditions" (Glauser, 1990, p. 148).

2. Glauser's view of NGO programme managers and project activists is no less critical. He argues that project activists adopt a more differentiated or sophisticated concept of street children only to suit their own pragmatic needs and values. Thus, the distinction between *children on the street* and *children of the street* is useful only because it allows programme managers to identify working children who are "easier to handle since they are generally more tranquil and orderly, more inclined to behave well and to submit themselves to methodical work procedures" (Glauser, 1990, pp. 148-9). Children more difficult to work with are thus excluded from projects.

This tendency to exclude certain sections of the street child population from intervention programmes is readily observed in Ethiopia. Categories of children are excluded as they do not fit

project requirements. Two examples are children with HIV or pregnant girls. If a project is to register twelve children, who decides who is to benefit? More often than not, it is a programme manager who determines who is most deserving, frequently based on the child's ability to articulate his or her misfortunes or, indeed, his or her appeal as being bright, lively, or "cute." We can speculate that the sullen, quiet, downcast child is less likely to put him/herself forward and is less likely to be noticed.

The Portrayal of Street Children by the Mass Media

The presentation of street children in the mass-media focuses on helplessness and the need for outside intervention and assistance. Misery and death are the images which sell. Ennew and Milne (1989) refer to this portrayal of street children as a pornography of misery where the starving child is an identity-less symbol, no more than an image. Nowhere is this more clear than in a situation noticed by Cantwell (1987). He noticed that two separate aid agencies had used the same photograph of a starving child in their advertising campaigns. Unicef UK had presented the child as Ethiopian whereas UNA UK presented him as Mozambican a few years later (cited in Ennew & Milne, 1989). An argument frequently encountered is that which runs, "It doesn't matter how we present the problem, as long as it brings in the money." However, in the long term, it matters quite a lot. Media portrayal of an issue shapes, to a greater or lesser extent, the public's perception of that issue. Surface level images of miserable,

helpless people, with no in-depth analysis of their situation, only serves to deprive the sufferers of their identity. It dehumanises people and they become no more than starving creatures deserving of our compassion, but not our respect. As well-meaning as such portrayals may be, they are inaccurate and can only serve to perpetuate the image of Third World children, and of their parents, as helpless, thus giving a false impression of the nature of problems in developing countries. The tendency to present all Third World issues as acute crises requiring immediate action leads to the impression that Third World countries are uncontrollably staggering from one disaster to the next. This serves both to create the impression of a helpless, perhaps backward people, living in a hopeless situation and to absolve the Western World of guilt. By making no reference to issues such as the destruction caused by Cold War "proxy wars", unfair global patterns in trading, cash-crops and unreasonable re-structuring of loan repayments as imposed by the IMF an inaccurate perception of Third World issues is created. The citizens of the First World can safely continue to blame Third World disasters on nature or, indeed, on the very victims of drought, war or political strife. Rarely are the consumers of the Western media presented with the view that First World wealth is partly due to the hardships experienced by the Third World.

Governmental Portrayal of Street Children

The distinction between *on* and *of the street* is also useful at a

governmental level as it allows for a focus to be put on the productive working child: "They fit better with the social norms and expectations that everyone should be productive and there is a growing tendency to legitimate child labour on the streets as an adjustment to the obvious impossibility of its eradication in a context of growing poverty and unemployment for adults" (Glauser, 1990, p. 149). Thus, policy makers can be seen to be doing something constructive for at least one segment of the street child population. On the other hand, *children of the street* can be marginalised as "irretrievable" and "beyond hope."

One could further argue that such marginalisation of children of the street as "lost causes" fosters an atmosphere in which harsher measures of control are tolerated. We shall see later in this chapter that a considerable proportion of the abuse reported by street children worldwide comes from the authorities.

STREET CHILDREN: A LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

Both of the "marketing images" of street children referred to above (street children as helpless victims; street children as a threat to society) are equally self-serving and misleading. Neither image is particularly concerned with the actual reality of street childrens' lives and this is what we are trying to discover in the literature review below. Consequently, this review largely side-steps the enormous literature of pamphlets, news releases and booklets about street children released by NGOs, government agencies and the UN and focuses instead on what academics have written about street children.

Academically, street children are an under-investigated phenomenon. This is partly due to the methodological difficulties of research in this field and to the low priority given to academic research by funding agencies which prefer to fund action-oriented programmes and projects. Because street children are a difficult population to work with, researchers have taken a highly individualised approach. There is little sense of an academic community with approved methods, funding sources, publications and an agreed agenda for research. Below, we shall examine some of the main themes which emerge from the small pool of academic work on street children. Most of the work comes from Latin America. This is the region with the longest history of street life and also the longest history of UN, governmental and NGO efforts to

ameliorate the problem. Africa, on the other hand, is the most rural of continents and it is only in relatively recent times, due to rapid urbanisation and massive population movements, that the numbers of street children are increasing all over the Continent. The literature review presents the main findings of research which has been carried out on street children world-wide (mainly in South America). Ethiopian material has been excluded from this review. An analysis of the situation of street children in Ethiopia is withheld until the end of this chapter.

Incidence of Street Children

It is difficult to arrive at an actual number of street children in a given city or country, much less the entire world. Part of the reason for the large discrepancies between different estimates of the number of street children is that there is no clear cut definition of what exactly constitutes a street child. Nevertheless, a number of figures are in circulation. Official documents, in particular, seem to *need* a figure, no matter how tenuous. Tacon (1983, 1991, 1992) was one of the very few who attempted to quantify the numbers of street children regionally and worldwide. He used indices such as children's proportion of the population in a given region and the incidence of urban poverty to estimate the number of children who go to the streets to work.

Latin America appears to be the region with the greatest concentration of street children. The estimated incidence of street children in Latin America ranges from 25 million (Lusk, 1989) to 40

million (Tacon 1981, 1983). Connolly (1990) claimed there were more than twenty million children "growing up in the streets" in Brazil alone.

In Africa, street children have appeared more recently - "In parts of the Sahel ... where drought, famine and armed violence have had an overwhelming impact on the social structure, street children are on the increase" (Agnelli, 1986, p. 35). Estimates for Africa suggest that there are sixteen million street children on the continent (Tacon, 1992).

Exact figures will never be known but total worldwide figures vary from 30 to 80 million (Kennedy, 1987, p. 27). A widely quoted figure is that of 100 million street children worldwide (WHO 1993). It is also widely claimed that the incidence of street children is increasing. Tacon (1992) predicted that the number of African street children will increase from sixteen million in 1992 to 32 million by the year 2000, if no action is taken. In Latin America alone "projections for the year 2020 point to almost 300 million urban minors, of whom 30% will be extremely poor. The number of street children living in complete or partial abandonment is consequently bound to grow by tens of millions" (Aga Khan & Talal, Introduction to Agnelli, 1986, p. 17). This being said, there are commentators who argue that the numbers of street children have been grossly over-exaggerated:

> "There seems to be a tendency for the publicists of children's difficulties, particularly in the cases of street children and sexually abused children, to deal in huge numbers

of thousands and millions which have no basis whatsoever in reality. Moreover, these numbers are seldom questioned and often enter into official documents where they become 'fact'" (Ennew & Milne, 1989, p. 58)

and

"An example of the absurdity of some of the figures being bandied about is the 100 million street children, which is among the numbers used at various times and in different contexts by Unicef and widely quoted by many writers. This figure was first dreamed up in the early 1980s and has not changed since, despite the constant assertion that the numbers of street children are rising inexorably" (Ennew, 1994, p. 32).

Ennew and Milne (1989) proposed their own figures, using data from the Unicef report *State of the World's Children, 1984* (Unicef, 1984a). Excluding the Socialist countries, which seem to have a very low incidence of street children, and the nations of the First World, where the profile of runaways is different to that of street children, they suggested the following figures:

Economically active urban children	71.0 million
Children *on the street*	23.4 million
Children *of the street*	7.7 million

Ennew and Milne's (1989) estimations take into account the percentage of the child population in each country, urbanisation, labour force participation of children, enrolment in education, absenteeism and school drop-out rates, known rates for abandonment at birth, orphanages, fostering or adoption agencies and juveniles taken into care or in the control of the state. As we can see, their total figure is divided to illustrate the different types of street children. *Children of the street* make up only a very small proportion of the total number of street children.

Age

The main concentration of street children worldwide is between the ages of ten and fourteen. Before age ten, parents are loath to allow the child to enter the harsh world of the street. They are concerned for their working children and are reluctant to expose them to the streets if they are too young or immature (Veale, 1993; Chatterjee, 1992). Also, children younger than ten are not as capable of competing for the kind of work street children do. Younger children are not strong enough to carry parcels and, more importantly, they are not strong enough to fight off competitors.

On the other hand, by about fourteen or fifteen years of age, the street child is beginning to lose his or her appeal to passers-by. This is particularly true for the child who survives by begging. It becomes increasingly difficult for children to portray themselves as helpless children when they have the bodies of young men and women. Passers-by who would formerly have thrown them some

coins, now insult and abuse them, saying that they are lazy and that they prefer to beg than to work.

> "Before that time [adolescence], the children were considered cute, which contributed to their success at begging for alms. But as they grew, the image changed; they were then perceived as thugs and treated accordingly. When the street *children* reached puberty, they became street *people*, a change which signalled the end of one developmental period and the premature beginning of another" (Aptekar, 1989a, p. 793).

A further possible explanation for this withdrawal from street life in the mid-adolescent years might be that, at approximately age fourteen, the child is entering the formal operations stage of cognitive development (Piaget, 1970). He is becoming capable of abstract thinking and is now capable of analysing his position in the world. For street children, the outcome of this is usually a profound dissatisfaction with their circumstances. The child becomes aware of the insults and the taunts which he receives from the general population and, at this stage, becomes conscious of the poor quality of his clothes and lifestyle compared to others his age. Television, cinema and videos (which street children avidly consume) only serves to remind him of his lowly position in society. Thus, from about age fourteen, street children are often no longer content to live by begging or shining shoes. They begin to leave street life in an effort to better their circumstances. This recognition by street children of their lowly position in society and

the dissatisfaction this causes is illustrated by an example from Lucchini (1993b). He reported that the use of inhalants among Brazilian street children decreases at the age of fifteen or sixteen. He suggests that this may be because the child wants to leave street life and does not want to be identified as a street child anymore. Inhaling does not have the same meaning anymore. Inhalants have lost their identification function. "The inhalants are the drugs of an age class which identifies itself to the street's world. When this identification stops, it entails the diminishing or the stopping of consumption" (Lucchini, 1993b, p. 42).

Thus, the lifespan of most street children is, roughly speaking, from age ten to fifteen. Younger than ten, parents seek to protect their children from the streets and children find it difficult to compete; older than fifteen, an increased cognitive ability which coincides with a mushrooming of physical development combines to disenchant a street child with his way of life and causes him to lose the sympathy and appeal he previously aroused in passers-by.

Gender

Worldwide, there is a higher incidence of street boys than street girls. Eighty three per cent of Lusk et al.'s (1989) sample of 103 children in a Mexican town were male. Espinola et al. (1987 cited in Boyden, 1991) reported that 90% of the young street workers engaged in vending or service occupations in Asunción were boys. Aptekar's (1988) sample of Columbian street children was

comprised solely of males. His stated reason for this was that girls who appear in the streets in Columbia are defined by the general population as prostitutes (he makes no mention of whether or not this is an accurate perception). Felsman's (1981) sample of 120 Columbian *gamins* is also exclusively male. He, too, does not consider juvenile prostitutes as street children.

Lusk et al. (1989) suggested that the difference in numbers between males and females on the streets

> "may be attributable to differential adult attitudes toward girl or boy labor, [and] the perception of the need for different levels of protection and safety .... Street girls in Juarez tended to work with a family member such as a parent or brother, while boys were more likely to work alone or with other unrelated boys" (1989, p. 295).

As shall be elaborated below, it certainly seems that the lack of girls on the streets is due to parental and societal perceptions of what is acceptable, a recognition of girls' vulnerability compared to boys and their value for minding children and doing chores at home.

Factors Contributing to "Streetism"

The reasons given for coming to the streets by children worldwide are very similar: a search for work, family disharmony and becoming displaced or orphaned. For example, a study of Columbian street children found 36% of the children had left home

due to extreme poverty, 27% due to family disintegration, 20% due to physical abuse and 10% due to a search for adventure (Pineda et al., 1978). Aptekar (1988) recorded that 48% of his sample of street children in Cali, Colombia, were on the street for "financial reasons", but a further 32% were there because of abuse in the home.

Thus, we can see that poverty alone is not the only reasons for "streetism." Abuse in the home is also reported as a significant factor. At the macro level, most of the poverty-related factors mentioned above are the result in some way of an unsatisfactory socio-economic situation within a given country. Thus, street children might be thought to be the symptoms of chronic poverty, urbanisation, runaway rural-urban migration and the lack of basic urban services. This takes us into the region of world trade, interest on loans, the crippling Structural Adjustment Programmes of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund for the world's poorest countries, the imbalance of development between North and South and so on. The point in taking this economic perspective is to illustrate that street children are but one symptom of a much larger problem. Street children are a symptom of national poverty. To hope for a change in the problem of street children by dealing only with symptoms (the children themselves) is to deny or ignore the much larger scale of the problem. Ennew and Young argued, for example, that "there can be no radical improvement in the child labour situation in Jamaica without fundamental social and economic changes directed at eradicating poverty" (1981). Agnelli (1986) also recognised, and eloquently summarised, the complexity

of the problem:

> "Psychological, intrafamilial, environmental, social, economic and political [causes], they seem to surround the child in the street in ever-widening circles. Through the lenses and mirrors of sinister 'multiplier effects', they bear down on the child from different ranges and directions with a powerful momentum. He is not only the victim of violence, but, without knowing it, also the plaything of historical trends and destructive global forces which reach invisibly into his daily life" (p. 44).

One occasionally encounters the view that if enough children are reached by enough programmes, the improvement in the street children problem will be significant. Unfortunately, this is unlikely to be the case, as emphasised by Lusk et al. "It is difficult to imagine that a piecemeal programmatic response to this structural social problem will be successful to any significant degree" (1989, p. 300).

In summary, when thinking of the factors that bring a child to the streets one must consider micro problems such as poverty, alcoholism, prostitution, abuse and broken families as well as macro problems such as the colossal rift between rich and poor in the world and the trading practices which perpetuate this. Street children are not simply a singular, self-contained issue but are a symptom of larger issues.

Social Tolerance of Street Childrens' Existence

There is a further aspect to the reasons for "streetism" which must be explored; the idea that a society in some way *tolerates* the existence of street children. Evidence from around the world does not support the idea that street children are an inevitable, unstoppable human wave of little workers that suddenly appear once a nation's economy has deteriorated beyond a certain point. As we shall see below, the process is more subtle than this and we can detect the influence of cultural forces on the incidence of street children, quite aside from economic considerations. Take for instance the gender of street children. If children came to the streets because a family has no other option but to send them there, due to extreme privation, then we might expect a near equal number of males and females on the streets. However, male street children typically out number female street children. In Colombia, for instance, the street child population is 75% male and 25% female (Felsman, 1981; Aptekar, 1988). How can we explain the worldwide trend of relatively fewer street girls than street boys? An important consideration in our reckonings must be the position the female child holds in rural peasant life. In Nepal, for instance, the UN Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) analysed the contribution of women and children to both household and agricultural activities. Females were found to work more than males in all age groups and it was the family's dependence on girls' labour at home and in the fields which was responsible for females' lower rates of school enrolment (Acharya, 1982). Females were

found to have a double burden of work, both indoors and outdoors. This pattern of women doing much of the work is common in peasant agricultural societies and perhaps explains the lower numbers of female street children. That is, girls cannot be spared from the household and therefore are not *allowed* to go. In urban areas too, girls are more valuable to households due to their functions of looking after children and helping with chores, thereby freeing the mother to work outside the home. Connolly (1990) reports that in Latin America "girls are more needed within the family, as they are expected to perform household chores and care for younger siblings" (p. 139). Clearly, street children are not an inevitable consequence of family poverty. In many instances, the family retains the choice of whether or not a child shall be allowed to go to the streets. The child's gender, it would appear, plays an important role in this choice.

A further explanation for the lesser numbers of street girls when compared to street boys may be a realistic recognition on the part of parents of the dangers of street life to females. In a study of 23 families of Ethiopian street children, Veale (1993) reported that parents were concerned and worried about the dangers associated with working on the street: "70% of parents were not happy with having their children working on the street" (p. 92). Some of the concerns expressed by these parents included: "As a father of daughters, I'm afraid they may be sexually abused"; "I worry about car accidents, police beating them, being beaten by older boys ... in fact, I worry about them constantly" (ibid., p. 92). Similar comments are reported by Chatterjee from Indian parents:

"studies show that employment for girls outside the home often ceases around the time of puberty to conform with socio-religious practice: parents are extremely reluctant to expose their daughters to male attention" (Chatterjee, 1992, p. 14).

Apart from the gender of street children, their age profile indicates to us the effect of forces other than economics on the incidence of street children. As we have seen already, the majority of street children are aged between ten and fourteen years. Of course, there are exceptions, particularly among orphans and abandoned children but, for the most part, children younger than ten are not common on the streets. It can be argued that children are not *allowed* to go to the streets before this. Parents recognise that young children would be too vulnerable and would not manage in the harsh street environment.

As well as children's age or gender, there are additional nationwide factors which determine the incidence of street children. This is noticeable when street children do not appear in an economy where one would otherwise expect to see them. Ennew and Milne (1989) refer to revolutionary Cuba as a case in point. Pre-revolutionary Havana had a street child problem as prevalent as anywhere else in Latin America. After the revolution however, an explicit philosophy regarding children was developed whereby childhood was viewed as a time for socialisation and ideology training. Between 1959 and 1969, the number of primary schools and pupils in Cuba doubled. At the non-compulsory second level,

efforts were made to provide students with easy financial and geographical access to education. Older children who live in isolated areas attend central schools where the state houses, feeds and clothes them (Ennew & Milne, 1989). Also, Cuba has a wide spread State Social Security System for the sick, retired, unemployed and needy - "Therefore the phenomenon of children as breadwinners for disabled parents or co-earners to support impoverished families should not exist ... No child needs to miss education ... Hunger is virtually eliminated and the infant mortality rate places Cuba alongside the wealthiest countries in the world" (ibid., p. 188). The result of this nationwide effort to promote child welfare and to alleviate poverty is that very few numbers of street children are to be found on the streets of Cuba's towns and cities. It may well be that the situation in Cuba has deteriorated in recent years. However, Ennew and Milne's (1989) original point still stands; that is, given the political will and social reorganisation, governments *can* reduce the incidence of street children.

To conclude, even given the usual prerequisites for the existence of street children such as poverty or dramatic social upheaval, street children are not necessarily an inevitable development. They are not always a standard symptom of a troubled society. The fact is, the incidence of street children may be controlled to a certain degree by parents, cultural norms and by governmental welfare measures. This in no way supports the heavy handed approach taken by numerous governments whereby street children are "rounded up" and taken off the streets to work on state

farms or are simply held in detention and let go again. Such practices, as well as being abusive, are ineffectual because they operate only at a surface, cosmetic level and change none of the underlying reasons which send children to the streets in the first place. Regardless of the degree of brutality employed, no army or security force can eliminate the activities of hungry peddlers and beggars.

Family Relations and Structure

Most street children retain links with their families. In general, no excessive abuse has occurred within the child's family and street children have a good relationship with their families. A study in Bogotá, Columbia, concluded that "all the children ... hoped that their families could improve their living conditions; they wished to remain on good terms with them and, when things got better at home - when they could find greater security at home - they wished to stay there, help their families, study and improve their situation" (Fourth World Movement, 1986, p. 9). Lusk (1989) reported that 90% of his sample had occasional or regular contact with their family. Felsman (1981) found that only 2.5% of street children in his sample had been abandoned: 61% maintained regular contact with their families. Boyden (1986) estimated that of the 200,000 children who work regularly on the streets of Lima, Peru, only 6,000 (3%) actually live on the streets. Aptekar (1989b) reported that only 16% of his sample had no known family to contact. The remainder were in the care of at least one parent or a

grandparent. The tendency worldwide seems to be that street children, generally, remain part of a family. They are not wild and free children who are accountable to nobody.

This being said, street children do tend to come from atypical families. In San Jose, Costa Rica, 78% of a sample of street children came from families with a single parent or no parent (Valverde & Lusk, 1989). Lusk et al. (1989) reported that only 44% of their sample live with two parent families, 20% live with their mother and the remaining 36% live with relatives, or with other children on the streets. Brown (1987) reported that only 7% of street children in Kingston, Jamaica have two parent families.

Victimisation of Street Children

Recent instances of street children being murdered in parts of Latin America by death squads organised by the police and merchants have been well documented by the media. Sadruddin Aga Khan and Hassan bin Talal, Co-Chairmen of the Independent Commission on International Humanitarian Issues, reported that "in one large South American city, officially-licensed radio stations have urged private individuals to do away with street children physically. The result reportedly is not only widespread violence but the actual killing of two youngsters, on average, every day" (in Agnelli, 1986, p. 18). By 1993, this figure had risen to an estimated four children being killed a day. "Because they [street children] are increasingly blamed for the rising crime rate in Brazil's cities, they have now become prey: an average of four a day

are killed" (TIME, 1993). In one particularly horrific incident during mid-July, 1993, five men opened fire on a group of fifty sleeping children in Rio de Janeiro. Three children died immediately and a further five died later from injuries. Three military policemen were arrested for the shootings (TIME, 1993). Human Rights Watch/America estimated that 5,000 children were murdered in Brazil between 1988 and 1991 (Guardian, 1/2/1994). An estimated 2,800 children were murdered in Columbia in 1991 alone (Naylor, 1994).

One form of abuse which is repeatedly referred to is the abuse of street children by the authorities. Police brutality was at such a level that at the First National Conference of Street Boys and Girls held in Brasilia in 1986, the children attending demanded that it be reduced (Lusk, 1989, p. 63). Cali's street children's relationship with the police is similar to that of other street children around the world; namely, it is marked by mistrust and fear. The police in Cali generally view street children as *rebeldes* (rebels), that is, defiant, undisciplined and future hard-core criminals (Felsman, 1981). Street children are often viewed as pests by the authorities and are subject to physical abuse and occasional round ups.

> "Reports of victimisation and extortion are frequent, and policemen on the beat have been known to relieve street children of their earnings on the grounds that they can only have been ill-gotten. Street children have emerged from police stations with cigarette burns. Minors aged sixteen arrested for having no identity papers can be recorded as

aged eighteen, to ensure they are put in with adults and get 'a real lesson' " (Agnelli, 1986, p. 65).

Street children are often kept in adult prisons where no special provisions are made for their position as minors. Such experiences do little for their socialisation as future law abiding citizens - "The desperation which drove them to unlawful acts and the social marginalisation which they already suffer are reinforced by imprisonment" (Grant, 1986, p. ix).

In the literature, the issue of victimisation of street children is assumed rather than specified. Writers generally presuppose its existence, rarely investigating in detail. Almost all publications concerning street children refer to victimisation and leave it as a backdrop to the rest of the piece, be it a sensationalist newspaper article or an article in an academic journal. A heart-rending case-study may be presented and the killings of street children by vigilantes will almost inevitably be referred to, but this is where any discussion on the victimisation of street children usually ends. For example, MacPherson (1987) focused on street children in his chapter on "Abuse and Exploitation of Children." However, the details of abuse seem to be assumed. There is no discussion of specific experiences beyond mentioning that children suffer "acute damage from life on the streets" (p. 207). He also mentioned the "inherent abuse and exploitation of street employment" (p. 207) without expanding. Lusk et al. (1989) reported that "over half of the interviewees reported a traumatic experience while working on the streets. Most commonly they referred to being beaten, mugged

or having their money or goods stolen" (p. 296). It is rare to find such a specific reference to victimisation in the literature on street children.

Delinquency

Street children often turn to petty theft to support themselves. The kind of petty theft found among street children, up to their early teens, could be argued to be more indicative of adaptation and survival strategies than of maladjustment or criminality. Felsman (1981) does not consider petty theft as delinquency - "petty theft resembles the nature of other *gamin* activity, a survival strategy necessary for successful adaptation in the street, rather than severe delinquent behavior" (p. 103). Typically, younger adolescents are relatively pro-social, although they may use drugs (inhalants), act as look-outs for older thieves and practice petty theft. However, theft among older street children may involve organised burglary and muggings. In addition, street children are used by adults as thieves, beggars or drug couriers:

> "Workers in Bolivia, Brazil and Columbia reported a contemporary version of Oliver Twist's plight. In what we might call the "Fagan Syndrome", children are often used by adults as thieves, purse snatchers ... or as couriers or vendors of drugs for which they are paid cash or in-kind" (Lusk, 1989, p. 64).

Inevitably, this brings street children into contact with the police, or other security forces. They are frequently viewed as a threat to society, as delinquents or criminals, or as layabouts who prefer begging to working. Slang words used by the police for street children include "the plague" or "dirty faces" (Columbia), "vermin" (Ethiopia) and "mosquitoes" (Cameroon).

Lusk (1989) outlined a three stage typology of delinquency development in Columbia. The labels for the children at each stage of development are *pre-gamin, gamin* and *largo.* A *pre-gamin* is a pre-adolescent child who lives at home but spends part of his time on the streets in order to supplement family income. While on the street, he is likely to engage in petty theft when the opportunity arises. A *gamin* is an adolescent with looser family ties and he spends more time on the street, even sleeping there. Typically, this type of youth lives with other gang members in a rented room or flat. *Gamins* are school drop-outs and are self supporting - often through illegal activity. Finally, the *largos* are the older adolescents who have fully taken on the street life and ethic. They are enmeshed in hardcore street life, and are likely to develop into adult criminals (Lusk, 1989, pp. 58-59). Fall (1986) reported that 80% of Sao Paolo's prison population consists of ex-street children.

