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Two volumes

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

Volume two

by

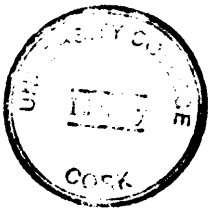
Kevin J. Lalor, B.A.

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

Department of Applied Psychology,
Faculty of Arts,
University College Cork.

Supervisor : Professor M. Taylor.

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Volume two

Chapter Five

Results

INTRODUCTION

The data presented below were collected from a number of sub-samples, using different methods, over the space of one and a half years. In order to keep the presentation of this material as clear as possible, the data shall be presented in the same order as in Chapter four; namely, chronologically from July 1992 to December 1993. For the purpose of clarity, each data-set shall be prefaced by a brief method section. More detailed methodologies are to be found, as we have seen, in Chapter four.

Some sections shall be more in-depth than others. For example, the section on the Remand Home is quite brief because, as already described in Chapter four, this institution did not house the type of boys one would have expected to find there. On the other hand, the section detailing victimisation of *girls of the street* is quite comprehensive, reflecting a deliberate emphasis in priority as street girls are a largely un-researched group, both in Addis Ababa and elsewhere.

UNICEF/MOLSA SURVEY

Method

One thousand street children were interviewed in total; 400 in Addis Ababa and two hundred in each of the three regional towns of Bahir Dar, Nazareth and Mekele. Seven hundred and sixty male and two hundred and forty female street children were interviewed. A structured questionnaire was used (see Appendix five) to elicit information on a wide range of aspects of street childrens' lives. However, only question relating to victimisation and delinquency are of concern here. Namely, questions 73-77, 85 and 86. The interviews were carried out by staff of Ethiopia's Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs.

Results

Males and females between the ages of seven and seventeen were interviewed. The age and gender breakdown of the sample was as follows:

Age / Sex	7-9	10-12	13-15	16-17	Total
Male	73	250	311	126	760
Female	49	94	75	22	240
Total number	122	344	386	148	1,000

Table 5.1: Age and gender of Unicef/MOLSA/UCC sample (from Unicef, 1993, p. 16).

As we can see, 760 (76%) of the sample were male, 240 (24%) female. The percentage of children from each age group interviewed of the total was as follows: 7-9 year olds (12.2%); 10-12 year olds (34.4%); 13-15 year olds (38.6%); and 16-17 year olds (14.8%). A structured sample such as this, it was thought, would accurately reflect the perceived age and gender profile of the street child population in Ethiopia.

Below, we shall consider this data under the headings of the questions used in Appendix five.

Questions 73-73.5: With what frequency do you drink alcohol, smoke, chew *khat*, sniff benzene or take other drugs?

	% Total, n = 1,000
Drinking	16
Smoking	4.9
Khat	6.6
Glue/benzene	2.1
Other (specify)	0.8

Table 5.2: Reported incidence of drug taking by Ethiopian street children.

This information allows us to make the observation that expensive processed drugs such as cocaine and heroin are apparently not used by Ethiopian street children. Responses to the category "Other" indicate that a small number (8) of street children smoke hashish. Let us now consider the frequency of drug taking amongst Ethiopian street children as distributed by age and gender. This will allow us to interpret the total figures as shown in Table 5.2 above.

Question 73.1: Drinking by frequency

Sex	Age	Daily	Weekly	Rarely	Never
Male	7-9	1	1	5	65
	10-12	3	2	24	218
	13-15	6	8	50	247
	16-17	5	10	30	81
Female	7-9	-	-	1	48
	10-12	-	2	6	86
	13-15	1	1	2	70
	16-17	-	-	1	21
Total number		16	24	119	836

Table 5.3: Frequency of alcohol consumption by age and gender (no response = 5).

As we have seen in table 5.2, 160 street children reported that they have drunk alcohol. However, Table 5.3 above illustrates that the majority of those who do drink (119, or 74.3%) do so only rarely. Only sixteen children (or 1.6% of the total sample) reported drinking every day. The small number of regular drinkers are predominantly older males. Street girls of any age group rarely drink. Females constitute only 8.75% of those street children who reported drinking. It is worth noting that small quantities of home made beer are provided to many Ethiopian children by their parents or guardians during religious holidays. This would seem to explain why the majority of those who reported drinking do so only "rarely."

Question 73.2: Smoking by frequency

Sex	Age	Daily	Weekly	Rarely	Never
Male	7-9	-	-	-	72
	10-12	4	1	2	240
	13-15	10	-	9	291
	16-17	16	-	3	106
Female	7-9	-	-	-	49
	10-12	-	-	-	94
	13-15	2	-	1	72
	16-17	-	-	1	21
Total number		32	1	16	945

Table 5.4: Frequency of smoking by age and gender (no response = 6).

Forty nine, or 4.9% of street children reported smoking cigarettes. Of these, the majority (32) smoke on a daily basis. However, almost one third (16) of those who reported smoking do so only "rarely." Only two street girls (0.8% of the total female sample) reported smoking regularly.

Question 73.3: *Khat* chewing by frequency

Sex	Age	Daily	Weekly	Rarely	Never
Male	7-9	-	1	1	70
	10-12	-	6	2	239
	13-15	2	12	6	288
	16-17	2	18	10	96
Female	7-9	-	-	-	49
	10-12	-	2	-	92
	13-15	-	1	2	72
	16-17	-	-	1	21
Total number		4	40	22	927

Table 5.5: Frequency of *khat* chewing by age and gender (no response = 7).

Only 6.6% of the total sample reported that they have chewed *khat*. Four respondents reported doing so on a daily basis, suggesting addiction to *khat* in only 0.4% of the total sample. The majority of those who chew *khat* do so once a week. Females constitute only a very small proportion (9%) of those who chew *khat*.

Question 73.4: Glue/benzene sniffing by frequency

Sex	Age	Daily	Weekly	Rarely	Never
Male	7-9	-	-	1	71
	10-12	1	-	6	240
	13-15	-	1	5	305
	16-17	-	1	6	119
Female	7-9	-	-	-	49
	10-12	-	-	-	94
	13-15	-	-	-	75
	16-17	-	-	-	22
Total number		2	1	18	975

Table 5.6: Frequency of glue/benzene sniffing by age and gender (no response = 4).

Twenty one respondents, all of them male, reported to having sniffed benzene. Glue sniffing does not appear to be practised by Ethiopian street children. For the majority, it was only a rare occurrence. Only two reported sniffing benzene every day.

Question 73.5: Other drug use by frequency

Sex	Age	Daily	Weekly	Rarely	Never
Male	7-9	-	1	1	67
	10-12	1	-	1	236
	13-15	-	3	-	277
	16-17	1	-	-	113
Female	7-9	-	-	-	45
	10-12	-	-	-	91
	13-15	-	-	-	71
	16-17	-	-	-	21
Total number		2	4	2	921

Table 5.7: Frequency of "other" drug use by age and gender (no response = 71).

Only eight (0.8%) children reported taking drugs other than alcohol, cigarettes, *khat* or benzene. In each case, hashish was the other drug. Interestingly, the "No response" to this question were far higher than those for other drug related questions: 71 as compared to four, six, seven and four respectively for alcohol, cigarettes, *khat* and benzene. This would seem to indicate that respondents found it difficult to answer this question, probably as a result of their unfamiliarity with drugs other than those listed above.

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

Age / Sex	7-9	10-12	13-15	16-17	Total number
Male	2	13	26	6	47
Female	1	4	7	3	15
Total	3	17	33	9	62

Table 5.8: Stealing by age and gender (no response = 6).

Only 62 (or 6.2%) of respondents reported that they steal. When this figure is broken down by age and sex, a clear pattern emerges. Namely, males are more involved in theft than females (of the 62, 76% are male, as opposed to 24% female) and stealing is most widespread among young to mid-adolescents. At the age of sixteen to seventeen, a majority of boys reportedly decrease their stealing activities.

Such stealing behaviour as does exist occurs predominantly in Addis Ababa. Thirty nine of the 62 respondents who admitted to stealing were from Addis Ababa. Thus, 9.75% of the total sample in Addis Ababa admitted to stealing as against 0% from Mekele. The figures for Nazareth and Bahir Dar are 4.5% and 7% respectively.

Question 74.1: What do you steal?

Item	Number
Food	17
Money	33
Saleable items	9
Other	9
Total number	68

Table 5.9: Items stolen by street children. Note: total is greater than 62 due to multiple responses.

As we can see, money is most frequently stolen. Saleable items and "other" constitute a wide variety of objects which a child will sell on for money. For example, clothes taken from washing lines, car accessories and hard ware items.

Questions 75 and 76: Have you ever been caught by the police? If yes, why?

Age group	Stealing	For being a street child	No reason	Other	N/A	Total number
7-9	2	3	1	-	114	120
10-12	5	8	3	13	314	343
13-15	4	20	1	19	341	385
16-17	8	7	3	15	114	147
Total number	19	38	8	47	883	995

Table 5.10: Reasons for being detained by the police, by age.

One hundred and twelve, or 11.2% of the sample, were detained by the police at some point. After "Other", the most common reason given was "For being a street child." From this, we can conclude that street children are most commonly detained by the police as part of an effort to prevent them from begging, selling or working on the street. Typically, the child is detained overnight and released the next day.

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

Sex	Age	Often	Some times	Rarely	Never
Male	7-9	3	19	10	40
	10-12	11	74	53	111
	13-15	4	87	76	142
	16-17	7	40	27	51
Female	7-9	3	11	10	25
	10-12	3	28	19	44
	13-15	5	18	18	33
	16-17	1	8	4	9
Total number		37	285	217	455

Table 5.11: Frequency of beatings by age and gender (no response =6).

A total of 67.3% street children reported that they have never (45.5%) or rarely (21.7%) been beaten or hurt on the streets. However, almost 30% of the total sample are beaten at least once a week ("sometimes"). A small number (37) reported being beaten every day. Interestingly, a similar proportion of males and females reported being beaten each week; 29% of the total male sample and 27% of the total female sample.

It is interesting to compare interviewees' responses as regards being beaten on the streets in the context of whether the child sleeps at home or on the streets; that is, whether they can be described as *of* or *on the streets*.

	Child on street, sleeps at home (n=676) %	Child of street, sleeps on street (n=213) %
Often	2.7	8
Sometimes	26.5	31.9
Rarely	23.4	16.4
Never	47.5	43.7

Table 5.12: *Children of* and *on the streets* relative experiences of being beaten on the streets.

As we can see, children who sleep on the streets are more vulnerable to being beaten "often." The difference between children *on* and *of* the street is less marked for the remaining categories. A surprising 43.7% of *children of the street* reported having never been beaten on the streets.

Question 85: If respondent over 12, Have you ever done any sexual acts for money or goods?

It was decided to only ask those over twelve years of age this question as it was felt that it did not apply to children younger than this and that it would cause needless upset and confusion to ask. This narrowed the sample in question down from 1,000 to 534. Thirty six girls responded positively to this question. We know that no incidence of males engaging in sex for money or goods was reported. Thus, had the sampling procedure been followed, it would have appeared that 36 (or 37%) of the 97

girls aged thirteen years or older reported engaging in sexual acts for payments. However, this figure must be cautiously interpreted. Contrary to stated sampling procedure, children younger than thirteen were asked this question. Four girls younger than thirteen reported carrying out sexual acts for money or goods (as we can see in Table 5.13). Given that we do not know how many girls younger than thirteen were asked this question, we must be cautious in interpreting the results. If all girls (n = 240) were asked this question, the above estimation of 37% would be reduced to 15%. Thus, unfortunately, we can only estimate that between 15 and 37% of street girls have engaged in sex for payment. It is likely that the figure is towards the higher of these as 594 interviewees (both male and female) were asked this question. Five hundred and thirty four of these were aged thirteen or more, leaving only 60 of the children aged twelve or younger (n = 466) available to be asked this question. Even if we assume all of these 60 were female, that still leaves 36 (or 23%) positive responses out of 157 (97 girls aged thirteen or more, plus the 60 described here).

Furthermore, if we assume that girls of thirteen years and older have begun the process of sexual maturation, we can see from Table 5.13 that 32 (or 33%) of the 97 girls aged thirteen years or more have engaged in sex for payment. Thus, we can tentatively report that approximately one third of adolescent street girls have given sex for payment.

Age	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
7-9	1	-	1	19
10-12	-	-	2	66
13-15	2	2	6	351
16-17	3	9	10	122
Total number	6	11	19	558

Table 5.13: Prostitution by age (n = 594).

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

Twenty eight interviewees responded positively to this question. As we can see in Table 5.14, the majority of these were aged thirteen or over.

Age group	Yes	No	Total number
7-9	-	59	59
10-12	3	189	192
13-15	13	321	334
16-17	12	115	127
Total number	28	684	712

Table 5.14: Forced sexual acts by age (no response = 288).

Of all questions, this one had the largest number of "No

responses." nearly 30% of interviewees did not respond, indicating the highly sensitive nature of this subject. Consequently, the results are difficult to interpret. Anecdotal reports indicate that males are most unlikely to report positively to such a question. If this is the case, it would appear that 25 (or 26%) of girls aged thirteen or more have been forced into sexual acts. However, at this point such a result must be considered largely tentative.

Summary

The data from this sample of 1,000 street children gives us an over view of their experiences on a range of variables which we shall consider in greater detail throughout the remainder of this chapter. It primes our interpretation of the more detailed, in-depth material to follow.

We have seen that reported drug use is not prevalent amongst this sample. Of those who do drink alcohol, smoke, chew *khat*, sniff benzene or smoke hashish, the majority do so only occasionally. Reported drug use among females is very rare. In the few instances where levels approach daily consumption, the user is almost always a male in his middle to late teens.

Stealing, too, would appear to be concentrated amongst males. Street children's encounters with the police are generally not the result of specific behaviours such as stealing, but are more often linked to police efforts to control the street-based peddling and begging activities of children.

Being beaten is a weekly occurrence for nearly one third of this sample. However, there are large numbers of this sample, even those children who sleep on the streets, that have *not* experienced being beaten.

As we have seen, there were certain methodological limitation to the questions regarding engaging in sex for payment and being forced to engage in sexual acts. At this point we can only tentatively report that approximately 33% of sexually mature street girls have engaged in sex for payment and

that an estimated 25% or street girls aged thirteen or more have been forced into sexual acts.

The data reported thus far is the result of a Unicef/MOLSA/UCC survey which is unique in providing a large pool of data on many aspects of the lives of street children. For the remainder of this chapter, we shall consider the issues of victimisation and delinquency amongst street children. The information was gathered using more in-depth interviews, case-studies and general discussions than those employed by the much larger Unicef/MOLSA/UCC survey with which we have been concerned thus far.

IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS WITH STREET BOYS

Method

Twenty eight street boys were interviewed using a structured questionnaire (see appendix six) composed of a victim survey and a self report survey. The former sought information on the boys' experiences of victimisation on the streets. The latter required interviewees to comment on their *own* delinquent behaviour. The questionnaire was administered immediately after the boys had been interviewed for the Unicef/Molsa/UCC survey (as described on p. 240 in Chapter four).

It is important to note that this sample is *not* representative of street boys as a whole. The boys interviewed here were chosen particularly for their reported involvement in anti-social activities. The purpose was to collect a data base on the kind of activities *deriyea* boys are involved in.

It should also be noted that only the responses to pertinent questions have been reported here. Consequently, not all questions to be found in Appendix six are reported here. For example, responses to Question fifteen, "Can you think of any other bad things people have done to you?", did not elicit material which had not emerged from earlier questions. Similarly, Question one in the self report survey, "Can you give me some examples of the [slang] language you might use amongst your friends", was included to establish rapport rather than to collect slang words used by street boys.

Beatings: The following material reports the responses to questions three and five; that is, questions relating to frequency and nature of beatings, perpetrators, reasons for being beaten and the boys' responses to the beatings.

Twenty six of the twenty eight boys have been beaten on the streets at some point. For almost 30% of the boys, these beatings occur a number of times a week.

	Regularly (3 times weekly)	Rarely	A few times	Once	Never
Beatings	9	5	10	2	2

Table 5.15: Frequency of beatings on the streets experienced by street boys (n = 28).

When asked to describe the most violent attack committed against them, the boys reported the following injuries:

Stab wound	6
None (not seriously hurt)	5
Beaten with sticks	4
Facial bruising	3
Torture by police	2

Teeth knocked out	1
Fractured skull	2
Hands/feet tied with wire	2
Hung by the arm	1

Six (21%) of the 28 boys interviewed had been stabbed, with many others sustaining serious scars from their injuries. Interviewees identified the following groups as being responsible for their beatings (multiple responses were recorded):

Assailants	Reasons and numbers	Total
Robbers	Theft (12)	12
Other boys	Fighting for work (6) Trespass (1) Informing to police (3)	10
Police (Derg)	To extract information, involving (a) electrocution and (b) ducking in a bath (2) To steal (1) Caught gambling (2) Caught stealing (3) Suspected of crime (2)	8
Police (EPRDF)	Caught gambling (1) Caught stealing (3) Suspected of crime (1) Caught fighting (1) No reason (3)	5

Table 5.16: Sources of street boys' assaults. Note: some boys have been beaten by more than one of the above categories.

In the face of these beatings street boys are, largely,

powerless. Of the 26 boys who reported being beaten on the streets, 21 did nothing about it; one told his family and four told the police. This latter option was dangerous in itself because, in two of these instances, the boy was later beaten by those he had informed upon.

Theft: The following material reports the responses to questions six, seven, eight and ten; that is, questions relating to the frequency of having been stolen from.

Eighteen of the 28 boys have had things stolen from them on the streets. Questions six and eight offered frequency options of every day, twice a week, once a week, once every two weeks, once a month and never. After coding, the additional responses of 'Once' and 'Occasionally' were added.

Every day	Twice a week	Once a week	Once every two weeks	Once a month	Once	Occasionally	Never
-	3	1	1	4	4	5	10

Table 5.17: Incidence of theft experienced by street boys.

One form of theft, specifically targeted in question ten, is non-payment for services. Nineteen of the 28 boys reported having been cheated in this way. Nine were taxi-boys who were not paid by the driver at the end of the day. Other jobs for which children had not been paid included shining shoes, minding cars

and carrying goods. Apart from three cases where the child said it only happened once, all the others said it happened very frequently, sometimes as often as every day.

Fear

In an attempt to investigate the levels of fear and insecurity which street boys experience, interviewees were asked (by questions one and two) whether or not there were some "dangerous areas" in the city where they would not go on their own. Of the 28 respondents, nine claimed there were no such areas for them. The remaining nineteen all had cause to fear certain areas, for the following reasons:

- Past experience of being beaten and robbed there (8).
- Generalised fear of a particular area with a reputation for crime (5).
- Will not leave own area because would be afraid of all unfamiliar areas (3).
- Afraid of areas around police stations because they are known to the police and may be beaten on sight (3).

A further question attempted to elicit what the interviewees regarded as their most abusive experience. The answers were not very varied and represent the main classes of abuse which street boys experience. We have encountered all of these already in the preceding pages. Sixteen children reported

some form of beating as the worst thing anybody had ever done to them. Two complained about being kidnapped and being taken to the countryside to work (during the Derg regime, street children were rounded up at harvest time and forced to work in the fields of state-run farms). Others included items being stolen from them and abuse from strangers on the streets. One boy complained that the worst thing ever done to him was not being released from prison by the Derg, after he had bribed them to do so.

Payment for sex and sexual assaults: Questions eleven to fourteen

Our final point on the victimisation of street boys concerns sexual assaults and payment for sex. These questions generally had the effect of either insulting the boys or confusing them. Only one of the 28 boys reported being sexually attacked. In this instance a man attempted, and failed, to fondle him. At no other occasion was homosexuality, be it voluntary or forced, referred to by street boys.

Self Report Study

This aspect of the questionnaire sought to elicit information regarding the boys' own involvement in delinquent activities. We shall examine the responses under the following headings - stealing, violence and substance abuse. A summary of the material to be discussed is found in Table 5.18 below:

Activity		Number
Stealing	Frequency	14
	Shop-lifting	13
	Pick-pocketing	11
	Burglary	6
Fighting	Yes	20
	No	8
Drugs	Smoking	17
	Khat	14
	Alcohol	11
	Benzene	11

Table 5.18: Summary of street boys' self-report survey (n = 28. Note: multiple responses recorded).

Stealing: The following material reports the responses to questions four to nine.

Fourteen boys reported that they never steal because:

- It is against God and tradition (7).

- I'm afraid the EPRDF would kill me (4).
- It's wrong to steal, to get money without working. If I find money on the ground, I give it to a beggar (2).
- I work and support myself so have no need to steal (1).

Thus, we can see that from the sample of 28 boys, fourteen claimed to have strong moral objections to stealing. Of the 28, only three felt it was not wrong to steal because:

- All people steal. If they say otherwise, they're lying.
- Because nobody in the world cares for me, it's not wrong for me to steal.
- Because I need the money, it's not a sin.

The remaining boys, even those who regularly steal, consider it to be wrong:

- Stealing is against God (6).
- It's wrong, but I needed the money/food (10).
- It's wrong (7).
- It's against tradition and culture (2).

Nevertheless, 50% of this sample of 28 street boys admit to stealing. Asked why they steal, the boys gave the following answers:

- I steal either food or money for food when I am hungry (5). For

three, this would appear to be true. For the other two this is not true as they later revealed they have expensive tastes such as *khat* and *tella*.

- I steal because I need the money (8). All of these boys spend quite large amounts of money on drinking, smoking and chewing *khat*. Thus, their stealing is to support these habits.
- I steal because "nobody supports me or cares about me" (1).

Below is an account of this sample's involvement in stealing:

Shop-lifting: Thirteen boys admitted to stealing from shops and markets. Four claim only to steal food because they are hungry. The remaining nine steal money, electrical goods and large quantities of food for resale (for example, bags of flour or potatoes). One boy claimed only to have stolen once. For each of the others it is a regular occurrence, that is, at least once or twice weekly. Three said stealing was their full-time occupation.

Pick-pocketing: Eleven of the boys admitted to pick-pocketing. Five boys reported that this is a solitary activity, four say they do it with friends and share the money and two boys said they sometimes pick pockets alone, sometimes with friends. Whilst noting that the numbers in each age group are different, the following figure nevertheless indicates that pick-pocketing is largely the reserve of older street boys:

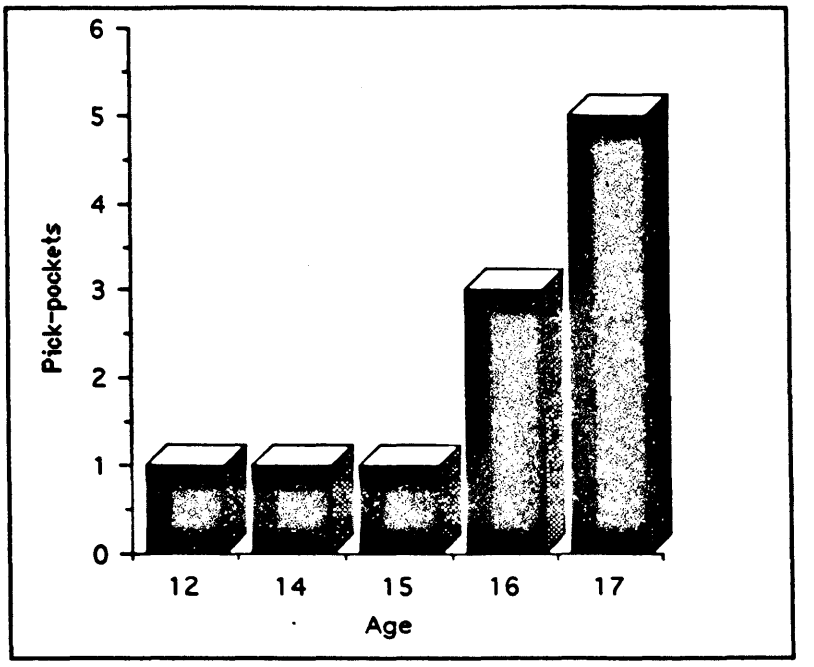


Figure 5.1: Pick-pocketing by age (n=11).

Burglary: Six boys reported stealing from houses. Three of those have stolen money and food from the houses of neighbours. One boy "specialises" in *bunna-baits*. He sits drinking tea with his friends, watches the money and then, when he gets the chance, grabs it and runs. Of the remaining two, one only steals food and money, while the other takes money, clothes and electrical items from houses.

Stealing can provide a very comfortable life-style, as we

can see from the responses reported below. All the interviewees were asked what was the largest amount they ever stole. Considering that a guard might only earn 120 Birr (£IR 12) a month, and a university graduate 500 Birr (£IR 50) a month (in 1993 prices), one can see how a boy might be attracted to crime.

- I saw a *farenge* go into the Tourist Hotel and I noticed that he left his brief-case in the car. I was able to open the car with a master-key. There was 1,500 Birr in the brief-case. I spent it with my friends on prostitutes, drink and *khat* (Age 17).
- The most I ever got from picking pockets was 180 Birr. With this money I bought some new clothes (Age 15).
- We saw a large crowd waiting outside the Ambassador cinema. I was with a group of three others. I secretly opened a woman's bag and took out her purse, which contained 10,000 Birr in it. We divided the money between us and used it to buy clothes, prostitutes and drink. This happened a year ago and I still have some of it left (Age 16).
- After Mengistu fled the city, we broke into the barracks in Arat Kilo and found 1,200 Birr. I shared this money with one other friend. With it we bought some new clothes and with the remainder we drank and chewed *khat* continuously for three days until all the money ran out (Age 16).
- The most I ever got was 700 Birr by picking someone's pocket (Age 16).
- I was in a group of nine boys. We saw a woman in a large crowd waiting to go into the National Theatre. She had a large

bag. One of our group grabbed it and ran. We divided the money later. There was 7,000 Birr (Age 14).
- I saw a bag in a car and the window was open so I just reached in and took it. There was 1,000 Birr in it. I spent the money on new clothes and drink. I didn't save any of it (Age 17).

Beatings: The following material reports the responses to questions eleven to sixteen

The reasons street boys gave for fighting are typically related to their gangs. The main categories of reasons are given below:

- If I am attacked or insulted, then I will fight (8).
- Sometimes our gang fight other gangs if they insult us or if they come into our area (4).
- If somebody attacks me or one of my friends, then we will all beat him (3).
- Sometimes I have to fight for work, for example, if many boys want to carry one box (3).
- Sometimes we attack people when we steal from them (2).

This fighting among street boys can often lead to quite serious injuries. When asked by question fifteen, "How badly have you ever beaten someone?", the following responses were recorded:

- Caused his head to bleed (8)
- Not applicable (6)
- Not seriously (4)
- Punches to the face (4)
- Stabbed (2)
- Broken bones (1)
- Beat with sticks (1)
- Hit with a rock (1)

From the responses to question sixteen, we can see that eight out of the 28 boys carry either a knife or a razor-blade. These boys tended to be those most involved in delinquent activities. Without exception, each of these eight adolescents were very much involved in stealing. Six of them are over sixteen years of age. The knives are carried for cutting bag-straps and for self-defence or fighting.

Drug use: The following material reports the responses to question seventeen

The various forms of drugs used by street boys and their ages can be seen in Table 5.19 below:

	12		13		14		15		16		17	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Khat	1	2	1	1	1	2	1	2	4	1	5	-
Alcohol	2	1	1	1	-	3	1	2	4	1	5	-
Smoking	-	3	1	1	1	2	1	2	4	1	5	-

Table 5.19: Street boys' drug use by age (n=28).

The reported frequencies for such drug usage are as follows:

	Not at all	Only on holidays	Socially (once or twice a week)	Habitually (nearly every day)
Khat	13	-	12	3
Alcohol	7	9	8	4
Smoking	15	-	-	13

Table 5.20: Frequency of street boys' reported drug use.

Fifty four per cent of the sample chew *khat.* A larger number (75%) drink alcohol, but as we can see in Table 5.20, few do so habitually. Twenty one boys said they drink, but seven of these limit it to drinking *tella* or *tej* which is made at home on holidays or days of celebration. Thus, twelve boys drink outside a family setting. For the most part this drinking is limited to once a week with friends in order to relax - often it is a part of

chewing *khat*.

Approximately half of the sample smoke cigarettes habitually, that is, every day.

Eight of those boys interviewed sniff benzene and three said they used to when they were younger.

Commissioned crime: Question ten

Nine boys reported that they had committed a crime for money. The six boys between the ages of ten and fourteen had acted as lookouts for thieves or had located prostitutes for older boys. The three older boys were involved in more serious types of activities:

- I was paid by a hotel owner to beat some girls who had been complaining about the dirt in his hotel (Age 17).
- I was paid 200 Birr by a man to beat his wife because she had cheated on him (Age 17).
- I was paid by a woman to steal a gold-necklace from another woman (Age 16).

Summary

More than half of this sample of street boys have been physically attacked "many times" on the streets, most often by robbers (usually older street boys) and the police. The Derg police appear to have been very harsh in their treatment of street children. The EPRDF are widely seen as an improvement. Eight boys reported having been beaten by the Derg police. In two instances this went as far as torture: electric shocks to the soles of the feet and repeatedly ducking the boy in a bath of water. This was done, in both cases, to extract information concerning criminals the police felt the boys knew.

Theft against street boys is common and it is the younger boys who are most often victimised. In the face of such maltreatment street boys are, for the most part, powerless. Complaints are generally not made to the police.

There appears to be a clear relationship between age and degree of involvement with theft. This profile ranges from the young boy involved in petty theft, such as stealing fruit, to the older teenager who continues to steal, develops expensive habits and tastes and gets further drawn into a delinquent lifestyle. For example, twelve of the fourteen boys who admitted to stealing regularly drink alcohol and chew *khat*.

Much of the violence of street boys is directed at other street boys. Injuries from stabbings, slashes from razor-blades, fractured skulls and broken bones were quite common even among this small sample. Street boys' violence is often related

to gangs. If a member of a gang is insulted or attacked, this will often lead to a much larger dispute among two groups of boys.

Ethiopia would appear *not* to have the "hard" drug problems of other countries. Over half of the boys reported chewing *khat* but only on a weekly basis. Only three reported habitual usage. As we can seen in Table 5.20 above, *khat* chewers can be divided into two groups:

1. Those who chew once a week with friends. The reasons given for chewing *khat* are to relax with friends and feel happy and content. This could be called the social side of *khat* chewing. This category of users rarely spend more than 10 Birr a week on *khat*.

2. A smaller group could be said to fit into a more harmful form of *khat* chewing - this is where chewing occurs almost every day and large sums of money are spent on it. Twenty, 40 and even 60 Birr were reported as weekly expenditure on *khat*. In order to obtain the money required for such a habit, a boy will have to steal.

As regards alcohol, it is not very informative to ask if children drink *tella* or *tej* as it is the norm in Ethiopia for children to drink such home-made alcoholic drinks on church holidays. Thus, like *khat* chewers, the children involved can be divided into two categories: (a) those who drink once a week and rarely spend more than a couple of Birr and (b) those who drink

every day or many times a week and spend as much as 50 Birr a week on drink.

Benzene sniffing is a habit peculiar to younger boys. The boys get the benzene from people who are filling their vehicles at fuel stations. The main reason given for sniffing benzene is for protection against the cold. This practice usually occurs among the younger children, presumably because they are more vulnerable to cold, hunger and lack of shelter. Of the eleven boys who reported using, or having used, benzene only two said they sniffed it for fun. Older teenagers have more often found some way of dealing with these problems - fewer older boys sleep outside. Among older boys benzene sniffing is seen as a childish activity over which *khat* and alcohol are favoured.

REMAND HOME INTERVIEWS

Method

Thirteen boys were interviewed using a structured questionnaire (see Appendix seven). In addition to a victim survey and self report survey, this questionnaire included questions regarding the boys' backgrounds and their experiences in the Remand Home. Of the thirteen boys who were interviewed, only eight had any experience of street life. Even then, these boys had spent as long as five years in the Home so their recollections of their lives on the streets were rather vague. From these interviews, the following material emerged:

Number 1: (Age 14). This boy was on the streets between the ages of seven and nine. Derg soldiers then sent him to the "Children's Village," a large state-run orphanage. What he remembers most about the street is how he hated the Derg soldiers so much as they used to beat him and his friends. He did not need to steal as he readily earned his living as a *wyalla*. He did not chew *khat*, sniff benzene or drink as he was too young. He is in contact with his family and they visit him regularly and bring him food. They want to bring him home but cannot afford to. He hopes to be returned to the Children's Village to finish his education.

Number 2: (Age 14). This boy spent one year on the streets

between the ages of nine and ten as his mother could not afford to keep him. Police took him to the Children's Village where he spent two and a half years before being sent to the Remand Home. What he remembers of his time on the street is being beaten by older boys when he tried to work in their area. He had no involvement in stealing or drugs. He thinks stealing would ruin his life and he sees thieves as lazy people. He likes working.

Number 3: (Age 14). This boy spent one year on the streets between the ages of six and seven. He worked as a *wyalla* and slept on the verandas at night. Then the police came and sent him to the Children's Village. He claims to remember nothing about his street life except that the police used to beat them after curfew when he was looking for somewhere to sleep.

Number 4: (Age 14). This boy spent one year on the streets between the ages of twelve and thirteen. He survived by carrying goods for small merchants. He would have been ashamed to beg. He slept in rented rooms or on the verandas. The police brought him here, to the Remand Home, on suspicion of stealing. While on the streets he was often thrown out of his sleeping place by older boys. They stole his money. They searched him, his clothes, even his buttocks, for coins.

Number 5: (Age 13). This boy lived on the streets for three years. He ran away from home because he always quarrelled with his mother when he stole money from his home. He survived

by minding cars and begging left-over food from restaurants. On the streets he was beaten by older boys if he worked in their areas, by shop-keepers if anything went missing and by the police for breaking curfew or sleeping on the verandas of government offices. As a car minder, he often made extra money by stealing parts from the cars. He also used to pick-pocket and once he and his friends stole 9,000 Birr. They divided the money and chewed *khat*, drank, bought good clothes, went to the cinema, and used to watch videos every day. They even bought bicycles but sold them later when the money ran out. He was eventually caught for stealing by the police. They kept him for three months then sent him to the Remand Home as they had no food to feed him and the other prisoners in the police station.

Number 6: (Age 14). This boy lived on the streets for two years from age twelve to fourteen. He survived by carrying goods in the market and by stealing. He never begged as he never needed the money that badly. He was beaten unconscious once for breaking the curfew and was stabbed in the leg once during a quarrel. He stole many, many things but never pick-pocketed as he was afraid of being beaten if caught. He would steal from anyone, even an old woman. In fact, he once stole the purse of an old, blind beggar woman. He was eventually caught by the police for stealing.

Number 7: (Age 14). This boy lived on the streets in Dire Dawa for two years between ages eleven and thirteen. He then

moved to Addis Ababa and lived on the streets there for one year. He lived as a *wyalla*. He never stole, except from his home, as he never needed the money. Sometimes he worked as a translator for the Cuban soldiers in Dire Dawa. Eventually, clothes were stolen from the house where he rented a room and he was accused and taken by the police, who kept him for 50 days. While there, he was barely fed. Many days he had no food.

Number 8: (Age 14). This boy lived on the streets for five years between ages nine and fourteen, after coming to Addis Ababa with friends to find work. He based himself at the Markato bus station and made a living by carrying luggage. He is proud of the fact that he never stole and was well known in the area for his honesty. He is afraid of stealing as he has seen thieves killed by soldiers. He was frequently beaten by older boys and *kebele* guards. Once he was rounded up by the Derg to pick cotton during the harvest. He did not want to go because there is malaria there. He was rejected at the plantation because he was too young and he had to walk for three days back to Addis Ababa. Eventually, his friends stole shoes from a shop and he was blamed. The police kept him for three months and then he was sent to the Remand Home.

Conclusion

A less than detailed story emerges from the residents in the Remand Home for boys who did have experience of street life. A number of them were last on the street up to five years previously and found it difficult to recall the level of detail which the interview sought. The eldest of the boys interviewed were fourteen years old and their stories of petty theft, beatings by older boys and police harassment largely concurs with what we have already seen of the experiences of younger street boys.

UNSTRUCTURED DISCUSSIONS AND CASE STUDIES

Method

Sixteen adolescents contributed to this portion of the data collection, fourteen males and two females.

Discussion groups: Ten of these boys and the two girls took part in unstructured discussion groups which involved discussing their views, attitudes and opinions on a range of issues relating to street life. The transcripts of these discussions can be found in appendix twelve.

Case studies: Ten case studies were collected. They were made up of the following

(i) The two girls who contributed to the group discussions
(ii) Of the ten boys who contributed to the group discussions, case studies were carried out with the four most uncommunicative
(iii) An additional four boys were collected to complete the case study questionnaire (see appendix eight).

Case Studies

Of the ten case studies collected, four are presented here. These four adolescents proved to be most willing to talk about all aspects of their lives, both at home and on the streets. So far, we have looked at only two aspects of a street child's life -

victimisation and delinquency. The following case studies give us an opportunity to look at the lives of a few selected street boys hitherto unexamined; specifically, family background, 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.

Case study 1: Male, 19 years.

Tedla was born in Kirkos, a slum quarter of Addis Ababa. His family lived there with relatives until 1985, when he was twelve years of age. Then his relatives could no longer support Tedla and his family and asked them to leave. So, all his family left for the countryside to try to live by farming. However, Tedla had no interest in living in the countryside. He was a city boy and he wanted to remain in Addis Ababa to continue his education. His relatives allowed him to stay on in their house. He only stayed with them for one year as they worked him too hard. They always gave him jobs and did not feed him enough. So he left and began to sleep in a *plastic-bait*, a plastic shelter on the side of the street. At first, he tried to live by carrying and selling old fruit from the market but this did not earn him enough money. At this point he began to steal clothes which had been left out to dry. He only bought food with the money he earned by selling them. Then he met friends who also lived on the streets and they had "*deriyea* characteristics." He began to drink and chew *khat* with them for relaxation. He began to steal

more to have enough money. About twice a month he would steal clothes. Then, while still age thirteen, he began to steal as part of a group at night. They were a group of ten boys, four big ones and six small ones. They used to rob students and threaten them with a knife. He never actually used a knife.

At age fourteen he first began to have sex. Initially he used prostitutes but they cost money and might have had diseases so he and his friends began to rape girls instead. They would typically do it after drinking. They would capture a girl by knife-point and bring her to a grave-yard on the Debre Zeit road. The girls never cried out or resisted because they were afraid of the knives. In all, he estimates he has raped about 30 girls.

His gang consisted of about ten boys before three of them were caught by the EPRDF. They had their own area where other gangs are not allowed to "work," that is, steal. Fights typically occurred when one gang ventured into the area of another gang. Most of the fights involved hitting people on the head with a stone. If a gang won a fight in another gang's area, they spent the whole night there drinking and relaxing.

Tedla now feels that he is beginning to calm down. He never rapes anymore, does not drink as much and hardly ever steals. A main incentive is a fear of the EPRDF. They have a much tougher approach with *deriyeas* than the Derg did.

Case study 2: Male, 19 years.

Aweke was born in Addis Ababa and has lived there all his

life. When he was eleven, his father died. He began to quarrel with his step-mother as she would not give him the money he needed for his education. He used to go to Mexico Square every day to hang around but, after a short while, step-by-step, he began to sleep out every night. He did not want to go home as he would just quarrel with his step-mother. He slept in the "American Compound," a large enclosure where one could rent a space very cheaply for the night amongst dozens of other street children. At this time, age eleven, he began to steal clothes left out to dry. Then, when he was about thirteen, he and his gang would rob drunk people at night. He began to participate in gang fights around this age but he did not fight viciously until he himself was hurt badly in a fight. After that, he began to fight "with rocks in my hands." His gang numbered about 35 boys and "Mexico" was their area. Fights might occur if other boys came to work in their area. A fight might also occur if a passer-by tried to interfere in a robbery by shouting "Thief, thief!"

He lived like this for four years. When he was fifteen, he came into contact with staff from SCF-USA who persuaded him to return to live with his step-mother. They also encouraged her to allow him to return. Even then, he did not stop stealing. If an opportunity arose to steal something, he would do it. Aweke never developed the habits of drinking or chewing *khat* and he attributes this to the fact that he was "saved" by SCF-USA. If they had not intervened, he feels he would have developed into a hard-core *deriyea* and ended up as a government soldier, as many *deriyeas* do.

Case study 3: Male, 15 years.

Kiddus was born and reared in Addis Ababa. His father died when he was two years old. His mother was very poor. When he was about nine, he started to steal widely because he was not getting enough food at home. He was always stealing money and food from the house and pick-pocketing and stealing goods from the market. He started by stealing items of food, then clothes and then he started pick-pocketing. He quarrelled with his mother because of this stealing and because he had stopped going to school. Finally, when he was twelve, his mother told him to leave. He slept on verandas in the Stadium area of the city for two and a half years. He very quickly got into the habit of drinking and chewing *khat* with other boys. He earned money by carrying goods and doing small jobs and also by stealing. He first started using prostitutes when he was fourteen. He and his friends rape girls by knife-point when they have no money for prostitutes. He has done this many times, typically with two other boys because it is easier to "capture" the girl when there are three boys together.

He belongs to a gang of six boys. They do not steal by force as they are too small and young. Instead, they go in groups of twos and pick-pocket. At the end of the day, they share what they have got. That way, they never go hungry, even when they have had a bad day. They all carry razor-blades for cutting bag straps. They also reported using them for scarring a person's face if they inform to the police that they have been stealing.

For the last six months he has stopped sleeping on verandas and sleeps in a *plastic-bait* in the Kirkos area. He has stopped stealing now for fear of what would happen to him if he was caught by the EPRDF. He would like to return to his family but he does not think they will take him back because they threw him out.

Case study 4: Male, 13 years.

Paulis was born in Addis Ababa and has lived there with his family until four months ago. He has worked as a *wyalla* since he was six years old. Even though based at home then, he was still part of a gang who used to beg for left-over food together. The older boys carried knives and he sometimes went with them when they went stealing. He even went looting with them when the government fell. EPRDF soldiers shot at them. He was uninjured but one of their group was killed.

Four months ago he brought his dog to school. He quarrelled with the teacher because of this and the teacher beat him 30 times. He insulted the teacher and threw stones at him. The teacher called the Peace and Stability Committee from the *kebele*. They locked him up for three days and also beat him. When he was released, he went home. His parents ordered him to go to school but he refused as he was afraid of the teacher so his mother became angry and told him to get out of the house. He went to live in a *plastic-bait* with some boys from his gang who he knew lived in the central square of Addis Ababa, Abiot Square.

He began to steal about once a month. He also started to smoke and to chew *khat* by following the example of older boys. He tried *tella* and *tej* but it made him sick. He has never had sex. His friends advised him that when he starts he will want it more and more so it is better not to start while he is still young.

When he first went to live in the streets, he did not know the problems and hardships of street life. Now he realises these problems and he wants to move home. His family, too, do not want him on the streets and will take him back.

Conclusion

From these four case studies we can see some of the factors which bring a boy to the street and which can escalate him into living by theft.

INTERVIEWS WITH *GIRLS OF THE STREET*, PART ONE: BACKGROUND AND VICTIMISATION

Method

Thirty six *girls of the street* were interviewed in 1992 using the questionnaire found in appendix nine. A further 32 *girls of the street* were interviewed in 1993, using the questionnaire in appendix ten. The background and victimisation data from these two samples (combined n = 68) is presented below. It should be noted that not all girls responded to all the questions so, on occasion, the sample for a particular question will be slightly less than 68. Where this occurs, the reader's attention is drawn to the anomaly.

Background Information

Age

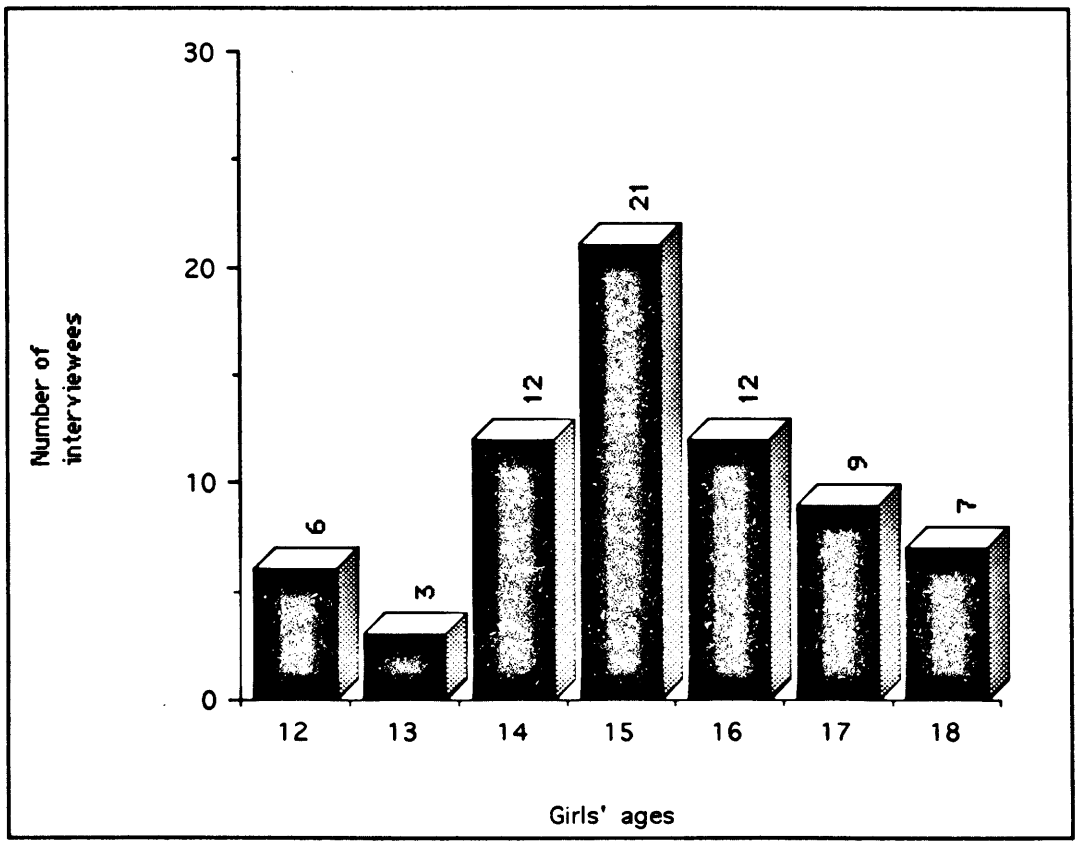


Figure 5.2: Number of *girls of the street* interviewed by age (n = 68).

Reasons for coming to the street (n=63)

Left her job as a maid	12
Beatings, nagging, over-work or under-feeding by a step-parent	11

Always quarrelling with mother	11
Orphaned	8
Separated from family in war	3
Beaten and mis-treated by aunt	2
Failed in school and family told her to leave	2
Mother destitute - whole family begs together	2
Parents would not allow her to go to school	2
Released POW	1
Mother destitute - girl needs to beg to support her	2
Quarrelled with adopted family	1
Father constantly beat her	1
Mother could not afford to keep her	1
Quarrelled with adults she begged with and made leave shelter	1
Uncle cared for her sick mother but told girl to leave	1
Ran away from her (much older) husband	1
Wanted nice clothes and shoes so friends advised her to become a prostitute	1

As we can see from the above list, there are many reasons for a girl to come to the street, making it difficult for us to generalise too much. Some of the reasons are common to a number of girls but there are those which fit no stereotype, such as the TPLF army cook captured by the Derg, released as destitute in Addis Ababa, "married" to a boy she met and deserted when he decided to return to live with his parents.

Age of initiation to the street (Question five, appendices nine and ten)

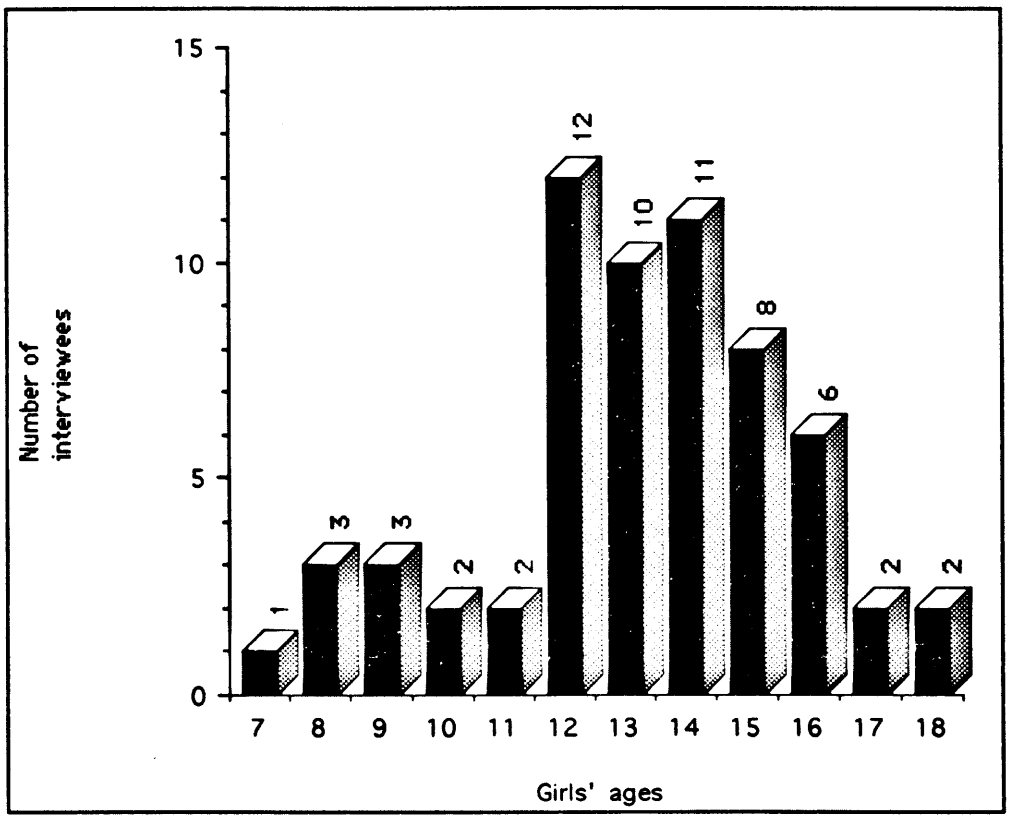


Figure 5.3: Age of initiation to the street (n = 62).

As we can see from Figure 5.3, the majority of girls come to the streets between the ages of twelve and fourteen. A significant minority continue coming from age fifteen onwards. The average age for coming to the streets is 13.13 years. Of the eleven girls who came to the streets before the age of twelve, eight have had mothers who died (the remaining three mothers are blind (1), ran away (1) and could not support the girl (1)). Of

these eleven, six were orphaned - that is, they have lost both their mothers and their fathers. Thus, it would appear that the loss of a mother heightens the risk that nobody else will look after a child. As we shall see, the same cannot be said for fathers.

Relationship with family prior to coming to the streets (Question six, appendices nine and ten)

Quality of relationship	Number
Quarrelsome	36
Smooth	23
N/A	9
Total number	68

Table 5.21: Relationship with family prior to coming to the streets, reported by *girls of the street* (n = 68).

The majority of girls, 36, responded that they had a "very quarrelsome" relationship with their guardians, be they mothers, step-mothers, sisters, aunts, uncles, (older) husbands or grandparents. This typically meant that the girl felt she was being over-worked, under-fed, too harshly punished, or was in some other way being abused or mis-treated, often by her mother or step-mother. We have seen already that many girls identify this mis-treatment as the reason they left home.

Twenty three girls reported that they had a "smooth"

relationship with their family before coming to the streets. Typically, they have come to the streets either because they were orphaned or because they have agreed to do so with their families. That is, they come from destitute families who have no choice but to send their children out onto the streets.

A further nine girls responded that this question did not apply to them as they had been orphaned at a very early age and thus did not have the time to develop a relationship with their families.

Living arrangements prior to leaving home

Living arrangements	Number
Female headed household	21
Lived with both parents	11
Lived with parent and step parent	11
No family	11
Lived with relatives	8
Lived with adoptive family	3
Lived with husband	1
Lived with neighbor	1
Lived with father only	1
Total number	68

Table 5.22: *Girls' of the street* living arrangements prior to leaving home (n = 68).

As we can see, girls that are living on the streets full time

come from a wide variety of households. Only eleven arrived on the streets from a two-parent household. The largest number, 21, came from a female headed household, typically a mother and children who had lost their husband and father through war, disease or desertion. Women left in this situation find it very hard to survive and are often forced to send children out to work or to send them out altogether to fend for themselves.

Eleven girls left a household where a step-parent was present, and all eleven of these girls reported being mis-treated by their step-parents (seven being step-mothers, three being step-fathers and one being a step-grandmother).

A further eleven girls said they had no family. They had been orphaned. The remaining girls had lived in a variety of domestic arrangements; they had lived with uncles, aunts, grandparents, neighbours, husbands and with families who had adopted them.

Birthplace

The majority of the 68 girls come from an urban background. Thirty seven were born in Addis Ababa and a further 26 came from large regional towns throughout Ethiopia. Only two came from a village background, and a further three from a rural, farming background.

Summary

There are many possible reasons why a girl might go to the streets so it is difficult to generalise. However, what characterises many of the girls is rejection by an adult unable or unwilling to care for them - whether this be a parent, a step-parent, an employer or a relative. As individualistic as the reasons listed above are, they serve to dispel some common myths regarding street girls. For instance, only one girl reported coming to the streets because of sexual abuse, and this was by her employer's son in the house where she worked as a maid; only one reported physical abuse at the hands of a male (although many mention beatings by mothers and step-mothers); and only one girl reported that she was attracted by the good life she thought she could have by becoming a prostitute.

Few girls come to the streets full-time before the age of twelve. Those that do are likely to have lost their mothers.

Of those children who had contact with their families before coming to the streets, the majority (61%) had a poor relationship with their families. The remainder described their relationship as "smooth."

Only a small number (16%) lived with both parents prior to coming to the streets. The remainder lived in a variety of domestic situations, most commonly living with their mothers and siblings.

Quantitative Results

This section details the quantitative material collected from *girls of the street* concerning their experiences of pregnancy, rape, sexual assaults, prostitution, contraceptive use, solicitation, beatings and theft.

Pregnancy (Question seven, victim survey, appendix nine; Question eight, appendix ten)

Of the 68 interviewees, seventeen (25%) girls have been pregnant. Table 5.23 below indicates the nature of the relationships which led to these girls becoming pregnant.

Source of pregnancy	Number
Commercial sex	7
Rape	4
Casual "marriages"	3
Traditional early marriages	2
Boyfriend	1

Table 5.23: Nature of relationships leading to *girls' of the street* pregnancies (n = 17).

Ten girls reported the age at which they first became pregnant; the average age was 15.9 years. The following is the

outcome of the seventeen pregnancies:

Outcome	Details	Number
Baby died	From cold From intestinal disease	1 1
Child is growing up with mother on the streets	Mother is a prostitute Mother is a beggar	1 1
Baby was stolen	Presumably for begging purposes	1
Hospital kept baby	Told mother she was incapable of caring for the child on the streets	1
Mother still expecting	Two having unsuccessfully tried to abort the child	4
Abortion		7

Table 5.24: Outcomes of *girls' of the streets* pregnancies (n = 17).

Rape (Question four, victim survey, appendix nine; Question five, victim survey appendix ten)

Of the 68 girls, 30 (44%) have been raped. Briefly, their accounts, and their age at their first rape, are as follows:

- Age 6. Gang of six boys raped her when her Mother took her out of Addis Ababa to the countryside to visit relatives.
- Age 10. She was first raped when she was ten and it has happened frequently since then.

- Age 11. A group of three boys attacked her and held her down while one of them raped her.
- Age 11. She was raped once and it has not happened since.
- Age 12. This was the first time and it has since happened three times.
- Age 12. A group of boys raped her.
- Age 13. A group of boys held her while they took turns to rape her.
- Age 13. No details given.
- Age 13. Raped by two boys on the street at knife point.
- Age 13. Taken to hotel by knife point and raped there by one man.
- Age 13. She had recently arrived in the city and a boy forced her into a hotel where he raped her.
- Age 13. A woman gave her marijuana to smoke and then brought in men to have sex with her. It was the woman's way of initiating her to prostitution.
- Age 13. While sleeping on the streets, a group of boys armed with knives and stones raped her.
- Age 14. A group of boys raped her.
- Age 14. Refused to go to bed with a boy. He beat her so she went.
- Age 14. A group of boys raped her. This has happened her four times.
- Age 14. A boy on his own attacked her and raped her.
- Age 14. Taken by force to a hotel.
- Age 14. When she was new to street life, a man tricked her

into carrying goods for him. He took her to a room and threatened her with a razor-blade and said he would kill her if she resisted.

- Age 15. Taken by force to a hotel and raped there.
- Age 15. Attacked by three boys. Two raped her while threatening her with a razor-blade.
- Age 15. Taken to hotel by knife point and raped there.
- Age 15. A customer refused to pay her and when she tried to leave, he raped her.
- Age 15. No details given.
- Age 16. A boy encouraged her to become intoxicated and then forced her to have sex.
- Age 16. She was on the streets at 10 pm and a group of five boys took her by force to a dark street where each of them raped her.
- Age 17. Group of seven boys held her down while one raped her.
- Age 17. A customer took her to his house where he had four friends waiting. All five men raped her. She did not resist as she felt there was no point.
- Age 17. Gang of three attacked her. One raped her.
- Age 18. Raped in the house where she worked as a maid.

These accounts are of the girls' first experiences of rape (average age at first rape: 13.8 years).

Sexual Attacks (Question four, victim survey, appendix nine; Question three, victim survey, appendix ten)

Apart from the 30 (44%) girls who were raped, an additional eighteen (26%) reported that boys attempted to sexually attack them. In total, 48 (71%) of the 68 girls have been sexually attacked. Of these 48, 30 were raped.

Selling sex for material gain (Question eight, victim survey, appendix nine; Question six, victim survey, appendix ten)

Thirty (44%) of the 68 girls reported having exchanged sex for payment. The average age at which these girls were first paid for sex was 14.2 years.

Contraceptives (Question ten, victim survey, appendix ten)

A portion of the sample (n=32) were asked what form of contraceptives they used (multiple responses recorded):

Method of contraception	Number
None	11
Condoms	10
N/A	7
Contraceptive pill	6
Intercourse during menstruation	2

Table 5.25: Contraception use as reported by 32 *girls of the street.*

Solicitation (Question eight, victim survey, appendix nine; Question seven, victim survey, appendix ten)

Fifty one (75%) of the 68 girls have been asked to prostitute themselves, either by bar-owners or by private individuals requesting their services.

Being beaten (Question one, victim survey, appendices 9-10)

Fifty three (78%) of the 68 girls reported experiencing beatings on the streets. The majority say they are most often beaten by boys when they refuse/resist to have sex with them. The next most common occasion is when boys steal their money from them.

Assailants	Reasons	Numbers
Deriyeas	Asking/forcing for sex	26
	Theft	12
	Bullying	3
	For informing to police	2
Prostitutes' clients	For protesting re. payment	2
	For protesting re. positions	2
	For insisting a condom be used	1
Passers-by	For begging	6
EPRDF	For stealing	1

Table 5.26: Sources of *girls of the streets* beatings (multiple responses recorded).

Theft: (Question three, victim survey, appendix nine; question two, victim survey, appendix ten)

Type of theft	Number
Theft of clothing	28
Deriyeas stealing money	19
Prostitutes' clients refusing to pay	7
Baby was stolen	1
No experience of theft reported	15

Table 5.27: Types of theft reported by *girls of the street.*

Fifty five (81%) girls reported having had things stolen from them on the street. Twenty eight (41%) girls specifically mentioned their spare clothes being stolen from them. This usually happens when they are new to the street and have no safe place to keep their possessions. One girl had her baby stolen, along with 90 Birr which a foreigner had given her. More than likely this was done so that the thief could use the child as a begging aid. A girl or woman with a baby can earn up to twice what a girl without a baby can earn from begging.

Summary: Victimisation of *Girls of the Street*

The victimisation experienced by this sample of 68 *girls of*

the street is presented in Figure 5.4 below.

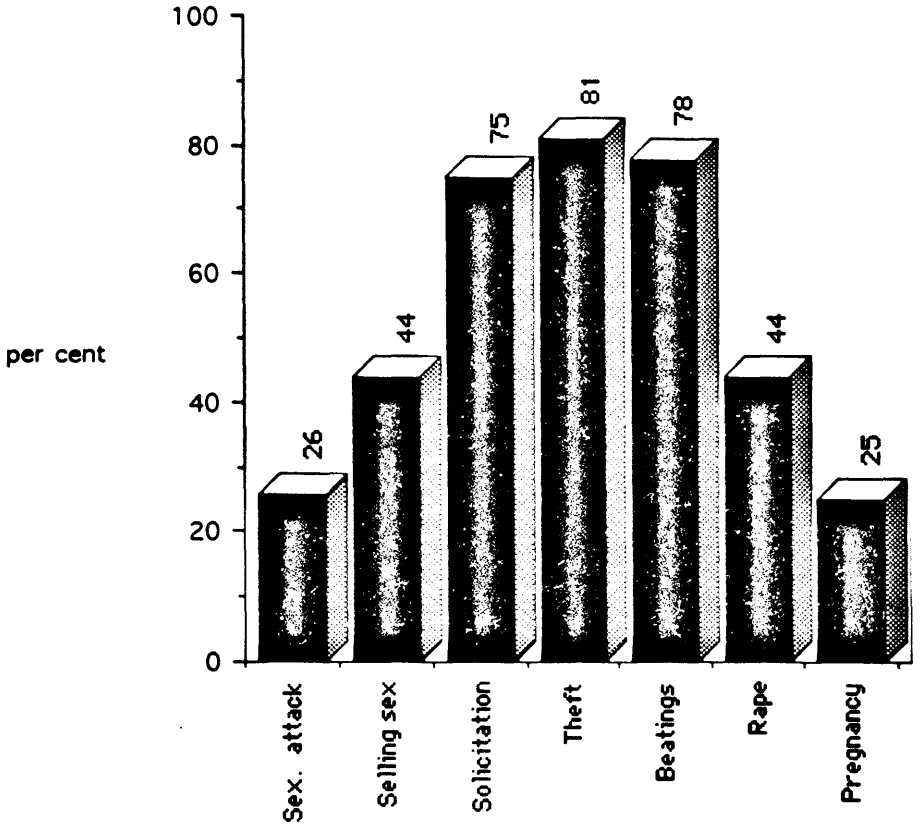


Figure 5.4: Summary of the nature and incidence of victimisation experienced by *girls of the street* (n=68).

As we can see, the victimisation street girls experience centres primarily around sex and theft. The fear of sexual assault, rape and sexual diseases is a perennial one for *girls of the street.* Once a girl becomes sexually mature she will become

a target for rape (the average age of first experience of rape is 13.8 years). Six of the 30 rape victims were raped whilst age twelve or younger. The perpetrators of rape against street girls are usually street boys. The reason street boys give for raping girls is that they have no money to pay for prostitutes and also that they can be certain that a girl who is not a prostitute will not have any venereal diseases or Aids. Girls are often raped by groups of boys after they have been drinking. For each two or three boys, one girl is taken, by knife point, to a deserted area and raped. However, as many as six or seven boys may rape one girl. Another common format is for an older street "boy" (late teens, early twenties) to approach a girl and to take her, again by knife point, to a cheap hotel, some place where he can rent a room and rape her there (see "Case Studies and Discussion Groups").

To avoid such attacks, girls try to be indoors before dark. In effect, they impose a nightfall curfew upon themselves. There is a widespread perception among street boys, bar-owners and members of the general public that street girls are freely available for sex. Almost all sexually mature street girls will be routinely solicited for sex. Forty four per cent of street girls have been paid for sex at some point. Twenty five per cent (17) of the interviewees are or have been pregnant.

Girls up to the age of fourteen are routinely threatened, intimidated and robbed by older boys. Any possessions they do not keep in a safe place are also likely to be stolen. Those that refuse to part with their earnings are often beaten into

acquiescence. When they first arrive in Addis Ababa bus station, rural children are often naïve as to the harshness of the city. It is a favourite spot for thieves. The bus station is where many of the newcomers first lose their clothes and money. Coming from rural communities where theft may be practically non-existent, the opportunistic crowds of peddlers and petty thieves at the bus station constitute a harsh culture shock. Girls may innocently hand over their bag to someone who offers to carry it and suddenly it is gone.

Solicitation for prostitution is a common experience for older street girls. The majority of sexually mature street girls will be solicited by private individuals and "brokers." The girls not solicited were either sexually immature, visibly pregnant or had a child.

Case Studies

So far we have looked at particular aspects of street girls' lives in isolation. The following case studies serve to illustrate how a combination of these experiences may impinge on a particular girl. These case studies were compiled from a number of the questionnaires completed with girls of the street who contributed to the preceding section. In addition, a developmental profile of adolescent street girls outlines some of the common experiences of street girls of different ages. This profile can be found in appendix thirteen.

Case Study 1

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

Case Study 2

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

Case Study 3

Hiroot, age fourteen, lived with her mother and siblings until she was thirteen. She has no father and her mother is insane. She drove Hiroot from the house by attacking her with a knife and stabbing her so now she lives on the streets. When she can afford it, she rents a room for the night, otherwise she sleeps outside. Boys frequently try to attack them at night and she and her friends scream for the police or soldiers who protect them. She begs for left-over food and this is how she lives. Boys frequently suggest that she spend the night with them but she feels she is too young.

Case Study 4

Kibinish, age eighteen, left her family with their approval one year ago to come to Addis Ababa to find work. A broker found her a job as a maid. She was always quarrelling with a relative of the house and then one day, after she had been there five months, he raped her. She left the house and took up begging around a large church. She made friends there and slept in the plastic shelters built in front of the church. She developed a relationship with one of the beggars there and lived with him, "as a wife." She became pregnant almost immediately and he died shortly afterwards from a disease. The baby had not yet been born at the time of the interview.

Case Study 5

Sahai, age thirteen, lived at home with her father and step-mother until four months ago. She left home because she was constantly fighting with her step-mother over missing school and failing exams. She sleeps outside and lives by begging for coins from passers-by and left-over food from restaurants. Groups of boys have come to their sleeping place three times in her four months on the street. Each time she has run away.

Case Study 6

Gannet, age seventeen, was born to beggars and has lived in

a plastic shelter and begged on the streets all her life. At fourteen, she moved out on her own as she was being nagged by her step-father and his new wife (her mother having died shortly before of hepatitis). On her first night she was weeping and had no place to go. A group of boys offered her a bed and she refused. So they beat her and one of them took her to a hotel where he slept with her. The next day she went to live with other girl beggars and then a *wyalla* for six months. When she became pregnant, he left. She returned to live with her friends in rented rooms and they helped her financially while she was having the child. After six weeks, the baby died "from the cold." Now she only wishes to have enough money to start a small trade so that she might have enough money not to have to beg.