Lusk's typology (1989) conforms with the pattern of delinquency development observed elsewhere. According to Aptekar (1988), this development of street boys from petty thief to hard-core criminal is almost inevitable:

"Our study indicated that they were almost no possibilities

for the gamine facing puberty .... The gamines, as they grew older, were compelled by their perceptions of themselves as haughty provocateurs to give up small scale mischief and become either full-scale delinquents or find a way to live outside the mainstream of the larger society" (pp. 76-77).

Felsman (1981) also observed that as street boys grow older, their ability to extract money by begging decreases. Thus, they turn more to theft to survive. At first this is largely petty theft, but as the boys grow older they turn to hard-core crime. Felsman (1981) reported that older street adolescents become involved in organised crime, participating as "runners" in gem and drug trafficking or in attracting customers of organised prostitution. However, he provides no evidence of such activities occurring in his sample.

Drug Use

Drug use is commonly thought to be prevalent amongst street children, and its effects to be detrimental to their physical and psychological well being. Indeed, an estimated 80% of street children in Brazil consume drugs (Lucchini, 1993b, p. 17). The drugs most widely used by Brazilian street children are inhalants - cobblers glue, aerosol, butane, propane, varnish and stain remover. However, such drug use is primarily a social activity and levels of addiction are low. Indeed, many children are able to stop consumption at once (Lucchini, ibid.). It is primarily younger children who consume inhalants (48% of nine to eleven year olds,

but only 34% of fifteen to seventeen year olds). Younger children do not have the money for marijuana and are not trusted by dealers to be adequately discreet. Cocaine use is rare and is practised only by the oldest adolescents. This pattern of inhalant use among younger children who cannot afford other drugs has been observed in numerous South American studies (Lucchini, 1993b, p. 19). Connolly (1990), too, reported that "hard drugs are virtually unknown" (p. 144). Street children, then, use inhalants as a leisure pursuit and as an escape from boredom, depression, fear and anxiety. Drug use among street children is typically a relaxing, sociable and controlled activity involving relatively "light" drugs such as alcohol, hashish or *khat* (a mild narcotic leaf chewed throughout Ethiopia). Younger street adolescents rarely use hard drugs or experience the addiction associated with them. Their lifestyle cannot afford the exclusive focusing of their energies on drug procurement and consumption:

> "The ecology and the rhythm of survival in the street are elements that limit the effects of consumption on dependency. Other elements come to strengthen this protective effect. For instance, the inhalants are most of the time consumed in the street and collectively ... Withdrawal on oneself is incompatible with consumption of inhalants" (Lucchini, 1993b, p. 28).

Dallape (1988) noted the controlled nature of drug-taking amongst street children in Nairobi - "Discipline is an important

part of their lives. For example, the taking of drugs is limited to the amount required for action. Overdoses are not tolerated and street children force each other to moderation" (p. 18, cited in Ennew, 1994, p. 23). Aptekar (1988), too, stated that drug use was not as prevalent among the street child population as commonly believed - "Drug use for the most part simply was not central to the street children's lives" (p. 142). Nevertheless, there are street children who do not restrict their indulgence in chemical substances - "the heavy users are easily recognised by their ragged clothing, soiled faces, and glazed eyes, and the effects of brain damage are observable among long-time users" (Connolly, 1990, p. 144).

The Group

Street children are vulnerable to abuse and victimisation from the police, from other street children and from customers and passers-by on the streets. A solitary street child is an easy target for theft by any of these groups. Primarily to protect themselves from this victimisation, street children usually organise themselves into gangs. A further function of the gang is to provide the companionship and care children are missing by not living with their families. For *children of the street*, the gang fulfils primary familial needs such as protection, sustenance and nurture (Lusk et al., 1989; Connolly, 1990). The gang

"provides the protection and comradeship of a substitute

family, status, excitement, and a code of 'honour' - rules to which, unlike those of conventional society, the youngster can conform. It also meets the need, in particular, for a sense of identity, which is sometimes reinforced by esoteric slang" (Agnelli, 1986, p. 39).

Aptekar (1989a) attributed the adequate mental health of street children, in spite of their lifestyles, to the intense friendships they form within their groups. These intense "chumships" border on love and ameliorate the effects of past emotional trauma - "While playing in traffic and offering to clean the very car windows they had just dirtied ... or in their other demonstrations of agility and play, these young children were at the same time reaping the curative benefits of chumship" (p. 787).

Aptekar (1989a) described two groups which exist among Colombian street children, the *camadas* and the *galladas*. The *campadas* are groups of two or three pre-adolescents who share intimacies and camaraderie. They are more like friends than business partners. These are the "chumships" referred to above. Chumships allows children "to deal with the demands of street life in a rather healthy manner" (p. 791). The *galladas* are groups of between fifteen and twenty five children, led by older adolescents. Their associations are primarily for economic reasons. The leader, or *jefe*, is the link between the group and the established criminal element. He is "the bridge between the street children and the subculture of urban poverty" (p. 791). The leader defends the gang, finds lucrative places to work and knows safe hideaways to sleep.

Each member specialises in particular roles - fencing, pick-pocketing or feigning tears while begging. *Galladas* in Bogotá were first described in 1860 and have withstood every attempt to suppress or reform them since (Agnelli, 1986).

Adaptation and Resilience

Perhaps the most striking feature of street children is their resilience, the fact that they are usually quite well-adjusted, in spite of their harsh lives on the streets. We might expect that children who live in squalor and who are mocked, insulted, robbed, beaten and raped should be emotionally disturbed or even sociopathic. And yet, street children generally appear to survive to become normal members of the urban poor mileu. In order to understand street children's resilience to hardship, we must understand the *context* in which street work takes place. In Bombay, for instance, child workers (both on the street and elsewhere) augment domestic income by up to a quarter in 50% of families (Boyden, 1991, p. 117). Child work is an effective coping strategy for the urban poor and, in the sense that it is usually sanctioned by parents and by the community, the child's work is a normal activity and should not necessarily be viewed as damaging and debilitative. The "Street" is not necessarily a bad place: "As a social market, the street is often an important element of the culture of the social strata to which street children belong" (Lucchini, 1993a, p. 10). The street may have certain positive functions for some children. It may be the only place where

children can get money or food to survive; and it allows children to meet others of similar condition, and to compensate for emotional deprivation in the home.

The degree to which street children are well adjusted was a primary finding of Aptekar's (1988) work. He measured the intellectual and emotional abilities of street children using the Bender-Gestalt, Kohs Block Designs, and Human Figure Drawing tests. These tests were administered to 56 street boys in Cali in 1984 in a drop-in centre for street children. The results of these tests indicated that street children are relatively normal and well adapted. The mean IQ score was 88.38, with only 25% scoring below 85, the low average cut-off point. Only 3.6% of the children were in the retarded range. Aptekar concluded that "our sample is functioning intellectually well within the boundaries of adaptability, given their subcultural and societal norms" (1988, p. 30). As regards emotional functioning, 48% had Bender scores in the healthy range, 25% were in the transitional category, and only 7% were in the pathological range. Aptekar noted that these healthy Bender-gestalt scores were

> "in spite of the fact that they had lived on the streets for three months, had been incarcerated at least once, many had been abused, most came from homes without two parents and some had no 'homes', and lived in the lowest socio-economic strata of their society" (1989a, p. 786).

Aptekar (1989c) cited three reasons why street children appear to be better adjusted than one might expect:

1. Street children have not been rejected by their families. They are not alone in the world. More often than not, they are on the streets with their families' approval, in order to earn extra income for the household.

2. Street children have a strong network of peer support.

3. Most of the children have adult benefactors. Such a person may be a shop keeper the child sees each day, a former street child or simply a benevolent citizen - "The relationship between street children and benefactors is firmly established in Latin American cultures, and it indicates not only an important source of help ... but also suggests why many children who appear abandoned are not without contacts and assistance or means to secure some income" (Aptekar, 1989b, p. 430).

A fourth reason for street children's surprising adaptedness is elaborated in Aptekar (1989d). Namely, the cognitive demands of coping on the streets are thought to promote, not detract from, intellectual growth:

"Their daily lives on the streets necessitated an initiation and completion of tasks without supervision. They had to

develop a social awareness to gain access to food and shelter, and they developed an ability to move around the city, often at great distances from their local neighbourhoods. These very behaviours have been shown to improve cognitive skills. It may be that, rather than detracting from intellectual growth, street life actually added to it" (1989d, p. 90).

Felsman's (1981) work also concentrated on the resilience and adaptability of street children - "In my work with the gamins I was most struck by their exhibition of healthy, competent behaviour and lack of severe psychopathology" (p. 93). The incidence of psychopathology which did exist in Felsman's sample was associated with a lack of group relationships, the absence of a sense of belonging, the inability to bear minor teasing and the inability to play.

Felsman sought to discover why, in such an apparently difficult environment, street children appeared to be relatively invulnerable to the daily stresses they experience. In short, why are they so well adapted? Initially, he sought to confirm that the *gamin* is indeed a vulnerable child. Is their environment really as harsh as it appears to be? He completed a risk profile for each of the 25 boys in his core sample. Twenty one were assessed as being at high risk of developing a psychopathology. None of the sample were found to be in the low risk range. Thus, not surprisingly, due to factors such as poverty and a chaotic, disorganised family life, Felsman's sample of *gamins* were found to be at high risk of developing psychopathology. Nevertheless, Felsman argued that

psychopathology is avoided by a combination of internal personality traits and external environmental variables. The internal factors he listed as:

(a) Physiology and Temperament: Felsman (1981) noted the *gamins* to be, for the most part, strong, agile and co-ordinated. Over 60% were judged to be of generally mesomorphic physique. Such a physique is associated with a certain temperament; namely, an "active, acquisitive, assertive temperament" (p. 155). Such traits, Felsman argued, may prove to be quite adaptive on the streets, contributing to the child's ability to survive. "The gamin's ability to bring focused, physical energy to bear on a specific task, their physical endurance and resistance to exhaustion and their quick recovery of physical equilibrium all contribute to their mastery of the street environment" (pp. 155-6).

(b) Ego development: The stresses of their daily lives provide the boys with the resilience they need to survive.

(c) Psychological differentiation: Psychological differentiation is the extent to which a person relies on external referents or upon the self in psychological functioning. The most commonly measured dimension of psychological differentiation is field-dependence and field independence. "Almost without exception, the gamins have been observed to operate on the field independent side of psychological differentiation" (p. 166). This may help to explain their initial abandonment of the home (a desire for

independence) and their high levels of coping skills on the street - internalised locus of control, a belief in their own ability and an avoidance of helplessness.

In addition to these internal factors which help to equip a child for street life, external factors responsible for the child's resilience are listed as:

(a) Strong peer relations.
(b) Progressive intervention programmes which strive to accommodate the children's nature and needs. They "provide the long term physical and emotional support necessary for the transition from the streets, offering role models who embody a difficult but attainable alternative course" (Felsman, 1981, p. 176).

Of course, not all street children are well adjusted. Aptekar (1988; 1989a) made the important observation that not all children adapt so well to street life. He outlined a psychological profile of the different types of pre-adolescent street children - *los gamines* and *los chupagruesos. Los gamines* chose to leave home for the streets "having rejected the trade off between childhood protection with family obligations for the freedom from authority" (1989a, p. 788). Such children survive by cunning and wit. "On the test scores they [the *gamines*] were significantly brighter and showed better emotional functioning and less neurological impairment than the *chupagruesos*" (1988, p. 75). *Los chupagruesos* on the other hand

tend to be worried and submissive. They "demonstrated a capacity for depression, anger and guilt - ingredients alien to the gamines ... They were more eager to please adults, more likely to see themselves as pitiful or abused, and less mischievous and independent" (p. 74). They will submit to the authority of older street boys, handing over a share of their earnings without protest.

This dichotomy between *los gamines* and *los chupagruesos* is interesting in that it serves to illustrate that there are street children who appear to thrive on their independent lifestyle and others who do not seem as well equipped to cope. In addition, Connolly (1990) observed that not all *gamines* survive the hostile and difficult conditions of life on the streets:

> "There is no doubt that many simply perish ... In many cases, knife and gunshot wounds are the cause of death, while tragic street accidents claim others. Thus, while most *gamines* have the ability and are fortunate enough to survive, their lifestyle is inherently dangerous and the street claims many young victims" (p. 145).

It is interesting to ponder the extent to which researchers may have biased their sample towards healthy, functional children by interviewing and carrying out research with confident children who volunteer their services, are happy to communicate openly with a foreign researcher and, overall, are easier to deal with than suspicious, withdrawn or aggressive children.

The Effects of Street Life

Very little is known about the consequences of street life for street children. Having examined the intellectual and emotional functioning of a sample of street boys in Cali, Aptekar (1989c) concluded that there is no evidence for the hypothesis that time on the street adversely affects the children:

> "If the older children were using an excessive amount of drugs, or were suffering from additional nutritional problems, then the test results would have shown that the older children had more neurological pathology than the younger children. Indeed, according to our results and contrary to expectation, age and time on the streets do not increase their problems" (p. 304).

However, such an optimistic conclusion is unfounded. Aptekar's conclusion can be challenged on a number of points:

1. Older street children in Aptekar's sample are assumed to be representative of children who have spent longer amounts of time on the streets. However, Aptekar had earlier pointed out that "we found difficulty in determining how long children had been living without support because in addition to their continual movement between home and a variety of programs, these children also found private benefactors" (1989b, p. 429). Therefore, it cannot be assumed that the older

children in his sample had necessarily spent longer amounts of time on the streets than younger children.

2. The conclusion that street life does not adversely affect street children is based on the unsupported assumption that poor nutrition and drug use will register on the Bender-Gestalt, Human Figure Drawing test or Kohs Block Design.

3. Drug use and poor nutrition cannot be accepted as exhaustive or comprehensive measures of "adverse effects" of street life. One must surely consider additional aspects such as education, employability and life-style satisfaction.

4. It is possible that attrition through leaving the street or death plays a role here. Perhaps less resilient children do not survive on the streets into their late teens, thus giving an overly optimistic view of those resilient adaptive youths which do?

5. Aptekar's optimistic outlook for the consequences of street life are based on a very small sample of older adolescents - the overall sample was 56 and only 32 of these were of "transitional" or "post-puberty" age.

In short, it is too early to say what the consequences of street

life are. This is an area which has not yet been thoroughly researched.

Street Children and Health

The rigour of street life takes its toll on the health of street children and illnesses are further exacerbated by the fact that children are often unable to afford the appropriate medicines. Many rely instead on traditional medicines, the benefits of which are often dubious. The most common illnesses from which street children suffer are respiratory problems, skin infections, injuries from fights and accidents, stomach worms and other intestinal parasites, sickness, diarrhoea and other stomach problems, kidney and bladder infections, bad teeth, sexually transmitted diseases and eye infections (Connolly, 1994, cited in Ennew, 1994, p. 97). Other ailments include infected lacerations, burns, contusions, head lice, fleas, and sores of all descriptions.

Boyden (1991) devoted considerable attention to the health of urban poor children. She described the Third World urban slums as being intrinsically unhealthy places where between 25% and 33% of children die before they are five years of age. Environmental factors are identified as being particularly damaging to children's health:

> "these include factors such as inadequate sanitation, blocked and overflowing drains, inadequate water supply, overcrowding, uncollected rubbish, contamination of food,

congested traffic, smoke and pollution from manufacturing, processing and distilling plants, inadequate recreational facilities, poor housing and a general increased exposure to infectious diseases" (p. 77).

Infected, polluted or stagnant water is particularly harmful to children's health as it contains water-borne diseases such as cholera, typhoid, hepatitis, dysentery and diarrhoea (Boyden, 1991). Where children play in rubbish tips, gutters or ditches, the risk of faecal-oral transmission of disease is high. Pollution and poor housing contribute to high rates of respiratory infections such as pneumonia. Worms also contribute to the poor nutritional status of the urban poor. Studies from Sri Lanka show that 70% of children from disadvantaged communities are infected with worms (Boyden, 1991, p. 81).

Street Children and their Non-Working Peers

If we accept poverty or abuse as a reason for a child to go to the streets, we might expect all children exposed to similar conditions to go to the streets. However, this does not always happen. Sometimes a boy will go to the streets and his brother, who has been exposed to the same levels of poverty, will not. Clearly, something individual to the street child has precipitated his going to the streets. Agnelli (1986) suggested that there may be a psychological element which motivates a child to go to the streets - "it is suggested that some hereditary predisposition,

irrespective of family conditions, actively pushed some to take to the streets on their own initiative" (p. 46). It is difficult to imagine a hereditary predisposition to go to the streets, but it is not difficult to accept that personality factors influence an abused and poverty-stricken boy to go to the streets while his brother elects to stay behind. Aptekar (1988) suggested that the child who goes to the streets is more independent minded and tougher than the child who decides to stay at home. Thus, the resilience of street children may be explained by the street's process of screening for toughness. Children who cannot survive in such an environment stay or return home, in spite of the poverty, under-feeding, or abuse. Thus, we are more likely to find tough, resilient, independent children on the streets.

An interesting facet of the adaptability of street children is their health in comparison to non working children from a similar socio-economic background. Pardo and Vergara (1964) noted that street children's physical and emotional health were superior to their sibling's and neighbours who remained at home. Cortes (1969) also noted a healthier average weight amongst street children compared to their siblings at home, which the author attributed to better nutrition. Of course, these findings are very old now and were collected at a time when, possibly, there was less competition on the streets. However, they do serve to indicate, again, that the street is not always a damaging place for an urban poor child to be.

Conclusion

An understanding of the complex nature of the causes of "streetism" has existed for little more than ten years. Writings on the subject of street children before the early 1980s are rare. It is true to say that even now there are large gaps in our knowledge of street children. The more visible aspects of street children's lives have been investigated - where they come from, how they eat, the kinds of work they do and their peer groups. However, little is known about the developmental consequences of street life, what the child's work means to his or her family or about how adolescents decide to leave the streets. Almost nothing is known about how a street child's psychological and physical health compares to that of his sibling's or neighbours who do not work. Until now, no research has focused on the abuse and victimisation street children experience.

Any intervention to assist street children must operate from an objective and empirically collected data base in order to determine the most suitable programmes for the numerous different types of street children. There is a real need for research which moves beyond the descriptive level. Cross cultural comparisons would serve to illustrate the highly idiosyncratic cultural and economic influences on the existence of street children and a longitudinal study would help us to understand the consequences, both positive and negative, of street life.

STREET CHILDREN IN ETHIOPIA

More so than in many other countries, the children of Ethiopia have been exposed to extreme hardships. In the last ten years they have experienced drought, famine, civil war and massive population displacement. Appendix three provides the reader with a political, geographical, historical and economic background to Ethiopia. The reader will gain a fuller insight into the world of Ethiopian street children by understanding more of the unique nature of the country in which they live.

Having discussed the nature of street children, as reported in the international literature, we shall now turn our attention to the specific characteristics of street children in Ethiopia. Much of the information presented below originates in a Unicef funded survey carried out by the Ethiopian Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs (Molsa) in conjunction with University College Cork (UCC). One thousand street children were interviewed in Addis Ababa and in three other urban centres throughout Ethiopia (Unicef, 1993). The survey was conducted during the school holidays so may over-represent the number of street children from intact and relatively secure families. The reason for this is that many school children work on the streets during their summer holidays and devote the remaining nine months of the year to their studies. These school-going children are more likely to be from a stable background which can financially support their studies. If school children are a large group in the sample the findings will suggest that street children come from more stable backgrounds, go to the streets later in life,

experience less exploitation and are better educated and have better health than they actually do. Nevertheless, this is perhaps the most comprehensive survey of street children ever carried out.

Incidence of Street Children in Ethiopia

Tacon (1991) attempted to arrive at "guesstimates" of the number of street children in Ethiopia by using various indices such as the incidence of urban poverty, children's proportion of the population and the percentage of poor children who will go to the street in order to supplement their families' income. He estimated that by 1991, 15,000 of the capital's children were *on* or *of* the street (Tacon, 1991, p. 2). Figures for the country as a whole are correspondingly higher:

> "Ethiopia has a total population approximating 50 million, 13% of which, or 6.5 million, is urban. Applying a factor of 1.5 to Ethiopia's urban population in 1991, would result in an estimate of 97,500 street children countrywide ... Furthermore, if only 45% of the urban poor children ... were not enroled in school, this would constitute an extremely vulnerable 'army' of street candidates numbering half a million" (Tacon, 1991, p. 3).

Tacon concluded by stating that "the incidence of street children in Ethiopia is indeed considerable - greater in fact than the vast majority of countries known to the writer in Latin America,

Asia and Africa - and their numbers are growing at an alarming rate" (1991, p. 2). Figures for Addis Ababa are likely to be even higher than this estimation due to the sudden massive increase in the city's population between early 1991 and late 1992. In this time, the population is thought to have increased from 1.5 million to nearly three million people, due to in-migration from the countryside (Baker & Arnesen, 1992).

Age

Almost 50% of the sample of 1,000 street children interviewed throughout Ethiopia are less than twelve years old. This figure reflects the stratified sampling technique used and does not necessarily reflect the true situation on the ground. Data collectors aimed for 50% of the sample to be less than twelve years of age. Nevertheless, the estimations of the age and sex make-up of the street child population were arrived at after extensive consultation with Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and governmental programme managers. Thus, it is estimated that approximately half of all street children in Ethiopia are less than twelve years of age. The average age of initiation to street life, as reported by Ethiopian street children, is approximately eleven years (Unicef, 1993).

Gender

Again, the results from the Unicef/MOLSA survey reflect a

deliberate sampling strategy, but are thought to reflect the true situation on the ground. Street boys and girls constitute, respectively, an estimated 75% and 25% proportion of the street child population in Ethiopia.

Factors Contributing to Streetism

In 1988 children under fifteen years constituted almost 50% of Ethiopia's population (Cherenet, 1988). Large numbers of these children live in or have experienced conditions which are recognised "as pre-disposing factors to street life involvement, namely poverty, lack of education, war and displacement and the disintegration of families" (Unicef, 1993, p. 5). The drought, the 1984-1985 famine, and the fighting in the North up to 1991, led to large numbers of children being orphaned (Aboud et al., 1991; Unicef, 1982). These factors, particularly having been displaced or orphaned, emerge from the reasons given by street children for coming to the streets as we can see below:

Reason for coming to the streets	Children of the street (n=256) %	Children on the street (n=673) %
Economic reasons	36.3	82.4
Family disharmony	28.1	3.7
Displaced/orphaned	30.1	2.1
Join friends/play	4.3	8.3

Table 2.1: Reasons given for coming to the streets by Ethiopian street children (Extrapolated from Unicef, 1993, p. 40).

The figures change predictably when one considers the reasons given by *children of the street* for coming to the streets (n=256), as compared to the reasons given by *children on the street* (n=673). Nearly 60% of *children of the street* are out of home because of family disharmony or due to being orphaned or displaced. Only 36% of the sample of children *of the streets* came to the streets full-time in order to work, whereas this is the primary motivation for part-time *children on the street* (82%). This clearly indicates to us an important difference between these two different types of street children. In however limited or restricted a format, *children on the streets* choose to come to the streets in order to make money. In general, their circumstances are rarely as bad as those of *children of the street*, who more often come to the streets because there is nowhere else for them to go, having been left orphaned or rejected by their family or carers. Thus, when

questioning the reasons for initiation to street life, one must consider the kind of street child - whether he/she is *of the street* or *on the street.*

Family Relations and Structure

The parents of Ethiopian street children are generally poor, whether rural or urban. Their educational status is typically low. One third of fathers and twice as many mothers were reported to be illiterate.

Only 23% of the sample live with both parents. The bulk of the remaining children come from families where a spouse has been widowed (32%), divorced (12%) or separated due to circumstances (typically war) (7%). Nine per cent of the sample are orphans. In spite of these varied family backgrounds, most street children have not broken contact with home and do not stay out on the street overnight. Over 80% of a sample of 1,000 see their family every day, suggesting that most Ethiopian street children are still integrally linked with their families (Unicef, 1993). For the sample as a whole, only 21.5% street children sleep on the streets and an additional 4.2% sleep in rented accommodation. However, the war and drought stricken town of Mekele is responsible for boosting these figures. In Mekele, a massive 51% of street children sleep on the streets. If Mekele is excluded from the calculations, we find that 14.2% of the remaining sample of 800 street children sleep on the streets and 4.5% rent temporary accommodation.

Victimisation and Delinquency of Street Children

Until recently, little or no factual information existed on these topics. However, victimisation and delinquency amongst Ethiopian street children is the primary focus of this study. Consequently, discussion of these topics is held until Chapters five and six.

Street Children and Health

Being at an altitude of 2,500 metres, Addis Ababa becomes quite cold after dark and during the rainy season temperatures fall to less than 10° Centigrade. The non-paved streets of the slums and market-places are reduced to a filthy quagmire of sewage, refuse and mud; a breeding ground for disease. Tuberculosis and other respiratory illnesses, as well as fevers, are very common amongst street children. Chronic health problems are widely reported by Ethiopian street children. The most frequently occurring problems can be seen in Table 2.2 below:

Street childrens' health difficulties	%
Stomach problems	28.6
Headache	28.5
Nose bleeds	15.2
Eye problems	13.7
Ear problems	8.1
Teeth problems	8
Skin problems	7.6

Table 2.2: Health difficulties reported by 1,000 Ethiopian street children (Unicef, 1993).