Case Study 7

Kalkidan, age seventeen, lived with her mother until she died. Then she went to live with her grandfather until she was sixteen. He took in a maid, who also served as a wife. This woman did not want Kalkidan in the house. She harassed her so much that Kalkidan had to be sent to a mental hospital. She escaped from there and returned to her grandfather, but still the maid/wife did not want her, so she left for the streets. Kalkidan took up with a group of girl beggars. One night she was out begging late and she asked a group of seven boys for money. They grabbed her and held her down while one of them raped her. This made her pregnant. While pregnant, she began to prostitute

herself. The baby had not yet been born at the time of the interview.

INTERVIEWS WITH *GIRLS OF THE STREET*, PART TWO: RESILIENCE AND SUSCEPTIBILITY

Method

In 1993, an additional 32 *girls of the street* were interviewed, between 15 November and 9 December. They were interviewed for two reasons:

1. To provide a supplement to the victimisation data collected from 36 *girls of the street* in 1992. These additional interviews would bring the total sample of *girls of the street* to 68. As we have seen in "Interviews with *Girls of the Street*, Part One", this victimisation information has been presented in conjunction with the 1992 data.

2. The questionnaire used in 1992 (see appendix nine) focused on victimisation. In addition to victimisation data, the questionnaire used in 1993 (see appendix ten) sought to elicit information on the long term effects of living on the street, factors of vulnerability to victimisation, the group and coping strategies. It is this additional material which is reported below (n=32).

Long Term Effects of Living on the Streets

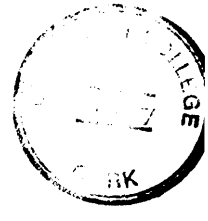
The following questions sought to explore the girls' feelings towards the abuse they experience on the streets; their fears and concerns; and what they felt the long term consequences of street life would be for them.

Question one: How do you feel about the fact that you are attacked and abused and other girls are not?

Of this sample of 32 *girls of the street*, ten girls reported that they are not more abused than other girls and they attribute this to various protective factors such as having a husband or avoiding *deriyeas*. One girl reported that she has become used to her abusive lifestyle. The remaining 21 said that the abuse which they experience greatly upsets them. They reported feelings of bitterness; neglect; regret at having come to Addis Ababa; resentment; vulnerability; crying every day; sorrow; depression; helplessness; loneliness; homesickness; and the feeling that life is unbearable.

Question two: How do ordinary people treat you on the street? Why is this?

The second question in this section asked girls how they were treated by "ordinary" people in the streets, that is, by passers-by, shoppers and pedestrians as opposed to other street children or street people. For the most part, the treatment they receive is mixed: some people beat them and insult them by



calling them lazy and prostitutes, whereas others show sympathy by giving them coins or genuinely trying to help by offering advice and encouragement. Most of the girls reported that they hate begging and that they are daily mocked, insulted and belittled on the streets.

Question three: Are you afraid of boys and men? Why?

This question explored street girls' fear of boys and men. When asked if they feared boys and men, all 32 girls reported that they did. The unanimous response to this question reflects the reality that, for street girls, males are primarily perceived as a threat. When asked *why* they fear boys and men, 28 of the 32 girls specifically mentioned rape. The remaining four girls reported being afraid of being beaten and robbed.

Question four: Are you afraid to be on your own on the street?

A related question asked if girls are afraid to be on their own on the streets. Again, the answers to this question were unanimous - girls are afraid to be on their own on the streets, especially after dark. This further illustrates the pervasive fear levels among street girls.

Question five: What is your greatest fear?

The responses to this question were quite varied:

- Rape (11)
- Multiple rape (4)
- Car accident (3)
- To be killed by *deriyeas* (3)
- To be killed by men (2)
- To become sick from the cold (2)
- Injuries from being beaten (1)
- Attacks by *deriyeas* (1)
- Men (1)
- To be beaten by police (1)
- Not being paid by clients (1)
- To be brought to the forest and left for the hyenas (1)
- To be killed by men as a sacrifice to the devil (1)

As varied as these responses are, there is a trend. Street girls' greatest fears concern what men may do to them. Twenty seven of the girls are most frightened by the savagery of men, whether it be common fears such as being badly beaten or raped, or more outlandish, apparently unrealistic fears such as being sacrificed to the devil. The girl who feared being left to the hyenas had in fact previously been brought to the forest by a client and, after having sex with her, he drove off leaving her to walk back to the city. Fear of hyenas in the forest at night is a realistic fear in Ethiopia and is accentuated by the fact that hyenas are seen as an heinous creature, an embodiment of the "evil eye."

Only five girls do not mention fears involving men - three are most afraid of being involved in a car accident and two fear becoming ill from the cold, both very real fears.

Question six: What do you think the long term effects of your living/working on the streets will be?

Multiple responses to this question were recorded to give an indication of the prevalence of concerns amongst the sample. These responses are recorded below:

Predicted outcome of street life	Number
Sickness	25
Lack of education	22
Physical injury	15
Sexual diseases	9
Uncertain future	8
Homesickness	8
Other	25

Table 5.28: Predicted outcomes of living on the streets, as expressed by *girls of the street* (n=32, multiple responses recorded).

Sickness was most widely mentioned as a negative consequence of street life. Twenty five of the girls felt that street life is, or would be, a threat to their physical health. Being out in the cold and wet was viewed as the main source of sickness and disease.

The fact that spending time on the streets interferes with schooling was expressed as a concern by 22 of the 32 girls. None

of the sample of *girls of the street* were receiving any education and the majority expressed the desire to avail of the opportunity.

Fifteen of the girls mentioned that living and working on the streets meant that they were likely to be injured in attacks by *deriyeas*.

Nine of the sample expressed a fear of STDs, including Aids.

Eight girls reported that by living on the streets, their futures were uncertain and there was no sense of security, stability, or future prospects in their lives. Instead, they merely lived from day-to-day.

Homesickness was reported as a problem by eight girls. These girls reported missing their families and also missing the security that a family provides - protection from attacks, a safe place to sleep and people who care about what happens to them.

Other long term consequences of street life, expressed as "Other" in Table 5.28, included:

- Nobody will care for me if I get sick (6).
- I'm afraid I'll be raped (6).
- I am afraid of dying (4).
- I might be in a traffic accident (4).
- I'll be taken away by the police (1).
- I will always be ashamed because I am a beggar (1).
- If I die, nobody will bury me (1).
- I have no future, only misery and suffering (1).
- I have no future. I'm doomed to the streets until I die (1).

In total, 112 responses were collected for this question.

Seventy of them related to becoming sick, being attacked or dying (the remainder largely referring to lack of education, lack of security and homesickness). Clearly then, the consequences of street life are seen as being dangerous and negative. Not a single girl mentioned any positive aspect of being on the streets.

Factors of Vulnerability to Victimisation

The following series of questions examined factors which may increase a street girl's susceptibility to victimisation. That is to say, an attempt was made to elicit information on factors in the lifestyle of street girls that might create opportunities for victimisation.

Question one: In cases where you are attacked, what is your relationship with the offender?

Relationship with assailant	Number
Strangers	10
Prostitutes' potential clients	8
N/A	7
Prostitutes clients arguing over price or "unnatural" positions	5
Insulting/teasing deriyeas	2

Table 5.29: Relationship with attackers, as reported by *girls of the street* (n=32).

Ten of the 32 girls said that they had nothing to do with the attacker - that they were attacked by strangers. A further seven said that the question did not apply to them. The most frequently mentioned relationship (8) was that the girl was a prostitute and deliberately sought to attract men by calling to them or following them to drink in the bars. This occasionally

led to the girl being beaten for some perceived slight or other. A further reason, mentioned by another five prostitutes, was that clients occasionally became abusive if they were arguing about the price to be paid, or if clients wanted a service (anal or oral sex) to which the girl would not agree. Two girls mentioned that they were sometimes beaten if they go too far in teasing or insulting *deriyeas*.

Question two: Where do you sleep and with whom?

Location	With whom	Number
Rented rooms	With friends With "husbands"	14 2
Outside, on the "veranda"	With friends	10
Tella-bait floor	With fellow prostitutes	4
Kitchen floor of sympathetic family	Alone	1
With grandmother	Alone	1

Table 5.30: Sleeping location of *girls of the street* (n=32).

The second question asked girls where, and with whom, they sleep. Fourteen girls reported that they sleep in rented rooms with other street girls. Ten girls sleep outside in groups on the "verandas." The remaining girls sleep in a variety of places; two sleep in rented rooms with their "husbands"; four sleep on the floor of the *tella-bait* where they work and prostitute; one

sleeps with her grandmother; and one sleeps in the kitchen of a house because the owners felt sorry for her and wanted to give her somewhere to sleep.

Question three: At what times are you robbed/attacked/raped? Why are you attacked? Where does it happen?

The most frequent responses were "Late at night when I am looking for customers" (9), "At night, while sleeping outside" (6), and "When I refuse free sex" (7). The latter responses refers to the fact that street girls are frequently "invited" for sex with *deriyeas* who have no intention of paying them. We shall later see that many girls comply with this demand to avoid a beating, which is the usual result of refusing.

Other responses included, "At night while waiting for our rooms to open" (2) and, "When I refuse different positions" (2) (referring to prostitutes' reluctance to provide anal or oral sex to customers).

Question four: Do you go out in the evenings alone? Why?

Twenty seven girls reported that they do not go out alone for fear of rapes and attacks. However, we shall see later that they do go out in groups. Only five girls reported going out alone - one goes to beg around the bars, one goes to meet friends, but only if there are policemen around, and three prostitutes go out to look for clients, alone.

Question five: Do you do anything to make attacks happen, for example, mix with *deriyeas*?

This question sought to investigate the girls' own understanding of their susceptibility to victimisation. Fifteen girls said they did nothing to contribute to their attacks. However, the remaining seventeen girls offered a number of explanations to account for their experiences of being attacked:

- as a prostitute, the girl deliberately mixes with *deriyeas* and drinks with them and sometimes this leads to her being victimised in some way (3).
- refusing to have sex for no fee. This angers the man and sometimes he beats her (3).
- refusing "different positions" (2).
- simply by working on the streets at night, the girl recognises that she is making herself vulnerable (2).
- sometimes the girl mixes with *deriyeas* because they give her food. This often ends in trouble (2).

Other responses included "trying to cheat customers," "simply sleeping on the streets," "insulting *deriyeas*," "working in the same area as *deriyeas*" and "simply by begging on the streets."

Question six: Why are you picked when other girls are not?

In an attempt to approach the issue of girls' understanding

of their susceptibility to victimisation from another perspective, girls were also asked why they are attacked while other girls are not. Sixteen girls felt that they were not more abused than other street girls. Of these sixteen, thirteen said that all street girls were equally mistreated. The remaining three attributed their protection to having a "husband," being friendly with *deriyeas* and not arguing with *deriyeas*. The remaining sixteen attributed their higher levels of victimisation to:

- refusing when asked for free sex. Other girls comply out of fear or because they hope for some payment or a meal (6).
- being new to the streets and naïve (1).
- refusing "unnatural acts" (1).
- being too quiet and shy. I should be tougher (2).
- bad luck (1).
- being sexually developed and therefore attractive (1).
- sleeping outside (1).
- because I stay out begging late (1).
- because I insult *deriyeas* (1).
- because I have no relatives to protect me (1).

Question seven: Where do you go in the evenings? Why?

The final question in this section again explored the evening time activities of street girls. Eighteen of the girls go to the streets to work as prostitutes at night. A further six go around the bars to beg and one works as a broker for prostitutes; that is, she locates girls for clients outside a busy city-centre bar

and night-club, popular with foreigners and wealthy Ethiopians. Only four girls report that they go in after dark (7pm). Thus, 28 of these *girls of the street* are on the streets in the evening, for one reason or another.

Summary

The single greatest factor of susceptibility to victimisation is whether or not a girl goes out after dark. By and large, it is at night when most serious assaults take place. This is compounded when a girl's chosen form of work is prostitution. In addition to being out after dark, this requires her to mix with men in bars, to stand waiting for customers on the streets and to go into rooms with customers where disputes regarding the price and positions to be used may occur.

The Role of the Group

This series of questions sought to investigate the role of the group in the lives of *girls of the street.*

Question one: Who do you spend most of your time with on the streets/at home?

Twenty eight of the girls in this sample of 32 reported that they sleep with other street girls. Twenty nine girls reported that they work with their friends. Twenty six of these 29 girls said they work in a group for safety. Those girls that are prostitutes stand together in small groups on the streets while waiting for customers. Only two girls said they spend most of their time alone; one spends most of her time with her "husband" and one girl did not respond to this question.

Question two: What ages and sex are your friends?

The majority of this sample belong to a clearly defined group of street children. Fifteen of the girls are part of a mixed group of adolescents. Twelve are part of an all female group. Three girls (prostitutes) counted their regular customers amongst their friends because these men offer protection and frequently provide food and clothes or medicine in the event of illness. Only two girls said that they had no friends and were part of no specific group.

Question three: What do you and your friends do for each

other?

Multiple responses were recorded for this question in order to access the range of services street girls provide for each other. Fourteen girls said that their friends help them when they are sick, by giving them food, washing their clothes, paying for their medication and by sitting with them and keeping them company. A further fourteen girls stated that friends most often help each other by sharing out money and clothes, thus ensuring that even when a girl earns no money herself on a particular day, she can rely on her friends to feed her. A number of girls stated that they own no clothes, that is to say, clothes are shared out communally.

Other responses included, "Helping when I am attacked," "Taking me to the clinic when I am sick" and "Contributing money for abortions." Only one girl said that she had no friends and that nobody did anything for her.

Question four: Do you work alone or with friends? Why?

Twenty nine of the sample work with friends, with 26 specifically mentioning that they do so for safety reasons. Three girls work alone: two to avoid competition whilst begging and one because she has no friends.

Question five: Do you do anything with your friends in the evening? Do you drink or chew *khat* with them?

A girl's friends provide a social outlet. Most nights when

they are not working, street girls simply sit together and chat amongst themselves. Fifteen said that about once a week they chew *khat* and drink alcohol together. Four girls reported that they work every night, but by day they sit together, drink coffee and gossip. On holidays, they may pool their money and buy some nice food and coffee.

Question six: Do you share money with your group? Why?

For *girls of the street*, the necessity for friends is clearly seen in the responses to this question. The answers to this question were evenly divided. Fourteen girls reported that they did not share their money with their friends and twelve reported that they did. A further two reported that they share money only when somebody is sick. (Four did not respond to this question). We shall see later that this communality is not shared by *girls on the street*.

Question seven: If you see one of your group being attacked, what do you do?

Reported reaction to seeing friend being attacked	Number
Physically intervene	13
Scream for the police	10
Attempt to mediate	4
Get male friends	3
Nothing	1
No response	1

Table 5.31: Girls' *of the street* responses to, "If you see one of your group being attacked, what do you do? (n=32).

In total, 30 of the 32 girls reported that they would intervene in some way if a friend was being beaten, robbed or was simply involved in a quarrel. This further illustrates how important *girls of the street* are to each other for protection, solidarity and support.

Summary

As we can see, friends are a very important part of a street girl's life. Most of her activities (sleeping, working, eating, recreation) are carried out with this circle of friends. The majority of street girls "living alone on the streets" are in fact rarely alone. Particularly in the event of becoming sick or in the event of being attacked or harassed on the streets, the group plays an important protective/nurturing role without which many girls would find street life untenable.

Coping Strategies

This series of questions explores the tactics employed by *girls of the streets* to make their lives safer.

Question one: How do protect yourself from robberies and attacks?

Multiple responses were recorded for this question in order to fully explore the range of protective tactics used by *girls of the streets.* The responses recorded were as follows:

- Stay in a group (15).
- Run away when *deriyeas* come (8).
- Only work near police/soldiers (8).
- Scream if attacked (6).
- Avoid areas where *deriyeas* are (6).
- Select customers carefully. Some girls only have sex with regular customers whom they know and trust (6).
- Be respectful to men, even when they are rude and insulting. If they ask for money to buy cigarettes, give it to them without complaint (5).
- If disturbed, call the police (4).
- Do not wander in unfamiliar areas (4).
- Go in before 8pm, when drunks are around (4).
- If insulted, do not respond (3).

Other responses included, "Leave money with somebody I trust", "Stay in my own area", "Escape if a client becomes

abusive by pretending to go to the toilet", "Stay in well-lit areas", "Bring clients to a hotel I know", "Hide money in my hair or under my arm", "Do not sleep near *deriyeas*", "Sleep near the church", "Work around the big hotels on busy streets at night" and "Avoid arguing with anyone."

By employing tactics such as those listed above, a girl who appears to be standing alone on the streets begging or peddling goods, is, in fact, within sight of a number of other street girls and street boys who will come to her assistance if the need arises. Apart from her immediate friends, a girl will become known in the area she works in and will become a familiar sight to shop-keepers, stall-owners, police, soldiers and others who are regularly present there. Many *girls of the street* report that they make attempts to foster good relations with these people so that they, too, may assist her in a time of need; whether it be to physically defend her, lend her a few coins, give her a drink of water, or offer her a place to store her wares.

Question two: Would you tell the police if that happened [if you were robbed or attacked]?

Thirty of the girls said they would report an incident to the police. Only two said they would not as they would fear what the attackers would do if they found out that the girl had reported them to the police.

Question three: Is there any way you can get revenge?

When it comes to getting revenge for attacks, assaults or

robberies, nineteen girls report that they can rely on boys in their group or *deriyeas* they know (16) or, for prostitutes, on regular customers (3). The remaining thirteen girls feel there is no way they can get revenge.

Question four: If you or somebody you know becomes pregnant, what can you do about it?

While not directly concerned with coping strategies for making their lives safer, a question which asked girls what they would do in the event of becoming pregnant neatly illustrates the differences between categories of street girls. For this reason, this question was asked of each of our samples of *girls of the street, girls on the street* and urban poor school girls. The 32 *girls of the street* who constitute the present sample responded that, if they or somebody they know became pregnant, they would:

- Get an abortion (18).
- Give birth because abortions can make you very sick or even kill you (8).
- Give birth because I do not know how to get an abortion (1).
- Give birth (1).
- Give birth because abortion is a sin (2).
- No response (2).

Those girls who chose the abortion option frequently commented, "I am a street girl, I could not support a baby" or "It would be impossible for me to help a baby." Interestingly,

responses were largely determined by the practicality of survival rather than by moral or religious considerations.

Question five: Are there certain areas you avoid?

Finally, interviewees were asked whether there were certain areas they avoided. Only one girl said she was free to go wherever she liked. All 31 other girls avoided areas for predictable reasons; because there are *deriyeas* there (21), because it is unsafe to go outside one's own area (9) and, finally, one girl reported that she avoids a particular area because she had been raped there previously.

Summary: *Girls of the Street*, Resilience and Susceptibility

Girls of the street only envision or forecast negative consequences of their having spent time on the streets: demands on their physical health, interference with their education and injuries from attacks by street boys. Their treatment from passers-by is mixed. All of the girls is this sample reported that they fear men, primarily because of the threat of sexual assaults.

The factor which is most frequently identified by street girls as exposing them to victimising incidents is being on the streets after dark; whether this is due to working as a prostitute, begging or sleeping there.

The group plays an important role in the life of a street girl. She spends much of her time with a small group of friends - eating, sleeping and working together. Members of this group will offer mutual support in the event of sickness or harassment on the streets. Indeed, the group is identified as the primary coping strategy in dealing with the vicissitudes of street life.

The most frequently cited coping strategies for minimising victimisation are to stay in a group, to avoid deriyeas and to work near police and soldiers who might serve as protectors in the event of being attacked.

INTERVIEWS WITH *GIRLS ON THE STREET*

Introduction

The category *on the street* is the largest category of street children in Addis Ababa. As we have seen in Chapter two, this category represents a heterogenous group of street children who may differ from each other in a number of ways. For instance, *children on the street* spend varying degrees of time working on the street but, typically, they sleep at home with siblings and at least one parent. Furthermore, what they earn on the street can have differing values to their families, depending on the families' circumstances. For some, it is the primary income of the household, for others it provides additional income for minor luxuries. Thus, we can see that such a broad categorisation as *children on the street* is, inevitably, rather blunt. However, in spite of its broadness, the category *on the street* was deemed to be useful in the following interviews for the purpose of contrasting the data with that elicited from *girls of the street.* The crucial difference is that the home-based girls had the protection of their families at night-time. Thus, while the category *on the street* is very broad, it was suitable for the purpose of comparing levels of victimisation between girls who have the support and protection of their families, and those who do not.

Method

Thirty five girls on the street were interviewed using the

questionnaire found in appendix eleven. Each girl was interviewed in the presence of two or three of her friends. Apart from some minor differences, the questionnaire used was the same as that used to interview *girls of the street*. The material shall be presented using a similar format to that employed when presenting material relating to *girls of the street*. Namely, background information; victim survey; long-term effects of street life; factors of vulnerability to victimisation; the group; and coping strategies.

Background

Age

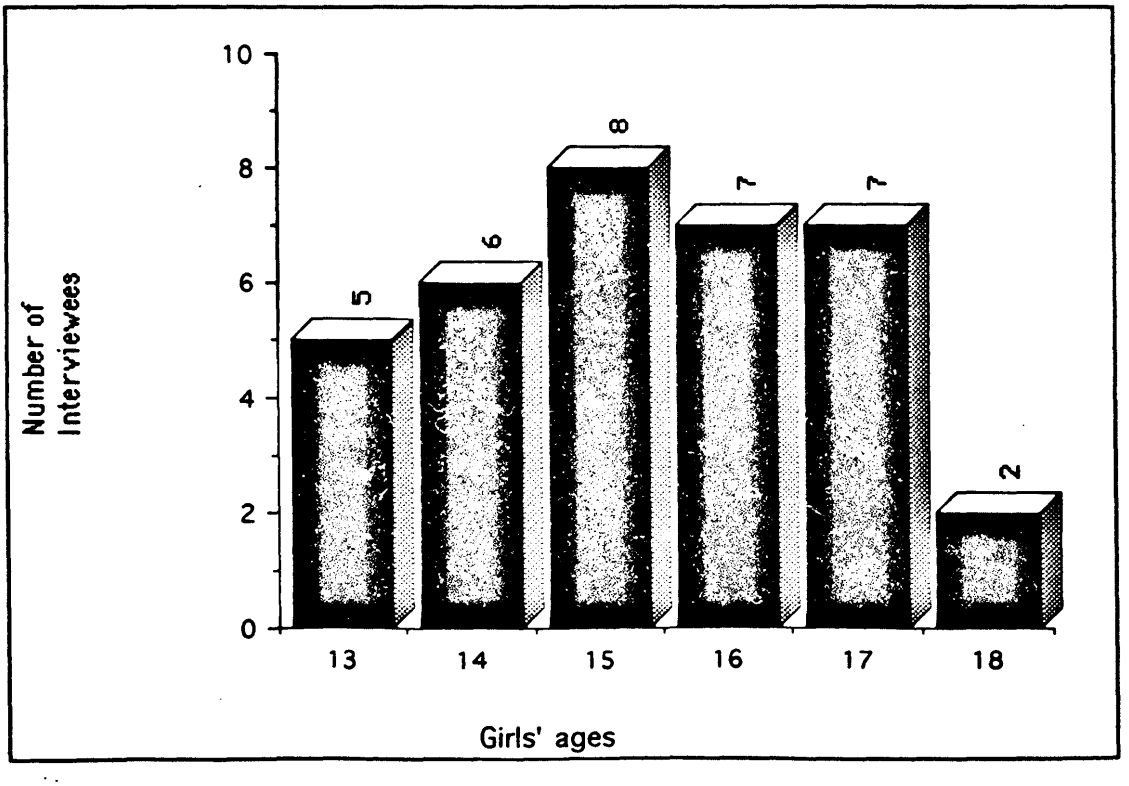


Figure 5.4: Number of *girls on the street* interviewed by age.

Birthplace

All but two of the girls were born and reared in Addis Ababa, more particularly, in Kirkos. The interviewees were drawn from the Kirkos market, a typical Ethiopian urban market. By and large, the interviewees are the daughters of families who are long settled in this established slum area of the city.

Household Structure

Each of these girls sleep at home. All of them come from very poor homes, thus the need for the children to be out working on the streets. In eleven of the fifteen cases where the father is present, he is reported as being unemployed. Many of their mothers earn a meagre income through the sale of *injera* or *tella*. The following Table shows the number of adults in each household (Note: None of the interviewees are sisters):

Female only	Male only	Both
20	1	14

Table 5.32: Number of adults in household, as reported by girls *on the street (n=35).*

Twenty of the homes are female headed. This is a typical family profile for street children. Of the twenty missing fathers, eleven have died and nine have divorced or deserted their wives. No mothers are reported to have died and only one

has deserted her family. It is not known why the mortality rate for males is so much higher than for females. A possible explanation might be the civil war, which killed hundreds of thousands of soldiers over a seventeen year period.

Another surprising feature is the low rate of re-marriage. Only one girl reported having a step-father and one other reported having a step-mother. The most likely explanation for this is that women find it hard to remarry when they have a large number of children from a previous marriage. The average number of children per family was 4.2.

To conclude, these girls come from the poorest background but still have at least one parent. The large numbers of children per family are often instrumental in keeping the family fed through the work they do on the streets.

Family Relationship

By and large, the girls reported a good relationship with their families. Nineteen described the relationship as "good" and thirteen said they sometimes quarrel with their parents.

Beatings

Assailants	Reasons	Numbers
Deriyeas	Theft	11
Police	For selling on the streets	7
N/A		17

Table 5.33: Sources if girls on the streets beatings (n=35).

Eighteen girls reported being beaten on the streets. In all but one incident, this was related to their work activities. The chief perpetrators were *deriyeas* (11) and the police (7). The reasons for these beatings were, respectively, to steal forcibly from the girls and to move them on and prevent them from selling in public areas.

These beatings were neither regular nor severe. Only one required hospital treatment (a policeman threw a stone which hit her on the head. The cut required stitches). Fifteen of these eighteen girls said these beatings had only happened once or a few times. The other three which reported them happening "Many times", were referring to the continuous moving on of peddlers by the police.

Theft

Type of theft	Number
Deriyeas stealing money	18
N/A	16

Table 5.34: Types of theft reported by girls on the street (n=35).

Nineteen of the 35 respondents were the victims of theft related to their street work. In all but one case, the thieves were *deriyeas* who stole the wares of the girls (bread, *kollo*) for their own consumption or else took the money the girls had earned.

Rape, Sexual Attacks and Selling Sex for Material Gain

Five girls reported that groups of boys had attempted to rape them but their cries had attracted the attention of passers-by who had scared the attackers off.

One further girl reported having been raped. Two boys attacked her on the streets early one evening, beat her up when she resisted, and raped her.

The other 29 girls reported no experience of sexual attacks. Nevertheless, fear of rape was widespread. Twenty seven *girls on the street* reported that they are afraid of sexual attacks;

seven reported that they are not afraid (the most common reason given being the presence of family members while working); and only one girl reported that she has never thought of it.

All 35 girls deny any involvement with prostitution. Only fifteen girls claim to even know a prostitute, which is surprisingly low, given the numbers of prostitutes in Addis Ababa and the fact that many of them come from the same socio-economic class as this sample. In nine of these fifteen cases, the prostitute is a neighbour of the girl.

Solicitation

Seven girls have been solicited at one time or encouraged by their older friends to become involved in prostitution. Five of these seven have been approached by bar owners. In each case, the bar owner offered the girl a job simply serving drinks, but the girls suspected that more would be involved and so refused. Two girls were advised by older girls to try prostitution.

Pregnancy and abortion

None of the girls have been pregnant or have had abortions.

Other Forms of Victimisation

When asked whether they are victimised in any other way, seventeen of the girls said "No." However, twelve reported being insulted and condemned by passers-by for the work they are doing; two reported being harassed by adult peddlers; and four

were the victims of what appears to be simple bullying. *Kollo* is sold from grass trays which are carried on one hand held up at shoulder level. Adolescent boys sometimes found fun in deliberately knocking against the girls and sending their *kollo* flying. This was quite commonly seen on the streets.

Summary

Girls on the street differ from *girls of the street* in that they sleep at home. As we have seen in this section, *girls on the street* experience considerably less victimisation than *girls of the street.* The beatings they experience are typically mild and infrequent. Thefts typically consist of boys stealing small quantities of their wares. In most instances it involved a boy taking a handful of *kollo* without paying for it. Such experiences are common to almost all girls who work on the streets or in the markets. Girls who do not report this kind of theft are those who sell directly outside their own houses. By selling at her door step, a girl can also mind a younger sibling, in addition to her selling work. One girl from this sample of 35 reported having been raped, and attempts were made to sexually assault another five. Nevertheless, fear of rape was widely reported. The majority of this sample reported that they do not feel safe on the streets. None of this sample are involved in prostitution and none have ever been pregnant. A summary of this data is provided in Figure 5.6 below:

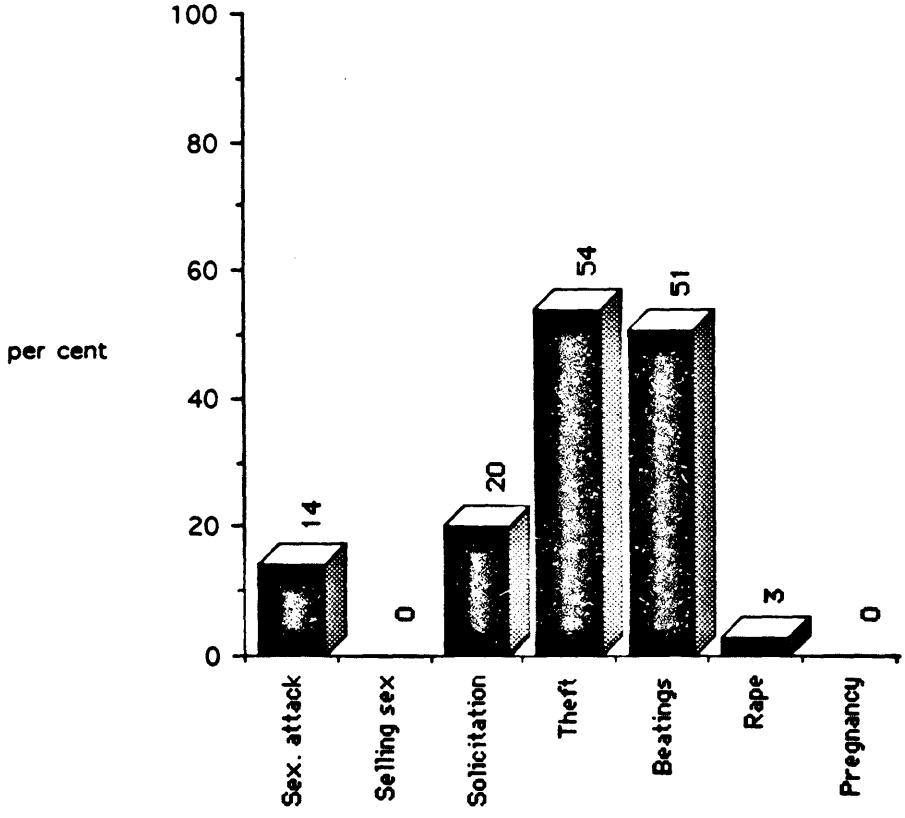


Figure 5.6: Summary of the nature and incidence of victimisation experienced by *girls on the street* (n=35).

Long Term Effects of Street Work

Like the previous sub-sample of *girls of the street*, this sample of *girls on the street* work there on a regular basis. They differ in that they sleep with their families at home. This series of questions sought to investigate working girls' perceptions of the effects on their well-being that working on the streets might have.

Question one: How do you feel about the fact that you are attacked and abused and other girls are not?

The first question in this section asked interviewees whether they felt more abused than other girls. The overwhelming majority (33) did *not* feel that their experiences were particularly harsh. They did not feel more abused or attacked than other girls. They are aware of the importance of their families and of the fact that many of them do not have to be out after dark (indeed, are forbidden to be so). Two girls said that the fact that they were older would make them more vulnerable to sexual attacks (indeed, three girls said the fact that they were so small and young would serve to protect them on the street from sexual assaults).

Question two: How do ordinary people treat you on the street? Why is this?

Twenty five of the girls reported that they were sometimes treated badly by passers-by on the streets. The most common

forms of mis-treatment were insults and refusal to pay the standard price for the girls' wares. Five girls reported "No problem" on the streets, and five failed to answer this question.

Question three: Are you afraid of boys and men? Why?

Thirty girls reported being afraid of boys and men. Three said they fear only *deriyeas* and only two reported no fear of boys and men. Males are feared because of the threat of rape. This is the primary reason, given by 25 of the girls. Five of the girls said that they were afraid of being robbed. Thus, for 30 of the girls, males are seen as being a threat.

Question four: Are you afraid to be on your own on the street?

Twenty nine of the girls are afraid to be on the streets on their own, a further two are afraid at night and only four are not afraid to be on their own on the streets.

Question five: What is your greatest fear?

The responses to this question were:

- Rape (18).
- Car accidents (7).
- Theft (4).
- Police (3).
- Pregnancy (1).

- Disease (1).

Question six: What do you think the long term effects of your living/working on the streets will be?

Predicted outcome of street life	Number
Lack of education	15
Injuries from attacks and rapes	9
Health problems due to exposure to cold/heat	9
Don't know	6
Car accident	6
Unemployment due to lack of education	3
None	2
No serious effects	2
Pregnancy	1

Table 5.35: Predicted outcomes of living/working on the streets, as expressed by *girls on the street* (n=35, multiple responses recorded).

Most of the respondents recognised that working on the streets may have detrimental side effects. The primary worry, expressed by fifteen of the girls, was that their education would suffer. Because of the large amounts of time they were forced to spend on the streets, they were unable to keep up with their school work or, worse again, were forced to drop out of school. Nine girls reported being primarily concerned with the hazards to their health from being out in the cold or heat. Nine girls also reported fearing injuries from *deriyeas*.

Factors of Vulnerability to Victimisation

The following questions sought to elicit data on what factors, if any, made the girls vulnerable to victimisation. What is it about their lifestyle and companions that make them susceptible to victimisation? Given the relatively low levels of victimisation experienced by *girls on the street*, many of the questions in this section did not apply to these interviewees. Nevertheless, it is informative to compare the responses of this sub-sample to our other two sample groups.

Question one: In cases where you are attacked, what is your relationship with the offender?

Relationship with assailant	Number
N/A	27
None	4
Customers (of *kollo*)	2
They work near me	1
Police know me for stealing	1

Table 5.36: Relationship with attackers, as reported by *girls on the street* (n=35).

Thirty one girls said they had no prior relationship with their attackers, or that the question was not relevant to them as they had not been seriously attacked. Of the remaining four girls, two said their attackers were customers, one was beaten by the police as they were continually telling her not to sell in a particular place and one said her attackers recognised her from the streets.

Question two: Where do you sleep and with whom?

As we have seen in the background material for this sample, all of the girls in this sample sleep at home with their families.

Question three: At what times are you robbed/attacked/raped? Why are you attacked? Where does it happen?

The low incidence of victimisation amongst this population is again evident from the large amount of girls (22) for whom this question was not applicable. Of the remaining thirteen girls, ten are "attacked" while working on the street during the day, and the remaining three while they worked on the streets at night. As we have seen earlier, many of the day time "attacks" can be classed as petty theft. Girls who sell their wares at night (typically by going from bar to bar) are vulnerable to more serious forms of victimisation. However, as we shall see below, *girls on the street* who work after dark are very much in the minority.

Question four: Do you go out in the evenings alone? Why?

Thirty one girls do not go out in the evenings. The remaining four go out to work, but even then they go in by 8pm. Of the 22 girls who gave reasons for not going out in the evenings, seventeen said they were afraid of *deriyeas*, four were forbidden to do so by their families and one stayed in to study.

Question five: Do you do anything to make attacks happen, for example, mix with *deriyeas*?

Thirty girls said they did their best not to precipitate attacks or that the question did not apply to them as they had not been attacked. Of the others, three stated the fact that they worked near *deriyeas* on the street left them vulnerable and two said that they quarrelled over the price of their wares, which in turn led to them being beaten or robbed in some minor way.

Question six: Why are you picked when other girls are not?

Question seven: Where do you go in the evenings? Why?

Summary

As we have seen from the "Victim Survey" material from this sub-sample, these working girls do *not* experience frequent victimisations on the streets. That is, relative to *girls of the streets*, this sample is not overly vulnerable to victimisation (an extensive comparison between the three sub-samples of girls is

to be found at the end of this chapter). This is primarily due to the fact that their work does not require them to be on the streets at night and that they have the security of their family home at night time. Victimisations against *girls on the streets* are typified by adolescent boys taking a handful of *kollo* and refusing to pay for it.

The Role of the Group

This series of questions was designed to determine to what extent the working girls relied on a group for support and protection. As we have seen, it would be difficult for *girls of the street* to survive without the support of friends who lend each other money, food and clothes; look after each other when they are sick; protect each other from attacks; and simply keep each other company in the evening. The questions below attempted to investigate whether the group plays such a prominent role in the lives of home-based *girls on the street.*

Question one: Who do you spend most of your time with on the streets/at home?

Most of the girls (22) reported that they do not mix with boys, but remain in single sex groups. Only nine girls associated with mixed groups and four girls reported that they have no friends.

Question two: What do you and your friends do for each other?

When asked what it was a group of friends do for each other, the following responses were recorded:

- Share in a saving scheme (12).
- Sell my wares when I'm unable, for example, when I am gone to eat, or if I am sick (7).

- Lend me money if I have none (5).
- Give me change when I need to break a note (3).
- Nothing (3).
- I have no friends (2).
- I rely on family members (2).
- We just play together (1).

Twelve of the girls share in an *iqub*, or saving scheme. This kind of saving is practised widely among the poor in Addis Ababa. A group is typically made up of four members, each of whom contribute a small sum of money each week to a pool. This pool is then available to be borrowed from in a time of need.

Seven girls mentioned that their friends will sell their wares when they are unable. Three girls reported that their friends give them change if they need to break a note. A further three girls reported their friends do nothing for them, two say they rely on a family member and two say they have no friends.

Question three: Do you work alone or with friends? Why?

For the most part, the girls' friends are also the people they work along-side on the street. A total of 29 girls work with friends (24) or family members (5). The reasons given for working with friends were that "Friends will support me when I've no money" and "Customers will not quarrel over the price if my friends are there to support me."

Question four: Do you do anything with your friends in the evening? Do you drink or chew *khat* with them?

The girls' friendships do not extend to the evening time. As we have already seen, this sample of girls stay in at night. Thirty three girls reported that they do not see their friends at night time, that they just stay in their own homes. Only two report "playing" with their friends at night. This involves just visiting their homes and chatting. No drinking or *khat* chewing is reported.

Question five: Do you share money with your group?

Only one girl of this sample of 35 reported sharing money with her friends. The remainder considered the money they earned to be exclusively their own.

Question six: If you see one of your group being attacked, what do you do?

Thirty one of the 35 girls would act to protect a friend if they saw her being attacked:

Reported reaction to seeing friend being attacked	Number
Scream for the police	14
Physically intervene	11
Get help from passers-by	3
Call the girl's family	3
No friends	3
Nothing	1

Table 5.37: Girls' *on the street* responses to, "If you see one of your group being attacked, what would you do?" (n=35).

This support is vital for otherwise vulnerable girls working on the street. The altruism and assistance working girls provide for each other does not extend as far as sharing money. Thirty four of the 35 girls reported that they do not share money with their friends.

Question seven: How do your friends help you when you are in trouble?

The most common form of assistance, mentioned by 23 girls, is to be loaned money from the *iqub*, the saving scheme described above. This money can be paid back interest free. Other forms of assistance mentioned were to call for passers-by

or the police to intervene if a customer refuses to pay, to try and reason with trouble makers, to sell a girl's ware if she is sick, or simply just to talk and discuss one's problems. Five girls reported that they have no friends who will help them if they are in trouble.

Summary

As it does for *girls of the street*, the group plays an important role in the lives of girls working *on* the streets. Almost all of this sample reported that they are part of a group, generally all-female. It is with, or near, this group that a girl works. The group performs important functions for girls working on the streets. Primarily, a girl can borrow money from her friends in a time of need (this does not extend to giving each other money). This fact illustrates that the market place is not necessarily cut-throat, competitive and entirely selfish. A certain amount of altruism and sharing occurs. It is difficult to see how a girl who does not participate in this sharing can stay in business if she becomes sick or is temporarily unable to sell for any reason. In the event of being harassed on the streets by customers or passers-by, her friends will intervene in some way. For these girls, who already have a family, the group does not fulfil the family-type roles it does for *girls of the street* such as sleeping together, giving each other food and money and caring for each other when they are sick. Nevertheless, as we have seen, membership of a group of friends provides an important support network for *girls on the streets* also.

Coping Strategies

This series of questions was designed to elicit data on the coping strategies used by *girls on the street* to resist victimisation.

Question one: How do you protect yourself from robberies and attacks? Multiple responses were recorded:

- Avoid *deriyeas* (20).
- Keeping money and goods in a safe place (19).
- Running away (9).
- Going home before 8 pm (7).
- Stay in well-lit areas after dark (5).

As we can see, the most common strategy is to "avoid *deriyeas*." By this, the respondents meant avoiding any confrontation with boys on the streets - for example, ignoring shouted insults or small amounts of their goods being stolen. Another common strategy for avoiding robberies and attacks is to keep as little wealth about one's person as possible. Typically, money is left with a trusted shop or stall owner.

Question two: Would you tell the police if you were robbed or attacked?

Thirty three girls reported that they would approach the police in the event of being attacked. The remaining two said, "I haven't thought about it" and "There is no need as I am never

attacked."

Question three: Is there any way you can get revenge?

Twenty five *girls on the street* said there is no way to avenge themselves in the event of being wronged. This is probably because the bulk of the abuse they experience is relatively petty and does not warrant revenge and is carried out by strangers. Four girls reported their brothers would avenge them and a further four reported that boys in the neighbourhood would.

Question four: If you or somebody you know becomes pregnant, what can you do about it?

It is interesting to compare the responses to this question from the different groups of girls. The responses given by this sample of *girls on the street* were as follows:

- Keep the child (27).
- Abortion (traditional) (3).
- Don't know (4).
- Tell parents (1).

Question five: How can you protect yourself in the evenings from being attacked?

This question dealt specifically with how *girls on the street* avoid attacks in the evening time. Again, multiple

responses were listed:

- I stay at home (13).
- I don't go out alone (11).
- Go home earlier (6).
- Don't sell after 8pm (3).
- Avoid unlit places (3).
- Avoid *deriyeas* (2).
- Stay around my home (1).
- I wear adult clothes (1).

As we have seen earlier, street girls have a range of avoidance strategies to keep themselves safe. In effect, girls impose a curfew on themselves. *Deriyeas* are seen as the primary source of danger.

Question six: Are there certain areas you avoid?

- Anywhere *deriyeas* are gathered or where there are men walking or talking in a group (20).
- Dark, ill-lit areas (17).
- Anywhere not near my home (11).
- Deserted places, where there are no people (4).

As we can see, fear of attack severely restricts the movement of these girls. As a whole, this group experiences relatively little victimisation. Thus, we can conclude that the fact that a girl is indoors at night (in most cases with a large number of siblings) and there is at least one adult present is

sufficient protection against much of the victimisation which *girls of the street* experience.

Summary

Girls on the street receive mixed treatment from passers-by. Insults and petty theft were common place. The primary predicted long term consequences of their street work were interference with their education and exposure to physical injury. In spite of relatively low levels of victimisation, this sample widely reported being afraid of boys and men, primarily because of the fear of rape. Incidences of theft and assaults against this sample were low. The girls recognised the importance of being in after dark in order to avoid victimising episodes. Few ventured outside after dark. The group is important to girls working on the streets in that it can provide borrowed money and will protect a girl in the event of harassment. However, group related activities did not extend to the evening time. Most of this sample spent their evenings at home with their families. The primary coping strategy for protection against attacks was to "avoid *deriyeas*." This may include avoiding areas where boys congregate, ignoring their taunts and insults, moving from a good selling area without quarrelling, not joking or having fun with them, ignoring them when they grab a handful of *kollo*, not protesting at their under-payment and moving on when one sees them approaching.

URBAN POOR SCHOOL GIRLS

The final set of interviews was carried out with 30 urban poor girls. These interviews examined the experiences of slum-dwelling girls who had never left home and who had continued in school. That is, those girls who have minimal experience of street life. The purpose of these last interviews was to ascertain to what extent the experiences of *girls of the streets* differed from those of family-based, slum dwelling girls. The questionnaire used (see Appendix eleven) was the same as that used to interview *girls on the street.*

As with our previous sub-samples of *girls of the street* and *girls on the street*, the material shall be presented in the following format: background demographic material, victim survey material and, finally, that section which investigates girls' vulnerability to victimisation, group activities and coping strategies.

Background

Age

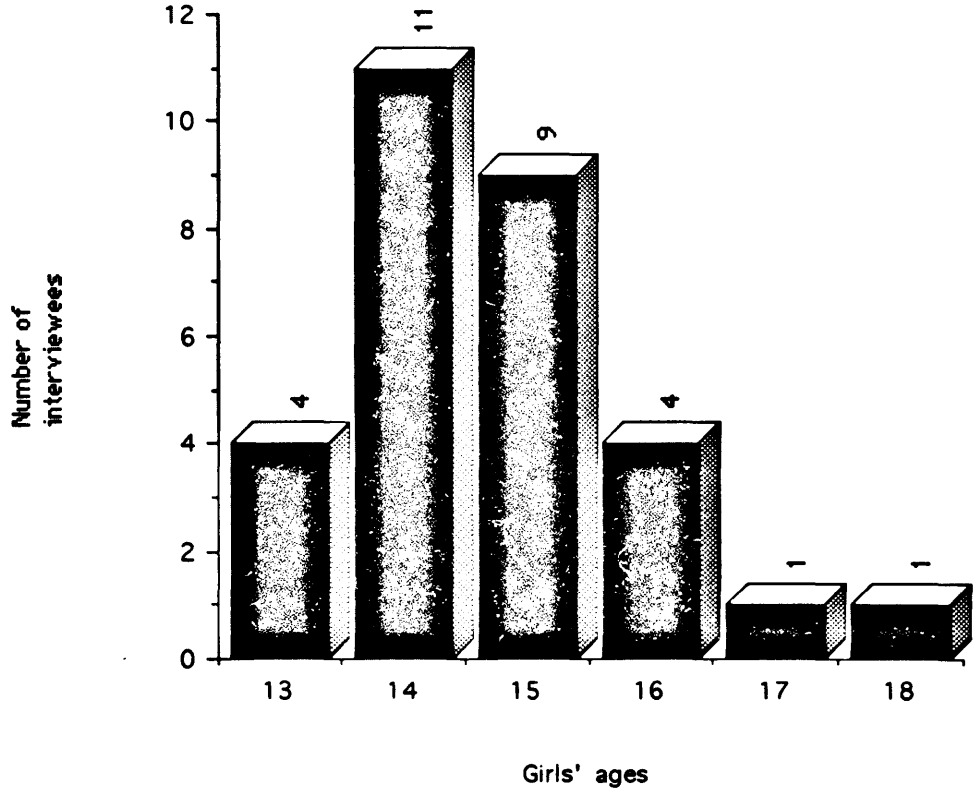


Figure 5.: Ages of urban poor girls interviewed (n=30).

Birthplace

Twenty seven of the 30 interviewees were born and lived all of their lives in Addis Ababa, mostly in the Kirkos area of the city. These girls are part of a stable, albeit poor, neighbourhood. Kirkos is a part of the city which has been established for over a generation and does not have a large transitory population.

Parental occupation

The most frequently mentioned occupations were "house-maid" (14) and "clothes washer" (7), placing the parents of these girls in the lowest socio-economic bracket.

Relationship with family

Twenty four girls reported they had a good relationship with their families. Only one reported that her relationship was usually peaceful but that she was sometimes beaten. Two others reported that they were not well integrated with their families.

Household structure

Family structure	Description	Number
Female headed (mother)	Father died Never knew father Father disappeared Father divorced	15 1 2 1
Female headed (step-mother, aunt)	Parents died	3
Female headed (aunt)	Father dead, mother "away"	1
Mother and father	Living together	6
Mother and step-father	Living together	1

Table 5.38: Household structures of urban poor girls (n=30).

Fully half of the girls live with their mother and siblings,

their fathers having died of disease, war, starvation and car accidents. Another two girls reported that their fathers have "disappeared." This may be a child's understanding of divorce or separation or perhaps he genuinely went missing in the war or in the large forced population movements during the Mengistu regime. Three girls were orphaned and lived with an aunt and a step-mother, respectively. Six live with both of their parents and one girl lives with her mother and step-father. Finally, one girl was brought to Addis Ababa by her father to gain an education. When he died she went to live with an aunt rather than return to her mother in the countryside.

In total, 23 of the girls live in female headed households, which is the typical family profile of the lowest socio-economic class in Addis Ababa.

Victim Survey

As for our previous sub-samples, this portion of the questionnaire targeted interviewees' experiences of victimisation associated with their activities on the streets.

Beatings

Only one of the girls reported being beaten on the streets (during an attempted sexual assault). The remaining 29 said they have never been beaten on the streets.

Thefts

Twenty three girls reported that they have experienced no theft on the streets. Others reported that money (2), an exercise book (1), a container (1) and unspecified items (3) were taken.

Sexual Attacks

One girl has been raped twice and another was unsuccessfully sexually attacked. The remaining 28 had never been sexually attacked.

Selling Sex for Material Gain

Only one of the girls reported ever having prostituted herself. Indeed, only six of the girls claimed to even know a prostitute.

Pregnancy, Abortion, Solicitation

Further evidence that this sample are not exposed to the sexual victimisation and exploitation so common among street girls is that none have been pregnant and only two have ever been solicited to prostitute themselves.

Safety

As with our other samples, the majority (24) of respondents do not feel safe on the streets. When asked why, nineteen said they were afraid of deriyeas. Twenty three girls specifically reported being afraid of sexual attacks. The remainder reported being afraid of the dark (4) and of car accidents (2).

Finally, girls were asked about the worst thing ever done to them:

- Can't think of any (23).
- Insulted for being poor (6).
- Attempted sexual attack (1).

As we can see, the majority of respondents could think of no particularly abusive experiences on the streets. Of those that could, they mostly mentioned being insulted for being poor and illiterate.

Summary

Figure 5.8 below illustrates that, relative to our other two samples, urban poor girls receive substantially less victimisation on the streets of Addis Ababa. Their experiences of theft on the streets are rather trivial and are no more than those experienced by any pedestrian in Addis Ababa. That so few even know a prostitute would suggest that their exposure to street life is rather limited and protected.

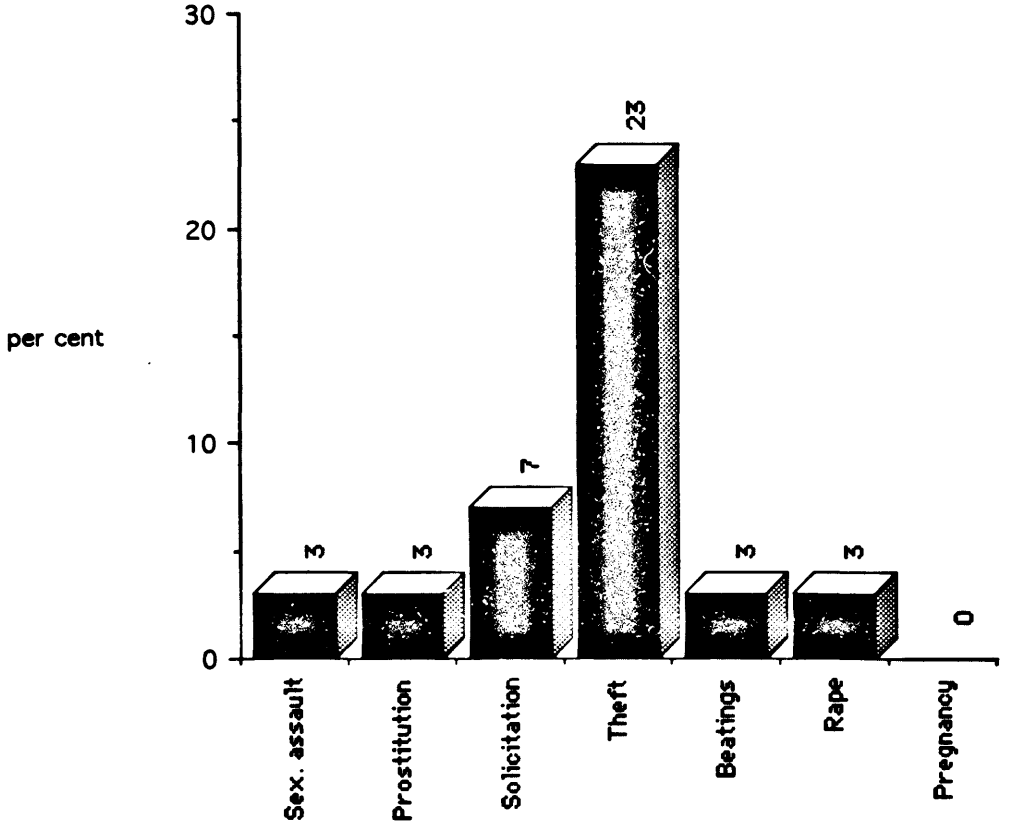


Figure 5.8: Summary of the nature and incidence of victimisation experienced by urban poor girls (n=30).

Long Term Effects of Street Life Experience

As we have already seen, the questions on this part of the questionnaire were administered to investigate the long term effects, as perceived by the interviewees, of the time they spent on the streets. Clearly, this is not applicable to a sample of school girls with no street experience. Nevertheless, for comparative purposes, these questions were administered to this sample.

Question one: How do you feel about the fact that you are attacked and other girls are not?

All of the respondents, except one, reported that they feel they are *not* subjected to more abuse than other girls. Most of the reasons given center around the fact that these girls are not on the streets (I'm always at home, (9); I'm not allowed out, (1); I don't go out alone, (1)). Four girls reported that they are not attacked because they are small, or young. This is corroborated by the statement of the one girl who *does* feel she is more abused than other girls. This eighteen year old reported that "I am subjected to more abuse because I'm older and *deriyeas* always attempt [to rape] older girls."

Question two: How are you treated on the streets by passers-by?

The responses to this question reflect the interviewee's lack of contact with the streets. Nine girls said they had no

contact with the streets. Nine others said they were treated "well", "not badly", "mostly good", "normally", or "no way in particular." However, ten mentioned being mis-treated or insulted due to their poverty. One girl said passers-by advised her not to mix with *deriyeas* and one said people felt sorry for her because she had been orphaned.

Question three: Are you afraid of boys and men? Why?

Twenty four girls reported a fear of males. Twenty two girls are afraid to be on their own on the streets at any time. An additional three are afraid of the streets at night. Only five girls reported that they are not afraid to be on the streets on their own.

Question four: What is your greatest fear?

Rape is the largest single fear (13) reported by urban poor girls who do not work on the streets, followed by beatings (7), robberies (5) and car accidents (4).

Factors of Vulnerability to Victimisation

As with each of our other samples of girls, these series of questions were designed to access the respondents' own feelings on the victimisation they experienced. As this sample of urban poor girls has had minimal contact with the street, many of these questions will not be pertinent. They do serve, however, to highlight the differences between this sample and the other two samples of street girls.

Question one: In cases where you are attacked, what is your relationship with the attacker?

As these girls have had minimal experience of street victimisation, 29 reported that this question was not applicable to them. The one girl in this sample who was seriously attacked (raped) had no relationship or connection with her attacker. She had simply been on her way to church and reported doing nothing to cause or contribute to her attack.

Question two: Where do you sleep and with whom?

All of this sample sleep at home with their families.

Question three: When are you robbed or attacked?

Again, this question was not applicable to most (28) respondents as they have not experienced being assaulted on the streets. The rape victim was raped while she was simply on the

way to church.

Question four: Do you go out in the evenings alone? Why?

None of the sample go out at night. They stay at home. Twenty two specifically mentioned fear of *deriyeas,* two are forbidden to go out, three fear rape, one reports there is nothing to do and one reports that she has to stay in to look after her baby sibling.

The Role of the Group

Given this sample's lack of contact with street life, what role do friends play in these girls' lives?

Question one: Who do you spend most of your time with?

Nineteen of the girls spend most of their time with family members. A further eight spend their time with family and friends and only three spend most of their time with friends. Gang members or street colleagues apparently play no role in their lives. Their friends are girls from their immediate neighbourhood. None of the respondents reported having any male friends. Twenty seven have female friends and three reported having no friends.

Question two: What do you and your friends do for each other?

- Play and/or study together (22)
- Nothing (4)
- Go to school together (2)
- Share things (1)
- Discuss how to avoid *deriyeas* (1)

These girls' activities with their friends are clearly less related to survival than those of *girls of the street.* These former interviewees reported activities with their friends such as playing (rope games, chatting, braiding each others hair),

studying and going to school together.

Question three: How do your friends help you when you are in trouble?

The respondents' friends play a minimal role if the girls are "in trouble." Nineteen reported that their family, and not their friends, help them if they are in trouble. A further five reported that their friends do not help them. One girl reported she has never had any trouble she needs help with. The remaining five reported that their friends:

- visit me when I am sick (1).
- lend me pens if I lose mine in school (1).
- call my family if I am in trouble (2).
- get their boyfriends to stand up for me (1).

Clearly, the group of friends which a non-working girl has does not play the vital protective/supportive role it does for working girls.

Question four: If you see one of your group being attacked, what do you do?

The most common responses were that the respondent would tell:

- the girl's family (17).
- the police (4).

- passers-by (1).
- my brother (1).

Other responses included:

- I would help her physically (2).
- I would tell her to run (1).
- I would attempt to mediate (1).
- I would get a boy I know to get revenge (1).

Two girls responded that they had no friends, so this question did not apply to them. For the most part, these girls are as prepared to help their friends as the other groups we have studied. However, they are less willing to intervene physically and are more likely to run for help.

Coping Strategies

In spite of this sample's protection from the rigours of the streets, they are aware of how best to stay safe. As with our other samples, most of these strategies consist of "avoiding *deriyeas*."

Question one: How do you protect yourself from robberies and attacks?

When asked how they make their lives safer, the interviewees replied as follows:

- Avoid *deriyeas*(25).
- Stay in a group (3).
- Do not go out alone at night (2).

"Avoiding *deriyeas*" includes such behaviours as; being polite to older boys when confronted by them; ignoring their taunts; staying away from the areas in which *deriyeas* congregate; not going out after dark; not walking the streets alone; and not getting involved in any fun or schemes with them. In short, having as little as possible to do with groups of boys. Other techniques employed for staying safe are to go out at night only with one's brother, not to go out alone at night and going to school in a group.

Question two: In the event of being attacked, would you tell the police?

Twenty three girls would tell the police, six would not and one had not thought of it.

Question three: Is there any way you can get revenge?

Revenge is not a high priority for this sample as, when these girls are wronged, the petty incidences they experience do not merit revenge. Only four girls mentioned some way they would get revenge if attacked (tell my brother (3); tell neighbourhood boys (1)).

Question four: If you or somebody you know becomes pregnant, what would you do?

As with each of our other samples, these girls were asked what they would do in the event of a friend becoming pregnant. The responses were:

- Tell the family (16).
- Advise her to give birth (11).
- Get an abortion (1).
- Tell her to marry (1).
- I don't know (1).

Question five: Why do you *not* work on the street?

This question was unique to this group. Of the 25 girls who responded to this question, the single largest category of answers (10) was that they were forbidden by their mother. The

reasons given for parental refusal to allow the girls to work on the streets were that the streets contain *deriyeas* who would steal the girl's wares and that the girl herself may turn into a *deriyea.* The second largest reason (7) was that the girls did not have the money to set up in trade. This is a problem also frequently reported by older street girls reduced to begging and prostitution, that is, the lack of 100 or 200 Birr to set up a petty trade. Other reasons included: I don't know how to trade (2); I would not like it, not interested (3); I have to mind babies at home (1); I never thought of it (1); It would interfere with studying (1).

GIRLS OF THE STREET, GIRLS ON THE STREET AND URBAN POOR GIRLS: A COMPARISON

We have now examined the backgrounds, victimisation, effects of street life, factors of vulnerability to victimisation, group dynamics and coping strategies for the above three sub-samples of girls. In this section we shall compare the three sub-samples in order to ascertain where the significant differences in our three samples of girls lie. We shall focus on issues/experiences which will illuminate our discussion in Chapter six.

Relationship With Family Prior to Coming to the Street

This question was asked of the two sub-samples who have spent time working/living on the streets - namely, *girls of the streets* and *girls on the street.* As we have seen, answers to this question were coded as "quarrelsome", "good" and "N/A." The differences between the two groups are significant at the $p<.05$ level, as we can see below:

Chi square value:	7.24
Significance:	.026

This suggests to us that *girls of the street* are more likely to come on to the streets from a more quarrelsome family background.

Victimisation

Victim survey data for each of the three female sub-samples (*girls of the street*, *girls on the street*, urban poor girls) is presented below:

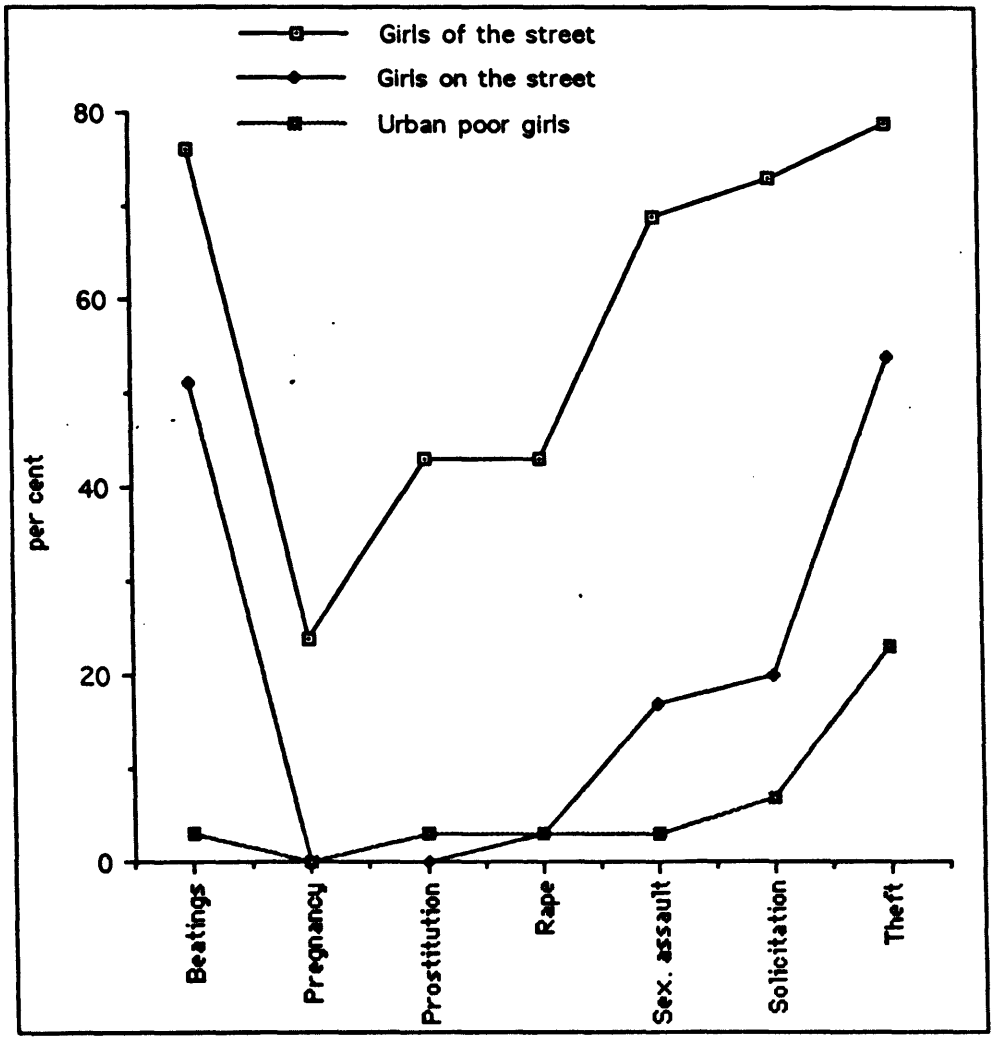


Figure 5.9: The nature and incidence of victimisation experienced by *girls of the street*, *girls on the street* and urban poor girls.

Figure 5.9 readily illustrates the extreme variation in the experiences of each sub-sample of adolescent girls. When we test these differences between the three sub-samples of girls for significance, we find the following chi square values:

Type of victimisation	Chi square value	Significance value
Sexual attacks	7.98	.018, p<.05
Prostitution	33.8	.000, p<.01
Solicitation	51.35	.000, p<.01
Theft	29.82	.000, p<.01
Beatings	46.8	.000, p<.01
Rape	30.92	.000, p<.01
Pregnancy	18.63	.00009, p<.01

Table 5.39: Chi square values and significance levels for differences in victimisation experienced by *girls of the street*, *girls on the street* and urban poor girls.

Quite clearly, the differences are highly significant. From these values, we can suggest that a girl's likelihood of being victimised is very much determined by whether she is a *girl of the street*, a *girl on the street* or an urban poor girl. Living and working independently on the streets, as *girls of the street* do, is obviously highly victimogenic.

Perceived Effects of Street Life

Girls of the street and *girls on the street* were asked what they felt the effects of their working/living on the streets would be. We have seen earlier in this chapter that the majority of girls reported negative consequences of their having spent

time on the streets. Specifically, *girls of the street* emphasised sickness, lacked of education and physical injury, sexual diseases, homesickness, uncertain future and fear of rape. *Girls on the street* emphasised lack of education, injuries from attacks, health problems due to exposure to cold and heat, car accidents. The differences are significant at the $p<.01$ level:

Chi square value: 52.43
D/f: 13
Significance: .000

What is clear is that though each category of street girl emphasises different concerns (for example, *girls of the street* are far more concerned about their health, reflecting the rigours of street life) both categories of street girls emphasise the *negative* outcomes of street life. No positive aspects of street life are mentioned.

The Role of the Group

In this section we shall consider the question, "What do you and your friends do for each other?" in order to determine whether there are important differences in the function of the group in each sub-sample. We have seen earlier in this chapter that *girls of the street* mentioned a range of activities which were important in their groups, for example, helping each other when they are sick and sharing money. *Girls on the street* highlighted the importance of being involved in communal sharing schemes and urban poor girls relied on their group for

little more than playing and studying together.

These differences are significant at the $p<.01$ level. For *girls of the street*, the group plays a vital role in that offers a measure of protection and support. This support manifests itself in important ways for the girls' survival - for example, sharing food and money and caring for each other when sick. For girls on the street, an important function amongst friends is to sell each others wares in the event of becoming sick or being called away. Finally, as we might expect, the role of the group is largely friendship oriented for urban poor girls.