Most of these health problems are a direct result of street children's lifestyle. Headaches and nose bleeds are the result of 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" (Unicef, 1993, p. 68).

Street Work

Street children's work tends to be gender specific. Boys shine shoes, wash cars, carry goods, peddle cigarettes and chewing gum, sell lottery tickets and beg. In spite of the fact that females

constitute an estimated 30% of the street child population in Addis Ababa (Unicef, 1993), they are not as evident as boys are on the streets. This is because many girls work in hotels, bars, or as maids in private houses. Girls generally do not work on the streets in the same occupations as boys - one will not see them washing cars, shining shoes or working on the taxis. Compared to their male counterparts, relatively few avenues of work are open to street girls. They may sell *kollo* up until about age fifteen. At this point, if they do not have the money to set up as a petty trader selling tiny quantities of onions and potatoes or non-perishable goods such as soap, pasta and washing powder, there is relatively little else available to them besides begging. An ambition for many street girls is to be hired as a maid in a private house. Here they can be certain of food and shelter. The older girls also have the option of becoming prostitutes. They are routinely solicited to work as bar ladies by bar owners. Their duties are to serve drink, encourage the men to drink more and to provide sexual services to those customers who want them.

Contraception and Abortion

Sexual disease and pregnancy are very real fears for street girls in Addis Ababa. A recent survey in Addis Ababa found a 50% incidence of HIV+ among "bar-ladies" and a 25% incidence amongst street prostitutes (Mehret et al., 1990). In spite of this, many prostitutes fail to take any precautions with their customers. Indeed, anecdotal evidence suggests that the most widely used

"contraceptive" method is to have sex with many different boys or men in the belief that each man's sperm will neutralise, or kill, the previous man's. *Khat* chewing or eating chili peppers is also widely believed to prevent pregnancy.

A widely used technique for abortions is to drink a concoction which is generally prepared by old women. It is prepared by grinding a leaf into powder and mixing this with water. This mixture is then drunk while it is hot. On drinking it, a girl becomes violently sick which can result in the foetus being aborted. Another technique is to drink Coke with ampicillin tablets which, again, had the effect of making the user violently sick. A third method is to insert a piece of plastic attached to a string up into the girl's womb and to leave it there for two days. It is then pulled out, causing the foetus to abort.

Conclusion

How do Ethiopian street children compare with street children from other parts of the world? The answer to this question must be tentative because, as we have seen, the literature on street children, particularly in Africa, is rather sparse. Nevertheless, we can point to some areas of similarity:

Age: The literature on street children generally agrees that the majority of street children are aged between ten and fourteen. The same is true of Ethiopia. Seventy three per cent of Unicef's (1993) sample of 1,000 street children were aged between ten and fifteen.

Gender: As in Latin America, males also constitute the majority of street children in Ethiopia. The reasons for this might include parental reluctance to allow girls to be exposed to the rigours of street life; female labour is more likely to be missed than male labour from the household; and girls are more employed in jobs which keep them away from the public eye, for example, house maids.

Health: Not surprisingly, street children everywhere suffer the effects of exposure to the elements, inadequate diets, very low standards of housing and inaccessibility to adequate health care.

Family Relationships: As with their counterparts in Latin America, the majority of Ethiopian street children have retained contact with their families. Indeed, more than 80% see their families on a daily basis. The families of street children typically tend to be female headed. Fathers are absent as a result of death, desertion or war. Only a small number of children of the streets have no contact at all with their families. These latter group of children rarely constitute more than 10% of the street child population in a given region.

To conclude, Ethiopian children are not unlike their Latin American counterparts when it comes to family backgrounds, health and gender distribution. However, it will be some time before comprehensive comparisons are possible. In Chapter six, having examined the victimisation and delinquency data which is the focus

of this study, we shall further consider the comparison between Ethiopian street children and street children elsewhere.



SUMMARY

The literature on street children comes largely from Latin America. Historically, this is the region with the longest history of children living and working on the streets. In this chapter, we have seen that street children are a heterogenous population, best discriminated by where they sleep. *Children on the streets* work there but spend the evenings and nights with their families. *Children of the streets* have less contact with their families and sleep either outside or in cheap rented accommodation. Problems of definition and the fluid nature of being a street child make estimates of the incidence of street children difficult. Universally, street boys appear to out number street girls by a ratio of two to one. However, the true incidence of working girls may be hidden by the nature of their work, which tends to be more hidden than the work of street boys. For example, working as maids in bars, back street hotels and private houses. Poverty, family disintegration and abuse in the home are the most common reasons given for coming to the streets. The majority of street children come from female-headed or broken households and, contrary to what is commonly believed, most retain a regular contact with home. A smaller number have no contact with home and they both work and sleep on the streets. Such a lifestyle takes a toll on the health of children, particularly during the rainy season. For these *children of the streets*, and also for *children on the streets*, their friends play an important role in companionship and protection. Such friendships have been identified by a number of researchers as

being vital in aiding street childrens' psychological health.

Comparatively little work has been done on the nature of street children in Africa. We have seen that there are similarities between Latin American and Ethiopian street children in terms of age, gender, health and the nature of their family relationships. A comprehensive comparison, however, is not possible at this point. Unfortunately, given the rapid urbanisation and modernisation of the African continent, with the breakdown of traditional social structures which this causes, we can predict a growing number of street children on the streets of African cities.

Chapter Three

Victimisation: Theory and Measurement

INTRODUCTION

The primary purpose of this chapter is to introduce victimological concepts which may be able to illuminate the victim survey data which was gathered in Addis Ababa. Criminology and victimology are predominantly Western disciplines. Victimology originated in the US in the late 1960s and, since then, it has primarily been applied in the US, the UK and other Western nations. A notable exception to this Western orientation is the third "sweep" of the International Crime Survey (ICS) which carried out a victim survey in a number of developing countries. Consequently, the application of Western criminological and victimological concepts to a developing world context is a relatively new departure for these primarily Western oriented disciplines.

This chapter is divided into three parts. The first part outlines the development of victimology as a separate discipline from mainstream criminology. Part two examines the victim survey and pays particular attention to methodological issues. Part three concludes this chapter by examining Western research in the areas of juvenile prostitution, victimisation of runaways and group rape with a view to investigating whether findings can be extrapolated to an Ethiopian context.

VICTIMOLOGY

Introduction

A large literature on victimology has emerged in the past twenty years. It is not intended to provide a comprehensive review of this literature here. Rather, a partial and limited review of elements of a broader literatureshall be considered. Specifically, the theoretical origins of concepts which may be of explanatory value in examining our data on the victimisation of street children in Addis Ababa.

Victimology has become an important movement within mainstream criminology. Unlike traditional criminology which explores the aetiology of crime by focusing on characteristics of the offender, victimology considers the victim to be an important actor in the criminal event. Furthermore, the situational variables which lead to victimisation are considered of some relevance. "Victimology ... shifts the research focus from predisposing factors to environmental, situational and catalyzing factors; from the notion of pathology to the concept of opportunity, from causes to motives, from the offender's action to victim-offender interaction" (Fattah, 1993a, p. 238). Victimology challenges and provides an alternative to the traditional approach of positivist criminology. The positivist school of criminology takes its name from the positive philosophy of the nineteenth century which applied the scientific method to the study of social problems. Positivist criminology emerged in the second quarter of the last century and

is typified by the efforts of the Italian Lombroso to identify criminals by the shape of their skulls. The fundamental view of human action held by positivism is determinism, which led Lombroso to introduce the concept of the born criminal. According to this view the criminal has characteristics which compel him to offend - these characteristics may be internal (genetic inheritance) or external (living conditions). The positivist perspective views the offender as fundamentally constrained - the locus of various motivating factors and circumstances over which he has little or no control. Thus, throughout the history of positivist, or mainstream criminology, "depending on the perspective in question, the offender has been held to be biologically or psychologically abnormal, improperly socialised, or else responding normally to the normative pressures of the culture" (Phipps, 1986, p. 97).

Within positivist criminology, the criminal event was reduced to the offender. The victim, context and situation were largely excluded from analysis. The offender was seen to suffer from some pathological or abnormal drive which differentiated him from the rest of the population. Traditional criminology can be seen to have serious shortcomings in the sense that, "despite continuous, strenuous efforts extending over more than a century, criminology has not yet been successful in developing a grand or macro theory of criminality" (Fattah, 1991, p. 21). Fattah (1993a) outlined a critique of some premises of positivist criminology:

1. The false dichotomy between "criminals" and "non-criminals."

This premise is contradicted by the observation that most ordinary people are capable of committing crimes ranging from shoplifting to wanton cruelty, murder, rape and destruction - what Taylor (1991) called the "normality of excess." Ordinary people are capable of extraordinary acts. Under certain conditions people are capable of doing things they would not ordinarily think possible. Milgram's (1965) studies provide the most succinct experimental example of this. In a series of experiments he found subjects from the general population were willing to administer what they thought were painful and dangerously high voltage electric shocks to people engaged in a learning exercise, simply because they were repeatedly requested to do so by an experimenter.

The positivist approach to criminality views personality traits and character attributes in a static way. The "Good Victim, Bad Offender" dichotomy requires that one accept that offenders must be innately bad people. Of course, such traits as aggressiveness, selfishness or cruelty are neither constant nor absolute. The cruellest mugger may visit his sick grandmother with a bunch of flowers the morning after assaulting and robbing an elderly man. He is not necessarily psychotic. Rather, he is showing the normal range of human capabilities. We should not think of criminals as abnormal. It is rarely a useful approach. Nevertheless, it remains popular because it is easy. "It is a self assuring approach that allows the dichotomization of people into the good and the bad, the

normal and the abnormal, those who are criminally inclined and those not so inclined" (Fattah, 1993a, p.236).

2. The artificial dichotomy between victims and offenders.

An implicit assumption in mainstream criminology is that criminals are different to victims. However, this view of victims and offenders belonging to separate categories does not withstand close scrutiny. There is an increasing body of research which illustrates that certain categories of victims and offenders often come from a homogenous population. This is particularly true for cases of assault. "Who ends up being the victim and who is legally qualified as the offender depends quite often on chance factors rather than deliberate action, planning, or intent" (Fattah, 1993a, p. 233). One suggested reason for this homogeneity of victims and offenders in cases of assault is that criminal lifestyles may be the most victimogenic of all routines (Jensen & Brownfield, 1986). Anttila (1974) suggested that both parties in violent crime, assailant and victim, appear to be inclined to unlawfulness, to be provocative and to be easily provoked. Fattah (1991) highlighted the similarities between offenders and victims on a number of general socio-demographic characteristics. For example,

(a) Age: Delinquency and victimisation rates for the different age groups follow an identical pattern. Both peak in the late teens and become increasingly rare in later years.

(b) Gender: Males are more involved in delinquency and, excepting gender specific crimes such as sexual offenses, are more likely to be victimised. In the US, men are more often victimised than women for every crime except rape (US Department of Justice, 1981).

Other shared socio-demographic characteristics between victim and offender are marital status, race and ethnicity, unemployment, income and involvement in delinquency. So, as we have seen, there is a marked homogeneity between offender and victim populations, particularly with crimes of assault. Braithwaite and Biles' (1984) explanation for the similarities between victims and offenders is that they share certain behaviour patterns and attitudes that lead to both offenses and victimisations - propensity to risk taking, to violence and to alcohol. In addition, victims and perpetrators of assault (typically, young, male, unemployed and unmarried) are more likely to spend their time in public space in the evening, which is when crimes of assault disproportionately occur.

3. The assumption that crime is a distinct category of behaviour.

An underlying assumption in positivist criminology is that "crime" is an objective, readily identifiable behaviour and is universally condemned. However, "crime is neither unique, exceptional, nor qualitatively different from other categories of

behaviour" (Fattah, 1993a, p. 227). It would appear that it does not take an extraordinary person to commit a crime. A number of researchers have reported that they found no difference between offenders and the general population: "The truth is that almost all adults have at some time in their lives committed criminal acts and it is those who have not who are abnormal" (Morris & Hawkins, 1969, p. 48).

In the following pages we shall describe the origins of victimology as a separate discipline. We shall then examine a key concept within victimology, namely, victim precipitation. Finally, we shall consider a number of theoretical movements in which the victim plays a central role; the rational perspective, lifestyle theories and radical criminology.

The Emergence of Victimology

The first move away from positivist criminology's traditional focus on the offender is usually traced to Von Hentig's *The Criminal and His Victim* (1948). Von Hentig suggested characteristics of the victim which may contribute to his or her selection as a victim. He presented what he termed "general classes of victims" - the young; females; the elderly; the "mentally defective"; immigrants; minorities and "dull normals." These type of victims we might call "classical victims," that is, they conform to the traditional view of victims, being vulnerable by their inherent properties of powerlessness, frailty and helplessness. In addition to these "classical" victims, Von Hentig produced a list of psychological

types of victims which he argued provided the personality and situational subtlety required for examining a criminal event. This subtlety is absent in the law, which merely considers the "doer" and the "sufferer." The first of these psychological types of victims is the depressed person, low in "vital tonicity" and indifferent to peril. Such low levels of activity give rise to a weakened sense of self-preservation. The second category is the acquisitive or greedy individual. This person is more easily "hooked" by the professional cheat or con-man. Other categories of psychological types of victims identified by Von Hentig included the wanton, the lonesome, the heartbroken, the tormentor and the fighting victim. Furthermore, Von Hentig considered numerous other characteristics of individuals which may predispose them to crime. He examined birth order, physical traits (red-hair, left-handedness, ugliness) and psychological variables (intelligence, mental disorders and tattooing). He examined the "sociobiological elements" of crime (the group or gang, migration, occupation and religiosity). A further section of *The Criminal and His Victim* is concerned with the effects of geophysics on crime, that is, climate, seasonal changes and time of day.

In addition, Von Hentig noted the compatibility of the offender and victim populations - "a real mutuality in the connexion of perpetrator and victim, killer and killed, duper and dupe" (Von Hentig, 1941). He suggested that the victim is drawn to his or her victimizer, due to internal traits such as depression (leading to a "desire to be annihilated") or greed (causing increased risk-taking). The victim and offender, he argued, are mutually compatible. One

needs the other. Here, then, in Von Hentig's early writings, are two concepts which were to much occupy victimologists: victim precipitation and the homogeneity of victim and offender populations. Von Hentig's observations may not all withstand the scrutiny of modern researchers. His ideas were not developed from scientific research, but were the result of observations and generalisations. Much of what Von Hentig wrote might today be considered sexist and racist. For example, his suggestion that "female foibles," a result of their "sensual disposition," may in particular be responsible for the greater proportion of female murder victims. "The sensuality of a girl," he claimed, "is often intensified by climatic influences (high altitude, marine surroundings, etc.), by the isolation of a solitary trip, and the fact that the girl is just indisposed" (ibid., p. 48). Nevertheless, in spite of these somewhat outdated explanations for the reputed higher levels of female victimisation, Von Hentig is remembered for his focus on the victim. He recognised the complexity of the psychological processes and interpersonal dynamics involved in a crime:

> "The relationships between perpetrator and victim are much more intricate than the rough distinctions of criminal law. Here are two human beings. As soon as they draw near to one another, male or female, young or old, rich or poor, ugly or attractive - a wide range of interactions, repulsions as well as attractions, is set in motion. What the law does is to watch the one who acts and the one who is acted upon.

By this external criterion, a subject and object, a perpetrator and victim are distinguished. In sociological and psychological quality the situation may be completely different. It may happen that the two distinct categories merge. There are cases in which they are reversed and in the long chain of causative forces the victim assumes the role of a determinant .... The mechanical outcome may be profit to one party, harm to another, yet the psychological interaction, carefully observed, will not submit to this kindergarten label" (Von Hentig, 1948, pp. 383-4).

This focus on the victim was an important innovation at the time. Indeed, publication of *The Criminal and His Victim* (1948) marks the beginning of victimology as a discipline. The emergence of victimology as a discipline in its own right was greatly assisted by two concurrent movements:

1. As long as criminals were seen as a specific personality type which needed to be identified in order to be "cured," little attention was likely to be focused on the victims of crime. They were a largely irrelevant (at least theoretically speaking) by-product of crime. The focus began to change in the late 1960s and early 1970s. This period saw a change in emphasis from consistency theories of crime to specificity theories - those which focus on specific crimes and the environments in which they occurred. There was a move away from studying the "criminal personality" and an endorsement of

the criminal as normal and rational. The consequence was a focus on the situation in a criminal incident. Thus, the "situational perspective" on crime was born. "After the fruitless preoccupation with the criminal personality, the focus changed towards gaining practical in-sight into the criminogenic situation" (Nee, 1990, p. 43). Opportunity is a key concept of the situational approach. Victims can be understood as a situational factor which promote or inhibit the opportunity for crime by their behaviour or characteristics.

2. The victim survey: Large scale surveys of the general population to measure their experiences of victimisation provided a mass of data for those wishing to study characteristics of the victim and the victimisation incident.

Victim Precipitation

A key concept in the study of the victim is the extent to which the victim contributes to his or her victimisation; that is, victim proneness or victim precipitation. Two well known studies in this area are described below:

Wolfgang (1957) empirically tested the role of victim precipitation in criminal homicide. "Victim precipitated" cases he defined as "those in which the victim was the first to show and use

a deadly weapon, to strike a blow in an altercation - in short, the first to commence the interplay or resort to physical violence" (Wolfgang, 1957, p. 2). Almost 600 consecutive cases of criminal homicide in Philadelphia between 1948 and 1952 were investigated. Of these, he found that 26% were victim precipitated. A number of statistically significant factors were found to be common to those victims that precipitated their own murder: race (Negro), sex (male), method of killing (stabbings), presence of alcohol in victim, offender, or both and previous criminal record of assault.

A potential weakness in Wolfgang's findings is that he provided no source for the information that the victim was the first to resort to violence. It is important to his results whether or not other witnesses besides the killer were present. We can only expect the killer to claim that the dead victim was the first to become aggressive.

Amir's work (1971) focused on what he called the "subject matter" of crime, rather than on the psychology of the offender. This subject matter is "the characteristics of the crime and those human and circumstantial aspects of it which precede hypothesis and theory" (p. 3). He favoured "discarding a global conception of crime in favour of studies of specific patterns of criminal behaviours and the nature of particular types of offenses, that is, the context in which the crime is committed and those involved in it" (ibid., p. 4). In short, a situational approach. Amir applied the concept of victim precipitation to forcible rape. He defined victim precipitated rape as those situations where "the behaviour of the

victim is interpreted by the offender as a direct invitation for sexual relations or as a sign that she will be available for sexual contact if he will persist in demanding it" (Amir, 1971, p. 261). Perhaps somewhat controversially, he judged 19% of rapes to be victim precipitated.

The essence of the concept of victim precipitation is that the victim, consciously or unconsciously, by his or her behaviour, lifestyle, habits, carelessness or other personal characteristics, contributes in some way to his or her victimisation. The concept of victim precipitation developed when the victim was no longer seen exclusively as the passive recipient, the helpless target of a criminal. It came to be accepted that, in certain instances, victims may have some measure of control over the nature and extent of their victimisation. Writings in the area of victim precipitation (Wolfgang, 1958; Amir, 1971), multiple victimisation (Sparks et al., 1977) and, more recently, the idea of the "victim as victimizer" (Fattah, 1992), have challenged us to view the victim as a participant in a given event. For example, evidence from the 1982 British Crime Survey shows that those most at risk of being physically assaulted are heavy drinking young men frequently out at night. Nearly half of assault victims of this type admitted to having themselves committed assaultive offenses against others over the previous year (Hough & Mayhew, 1983). Jones, Maclean and Young (1986) reported similar results from the Islington Crime Survey: "Younger people on average are nearly 13 times as likely to be assaulted as people in the over 45 years of age category" (p.65).

Fattah (1991) reported similar findings from victim survey work in Canada. The profile of the victim emerges as a young, unmarried male, living alone, probably looking for work, or a student, and with an active life outside the home: in short, a profile not dis-similar to the profile of the offender. Hindelang, Gottfredson and Garofalo (1978) reported almost identical findings.

Assault, robbery and rape are all interpersonal events. The victim is rarely chosen at random. Rather, a number of factors combine to make him or her susceptible at that particular moment. It is possible for him or her to influence some of these situational factors and not others. The same is true of house burglary. Targets are not randomly chosen. The burglar is looking for a number of factors which combine to make a house an attractive target. Some of these factors can be altered by the house dweller, for example, lighting, surrounding vegetation and occupancy. Other factors cannot be controlled, for instance, the house being on a corner, the area being affluent, and there being a high degree of access (Nee, 1990). This is not to suggest that the victim assumes any of the blame in the event of being criminally victimised. Rather, it is to suggest that in the context of an interpersonal dynamic, there are factors or processes by which a victim, consciously or unconsciously, contributes in some way to being targeted.

Sparks (1982) specified six degrees by which victims of crime may in some way or another contribute to their own victimisation:

(a) Precipitation: This involves active provocation of the subsequent offender. Victim-precipitated crimes tend to take place between people who are known or related to each other.

(b) Facilitation: This occurs when the victim "deliberately, negligently or unconsciously [places] himself or herself at special risk" (p. 27).

(c) Vulnerability: Because of their attributes, behaviour or place in a social system, some people are more vulnerable to crime than others. The Panel for the Evaluation of Crime Surveys of the National Research Council (Penick and Owens, 1976) distinguished between three types of vulnerability:

- Ecological vulnerability. This arises from durable features of the individual's environment. For example, living in a low income area.
- Status vulnerability. Determined by membership in a relatively fixed social category or class.
- Role vulnerability. Arising from durable social relationships from which an individual cannot readily withdraw. For example, being a prostitute or a prisoner.

(d) Opportunity: with zero opportunity, there is zero crime. This notion implies risk management behaviour, that is, reducing opportunities through "target hardening."

(e) Attractiveness: An attractive target is one promising greater benefits to the offender.

(f) Impunity. Some targets facilitate victimisation because there are certain attributes of the victim that make the crime easy to "get away with." "They are selected as victims precisely because they have limited access to the usual machinery of social control" (Sparks, 1982, p. 31). For example, homosexuals, prostitutes, blackmail victims and illegal immigrants.

Victimological concepts such as victim precipitation, offender-victim homogeneity and situational variables are central to a number of theoretical movements. Below we shall examine those which draw most heavily on these concepts.

Criminals as Rational

The common view of the victim by the public at large is that of the passive recipient of violence. As we have seen, this view is not always accurate. Its demise in criminology has largely come about as a corollary to the falling from favour of the "consistency" or "nature" view of crime. This view was criticised as early as the 1950s when victimisers or offenders were attributed with a degree of rationality (Sutherland & Cressey, 1978; Matza, 1964). There was a move away from the notion of criminality as a definable condition confined to either certain pathological individuals or certain segments of society. Thus the "rational criminal" was born. Criminals were now viewed as "normal" people who reason and think like everyone else. In her study of Irish house burglars, Nee

concluded that "the burglar is as reasoned and as rational as the next individual in his community" (1990, p. 275). Criminologists began to look at specific crimes and the environments in which they occurred in a search for situational factors influencing criminal behaviour. "Opportunity" emerged as the key concept to what became known as the situational approach. Crime prevention strategies which arose from this approach included "target hardening" and architectural policies influenced by environmental criminology. This shift from a positivistic or dispositional view of the offender to the rational, opportunistic criminal was needed in order to change the stereotype of the pathological criminal attacking the helpless victim, apparently at random. The concept of the rational criminal is further developed by the "Rational Choice Perspective" (Cornish & Clarke, 1986) which is an important theoretical elaboration of the situational perspective. The Rational Choice Perspective "pays attention to the rational decision-making elements governing criminal involvement and criminal events" (Cornish & Clarke, 1986, p. vii). The primary tenets of the rational choice perspective are:

> (a) Much offending is rational. It is essentially nonpathological and commonplace. The existence of criminal dispositions is not assumed.
> (b) The Rational Choice Perspective emphasises the similarities between criminals and non-criminals and examines the rational and adaptive aspects of offending.
> (c) Explanations of crime must be crime specific. "Crime"

cannot be considered as a universal, unifying concept. The rational choice perspective does not attempt to impose a conceptual unity upon divergent criminal behaviour.

(d) The criminal's rationality is not unlimited or machine-like in its ability to instantaneously assess all the relevant components of a situation. Rather, his rationality is constrained by factors such as the time available in which to make a decision, his cognitive abilities and the availability of relevant information, as is the case for the rest of the population (Cornish & Clarke, 1987). Hirschi cautions against over-intellectualising the offender - "Accepting a choice model does not require that we assume planning or foresight beyond the bare minimum necessary for the act to occur" (1986, p. 115).

(e) Rather than focusing exclusively on the criminal, the rational choice perspective draws attention to the criminal event itself and the situational factors that influence its commission.

(f) Deviance is viewed as purposive rather than meaningless, intentional rather than compulsive and episodic and self-limiting rather than continuous and enduring (Clarke & Cornish, 1985).

Let us take for example the crime of rape, a crime which typically demonises the offender. Is it possible to consider rapists as rational? Apparently, yes. For instance, "there is no solid evidence to support the thesis that rapists are mentally deranged"

(Walby, Hay & Soothill, 1983, p. 88). Furthermore, the crime of rape is usually not a spontaneous out-burst of lust. Rather, in most cases it is planned in advance. Amir (1971) classified only 16% of rapes as "explosive." If this is the case, the most pressing question must be, why are so many apparently ordinary men capable of rape? Walby et al. (1983) suggested rape is a product of the social relations between the sexes - the way men view women as sexual objects. Thus, they suggest, rape is a social problem, rather than a psychological problem associated with a small number of pathological men.