SUMMARY

By way of a summary, let us consider the primary factors of resilience and susceptibility to victimisation which have emerged from the data presented in this chapter. When considering the victimisation of street girls, *exposure* would appear to be a key concept. The streets, it would appear, are inherently victimising. The greater the intensity of street life involvement, the greater the degree of victimisation. The type of work a girl is involved in is a primary determinant of her exposure to the street. Prostitution, for instance, increases a girl's susceptibility to victimisation. It brings her into unsupervised contact with large numbers of men, frequently in or around drinking establishments. Another type of work which increases exposure to potentially victimising situations is begging or selling in bars after dark. By contrast, work which is restricted to daylight hours would appear to be minimally victimising. Another important determinant of a street girl's exposure to the street is her sleeping arrangements. Victimisation levels are extremely low (by comparison) when girls sleep either at home or in secure rented accommodation. Sleeping outside or working late in order to earn rent money greatly increase exposure to potentially victimising situations.

A parallel concept to exposure is that of protection. Healthy and regular contact with her family are important sources of protection for girls working on the street. In addition to providing a safe sleeping place, the family also serves as a disincentive to prostitution. It would appear that prostitution is unlikely to occur while links with the family remain intact. Two

additional sources of protection are the group and the avoidance of potential victimisers. The group assumes greater or lesser importance, depending on one's alternative sources of protection. For *girls of the street*, it is of paramount importance; for urban poor girls, its functions are largely play/study-related. Avoidance of potential victimisers is reported by each of the female sub-samples, regardless of the variation in their experiences of victimising incidences. The more immersed one is in street life, the more difficult this avoidance becomes.

Street boys in Addis Ababa live in quite a violent world. Much of the fighting and theft to which they are exposed is perpetuated by other street boys. As for street girls, the group plays an important role in a street boy's life, not least for the purposes of protection. Disputes between groups are frequently settled violently. While the group exposes a boy to these group fight situations, it also serves to protect him by way of advertising "reserve strength." More so than for girls, street boys engage in petty theft as a form of work. This brings them into contact with police and soldiers in a way which is less common among girls. Indeed, street girls frequently utilise the presence of soldiers and police as a form of protection.

Finally, let us touch on an issue which shall also be examined in greater detail in Chapter six - namely, that of fear. Expressions of fear were frequent amongst all categories of interviewees, in spite of the large variation in actual exposure to victimising incidents across the sub-samples. For instance, urban poor girls reported fear levels similar to those of *girls of*

the street. It would appear that fear of victimisation in Addis Ababa is not related to the actual likelihood of one being victimised.

Chapter Six

Discussion



INTRODUCTION

In this, the final chapter, concepts discussed in Chapters one to three are drawn together in the light of the data collected in Addis Ababa. The objective is to arrive at a theoretical synthesis which might account for the victimisation experienced by Ethiopian street children, particularly street girls.

The first part of this chapter compares data from the present study with what is known about street children in other parts of the world. Secondly, we shall attempt to organise the data using victimological concepts. Then, with reference to these concepts, we shall specify the factors which increase (and decrease) Ethiopian street children's vulnerability to victimisation. Finally, we shall conclude with a number of recommendations for decreasing the degree of victimisation experienced by street children in Addis Ababa.

ETHIOPIAN STREET CHILDREN: A COMPARATIVE VIEW

In this section we shall consider how the data presented in Chapter five compares with the profile of street children which exists in the literature. Prior to Chapter five, we considered such a comparison (in Chapter two) and we saw that there are a number of similarities between Ethiopian street children and those examined in the academic literature (mainly Latin American). Namely, age and gender distribution, health difficulties and the nature of street children's family relationships. Having now examined in detail the victimisation and delinquency data of Ethiopian street children, what further observations can be made about the comparison between Ethiopian street children and street children from other parts of the world?

Reasons for Coming to the Streets

In Chapter two we considered the reasons given for coming to the streets by 1,000 Ethiopian street children (Unicef, 1993). We noticed that the reasons given by *children of the street* differed from those given by *children on the street*. Specifically, *children on the street* primarily (82%) reported economic reasons whereas *children of the street* were more likely to cite becoming displaced/orphaned (30%) or family disharmony (28%). A more detailed picture emerges when 63 *girls of the street* were asked why they came to the streets in the present study. As we have seen in Chapter five, the issue is quite a complex one and is resistant to simple generalisations. Each street child in the

world has his or her own unique reasons for coming to the streets. For example, the reasons given by Eshete, an Ethiopian street girl, defy simple categorisation:

> At age two Eshete's mother gave her into the care of relatives because she was destitute (*gudifecha*, an Ethiopian custom whereby children are accepted by those willing to raise them if parents are unable to do so). At age nine Eshete's adopting father died and she went to live with his brother for two years. At age eleven she went to Addis Ababa to search for her natural parents, whom she found were separated. She decided to live with her natural father, but he was a drunkard who always beat her. She ran away and went to stay with her natural mother, but she had two illegitimate children and could not afford to look after Eshete. So she left and found work in a rural hotel as a maid but the work was so hard that she soon left. A rural family adopted her and she minded their cattle for seven months. Eventually she came back to Addis Ababa at age sixteen and began living by begging. For a short time she lived as the "wife" of a taxi-boy but he eventually left her and she returned to living with friends.

Eshete has lived an unusually irregular life but her story illustrates just how broken and unsettled the background of some street children might be. The array of reasons given for coming to the streets by the 63 *girls of the street* encountered in Chapter five can be roughly divided into the following headings:

1. Coming from the country to seek work, usually as a maid. As in many Third World countries, where services are concentrated in only one city, there is a perception in rural areas that the capital is a place of immense opportunity. To an extent, this is true. There is work, opportunity and excitement far beyond that which exists in the rural areas. Every village has stories of people returning from Addis Ababa with fine clothes and money. Such stories inevitably attract girls who come to the city in search of work as a maid. Some of these girls are running away from an abusive home, some are orphaned, some come because destitute families cannot afford them and some (typically the older girls) come with the approval of their parents who encourage them to seek out work in Addis Ababa.

In return for bed and food and a small salary, a maid will clean and cook for the house. Even very poorly paid city-dwellers like to have a girl to do most of the hard work about the house. Many such maids are ill-treated. They are over-worked, beaten and sometimes sexually abused. Due to this mistreatment, some girls run away. They are reluctant to return home to their village as failures and may not possess the money to do so, even if they wished. Instead, they are forced to try and find a living on the streets.

2. Mis-treatment by a step-parent. Widespread divorce, separation, desertion and early deaths due to disease, child-birth and war has led to large numbers of step-parents in Ethiopia. Frequently, children from a previous marriage are not valued by the step-parent. They are viewed as a burden. In the eleven cases of step-parent abuse reported here, nine refer to the new

female (that is, the step-mother) in the house making life difficult for the girl. Only one girl reported being beaten by a step-father. Another girl told how her step-father simply refused to look after her. Perhaps step-mothers feel threatened by an almost fully grown female teenager and seek to assert their authority by beatings, naggings and through forcing the girl to work. Those girls who cannot tolerate such treatment leave for the street.

3. Being orphaned. Ordinarily, an orphan will be cared for by relatives such as grandparents, aunts or uncles. But there are cases where such relatives do not exist or may be unwilling to take in the child. In the absence of comprehensive state services, the girl is often left to fend for herself. It is interesting to note that four girls reported being evicted by the *kebele* when they were left orphaned. As soon as the rent was no longer being paid, these orphaned girls, along with their siblings, were evicted from kebele houses.

4. Always quarrelling with mother. The girl may feel that she is being over-worked at home or perhaps she is being beaten, in which case she may decide to try living on her own. Other reasons mentioned for frequent quarrels were that the girl's foster-mother was an alcoholic or mentally ill and consequently impossible to live with. What all of these stories have in common is that the girl reports "always quarrelling with mother." In short, for any number of reasons, the girl was made to feel a burden and unwelcome or was simply told to leave.

Almost always, such girls know of friends who are living independently who act as initiators to life on the streets.

In a further attempt to categorise street childrens' reasons for living/working on the streets, we might consider the three categories below:

(a) Rejected out-right/orphaned/separated from families. This child experiences an immediate loss of guardians.
(b) Gradually rejected by mis-treatment, culminating in the child leaving home because he/she can no longer tolerate such treatment.
(c) Leaves home with parental/guardian approval in order to ease the burden on an impoverished family.

What is clear from the interviewees' responses is that street childrens' reasons for coming to the streets are highly individualistic. Each child has a different story. What does seem to be clear (and as was identified in the 1993 Unicef survey in Ethiopia) is that, compared to *children on the street*, the reasons given by *children of the street* are far more likely to involve rejection or displacement than mere financial reasons alone.

The responses reported in Chapter five of the present study by *girls of the street* serve to dispel some common myths regarding street girls' reasons for coming to the streets.

1. Unlike First World Runaways (for example, Whitbeck and Simons, 1990), familial sexual abuse is not reported by any of

the girls as a reason for leaving home.

2. A light-hearted quest for fun and adventure could not explain the motives of any of the current sample of 63 *girls of the street*, except perhaps one girl who reported she became a prostitute so that she could afford nice clothes and shoes.

Pineda et al. (1978) reported that 10% of a sample of street children left home in a search for adventure. However, the author does not identify whether the sample lived and/or worked on the streets. The Unicef (1993) survey of Ethiopian street children does address the issue of "pull" factors - that is, coming to the streets to play or join friends. It reported that 8.3% of *children on the streets* (n=673) came to the streets to join friends or to play. Predictably, this figure is lower (4.3%, n=256) for *children of the streets.*

3. Although physical abuse at home is identified as a factor contributing to streetism by Pineda et al. (1978) and Aptekar (1988), it is not clear *who* is physically abusing the child. Unicef (1993) considered in some detail the type of abuse (spanked, beaten, beaten with objects etc.) experienced by street children at home but, again, does not identify the perpetrators of these beatings. Who is it that physically torments a child at home to the extent that he/she comes to the streets to escape? Taking the 27 relevant responses of our sample of *girls of the street*, the following are mentioned:

Always quarrelling with mother	11
Beatings, nagging, over-work or under-feeding by a step-parent	11
Beatings by aunt	2
Beatings by father	1
Rejected by uncle	1
Rejected by step-mother	1

These instances do not necessarily involve beating: they include quarrelling, nagging, over-work, under-feeding and physical beatings. It is interesting to note that only one father and one step-father are reported as having beaten their daughter/step-daughter. With the exception of an uncle who simply refused to care for one girl, the remainder of girls who reported being abused at home experienced this abuse at the hands of women: mothers and step-mothers principally.

Family Relations and Structure

We have seen in Chapter two that the majority of *children of the street* have come from broken families, typically female-headed, single parent families (Valverde & Lusk, 1989; Lusk et al., 1989; Brown, 1987). A similar situation exists in Ethiopia where only 18% of a sample of 256 *children of the street* reported that both of their parents lived together at home, the remainder having separated, divorced or died (Unicef, 1993).

A similar profile emerges from the present data. Only 16% of the sample of *girls of the street* (n=69) arrived on the streets from a two-parent household. The largest number (30%) came

from a female-headed household. The remainder had either been orphaned or had previously lived in a wide variety of domestic situations, such as living with step-parents, mothers, aunts, uncles, grandparents, neighbours and adopting families.

It would appear that family breakdown by itself does not necessarily automatically push children to the streets. It would appear that the bulk of children find themselves in an alternative domestic arrangement upon the break-up of the two-parent unit; typically the female-headed household or living with relatives. That is to say, excepting dramatic events such as being orphaned or losing one's family due to war, children are protected from the streets by alternative domestic arrangements. However, it would appear that the alternative "safety net" domestic arrangements (such as living with relations) appear to be more susceptible to a breakdown which does leave the child on the street. These alternative domestic arrangements produce street children more readily than the two parent family. This is evidenced by the number of *girls of the street* who report coming from a two-parent family (16%) versus those who come from some alternative domestic situation (84%), including working as a maid.

If we were to speculate as to why these alternative domestic arrangements appear to be more susceptible to breakdown, we might consider the degree of obligation or responsibility a non-parent might feel to an adolescent girl living in their household. We can speculate that non-parents might be less inclined to suffer hardship in order to support such a girl. Alternatively, they may feel inclined to over work the girl so that she might "earn her keep." We have already seen that

a large number of the sample left for the streets because they felt they were being mis-treated, over-worked and under-fed by step-parents and other relatives.

Victimisation of Street Children

The murder of South American street children has been reported in both the press and academic literature (TIME, 1993; The Guardian, 1/2/1994; Naylor, 1994; Agnelli, 1986). Apparently, thousands of street children have been murdered by security forces sponsored by local businesses. Street children are apparantly seen as a nuisance and bad for trade. The present study encountered no reports of the deliberate murdering of street children in Ethiopia at any time. The only comparable report was the shooting of looters (some of whom were street boys) by the EPRDF in Addis Ababa just after the end of the civil war.

A primary finding from the Latin American literature is the extent to which street children report being victimised by the police and other security forces (Lusk, 1989; Felsman, 1981; Agnelli, 1986). In Ethiopia, street children also report being victimised by the police and army. The situation would appear to have improved since Mengistu's Marxist-Leninist dictatorship was overthrown in 1991. Indeed, as we shall see later, street girls in particular view the presence of large numbers of police and soldiers on the streets favourably.

Apart from reports of victimisation by the police, little attention is paid to this issue in the literature apart from occasional case studies highlighting abuse in the home or on the

streets. The victimisation of street children has not been addressed in a systematic way in the literature. Consequently, we shall not consider the issue further in this comparative section but shall focus on victimisation in detail later in this chapter.

Delinquency of Street Children

The delinquency of street children has been relatively well researched. A frequent observation has been the increasing involvement of street boys in theft as they become older (Felsman, 1981; Aptekar, 1988; Lusk, 1989). Whilst younger boys mainly practise petty theft such as stealing food from shops/markets, older boys will begin more confrontational crimes such as pick-pocketing and robberies. Younger boys are typically initiated into crime by acting as look-outs for older boys.

In Ethiopia, the "career" of street boys would also appear to be marked by a gradual intensification of delinquency as the boy progresses through adolescence. For example, Unicef (1993) found that twice as many boys in the 13-15 year age group self-reported stealing compared to boys in the 10-12 year age group (26 as compared to 13 boys). Also, we saw in Chapter five that boys are more likely to have been imprisoned and are more likely to chew *khat*, drink alcohol and smoke cigarettes at ages 16-18 than at ages 11-15. Although based on group discussions with only ten street boys, an age related profile of the criminal activities of street boys in Addis Ababa did emerge:

Age 10: At this young age, a boy may act as a lookout for older thieves. For this he will get a little bit of money, depending on how much is robbed. Perhaps ten Birr. He will sniff benzene at this age. If opportunities arise, he will steal things but mostly he will act as a look-out for older boys. The little boys who do this are usually the ones who have been on the streets all their lives. They were born to veranda mothers and are "pure" street children.

Age 15: By now the boy is stealing himself. He is completely independent. He is becoming concerned about his appearance and wants to have nice clothes. He spends a lot of time with the gang and has a lot of spare time and money for chewing *khat* and drinking. He starts to have sex with prostitutes for one Birr but after a while will get a girlfriend. If they have the money, they will chew and drink every day. Around 15, the gang becomes quite cohesive. They begin to get dangerous - they will rob in groups and become violent if resistance is offered.

Age 20: By now our street boy has become a "master thief". He does not sleep outside anymore. He rents a room or a house. He has a lot of money and can afford very good clothes. He breaks into houses at night, with a knife or sometimes a gun. If he meets resistance, he may kill the house owner. They often have a good relationship with the police. They will share the money with them. Many of the Derg police were themselves street boys. Of course, not all *deriyeas* end up like this. Most "become good" before reaching the "master thief" stage. They may gather enough money to start a trade. They may return back to their families. Relatives or friends may advise them against

their life style.

Broadly speaking, street boys can be divided into two categories:

(a) The older child who steals money or resaleable items in order to support expensive habits such as drinking, chewing *khat* or smoking. Such stealing is often carried out as a group activity. Four of the five seventeen year olds interviewed carry a knife or razor blade.

(b) The younger child who steals either food or money to buy food. Such a young street child rarely steals resaleable items. Only one boy younger than sixteen reported carrying a razor-blade.

The latter category are a considerably larger group. Their involvement in delinquent activities rarely extends beyond petty theft. However, there exists in Addis Ababa a small hard core of delinquent street boys who steal, rape girls, fight, beat up younger children, drink and chew *khat* to excess and use prostitutes. However, in spite of deliberately targeting *deriyeas*, interviews with street boys revealed large numbers who do *not* fit the above description. It would appear that the stereotype of the wild, uncontrollable street boy is ill-founded in Ethiopia where many street boys appear to have preserved a strong sense of what is right and wrong.

Such a low level of hard core criminality in Addis Ababa is perhaps due in part to the policing of the city. EPRDF soldiers

took on the role of policing in May 1991, having overthrown the Derg regime. The EPRDF continued to be solely responsible for policing the city until 1993. What can only be described as "blanket coverage" of the city by armed soldiers was in operation between 1991 and 1993.

Unfortunately, all the indicators point to an *increase* of youth crime in Addis Ababa. The population of the city doubled between 1991 and 1993, work is increasingly scarce, family breakdown is widespread, poverty is rife and no serious or effective efforts have been made by the authorities to contain, or deal with the problem of youth crime.

An apparent difference between Ethiopian and Latin American street children is the degree to which they are alienated by society. Aptekar (1988) described all his sample of Colombian street boys as having a "non-conformist attitude toward society" (p. 46). Whereas there are problems of delinquency and anti-social behaviour among the street children of Addis Ababa, it is not accurate to say that they possess "a non-conformist attitude towards society." Rather, traditional values of discipline and respect are, to a large degree, still intact. Ethiopian street children are considered to be better behaved and less violent than their South American counterparts. They are less involved in delinquency and are more likely to retain traditional values such as respect for the aged and a belief in religion (Tacon, personal communication). The street children of Addis Ababa have been described as "innocent lambs compared with those in South America" (Tacon, personal communication).

Drug Use

Perhaps because of its perceived prevalence, a number of authors have investigated the incidence of drug use amongst street children. For example, Lucchini (1993b) reported that 80% of Brazilian street children consumed drugs, mostly inhalants. However, the *controlled* nature of drug taking amongst street children has been widely reported (Lucchini, 1993b; Connolly, 1990; Dallape, 1988; Aptekar, 1988). Furthermore, only the very oldest street children take hard drugs such as cocaine.

The common explanation is that street children cannot afford drugs, both financially and in terms of street survival (Lucchini, 1993b; Dallape, 1988).

An interesting profile of drug use emerges from the Ethiopian data. Comparable to what researchers have found in other countries, there would appear to be little hard drug use amongst street children. In fact, no evidence was found for the use of hard drugs amongst street children in Ethiopia. Also, there would appear to be little evidence of addiction. We have seen in Chapter five that the majority of drug using street children in Addis Ababa report frequency levels of once a week or even more infrequently.

There a number of idiosyncrasies in the types of drugs used by Ethiopian street children compared to South American street children which are worth mentioning. Firstly, *khat* chewing is both legal and widespread throughout Ethiopian society. Street children who chew *khat* once a week with friends could not be considered to be engaging in a marginalised, forbidden activity.

As we saw in Chapter five, this is the frequency with which most street children chew khat. Secondly, alcohol is part of the *khat* chewing ritual. Furthermore, home-made alcohol is also widely consumed on holy days and other holidays. Thus, a large degree of the alcohol consumption reported by this sample falls within these two "socially acceptable" forms of alcohol consumption. Of course, drinking and khat chewing are not condoned for younger children, but, as we have seen, such habits do not generally begin until street children are in their mid to late teens. Finally, benzene sniffing is quite common amongst boys up to age thirteen, after which it is considered childish. It is not known what long term neurological or bronchial damage is caused by this practice.

The Group

Street work is nearly always carried out in a group setting. There are sound practical reasons for this. A street child's immediate companions serve two important functions in his/her life. They offer protection from harassment and they offer companionship (Lusk et al, 1989; Connolly, 1990; Agnelli, 1986). Such companions were identified as key factors in the psychological resilience of Latin American street children (Aptekar, 1989a). Ethiopian street children also highly value their group. This was particularly so for those girls who had lost all contact with their families. Baardson (1993) reported that groups of juvenile prostitutes support each other both economically and emotionally. When sick or recovering from abortions, a girl's friends will feed her. If a girl knows

beforehand where she is going with a customer, she will tell a friend who can check on her if she has not returned in a reasonable length of time. "For the vast majority of the girls in the survey, the network among the girls was the only security system they had" (Baardson, 1993, p. 34). For *girls on the street*, on the other hand, the functions of their friends were less central to their survival. We shall consider this issue in greater detail below when we focus on the group as an important factor of protection against victimisation.

The Outcomes of Street Life

In the absence of longitudinal data, we can only speculate as to what the outcomes might be for children who have spent time on the streets. Two authors in particular, Felsman (1981) and Aptekar (1988), highlight the resilience and adaptiveness of street children and their apparent ability to thrive in difficult circumstances. Aptekar (1988) was quite optimistic regarding the outcomes of life on the streets for children but, as we saw in Chapter two, there are some methodological features of his study which prevent us from confidently sharing this optimism.

The issue of outcomes was not a central one to this study but *girls of the street* and *girls on the street* were asked what they perceived the results of having lived on the streets might be. For *girls of the street*, 114 responses were collected from a sample of 32 girls. Every single response contained a negative consequence of street life, most of them mentioning lack of education, ill-health and physical and sexual assaults. No

positive aspects of life on the street were mentioned. This would seem to lay to rest the myth that street children are free spirits existing in a childhood idyll free of adult interference. It is true to say that street life is an unspeakably miserable experience for many *girls of the street.*

For *girls on the stree*t, the responses were also primarily negative. Perhaps reflecting the additional security they enjoyed over *girls of the street*, this sample were less concerned with their physical well-being (although this remained a primary concern, mentioned by 29% of this sample). The single greatest concern was that their street work would interfere with their education and consequently their prospects in life. Again, no positive aspects of street life were mentioned.

Of course, street life need not always be disadvantageous to a child. That is, it is possible that street work may be a generally positive experience for some children. Street work is not always necessarily exploitative and devoid of meaning and purpose for children. Take for example the position of *wyalla*, or taxi-boy, in Addis Ababa. This position is very keenly sought after among urban poor boys. These boys, often as young as seven or eight, collect fares and call out the taxi's destinations. They may work a twelve hour day in all kinds of weather. In one sense it is exploitative. However, payment is good relative to other forms of casual labour. If a boy is lucky, he may become a "regular" with a driver and, in time, may save enough money for a driving test which will allow him to become a driver himself. For an uneducated street boy with no skills or training, his early "exploitation" as a *wyalla* may have been the first step on the

ladder of becoming a taxi owner. Of course, for many children street work is miserable and degrading. But, there are those who benefit from street work and for whom it is simply the only opening for work in their socio-economic position.

THEORY AND DATA

How useful are the victimological concepts discussed in Chapter three in helping us understand the data collected from Ethiopian street children? In the following section we shall comment on the methodological usefulness of the victim survey and explore the efficacy of victimological concepts in explaining the data.

The Victim Survey

The tool by which much of the data for this study was collected was the victim survey. Ordinarily, victim surveys are administered to a representative sample of the population within a given *area*. The approach undertaken for this study deviated from this standard format. Instead, a particular *population* was targeted. When working with a population such as street children, one cannot utilise the structured sampling procedures one might use with a settled population. By very definition, one's point of contact with street children cannot be their homes.

In consequence of targeting such a specific, highly victimised population, a large number of victimisation incidents were reported from a relatively small sample of individuals. This is in contrast to the scarcity of victimisation incidents reported in enormous national victim surveys such as the BCS. For example, the 1984 BCS uncovered eighteen cases of sexual assault from a sample of 11,000 (Mayhew, 1989). There are two immediately apparent advantages to carrying out a victim survey

on a focused, highly victimised population.

(a) A large number of multiple victims are identified. We have seen in Chapter three that the bulk of victimisation is experienced by a relatively small number of individuals. If we are to understand the nature of victimisation it is this small number of victims who must be targeted. Multiple victims can provide us with the greatest wealth of data concerning factors of resilience and susceptibility to victimisation.

(b) When resources are limited, only a relatively small number of individuals need be interviewed in order to arrive at an accurate perception of the experiences of multiple victims across the population in question. This is particularly true in a population such as street children where high levels of victimisation are experienced.

Victim Precipitation

To what extent can the concept of victim precipitation illuminate the victimisation experienced by street children in Addis Ababa? It may appear cruel to examine the sexual assaults of children from the perspective of how they might have contributed to the event. However, there are real differences between street children which would appear to precipitate victimisation. Of particular interest here is the question, "Do you do anything to contribute to the assaults on you?" As we have seen in Chapter five, a number of *girls of the street*

identify their *role* as prostitutes. This work brings them into contact with a pool of potential victimisers. They frequently have to accompany strangers, who have been drinking, into unfamiliar hotels. Furthermore, they are required to stay out after dark and to carry money with them.

Interestingly, when *girls on the street* were asked this same question, nearly all respondents denied precipitating attacks in any way. None of this group were involved in prostitution. Their experiences of victimisation were considerably less frequent and less traumatic than those experienced by *girls of the street.* The question was hardly relevant for urban poor girls as the majority had experienced no assault on the streets.

As we have seen in Chapter two, Sparks (1982) specified degrees by which we might understand victim precipitation: precipitation, facilitation, vulnerability, opportunity, attractiveness and impunity. The high levels of victimisation experienced by *girls of the street* can best be understood as *role* vulnerability. The role of prostitution, then, is one which precipitates victimisation. It is also probably true to say that what Sparks called "impunity" plays a part, that is, some victims are selected "precisely because they have limited access to the usual machinery of social control" (Sparks, 1982, p. 31). In Addis Ababa, the street girl is accorded very little status or respect. She is viewed as lowly, dirty and contemptible. The general public largely consider street girls to be lazy and to prefer begging to working. This de-dignification of street girls may be one of the precipitating factors in the high levels of victimisation they experience, in that people are less likely to

outraged, or even concerned, by offenses committed against street girls. Sparks (1982) cited prostitutes, homosexuals and blackmail victims as examples of what we might call victim precipitation through impunity.

In the case of street boys, Sparks' category of victim precipitation, which he defines as "active provocation" of the subsequent offender is likely to apply. This is particularly so for the injuries which street boys inflict on each other during gang-fights over territory, perceived insults and so on.

To conclude, this central victimological concept emphasises the part victims play in the interpersonal dynamic which is the victimising incident. The focus is on characteristics of the victim or situational variables which precede victimisation. The purpose is not to blame the victim, but to arrive at a fuller understanding of the victimising incident.

The Rational Criminal

The demise of the "consistency" or "dispositional" view of the criminal gave rise to the view of the criminal as rational. That is, his or her thinking is not qualitatively different to that of non-criminals - it follows the same rules of reasoning, sense and logic. This view is embodied in Cornish and Clarke's (1986) Rational Choice Perspective. To what extent does the idea of the rational criminal illuminate the data from Addis Ababa? Let us consider this question under the headings of the tenets of the Rational Choice Perspective as presented by Cornish and Clarke (1986):

1. Much offending is rational. It is essentially non-pathological.

Rape: A small number (8) of case studies were carried out with street boys during which they were asked if they had ever raped a girl and, if so, why. Five responded that they had. The reasons they gave were as follows (multiple responses):

"I rape girls with my friends when we have no money for prostitutes" (5).

"My friends and I rape students as they are less likely to have venereal diseases" (1).

"I feel sympathy for them but I need sex, so I rape them with my friends after drinking" (1).

The sinister thing here is the ordinariness of the boys and their reasons for committing rapes. Lack of money was the standard reported reason for raping girls. The absence of remorse was also noticeable.

Theft: Street boys would appear to engage in one of two types of theft. The first is of food because they are hungry. The second is to get money to sustain habits such as drink, *khat* and cigarettes. We have also seen how profitable theft can be for street boys. Some of them have stolen amounts greater than a year's pay for a labourer! With stories like that circulating, it is not difficult to see how a street boy might decide to try.

Prostitution: What decisions need to be made for a girl to initiate prostitution? In Addis Ababa, girls do not have the same array of work options open to them as do their male counterparts. For cultural and traditional reasons, the work women do is quite limited; "women are channelled into a very narrow range of occupations, where prostitution is the category with the largest economic potential open to women without access to capital, skills, training or education" (Baardson, 1993, p. 5).

Street girls get suggestions to prostitute themselves from many sources: older girls who are prostitutes and enjoy a much higher standard of living than beggars; bar-owners who encourage the girls to work for them as "bar-ladies"; and street boys and other prospective clients who encourage them to make money in this "easy" way. A number of girls reported prostituting themselves simply to have shelter for the night. However, given the dangers on the streets, as well as the cold and the rain, this is not a minor consideration. Although sex will only cost a man little more than £IR 0.70p, this may be two or three times what a girl will typically make from a full day's begging. It is understandable, then, why prostitution will be considered as an option by many girls, especially as the girls who have become prostitutes visibly lead a far better life in terms of material wealth.

2. Deviance is viewed as purposive rather than meaningless, intentional rather than compulsive and episodic and self-limiting rather than continuous and enduring.

Let us again take the issue of prostitution to illustrate this point. For the majority of street girls involved in prostitution, it is an occasional rather than full-time occupation - something resorted to in desperate times. Only a relatively small proportion of girls will become full time prostitutes. The reason given is that, whereas there are immediate gains in terms of easy money, the long term costs of disease, Aids and possible pregnancy do not make it worthwhile. Another reason is that prostitution frequently results in becoming involved in a "bad" lifestyle: "I know prostitutes get good clothes and shoes and food. But the negative part is bad health and behaviour - not just prostitution but drinking and associating with bad people." A further reason given for not becoming involved in prostitution is that it is forbidden by God. A further set of problems associated with prostitution is that clients may refuse to pay, may abuse the girl or may demand "unnatural" things, such as performing oral or anal sex or using unusual positions.

The typical pattern of development seems to be that girls start prostituting at around fourteen or fifteen years, out of desperation and because people have encouraged them to take this step. Then they get drawn into a *deriyea* lifestyle where they do not settle for having enough to eat and a roof over their heads, but where they become accustomed to luxuries such as drink, hash and *khat.* In the words of one girl, "prostitutes develop a certain expectation of luxuries." However, others do not get drawn into this lifestyle and decide to stop.

The Victim as Victimiser

A recurrent theme in victimology (and finding in victim surveys) is the homogeneity of victim and offender populations (Fattah, 1993). This is explained by reference to the victimogenic nature of criminal lifestyles, characterised as they are by violence, risk-taking and bravado (Braithwaite & Biles, 1984). Victim surveys typically show that those most at risk of assaultive offenses are heavy drinking young men frequently out at night (Mayhew et al., 1989; Jones et al., 1986). The same is true of street boys. That is, much of the abuse of street boys is suffered at the hands of other street boys. A boy may exchange the role of victim for that of victimiser within a matter of minutes. For example, a street boy may have a bank note snatched from his hand and, a moment later, may catch the boy who did it and slash his arm with a razor blade.

However, the concept of victim as victimiser does not fit for the sexual offences committed against street girls. Whereas street boys may move rapidly from assault and robbery victim to victimiser and vice versa several times a day, the same is not true for street girls' sexual victimisations. The concept of "victim as victimiser" is only useful when both victim and victimiser belong to a homogenous population. In the case of sexual assaults and rapes, the victim and victimiser do not come from homogenous populations. Whilst large numbers of street girls are sexually assaulted, there is no question of them becoming sexual victimisers.

The Concept of Lifestyle

The lifestyle theory of victimisation (Hindelang, Gottfredson & Garofalo, 1978) focuses on the role of lifestyle (defined as routine daily activities) in determining one's level of victimisation. As with the routine activity approach (Cohen & Felson, 1979) and the opportunity model (Cohen, Kluegel & Land, 1981), the concept of *differential association* (Sutherland, 1937) is central. One's routine daily activities differentially expose one to high-risk victimisation situations. *Exposure* to potentially victimising situations is a central concept. We have seen in Chapter three that the concept of lifestyle was used by Whitbeck and Simons (1990) to explain the high levels of vulnerability of homeless youth in the United States to victimisation. A key determinant of victimisation was that the lifestyle of runaways contained "deviant subsistence strategies" employed by homeless youth to survive. Similarly, in Ethiopia, a street girl's *exposure* to potentially victimising incidents is mediated by her type of work, her sleeping arrangements and the familial network of support she can or cannot call on - that is, her lifestyle.

The Multiple Victim

We can term the multiple victim the "perpetual victim," or "recidivist victim" as Fattah (1991) termed them. A perpetual victim is one who finds him/herself trapped in an abusive lifestyle. For whatever reason, they lack control over the abuse in their lives, perhaps due to inexperience, youth or lack of

education. Consider, for example, the juvenile prostitute caught in a cycle of violence and exploitation. Such a girl is, in fact, a professional victim. Victimisation is a part of her daily lifestyle. As we have seen in Chapter three, multiple victims raise particular methodological considerations in that they may cause gross over-estimates of the prevalence of victimisation within the general population. However, the multiple victim is also interesting in that the effects of chronic victimisation are concentrated into one individual. What do we know about the effects of chronic victimisation and what does this allow us to conclude about the effects of on-going, severe victimisation as experienced by Ethiopian street girls?

1. Genn (1988) questioned multiple victims about their "commonplace" experiences of fights, verbal abuse, sexual assaults and property theft and reported that these events were not regarded as particularly remarkable - "they were just a part of life." It would appear that this small sample of London multiple victims had become desensitised to frequent outbreaks of violence in their dealings with other people. However, no information is available regarding the psychological *effects* of these experiences. Was the reported desensitisation an uncaring callousness or a desperate defense mechanism of deeply troubled individuals?