Further support for the view of criminals as rational is the typical profile of selected victims. If criminals were not rational, they would choose their targets at random. But victims are not a representative cross-section of the general population. Rather, they are grouped within certain ages, groups, times and areas. How do offenders pick their victims? This question is vital if we take the view of the offender as rational. Thus, the Rational Choice Perspective must incorporate the victim into its theoretical framework. Fattah (1993a) sees important similarities between the Rational Choice Perspective on crime and the Victimological approach:

> "The rational choice perspective and the victimological approach are based on different premises [than positivism]. Both maintain that crime is more a function of opportunity than pathology, of rational choice than irresistible forces or

unchecked impulses, exogenic rather than endogenic factors, of the situation rather than the offender's constitution" (Fattah, 1993a, p. 236).

It is the similarities between these two approaches which we shall consider below.

Similarities between Rational Choice Perspective and Victimology

Fattah (1993a) outlined commonalities between the two approaches and concepts which are important for both the Rational Choice Perspective and Victimology, thus illustrating the similarities between the two approaches.

Commonalities between the Rational Choice Perspective and Victimology

(a) Both approaches see the vast majority of offending as normal and predictable.
(b) Situational variables and opportunity play a far greater role than the psychological traits of individual offenders. The former is much more important than had previously been thought.
(c) Particular attention is paid to motives - the motives for deciding to commit a crime or to pick a particular target.
(d) Both approaches reject the implicit determinism of the

theories revolving around offenders' psychopathology.
(e) Both approaches lead to a policy shift - away from legal deterrence, towards situational prevention.

Shared Concepts

(a) Age. Both offending and victimisation begin to decline at age 25-30. Thus, they may not be attributed solely to innate personality characteristics. Otherwise, they would be more long lasting.
(b) Associations/Exposure/Social interaction. "One of the tenets of the life-style model (Hindelang, Gottfredson & Garofalo, 1978) is that differential risks of victimisation are (at least partially) a function of the differential association with, and differential exposure to, motivated offenders" (Fattah, 1993, p. 241). Furthermore, "both the routine activity approach (Cohen & Felson, 1979) and the opportunity model (Cohen, Kluegel & Land, 1981) use differential association as a variable in trying to explain the differential risks of criminal victimisation. Both posit that the risk of criminal victimisation depends largely on people's life-style and routine activities that bring them (and/or their property) into direct contact with potential offenders in the absence of capable guardians" (Fattah, 1993, p. 242). The concept of differential association (Sutherland, 1937) stresses the processes of interaction and communication to the engagement in criminal activities. Differential association can thus also

be used to explain increased risks of victimisation (particularly as the victim/offender populations are so homogenous).

(c) Target selection. Two facts here link the Rational Choice Perspective and Victimology: offenders choose their targets and victims are not representative of the general population. In each of the two approaches, the rationality of the offender is implicit. Also, as regards the victim, he or she must contribute in some way to his or her victimisation as victims are not a random group, that is, not everybody is at the same risk of victimisation. "To understand the skewed distribution of victimisation risks, to understand why certain victims or targets are more attractive, more popular, and more frequently victimized than others, it is necessary to explore offenders' selection processes and the criteria they use in such selection" (Fattah, 1993, p. 245). This very clearly brings the two theories together.

(d) Opportunity. This is a central concept in environmental criminology. Opportunity theory "stresses the importance of environmental and situational variables in the genesis of offending" (Fattah, 1993, p. 247). Fattah argues the link with victimology because "opportunities are viewed as being greatly influenced by the behaviour of potential victims or targets" (Fattah, 1993, p. 248). "Many criminals are opportunists who take advantage of situations and environmental opportunities, many of which are created by prospective victims' negligent, careless, imprudent, reckless or facilitating behaviour"

(Fattah, 1993, p. 249).

Lifestyle Theories of Victimisation

Hindelang, Gottfredson and Garofalo's *Victims of Personal Crime* (1978) outlined a social-ecological theoretical model that would account for variations in the likelihood of becoming a victim of a personal crime, based on the concept of "lifestyle." Lifestyle is defined as routine daily activities and is determined by variables such as age, sex, social class, occupation, leisure activities and place of residence. Hindelang et al. argued that there is a direct link between an individual's routine daily activities and *exposure* to high-risk victimisation situations. "Lifestyle patterns influence the amount of exposure people have to places and times with varying risks of victimisations and the prevalence of associations that people have with others who are more or less likely to commit crimes" (Garofalo, 1986, p. 136). The crux of the theory is that lifestyle determines victimisation through the intervening variables of "associations" and "exposures." Associations are personal relationships that evolve as a result of similar lifestyles and interests. Lifestyles and the resulting associations are formed through adaptations to role expectations and structural constraints. Role expectations refer to cultural norms which ascribe preferred and anticipated behaviours, as modified by the individual's status. A further constraint on behaviour is the social structure - "The structural constraints originating from this source can be defined as limitations on behaviourial options that result from the

particular arrangements existing within various institutional orders, such as the economic, familial, educational and legal orders" (Hindelang et al., 1978, p. 242). The Lifestyle model hypothesises that victims will share the demographic characteristics of offenders - "studies of offenders showed that people who are involved disproportionately in the commission of personal crimes have demographic characteristics similar to people who are disproportionately the victims of personal crimes" (Garofalo, 1986, p. 146). This is explained by the fact that demographic characteristics shape, to a large degree, lifestyles, and people who share similar lifestyles have disproportionate contact with each other. The result is the homogeneity of victim and offender populations.

Conclusion

In this section we have seen how the victim has become central to some branches of criminology - the situational approach, victim surveys and to the theoretical work of Fattah (1967; 1986; 1989a; 1989b; 1991; 1992; 1993a; 1993b). These branches do not form a unified whole. Rather, they each exist as a particular emphasis within the wider field of criminology. By focusing on crime victims, criminologists have gained a fuller understanding of the dynamics between offender, victim and context and some common myths regarding crime and victimisation have been shattered. This point is further illustrated later in this chapter when we consider the main findings from victim survey work.

VICTIM SURVEYS

Introduction

The nature of police statistics, and the manner in which they are collected, ensures that a certain amount of crime will not be registered by the authorities. This unregistered crime is known as the "dark figure." The dark figure is that crime which is unquantified. It is hardly surprising that such a large dark figure of crime exists given the lengthy process involved in having an incident registered as a crime. Typically, to be registered as a crime by the police, an incident must be; (a) perceived as a crime by the victim, (b) reported to the police, (c) accepted by the police as a crime and (d) recorded by the police as a crime. At each step in this process there may be a failure or inability to proceed to the next stage.

The Value of Victim Surveys

Victim surveys seek to by-pass the deficiencies of the official procedure for registering crimes by directly questioning the victim. That is, victim surveys attempt to quantify the dark figure. The basic strategy employed is to interview a representative sample of people concerning their experience/s of victimisation during a specified period of time. Most modern victim surveys also include questions which attempt to elicit the respondents' own level of criminality, their sense of safety and their confidence in the police

and the criminal justice apparatus. Perhaps one reason criminologists took to victim surveys so enthusiastically was that, unlike other social science disciplines, criminologists had previously had little control over their data. They relied for data on crime figures collected by the police (Phipps, 1986).

The value of victim surveys should be particularly evident in developing countries. In such countries, crime statistics are even less reliable than they are in the developed world due to the lack of a bureaucratic structure and system which can collect, analyse and record large quantities of information; lack of financial, material and personnel resources; the widespread reliance of the population on traditional means of justice; a mistrust of corrupt and autocratic police; and disturbances brought about by war, civil unrest and frequently changing regimes. Such barriers to the official recording of crime in a developing country was illustrated by Brillon (1975). He sampled 1,000 people in Abidjan, Ivory Coast and found only 16.9% of thefts and robberies were reported to the police. The primary reasons given for this under-reporting were that (a) modern justice is "white" justice and cannot fairly represent the black population; (b) one does not go the police to report against persons from one's own village but rather one settles the matter between families; and (c) it is better to "settle" directly with the thief as this is quicker and more effective than police action (reported as personal communication in Clinard, 1978).

In a region as turbulent as Ethiopia has been, official crime figures have to be viewed as highly suspect. Table 3.1 below shows

rates of crimes committed by juveniles (those under age eighteen) in Addis Ababa until the year 1990, as recorded by the police. 1990 was the last year before the Derg Marxist-Leninist government was overthrown.

Type of crime	Cases reported by the year					
	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
Homicide	-	-	-	5	4	7
Attempted homicide	-	1	4	2	1	-
Assault	24	57	76	72	40	35
Rape	3	4	4	2	-	-

Table 3.1: Recorded juvenile crime, Addis Ababa, 1985-90. Source: Interview with Capt. Tamrat, Addis Ababa Police HQ, 18/11/1992.

Given the levels of crime reported during my interviews with street children in Addis Ababa, these figures appear to be grossly under-representative of the true crime levels amongst juveniles in Addis Ababa. We shall see in Chapter five that to suggest that no rapes occurred in the years 1989 and 1990 is, at best, a reflection of the fact that no structure or procedures were in place to deal with this particularly prevalent form of crime. In short, any crime figures collected by the Derg regime are effectively meaningless.

Apart from the incomplete nature of available crime figures for minors, a further reason one cannot take the Derg figures seriously is that vast territories of the country were not policed. The state simply did not have the personnel resources. In addition, large parts of the country were outside central government control during the civil war. Towards the end of the war, the government controlled only a few key towns in the whole of the northern part of the country. The remaining territory was in the hands of the TPLF and EPLF. Land controlled by the rebels was obviously not policed by the central government. For these reasons, there are no reliable figures of crime in Ethiopia.

In summary, the victim survey would appear to be the most effective means of gathering reliable information on crime in a turbulent society. Below, we will look at the history of victim survey use in the United States, Britain and internationally, by means of the International Crime Survey (ICS). This will be followed by an account of what has been learned from victim surveys and a discussion on the short comings and methodological problems of this technique.

History of Victim Surveys

The earliest reported victim survey was carried out in 1720 in Aarhus, Denmark. Interviews were conducted in all households to discover the actual volume of crime (Lauridsen, 1969). In recent times, victim surveys were developed by researchers of the US

government as a means of providing an additional and alternative view on crime to the Uniform Crime Reports (UCR). The UCR are the statistics published annually by the law enforcement agencies in the US and, at that time, it was thought that they under-estimated the true incidence of crime which was occurring. Victim surveys were first carried out in 1966, for the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, created in 1965 by President Johnson. Three separate surveys were carried out on behalf of the commission to provide more reliable measures of the absolute rate of serious crime which would in turn assist policy makers in their decision making process. One survey was conducted in Washington, D.C., by the Bureau of Social Science Research (Biderman & Reiss, 1967); a second was conducted in Boston, Chicago and Washington, D.C., by the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan (Reiss, 1967). The third and largest of the three was carried out by the National Opinion Research Center, under the direction of Philip Ennis. For this latter project, adult members of 9,644 randomly selected households from across the United States were interviewed. In addition, a random sample of 3,780 were given an attitude questionnaire probing their views on crime, personal and neighbourhood safety and the police (Ennis, 1967).

These first victim surveys uncovered some interesting trends. Specifically, they revealed that the amount of serious crime being committed was between three and ten times the amount suggested by police statistics (Biderman & Reiss, 1967). Here, then, was an apparent method of quantifying "the dark figure." The results also

gave an indication of the geographical dispersion of crime. It was found that city centres reported five times as much violent crime as the suburbs and rural areas. The relationship between the victim and offender was illustrated by the finding that nearly 40% of all aggravated assaults and rapes occurred within the victim's home and nearly 45% of all serious crimes against the person were committed by someone familiar to the victim (Ennis, 1967). These and other findings provided a stimulus for research on a whole new range of criminological and victimological issues.

The victim survey methodology was also being found useful and popular in other parts of the world. As Sparks, Genn and Dodd (1977) put it, "Seldom, in the history of social science research, can so much have been done about a single problem by so many in so short a time" (p. 3).

Victim Surveying in Britain

The first survey exclusively concerned with criminal victimisation to be carried out in Britain, was conducted in 1973 by Sparks, Genn and Dodd (Sparks et al., 1977). Their findings were similar to findings obtained from victim surveys carried out in the United States. For example, they found that the victims of crime against the person were likely to be young males who lead reasonably active social lives. Furthermore, these individuals were more likely to be attacked by a friend, acquaintance or family member than by a stranger and, in many cases, they provoked the crime by their own actions.

Again, as with other victim surveys, Sparks et al. (1977) found that a large number of crimes were not reported to the police. They estimated that 70% of assaults and thefts from the person are not reported to the police; nor are 50% of burglaries and thefts from dwellings; 65% of thefts of and from motor vehicles; and approximately 80% of other thefts. Over the sample as a whole, the ratio of survey-estimated to police-recorded crime was over 11:1.

In addition to collecting victimisation data, their research sought to test the reliability of the information elicited during these types of surveys. That is, to investigate whether or not victim surveys could be considered an accurate data gathering tool for criminologists. Victim surveys operate on three basic assumptions:

(a) People will perceive incidences of victimisation.
(b) People will remember incidences of victimisation.
(c) People will report such incidences to the interviewer.

Sparks et al. sought to confirm that such assumptions are justified, using the "reverse records check" technique. This technique involved interviewing people who were *known* to have reported crimes to the police within fifteen months preceding the survey, and asking if they had been victimised. This allowed the researchers to see if respondents would accurately recall and report to the interviewer the crime they had previously reported to the police. In effect, this would give an indication of the reliability of subjects' responses. Table 3.2 below shows Spark et al.'s

findings (n=241):

51.9%	Reported accurately (remembered that the offence was within one month of its actual occurence)
21.5%	Telescoped forward
19.0%	Telescoped backward
7.6%	Failed to report that they had been victimised

Table 3.2: Rates of accuracy of recall and reporting found by Sparks et al. (1977), using the reverse records check. Note: To "telescope" means to project forward or backwards in time one's estimation of when an incident took place.

Table 3.2 indicates that a total of 92.4% of respondents reported their victimisation, with varying degrees of accuracy. As regards the 7.6% who failed to report that they had been victims, the authors stated that they were quite confident that inhibition played a very small part in their failure to report. Sparks et al. (1977) examined sex differences, social class and levels of education as possible variables whose effects might suppress the reporting of a victimising incident, but none were significant. The 7.6% of the sample which failed to report their victimisations to the interviewers was attributed to "simple memory failure operating in a more or less random fashion across respondents" (p.59). Interestingly, other researchers *did* find significant

differences between those who did report incidents to interviewers and those who did not. Biderman et al. (1967) found that individuals over 65 years of age and those without a college education were less likely to report incidents of victimisations to interviewers. Also, it is important to note that not all researchers have achieved such low rates of non-reporting as Sparks et al. In one of the pre-tests for the National Crime Survey in the United States, only a third of the victims of assaults recalled those incidents and mentioned them to the interviewers (Sparks, 1981). Nevertheless, Sparks et al.'s results appeared to validate the victim survey method and led these authors to state that "our interviews appear to have been highly successful in getting respondents ... to recall and report target incidents of violent and property crime" (1977, p. 59).

Such a positive assessment of the victim survey methodology must be tempered by the fact that the reverse records check is by no means a flawless technique. Victims who report their experiences to the police are more likely to recall the offence accurately than those who did not. Each of the interviewees had already taken the time and trouble to report an incident to the police. This would cause these individuals to be more likely to remember accurately the event. Furthermore, it would also suggest that, on average, these incidents were perceived as more serious by the respondents and consequently worth reporting to the police (less serious incidents being less likely to be reported). Sparks et al. reported that "completed crimes were more likely to have been

reported than attempts; assaults which were said to involve physical injury were more likely to have been reported than those which did not; and for property offenses, the proportions reported generally increased with the reported value of property involved" (p. 155). Nevertheless, the reverse records check is an imaginative and useful way of assessing the validity of victim survey results. Sparks et al. concluded by expressing confidence in victim surveys, stating that "Victim surveys can have practical utility because they can provide a much more accurate measure of crime than that which can be obtained from police or other official statistics: they can overcome the long standing problem of the 'dark figure' of unrecorded crime" (Sparks et al., 1977, p. 223). Indeed, they go as far as to say that theorising using official statistics should now be thoroughly unacceptable.

By the early 1980s, in addition to these localised studies, the British Home Office Research and Planning Unit was keen to produce a national picture. The first British Crime Survey (BCS) was conducted in 1982, in England and Wales (Hough & Mayhew, 1983) and Scotland (Chambers & Tombs, 1984). A second survey (known as a "sweep") followed in England and Wales in 1984 (Hough & Mayhew, 1985). A third "sweep" was carried out in 1988, again covering England and Wales (Mayhew et al., 1989). After the third BCS, the foundation existed for reporting on crime trends throughout the 1980s. Analysis showed a 30% increase in crime from 1981 to 1988. In contrast, official police statistics recorded an increase of 41%. This disparity would seem to indicate that the levels of

reporting crime to the police, rather than the crime level itself, had increased. As with other victim surveys, findings from the BCS estimated that only about one in four incidents find their way into police records. This ratio is lower for crimes such as car-theft but higher for incidences of theft from the person (one in twelve) and vandalism (one in thirteen). Risks of contact crimes are highest for men and younger people. The most recent sweep of the BCS was carried out in 1996 and, hereafter, it is intended the BCS will be repeated every two years.

The International Crime Survey

The International Crime Survey (ICS) is a relatively new development in the quantification of the experiences of crime victims. It consists of a survey, or series of surveys, carried out in over thirty countries to allow cross-national comparisons of victimisation incidents. Such a large scale survey, it was argued, would serve a number of purposes:

(a) It would provide an estimate of the level of crime in different countries that is independent of official statistics.
(b) The amount of crime in a given country, relative to other countries, should be of relevance to policy makers as a measure of the success, or otherwise, of the crime control policies in place. It should allow comparisons with the successes and failures of other nation's techniques.

(c) Cross national comparisons of victimisation rates allow for theories about the social causes of crime to be tested.

(d) It would provide cross national comparisons with accuracy of police statistics as compared to victim survey findings.

(e) In developing countries it would provide a much needed reliable data base of crime and victimisation incidents, sense of safety and the public's perception of the police.

This kind of information is not forthcoming from official statistics. Specifically, to compare official crime figures cross-nationally poses intractable problems because of doubts regarding the accuracy of official figures and because of the difficulties in standardising legal definitions, police recording practices and levels of reporting to the police. It has been suggested that "the official legal definitions of even the most common categories of crime defy standardisation. Even the fairly harmonised Scandinavian countries, for example, have given up on the standardisation of their police statistics" (van Dijk & Zvekic, 1993, p. 366). However, an international victim survey, specifically designed for the purpose, would provide the standardisation required.

"Sweeps" of the International Crime Survey were subsequently carried out in 1989 and 1992. The ICS seeks to ensure cross-national comparability by using tightly standardised methods as regards the nature of the sample, method of interview, questions

asked and data analysis. In the first sweep of the ICS, interviews were carried out in developed countries only: as our interest is in developing countries, let us now turn to the second sweep (conducted in 1992) which experimented in applying the ICS in a number of developing countries, namely Argentina (Buenos Aires), Brazil (Rio de Janeiro), Costa Rica, Egypt (Cairo), India (Bombay), Indonesia (Jakarta, Surabaya, Medan, Palembang, Pontianak, Ujung Pandang, Manado and Ambon), the Philippines (Manila), Papua New Guinea, Tunisia (Tunis), Tanzania (Dar Es Salaam), Uganda (Kampala) and South Africa (The Greater Pretoria). The ICS was coined the International Crime (Victim) Survey, or the IC(V)S, in the Developing World, so as to avoid confusion with the quinquennial UN Survey of Crime Trends and Operations of the Criminal Justice Systems.

In all participating developing countries, face-to-face interviews were used to collect data, thus selection and training of interviewers was of the utmost importance. Furthermore, the surveys were restricted to one major city in each country, chiefly because of the prohibitive transportation costs involved in a field survey. Thus, in spite of the IC(V)Ss stated aim of standardised methods, surveys carried out in developing countries differ from those carried out in industrialised countries in two major regards; (a) in the use of face-to-face interviews; and (b) in the confinement of sampling to a city-wide, rather than nation-wide, population. As we shall see below, these two methodological differences pose problems for direct comparability between industrial and developing countries. The average sample in each survey was 1,000.

Only those aged sixteen years or more were sampled.

The UN Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute (Unicri), in conjunction with the Dutch Ministry of Justice, hosted an international conference, *Understanding Crime: Experiences of Crime and Crime Control*, in November 1992, at which preliminary findings from the 1992 IC(V)S were presented (Unicri, 1993). No section of the conference proceedings (apart from a short, descriptive general paper by van Dijk and Zvekic, 1993) actually compares crime trends between the developed and developing world. At this early stage there is almost no comparison of victimisation rates between developed and developing countries. No one has yet ventured to suggest cultural, economic or developmental explanations for differences in crime rates across countries using the IC(V)S data set. van Dijk and Zvekic (1993) presented some preliminary findings but, unfortunately, report that differences in methodology preclude straight forward comparison. As these authors commented, "At this juncture, a truly global comparison is fraught with many difficulties particularly related to methods of data collection and sampling designs" (van Dijk & Zvekic, 1993, p. 370). Some further elaboration is found in Unicri (1995), where it is also reported that a fuller analysis is forthcoming in J.J.M. van Dijk and P. Mayhew (eds.). Below, some preliminary and hesitant findings are discussed:

	% of respondents	
	Industrialised countries	Developing countries
Burglary with entry	3	6
Personal theft	5.6	10
Robbery	1.8	4
Assault/threat	2.8	2.8
Sexual offences	3	6

Table 3.3: Percentage of respondents reporting victimisation in industrial countries and developing countries (extrapolated from van Dijk & Zvekic, 1993).

As we can see from Table 3.3, developing countries have higher victimisation rates for most selected types of crime, except assaults/threats. Citizens of the developing world report more victimisation than citizens of the developed world: 100% more burglary with entry, 80% more personal theft, 122% more robberies and 100% more sexual incidents.

Reports of behaviour perceived as sexually offensive were high in urban Canada, Finland, Germany, Poland, the Netherlands, Australia, and particularly in African cities. Unfortunately, there have been no more in-depth analyses. This thereby leaves certain questions unanswered. Specifically, why is it that women report more sexual incidents in African cities? Is it simply a tendency to

be more frank with interviewers, a reflection of the different interviewing techniques used, or are there social and cultural beliefs which down-grade women in Africa and make them more susceptible to behaviour perceived as sexually offensive? If so, what are they and how do they work? In time, as the data is more fully analysed, this will be an important aspect of study.

Perhaps the most useful finding of the IC(V)S is the similarity of crime levels faced by citizens of large cities worldwide:

> "The survey data clearly dismiss the notion of high crime rates as unique to just one or two countries. With the exceptions of Japan and Switzerland, all industrialised countries suffer from an appreciable level of property and violent crime, particularly in the more urbanised areas. With the exception of one or two Asian and Central European cities, all the developing and Eastern and Central European countries also suffer from an appreciable level of property and violent crime. Victimisation by crime has become a universal experience or expectation for those living in large cities all over the world .... (T)he developing urban world is in particular exposed to a number of social change processes which may further contribute to increases in victimisation, such as rapid urban/rural migration, refugees, population growth, decrease in job opportunity, problems with adequate health and educational services, changes in the family and neighbourhood structures, penetration of organised crime etc." (Unicri, 1995, pp. 56-7).

Zvekic and del Frate (1993) make comparisons between different regions within the developing world on a range of victimisations. As with the findings from comparisons between developed and developing countries presented above (Table 3.3), Zvekic and del Frate (1993) stress that the findings are of a preliminary, descriptive character, based on non-validated data and they urge great caution in interpreting the data. The authors advise that the following conclusions are at "great risk for unsubstantiated oversweeping generalizations" (p. 74). Figure 3.1 below was extrapolated from data in Zvekic and del Frate (1993). The authors presented the victimisation rates on a country by country basis but they have been grouped together here to give a rough comparison on a continental level.

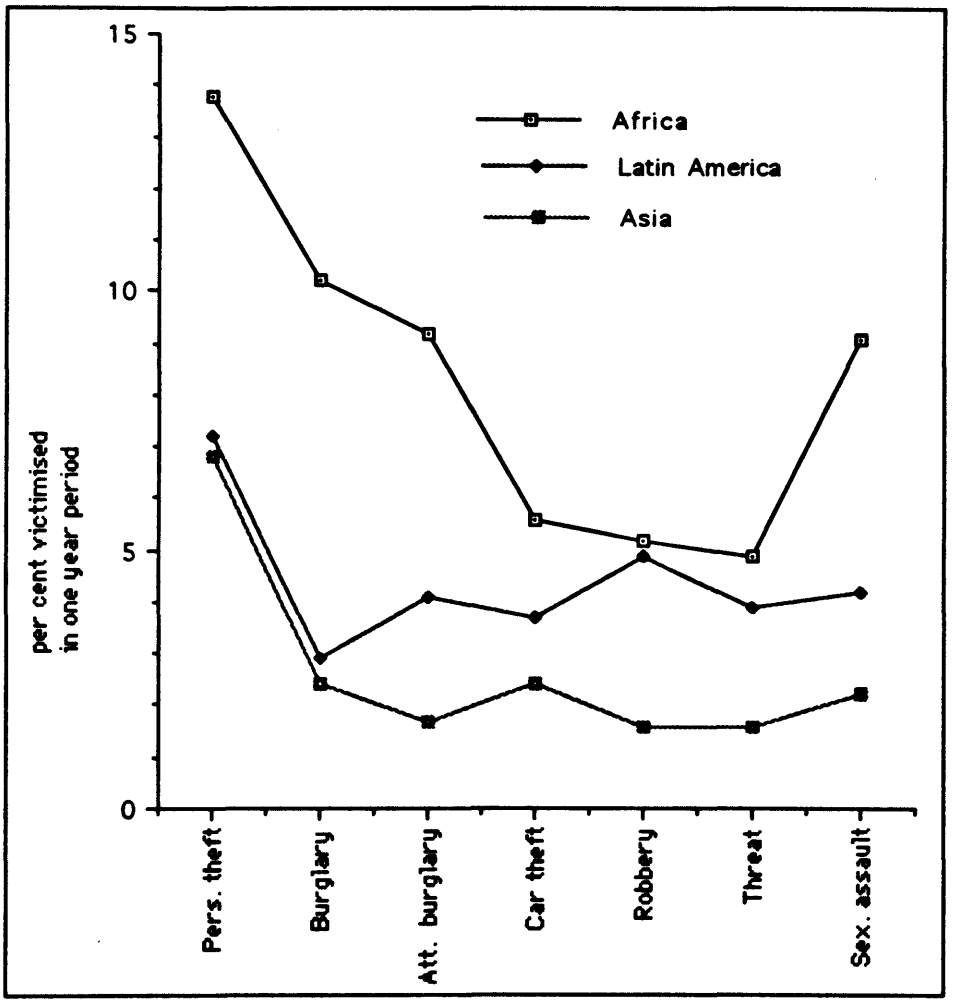


Figure 3.1: Regional averages for per cent of population experiencing various forms of victimisation (extrapolated from Zvekic & del Frate, 1993).

In general, the three African cities (Dar Es Salaam, Kampala and The Greater Pretoria) exhibit the highest victimisation rates for almost all types of crime. Victimisation rates are lower for

South American citizens and lower again for Asians. The African and Latin American cities seem to be substantially more violent that the Asian cities. The same is true for risks of sexual victimisation. The percentage of women reporting being offensively grabbed, touched or sexually assaulted in the previous one year period is far higher in Africa than it is in Asia.

> "It appears that Dar Es Salaam, Kampala and the Greater Pretoria exhibit the highest victimisation rates for almost all types of crime. These three African sites are followed by Latin America: Rio de Janeiro, Buenos Aires and Costa Rica. The citizens of two of the Asian urban areas - Bombay and Manila - are, relatively speaking, at lower victimisation risk. The victimisation experience of the citizens of Cairo and Jakarta is somewhere between the African and Latin American cities" (Zvekic & del Frate, 1993, p. 75).

A more detailed analysis is to be found in Unicri (1995), which contains a more comprehensive breakdown of the data. Of particular interest is the sexual victimisation data. Broadly speaking, lower rates of sexual harassment are associated with countries where women enjoy a better status - "A negative correlation was found between victimisation for sexual incidents and adult literacy rate, years of schooling, average age at the first marriage and contraceptive prevalence rates" (Unicri, 1995, p. 36). The percentage of women in each region who report being victimised by a sexual incident in the previous five years are,

Africa (24.14%), Latin America (15.13%) and Asia (14.4%). The countries involved in each region were; Africa - Egypt, Uganda, South Africa, Tunisia and Tanzania; Latin America - Argentina, Brazil and Costa Rica; and Asia - the Philippines, India, Indonesia, Papua New Guinea and China. African women reported the highest levels of sexual victimisation. If South Africa were excluded, this figure would be higher still, some 28.68% of women. Over fifteen per cent of Latin American women reported having experienced a sexual victimisation as did 14.4% of Asian women (a figure which would fall to 9.9% were Papua New Guinea to be excluded). Of course, such figures are only crude measures based on small samples in selected countries in each region. However, they do illustrate the need for further research to explore the social, religious and cultural factors which might protect, or expose, women to sexual victimisation.

Conclusion

International comparative work is still at an early, experimental stage. The IC(V)S holds out the promise of developing into an important aspect of comparative criminology. Work is still at the data gathering stage but, in time, there will be a data base from which theory can develop. These theories will be able to speculate on the developmental, economic, cultural and social causes of crimes and the way victims respond in a way which has not been possible to date. A third round of the IC(V)S is planned for 1996. Thus, in time, a set of longitudinal data on victimisation in

the developing world will become available.

Main Findings of Victim Surveys

1. Victimisation tends to be concentrated within certain populations and is not randomly distributed among the population as a whole. "All surveys done to date have found more 'multiple victims' than would be expected purely by chance" (Sparks, 1981, p. 18). In some instances, multiple victims report 50% of the reported crime, even though they are a very small proportion of the sample. In this way, multiple victims may confound the findings of victim surveys by skewing the data towards a minority group, thus leading to false generalisations concerning the sample population as a whole. This is an important consideration and is examined in further detail below in the section on "Methodological Problems of Victim Surveys."

In 1982, Sparks identified multiple victims as a priority group for further research and suggested that "attempts might be made to explore in some depth and detail the attitudes, perceptions, lifestyles, behavioural patterns, expectations, and specific interaction sequences surrounding their victimisation experiences" (1982, p. 123).

2. The majority of victim episodes are not reported to the police. In general, serious crimes tend to be reported more often than less significant crimes. Nevertheless, "even fairly serious personal crimes - such as household burglary and personal robbery -

are said in most surveys to be reported to the police less than one time in two" (Sparks, 1981, p. 20). The 1982 BCS suggested that about four times as many property offenses and about five times as many violent offenses occur than are recorded by the police (Hough and Mayhew, 1983). An important question we must consider, therefore, is *why* victim surveys reveal higher victimisation rates than official statistics. The two primary reasons are that:

(a) Victim surveys use looser definitions of crime than those applied by the police. Incidents are accepted at face value which may be rejected by the police due to pettiness, lack of evidence or because the "offence" may not actually be a crime according to the criminal code.

(b) Interviewers conducting victim surveys actively seek out victims of crime. For example, they take the trouble of visiting the homes of victims. Nothing is required of the interviewee beyond remembering and reporting their experiences of victimisation. In contrast, the effort involved in calling to a police station, filling in forms and being formally interviewed is considerable. Indeed, where minor incidents are involved, people simply do not bother. For instance, a young man involved in a fracas outside a bar is unlikely even to consider reporting the incident to the police. However, if on the next day an interviewer from a victim survey asks the man above if he has been assaulted in the previous twelve months, the man is quite likely to report that he has been.

3. With some particular crimes, the "victim" plays an active role in the incident, ranging from initiating the incident to failure to protect his or her self or property. Broadly speaking, victims may precipitate their victimisation. This is particularly true of assault. Victim surveys were important in changing how criminologists thought of victims. The results of victim surveys supported the view of a victimising event as an interpersonal dynamic, not simply as consisting of an active criminal acting on a passive victim.

4. Victim surveys help to identify who is most at risk from victimisation. The Islington Crime Survey reported that "Younger people are on average 13 times as likely to be assaulted as people in the over 45 years of age category. Black people are almost twice as likely as other people to be victims of assault" (Jones et al., 1986, p. 65). Victim surveys have also provided a wealth of data concerning the temporal, spatial and demographic features of victimisation. For example, victimisation is consistently reported more in urban than in suburban or rural areas; violent victimisation is reported more by males than females; most personal crime is intra-racial; and blacks (in the United States) have higher rates of violent victimisation than do whites.

Studying the situational dynamics of incidences of victimisation can shed light on *why* some groups are more at risk than others. For example, in the case of assault, we can see that younger people are more likely to be assaulted if they go to bars several nights a week. In brief, age, gender, race and place of

residence are significant variables in calculating individuals' chances of being victimised.

Methodological Problems of Victim Surveys

1. Data limitations: Victim-surveys, by definition, attempt to elicit information from *victims*. From this material, conclusions may be drawn about some criminals and their criminal activities. But, it is important to note that victim surveys do not attempt to measure the full range of criminal activities. Victim surveys do not yield data concerning victimless crime such as drug offenses, prostitution, gambling, and public drunkenness. Victim surveys also ignore crimes by and against corporations, businesses and other organisations. Victim surveys, then, by their very nature, are only suitable for measuring crimes for which there is an individual victim. This is not so much a failing of victim surveys as a limitation which should be recognised. Perhaps other research techniques would be more suitable for measuring corporate crime (in which the ultimate victim is often unaware of having been victimised) or victimless crime. Thus, victim surveys are most appropriate for examining crimes against the person and against property.

A marked shortcoming of victim surveys is their failure to investigate crimes against minors. Neither the BCS nor the ICS target people under sixteen years of age. This age group are excluded and there is no mass of statistical data concerning their experiences of victimisation. Regarding the NCS, questions are

asked of all members of the household who are fourteen years of age or older. A knowledgeable adult answers the individual screen questions for those household members who are twelve or thirteen (O' Brien, 1985). Children under twelve years are not interviewed. Respondents in a particular household are asked to provide information on victimisation incidents they know of that involve persons under twelve years of age in that household. Under such conditions, we can predict rather low levels of reporting for sexual abuse by family members. The data elicited from self report surveys with teenagers, on the other hand, concerning "regular" crime, makes interesting reading. The NCS estimated that from 1982-1984, the twelve to nineteen year old age group experienced an average rate of violent crimes and thefts about twice as high for that of the adult population. In addition, findings indicate that younger teenagers are less likely to report their experiences of victimisation to the police and that their rates of victimisation may be even higher than older teenagers. Yet this is the very age group excluded by large scale victim surveys such as the BCS, the NCS and the ICS.

2. Sampling: Victim surveys must reach a representative sample of the population in a selected area, be it a particular neighbourhood, or an entire country. When large populations are being sampled, this can be a difficult task. For instance, by selecting interviewees from the voting register, those not registered are omitted from consideration. Thus, the illegal immigrant population is excluded. Similarly, by focusing on

households, one excludes visitors or short term residents in a particular area from the survey. The British Crime Survey uses the electoral register and admits that this "is not ideal. Groups which are under-represented on voting registers (for example, ethnic minorities, the young and the less socially stable) may be particularly vulnerable to victimisation, as may those in institutions, who are not covered by the survey" (Mayhew et al., 1989, p. 5).

3. Interviewing techniques: The specific interview technique employed in a given project has a profound effect on the final quality of data obtained. In this regard, many variables should be considered; length and location of the interview; sex and age of the interviewer; and whether or not the interviewee is paid. Interviews for Sparks et al.'s study (1977) lasted on average one hour and yielded significantly higher rates of reporting than those carried out as pre-tests for the NCS, which were carried out much more quickly. The extra time required for Sparks' interviews would have allowed the interviewees to relax, develop a rapport with the interviewer and to concentrate fully on each of the questions.

Because of the huge sample involved and prohibitive costs, an increasing proportion of the NCS interviews are conducted by telephone, from 25% in 1974 to over 60% in 1980. Results indicated that those interviewed over the phone reported less victimisation than those interviewed in person (Sparks, 1982). This finding is not surprising considering the importance of personal interaction when attempting to elicit information from people. In many instances,

the information elicited will be personal and sensitive and it does not seem likely that telephone interviews would elicit quality data of the type gathered by face-to-face interviewing. This is particularly true for questions which require sensitivity and delicacy, for instance, those concerning sexual assaults, inter-familial problems and incest. A further problem with telephone interviews is that, by definition, they exclude all those who do not have a telephone. Such people are more likely to be poor and, perhaps, to experience higher rates of victimisation. Even in a modern, developed country such as Britain, telephone ownership among the general population is no higher than 88%. Among pockets of lower income groups, it is safe to assume that this figure is far lower.

van Dijk has repeatedly argued that the use of telephone interviews for the ICS is acceptable as the cheapest interviewing method available and that results obtained are similar to those obtained in face-to-face interviews. van Dijk and Mayhew (1989) maintained that "while it is acknowledged that those without telephones may differ in some respects from those who do not, this will not greatly influence results in countries with telephone penetration about 80 or 90 per cent" (p. 3). As we have seen above, Sparks (1982) came to a different conclusion. It is difficult to accept that the proportion of a population without telephones does not differ significantly socially or economically from the 80% of the population which do possess telephones. These differences will be even more marked in developing countries. This being said, as with any large scale survey, cost is a crucial factor. Mayhew

(1993) suggested that, on balance, the choice of CATI (Computer Assisted Telephone Interviewing) was justified "because of costs and standardisation considerations ... and because the surveys in the Industrialised Countries were done where telephone ownership was at a sufficiently high level for gross bias in sample representativeness to be avoided" (p. 382). Nevertheless, for the ICS, the telephone mode "caused problems" in England, Wales and New Zealand, was not feasible in Northern Ireland and parts of Spain due to low telephone ownership rates and was rejected in favour of face-to-face interviewing in Japan. The jury still seems to be out on the issue of telephone interviewing and Mayhew concluded by saying; "There is scope for further work here to test whether response bias due to mixed-mode interviewing is something we should be concerned about in the context of the ICS questionnaire" (1993, p. 383).

With regard to the sensitivity of interviewing techniques, the 1982 BCS uncovered a mere seventeen incidences of sexual assault and the 1984 BCS uncovered eighteen cases from a total sample of 11,000. As the researchers state themselves, "there is little doubt that BCS counts of sexual offenses ... are underestimated" (Mayhew, 1989, p. 5). However, steps can be taken to elicit greater reporting rates from women on their experiences of sexual victimisation. For example, Jones (1988) emphasised the importance of interviewing techniques in eliciting greater reporting rates from women during the Islington Crime Survey:

"By the use of carefully trained researchers who were able to

conduct interviews sympathetically we found a considerably higher rate of female victimisation. Obviously, sexual assaults are almost exclusively a female 'prerogative', as is domestic violence, but we also found street robbery against women to be greater than it is against men. Indeed, in terms of non-sexual assault alone, women were 40% more likely to be attacked than men. Sexual assault in Islington was fourteen times the BCS average" (Jones, 1988 p. 170).

Thus, more sensitive interviewing techniques lead to greater rates of reporting by women, for sexual and non-sexual victimisations. The selection and training of interviewers must be considered to be of crucial importance. This is the case in Britain and internationally, as reported by the ICS:

"At the end of the day much depends on the quality of the human interactions which make up the actual interviewing. Interviewers need to possess the intellectual and social skills and, most important of all, the determination to get sincere and accurate answers from their respondents. The interviewers' job motivation may well be the most important success factor of crime surveys generally" (van Dijk & Zvekic, 1993, p. 365).

4. Under-reporting: In spite of the large volumes of crime uncovered by victim surveys, as compared to police statistics, a certain amount of victimisation experiences will not be reported to

interviewers. Some under-reporting will be due to simple forgetfulness. The fallible nature of human memory makes this a feature not only of victim surveys, but of any survey. Memory loss increases as the time between an incident and an interview increases. This forgetfulness factor biases findings towards more recent incidents and underestimates the overall level of victimisation. Sparks (1981) suggested that the optimum period about which survey respondents can be asked to report should be one year, provided "proper" interviewing techniques are used. Breen and Rottman (1985), on the other hand, found that

> "reports of victimisation were as likely to be from the six months immediately preceding the interview as from the first half of the year about which respondents were questioned. For burglary offenses, 46% of incidents fell within the first six months; that was true of 53% of all reported car-theft victimisations. It is, therefore, reasonable to accept our estimates as annual levels of crime and rates of victimisation" (1985, p. 32).

While this is encouraging, it should be noted that Breen and Rottman were operating from a relatively small sample; 9,000 interviews yielded 371 reported burglaries and 310 car thefts.

A related problem to the issue of forgetfulness is the occurrence of "telescoping" (to project forward or backwards in time one's estimation of when an incident took place). Telescoping can bias the results of a victim survey by overestimating (by way

of forward telescoping) or underestimating (by way of backwards telescoping) the number of incidents of victimisation which occurred in the selected period. The inclusion of incidents in the selected time period which have not occurred within this period, is referred to as "external telescoping." In order to maximise the accuracy of respondents' recall, it is common practice to "bound" the time span under question using some easily remembered event, for example, Christmas time.

A further problem of recall is that there may be differences in recall between groups of respondents. Lesser educated respondents, for example, report fewer incidences of assault, despite empirical indications that this group is *more* likely to be involved in assaults. One explanation for this correlation between lack of education and failure to report is that better educated individuals are more likely to have the skills to "perform" in an interview situation. Furthermore, these individuals have a better understanding of what is required of them, give the task more complete attention and concentrate at it for a greater period of time (O'Brien, 1985, p. 51).

Apart from forgetfulness, interviewees may deliberately withhold information from the interviewer. Evidence suggests that the victim's relationship with the offender determines the rate of reporting. For example, Turner (1972) investigated 206 cases of robbery, assault and rape. Using the reverse records check, he found that when the offender was a stranger, 76.3% of incidents were reported to the interviewer. When the offender was known to the

victim, 56.9% of incidents were reported; and when the offender was a relative, only 22.2% of the incidents were reported. Secondary analysis of BCS data also led to the conclusion that "women are less likely to report to the police personal crimes against them. This difference is more marked when the offender is well known to the victim" (Worrall & Pease, 1986). Such conclusions have led to the criticism by feminists that victim surveys seriously under-estimate the incidence of sexual attacks against women. Given that sexual offenders are often known to their victims, such criticisms appear well founded. Figures of crime against women do not correlate with the high levels of fear of personal violence reported by women. In fact, according to most victim surveys, *men* are more likely to be the victims of interpersonal crime than women. How can such an anomaly be explained? Either women's fear is unfounded and unreasonable, or violence against women exists but is not reported. The latter is the more likely explanation. Victim surveys as well as official statistics acknowledge the apparent under-reporting of crimes against women (Hough & Mayhew, 1983). Why do women not report such crime? One possibility is that a large amount of crime against women is carried out by acquaintances - boyfriends, husbands and so on. In effect, a woman may not report the assault for the following reasons:

(a) She may feel obliged to protect the offender. She may feel his crime does not deserve the intervention of the police and that he does not deserve to be punished for what he did.

(b) She may fear retaliation when the offender discovers he has been reported.

(c) The woman may lose her economic provider. An imprisoned husband will not be able to financially support his wife.

(d) She may feel guilty, embarrassed, ashamed or in some way responsible for her victimisation and thus reluctant to expose it.

(e) She may simply feel it is none of the interviewer's business.

(f) Victims may not construe incidents involving family, relatives or acquaintances as crimes (Skogan, 1986). People may think that, to be a "crime," violence must involve strangers.

5. Moral or physical statistics?: Realist criminology "insists that criminal statistics are social constructions" (Young, 1988, p. 179) and that "their reality is not something 'out there' as positivism and administrative criminology would have it, but a product of behaviour and evaluation" (ibid., p. 175). Young argued that reporting rates for victimisation will vary as respondents' "moral yardsticks" vary (that is, their tolerance of crime). These variations in tolerance for crime are not controlled for in victim surveys. Young (1988) also argued that crime figures expand or contract with the values one places on them and that when this is recognised comparative work at all levels will become very difficult - internationally, nationally and locally. That is, between

any two or more sample populations who are likely to have differing tolerance of, and attitudes towards, victimisation. Young (1988) concluded:

> "The effects of such findings on establishment criminology will be far-reaching: for the hope that victimisation studies would produce the 'hard' data which will transform the subject into a science without the problems of human value will be destroyed" (p. 179).

6. Problems with the self report method: "The method has most often been used with juvenile, white, in-school populations and, therefore, its coverage has been limited" (O' Brien, 1985, p. 71). In effect, by concentrating on relatively trivial issues, the self report method has not produced the data it might have. This could be addressed by specialised and selective sampling. This would spare the expense of massive sampling of the general population to elicit data on very rare occurrences, such as rape.

Understandably, many people may be reluctant to engage in such studies for fear of incriminating themselves. This may be particularly true for those engaged in delinquent or criminal activities, essentially, the very population which provide the most valuable data.

Multiple Victimisation

The issue of multiple victimisation poses two problems for

victim surveys:

1. Victimisations may occur with such a high frequency that the respondent cannot remember details of each separate offence. As victim surveys typically attempt to record the number of incidents of victimisation experienced by a respondent within a selected period of time, interviewing multiple victims inevitably leads to under-reporting. Furthermore, the nature of the interview method discourages the multiple victim from yielding all available information. Specifically, each time the interviewee reports a victimisation, a lengthy series of questions follows demanding more detail, resulting in fatigue and impatience with the whole procedure. In fact, it may be quite impossible for the interviewer to recall each distinct event. Genn, a co-worker of Sparks in the 1973 London study (Sparks et al., 1977), focused on the issue of multiple victimisation. She noted that multiple victims had an acceptance of victimisation incidents which might traumatise others: "the events reported to us in the survey were not regarded as particularly remarkable. They were just part of life" (Genn, 1988, p. 93). She further suggested that multiple victimisation might be better conceptualised as a process rather than as a series of discrete events. In effect, this would lead to a more accurate insight into the lives of multiple victims:

> "Our approach could not adequately record or reflect conditions of life where fights, verbal abuse, sexual assault and property theft were commonplace, and where the use of

violence in the resolution of conflict was virtually automatic. In these social situations, questions like, 'Have you been threatened with violence during the past 12 months?' or 'When did you last have any contact with the police?' become, frankly, an embarrassment" (Genn, 1988, p. 99).

Genn does not suggest how this process might be investigated. One approach might be to focus on the recent past of such respondents, (for example, the previous month). If the number of incidents which occurred within this period fell within a given range, this respondent could be classified as a "multiple victim" and extrapolations tentatively made about the number of incidents of victimisation experienced within a longer time-frame.

2. The phenomenon of multiple victimisation may cause the victimisation *rate* (as an indicator of risk) to appear higher than it is in reality. It is important to discriminate between the incidence or rate of victimisation (that is, the number of distinct victimisations which occur out of the total number of persons at risk) and its prevalence in the population (that is, the proportion of the population experiencing victimisation). If cognisance is not taken of multiple victimisation, the risk of victimisation among the population as a whole may be massively over-estimated.

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Conclusion

The limitations and deficiencies of victim surveys, as discussed above, should be balanced against the unique findings they provide. It is not too much to say that victim surveys have changed the way we think about crime and have revolutionised the data gathering capabilities of criminologists. By focusing on the victim, a whole new angle on the criminal event has emerged. Victim surveys have provided researchers with a wealth of systematic data which had heretofore been unavailable. In balance, victim surveys are a sensitive tool which compliment cruder official statistics. Finally, victim surveys have a particularly valuable contribution to make in developing countries where so few reliable statistics of any kind exist regarding crime.

VICTIMISATION OF STREET CHILDREN

Introduction

Most of the research carried out with street children has focused on males. Street girls are rarely the focus of research, and it is true to say that their victimisation has largely been ignored. As far as the author is aware, no research focuses directly on the victimisation of street girls, nor its consequences. How, then, can we place the victimisation experienced by Ethiopian street girls in context? One way is to examine the research in related areas and, from this, attempt to extrapolate the findings to our population of interest. This will allow us to make tentative generalisations regarding the nature and consequences of the victimisation experienced by street girls. Consequently, in this section we shall examine, insofar as it is relevant to our population, the areas of juvenile prostitution, the victimisation of runaways and group rape.

Juvenile Prostitution

Considering the large numbers of our sample of Ethiopian street girls involved in prostitution and the high degree of victimisation experienced by this population, an investigation into the lifestyle and experiences of juvenile prostitutes in other parts of the world is necessary. The discussion below focuses on a definition of juvenile prostitution, initiation to prostitution, pimps, juvenile prostitutes as victims, and reasons why clients

may favour juveniles over adult women. In addition, a brief description of juvenile prostitution as it exists in Addis Ababa is presented.

Research in the area of juvenile prostitution is sparse. Ennew (1986) attributes this to the fact that such work would embarrass, or even taint, a researcher in the eyes of his or her colleagues. "Male investigators may be regarded as using a veil of respectability to hide a desire to be a customer; females can be regarded as being tantamount to prostitutes themselves and thus be subjected to unwelcome responses from male colleagues, among others" (Ennew, 1986). In addition, it is probably true to say that the perception of prostitutes as tough, hardened and cynical probably serves to keep timid researchers away. In the West, juvenile prostitutes are extremely difficult to access. It is difficult to imagine male researchers in particular interviewing significant numbers of such a population without extreme effort.

Nevertheless, in spite of the relative inaccessibility of juvenile prostitutes, some important studies were carried out in the US in the late 1970s, namely Bracey's survey of 32 New York juvenile prostitutes (1979); the Enablers' study of 32 juveniles in Minnesota (1978); Silbert's (1980) investigation into the sexual assaults experienced by 200 prostitutes, 70% of whom were under 21, in the San Fransisco Bay area; and James's (1980) study of factors which initiate young girls into prostitution. A review of these and other studies is provided by Weisberg (1985). In addition, a useful global account of the sexual exploitation of children is provided by Judith Ennew (1986).

What is Juvenile, or Child, Prostitution?

Child prostitution is a term frequently used for prostitution involving a minor. However, very young female prostitutes would appear to be relatively rare. Weisberg (1985) concluded from a review of the research in the US that most juvenile prostitutes are older adolescents (aged fifteen to seventeen) and that few adolescent female prostitutes are under fourteen. Ennew (1986), too, reported that sexual exploitation of pre-pubescent children is rare: "Most available evidence about child prostitutes refers not to pre-pubertal children but to young people who have not reached political majority" (Ennew, 1986, p. 83). Even in Thailand, famed for its sex tourism and home of an estimated one million prostitutes, only an estimated 10% of prostitutes are aged fourteen years or younger: "Many prostitutes catering for tourists are under the age of 18, and many may be under 16, yet it seems that, even in the case of boy prostitutes, few are pre-pubertal" (Ennew, 1986, p. 111). Perpignan (1983) reported that, of a sample of fifty adult males in Manila who were customers of prostitutes, very few expressed interest in young girls or children. The vast majority were seeking sexual gratification with adult, female prostitutes. Worldwide, the development of secondary sexual characteristics in prostitutes would appear to be a requirement for most clients.