2. A majority of Silbert's (1980) sample of US juvenile prostitutes reported frequent rapes, assaults and "perversions" by clients. The effects of this frequent and severe sexual assaults were serious and long-lasting. All of these juvenile

prostitute rape victims reported that the rape had a negative effect on their feelings towards men and towards themselves.

3. As we have seen in Chapter five, Ethiopian *girls of the street* experience high levels of assaults - almost 70% having been raped or sexually assaulted. Fifty per cent of the raped sample's first experience of rape involved more than one assailant. How do such traumatic experiences effect street girls?

(a) Judging by the traumatic effects of rapes on American juvenile prostitutes, we might expect the psychological effects to be long lasting and profound.
(b) As we have already seen, *girls of the street* felt the outcomes of their time on the streets would be entirely negative. Out of over 100 responses, no positive features of street life were mentioned.
(c) An additional question asked *girls of the street* how they felt about their experiences on the streets. Only one reported that she had become used to her abusive lifestyle. The remainder reported resentment, bitterness, sorrow, depression, loneliness, helplessness and regret at having come to Addis Ababa.

Consequently, we can speculate that the psychological effects of street girls' multiple victimisations will be negative indeed.

FACTORS OF RESILIENCE AND SUSCEPTIBILITY TO VICTIMISATION

Let us apply the above victimological concepts to the Ethiopian setting under the general heading of factors of resilience and susceptibility to victimisation. Having read of the exceptionally high rates of victimisation experienced by street children in the previous chapter, one might be forgiven for thinking that they are passive victims; that they live in a violent, ruthless world over which they have no control. This, however, would be an inaccurate and simplistic way of looking at the dynamics of street life. We have seen in Chapter five that 76% of *girls of the street*, for example, reported being beaten. This leaves 24% who did not report being beaten. Forty three per cent were raped. Fifty seven per cent were not. In this instance, the question, "Why is a girl *not* beaten, raped or robbed ?" is of equal importance to, "Why *is* a girl beaten, raped or robbed?" A number of factors may serve to increase an individual street child's susceptibility to victimisation. For example, he/she may sleep outside on the streets rather than inside in the relative safety of rented accommodation. Similarly, there are factors which will increase a child's protection against victimisation. For instance, a girl may decide not to become involved in prostitution. For the sake of presentation, we can imagine an equation:

Resilience against Victimisation - Susceptibility to Victimisation = Victimisation

This simple equation serves to illustrate the importance of the dynamic flux between exposing and protecting variables which determine the extent to which a street child is victimised. Victimisation is determined by a combination of variables which predispose an individual to, or protect an individual from victimisation. It is those factors which we shall consider in this section.

Companions

As we have seen, only a minority proportion of Addis Ababa's street child population can be categorised as delinquent. The majority of such *deriyeas* are male. They typically spend large portions of their income on *tella*, *tej* and *khat*. They distance themselves from mainstream society by congregating in gangs and living from the proceeds of their stealing. Street girls may form a part of such gangs. These girls also engage in excess drinking and *khat* chewing. They may assist males in theft by posing as prostitutes in order to lure victims to quiet locations. It is well recognised by street children that girls who keep such company are exposing themselves to potentially victimising experiences. By congregating with groups of marginalised boys, such girls are frequently propositioned or sexually assaulted. In the words of one girl,

> "those girls who are beaten or raped by *deriyeas* bring it on themselves. They make contact with the *deriyeas,* talk with them, play with them. Then the *deriyeas* demand sex and, even, rape them."

Many of the girls interviewed expressed no sympathy for girls victimised by their *deriyea* friends. There is a feeling that they have brought it on themselves. Explains one girl who has learned to avoid deriyeas, "I don't laugh or joke with them. If you do they'll jump up and ask for sex." Thus, it seems that on the basis of interviews reported here, street girls can be divided into two broad categories - *deriyea* girls and those who do their utmost to stay away from *deriyeas*. The latter category realise that if they avoid *deriyeas*, they will be avoiding a group who are likely to beat, rob or demand sex from them. The recurring statement while interviewing such girls was, "when I see *deriyeas*, I run away." Thus, the company a street girl keeps can be instrumental in determining whether or not she experiences sexual assault.

This being said, there may be advantages to a street girl for having male companions. We shall see this in the section on the group below.

The Group, or Gang

The gang, or group, is important for increasing resistance to victimisation. Street life necessitates being a member of some group which will provide a measure of protection. Girls typically beg in small groups of three or four. Similarly, prostitutes stand in small groups under lamp posts while waiting for customers. In the event of one of their number being robbed, they will scream and attract the attention of passers-by or the police. A number of instances were encountered whereby a group of girls assisted a girl who was new to the streets by

ensuring that she knew enough to survive, showing her where to sleep, how to beg and so on. Thus, the most destitute of street girls help those worse off than themselves.

For those girls who socialise with *deriyeas*, there are certain advantages: "If I am insulted, I can get the *deriyeas* to beat the person for me." Similarly, girls reported feeling safe because they felt it was widely known in their area that they were under the protection of local boys and young men with reputations for toughness. It is not unusual for a street girl to form an exclusive relationship with a boy and to begin living with him as his "wife." Girls in this position reported feeling very safe from the rigours of street life as her "husband" or his friends would be there to protect her. For a frightened, vulnerable and confused girl new to the streets, this may be seen as a better option than helplessly roaming the streets.

One girl reported enjoying protection from local boys because of her relationship with an old woman. However, the price she paid for this protection was high:

> Sixteen year old Tedrus lives in a plastic shelter with an old woman. This woman earns a living by lending money to people. She is well known among the criminals and delinquents of the area and she warns them not to beat or rape Tedrus. She uses the threat of withdrawing their credit. However, if Tedrus returns home without money, the old woman will sell her for the night to boys.

Depending on a girl's alternative support structures, the group played a greater or lesser role in the life of a street girl.

All but two of our sample of *girls of the street* belonged to a specific group. Most of these girls slept, ate and worked with these friends. They were an important source of protection and companionship to each other. In the event of a friend becoming sick and being unable to work, half of this sample *give* money and/or food to her. For *girls on the street*, the group is also important. Again, almost all of the sample belong to a specific group. However, the functions of the group is not nearly so vital and life supporting as it is for *girls of the street*. For girls who work on the street, but sleep at home, the group offers protection from harrasment, and a pool of people from whom one can *borrow* money, but these girls generally do not eat or sleep together. The group plays a signficantly lesser role in the lives of urban poor girls. Only three of these girls say they spend most of theit time with their friends. The majority spend most of their time with family members. In short, the group is not required by these girls as they are not exposed to the rigours of street life and, consequently, have little need of a protective group. Primarily, friends fulfill only play-related functions. It is to her family that this girl will turn in the event of requiring assistance.

Sleeping Place

Another important factor in determining a child's exposure to victimisation is the location where he or she sleeps. The surest way for a street child to avoid victimisation is to stay in after dark. After a days begging, street girls will usually remain indoors with their friends, chatting. The majority of *girls of the*

street rent a space on the floor of a house for sleeping. This costs them 50 Ethiopian cents a night (about 5 pence). As meagre as this sounds, it may constitute 30% of the money a girl has managed to beg on an average day. A commonly cited fear of street girls is that they will not be able to beg enough money during daylight hours to pay for their day's food and rent. Consequently, they will have to stay out begging after dark. It is at this time when assaults of all kinds are more likely to occur. This is particularly so after 9pm, when men begin to go home after the bars have shut. The accommodation rented by street children is generally dirty, cold, damp, unhygienic, over-crowded and flea ridden. Nevertheless, it provides a safe place to go after dark. Many girls will have stayed in the same place for long periods of time. They will often build up relationships with the owners and other girls who stay there (such cheap rent houses are sexually segregated) and this will be their circle of social relations where they relax in the evening by chatting. In times of need they may lend each other money and so on. Most street children are acutely aware of the dangers of staying out after dark. This is the time when they are most likely to be victimised. The fear of rape is the primary reason girls sleep indoors. Up until they are about age fourteen one may find young girls sleeping on the verandas. However, as girls become sexually mature and the prospect of sexual attack becomes very real, the girls generally begin to sleep indoors. Girls who continue to sleep outside run the very high risk of being sexually assaulted. Such girls may include country girls new to the streets or girls who disregard the threat, perhaps as a result of being drunk or misreading the male company they are in.

"Streetwiseness"

Another factor which influences a child's experiences of victimisation is the length of time he or she has spent on the street or, more accurately, how "street-wise" he or she is. The streets contain many people constantly searching for those they can deceive, steal from or intimidate into parting with their belongings. Inevitably, it takes time for a person new to the street to learn who such people are, where they are to be found and how they are best avoided. Children are at their most vulnerable when they are new to the street. It is difficult to exaggerate the change and culture-shock experienced by a young child from a rural, traditional culture when he moves for the first time to a bustling, anonymous, sprawling city such as Addis Ababa. Such children do not yet know who to trust. Those children from rural areas may have had no experience with material theft before. Many of them do not successfully negotiate even the bus station without having their clothes or money stolen. They may innocently hand their bag to a "porter" who quickly runs away with it. Before a child learns the fundamentals of street life, he or she may have been attacked due to begging in someone else's area, sleeping outside, not concealing money or property adequately or due to trusting somebody to mind money. In time, of course, a child will learn enough to avoid the most obvious sources of victimisation. Girls, in particular, found wandering alone on the streets may be brought into the protection of an established group who will teach her what she needs to know. Such older, more experienced girls reported feeling sorry for what they called "country girls"

because they remembered how frightened and lonely the felt when they first came to the streets.

Age and Gender

Simply being young and female predisposes a street girl to victimisation. There are large numbers of street people who will prey on those they perceive to be weaker than them. Inevitably, females are perceived as vulnerable, particularly younger girls. Young *girls of the street* are routinely subject to assault and robberies from street boys and older girls and women. "Older boys and girls constantly frustrate me by demanding any bit of money I get." "Older boys make me buy them cigarettes and beat me if I don't." Younger girls are least able to protect themselves physically. Anybody can demand money off them or drive them away from a prime begging spot and expect little or no resistance.

Sexual Maturity

A factor which appears to influence a girl's susceptibility to sexual victimisation is her degree of physical development. By and large, while a girl has the figure of a girl and not that of a woman, sexual assaults are not very likely to happen. In Addis Ababa, pre-pubescent prostitutes and pre-pubescent rape are extremely rare. Only one girl reported being raped while she was younger than ten. Two other girls reported being raped at age ten and eleven respectively. Sexual development would appear to be a prerequisite for rapists. While not yet sexually developed,

girls may still even be sleeping on the veranda. However, they are becoming wary. One thirteen year old girl said she slept with a friend and that they took turns to watch out for rapists. Thus, simply by becoming sexually mature, a girl is susceptible to sexual attack. Once she begins to become sexually developed, she will daily experience being solicited or invited to prostitute herself. However, being visibly pregnant or carrying a child serves to protect a girl from such harassment/abuse.

Prostitution

Prostitution, perhaps more than any other factor, exposes a girl to victimising incidents. It brings a girl into contact with sexually opportunistic men in quiet, private places with no witnesses. It is not unusual for a girl to be raped by her client if she refuses anal or oral sex, positions deviating from the "missionary" position, or if she refuses to have intercourse more than the agreed number of times. Of 28 *girls of the street* who reported having been raped, only six were not prostitutes. That is, prostitution is a highly victimogenic type of work. Prostitution clearly ranks as a "deviant subsistence strategy" (Whitbeck & Simons, 1990) which predisposes girls to victimisation.

Soldiers, Police and Passers-by as a Source of Protection

A frequent tactic used by girls to stay safe is to beg in a location where there are police or soldiers near by. Most of the

children interviewed reported that EPRDF soldiers and the police came to their aid if they screamed for help. By contrast, many of the children interviewed have hateful memories of the Derg's police force. Street children reported having experienced rape, assault, extortion and torture at the hands of the Derg police. The EPRDF appears to be more humane in its treatment of street children. However, street children cannot rely on them too much for protection. In October 1992, there was a round-up of beggars in the city. Most were detained for a night only and warned not to beg in public places. So, the girls were deprived of one of their sources of protection as during this time they had to avoid police and soldiers and beg in backstreets and less visible places, thus becoming more vulnerable to assault.

Most girls will beg in the same place everyday. If they are lucky, they will befriend someone who will protect them if the need arises. This might be a shopkeeper, a policeman or somebody who knows the *deriyeas* of the area and will tell them to leave the girl alone.

Street Families

One small category of street girls are unusually well protected from the normal abuses of street life. These are girls who survive by begging with their entire family on the streets. Such destitute families attract great sympathy and are generally not targeted by thieves. By begging with her mother and siblings a street girl is afforded protection from sexual assault.

Children who lead blind beggars are similarly protected. Ethiopians are traditionally tolerant of beggars. Large numbers

of people in every town subsist by the generosity of others. Blind and crippled beggars are almost venerated and there is a widespread feeling of obligation to assist such people. As one girl said, "Nobody would ever beat a blind person or the person leading them." This traditional tolerance of begging does not usually extend to able-bodied people. We have seen already how adolescent boys are forced into a life of theft as they lose their appeal to passers-by and fail to elicit charitable coins; no longer seen as children, they are insulted and scorned for being work-shy. The same is true, to a lesser extent for girls. If they are seen to be able-bodied and without a baby, passers-by are likely to ask, "Why don't you work instead of begging?", "Why should I work to give money to you?", "You are healthy so why don't you work to support yourself?", "If you can't find work, why don't you become a bar-girl?" and so on.

Summary

As we have seen, many factors combine to determine the degree of victimisation a street child will experience. Whereas street children may initially appear as a homogenous group, their "society" is, in fact, in a multi-levelled hierarchy. Within this hierarchy, a pecking order of victimisation exists. As in all hierarchies, abuse and exploitation usually travels from the top down. In the world of street children, age and sex is important in this transmission of abuse. However, it is not as simple as, "The younger you are, the more abused you are", or, "Females are more abused than males." Imagine the street world as not simply consisting of the "abused and the abusers", or the "higher and

lower classes." Rather, it is a society which does not just consist of a number of levels in one hierarchy, but a number of multi-levelled hierarchies in a dynamic society. A street child's relative position in these hierarchies determines the level of abuse and victimisation he or she is likely to experience. Belonging to the higher level in the sex hierarchy (male) and the higher level in the age hierarchy (say, seventeen) does not guarantee an abuse-free life. On the contrary, older teenage males are more likely to be injured in fights among gangs than younger boys. Similarly, belonging to the lower level in the sex hierarchy (female) and in the age category (say, twelve) does not mean being subject to constant abuse by all older males and females. Rather, this girl's youthful age and lack of physical maturity will protect her from the widespread sexual abuse experienced by older girls.

Therefore, a plethora of factors besides sex and age are at work in determining a street child's vulnerability and resistance to victimisation. For example, membership of a gang which will offer protection, length of time spent on the street, whether one is *of* or *on the street*, whether one works near police or soldiers who will offer protection, whether one is out after dark, the safety of one's sleeping place and one's level of physical maturity. All of these factors combine dynamically to determine one's vulnerability or resistance to victimisation. Of course, some factors are more crucial, or weighted, than others; the two most crucial being gender and age. By and large, older children victimise younger ones and females are relatively defenceless against males. Street girls, particularly younger ones, are at the bottom of the "pecking order" of victimisation which exists on

the street. They constitute the most vulnerable sector of the street population.

RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

Recommendations

1. Street children in Ethiopia continue to be harassed by police and soldiers on the streets. Upon his or her arrest, the juvenile justice system offers little protection to the street child. Youths suspected of criminal acts are frequently kept, without trial, in police station cells at the discretion of junior police officers. Food and warm clothing are often lacking in such cells. A small number are sent to Addis Ababa's main adult prison (again without trial) where some are kept for an inordinately long time. There are no facilities available to segregate such youth from convicted adult criminals.

There are two levels at which the police and juvenile justice systems can intervene to improve the quality of street childrens' lives:

(a) The Transitional Government established a new police force having disbanded the corrupt Derg regime. Thus, a new police force now operates on the streets of Addis Ababa (although a significant proportion come from the ranks of the old police). This is a good opportunity to initiate a set of policy guidelines for trainee police on how to act towards street children, in order to prevent the kinds of abuses carried out by the Derg police. There exists a common perception among the police and, indeed, among the general public, that street children are lazy and delinquent and deserve harsh treatment. As the results of this study

have shown, this is not an accurate perception. Street children are on the street due to dire poverty in the home, family break up, or victimisation by relatives. It is important that the police recognise these reasons and adjust their behaviour towards street children accordingly. Only a very small percentage of the street child population are chronically criminalised. The harsh, victimising kind of treatment meted out to street children in the past only serves to alienate. It establishes a group who have no respect for the police, which in turn facilitates involvement in crime and other anti-social activities. Police are important figures in street children's lives. The policies of the new police force towards street children should recognise this fact.

(b) At the macro level, the referral system from the police to the juvenile courts to the Remand Home needs to be re-established. Children should not be kept in police stations with adult prisoners: they should be housed in a rehabilitative environment where they have clearly defined sentences, sanctioned by the courts. Secondly, the practice of "round-ups" should be halted. Round-ups cause fear and trauma for children, they disrupt their income, they fail to recognise the right of children to earn money by begging or peddling and, finally, they fail to act as a deterrent.

2. Prior to the second half of 1993, no NGO offered residential facilities for street girls in Addis Ababa. Night time is when *girls of the street* are most likely to be victimised. For girls who cannot afford the price of rented accommodation, it is

vital that they have somewhere safe to spend the night. Two such units opened in the latter half of 1993. The smaller of the two provided a full residential and training service specifically to ex-juvenile prostitutes. Ten girls and three of their babies were housed in this unit which, unfortunately, closed down a short time later. The larger unit continues to provide sleeping space for street girls in a hall which doubles as a street child resource centre during the day. This is an invaluable facility for street girls to be able to avail of in order to avoid sexual victimisation.

Addis Ababa needs more secure sleeping spaces for both street boys and street girls. These need not necessarily be run in conjunction with rehabilitative, vocational or educational services. The primary need is for children to be off the streets come night fall.

3. Local government in Addis Ababa appears to have been responsible for making a number of interviewees homeless. The *kebele*, which is the smallest administrative unit of the government, provides cheap rented accommodation as part of its range of services for the urban poor. However, upon the death of the rent payer it would appear that this service is not extended to his or her dependents. A small number of interviewees reported having been made homeless in this way. That is, upon the death of their mothers they were forced to leave their homes. No provisions were made for alternative accommodation.

Even the poorest of *kebeles* have a community hall. The majority of these lie empty each night, apart from a watchman. These halls should be made available to children who have

nowhere else to sleep. There is a large market for cheap rented accommodation. At present, this gap in the market is met by landlords who provide filthy and sub-standard accommodation, thus exploiting homeless children. The government, by way of local *kebele* committees could provide a free, clean, safe, healthy alternative. A small number of *kebeles* already provide such a service on an informal, temporary basis. Such arrangements seem to operate with a minimum of disruption if the street children involved are adequately screened. This is a service which all *kebeles* might offer.

4. Children coming to Addis Ababa from regional towns or villages invariably pass through the central bus station at Markato. Preying on their innocence, this is where a range of thieves, pick pockets and swindlers wait for them. A common tactic employed by fraudsters is to target children who share the same tribal origin as themselves. Children are predisposed to trust such individuals and to hand over their clothes or money for "safe keeping." Large numbers of street children report first having been stolen from at the bus depot.

With this mind, selective policing should be employed at the bus station to target such adults.

5. Amongst juvenile prostitutes in Addis Ababa, there is a marked lack of knowledge of sexuality. For example, reported methods of avoiding pregnancy included having multiple partners and eating chili peppers. Contraception use by juvenile prostitutes is not widespread. Not surprisingly, recent estimates suggest a 25% incidence of HIV+ amongst street

prostitutes (it is thought to be even higher (50%) for "bar-ladies").

A majority of street children were aware of Aids. Radio was the most commonly cited source of information, with others naming television, school, friends and the church. Few specifically mentioned condoms but most knew that Aids is incurable and the best form of prevention is to have only one sexual partner. Given this widespread basic knowledge of Aids, why do so few juvenile prostitutes use condoms? The answer lies partly with their clients. Prostitutes who did ask clients to wear a condom generally found that clients would refuse to do so. Rather than lose her client, the girl rarely pressed the point, or, if she did, frequently reported that she was beaten into submission.

Given the above situation, a number of interventions would seem to be required:

(a) Unwanted pregnancies and sexually transmitted diseases can be greatly reduced with consistent condom use. This can be promoted by their widespread availability coupled with adequate information on how to use them and the importance of doing so. A pilot project aimed to do just this, early in 1994. Chris Purdy of SCF-USA, Gabriella Zapata and myself, with the co-operation of Population Services International (PSI) produced a leaflet which was launched at a series of "festivals" for street girls. At these gatherings girls were provided with food, music and dancing, as well as talks from other street girls about the importance of condom use.

PSI made available a large number of free condoms. Projects of this kind should be replicated by NGOs working with this population.

(b) The above intervention needs to be coupled with messages which are aimed directly at the male clients of prostitutes. The efficacy of radio as a means of public education is illustrated by the widespread knowledge of Aids amongst street children. A similar medium should be employed to highlight the enormous incidence of HIV+ amongst prostitutes in Addis Ababa.

6. We have seen above that a basic sheltered accommodation service would greatly improve the quality of life of many homeless children. However, such services are not sufficient in themselves for one small category of street children - mothers. Street life is extremely harsh for young infants. Consequently street infants experience a high mortality rate. Street mothers and their infants require a comprehensive intervention programme, one that meets basic needs such as shelter, food, health care and clothing, but one that also meets their educational and vocational needs. Unfortunately, the only such programme of this kind in Addis Ababa did not stay open for very long. It is a large and expensive commitment for any one agency. However, agencies working with street children need to scrutinise their criteria for selecting beneficiaries. All too often, beneficiaries are chosen by individuals using rather loosely defined criteria. To what extent do appealing features such as "cuteness", brightness and sociability endear children to programme managers? Are NGOs avoiding populations which are

difficult to work with such as pregnant girls, mothers, Aids victims and aggressive older boys? Who shall cater for the needs of such groups?

7. An unknown number of adolescent girls leave their homes to work as poorly paid maids in Addis Ababa. Due to mistreatment such as under-feeding, over-working, withholding of payment and sexual assaults, it was from these jobs that many girls left to come to the streets. Little is known about these girls and their work conditions. As they are a "invisible" group, they have not attracted the attention of researchers or NGOs. A separate investigation is required to determine the extent of mistreatment experienced by the large numbers of maids in Addis Ababa and to recommend strategies which will discourage them from coming to the streets.

8. Finally, and related to the point of NGOs selection criteria mentioned above, let us consider the optimum point of intervention, from the viewpoint of family background. We have seen, both in the Latin American literature and in the Ethiopian data presented here, that street children typically come from disrupted families. More specifically, they frequently come from female-headed households. For both prevention and intervention programmes, this should be considered when selecting beneficiaries. The data presented here allows us to identify one selection criterion. Beneficiaries most likely to benefit are those coming from broken family backgrounds. This is not to say that children from stable, but poor, family backgrounds would not benefit. However, children from unstable backgrounds are

more likely to benefit from intervention in that the support/benefits may be what is required to prevent the child from leaving home and going to the streets.

Conclusion

It should be clear that the abusive experiences of Ethiopian street children cannot be explained as socially acceptable, traditional practices. That is, a culturally relativist explanation cannot be used to explain the widespread incidence of beatings, theft and sexual assaults committed against street children. Even within the context of street life, children recognise that their experiences are abusive and that the outcomes of their street life experiences are likely to be detrimental to their social and emotional development.

How, then, can we explain such appalling levels of victimisation? An underlying question or dilemma throughout this text has been, "Is it possible, and if so, is it useful, to view the realities of Ethiopian street children's lives from the perspective of a Western conception of childhood?" Let us now consider this question in a more explicit manner. In Chapter one we examined the emergence of the modern, Western, idealised conception of childhood which views the child as innocent, delicate and in need of protection from the harsh realities of adult life. This view of childhood is inappropriate in the context of Ethiopian street children's lives. It is inappropriate for two reasons:

1. The Western conception of childhood is not useful in

helping us understand the street work engaged in by many street children. The children of Ethiopia's urban poor are *not* sheltered from the harsh realities of adult life. They *are* expected to contribute to the family income. If we were to consider the widespread use of child labour by the families of Ethiopia's urban poor through the lens of a Western conception of childhood, we would be forced to deem that all working children are severely deprived; that they have been "robbed of their childhood." Clearly, a modern conception of childhood, with an emphasis on innocence, vulnerability and protection from "adult" worries and concerns is of limited use in a society where the urban poor (and rural poor) are forced to put their children to work in order to survive. A Western conception of childhood does not *fit* the Ethiopian situation so we need another conception of childhood, another framework with which to view the reality of street children's lives. This might be an instrument such as the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. The Convention recognises social and economic realities around the world, but also upholds universal standards for the acceptable treatment of children. For example, children are not denied the right to work, as long as provision is made for "appropriate regulation of the hours and conditions of employment" (Article 32).

2. A second reason why a Western conception of childhood is inappropriate in the context of Ethiopian street children is that it sheds little or no light on the issue of child abuse and neglect. As is common in many developing countries, while children are not less cherished or celebrated, there is a

harsher, more discipline-focused view regarding their upbringing than exists in the West. Children are expected to be subservient, obedient and respectful to adults. The idealised, Western conception of childhood views practices such as beatings, food deprivation and severe scolding as abusive or neglectful; against this standard, many Ethiopian children are severely neglected.

There is an alternative conception of street children which is even less appropriate. Namely, the conception which is frequently adopted by the police, army or other security forces. Due to their independence, "street wiseness" and sometimes involvement in petty crime, street children are viewed predominantly as criminals or potential criminals, and are not categorised as children at all. Such a view allows for the implementation of very harsh measures to control the activities of street children. For example, rounding up street children to work on state farms or imprisoning them without trial. By denying a street child his or her categorisation as a "child", he or she can be more easily treated as a wayward adult.

As clearly ethnocentric as the Western conception of childhood is and as inappropriate it is in an Ethiopian context, it is the standard conception used by aid agencies. We have suggested in Chapter one that movements to prohibit child labour spring from a Western, idealised conception of middle-class childhood. It is no mystery why aid agencies use a Western conception of childhood in a non-Western setting. In their efforts to appeal to their funders (the governments and public of the Western nations), aid agencies play on the stereotypical portrayal of all developing world children as equally deprived,

miserable and hopeless. As we have seen in Chapter two, such broad sweeping generalisations regarding street children are simply not accurate. Furthermore, they contrive to present the citizens of the Third World as helpless, powerless and lacking the creativity to deal with their own problems.

Clearly, we need a conception of childhood which can take account of the economic and social realities of life for Ethiopian children, whilst also maintaining standards regarding the acceptable treatment of children. Such a conception would have to avoid a cultural relativist stance whereby all the experiences of Ethiopian street children are seen as unavoidable or normal aspects of life within Ethiopian society. For example, the abuses experienced by *girls of the street* are clearly not normal for Ethiopian female adolescents. Our control samples of *girls on the street* and urban poor school girls illustrate this. Our control groups allow us to say that, "Yes, *girls of the street* are victimised to an extraordinary extent; not in the context of a Western conception of childhood (against which standard many Ethiopian children are abused or neglected), but in the context of what are the normal experiences of Ethiopian female adolescents of the urban poor. A conception of childhood which meets our requirements is the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child.

Appendices

Appendix 1 - Acronyms and Amharic Words Used Widely Throughout the Text

ACRONYMS

B.C.S.	-	British Crime Survey
C.E.D.C	-	Children in Especially Difficult Circumstances
C.R.D.A.	-	Christian Relief and Development Association
E.P.L.F.	-	Eritrean Peoples Liberation Front
E.P.R.D.F.	-	Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Democratic Front
F.A.O.	-	Food and Agriculture Organisation
I.C.C.B.	-	International Catholic Child Bureau
I.C.S.	-	International Crime Survey
I.C.(V.)S.	-	International Crime (Victim) Survey
I.L.O.	-	International Labour Organisation
I.M.F.	-	International Monetary Fund
M.O.L.S.A.	-	Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs
N.C.H.	-	National Children's Home
N.S.P.C.C.	-	National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children
N.C.S.	-	National Crime Survey
N.G.O.	-	Non Governmental Organisation
O.L.F.	-	Oromo Liberation Front
O.P.C.S.	-	Office of Population Censuses and Surveys
S.C.F.(USA)	-	Save the Children Federation (USA)

T.P.L.F.	-	Tigrinean Peoples Liberation Front
U.C.C.	-	University College Cork
U.C.R.	-	Uniform Crime Reports
U.N.	-	United Nations
U.N.A.	-	United Nations Association (independent UK charity)
U.N.E.S.C.O.	-	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
U.N.I.C.E.F.	-	United Nations Children's Fund
U.N.I.C.R.I.	-	United Nations Inter-regional Crime and Justice Research Institute
U.N.C.H.R.	-	United Nations Centre for Human Rights

GLOSSARY

Ato	-	Mr.
Birr	-	Ethiopian currency (1 Birr = approx £0.10)
Bunna	-	Coffee
Bunna-bait	-	Coffee-house
Chai	-	Tea
Chai-bait	-	Tea-house
Derg	-	Ethiopian Military regime ousted in 1991
Deriyea	-	Delinquent
Falashas	-	Ethiopian Jews
Farenge	-	Foreigner (White person)
Injera	-	Bread
Iqub	-	Communal saving scheme
Kebele	-	Smallest political administrative unit, "community"
Khat	-	Narcotic leaf
Kollo	-	Roasted cereals
Plastic-bait	-	A shelter made from plastic, sticks and rags
Tej	-	Traditional home-made mead
Tella	-	Traditional home-made beer
Wat	-	Food sauce
Wyalla	-	Taxi-boy

Appendix 2 - UN Convention on the Rights of the Child

THE CONVENTION ON THE RIGHTS OF THE CHILD

Adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on 20 November 1989

Text

Unofficial summary of main provisions

PREAMBLE

The States Parties to the present Convention,

Considering that, in accordance with the principles proclaimed in the Charter of the United Nations, recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world,

Bearing in mind that the peoples of the United Nations have, in the Charter, reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights and in the dignity and worth of the human person, and have determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

Recognizing that the United Nations has, in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and in the International Covenants on Human Rights, proclaimed and agreed that everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth therein, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status,

Recalling that, in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the United Nations has proclaimed that childhood is entitled to special care and assistance,

Convinced that the family, as the fundamental group of society and the natural environment for the growth and well-being of all its members and particularly children, should be afforded the necessary protection and assistance so that it can fully assume its responsibilities within the community,

Recognizing 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,

Considering that the child should be fully prepared to live an individual life in society, and brought up in the spirit of the ideals proclaimed in the Charter of the United Nations, and in particular in the spirit of peace, dignity, tolerance, freedom, equality and solidarity,

Bearing in mind that the need to extend particular care to the child has been stated in the Geneva Declaration of the Rights of the Child of 1924 and in the Declaration of the Rights of the Child adopted by the United Nations on 20 November 1959 and recognized in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (in particular in articles 23 and 24), in the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (in particular in article 10) and in the statutes and relevant instruments of specialized agencies and international organizations concerned with the welfare of children,

Bearing in mind that, as indicated in the Declaration of the Rights of the Child, "the child, by reason of his physical and mental immaturity, needs special safeguards and care, including appropriate legal protection, before as well as after birth",

Recalling the provisions of the Declaration on Social and Legal Principles relating to

PREAMBLE

The preamble recalls the basic principles of the United Nations and specific provisions of certain relevant human rights treaties and proclamations. It reaffirms the fact that children, because of their vulnerability, need special care and protection, and it places special emphasis on the primary caring and protective responsibility of the family. It also reaffirms the need for legal and other protection of the child before and after birth, the importance of respect for the cultural values of the child's community, and the vital role of international cooperation in securing children's rights.

Text

Unofficial summary of main provisions

Taking due account of the importance of the traditions and cultural values of each people for the protection and harmonious development of the child,

Recognizing the importance of international co-operation for improving the living conditions of children in every country, in particular in the developing countries,

Have agreed as follows:

PART I

Article 1

For the purposes of the present Convention, a child means every human being below the age of 18 years unless, under the law applicable to the child, majority is attained earlier.

Definition of a child

A child is recognized as a person under 18, unless national laws recognize the age of majority earlier.

Article 2

1. States Parties shall respect and ensure the rights set forth in the present Convention to each child within their jurisdiction without discrimination of any kind, irrespective of the child's or his or her parent's or legal guardian's race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national, ethnic or social origin, property, disability, birth or other status.

2. States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to ensure that the child is protected against all forms of discrimination or punishment on the basis of the status, activities, expressed opinions, or beliefs of the child's parents, legal guardians, or family members.

Non-discrimination

All rights apply to all children without exception. It is the State's obligation to protect children from any form of discrimination and to take positive action to promote their rights.

Article 3

1. In all actions concerning children, whether undertaken by public or private social welfare institutions, courts of law, administrative authorities or legislative bodies, the best interests of the child shall be a primary consideration.

2. States Parties undertake to ensure the child such protection and care as is necessary for his or her well-being, taking into account the rights and duties of his or her parents, legal guardians, or other individuals legally responsible for him or her, and, to this end, shall take all appropriate legislative and administrative measures.