Lucchini (1994b) objects even to the term "child prostitution." When referring to very young children, between the ages of ten and twelve, he argues that it is an "abuse of classification" to refer to them as professional prostitutes as they are not capable of

realising the high levels of exploitation they experience, nor possible alternative lifestyles. Instead, he prefers to label such children as "victims of sexual abuse." The distinction between "professional" and "victim" is important to make as it illustrates the lack of *choice* for younger children. It confronts the supposition that young children, because they are exposed to the harshness of prostitution and street life, are in some way adult-like and are able to make rational, informed decisions about their lifestyle and their sexuality. To label somebody a "prostitute," "whore" or "street walker" implies an individual making a choice, however limited, to engage in survival sex. Pre-pubescent children, argues Lucchini, are not in a position to make this choice. The pre-pubescent child engaging in sex for material gain is most likely to be doing so at the hands of a coercive, threatening or manipulating exploitative adult. Thus, we can argue that the term "child prostitution" is a misnomer. Apart from the fact that it is very rare for clients to favour pre-pubescent children (as distinct from very young adolescents), when contractual sex takes place between a client and a pre-pubescent child it is more accurate to understand it, not as prostitution, but as child sexual abuse.

Initiation to Prostitution

Why does a young teenager begin to sell sex for money? A number of factors can be responsible for initially persuading a girl to prostitute herself. Friends play a prominent role in introducing a girl to prostitution. Bracey (1979) reported that 60% of her sample

of New York juvenile prostitutes decided to become prostitutes after being influenced by schoolmates, neighbourhood friends, former friends who had left home and new acquaintances. In the Enablers' study (1978), 16% of the sample reported they had friends already involved in prostitution at the time they began prostituting themselves. Similarly, 21% of Silbert's sample first heard about prostitution from friends and "kids in school." Bracey (1979) attributed the large numbers of girls recruited to prostitution by other girls to the recruiter's efforts to ingratiate herself with her pimp - "Praise, gifts and status accrue to the girl who brings additional girls to her 'old man's' stable; providing additional girls and consequently additional income is a frequent way of becoming 'bottom woman,' the pimps favourite and most trusted girl" (p. 21). Silbert (1980) found that 20% of her sample were recruited by other women who were working for a pimp or madam.

In many cases, a girl will be targeted by a pimp or prostitute as soon as she arrives in the city. Bus stations make ideal locations for those wishing to recruit young prostitutes. An impoverished young girl arriving alone in a large city is extremely susceptible to the "kind" person who befriends her, buys her a meal, and offers to put her up for a few nights. A dependency is very quickly established, to the extent that the girl will do anything so as not to anger or alienate her new friends. What is interesting is that this dependency develops so quickly and to such an intensity in spite of the fact that the girl had the independence to come to the city alone in the first place. Within days, she cannot envision life without her new-found family. Bracey (1979) cited the example of

Ellen, a fifteen year old runaway. Arriving at New York's Port Authority Bus Terminal, a man approached her and asked if he could be of any assistance. He bought her a meal and asked if she would like to stay with him and his "wife" for a few days. Being penniless and knowing nobody in New York, she agreed. Within a few days, she was prostituting on the streets. Ennew (1986) also observed this method of recruiting girls and reported that:

> "This pattern shows little variation, whether it takes place among runaway girls arriving from the countryside in London, Paris, New York or Mexico City. Once involved in prostitution, the girl can extricate herself only at the risk of losing the spurious stability she has found, even if she is under no threat of physical violence" (Ennew, 1986, p. 90).

Perhaps surprisingly, there would appear to be little coercion involved in initiating girls to prostitution:

> "Although we have heard stories of kidnappings and of totally innocent girls being raped and then 'turned out', none of the girls interviewed claimed to know anyone who had been started in prostitution in these ways. Generally, charm, flattery, the promise of money, protection, companionship and emotional closeness are enough to initiate girls into the world of prostitution" (Bracey, 1979, p. 23).

The Enablers (1978) reported that most girls did not consider themselves forced into prostitution. Only 5% claimed they were "turned out" because of a physical threat by a pimp.

In Thailand, a significant number of young prostitutes are recruited by city "business men" who send agents to the rural villages. Parents, often enticed by relatively large monetary deposits, are persuaded into allowing their daughters to travel to the city, ostensibly to work in factories or shops. Once in the city, these girls are held prisoner in brothels and are required to pay large sums of money to buy their way out of bondage. The majority of Thailand's young prostitutes are

> "the daughters of smallholders or labourers in depressed and remote rural areas, lured to the cities by recruiters, who claim to be from an employment agency and offer advances on wages to the parents. Once in the city, the girls are subject to tight controls amounting to virtual imprisonment, physical abuse, long working hours and well below subsistence wages" (Anti-slavery Society, 1984, reported in Ennew, 1986).

Ennew and Milne (1989) described how one girl was recruited to prostitution: a Mr. Koleng and his friends told villagers that they were looking for young girls for a special, unspecified, kind of work. The girls' parents let them go because one of Mr. Koleng's agents was a native of their area and the parents were paid an advance sum of 6,000 baht (approximately £168). It is probably

true to say that the number of prostitutes in Thailand is *not* typical of other countries due to the extent to which sex is deliberately marketed as a means of attracting tourists and hard currency, giving rise to the expression "sex-tourism." Ennew (1986) cited a remark made by Thailand's former deputy Prime minister:

> "I ask all governors to consider the natural scenery in your provinces, together with some forms of entertainment that some of you might consider disgusting and shameful because they are forms of sexual entertainment that attract tourists .... We must do this because we have to consider the jobs that will be created for the people."

Nepal is another Eastern country where large numbers of young girls are "bought" from their parents and recruited into prostitution. As many as 200,000 Nepali women are believed to be working in brothels in India, most "sold" by their families when they were about eleven years old. As in Thailand, parents are often under the impression that their child is to be placed in a factory or workshop. Kidnapping of young girls in the countryside and then selling them to brokers is also not uncommon (Reinfeld, 1993). Eskapa (1987) described the sale of young girls as sex slaves in Paraguay, usually sold by destitute parents who are told the child will be given work in the city.

Pimps

What role does the "pimp" play in the life of juvenile prostitutes? The majority of Bracey's (1979) New York sample of juvenile prostitutes felt it would be impossible for anyone, especially a juvenile, to work the streets without a pimp (only 28% of Bracey's sample claim they have never worked for a pimp). From the girls' point of view, the pimp performs a number of important functions:

1. He provides the girl with a false identity and papers. In the event of being picked up by the police, the girl has a phone number where her "family" can confirm she was over-age. In the event of arrest, a pimp will pay a girl's bail and her fine.

2. "Independent" girls are harassed by pimps and other prostitutes, but a girl with her own pimp is relatively free from harassment from this source. In addition, a pimp will collect a girl's earnings once or twice throughout the night and thus protect her from robbers, often drug addicts who prey on prostitutes known to be carrying substantial sums of money after several hours work.

3. Another important function fulfilled by a pimp and his "stable" is to provide a young girl with protection against loneliness. This is particularly important considering the runaway girl has often run from an unhappy or abusive home.

Joining a pimp gives her an immediate "family" with "siblings" who are in the same position as herself. This shared experience provides much needed emotional support and security.

Over 75% of the juveniles in Silbert's (1980) study reported having a pimp, whose primary function was seen by the girls as protection. Unlike Bracey's respondents however, who reported that the pimp provided emotional support and protection against loneliness, only 4% of Silbert's respondents described the pimp as someone they loved or cared about emotionally.

Bracey's interviews with pimps suggest that those who "own" juveniles are small time. Successful pimps avoid juvenile prostitutes because of the legal risks involved in working with a minor. Perhaps more importantly, his status among other pimps is undermined if he is seen to be wasting time "changing diapers." In addition, teenagers are seen as volatile and unreliable - "because they distrust the youngsters' judgement, pimps must check and follow these girls more closely than they do older women" (Bracey, 1979, p. 30).

Juvenile Prostitutes as Victims

Juvenile prostitutes typically live, to a greater or lesser extent, under a threat of violence. Pimps and customers are the main sources of abuse. As we have already seen, violence is rarely used by pimps to introduce a girl into prostitution. However, once a

girl has started prostituting herself, violence may be used to prevent her from stopping. Only three of Bracey's 23 interviewees who discussed violence claimed that their pimps would never behave violently towards them. Interviews with pimps confirmed this pattern but it was widely felt, by pimps, that the man who was constantly disobeyed and had to beat his prostitutes was, in fact, a failure:

> "The successful man rarely had to resort to violence, because his women obeyed him without it. Beatings might be necessary early in a relationship when a girl had not yet learned all the rules of the business or was unaccustomed to the demands of her particular man. If she did not learn quickly, however, the intelligent pimp got rid of her. The threat of violence was far more prevalent than violence itself" (Bracey, 1979, p. 38).

Silbert (1980) reported that 66% of her sample experienced physical abuse by pimps - 50% of them are beaten regularly or constantly. The reasons for this violence included disrespect, failure to earn enough money, departure or threatened departure and expressions of jealousy (Weisberg, 1985).

Bracey's (1979) sample reported abuse from sadistic or "kinky" customers who resorted to violence when a girl refused to perform certain acts. Seventy per cent of Silbert's (1980) sample were victimised by customer rape or clients going beyond the work contract. Seventy eight per cent of these reported being victimised

by forced perversion an average of seventeen times per prostitute. The effects of these assaults were serious and long-lasting and were both physical and psychological:

> "In almost every case, victims sustained physical injury. In 63% of the cases victims had bodily injuries serious enough to require repeated medical attention; in 13% they had broken bones; in 22% they suffered medical shock .... Every victim reported that the rape had a negative effect on their feelings towards men and toward themselves; the vast majority reported that the rape had a negative effect on their feelings towards sex; and more than half felt the rape had a negative impact on their attitudes toward emotional relationships and even friendships" (Silbert, 1980, p. 17).

Such experiences, Silbert argued, may beget future victimisations:

> "It is suggested here that those people who are subjected to continuous abuse and victimisation about which they have no understanding and over which they have no control, as seen in the life experiences of the women in this study, develop a 'psychological paralysis' which prohibits their abilities to do anything about further victimisation. As learned helplessness grows into psychological paralysis, people will become totally passive, unable to change destructive behaviour, debilitated, self-deprecating, and entrapped in helplessness and

hopelessness" (Silbert, 1980, p. 19).

In addition, Silbert's sample reported beatings, robbery and non-payment. Many men may try to avoid paying a prostitute, particularly smaller, younger, inexperienced girls. The fact that prostitutes may be carrying relatively large amounts of money makes them attractive targets for muggers, especially drug addicts. The fact that she is a prostitute makes it unlikely that she will report the robbery.

The juvenile prostitute also experiences disproportionately high levels of pregnancy and sexually transmitted diseases, compared to adult prostitutes. Juveniles are typically less informed about the risks of venereal diseases and genital hygiene. Weisberg (1985) reported high levels of ignorance of sexuality, contraception and venereal disease among juvenile prostitutes:

> "More than one quarter of juvenile prostitutes take no precautions against venereal disease, such as examining the customer or using condoms. The remainder use condoms for protection, but only some of the time. Also, some juvenile prostitutes do not know what an orgasm is or even that it is part of the sexual experience .... More than one fifth of juvenile prostitutes fail to take any precautions against pregnancy" (Weisberg, 1985, p. 114).

The result of this ignorance is high levels of pregnancy and venereal disease among juvenile prostitutes. The Enablers (1978,

n=52) reported that half of the sample have been pregnant at least once, a significant number have been pregnant more than once and almost one fifth have been pregnant more than twice. Silbert (1980) reported that 63% of her sample of prostitutes (the majority, 68%, being under sixteen) had been pregnant. James (1980) found the average age at first pregnancy to be 14.5 years.

A further negative aspect of juvenile prostitution, reported by Silbert (1980), is that girls become ambivalent or neutral about sex. They neither like it or dislike it, but view it only as a way of making money. Although adult prostitutes are sometimes reported as neutral toward sex with a customer but positive with a boyfriend, juveniles seem to be consistently neutral about sex (Bracey, 1979). Another effect is a general mistrust of people, especially men, of whom they become frightened (Enablers, 1978).

Finally, adverse weather conditions are consistently reported by street prostitutes to plague their lives - "Hours spent on the streets in cold weather, often in inadequate clothing, cause an inordinate amount of colds and flu. A street walker in storm coat, hat and waterproof boots is unlikely to attract many customers" (Bracey, 1979, p. 63).

In summary, the types of abuse most frequently reported by juvenile prostitutes are physical and sexual abuse, venereal diseases, pregnancy and police harassment. Juvenile prostitutes also suffer ill-health due to being out in the cold and wet, inadequate diet and exposure to contagious diseases. Psychological consequences are reported as lowered self-esteem, feelings of shame and guilt, social stigma and lack of future opportunities.

Preference for Juvenile over Adult prostitutes

Why might juvenile prostitutes in particular prove attractive to customers? It might be useful in some instances to think of a client who uses underage prostitutes not necessarily as deviant, but as exploitative. Below we shall consider some suggestions as to why younger prostitutes may be favoured over adult women.

1. We can speculate that juvenile prostitutes are attractive to some clients because they are easier to intimidate. They will not have fully developed the street wise coping mechanisms of their older counterparts. Clients are more likely to be able to bully a young girl into having sexual intercourse in positions she has not agreed to and are more likely to be able to get away without paying.

2. Younger girls might be easier to approach for young boys than fully grown women. A seventeen year old youth is more likely to feel more confident and less intimidated, or nervous, with a fifteen year old prostitute than with, say, an older woman of twenty five.

3. In many parts of the world, Aids has become widespread among the prostitute population. With this in mind, clients may reason that the young girl, who has spent less time on the streets, is less likely to have acquired the virus. O'Grady (1993) attributed the "sudden burst in the number of child

prostitutes" in Thailand to a fear of Aids among clients:

"Brothel workers claim that their customers are particularly anxious to have a prostitute who 'looks healthy.' Since young children usually convey a stronger sense of being healthy than older jaded prostitutes, the demand for their services is increasing at all brothels. Many massage parlours in Thailand now have a separate room at the back where selected customers can be taken to view young girls, some as young as ten and eleven years, whose health is guaranteed and whose price is accordingly higher" (O'Grady, 1993, p. 43).

However, the reality is that sex between a young child and an adult is *more* likely to transmit the HIV virus than sex between two adults as the blood tissues lining the male child's anus and rectum and the young girls vagina are thin and easy to rupture. The younger prostitute being used by several customers a day ends up with internal injuries such as bleeding and abrasions which never have a chance to heal. There will be many open sores through which the HIV virus can easily pass (O'Grady, 1993).

4. Ennew (1986) noted to the widespread, Western oriented association between youth and beauty in popular culture and this can help explain the "strong preference for young people among clients for both male and female prostitutes" (p.

81).

5. Densen-Gerber and Hutchinson (1984) speculated that the type of men who are inclined to use younger prostitutes view sexual activity as a trial, or performance. The inexperienced girl is less likely to be critical.

6. Cost would also appear to play a role. Whereas in Thailand younger prostitutes can command higher prices and in the West paedophiles have been known to pay enormous prices for sexual access to pre-pubescent children, this is not a universal tendency. In the case of many developing countries child prostitutes are at the bottom end of the market, in terms of prices. Particularly among the urban poor in developing countries, the juvenile prostitute will be the only type of prostitute affordable to poor youths and men:

"These customers are not usually rich degenerates but poor, unemployed, and possibly homeless men. The attraction of children may be simply that they are the only sexual partners available to men who appear to be social failures and that the child's social status and small size provide a means of exercising power which is other wise not available to them" (Ennew, 1986, p. 83).

7. Finally, we can speculate that, among tourists abroad (in Asia particularly), there may be an atmosphere of sexual

experimentation, possibly due to the widespread availability of low cost prostitutes. In addition, what is condemned as paedophilia in the West, may be seen as more acceptable elsewhere due to the existence of local customs such as child brides. These conditions may lead to clients "trying out" younger prostitutes.

Juvenile Prostitution in Addis Ababa

In Addis Ababa today, prostitution is widespread. Mehret et al.'s (1990) study estimated that 7.1% of the adult female population of Addis Ababa regularly practised multi-partner sexual contacts, the bulk of these being prostitute-client contacts. As large as this figure is, it is likely to be an under-estimation of the total number of females involved in prostitution as it does not include those under eighteen years of age. The business of prostitution is little organised in Addis Ababa. There are few pimps as we know it. Instead, the girls work either for themselves or in bars. In a dated but unique study, Carlebach (1962) found a similar pattern among juvenile prostitutes in Nairobi. Eighty two per cent of a sample of 55 juvenile prostitutes were independent, that is, they attracted customers by street walking or working in bars and brothels and did not rely on a pimp or broker to supply clients. For the most part, prostitution in Addis Ababa is not a glamorous affair. Apart from some dozen night-spots frequented by foreigners, and the streets near the Hilton Hotel, the prostitutes are not dressed in the stereotypically provocative manner

associated with prostitutes in the West. Instead, they are ordinarily dressed girls and women standing on the streets or working in the bars. Indeed, many of them are dressed in rags.

Sixty six per cent of Baardson's sample of juvenile prostitutes in Addis Ababa (total sample = 77) came from outside the city. The mean age at starting prostitution was 14.7 years. Nineteen and a half per cent of the total sample were twelve years or younger when they entered prostitution. Extreme poverty was the major motivating factor for initiation into prostitution. Only 40% of the juvenile prostitutes in Baardson's sample were raised by both parents. Thirty two per cent were raised by "Mother only" and a further 11% were raised by relatives:

> "Many of them had experienced multiple upbringing arrangements such as being sent to childless aunts, or to grandparents for shorter or longer periods of time .... The extended family provides a very important security net for the upbringing of children. In most cases, girls are not thrown immediately onto the streets when they are orphaned, but are looked after by members of their extended family. But poverty associated with disagreements with relatives are the most important factors which encourage these girls to leave" (Baardson, 1993, p. 20).

Baardson (1993) described the entry to prostitution in Ethiopia as a three stage process - the instigating incident; the process of trying different job options; the decision to become a prostitute.

1. Instigating incidents include anything which force a girl to leave her parents or guardians, such as maltreatment and quarrels at home, poverty at home or being orphaned, which either push or pull the girl from her guardians.

2. The majority of the girls had attempted to support themselves in some way prior to their entry into prostitution. Fifty one per cent had been house maids, 23% had a petty trade and 11% had begged. Each of these occupations provided a living at subsistence level only:

"It seems clear that the majority of girls do not regard prostitution as a first option. Rather, it is the last resort, but it is the one that brings them economic rewards which they never could realise through being a maid or a petty trader" (Baardson, 1993, p. 26).

3. Baardson attributed the actual decision to become a prostitute to three factors. One, the "demonstration effect:"

"Prostitution is a visible activity in Ethiopia. In the city, the street walkers can be seen in almost all areas; they are not crammed away in particular red-light districts .... In Ethiopia, and particularly in Addis Ababa, the young girls are influenced by what they see as role models — well-dressed girls, apparently with enough money, who have become 'successful'

by being prostitutes" (Baardson, 1993, p. 27).

> The second factor which entices a girl to become a prostitute is the encouragement and instigation she receives from girls who are already in the trade. The third factor applies to lone migrants who are picked up at the bus station by women, often bar-owners looking for fresh "recruits:"
>
> "The girls will get free lodging and food for some time, but then are told to find a job in order to contribute to their upkeep and accommodation. Since the options are extremely limited, many girls are actively encouraged to start prostitution. Since many of these landladies are themselves former prostitutes, they play an active part in the actual initiation" (Baardson, 1990, pp. 27-8).

The greatest problems reported by Baardson's (1993) Ethiopian sample included threats, beatings and sexual abuse by customers (32%), lack of money (18%) and fear of Aids (13%). Only 13% reported that they had not been either raped, sexually abused or physically assaulted by customers. The most common reasons given for being assaulted were that the girls refused to engage in "deviant practices" - anal or oral sex. "All of the girls had a very strong reluctance against this, and were very frightened of coming into situations where the men misused them in this way" (Baardson, 1993, p. 41). This abhorrence of any form of sexual contact other

than peno-vaginal is also true of adult prostitutes in Addis Ababa. In a 1989 survey of 2,663 randomly selected female sex-workers, 98.1% reported practising peno-vaginal sex only, 1.7% in addition occasionally practised peno-rectal sex and 0.2% peno-oral sex (Mehret et al., 1990).

Ethiopia differs from other Third World countries known to have large numbers of juvenile prostitutes, such as Thailand or the Philippines, because the activity is not linked to tourism - "although Addis Ababa houses an extensive number of foreign embassies, and innumerable international development institutions and organisations, the majority of the men who visit prostitutes, including those below 18 years of age, are primarily Ethiopian men" (Baardson, 1993, p. 6).

Victimisation of Runaways in the Developed World

Appendix four illustrates why the runaways of the Developed World are not a comparable population to the street children of the Third World. Nevertheless, there exists a minority of runaways in First World cities who, because they survive on the street independently of adults, have broken all links with home and have spent considerable periods of time on the streets, are comparable with *children of the streets* in Third World cities. It is to this population of hard-core runaways in the United States that we turn for evidence of the victimisation experienced by out-of-home children and adolescents fending for themselves on city streets in the First World.

Whitbeck and Simons (1990) interviewed 84 adolescents, focusing on their reasons for leaving home, their experiences of abuse at home and the nature of victimisation they had experienced on the street. The most common reasons given for leaving home were:

Reason for leaving	%
To look for excitement	53.4
Parents too strict	53.3
Parents did not care about me	48.6
Violence in the home	45.9
Physical abuse	42.5

Table 3.4: Reasons given by a sample of US runaways for leaving home.

Specifically, the abuse reported by runaways while they lived at home took the following format:

Type of abuse	% of males n=44	% of females n=40	Total %
Forced to engage in sexual activites	12	44	27
Hit with an object	67	67	67
Slapped	86	85	85
Beaten up	55	39	47

Table 3.5: Abuse experienced by runaways at home (adapted from Whitbeck & Simons, 1990).

Almost forty four per cent of the girls had been forced to engage in sexual activities at home and 66% of the total sample had been beaten with some object. Given this, it is not surprising that 45.9% gave "Violence in the home" as their reason for running away. However, the violence did not cease once the adolescent was on the streets. Table 3.6 below shows the percentage of runaways reporting victimisation while on the streets:

Type of abuse	% of males n=44	% of females n=40	Total %
Beaten up	43	39	41
Robbed	24	23	24
Sexually assaulted	10	43	26
Threatened with weapon	51	35	43
Assaulted with weapon	39	21	30

Table 3.6: Abuse experienced by runaways on the streets (adapted from Whitbeck & Simons, 1990).

This survey was carried out in a city with a population of 250,000. No more than a regional town, in the First World, and these adolescents experience levels of victimisation akin to that experienced by Third World street children. Whereas their material backgrounds may be quite different, runaways and street children share the common trait of spending large amounts of time on the streets without supervision or protection from caring adults. This leaves them prey to all manner of abusive and exploitative adults. Whitbeck and Simons (1990) noted that:

"The streets of smaller cities are not less hostile environments than larger cities known for large populations of

homeless youth. These results indicate that similar processes affect victimization of adolescent males and females. Having no legitimate means for survival, these youth are prone to engage in deviant subsistence strategies, such as selling drugs, prostitution, shop-lifting, or robbery, which greatly increases the probability of victimization" (p. 123).

This process of victimisation of homeless youth due to the strategies they employ to survive occurs around the world, in cities large and small. The "deviant subsistence strategies" may differ from place to place, but the common trait is that strategies of survival such as theft or prostitution bring homeless children and youth into contact with aggressive and exploitative adults. Whitbeck and Simons (1990) utilised the *life-style* theory (Hindelang et al., 1978) to explain the high levels of vulnerability of homeless youth to victimisation. According to this theory, the lifestyles that people adopt greatly affect the probability of criminal attack. This places homeless youth in a particularly vulnerable position. "Runaways are on the streets at late hours, frequent public places, and engage in deviant survival strategies - such as panhandling, selling sexual favours, and taking or dealing drugs - all of which makes them especially vulnerable to criminal attack" (Whitbeck & Simons, 1990, p. 111). To test the processes which they hypothesise to be at work here, Whitbeck and Simons developed a path model to examine the links between an abusive family and victimisation on the streets. The model hypothesised that young people who are victimised in the home by physical and

protection. In the remaining 5 incidents, the proximity to adult supervision was, at best, uncertain" (Jones et al., 1981, p. 438). The authors concluded that delinquent females are far more likely to be sexually assaulted than their non-delinquent counterparts, due to their indiscriminate contacts with delinquent males.

Effects of Sexual Victimisation on Runaway Youths

What are the effects of these high levels of sexual abuse among runaways? McCormack, Janus and Burgess (1986) investigated this issue. Their study of 144 adolescent runaways found that 38% of males and 73% of females reported having been sexually abused (unfortunately, they do not specify whether this abuse has occurred before or after running away; that is, in the home, or on the streets). They studied gender differences in the impact of this abuse by comparing abused and non-abused runaways on their perceptions of sexual activity; relationships with peers and adults; involvement with delinquent/criminal activities; and physical and emotional complaints. The results for females and males are presented separately below.

Females

Sexually abused female runaways are significantly more likely than non-sexually abused female runaways to have confused feelings about sex (43% vs 7%); more likely to have difficulty with same sex friendships (28% vs 13%); more likely to have been in

trouble with the law that involved staying in jail or in juvenile hall (44% vs 0%); more likely to have participated in acts of physical violence (55% vs 13%); and more likely to report suicidal feelings (53% vs 33%) (McCormack et al., 1986).

In comparison to non-sexually abused female runaways, none of whom had been arrested or stayed in juvenile hall or jail, the abused girls were far more likely to be engaged in delinquent acts. Such deviant behaviour in turn exposes a girl to more victimisation by the nature of her associates and deviant survival strategies, as we have seen above in Whitbeck and Simon's (1990) study .

Males

Sexually abused male runaways are significantly more likely than non-sexually abused runaway males to report being afraid of adult men (35% vs 13%). They are also more likely to report physical symptomatology, depression, flashbacks and suicidal feelings (53% vs 34%) (McCormack et al., 1986). Being sexually abused would appear to have little effect on a male runaway's likelihood of engaging in delinquent or criminal activities - "this research suggests that the presence of sexual abuse does not alter the pattern of physical violence and delinquency in male runaways ... Sexually abused male runaways appear similar to non-sexually abused male runaways in most of the explored areas" (McCormack et al., 1986, p. 393).

In summary, American runaways who live independently would

appear to experience exploitation and abuse at a level similar to that found amongst Third World street children. The consequences of this abuse appear to be confused feelings about sex, greater delinquency, physical symptomatology and suicidal feelings.

Group Rape

Group rape has been experienced by quite a number of our sample of Ethiopian street girls. A feature of group rape is that it involves intense and prolonged humiliation for victims. "Verbal insults, beating and sexual humiliation are likely to occur ... Particularly in the case of the 'pick-up' ill-reputed girl her treatment will be most brutal with a complete lack of consideration for her dignity and well-being" (Amir, 1971, p. 193). The following case-study from Addis Ababa gives an example of this kind of horrific humiliation. During interviews with street boys, one boy detailed the latest rape he had been involved in:

> "One of our group got a prostitute and brought her to the church compound. While he was having sex with her we all gathered around. When he was finished, she tried to get up but we kicked her and knocked her to the ground. One boy started to rape her and we cheered. When she screamed, we beat her about the face. As each boy finished, a new one would be waiting. In all, eleven of us raped her. Towards the end she fainted. When she woke up we were still there laughing at her. She was covered in blood and looked very foolish. One boy

attempted to rub it away by smearing a handful of dirt between her legs and we all laughed. Another boy pushed some paper into her and attempted to light it. When she tried to escape we kicked her and punched her. This time when she fainted we went away."

This particular group rape was carried out by a group of boys aged between thirteen and eighteen. The interviewee showed not the slightest sign of regret or remorse.

Amir (1971) examined the prevalence of group rape among a sample of victims (n = 646) and offenders (n = 1,292):

	Pair rape	Group rape	Total
Victims	16%	27%	43%
Offenders	16%	55%	71%

Table 3.7: Multiple rape, from Amir (1971).

Table 3.7 reveals that 43% of rape victims were the victims of multiple rape and that 71% of the rapists were incarcerated for being part of a multiple rape. Other researchers have found similarly high proportions of group rape. "Between 40% and 50% of rapes involve group rape" (Eskapa, 1987, p. 169). Eskapa attributed group rape to a type of "male bonding." There may be enormous pressure to conform. Rape is predominantly an adolescent or young adulthood type of crime (Amir, 1971). This age group is most

inclined to congregate in groups or gangs. The group dynamics at work in a gang or similar small group may lead to the de-individualisation which enables a member to participate in a group rape, whereas as an individual he may never even have considered rape.

Conclusion

Apart from the immediate harmful effects of abuse and neglect to a child, there may be considerable long-term effects such as emotional and social impoverishment and the acceptance of violence as a means of problem solving. Ones experience of abuse at the hands of a trusted figure such as a parent or relative may lead to a fear or mistrust of intimate relationships which may hinder ones later social development. In addition, "abused and neglected children have significantly greater risk of becoming delinquents, criminals and violent criminals" (Widom, 1989, p. 164). By a process of social learning, one adapts the very practices one found abusive, leading to the inter-generational transmission of violence: "Every time the child's undesirable behaviour is punished by the use of violence he is being taught that the use of violence is a proper mode of curbing undesirable behaviour. He grows up believing that the use of violence in the process of upbringing is right, legitimate and justified" (Fattah, 1989b, p. 206). The consequences of child abuse and neglect have to be seen as both destructive to the child in the short term and as damaging to his or her social and emotional development in the long term.

SUMMARY

Victimological concepts such as victim precipitation, situational analysis and lifestyle theories of victimisation are used to explain the dynamics involved in becoming a victim. Such concepts complement and enrich traditional views of criminality which focus on the perpetrator or offender. Such a traditional analysis is unlikely to be conceptually useful in the study of *victims*. In the first part of this chapter, we examined the origins of some victim-centred concepts which may help us in attempting to understand and explain the victimisation of Ethiopian street children. In Chapter six we shall attempt to interpret our data using these concepts from victimology.

The second part of this chapter examined the development of the victim survey as a means of gathering criminological data. We saw that victim surveys typically report more crime than official police figures. In a developing country, where police figures may be suspect for a number of reasons, the victim survey would appear to be the most effective method of gathering data relating to crime. This is particularly so in a marginalised, alienated population which has little contact or influence with organs of the state such as the police and courts. The International Crime Survey has recently attempted to gather victimological data from a number of developing countries using a standard questionnaire. It is hoped that this endeavour will eventually allow cross-national comparisons to a degree unprecedented in criminology.

This chapter concludes by examining some specific areas of

child victimisation. The issues of juvenile prostitution, victimisation of runaways and group rape were selected as each is pertinent in our study of Ethiopian street children. In the absence of data regarding the nature of juvenile prostitution, the effects of living on the streets, and the effects of experiencing group rape in Addis Ababa, we turned to other populations where such issues have been examined. This allows us to make tentative observations about the victimisation experienced by Ethiopian street children. For instance, we saw that child, as opposed to youth, prostitution is rare in other developing countries and in the United States. This would also appear to be true in Ethiopia. Certain features of juvenile prostitutes, such as ignorance of contraception and birth control, would appear to make them more susceptible to pregnancy and disease. We saw that juvenile prostitutes in the United States reported a wide range of negative physical, emotional and psychological effects due to the lifestyle they lead. We can speculate that the same will be true for Ethiopian street children. Research amongst long-term runaways in the United States highlights the similarities in the nature of victimisation between this population and street children in Ethiopia. Although both of these populations exist in extremely different societies, they share the feature of living independently on the streets where they are vulnerable to exploitative adults.

Chapter Four

Methodology

INTRODUCTION

Between May and December 1992, the Department of Applied Psychology at University College Cork (UCC) participated in a survey of street children in Ethiopia. The Unicef office in Ethiopia was anxious to gain a fuller understanding of what appeared to be a rapidly growing problem, particularly after the change of government in 1991. On the recommendation of Peter Tacon, a street children consultant, Unicef (Ethiopia) decided to finance an exploratory survey of street children throughout the country. During a visit to Addis Ababa in December 1991, in order to explore the possibility for research in the area of street children, a UCC post-graduate student met with Unicef and it was agreed that she would prepare the questionnaire to be used in the survey. The data collection was to be carried out by staff of the Transitional Government of Ethiopia's Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs (Molsa). A draft of the questionnaire was prepared during the Spring of 1992. Its main objectives were to provide data on street children's familial, socio-economic, migrational and educational backgrounds. It also sought to explore the day to day details of the children's lives in terms of work, play, eating and sleeping habits. It further explored the interpersonal relationships of the children, their experience of abuse, both at home and on the streets, their involvement in crime and substance abuse and, finally, their health status.

During the Spring of 1992, it was decided to expand that section of the questionnaire which dealt with the children's

experiences of victimisation and their own involvement in criminal or delinquent activities. Very little is known about this aspect of street children's lives. It is commonly assumed that street children experience high levels of abuse and are forced into various criminal activities. Again, it is commonly assumed that this will have adverse effects on these children's socialisation. However, little objective data exists in this area. This was the main justification for developing an additional questionnaire which would concern itself solely with this aspect of street children's lives: their experiences of victimisation and their involvement in delinquent activities. This area was to be my focus during field work in 1992. This project required a seven month stay in Ethiopia.

In 1993 I returned to Ethiopia, as part of UCCs newly established "Child Studies Unit." UCC returned to Ethiopia with the objectives of establishing a longitudinal study of street children and conducting a training programme for youth workers and street educators who work directly with street children. Therefore, as well as collecting additional data on victimisation for this thesis, I was also "Field Officer" for UCC during my five month stay. This brought the total time I spent in Ethiopia between May 1992 and Christmas 1993 to one year.

The chief methodological tool for data collection, both in 1992 and in 1993, was the victim survey. Victim surveys typically target a representative sample of the entire population of a given area, to determine the extent of criminal victimisations they have experienced. The victim survey used in Addis Ababa deviated from

this approach and instead concentrated on a particular population - street children. The survey work in Addis Ababa was initially exploratory. In addition to quantifying the abuses against street children, the work had a qualitative aspect which sought to explore the richness of children's street experiences, both positive and negative. Fattah (1993b) noted the relative absence of qualitative data in the realm of victim surveys and commented that "understanding of those experiences would be greatly enhanced were the surveys to be complemented by comparative, cross-cultural, qualitative studies of the existentialist aspects of victimisation ... [Qualitative studies] inject some life into the rather lifeless numbers and percentages revealed by victim surveys" (p. 304). Genn (1988), too, argued that multiple victims have been neglected for too long by victim surveys.

Objectives

The objective of the initial field work was to explore the incidence and nature of victimisation and delinquency in the lives of street children. The interview schedule was designed:

(a) To identify the nature of abuse and exploitation experienced by street children.
(b) To identify the nature of street children's criminal, delinquent and anti-social behaviour.

Once this had been done, the richness of the data required that

a certain focus or specialisation be made. It was decided to focus the remaining work on the victimisation of street girls. In particular, the objectives of this second phase of data collection were:

(a) To enlarge the number and variety of interviewees, and thus create comparison groups. Namely, to compare the levels of abuse experienced by *girls of the street, girls on the street* and girls who lived a more settled urban poor lifetyle.
(b) To extend the scope of information being collected. Rather than limit the questions to victimisation experienced by girls, an attempt was made to find answers to the following questions:

- What are the long term effects of experiencing sustained victimisation on the streets?
- What are the main factors of vulnerability? What is it about street girls' lifestyles that create opportunities for victimisation?
- What is the role of the group in girls' lives?
- What coping strategies do the girls use to protect themselves from the hardships of street life?

Below is an account of the field work conducted in Addis Ababa between May and December, 1992 and August and December, 1993. The remainder of this chapter is divided into two parts. The first part outlines chronologically the field work which was carried out,

discussing the methodology, the numbers of interviewees in each sub-sample and the nature and quality of the data collected. The second part of this chapter is a discussion of various methodological observations made throughout the data collection.

DATA COLLECTION (1992)

The first phase of data collection was carried out between May and December 1992 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. The objective of this preliminary research was to gather data on the nature of victimisation and delinquency among both male and female street children. Collecting information from street children is not easy. They are highly suspicious of adults, and the public nature of their lives makes the gathering of any kind of sensitive information difficult. Structured sampling techniques, or other forms of methodological sophistication are difficult if not impossible to organise given the chaotic lives of the children and the turbulent world in which they live. It is more important to establish a sense of trust between the children and the researchers, and to spend time being seen by them as non-threatening, rather than to develop what may in reality be spuriously sophisticated sampling procedures. The nature of work of this kind makes data collection an essentially emergent process, yielding reliable qualitative information from extensive interview and case study material. Ideally, a trusting relationship should be developed between interviewee and interviewer and financial and time constraints, for both interviewer and interviewee, should not be an issue. However, I was operating under a number of constraints - temporal, financial and bureaucratic. For instance, at all times I had to have the co-operation of the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs (Molsa). A further constraint, in the beginning, was my lack of any first hand experience of street children. I was naïve as to the realities of

street life and was unfamiliar with the lifestyles and habits of street children. In addition, I had never encountered such poverty and blatant misery as I saw in Ethiopia. I was operating in an unfamiliar and, at times, difficult environment. Due to these constraints and the learning process I myself was going through, my approach and techniques varied from time to time as new research techniques were experimented with. Each of these strategies is outlined below.

THE UNICEF/MOLSA SURVEY AND IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS

This initial portion of the field work was carried out in July 1992. As described above, the Unicef/Molsa/UCC survey (Unicef, 1993) was carried out to provide a base-line of information on numerous aspects of street children's lives. One such aspect was victimisation and delinquency. The data for this survey was collected using Molsa research staff. These staff were all graduates of Addis Ababa University and had backgrounds in psychology, social work or the social sciences. Many had participated in previous studies on prostitution, divorce and begging. Typically, teams of three or four interviewers worked from tea-shops or small restaurants where they were visited regularly by one of four supervisors. Initially, it had been hoped to conduct the interviews on the streets but the pilot study showed that this would not be feasible due to lack of privacy and the attentions of destitutes wanting to be interviewed. Using a structured questionnaire (Appendix five), each child was interviewed on a one-to-one basis. The questionnaire included seven questions pertaining to the issues of victimisation and delinquency, namely, questions 73-77, 85 and 86. These seven questions sought information on:

- Drug use including drinking, smoking, *khat* chewing and benzene sniffing.
- Theft: Do you ever steal things from the markets or other places?

- Contact with the police: Have you ever been caught by the police? If "Yes", why?
- Assault: Have you ever been beaten or hurt on the streets?
- Prostitution: Have you ever done any sexual acts for money or goods?
- Sexual assault: Has anyone ever forced you to do any sexual acts?

I hoped that responses to these questions would provide me with an accurate picture of the incidence of such activities amongst a large sample of street children (n = 1,000).

In addition, it was initially agreed that I would carry out a number of in-depth interviews with delinquent youths regarding their experiences of victimisation and delinquency. A separate interview schedule was designed to investigate this aspect of street children's lives (Appendix six). This questionnaire was designed to be administered in conjunction with the larger Unicef/Molsa questionnaire. It was not intended as a separate, self-contained study. Much of the information collected by the Unicef/Molsa questionnaire such as age, family details and length of time on the street, was needed as a background to the information collected by the questionnaire concentrating exclusively on victimisation and delinquency. Thus, the 32 children interviewed in detail on their experiences of victimisation and delinquency had previously been interviewed for the Unicef/Molsa survey.

Method of Interviewee Selection

When dealing with sensitive issues such as victimisation and delinquency, it is only to be expected that children may be reluctant to expose their experiences and activities. This response selectivity is an integral part of carrying out a self-report survey and can never be completely overcome. However, in order to target such a select population as juvenile delinquents and to ensure maximum openness, a number of steps were taken:

1. Children to partake in the "Victimisation and Delinquency" study were screened by the Molsa interviewer during the base-line questionnaire. Thus, a child who appeared co-operative, open, and readily admitted to criminal behaviour during the Unicef/Molsa interview was recommended as a suitable candidate for the "victimisation and delinquency" questionnaire.

2. In so far as possible, a facilitator trusted by the children was used. Facilitators usually presented their services by offering to help interviewers, to run messages, or to keep curious onlookers away, in return for a small payment. Fundamentally, the facilitator's job was to locate the sort of children required by the interviewer. This greatly enhanced the degree of interviewee honesty for three reasons: (a) it put the child being interviewed at ease, knowing that there was a trusted friend at hand, (b) the facilitator would prompt,

encourage or scold the interviewee as necessary, in order for the desired information to be revealed and (c) when interviewing delinquents, it was found that the facilitator knew a lot of the children involved in criminal activity. This latter function was to prove critical when *deriyeas* (delinquents) were required for interviewing. As we shall see below, one young man of about 20 became a very important facilitator for this study. Once we had worked with him for a few days and built up a trusting relationship, he had no reluctance in bringing *deriyeas* to us and, equally important, they had no reluctance in coming.

3. Before beginning the interview, it was re-emphasised to the street children that we were researchers and had *no* link with the army or security forces. This was particularly relevant in the wake of government purges of criminals in the first half of 1992, during which army lorries descended on a given part of the city and soldiers gathered up habitual delinquents and criminals who were then taken to prison. In the absence of an established police force between the change of government (May 1991 and mid-1992), these purges and round-ups were the authorities' way of dealing with crime. The presence of a foreigner assuaged the doubts of most of our interviewees regarding our motives. Being a foreigner, interviewees could be certain that I would not be linked to the police or government in any way. Indeed, my presence during the interviews facilitated frankness among the children in

another way - the novelty felt by children of talking with a *farenge*, or foreigner.

Pretest

The pretest for the Unicef/Molsa/UCC survey involved interviewing 60 children. Four children were interviewed as part of the victimisation and delinquency study. During a day long session of feed-back, the following issues arose in relation to in-depth interviews:

1. The time it took to administer, first, the Unicef/Molsa/UCC questionnaire, and secondly, the victimisation and delinquency questionnaire to one child was one and a half hours. Thus, it would be necessary to scale down the proposed number of victimisation and delinquency interviews. It was decided that the resources were not available to carry out more than 30 such interviews. Initially I had hoped to conduct 80.

2. The importance of a quiet place to work and a good facilitator became apparent. The presence of a white person on the streets attracted far too much attention, some of it aggressive, so the importance of finding a secluded place to work and a facilitator who could be trusted to keep unwanted crowds away was high-lighted.

3. The "evolution" of the questionnaire was almost complete. It was only by becoming more familiar with street children's lives and actually going out and interviewing them that questions, which initially seemed to be sensible, could be dropped.

Interviewing

The interviewing took place throughout July 1992. Typically, when I arrived at the interviewing location, the Molsa interviewers would already be at work. I would ask the facilitator (or would have arranged since the previous day) to bring street children involved in delinquent activities to be interviewed. These children (28 out of the 32 were boys) would then be interviewed by one of the Molsa interviewers. The information collected served the dual purpose of (1) an interview completed for the Unicef/Molsa/UCC survey and (2) essential background information to complement the information gathered in the next stage, the victimisation and delinquency questionnaire. Where timing and circumstances allowed, the children were given a break between interviews as the Unicef/Molsa/UCC questionnaire took 30-45 minutes to complete and the victimisation and delinquency questionnaire took from between 45-60 minutes to complete. However, in most instances a break was not feasible and the children went straight from one interview schedule to the next. This time consuming process was tiring on the Molsa staff and this, coupled with the sometimes unavailability of suitable interviewees and the long break for lunch

everyday, meant that only a relatively small number of interviews could be completed each day, often as few as two.

The targeted sample was delinquent youths. Ideally, the interviewees should have come from a sample biased towards those not only engaging in delinquent activities, but also prepared to talk about it. Inevitably, it did not always work out this way. Some of the boys brought to me clearly were not delinquent. In reality, there was very little I could do about this. I was working with translators who had varying degrees of interest in the survey. Their job was to carry out approximately five or six interviews for the Unicef/Molsa/UCC study each day. Times varied significantly, but each interview took between 30-45 minutes. Spending an additional 45 minutes acting as a translator for me with a boy who had a lot to say about victimisation or delinquency would have slowed them down considerably in reaching their daily quota. Sometimes, in response to my harassment, they would produce a boy and vow that he was a *deriyea*. Only half way through the interview, as we moved from questions concerning victimisation to delinquency would it become clear that the boy was not delinquent. I had been told otherwise to pacify me or to hurry along with the daily quota as I may have been holding them up with my requests for *deriyeas*. I simply had to do what I could under the circumstances. Thus, most of the 28 boys and four girls interviewed at this point had something to say about victimisation but not as many as I would have liked could be described as delinquent. Therefore, responses on the victim survey were satisfactory but sometimes the self report survey did not elicit very rich data.

Location

The interviews were carried out during the rainy season and so had to be conducted in-doors. As the Unicef/Molsa/UCC survey aimed at collecting 400 interviews in Addis Ababa, with a team of eight interviewers, a wide variety of places were used simultaneously to interview children - tea shops, hotels, restaurants, bus stations. Namely, anywhere a degree of privacy could be obtained. Even if it had been dry, to conduct interviews on the street would have been impossible. The sight of foreigners or well dressed Ethiopians speaking with street children simply attracted too much curiosity and attention. Crowds would gather and stare and feel no inclination to move away. If anything at all was happening, they would stay for hours. This attention was not always passive. In general, the owners of the tea shops and hotels in which interviews were conducted proved helpful. Nevertheless, as word got around amongst the local street children that money was to be had for talking about your life and problems, the shop would be crowded with street children, interfering with normal business. Inevitably, the interviewers were evicted after a number of days in each place. This process was speeded up dramatically if I was present as the sight of a *farenge* talking to a street child in a slum tea shop which had never seen a foreigner under its roof before was too much to resist and would pull crowds from far and near. I would frequently not be allowed stay in the same place for more than a morning or afternoon. After working in a number of locations, I found one which proved to be more

facilitating than the rest and this is where I spent most of my time. The location was a *chai-bait*, or tea house, in the Arat Kilo area of the city. The clients of this *chai-bait* consisted exclusively of street children. They had *chai* and "pasties" (deep-fried doughnuts) for the equivalent of three pence and *injera* and *wat* (traditional Ethiopian bitter pancake type bread with hot, spicy sauce) for the equivalent of five pence. This *chai-bait* was similar in appearance to a farm outhouse in Ireland - dirt caked, wooden floor, sagging galvanised roof, cracked and mis-shaped doors and bulging, splitting white-washed walls. We were given the exclusive use of a back-room (except during the lunch-time rush). This location had the added benefit of what turned out to be a very good facilitator. He stood at the door acting as a guard, hunting away the curious on-lookers (whose numbers decreased anyway the more time I spent there). The normal clientele being street children, I did not disrupt business too much. Also, the translator from Molsa with whom I was working at this time was interested in the work. With a good facilitator, translator and location, my interviews in Arat Kilo were most productive. Unfortunately, even the genial owner of this *chai-bait* asked us to leave after about a week.

REMAND HOME INTERVIEWS

In Ethiopia there exists a single detention centre for juvenile delinquents - the Remand Home. The function of the Remand Home is to rehabilitate, train and educate delinquent boys from the age of nine to fifteen. At full capacity, it houses 150 boys. Theoretically, a full range of services exist - educational, health, recreational, counselling by psychologists and follow-up by social workers once the boys have been released. In the remand Home, I hoped to have access to a large group of delinquent boys, many of whom would have lived for years on the street. I hoped to be able to interview them in private and at my leisure, in contrast to the hustle and bustle of curious on-lookers during interviews in the tea shops. However, it did not quite work out this way. When the EPRDF entered Addis Ababa in May 1991, the guards of the Remand Home fled, leaving the boys to go where they would. Naturally, most of them bolted. Those who stayed behind were orphans or children who simply had no place to go, having been incarcerated for as long as five years. Furthermore, the EPRDF disbanded the Derg police and the soldiers were responsible for policing the city. Rough justice was the order of the day. The referral system between the police stations and the Remand Home broke down.

In 1993, the juvenile justice system in Ethiopia had, in effect, broken down. What happened, in practice, was that boys were kept by police in station cells for a few days or given a beating and simply released again. Only thirteen of the residents of the Remand Home had any experience of street life. The

remainder were largely "government children" - the name given to children who are sent to institutions such as orphanages and children's villages by parents who could not afford to keep or educate them.

Thus, during my interviewing there in August 1992, the Remand Home was at an all time low point in its fifty year history. Thirty boys remained and this trickled down to twenty while I was there. Nevertheless, 104 staff continued to service the establishment. As a rehabilitation centre, the Remand Home had ceased to function. Through interviews with the new police and Molsa staff in November 1992, I learned of ambitious plans for the Remand Home. Nevertheless, during my time there the Remand Home was an over-staffed, run down institute where a small group of dispirited boys had the minimum of services.

Method of Selection and Location

A number of boys were in the Home after being deposited there by destitute parents. For the purpose of this study, I tried to select boys who had experience of street life. In total, thirteen interviews were conducted at the Home but five of these interviewees had no experience of living on the street. The Director of the school greatly encouraged and facilitated my work in order to, I presume, draw attention and interest to the badly neglected Remand Home. The interviews were carried out in empty classrooms on the grounds of the Remand Home. The classes were empty because the children were on annual holidays from school.

We sat at old wooden benches and tables. All of the classrooms had broken windows and holes in the walls.

Interviewing

Interviewing in the Remand Home was carried out between July 1 and August 13 1992. Initially, the work was to be a joint effort between myself and a lawyer from the Procurator General's office who had a general interest in juvenile delinquency through his position of UN correspondent in Ethiopia for the UN Inter-regional Crime and Justice Research Institute (Unicri). This relationship did not prove very satisfactory due to difficulties in co-ordinating times and because I was not happy with his manner during interviews. I found it rather brusque. Later I hired a graduate to act as translator.

Upon reaching the Remand Home, we always paid a courtesy visit to the Director. Then we were taken over to the boys' compound. I would ask for a boy who had lived previously on the street. The translator and I would go through the schedule which had been prepared (Appendix seven). It consisted of questions on background details, life in the Home and experiences of victimisation and delinquent activities (as seen in Appendix six). This usually took one hour. The boys were rewarded with fresh fruit as the Director did not wish for them to be paid in cash.