3. States Parties shall ensure that the institutions, services and facilities responsible for the care or protection of children shall conform with the standards established by competent authorities, particularly in the areas of safety, health, in the number and suitability of their staff, as well as competent supervision.

Best interests of the child

All actions concerning the child shall take full account of his or her best interests. The State shall provide the child with adequate care when parents, or others charged with that responsibility, fail to do so.

Article 4

States Parties shall undertake all appropriate legislative, administrative, and other measures for the implementation of the rights recognized in the present Convention. With regard to economic, social and cultural rights, States Parties shall undertake such measures to the maximum extent of their available resources and, where needed, within the framework of international co-operation.

Implementation of rights

The State must do all it can to implement the rights contained in the Convention.

Text

Article 5

States Parties shall respect the responsibilities, rights and duties of parents or, where applicable, the members of the extended family or community as provided for by local custom, legal guardians or other persons legally responsible for the child, to provide, in a manner consistent with the evolving capacities of the child, appropriate direction and guidance in the exercise by the child of the rights recognized in the present Convention.

Article 6

1. States Parties recognize that every child has the inherent right to life.

2. States Parties shall ensure to the maximum extent possible the survival and development of the child.

Article 7

1. The child shall be registered immediately after birth and shall have the right from birth to a name, the right to acquire a nationality and, as far as possible, the right to know and be cared for by his or her parents.

2. States Parties shall ensure the implementation of these rights in accordance with their national law and their obligations under the relevant international instruments in this field, in particular where the child would otherwise be stateless.

Article 8

1. States Parties undertake to respect the right of the child to preserve his or her identity, including nationality, name and family relations as recognized by law without unlawful interference.

2. Where a child is illegally deprived of some or all of the elements of his or her identity, States Parties shall provide appropriate assistance and protection, with a view to speedily re-establishing his or her identity.

Article 9

1. States Parties shall ensure that a child shall not be separated from his or her parents against their will, except when competent authorities subject to judicial review determine, in accordance with applicable law and procedures, that such separation is necessary for the best interests of the child. Such determination may be necessary in a particular case such as one involving abuse or neglect of the child by the parents, or one where the parents are living separately and a decision must be made as to the child's place of residence.

2. In any proceedings pursuant to paragraph 1 of the present article, all interested parties shall be given an opportunity to participate in the proceedings and make their views known.

3. States Parties shall respect the right of the child who is separated from one or both parents to maintain personal relations and direct contact with both parents on a regular basis, except if it is contrary to the child's best interests.

4. Where such separation results from any action initiated by a State Party, such as the detention, imprisonment, exile, deportation or death (including death arising from any cause while the person is in the custody of the State) of one or both parents or of the child, that State Party shall, upon request, provide the parents, the child or, if appropriate, another member of the family with the essential information concerning the whereabouts of the absent member(s) of the family unless the provision of the information would be detrimental to the well-being of the child. States Parties shall further ensure that the submission of such a request shall of itself entail no adverse consequences for the person(s) concerned.

Unofficial summary of main provisions

Parental guidance and the child's evolving capacities

The State must respect the rights and responsibilities of parents and the extended family to provide guidance for the child which is appropriate to her or his evolving capacities.

Survival and development

Every child has the inherent right to life, and the State has an obligation to ensure the child's survival and development.

Name and nationality

The child has the right to a name at birth. The child also has the right to acquire a nationality and, as far as possible, to know his or her parents and be cared for by them.

Preservation of identity

The State has an obligation to protect, and if necessary, re-establish basic aspects of the child's identity. This includes name, nationality and family ties.

Separation from parents

The child has a right to live with his or her parents unless this is deemed to be incompatible with the child's best interests. The child also has the right to maintain contact with both parents if separated from one or both.

Text

Article 10

1. In accordance with the obligation of States Parties under article 9, paragraph 1, applications by a child or his or her parents to enter or leave a State Party for the purpose of family reunification shall be dealt with by States Parties in a positive, humane and expeditious manner. States Parties shall further ensure that the submission of such a request shall entail no adverse consequences for the applicants and for the members of their family.

2. A child whose parents reside in different States shall have the right to maintain on a regular basis, save in exceptional circumstances personal relations and direct contacts with both parents. Towards that end and in accordance with the obligation of States Parties under article 9, paragraph 1, States Parties shall respect the right of the child and his or her parents to leave any country, including their own, and to enter their own country. The right to leave any country shall be subject only to such restrictions as are prescribed by law and which are necessary to protect the national security, public order *(ordre public)*, public health or morals or the rights and freedoms of others and are consistent with the other rights recognized in the present Convention.

Article 11

1. States Parties shall take measures to combat the illicit transfer and non-return of children abroad.

2. To this end, States Parties shall promote the conclusion of bilateral or multilateral agreements or accession to existing agreements.

Article 12

1. 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 matters affecting the child, the views of the child being given due weight in accordance with the age and maturity of the child.

2. For this purpose, the child shall in particular be provided the opportunity to be heard in any judicial and administrative proceedings affecting the child, either directly, or through a representative or an appropriate body, in a manner consistent with the procedural rules of national law.

Article 13

1. The child shall have the right to freedom of expression; this right shall include freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art, or through any other media of the child's choice.

2. The exercise of this right may be subject to certain restrictions, but these shall only be such as are provided by law and are necessary:

a. For respect of the rights or reputations of others; or

b. For the protection of national security or of public order *(ordre public)*, or of public health or morals.

Article 14

1. States Parties shall respect the right of the child to freedom of thought, conscience and religion.

2. States Parties shall respect the rights and duties of the parents and, when applicable, legal guardians, to provide direction to the child in the exercise of his or her right in a manner consistent with the evolving capacities of the child.

4

Unofficial summary of main provisions

Family reunification

Children and their parents have the right to leave any country and to enter their own for purposes of reunion or the maintenance of the child-parent relationship.

Illicit transfer and non-return

The State has an obligation to prevent and remedy the kidnapping or retention of children abroad by a parent or third party.

The child's opinion

The child has the right to express his or her opinion freely and to have that opinion taken into account in any matter or procedure affecting the child.

Freedom of expression

The child has the right to express his or her views, obtain information, make ideas or information known, regardless of frontiers.

Freedom of thought, conscience and religion

The State shall respect the child's right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion, subject to appropriate parental guidance.

Text

Unofficial summary of main provisions

3 Freedom to manifest one's religion or beliefs may be subject only to such limitations as are prescribed by law and are necessary to protect public safety, order, health or morals, or the fundamental rights and freedoms of others.

Article 15

1. States Parties recognize the rights of the child to freedom of association and to freedom of peaceful assembly.

2 No restrictions may be placed on the exercise of these rights other than those imposed in conformity with the law and which are necessary in a democratic society in the interests of national security or public safety, public order (*ordre public*), the protection of public health or morals or the protection of the rights and freedoms of others.

Freedom of association

Children have a right to meet with others, and to join or form associations.

Article16

1. No child shall be subjected to arbitrary or unlawful interference with his or her privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to unlawful attacks on his or her honour and reputation.

2. The child has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

Protection of privacy

Children have the right to protection from interference with privacy, family, home and correspondence, and from libel or slander.

Article 17

States Parties recognize the important function performed by the mass media and shall ensure that the child has access to information and material from a diversity of national and international sources, especially those aimed at the promotion of his or her social, spiritual and moral well-being and physical and mental health. To this end, States Parties shall:

(a) Encourage the mass media to disseminate information and material of social and cultural benefit to the child and in accordance with the spirit of article 29;

(b) Encourage international co-operation in the production, exchange and dissemination of such information and material from a diversity of cultural, national and international sources;

(c) Encourage the production and dissemination of children's books;

(d) Encourage the mass media to have particular regard to the linguistic needs of the child who belongs to a minority group or who is indigenous;

(e) Encourage the development of appropriate guidelines for the protection of the child from information and material injurious to his or her well-being, bearing in mind the provisions of articles 13 and 18.

Access to appropriate information

The State shall ensure the accessibility to children of information and material from a diversity of sources, and it shall encourage the mass media to disseminate information which is of social and cultural benefit to the child, and take steps to protect him or her from harmful materials.

Article 18

1. States Parties shall use their best efforts to ensure recognition of the principle that both parents have common responsibilities for the upbringing and development of the child. Parents or, as the case may be, legal guardians, have the primary responsibility for the upbringing and development of the child. The best interests of the child will be their basic concern.

2. For the purpose of guaranteeing and promoting the rights set forth in the present Convention, States Parties shall render appropriate assistance to parents and legal guardians in the performance of their child-rearing responsibilities and shall ensure the development of institutions, facilities and services for the care of children.

3. States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to ensure that children of working parents have the right to benefit from child-care services and facilities for which they are eligible.

Parental responsibilities

Parents have joint primary responsibility for raising the child, and the State shall support them in this. The State shall provide appropriate assistance to parents in child-rearing.

Text

Unofficial summary of main provisions

Article 19

Protection from abuse and neglect

The State shall protect the child from all forms of maltreatment by parents or others responsible for the care of the child and establish appropriate social programmes for the prevention of abuse and the treatment of victims.

1. States Parties shall take all appropriate legislative, administrative, social and educational measures to protect the child from all forms of physical or mental violence, injury or abuse, neglect or negligent treatment, maltreatment or exploitation, including sexual abuse, while in the care of parent(s), legal guardian(s) or any other person who has the care of the child.

2. Such protective measures should, as appropriate, include effective procedures for the establishment of social programmes to provide necessary support for the child and for those who have the care of the child, as well as for other forms of prevention and for identification, reporting, referral, investigation, treatment and follow-up of instances of child maltreatment described heretofore, and, as appropriate, for judicial involvement.

Article 20

Protection of a child without family

The State is obliged to provide special protection for a child deprived of the family environment and to ensure that appropriate alternative family care or institutional placement is available in such cases. Efforts to meet this obligation shall pay due regard to the child's cultural background.

1. A child temporarily or permanently deprived of his or her family environment, or in whose own best interests cannot be allowed to remain in that environment, shall be entitled to special protection and assistance provided by the State.

2. States Parties shall in accordance with their national laws ensure alternative care for such a child.

3. Such care could include, *inter alia*, foster placement, *Kafala* of Islamic law, adoption, or if necessary placement in suitable institutions for the care of children. When considering solutions, due regard shall be paid to the desirability of continuity in a child's upbringing and to the child's ethnic, religious, cultural and linguistic background.

Article 21

Adoption

In countries where adoption is recognized and/or allowed, it shall only be carried out in the best interests of the child, and then only with the authorization of competent authorities, and safeguards for the child.

States Parties that recognize and/or permit the system of adoption shall ensure that the best interests of the child shall be the paramount consideration and they shall:

(a) Ensure that the adoption of a child is authorized only by competent authorities who determine, in accordance with applicable law and procedures and on the basis of all pertinent and reliable information, that the adoption is permissible in view of the child's status concerning parents, relatives and legal guardians and that, if required, the persons concerned have given their informed consent to the adoption on the basis of such counseling as may be necessary;

(b) Recognize that inter-country adoption may be considered as an alternative means of child's care, if the child cannot be placed in a foster or an adoptive family or cannot in any suitable manner be cared for in the child's country of origin;

(c) Ensure that the child concerned by intercountry adoption enjoys safeguards and standards equivalent to those existing in the case of national adoption;

(d) Take all appropriate measures to ensure that, in intercountry adoption, the placement does not result in improper financial gain for those involved in it;

(e) Promote, where appropriate, the objectives of the present article by concluding bilateral or multilateral arrangements or agreements, and endeavour, within this framework, to ensure that the placement of the child in another country is carried out by competent authorities or organs.

6

Text

Article 22

1. States Parties shall take appropriate measures to ensure that a child who is seeking refugee status or who is considered a refugee in accordance with applicable international or domestic law and procedures shall, whether unaccompanied or accompanied by his or her parents or by any other person, receive appropriate protection and humanitarian assistance in the enjoyment of applicable rights set forth in the present Convention and in other international human rights or humanitarian instruments to which the said States are Parties.

2. For this purpose, States Parties shall provide, as they consider appropriate, co-operation in any efforts by the United Nations and other competent intergovernmental organizations or non-governmental organizations co-operating with the United Nations to protect and assist such a child and to trace the parents or other members of the family of any refugee child in order to obtain information necessary for reunification with his or her family. In cases where no parents or other members of the family can be found, the child shall be accorded the same protection as any other child permanently or temporarily deprived of his or her family environment for any reason, as set forth in the present Convention.

Article 23

1. States Parties recognize that a mentally or physically disabled child should enjoy a full and decent life, in conditions which ensure dignity, promote self-reliance, and facilitate the child's active participation in the community.

2. States Parties recognize the right of the disabled child to special care and shall encourage and ensure the extension, subject to available resources, to the eligible child and those responsible for his or her care, of assistance for which application is made and which is appropriate to the child's condition and to the circumstances of the parents or others caring for the child.

3. Recognizing the special needs of a disabled child, assistance extended in accordance with paragraph 2 of the present article shall be provided free of charge, whenever possible, taking into account the financial resources of the parents or others caring for the child, and shall be designed to ensure that the disabled child has effective access to and receives education, training, health care services, rehabilitation services, preparation for employment and recreation opportunities in a manner conducive to the child's achieving the fullest possible social integration and individual development, including his or her cultural and spiritual development.

4. States Parties shall promote, in the spirit of international co-operation, the exchange of appropriate information in the field of preventive health care and of medical, psychological and functional treatment of disabled children, including dissemination of and access to information concerning methods of rehabilitation, education and vocational services, with the aim of enabling States Parties to improve their capabilities and skills and to widen their experience in these areas. In this regard, particular account shall be taken of the needs of developing countries.

Article 24

1. States Parties recognize the right of the child to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of health and to facilities for the treatment of illness and rehabilitation of health. States Parties shall strive to ensure that no child is deprived of his or her right of access to such health care services.

2. States Parties shall pursue full implementation of this right and, in particular, shall take appropriate measures:

(a) To diminish infant and child mortality;

Unofficial summary of main provisions

Refugee children

Special protection shall be granted to a refugee child or to a child seeking refugee status. It is the State's obligation to co-operate with competent organizations which provide such protection and assistance.

Disabled children

A disabled child has the right to special care, education and training to help him or her enjoy a full and decent life in dignity and achieve the greatest degree of self-reliance and social integration possible.

Health and health services

The child has a right to the highest standard of health and medical care attainable. States shall place special emphasis on the provision of primary and preventive health care, public health education and the reduction of infant mortality. They shall encourage international co-operation in this regard and

Text

Unofficial summary of main provisions

c To ensure the provision of necessary medical assistance and health care to all children with emphasis on the development of primary health care;

d To combat disease and malnutrition including within the framework of primary health care, through *inter alia* the application of readily available technology and through the provision of adequate nutritious foods and clean drinking water, taking into consideration the dangers and risks of environmental pollution;

e To ensure appropriate pre-natal and post-natal health care for mothers;

f To ensure that all segments of society, in particular parents and children, are informed, have access to education and are supported in the use of basic knowledge of child health and nutrition, the advantages of breast-feeding, hygiene and environmental sanitation and the prevention of accidents;

g To develop preventive health care, guidance for parents and family planning education and services.

3 States Parties shall take all effective and appropriate measures with a view to abolishing traditional practices prejudicial to the health of children.

4 States Parties undertake to promote and encourage international co-operation with a view to achieving progressively the full realization of the right recognized in the present article. In this regard, particular account shall be taken of the needs of developing countries.

Health and health services (continued)

strive to see that no child is deprived of access to effective health services

Article 25

States Parties recognize the right of a child who has been placed by the competent authorities for the purposes of care, protection or treatment of his or her physical or mental health, to a periodic review of the treatment provided to the child and all other circumstances relevant to his or her placement.

Periodic review of placement

A child who is placed by the State for reasons of care, protection or treatment is entitled to have that placement evaluated regularly.

Article 26

1 States Parties shall recognize for every child the right to benefit from social security, including social insurance, and shall take the necessary measures to achieve the full realization of this right in accordance with their national law.

2 The benefits should, where appropriate, be granted, taking into account the resources and the circumstances of the child and persons having responsibility for the maintenance of the child, as well as any other consideration relevant to an application for benefits made by or on behalf of the child.

Social security

The child has the right to benefit from social security including social insurance.

Article 27

1 States Parties recognize the right of every child to a standard of living adequate for the child's physical, mental, spiritual, moral and social development.

2 The parent(s) or others responsible for the child have the primary responsibility to secure, within their abilities and financial capacities, the conditions of living necessary for the child's development.

3 States Parties, in accordance with national conditions and within their means, shall take appropriate measures to assist parents and others responsible for the child to implement this right and shall in case of need provide material assistance and support programmes, particularly with regard to nutrition, clothing and housing.

4 States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to secure the recovery of maintenance for the child from the parents or other persons having financial responsibility for the child, both within the State Party and from abroad. In particular, where the person having financial responsibility for the child lives in a State different from that of the child, States Parties shall promote the accession to international agreements or the conclusion of such agreements, as well as the making of other appropriate arrangements.

Standard of living

Every child has the right to a standard of living adequate for his or her physical, mental, spiritual, moral and social development. Parents have the primary responsibility to ensure that the child has an adequate standard of living. The State's duty is to ensure that this responsibility can be fulfilled, and is. State responsibility can include material assistance to parents and their children.

Text

Unofficial summary of main provisions

Article 28

1. States Parties recognize the right of the child to education, and with a view to achieving this right progressively and on the basis of equal opportunity, they shall, in particular:

(a) Make primary education compulsory and available free to all;

(b) Encourage the development of different forms of secondary education, including general and vocational education, make them available and accessible to every child, and take appropriate measures such as the introduction of free education and offering financial assistance in case of need;

(c) Make higher education accessible to all on the basis of capacity by every appropriate means;

(d) Make educational and vocational information and guidance available and accessible to all children;

(e) Take measures to encourage regular attendance at schools and the reduction of drop-out rates.

2. States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to ensure that school discipline is administered in a manner consistent with the child's human dignity and in conformity with the present Convention.

3. States Parties shall promote and encourage international co-operation in matters relating to education, in particular with a view to contributing to the elimination of ignorance and illiteracy throughout the world and facilitating access to scientific and technical knowledge and modern teaching methods. In this regard, particular account shall be taken of the needs of developing countries.

Education

The child has a right to education, and the State's duty is to ensure that primary education is free and compulsory, to encourage different forms of secondary education accessible to every child and to make higher education available to all on the basis of capacity. School discipline shall be consistent with the child's rights and dignity. The State shall engage in international co-operation to implement this right.

Article 29

1. States Parties agree that the education of the child shall be directed to:

(a) The development of the child's personality, talents and mental and physical abilities to their fullest potential;

(b) The development of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and for the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations;

(c) The development of respect for the child's parents, his or her own cultural identity, language and values, for the national values of the country in which the child is living, the country from which he or she may originate, and for civilizations different from his or her own;

(d) The preparation of the child for responsible life in a free society, in the spirit of understanding, peace, tolerance, equality of sexes, and friendship among all peoples, ethnic, national and religious groups and persons of indigenous origin;

(e) The development of respect for the natural environment.

2. No part of the present article or article 28 shall be construed so as to interfere with the liberty of individuals and bodies to establish and direct educational institutions, subject always to the observance of the principles set forth in paragraph 1 of the present article and to the requirements that the education given in such institutions shall conform to such minimum standards as may be laid down by the State.

Aims of education

Education shall aim at developing the child's personality, talents and mental and physical abilities to the fullest extent. Education shall prepare the child for an active adult life in a free society and foster respect for the child's parents, his or her own cultural identity, language and values, and for the cultural background and values of others

Article 30

In those States in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities or persons of indigenous origin exist, a child belonging to such a minority or who is indigenous shall not be denied the right, in community with other members of his or her group, to enjoy his or her own culture, to profess and practise his or her own religion, or to use his or her own language.

Children of minorities or indigenous populations

Children of minority communities and indigenous populations have the right to enjoy their own culture and to practise their own religion and language.

Text

Article 31

1 States Parties recognize the right of the child to rest and leisure, to engage in play and recreational activities appropriate to the age of the child and to participate freely in cultural life and the arts.

2 States Parties shall respect and promote the right of the child to participate fully in cultural and artistic life and shall encourage the provision of appropriate and equal opportunities for cultural, artistic, recreational and leisure activity.

Article 32

1 States Parties recognize 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.

2 States Parties shall take legislative, administrative, social and educational measures to ensure the implementation of the present article. To this end, and having regard to the relevant provisions of other international instruments, States Parties shall in particular:

(a) Provide for a minimum age or minimum ages for admissions to employment;

(b) Provide for appropriate regulation of the hours and conditions of employment;

(c) Provide for appropriate penalties or other sanctions to ensure the effective enforcement of the present article.

Article 33

States Parties shall take all appropriate measures, including legislative, administrative, social and educational measures, to protect children from the illicit use of narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances as defined in the relevant international treaties, and to prevent the use of children in the illicit production and trafficking of such substances.

Article 34

States Parties undertake to protect the child from all forms of sexual exploitation and sexual abuse. For these purposes, States Parties shall in particular take all appropriate national, bilateral and multilateral measures to prevent:

(a) The inducement or coercion of a child to engage in any unlawful sexual activity;

(b) The exploitative use of children in prostitution or other unlawful sexual practices;

(c) The exploitative use of children in pornographic performances and materials.

Article 35

States Parties shall take all appropriate national, bilateral and multilateral measures to prevent the abduction of, the sale of or traffic in children for any purpose or in any form.

Article 36

States Parties shall protect the child against all other forms of exploitation prejudicial to any aspects of the child's welfare.

Unofficial summary of main provisions

Leisure, recreation and cultural activities

The child has the right to leisure, play and participation in cultural and artistic activities.

Child labour

The child has the right to be protected from work that threatens his or her health, education or development. The State shall set minimum ages for employment and regulate working conditions.

Drug abuse

Children have the right to protection from the use of narcotic and psychotropic drugs, and from being involved in their production or distribution.

Sexual exploitation

The State shall protect children from sexual exploitation and abuse, including prostitution and involvement in pornography.

Sale, trafficking and abduction

It is the State's obligation to make every effort to prevent the sale, trafficking and abduction of children.

Other forms of exploitation

The child has the right to protection from all forms of exploitation prejudicial to any aspects of the child's welfare not covered in articles 32, 33, 34 and 35.

Text

Article 37

States Parties shall ensure that:

(a) No child shall be subjected to torture or other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment. Neither capital punishment nor life imprisonment without possibility of release shall be imposed for offences committed by persons below 18 years of age.

(b) No child shall be deprived of his or her liberty unlawfully or arbitrarily. The arrest, detention or imprisonment of a child shall be in conformity with the law and shall be used only as a measure of last resort and for the shortest appropriate period of time;

(c) Every child deprived of liberty shall be treated with humanity and respect for the inherent dignity of the human person, and in a manner which takes into account the needs of persons of his or her age. In particular every child deprived of liberty shall be separated from adults unless it is considered in the child's best interest not to do so and shall have the right to maintain contact with his or her family through correspondence and visits, save in exceptional circumstances;

(d) Every child deprived of his or her liberty shall have the right to prompt access to legal and other appropriate assistance, as well as the right to challenge the legality of the deprivation of his or her liberty before a court or other competent, independent and impartial authority, and to a prompt decision on any such action.

Article 38

1. States Parties undertake to respect and to ensure respect for rules of international humanitarian law applicable to them in armed conflicts which are relevant to the child.

2. States Parties shall take all feasible measures to ensure that persons who have not attained the age of 15 years do not take a direct part in hostilities.

3. States Parties shall refrain from recruiting any person who has not attained the age of 15 years into their armed forces. In recruiting among those persons who have attained the age of 15 years but who have not attained the age of 18 years, States Parties shall endeavour to give priority to those who are oldest.

4. In accordance with their obligations under international humanitarian law to protect the civilian population in armed conflicts, States Parties shall take all feasible measures to ensure protection and care of children who are affected by an armed conflict.

Article 39

States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to promote physical and psychological recovery and social reintegration of a child victim of: any form of neglect, exploitation, or abuse; torture or any other form of cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment; or armed conflicts. Such recovery and reintegration shall take place in an environment which fosters the health, self-respect and dignity of the child.

Article 40

1. States Parties recognize the right of every child alleged as, accused of, or recognized as having infringed the penal law to be treated in a manner consistent with the promotion of the child's sense of dignity and worth, which reinforces the child's respect for the human rights and fundamental freedoms of others and which takes into account the child's age and the desirability of promoting the child's reintegration and the child's assuming a constructive role in society.

Unofficial summary of main provisions

Torture and deprivation of liberty

No child shall be subjected to torture, cruel treatment or punishment, unlawful arrest or deprivation of liberty. Both capital punishment and life imprisonment without the possibility of release are prohibited for offences committed by persons below 18 years. Any child deprived of liberty shall be separated from adults unless it is considered in the child's best interests not to do so. A child who is detained shall have legal and other assistance as well as contact with the family.

Armed conflicts

States Parties shall take all feasible measures to ensure that children under 15 years of age have no direct part in hostilities. No child below 15 shall be recruited into the armed forces. States shall also ensure the protection and care of children who are affected by armed conflict as described in relevant international law.

Rehabilitative care

The State has an obligation to ensure that child victims of armed conflicts, torture, neglect, maltreatment or exploitation receive appropriate treatment for their recovery and social reintegration.

Administration of juvenile justice

A child in conflict with the law has the right to treatment which promotes the child's sense of dignity and worth, takes the child's age into account and aims at his or her reintegration into society. The child is entitled to basic guarantees as well as legal or other assistance for his

Text

Unofficial summary of main provisions

2 To this end, and having regard to the relevant provisions of international instruments, States Parties shall, in particular, ensure that:

(a) No child shall be alleged as, be accused of, or recognized as having infringed the penal law by reason of acts or omissions that were not prohibited by national or international law at the time they were committed;

(b) Every child alleged as or accused of having infringed the penal law has at least the following guarantees:

(i) To be presumed innocent until proven guilty according to law;

(ii) To be informed promptly and directly of the charges against him or her, and, if appropriate, through his or her parents or legal guardians, and to have legal or other appropriate assistance in the preparation and presentation of his or her defence;

(iii) To have the matter determined without delay by a competent, independent and impartial authority or judicial body in a fair hearing according to law, in the presence of legal or other appropriate assistance and, unless it is considered not to be in the best interest of the child, in particular, taking into account his or her age or situation, his or her parents or legal guardians;

(iv) Not to be compelled to give testimony or to confess guilt; to examine or have examined adverse witnesses and to obtain the participation and examination of witnesses on his or her behalf under conditions of equality;

(v) If considered to have infringed the penal law, to have this decision and any measures imposed in consequence thereof reviewed by a higher competent, independent and impartial authority or judicial body according to law;

(vi) To have the free assistance of an interpreter if the child cannot understand or speak the language used;

(vii) To have his or her privacy fully respected at all stages of the proceedings.

3. States Parties shall seek to promote the establishment of laws, procedures, authorities and institutions specifically applicable to children alleged as, accused of, or recognized as having infringed the penal law, and, in particular:

(a) the establishment of a minimum age below which children shall be presumed not to have the capacity to infringe the penal law;

(b) whenever appropriate and desirable, measures for dealing with such children without resorting to judicial proceedings, providing that human rights and legal safeguards are fully respected.

4. A variety of dispositions, such as care, guidance and supervision orders; counselling; probation; foster care; education and vocational training programmes and other alternatives to institutional care shall be available to ensure that children are dealt with in a manner appropriate to their well-being and proportionate both to their circumstances and the offence.

Administration of juvenile justice (continued)

or her defence. Judicial proceedings and institutional placements shall be avoided wherever possible.

Article 41

Nothing in the present Convention shall affect any provisions which are more conducive to the realization of the rights of the child and which may be contained in:

(a) The law of a State Party; or

(b) International law in force for that State.

Respect for higher standards

Wherever standards set in applicable national and international law relevant to the rights of the child that are higher than those in this Convention, the higher standard shall always apply.

Text

Unofficial summary of main provisions

PART II

Article 42

States Parties undertake to make the principles and provisions of the Convention widely known, by appropriate and active means, to adults and children alike.

Article 43

1. For the purpose of examining the progress made by States Parties in achieving the realization of the obligations undertaken in the present Convention, there shall be established a Committee on the Rights of the Child, which shall carry out the functions hereinafter provided.

2. The Committee shall consist of ten experts of high moral standing and recognized competence in the field covered by this Convention. The members of the Committee shall be elected by States Parties from among their nationals and shall serve in their personal capacity, consideration being given to equitable geographical distribution, as well as to the principal legal systems.

3. The members of the Committee shall be elected by secret ballot from a list of persons nominated by States Parties. Each State Party may nominate one person from among its own nationals.

4. The initial election to the Committee shall be held no later than six months after the date of the entry into force of the present Convention and thereafter every second year. At least four months before the date of each election, the Secretary-General of the United Nations shall address a letter to States Parties inviting them to submit their nominations within two months. The Secretary-General shall subsequently prepare a list in alphabetical order of all persons thus nominated, indicating States Parties which have nominated them, and shall submit it to the States Parties to the present Convention.

5. The elections shall be held at meetings of States Parties convened by the Secretary-General at United Nations Headquarters. At those meetings, for which two thirds of States Parties shall constitute a quorum, the persons elected to the Committee shall be those who obtain the largest number of votes and an absolute majority of the votes of the representatives of States Parties present and voting.

6. The members of the Committee shall be elected for a term of four years. They shall be eligible for re-election if renominated. The term of five of the members elected at the first election shall expire at the end of two years; immediately after the first election, the names of these five members shall be chosen by lot by the Chairman of the meeting.

7. If a member of the Committee dies or resigns or declares that for any other cause he or she can no longer perform the duties of the Committee, the State Party which nominated the member shall appoint another expert from among its nationals to serve for the remainder of the term, subject to the approval of the Committee.

8. The Committee shall establish its own rules of procedure.

9. The Committee shall elect its officers for a period of two years.

10. The meetings of the Committee shall normally be held at United Nations Headquarters or at any other convenient place as determined by the Committee. The Committee shall normally meet annually. The duration of the meetings of the Committee shall be determined, and reviewed, if necessary, by a meeting of the States Parties to the present Convention, subject to the approval of the General Assembly.

Implementation and entry into force

The provisions of articles 42 - 54 notably foresee.

(i) *the State's obligation to make the rights contained in this Convention widely known to both adults and children.*

(ii) *the setting up of a Committee on the Rights of the child composed of ten experts, which will consider reports that States Parties to the Convention are to submit two years after ratification and every five years thereafter. The Convention enters into force—and the Committee would therefore be set up—once 20 countries have ratified it.*

(iii) *States Parties are to make their reports widely available to the general public.*

(iv) *The Committee may propose that special studies be undertaken on specific issues relating to the rights of the child, and may make its evaluations known to each State Party concerned as well as to the UN General Assembly.*

(v) *In order to "foster the effective implementation of the Convention and to encourage international cooperation", the specialized agencies of the UN (such as the ILO, WHO, and UNESCO) and UNICEF would be able to attend the meetings of the Committee. Together with any other body recognized as "competent", including NGOs in consultative status with the UN and UN organs such as the UNHCR, they can submit pertinent information to the Committee and be asked to advise on the optimal implementation of the Convention.*

11. The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall provide the necessary staff and facilities for the effective performance of the functions of the Committee under the present Convention.

12. With the approval of the General Assembly, the members of the Committee established under the present Convention shall receive emoluments from the United Nations resources on such terms and conditions as the Assembly may decide.

Article 44

1. States Parties undertake to submit to the Committee, through the Secretary-General of the United Nations, reports on the measures they have adopted which give effect to the rights recognized herein and on the progress made on the enjoyment of those rights:

(a) Within two years of the entry into force of the Convention for the State Party concerned;

(b) Thereafter every five years.

2. Reports made under the present article shall indicate factors and difficulties, if any, affecting the degree of fulfilment of the obligations under the present Convention. Reports shall also contain sufficient information to provide the Committee with a comprehensive understanding of the implementation of the Convention in the country concerned.

3. A State Party which has submitted a comprehensive initial report to the Committee need not in its subsequent reports submitted in accordance with paragraph 1 *(b)* of the present article repeat basic information previously provided.

4. The Committee may request from States Parties further information relevant to the implementation of the Convention.

5. The Committee shall submit to the General Assembly, through the Economic and Social Council, every two years, reports on its activities.

6. States Parties shall make their reports widely available to the public in their own countries.

Article 45

In order to foster the effective implementation of the Convention and to encourage international co-operation in the field covered by the Convention:

(a) The specialized agencies, the United Nations Children's Fund and other United Nations organs shall be entitled to be represented at the consideration of the implementation of such provisions of the present Convention as fall within the scope of their mandate. The Committee may invite the specialized agencies, the United Nations Children's Fund and other competent bodies as it may consider appropriate to provide expert advice on the implementation of the Convention in areas falling within the scope of their respective mandates. The Committee may invite the specialized agencies, the United Nations Children's Fund and other United Nations organs to submit reports on the implementation of the Convention in areas falling within the scope of their activities;

(b) The Committee shall transmit, as it may consider appropriate, to the specialized agencies, the United Nations Children's Fund and other competent bodies, any reports from States Parties that contain a request, or indicate a need, for technical advice or assistance, along with the Committee's observations and suggestions, if any, on these requests or indications;

(c) The Committee may recommend to the General Assembly to request the

Secretary-General to undertake on its behalf studies on specific issues relating to the rights of the child;

(d) The Committee may make suggestions and general recommendations based on information received pursuant to articles 44 and 45 of the present Convention. Such suggestions and general recommendations shall be transmitted to any State Party concerned and reported to the General Assembly, together with comments, if any, from States Parties.