Unlike most of my other fieldwork, interviews in the Remand Home left me feeling depressed. Although I encountered terrible stories on the streets, there was usually a glimmer of hope or

happiness in the accounts of the children's lives or their future aspirations. This hope was notably lacking in the Remand Home. The boys there led a miserable life in bleak surroundings and, for the most part, they were an apathetic and dispirited group. Many of them cried during the interviewing and a very common complaint was that the boy missed his family intensely. In many instances, boys were removed from their families for large periods of time for minor misdemeanours. Few of the boys I interviewed in the Remand Home could be described as delinquent. In short, I often found my work there depressing. This was largely because of the terrible material and psychological conditions in which the boys lived and their total lack of hope.

CASE STUDIES AND DISCUSSION GROUPS

Early in October 1992, an English language journal (*The Addis Reporter*) carried an article on street children. It emphasised their plight and the difficulties of their lives. The article chose two older adolescents as case studies which were to illustrate how *deriyeas* can become productive members of society if they are rehabilitated and supported. I knew these two young men as they worked at the SCF-USA drop-in centre for street children. However, I had not known of their previous involvement in delinquent activities. I asked them if they would speak to me in detail about their experiences as I wanted to collect case studies of delinquents. Particularly, I wanted to look at their family background, their initiation to street life, the process of becoming involved in crime, the nature and role of the gang and the processes involved in ceasing to be a *deriyea* and giving up street life. I also felt I needed more of a "feel" for the everyday facts of life concerning victimisation and delinquency of street children. Thus, this portion of the field work had a dual purpose in that I wanted (1) a number of case studies of juvenile delinquents and (2) a qualitative "fleshing out" of the quantitative material on victimisation and delinquency I had collected thus far.

Method of Selection and Location

The first two interviews were with Aweke (a street educator at the SCF-USA Drop-in Centre for Street Children) and Sesai (a



Guard at the Centre). They were both co-operative and interested in what I was doing. Sesai in particular had maintained his contact with the street and, over the space of a few days, he was able to bring me ten more boys, each known for their delinquency, and two girls to be interviewed. Thus, from the collection of ten boys and two girls I collected four case studies of male juvenile delinquents, two case studies of street girls and a large amount of anecdotal material concerning victimisation and delinquency by means of small group discussions (transcripts of the group discussions can be found in Appendix twelve). This field work was carried out in one week at the SCF-USA compound in Kirkos.

Interviewing

Except for the first two interviews, my translator throughout was Temesgen Afeta from Molsa. We had become good friends by this time, having worked together in July also and we worked very well together, he being familiar with the interview schedule and very interested in the work. In addition, I found his sensitive and gentle manner conducive to successful interviewing.

For the case studies, I used a prepared questionnaire (see Appendix eight) which usually took one hour to complete.

For the general discussions, I used a tape-recorder and let the conversation flow. The groups were never more than four and all members were friends. These discussions varied in length but were usually one and a half to two hours long. Holding general discussions with only a general heading with a small group is an

excellent way of collecting rich information and getting an understanding for an issue. Once a discussion is started, children will speak at length and will, in the right conditions, compete for the "floor" in order to say their piece. Over a relatively short time, one picks up a very good outline of the issues concerning a particular phenomenon, in this case, victimisation and delinquency of street children.

In all, sixteen street children contributed to this portion of the field work. Twelve contributed to the group discussions and I took six case studies from them (those who were most open). At this point I felt I had enough data from the general discussions so I finished by carrying out four more case studies on four more new boys. Each interviewee was paid five birr.

GIRLS OF THE STREET

Although four interviews were collected with street girls in July, the majority (32) were collected between 26 October and 16 November, 1992 using the questionnaire found in Appendix nine.

Method of Selection

The facilitator for this portion of data collection was Sesai, the guard at the SCF-USA drop-in centre. Before coming into contact with SCF-USA, Sesai lived on the streets for six years. He still maintained contact with his friends from this time. These contacts were to prove very useful to me. Initially I attempted to find street girls to interview with the assistance of my translator, Temesgen. This was a fruitless search, and I had to cancel a day's interviewing, due to the high levels of fear and mistrust among street children at that time because of the on-going "round-ups" of street children by the police. Briefly, this involved plainclothes and uniformed police gathering up children who were begging on the main streets. Typically, they were kept overnight without food and made to sign a statement promising not to beg in public places. Many of the children reported having been beaten. This "round-up" continued for about the last two weeks of October 1992. Apparently its function was to clear the streets in preparation for a visit from the Italian Foreign Minister. The Transitional Government was very keen to illustrate that Addis Ababa had very few social problems that required foreign external assistance so that more aid

would be available for the northern province of Tigray, which is where the victorious EPRDF comes from. The result on the ground of this was that street children were exceedingly difficult to locate. Beggars had disappeared from their usual places and had taken to going from door to door in areas far from the main streets. When we did manage to locate street girls, they would not come with us in the car (our car had government registration plates). Sesai, the guard at the SCF(USA) drop-in centre, broke this deadlock. He located some girls he knew from his time on the streets. He was able to vouch that we posed no threat to them and they consequently agreed to be interviewed. One girl was particularly co-operative and agreed to get more girls for us to interview the next day. I was again amazed at the prompt time-keeping efficiency of street children. Without fail, they were where they said they would be at the right time; (if only some of the government officials we worked with thought along the same lines!). Once we had interviewed the initial three girls and gained their trust, we had no more trouble. The facilitator would have a group waiting for us each morning and afternoon. They would pile into the car and were driven to the interviewing location. For some, it was their first time in a car. Some were exhilarated and strained to look out the windows and point out the landmarks they recognised. Others were frightened and cowered as deep in the seats as possible.

Location

These interviews were carried out at the SCF-USA compound. Here we were able to come and go as we pleased and we were ensured complete privacy. The rains being over, we sat outside in the shade of a small maize crop away from the main group of buildings.

Interviewing

Small groups of two or three girls and the facilitator were collected by the Molsa car and brought to the SCF-USA compound. The facilitator would have informed them of what was required and the translator reiterated this and emphasised that we were in no way connected to the police or government. The common impression was that, like all *farenges*, I had come to help them and posed no threat.

The girls were interviewed in turn, each interview lasting approximately 45 minutes. The facilitator and those girls not being interviewed remained present. The girls were more relaxed with their friends present and, in the event of becoming upset, had support close at hand. The girls were very natural and unaffected and did not appear to be reluctant to discuss anything in front of their friends.

The translator was, again, Ato Temesgen Afata. His sensitive nature was vital in eliciting the honesty with which the girls disclosed information.

DATA COLLECTION (1993)

The second phase of data collection took place between October and December 1993. I was operating from a more facilitating environment than the previous year, in that I now had a permanent base at the SCF-USA drop-in centre for street children, office facilities and, from mid-October, access to a car in which to collect the children. The questionnaires used can be found in Appendices ten and eleven.

A pilot study was initially carried out. Six girls were interviewed by Ethiopia (UCC's research assistant) and, again, Temesgen. Three issues were high-lighted during the pilot study:

1. As the SCF-USA drop-in centre is well known in the Kirkos area, the girls expected to be "registered" there. That is, they believed they were being selected for enrolment into the Centre. The Centre provides food, access to a health clinic and vocational training. Consequently, interviewees were deeply disappointed when they found out they were not to be enroled in the Centre. It was decided that in future it would have to be emphasised to the interviewees that they are only being interviewed for information purposes. A study such as this can make quite an impact on a community. Word quickly gets around and soon one has girls and women of all ages coming to see if they can be registered. Inevitably, they have to be turned away. Those accepted are interviewed for approximately 50 minutes, given five Birr and sent away.

During those moments when one sympathises deeply with the reality of these girls' lives, one finds oneself asking, "What's the point in any of this?"

2. As some of the girls were shy and retiring, it was clear a facilitator would be needed who would encourage them to be more forthcoming and informative. Thus, from day two we began to search for a suitable facilitator. Unfortunately, we had mixed success in this venture. The girl who was initially selected turned out to be dishonest. She persuaded the interviewees that of the five Birr paid to them, she was entitled to 4.50. We discovered this when one of the interviewees came into the office crying, because her money had been taken from her. In spite of our best efforts, the thief could not be found. Subsequently, I employed the girl who had been stolen from. She turned out to be a much better choice. At this point, I was interviewing urban poor girls who did not work on the street. Our second facilitator proved to be very hard-working and diligent. She visited each interviewee-to-be's house in order to ascertain that they were indeed from a poor family, that they did not work on the street and that they were attending school. It is worth commenting at this point that, while interviewing *girls on the street*, I was encouraged by the openess of the interviewees - two of the girls spontaneously reported that they were still virgins, another two mentioned they were not menstruating yet, seven spontaneously reported they had been solicited for prostitution

and all spoke freely of matters relating to sexuality, such as pregnancy.

3. It was found that, as expected, *children on the street* experienced far less victimisation than *children of the street* do. Thus, many of the questions asked of the former were "Not Applicable." The interviewers found this time consuming, discouraging and wondered what the point was in asking *girls on the street* and urban poor girls "irrelevant" questions. Thus, I needed to explain to them that these groups were somewhat similar to a control group in an experiment. In spite of their misgivings, no changes were made to the questionnaire. It had to be identical to the previous questionnaire for comparative purposes.

At this time, we again had the problem of police harassment of street children interfering with the interviewing process. Beginning in September of 1993, the police started a crack down on crime in the city. Part of this crack down was to forbid children from selling goods on the street and to round up "offenders." The issue of round-ups was of major concern to members of CRDA (Christian Relief and Development Association), the umbrella NGO that is responsible for co-ordinating many aspects of aid in Ethiopia. Rightly, they saw it as depriving children of their *right* to be on the streets to supplement their families' income. On the second day of interviewing, we had to cancel a morning's work as the police in the local market had scared all the sellers away.

By mid-October 1993, the interviewing of *girls on the street* and urban poor girls was completed. The final step was to conduct 32 more interviews with *girls of the street.* I already had data regarding victimisation of this group (collected the previous year), so my primary purpose this time around was to focus on the effects of experiencing sustained victimisation. In particular, I wished to investigate the main factors of vulnerability to victimisation, the role of the group and the coping strategies used by the girls. Furthermore, I wanted to record levels of victimisation experienced on the following variables in order to compare them with the data collected in 1992 - pregnancy, abortion, solicitation, rape, theft and beatings. High levels of truthfulness were expected because I knew many of the interviewees. They were attached to an organisation named the "Ethio-Swedish Children and Youth Rehabilitation and Prevention Project," whose Director I had much contact with while creating awareness of the problem of street girls among the various agencies in Addis Ababa. This project had established a full-time rehabilitation programme for ex-prostitutes. I found it a convenient location for further interviews.

Apart from interviews carried out at the "Ethio-Swedish" programme, the interviewing was carried out using the same methods as 1992. A facilitator was selected whose job it was to select and organise for the girls to meet us at a pre-arranged time and place. Initially, I used a girl called Almaz as facilitator. She had worked for me in the same position the previous year. It was not difficult to re-find her as she has been begging and sleeping in

the exact same spot for a number of years. However, she did not prove very effective. She showed up late, broke appointments and brought us girls who had been interviewed the previous year. In 1992, she proved very reliable and effective. However, by 1993 I had the feeling that she was simply bored by the whole process. Also, it seemed that her circle of acquaintances did not extend as widely as she would have liked us to believe. So, after the second time she failed to show up, I made no effort to relocate her. For the remainder of the interviewing, I used a number of different facilitators and a number of different interviewing locations. For instance, two eighteen year old prostitutes came to the SCF-USA centre one day because they had heard of my study and I arranged for one of them to be a facilitator and to bring the girls to my house after work. Most of my interviewing at this time was being conducted after working hours and on weekends because my interviewer and translator (Temesgen) was unable to get away from his day job at Molsa.

METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES

The following is a series of commentaries on various procedural and methodological observations made throughout the data collection. Obstacles encountered are described and particular emphasis is placed on lessons learned.

The Language Barrier

Because I could not speak Amharic, I always had to have a translator. This slowed interviewing down considerably as everything had to be said twice. Events were further held up when the finer points of Ethiopian culture, tradition and beliefs had to be explained to me, in order to place what was being said in its context. This language barrier was often very frustrating and there is no doubt I would have a better understanding and grasp of my data had the interviews been in English. There were a number of "interfaces" at which information could be lost; between me and the translator because of his weak English (in spite of having done degrees through English, none of the translators could be described as fluent); between the translator and the interviewee as the translator may have been reluctant or embarrassed to deal with certain issues; finally, between the translator and me as boredom, tiredness, embarrassment or lack of imagination prevents him from telling me exactly what the interviewee said.

Bureaucracy

I found conducting field work in Ethiopia to be a complicated business. Transport and communications were a constant problem. Working with Molsa and dealing with the large local Unicef office, there was inevitably a certain amount of bureaucracy. At times, weeks were spent trying to obtain letters of permission or clearance to interview or work with government personnel. As some of my work was part of a larger survey, parts of it had to move at the same pace of the much larger, complex Unicef/Molsa/UCC study.

In general, time keeping was rather lax. Anything up to an hour late was considered reasonable. This was true for people at all levels of the Ministry - drivers, data-collectors and Departmental Heads.

Because I always had to have a translator and because much of my work came under the umbrella of the Unicef/Molsa/UCC survey, I was rarely in a position to strike out on my own. I always had to arrange my interviewing with at least one other person (translator) and usually with three others (driver, street child, owner of bar, hotel or compound). Because of all of the above, interviewing *always* went slower than planned. For example, it took over three weeks to interview 32 girls - ten girls per week. This may appear to be exceedingly slow, but it was as fast as could be achieved under the circumstances. It was not unusual to get up at 7.30 am and spend all day trying to work and have only two interviews to show for it. The following is but one example of how things could go

wrong:

The morning of 27/10/1992:

8.20 am: Collected at the house by Molsa car
8.30 am: Arrive at Molsa offices. Because the driver has to get fuel (a tedious process involving form filling, getting signatures and going to different offices) we do not leave until 9.20 am.
9.20am : Leave Molsa. Various other people need to be dropped off at different points around the city as I did not have exclusive use of the car.
9.50 am: I arrive at the railway station with Temasgen to look for girls to interview. Because of a police crackdown on beggars there are no girls to be found.
10.10 am: Arrive at the SCF-USA compound to pick up Sesai, a facilitator. We drive with him to Stadium to find some girls to interview.
10.25 am: We arrive back at the SCF-USA compound just in time for the obligatory Ethiopian mid-morning coffee.
10.40 am: Interviewing starts (with a little over one hour to lunch).

Interviewing Street Children

There is no way to prepare oneself for this experience. The only way is to plunge in and learn as one goes. One can be guaranteed tears at the children's stories, marvel at their maturity and resilience and fury at their staring, noisy, crowd-gathering

curiosity. One learns about the following:

Facilitators

A facilitator is a person who assists the interviewer by locating the required interviewee. When interviewing street children, he or she will be a street person in his or her late teens. Such a person knows many of the street people in a given area. The ideal facilitator may be a gang leader, protector, or some other respected member of street life in that area. The best way to describe the function of a facilitator is to outline how it worked for me whilst interviewing street boys in Arat Kilo. The facilitator in question was a large young man aged about 21. I simply had to describe the kind of street boys I wanted to interview and he would go out and find them. The boys trusted him and this was reflected in the answers boys gave me when I asked why they had spoken so freely - "I was told this is a study and I should speak honestly", "I was told I have nothing to fear from speaking the truth to you." He sometimes carried a switch but just his presence was enough to keep curious onlookers at bay. Between interviews, he just sat in the back room where we were interviewing, glancing around to ensure everything was in order and everyone in the room had a right to be there. If not, he got up, grabbed them and shoved them out the door. He was never offered any resistance besides offended murmurs. Occasionally, he had a cigarette or sent a boy to get him some tea. At one stage, he left us for five minutes and we were swamped by beggars and children. He came back and actually looked

offended at this challenge to his authority. He cleared them all out straight away and settled back to his place by the door. It would have been impossible for me or any of the Ministry people to clear the beggars. They would have simply refused to go. This being said, the facilitator was not a bully. He did not take pleasure in ordering people about. He did take pleasure in his job as "manager" and general peace keeper. He was never unnecessarily rough and was usually gentle to the younger boys. From this brief description we can see that this facilitator served three vital functions:

(a) He located suitable street boys and brought them to be interviewed.
(b) He was trusted by interviewees so when he said they could speak freely, they did.
(c) He acted as a buffer during interviewing by keeping order among those waiting to be interviewed. He dealt with fights, quarrels and aggressive beggars.

To interview without a facilitator such as this, or somebody like him, would have been inconceivable in Arat Kilo. A further indication of the importance of a good facilitator became clear during my interviews with *girls of the street* in 1992. I used the services of two facilitators: in each case they were street girls themselves in their late teens. The first facilitator worked with me for seventeen interviews, the second facilitator worked with me for fifteen interviews. The latter girl was more diligent and seemed to be closer and more caring to the girls. She was

invaluable to me in that she located and collected the girls, was a comfort if girls became upset during the interviewing and was impatient with interviewees when they withheld the truth. If she felt, or knew, a girl was stalling or hiding something, she would encourage or prompt the girl and if that did not work she became irritated that the girl was not being truthful to the *farenge*, and would volunteer the information herself. There was no sense of bullying, rather, a very keen will to co-operate. Thus, in one instance a girl was asked whether she ever prostituted herself. There was a long pause as she silently looked away. She started to fidget and still said nothing. The facilitator's impatience mounted until finally she interrupted and said, "Yes, of course she does," at which point the girl continued to speak for herself. This was far more effective than requests on my part for honesty. The quality of the facilitator crucially effected the quality of the information collected. Compare the reporting rates for the following sensitive issues, elicited while using facilitator 1 and facilitator 2, as described above:

	Facilitator 1	Facilitator 2
Raped	24%	53%
Prostitution	12%	47%

Table 4.1: Quality of facilitator and information elicited.

The diligence and sensitivity of facilitator 2 ensured that

interviewees were more prepared to report sensitive facts about themselves. To conclude, a good facilitator is vital. They locate the interviewees, calm their suspicions in a way I could never do, keep the peace and provide a vital link between the white *farenge* interviewer and street life.

Sensitivity

This is a key part of the approach when interviewing street children. A number of the issues being raised will inevitably cause upset. Issues such as rape or prostitution may upset girls. Many children will become upset when speaking of dead parents or of their home towns. As already mentioned, my translator was an unusually sensitive and gentle man. This was perceived by the girls who responded by being very honest and forthcoming with information. He was able to comfort them in the event of their becoming upset and, in addition, the interviewees' friends were close by if necessary. There were a number of advantages to this:

(a) The girls were more relaxed with their friends present, rather than being alone with a *farenge* and an unknown Ethiopian translator.
(b) In the event of becoming upset, the girls had help close at hand. This was particularly useful if a girl became tearful. Physical contact is important to Ethiopians and the touch of friends was very important to an upset girl.
(c) I always interviewed the girl who appeared most

confident first. As she spoke freely and openly (usually), her friends could observe that there was no harm in doing so. This created an atmosphere of openness. Girls who withheld information were chided by their friends to be more honest. Concerning interviewees friends being present during the interview, Bracey (1979) found herself in a similar situation: "When more than one girl was present, they would listen carefully to each other's stories and were quick to interrupt with "That's not what you told me." Using one informant to challenge another is a standard field technique, and we took advantage of it" (Bracey, 1979, p. 13).

Sensitivity of a different kind is required when interviewing *deriyeas*. It is more important to let them know that you know all their tricks. They are impressed if you know the details of, say, famous robberies in the area or the slang words for gangs. Nevertheless, even with the toughest boy, you can never be certain what you are unearthing. In one instance I was interviewing a group of three young *deriyeas*. Two of them told their stories but when I came to the third boy, he proved very uncommunicative so I decided to end the session and thanked them all. The third boy, who had been playing so tough, burst into tears because, as he saw it, he was being rejected as unworthy of being interviewed.

Probing

This is an essential part of the interview process. Street

children are not accustomed to speaking at length to a *farenge* about abuse and victimisation (or about anything else for that matter). They may omit what the interviewer considers vital information, contradict themselves, lie, conceal or stray off the point. It is with experience that one can counteract these tendencies:

1. An attempt was made to ask the same question in a number of different ways throughout the interview. Children may initially deny having ever been beaten and then describe an instance where they were severely beaten in response to the question, "What is the worst thing that ever happened to you?" Perhaps it is because they are guarded and reserved at first and relax this guard later, as the interview goes on. This is why it is important not to start with threatening questions and to repeat some questions, in varied form, towards the end.

2. If they are talkative and communicative, it can be productive to allow interviewees to stray off the point to see what information they will reveal.

3. Although not normally recommended, leading questions are sometimes more useful than open questions. Thus, it is better to ask a sixteen year old boy, "What is the most valuable thing you ever stole?", rather than asking the naïve "Do you ever steal things?" This shows that it is already accepted that he steals and you are not giving him the opportunity of

lying by saying he does not.

4. Pretending to be impressed or approving can encourage disclosure. If a boy sees that you do not find his stealing morally reprehensible, he will become more confident in revealing details. For the same reason, it is important not to let shock or disapproval show during the interview as this would inevitably cause the interviewee to clam up. This is not always easy. In one instance, I was interviewing a group of three boys who described how they and four other boys raped a girl until she was unconscious. When they were finished, they assaulted her in a vicious and perverted manner. I was repulsed at this description but concealed it until the interview was over. Only then did Temesgen give them a serious lecture on the wrong they had committed on this girl.

5. Over time one gets to know the children's lifestyles well enough to know when they are lying. Thus, when a sixteen year old street boy says he has never been beaten on the street, or a sixteen year old street girl says she has never been solicited, one can reasonably suspect that they are lying. I used to pretend great indignation at this discovery and this would shame the interviewee into speaking the truth.

In spite of all the precautions, things rarely turned out exactly as planned. Inevitably, some of the interviews were simply failures. Children, for one reason or another, could turn out to be

uncommunicative and give little information. This meant a certain amount of frustration and disappointment, but one simply had to make the most of what one had.

Time

Street children perceive time differently than people who live a more structured life. This can lead to problems when recording rates of victimisation and when trying to estimate times in a child's life when certain events happened. Street children may find it hard to quantify experiences. Because of the lack of birth registration in rural Ethiopia, there was occasionally doubt about the accuracy of reported ages. Where doubt existed, one simply had to make as accurate a guess as possible based on the interviewee's appearance and the child's memory of well known historical events such as the 1974 coup, the Red Terror and the 1984-1985 famine. The rains and the annual holiday of Meskel were useful for bounding children's estimations of recent events. Another useful bounding period was the change of government in May, 1991. It was a dramatic time which was likely to stay in people's memories - a feared dictator vanishing, a rebel army entering the city and a number of weeks of looting and lawlessness.

It is worth noting that street children had few difficulties in punctuality. I often remarked on their ability to keep appointments made a number of days previously.

In-depth Versus Surface Level Interviews

A surprising finding was the high level of reporting of sensitive issues, using brief, surface-level questions such as those used on the Unicef/Molsa/UCC survey. Street children appeared to have little or no reluctance in discussing, for example, whether or not they stole, sniffed benzene or had been in trouble with the police. In Table 4.2 below, I have compared the reported levels of certain activities by the method used to elicit the data: the two methods being (a) detailed, in-depth interviews and (b) cursory, surface-level questions asked during the Unicef/Molsa/UCC survey:

	In-depth interviews n=26 % reported	Brief questionnaire n=26 % reported
Drinking	59	59
Smoking	44	52
Khat	52	52
Benzene	30	30
Stealing	70	59
Trouble with police	52	63
Beaten on street	89	78

Table 4.2: Information elicited by in-depth versus surface level interviewing.

As we can see, the rates of reporting on most issues compare very well. There was a certain reluctance to tell the in-depth interviewer about trouble with the police and reporting rates for being beaten on the street are higher with the in-depth interviews.

The Mitigating Features

Interviewing street children in Addis Ababa is not a constant struggle. In fact, one very important feature makes interviewing there very lucrative. Namely, high levels of trust can be relatively quickly built up with the aid of good translators and facilitators. White people are often seen as learned and benevolent. The result of this perception can often be openness, honesty and a wealth of interview data. Being white in Ethiopia can, with a little effort, give one relative immunity from suspicion and mistrust.

Interviewing these children opened my eyes, not simply to their plight and their tears, but also to their joy and their fun. It also opened my eyes to broader issues, such as human resilience in the face of extreme hardship and the sickening inequality between the life of many Ethiopian children and his/her contemporary in Ireland.

Summary

For effective interviewing of street children,

(a) It is important to be as independent as possible, and not to be beholden, if possible, to ministries or any other organisations.
(b) Time spent choosing a translator one feels comfortable working with is well spent.
(c) A quiet and interruption-free interviewing location is essential.
(d) The approach one takes with the interviewee is important. Probing and/or sensitivity should be used at appropriate occasions.
(e) Different interviewing techniques will elicit different kinds of data. Unstructured discussion groups and structured interviews will each elicit important kinds of data.

An ideal approach might be to hold group discussions with small groups to become familiar with an issue. Then, for validity, carry out interviews with carefully chosen members representative of the population in question. This will provide the hard, quantitative data which is required. A small number of in-depth case studies would be useful to allow a look at a number of people's actual lives rather than looking at individual aspects of them (as through isolated questions in a questionnaire).

In total, 190 children were interviewed; 135 females and 55 males:

32	Unicef/Molsa/UCC survey interviewees (1992)
13	in the Remand Home (1992)
16	Case-studies and unstructured discussions (1992)
32	in-depth interviews with *girls of the street* (1992)
35	*girls on street* (1993)
32	*girls of street* (1993)
30	urban poor girls (1993)
190	