PART III

Article 46

The present Convention shall be open for signature by all States.

Article 47

The present Convention is subject to ratification. Instruments of ratification shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Article 48

The present Convention shall remain open for accession by any State. The instruments of accession shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Article 49

1. The present Convention shall enter into force on the thirtieth day following the date of deposit with the Secretary-General of the United Nations of the twentieth instrument of ratification or accession.

2. For each State ratifying or acceding to the Convention after the deposit of the twentieth instrument of ratification or accession, the Convention shall enter into force on the thirtieth day after the deposit by such State of its instrument of ratification or accession.

Article 50

1. Any State Party may propose an amendment and file it with the Secretary-General of the United Nations. The Secretary-General shall thereupon communicate the proposed amendment to States Parties, with a request that they indicate whether they favour a conference of States Parties for the purpose of considering and voting upon the proposals. In the event that, within four months from the date of such communication, at least one third of the States Parties favour such a conference, the Secretary-General shall convene the conference under the auspices of the United Nations. Any amendment adopted by a majority of States Parties present and voting at the conference shall be submitted to the General Assembly for approval.

2. An amendment adopted in accordance with paragraph 1 of the present article shall enter into force when it has been approved by the General Assembly of the United Nations and accepted by a two-thirds majority of States Parties.

3. When an amendment enters into force, it shall be binding on those States Parties which have accepted it, other States Parties still being bound by the provisions of the present Convention and any earlier amendments which they have accepted.

Article 51

1. The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall receive and circulate to all States the text of reservations made by States at the time of ratification or accession.

2. A reservation incompatible with the object and purpose of the present Convention shall not be permitted.

3. Reservations may be withdrawn at any time by notification to that effect addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, who shall then inform all States. Such notification shall take effect on the date on which it is received by the Secretary-General.

Article 52

A State Party may denounce the present Convention by written notification to the Secretary-General of the United Nations. Denunciation becomes effective one year after the date of receipt of the notification by the Secretary-General.

Article 53

The Secretary-General of the United Nations is designated as the depositary of the present Convention.

Article 54

The original of the present Convention, of which the Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish texts are equally authentic, shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

In witness thereof the undersigned plenipotentiaries, being duly authorized thereto by their respective Governments, have signed the present Convention.

Appendix 3 - Historical, Political and Social Background to Ethiopia

Politics

On September 12, 1974, in the midst of a devastating famine, the Ethiopian leader Emperor Haile Selassie was dethroned by a military junta after nearly 50 years in power. He was imprisoned and died a year later, reputedly smothered by a pillow held over his face by Lt. Col. Haile Mariam Mengistu. This man soon emerged as overall leader of a Marxist-Leninist regime, where he was to remain for seventeen years. Mengistu tolerated no opposition to his rule and gained a reputation for ruthless suppression of dissent. Opponents were imprisoned or murdered by the tens of thousands during what became known as the "Red Terror." Death squads roamed the streets rooting out suspects from their homes and executing them on the spot. Relatives seeking to claim back the bodies were required to pay for the price of the bullet.

Nobody knows how many perished during the Red Terror. Between 1977 and 1978 an estimated 2,500 people were killed in Addis Ababa alone. In addition to his ruthless oppression, Mengistu was perennially trying to put down rebellions in various parts of the country, notably in the Northern provinces of Tigre and Eritrea. By 1978, ten out of Ethiopia's fourteen provinces were in state of armed insurrection against the Derg (Mayall, 1978). This constant fighting (along with the Ethio-Somalia war of 1978) allowed Mengistu, with Soviet aid, to build up a huge standing army (the largest on the continent after the

Republic of South Africa). This army, and the destruction of constant war, devastated the economy. Huge resources were channelled into the military. It is estimated that during his last two years in power, Mengistu was channelling up to 60% of GNP into the war. Throughout the 1984-1985 famine, the civil war continued, consuming scarce resources and complicating relief efforts.

However, by the late 1980s Mengistu's ongoing civil war with the rebels, notably the Tigrean Peoples' Liberation Front (TPLF) and the Eritrean Peoples' Liberation Front (EPLF) was going badly. After an attempted coup by high ranking army officers in 1989, Mengistu's hold on power became more tenuous. Large numbers of the officer corps were imprisoned. As a consequence, the military's effectiveness was greatly weakened and the army suffered a series of crushing defeats on the battlefield that ended in its total expulsion from Tigre and most of Eritrea. The rebels continued to make considerable advances, and by May 28, 1991, the rebels entered the capital, Addis Ababa. They met minimal resistance, Mengistu having fled on May 21 to Zimbabwe where he was given refuge by President Robert Mugabe. He resides there now on a luxury cattle-ranch.

On May 28, 1991, the Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) entered Addis Ababa. The core of this new group was, in fact, the TPLF. The EPRDF proceeded to take control and establish a Transitional Government with Meles Zenawi as president. The EPRDF invited other rebel groups, such as the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF), to join this new government. The Oromos had also opposed Mengistu throughout his time in power but played a far smaller role in his overthrow. The EPRDF

ensured that it held the reins of power. In the 87 seat Council of Representatives of the Transitional Government, the EPRDF allocated 32 seats to itself and only token seats to other groups. For example, the Oromos, who make up 40% of Ethiopia's population, were given twelve seats. Some of the new parties given seats are recognised to be branches of the EPRDF - not really representing the people they claim to. Thus, most Oromo people support the independent Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) and not the Oromo Peoples' Democratic Organisation (OPDO) created by the EPRDF in an effort to appease the Oromos. Thus, in spite of first appearances, an EPRDF government cannot be said to represent different ethnic groups. It is, in fact, dominated by TPLF interests. Figure A.1 below illustrates how three of the new parties, claiming to represent diverse ethnic groups, are in reality linked to the EPRDF:

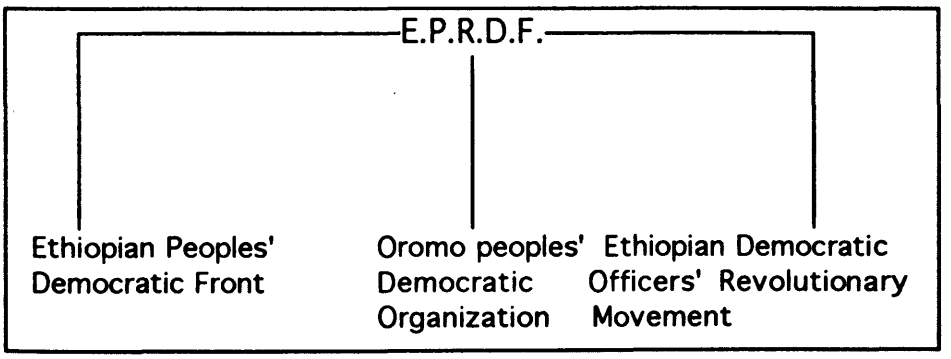


Figure A.1: The new political parties and their relationship to the EPRDF government.

Before Mengistu, the EPLF had fought Haile Selassie and, unlike the TPLF who wanted only a democratic government in Addis Ababa, their aim had always been for Eritrea to secede

from Ethiopia. Thus, with the new Transitional Government's support, Eritrea formalised its independence in a referendum where the vast majority of Eritreans voted for independence.

The Transitional Government's plan was for a National Assembly representing Ethiopia's many ethnic groups, full and fair elections by 1994 and thereafter some kind of federal state. Regional and district elections were held on June 21, 1992. The elections were boycotted by the two largest opposition parties - the OLF and the All Amhara Peoples' Organisation (AAPO), who claimed that their candidates and election workers had been intimidated, harassed, even killed, by EPRDF troops. The OLF withdrew its troops from barracks on June 19 "in readiness to defend itself." They had been confined in camps under agreement with the EPRDF. They claimed to have been surrounded by EPRDF troops, so decamped. In further protest, on June 24, 1992, the OLF decided to withdraw its twelve members from the 86 seat Council of Representatives of the Transitional Government and issued a declaration of non-cooperation with the latter's decisions. The AAPO also withdrew. Skirmishes between the EPRDF and the OLF, which had killed hundreds of people between November 1991 and April 1992, escalated sharply. The Transitional Government ordered the closure of OLF offices and warned that if the OLF did not promote its objectives peacefully, this would "compel the defence forces of the Transitional Government to take all appropriate action to contain organised violence and lawlessness." For their part, the OLF stated that "renewed civil war is inevitable unless the situation improves." The withdrawal of the OLF and the AAPO from the June 21

elections left only EPRDF candidates, or candidates of their puppet parties, in most constituencies. Thus, the pluralistic character of the elections was lost. About 200 international observers monitored the polls. They criticised the Transitional Government for electoral abuses. Their report cited the intimidation and arrest of opposition supporters and a lack of choice on the ballot. In very few places were there competitive, multi-party elections. At this point, fears were high for a renewal of civil war in Ethiopia. Militarily, the OLF's estimated 15,000 troops are no match for the 120,000 troops of the EPRDF who have "inherited" the might of Mengistu's army. But large-scale military confrontations are unlikely to be the form any future fighting will take. Instead, the OLF would rely on guerilla tactics. The EPRDF will continue to resist full independence for Oromo Land as much of Ethiopia's hard currency is earned from the sale of coffee grown in this area. A conflict of this nature could drag on for a long time indeed. This is exactly what Ethiopia does not need now. After seventeen years of rule by Mengistu, the country needs stability in order to rebuild its economy and attract foreign investors. In spite of the mixed results of the June, 1992 elections, they were viewed by many observers as a step forward. Said a Western diplomat, "Compared to what they had during the Mengistu era, this was an advance. They did have political activity and people did vote. It's an important step along a continuum toward the next election." There is no doubt things have improved since Mengistu's departure. Free-speech is tolerated, peaceful assembly is allowed, the curfew has been lifted and there is an unprecedented degree of openness in Ethiopia now.

Parliamentary elections were promised for 1994. To be free and fair elections, these should involve all the political parties. As we have seen however, the main opposition parties removed themselves from the political process. As expected, the Tigrayan Meles Zenawi was returned as President in the national elections of 1994. For any kind of progress to be made, the opposition parties will have to return to the political process. Otherwise the country is in danger of lapsing into another civil war.

Presuming armed conflict stopped and the OLF and the EPRDF were able to reconcile their differences peacefully, what then? For hundreds of years Ethiopia has been composed of many peoples forcibly held together by autocratic Emperors. The fall of Mengistu brought an opportunity for these various nationalities to raise their voices and declare their individuality. Eritrea, the Northern most province of Ethiopia, has now established itself as an independent country.

What is happening in Ethiopia today can be seen as a microcosm of what is happening in the former USSR. For many years, a centralised, authoritarian state ruled over formerly independent peoples. Quite suddenly, this repressive lid was lifted off. The challenge, therefore, is to resolve formerly repressed nationalist interests in as least a destructive manner as possible. The model being adopted is that of "ethnic federalism." The EPRDF redrew the Ethiopian map along ethnic lines, creating twelve autonomous regions. The regions have been granted wide powers to tax and make laws, similar to those held under a federal system. It is hoped such an approach will

reduce ethnic rivalries and broaden the democratic base in Ethiopia. Critics contend the plan will magnify regional differences and could lead to Ethiopia's eventual disintegration along ethnic lines.

As the recent events in Angola have shown, the transition to democracy is never going to be a smooth process in Africa. As in much of Africa, implementing democracy is complicated by tribal conflict and poverty. However, the Ethiopians are better off than their neighbours, the Somalis. Each nation overthrew a dictator in 1991 - Mohammed Siad Barre in January and Mengistu in May. Somalia retained no central government; it fragmented into small clan based fiefs and wide spread ethnic fighting was the result. This devastated agriculture and the economy and thus the resulting tragedy. Such a series of events, so far, has been avoided in Ethiopia. It remains to be seen how the new government will fare. The main task of this government, consisting of a minority tribe in Ethiopia, will be to prevent renewed fighting, reduce nationalist tensions and raise the standard of living of the Ethiopian people.

Geography

Ethiopia is found in the Horn of Africa, between approximately 5° and 15° North latitude. It is bordered by Sudan, Kenya, Djibouti and Somalia. The central region of the country is dominated by the Ethiopian Highland Massif, much of which is 2,000 metres above sea-level. In the Southern part of the country, this massif is split by the Rift valley which continues northwards through the Red Sea and the Jordan valley and southwards through East Africa and into Mozambique. The great altitudes of the highlands are very important climatically to Ethiopia (and other countries in the region). During the "large rains" of June to September and the small rains in February, they collect enormous quantities of rain fall. Much of the North West of the country is drained by Lake Tana and the Blue Nile, which provides an estimated six-sevenths of the total volume of water in the combined streams of the Blue and White Niles. By comparison, the White Nile - which loses more than half of its volume in the swamp lands of southern Sudan - contributes almost nothing (Hancock, 1992).

It often comes as a surprise to the traveller in this near-equatorial country that the highlands are usually a well-watered, fertile and lush area. As a British visitor in 1935 commented, "The resemblance to familiar European landscape continually strikes the traveller through the highlands. The rolling green grass plains of Shoa or Gojjam might easily be mistaken for the Sussex Downs; and lakes and rugged mountains provide just such scenery as might be encountered in Scotland" (Cheesman, 1985). Sir Richard Burton, the most famous of all

Victorian African explorers, was similarly impressed by the fertility of highland Ethiopia:

> "On the 27th of December we exchanged the rocks, thorn-trees, and dried grass of the desert for alpine scenery rendered by contrast truly delicious. We stood upon the portals of the highlands of Abyssinia, the huge primary chain which runs north and south along the length of Eastern Africa .... The roads were thronged with peasants and market people, and in the hedges the daisy, the thistle, and the sweet-brier were so many mementoes of an English home" (1935, pp. 73-4).

Sedentary farming is the lifestyle of the Christian highlands. However, the land surrounding the Highlands is hot, low-land desert, many points being more than 100 metres below sea-level where noon-time temperatures can soar above 50° C. In these regions the Muslim nomadic pastoralists of Ethiopia live.

Altitude and climate, then, are the key determinants of lifestyle in Ethiopia. As the central Massif is cut by the Rift Valley and great rivers, this can lead to spectacular divergence. When driving North West from Addis Ababa through the highlands, one suddenly reaches the Blue Nile gorge where, in the space of 40 minutes driving, one descends 1,100 metres. The green farmland of the plateau is replaced by arid scrubland where farmers depend largely on goats and sheep - cattle being unable to thrive in such an environment.

History

Unlike much of Africa, where simple, illiterate societies existed right up to colonial times, Ethiopia has an ancient and rich cultural heritage. Legend has it that in the ninth century B.C. the Ethiopian Queen of Sheba travelled to Jerusalem to meet King Solomon. After spending a night with him, she returned to Ethiopia where she gave birth to a son, Menilek. As an adult, Menilek went to Jerusalem to meet his father. Upon leaving, he took with him from the temple the holy Arc of the Covenant and Solomon sent with him the first born sons of all the tribes of Israel. These sons are said to be responsible for the existence of black Jews, or Falashas, in Ethiopia today. On being officially declared Jewish in 1973, they became eligible for Israel's Law of Return and automatic Israeli citizenship and the vast majority have moved to Israel. There was some doubt as to their Judaic authenticity as they practised an ancient form of Judaism involving blood sacrifice which has long been forbidden by modern Judaism - since about 600 B.C., in fact, lending support to the legend that Judaism came to Ethiopia around 900 B.C. (Hancock, 1992). The country's historic ties with Judaism can also be seen in several present day customs, including circumcision and the following of food proscriptions akin to those of the Jews, for example, the shunning of pork (Hancock et al., 1983).

Unusually for Africa, Ethiopia has a long history of large kingdoms. The earliest of these was the Axumite kingdom, evidence of which exists as early as 100 B.C. Based on the capital city of Axum and the Red Sea port of Adulis, the Axumite



empire flourished around 400 A.D. A large part of its wealth and power came from controlling the Red Sea trading route between Egypt and Arabia and India. The ruins of the Axumite empire can still be seen today - palaces, churches, large obelisks and dams. It was the Axumite King Ezana who converted to Christianity, making Ethiopia one of the oldest Christian countries. The Ethiopian Orthodox Church is today the dominant religion of the highlands and has an altar at the Holy Sepelchure in Jerusalem. (Today it is enjoying a revival after seventeen years of Marxist rule under Lt. Col. Mengistu). The Axumite empire declined towards the end of the first millennium A.D. and Ethiopia's contacts with the outside world lessened. In Europe, it was thought of as the mysterious land of Prester John, inhabited by dragons and other fabulous creatures.

The Axumite Kingdom was followed by the Zagwe dynasty whose most important ruler was King Lalibela who ordered the construction of spectacular rock-hewn churches which are still in use today in the city which bears his name. In the opinion of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (Unesco), they deserve to be ranked among the wonders of the world. It is speculated that King Lalibela, during a 25 year exile in Jerusalem, befriended the Templar knights, who were renowned for their architectural ability, being credited with introducing Gothic architecture to Europe. It is further speculated that, on his return to claim his throne in Ethiopia, King Lalibela was accompanied by the Templars and that it was they who were responsible for building the Lalibela churches hewn out of the living rock (Hancock, 1992).

In the late thirteenth century A.D., the Solomonic dynasty

(claiming direct descent from the union of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba) again became dominant until a period of confusion marked by the invasion of the Muslim Ahmed Ibn Ibrahim El Ghazi, nicknamed Gragn, or the "left-handed", from Harar in present day south east Ethiopia. Gragn was eventually defeated with the aid of 450 Portuguese musketeers led by Don Christopher de Gama, son of the famous explorer, Vasco de Gama.

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries saw a divided and weakened Ethiopia after the conquests of Gragn. The man credited with unifying and shaping modern Ethiopia is Emperor Menilek II (1889-1913). He defeated an Italian invasion at the battle of Adowa in 1896. This victory maintained his country's independence while the remainder of Africa was being colonised. Ethiopians still boast of this feat today. However, Ethiopia was captured for a short time by the Italians (1936-1941) who were then ousted by Allied Forces, largely British, during World War II. Since then Emperor Haile Selassie, who claimed to be the 225th monarch of the Solomonic dynasty, ruled until 1974 when he was overthrown by *coup d'etat* as national anger grew at his attempts to hide from the world a devastating famine. His children now live in London and America, awaiting their chance to re-take the throne.

Economy

Ethiopia consistently ranks amongst the three poorest countries in the world. When one sees the lush vegetation and ideal growing conditions of the highlands, one cannot help but wonder why this should be the case. The 1984-1985 famine, which took more than one million lives, was nick-named the "Green Famine" because, as bumper crops were being collected in the south of the country, people were starving by the hundreds of thousands in the north. Writing in 1985, at the height of the famine, James Grant, executive director of Unicef, commented that "One of the tragic ironies in parts of Ethiopia is that trucks carry grain from rural areas to Addis Ababa, while other trucks carry aid from Addis Ababa to relief camps in rural areas" Grant (1985). Below is a brief account of why Ethiopia is so poor in spite of her rich natural resources.

Water

Ethiopia has historically been subject to severe droughts of which the well-known 1984-1985 and 1973-1974 famines are only the most recent examples. Agriculture depends on the annual monsoon rains which should fall for three months between June and September. When the rains fail, disaster follows. As the majority of farmers exist at a subsistence level, there is very little left-over to carry people through a bad year. One apparent solution would be to ensure a constant water supply by means of irrigation from the numerous large rivers that carry rain down from the highlands - the Blue Nile, the

Awash, the Omo, the Tekeze. Each of these huge rivers collect massive quantities of water; the Blue Nile alone contributes the bulk of water in the Nile after Khartoum. The Israelis have shown that extensive irrigation will literally convert desert into arable land. This brings us to the second point.

Technology

Large-scale irrigation projects of the sort described above are beyond the finances and technical capacity of Ethiopia. Many parts of Ethiopia have largely been untouched by modernity. A mere 30 minute drive from Addis Ababa, one can see people living in wattle and daub huts with thatched roofs using farming techniques which are thousands of years old. Massive technological advances need to be made in Ethiopia before the wealth of the land can be maximally exploited.

Land tenure

The land distribution systems in Ethiopia's recent past have not been conducive to wealth creation. Under Haile Selassie, a medieval feudal system was in operation. Much of Haile Selassie's power came from the fact that he was believed to be descended directly from King Solomon. He was seen almost as a deity and he encouraged this view. He has been described as a "benevolent autocrat", a father figure almost. He had no desire to modernise Ethiopia and thus lose his status. By keeping people tied to the land, he perpetuated the medieval homage to the king, which, as he well knew, is not a feature of an educated,

liberated society. (Eventually, the first stirring of revolt against him came from the university educated students he had sent abroad for further education). Under his rule, large numbers of the peasantry worked on huge estates for absentee landlords.

Mengistu's reign was to end all this by means of revolutionary socialism. He initiated collectivisation programmes known as "villagisation" and, following a North Korean model, he centralised facilities such as health, education and electricity and required people to live in the "villages" where these services were provided. People were forced to leave their houses and live in pre-fabricated, military style barracks.

While these barrack style villages did indeed centralise services, they also served to allow the Party to account for people, rather than having them spread all over the countryside. As with collectives elsewhere, any surplus grown was to go to the government. Thus there was no incentive to grow more than enough to feed one's own dependents. This left land idle and only a fraction of the potential was being harvested - this in a country where people were starving to death a couple of hundred kilometres to the north. This policy affected an estimated 28 million of the 45 million population and tore the heart out of Ethiopian rural life. It devastated the economy and disrupted the way people had been living for centuries.

Another land distribution incentive of Mengistu's government was the "resettlement programmes." These occurred in the Northern provinces and involved moving people from the drought prone areas to virgin lands in the South and West. For Mengistu, it was a means of eroding the support of the rebel

armies. Millions were moved against their will. The large population movements which began in 1991 involve many of these people returning to their homelands.

War

Much of the country's wealth was spent on warfare, particularly during the Ethio-Somalia war and towards the end of the civil-war. Therefore, little money was available for social and economic development. The war made refugees out of people who ordinarily could have supported themselves if they had been left in peace to work the land. Mengistu used hunger as a weapon and deliberately destroyed crops, bombed markets, knocked bridges and generally made it difficult for the Northern rebels to distribute food. Also, during the 1984-1985 famine, he withheld food aid destined for hungry Tigreans and Eritreans, or, as he might have seen it, hungry rebels.

Most of the above points are peculiar to Ethiopia and help to illustrate why Ethiopia is so stunningly poor. In addition, Ethiopia suffers from problems which are more generally associated with Third World countries. Parts of the country are so over populated that no matter how high the crop yield, there is never enough to go around. These high population levels are associated with high infant mortality rates, the traditional desire for a large family, lack of education and lack of availability or acceptance of contraception. Wood being the primary fuel, the forests of Ethiopia are rapidly shrinking. This has the effect of loosening the soil and allowing it to be washed

or blown away, thereby reducing the quantity and quality of arable land.

These are just some of the reasons for Ethiopia's poverty. In spite of popular beliefs, the single most important factor contributing to this state of affairs is not drought or climate - it is man. People, to a large extent, cause the food shortages which are exacerbated by drought, insects and so on. In the words of Walker, "People and their governments cause famines, not nature; not climate" (1985).

Appendix 4 - A Comparison Between Street Children and First World Runaways

Looking at the question of street children, Westerners might be inclined to compare them to the adolescents who run away from home or care in developed countries. These adolescents typically leave home due to a sudden argument because of abuse, school or discipline problems or a feeling of being neglected (Flowers, 1986) and they rarely stay away for more than one or two days (NCH, 1992). London today is estimated to be home to in excess of ten thousand homeless juveniles. The same is true of many other First World cities. "In certain European cities, there are known cases of thousands of gypsy children sold into virtual slavery, exploited by gangsters as professional beggars" (Agnelli, 1986, p.36). The National Coalition for the Homeless estimates that there are 600,000 homeless children in the United States (Hope & Young, 1986), with an estimated one million runaways there a year (Orten & Soll, 1980). In 1988, an estimated 10,000 young people were homeless in Toronto (McCarthy & Hagan, 1991).

However, the runaways of the First World are not comparable to the street children of the Third World. Their material backgrounds, their very short length of time spent away from home, and the fact that they do not need to make a living from the streets makes them an entirely different phenomenon to street children. Table A.1 compares the main features of Ethiopian street children with those of British runaways.

	Ethiopia* (n = 1,000)	Britain** (n = 7,038)
Age	47% younger than 12 Only 15% older than 15 Average initiation: 10.7	Majority 14-16 Only 7% younger than 11
Length of time away	5% broken with home Majority sleep at home	62% less than 24 hours 2% more than 14 days
Extent of travel	36% travelled to town	2% leave home area 0.4% travelled to London
Sex	76% male 24% female	55% male 45% female
Family	High illiteracy rates Low income, poor housing 32.6 % widowed 12.1% divorced	Conflict at home Deprived conditions
Reasons for leaving	To work: 58% Family disharmony: 11.3%	Family arguments Abuse at home Excitement
Exploitation	32% beaten 36% of female adolescents are prostitutes 28% of female adolescents are sexually assaulted	Very rare. Few children remain unsupervised for long.

*Unicef (1993) **NCH (1992)

Table A.1: Comparison of Ethiopian street children and British runaways.

The differences are very marked. As we can see from Table A.1, only 2% of runaways are away for more than fourteen days. Most of these stay with friends or relatives. The only group of runaways comparable to street children are the very small group who survive on their own for any considerable length of time, for example, juvenile prostitutes or inhabitants of "cardboard city." This group of runaways are comparable to *children of the street.* Unfortunately, very little research on this group is to be found. In terms of exploitation, the 1992 NCH survey of runaways in Britain reports that the very short length of time spent away from home by runaways does not expose them to large levels of abuse. "Most reported runaways do not wander around on their own in city centres but go to stay with friends or relatives and are only away for relatively short periods of time" NCH (1992, p. 27). The NCH survey did uncover instances of paedophilia, prostitution, theft and violence but these were very rare incidences indeed and were not experienced by the majority of runaways. No additional data were provided for runaways who stay away for longer periods of time or who survive on the streets.

To conclude, information regarding the First World population which most resembles street children is scarce. The information which does exist seems to indicate that long-term homeless juveniles in industrialised societies experience similar abuse to that experienced by *children of the street* in developing countries - rape, prostitution, drugs, police harassment and the degradation of begging.

Appendix 5 - Unicef/Molsa Questionnaire

QUESTIONNAIRE ON THE STUDY OF STREET CHILDREN

IN FOUR SELECTED TOWNS

Name of interviewer: .....

Name of town: .....
/__/__/
Date: .....
Time: From ..... To .....
Area: .....
/__/__/

SECTION 1: Demographic and Familial Details

A. Background and Origins.
Name ? .....
1. Sex ?
1. male .....
2. female ....
/__/__/

2. Age ? .....
/__/__/
3. Ethnic group?
1. Amhara .....
2. Oromo .....
3. Gurage .....
/__/
4. Tigrian .....
5. Other(specify)....
6. Don't know .....

4. Religion?
1. Orthodox .....
2. Muslim .....
3. Other(specify)....
/__/
4. Don't know .....

5. How often do you attend a religious ceremony?
1. Daily .....
2. Every Week .....
3. Occasionally ....
/__/
4. Rarely .....
5. Never .....

4. D/K .....
5. N/A .....

7. Where do your parents live now
(name of place) ..... Adm. Region .....
/__/__/

7.1 1. This town/city .....
2. Other urban .....
3. Rural .....
/__/
4. Don't know .....
5. N/A .....

IF IN THIS TOWN, PLEASE STATE AREA .....
/__/

IF FAMILY HAS MIGRATED TO THIS TOWN, SEE Q8,9,10.

8. Where were your parents living directly
before coming to this town? (name of place)
/__/__/
..... Adm. Region .....

8.1 1. Urban .....
2. Rural .....
3. Don't know .....
/__/
4. N/A .....

9. What age were you when your family come to this
town?
/__/__/
Age .....
Don't know .....
N/A .....

10. Why did your family leave their home region?
1. War .....
2. Draught/famine .....
3. To find work .....
4. Health reasons .....
/__/
5. Other(Specify) .....
6. Don't know .....
7. N/A .....

IF FAMILY LIVING IN REGION OUTSIDE THIS TOWN,
SEE Q11,12,13,14,15

11. Why did you leave your family? .....
.....
/__/
.....

11.1 How old were you at that time? .....
/__/__/

12. With whom did you come to this town?
1. Alone .....
2. With siblings .....
3. With other relative....
/__/
4. With friend(s) .....
5. Other(specify) .....

13. How did you travel?
1. By foot .....
2. By bus .....
3. By train .....
/__/
4. By hitching lift intruck or car ...
5. Other(specify)

14. Did you come directly to this town from your home region?
1. Yes ....
/__/
2. No ....

14.1 If no, in how many other towns did you stay?.....
/__/

15. Why did you come to this town? .....
/__/

B. Family Details.

16. Is your father still alive? .....
1. Yes ...
2. No ....
/__/
3. Don't know ....

17. How does/did your father earn his livelihood?
IF MORE THAN ONE; TICK MAIN SOURCE OF INCOME ONLY.
/__/
1. Informal/daily labourer .....
2. Self-employed, has skill or trade ....
3. Petty seller or trader .....
4. Government employee .....
5. Private employee .....
6. Farmer .....
7. Other(specify) .....
8. Don't know .....

17.1 Was your father soldier?
1. Yes ....
/__/
2. No .....

18. What is/was your father's educational background?
1. Illiterate .....
2. Can read only ...
3. Can read and write ....
/__/
4. Regular education .....
5. Don't know .....
6. Other(specify) .....

18.1 IF REGULAR EDUCATION
Highest grade completed .....
/__/__/
Don't know .....
N/A .....

19. IF FATHER DEAD How old were you when he died? .....
/__/__/

20. Who supports your family?
TICK ANY THAT APPLIES
1. Father only .....
2. Mother only .....
3. Extended family .....
/__/
4. My self .....
5. Other children .....
6. Step-father .....
7. More than one of the above .....
8. Others (specify) .....
9. N/A .....

21. Is your mother still alive?
1. Yes .....
/__/
2. No .....
3. Don't know .....

22. What is/was your mother's means of livelihood?
1. Informal/daily labourer .....
2. Street-seller .....
3. Skilled worker/self employed .....
4. Employee .....
/__/
5. House servant .....
6. Beggar .....
7. Housewife .....
8. Other (specify) .....
9. D/K .....

23. what is/was your mother's educational background?
1. Illiterate .....
2. can read only .....
3. Can read and write .....
/__/
4. Regular education .....
5. Don't know .....
6. Other (specify) .....

23.1 IF REGULAR EDUCATION
Highest completed grade .....
/__/__/
Don't know .....
N/A .....

24. IF MOTHER DEAD How old were you when she died?
/__/__/

25. What is your biological parents marital status?
1. Living together .....
2. Circumstantial separation(e.g. work,war etc.) .....
3. Divorced or separated (due to bad marriage) .....
/__/
4. Separated because of death .....

5. Don't know .....
6. Others (specify) .....
7. N/A (e.g both parents dead) .....

26. IF DIVORCED CIRCUMSTANTIALLY SEPARATED how old you were at that time? .....
/__/__/

27. Do you have a step-mother?
1. Yes ....
/__/
2. No .....
3. D/K ....

28. Who were you living with before you started spending most of your time on streets?
1. Family (two parents) .....
/__/
2. Father .....
3. Mother .....
4. Other (specify) .....

C. ON HOUSING

REFERS TO FAMILY HOUSE OR IF CHILD LIVING WITH GUARDIAN.
Where child lived before coming to the street

29. What type of house does your family live in?
1. Brick/stone .....
2. Mud .....
3. Tin .....
/__/
4. Bamboo/sticks .....
5. Plastic scarp materials .....
6. Other (specify) .....
7. Don't know .....
8. N/A .....

30. Condition of family house

	House Condition	1. Yes 2. No 3. D/K
30.1	Roof leaking	
30.2	Have many big holes	
30.3	Bad smell outside	
30.4	Latrine facility	
30.5	Latrine used by more than two families	
30.6	Electricity	
30.7	Clean drinking water	
30.8	N/A	

31. How many rooms are in your house?
/__/
..... rooms N/A .....

32. How many people in total live in your house?
/__/__/
..... N/A .....

D. ON SIBLINGS

33. How many brothers and sisters do you have?
Brothers .....
/__/
Sisters .....
/__/

34. Where do you come in the family?
1. Only child .....
2. Eldest .....
/__/
3. Middle .....
4. Youngest .....

35. Can you tell me some brief details about your brothers and sisters? N/A
/__/

ONLY ASK FOR THOSE SIBLINGS UNDER 17 YEARS. WRITE AGES IN DESCENDING ORDER. FOR QUESTIONS 35.1, 35.3, 35.4, 35.5 FILL IN RELEVANT NUMBER

No.	35.1	35.2	35.3	35.4	35.5
	SEX 1=M 2=F	AGE	1=attending school 2=not attending school 3=N/A 4=D/K	strret-activity 1=Work 2=Play 3=Begging 4=D/K 5=No	Sleeps? 1=Home 2=Home/street 3=Streets 4=D/K 5=N/A
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					
6					
7					
8					
9					
10					

36. IF NOT OTHER SIBLINGS ON STREET why, in your opinion, are you on the streets when your other siblings are not? /__/
.....

E. PRESENT RELATIONSHIP WITH FAMILY

37. With whom are you living now?
1. Both biological parents .....
2. father .....
3. Mother .....
/__/
4. Other relatives .....
5. Alone .....
6. With friends .....
7. Other (specify) .....

37.1 IF LIVING WITH PARENTS/GUARDIAN
How do you get along with?(the guardians
/__/
or parents the child lives with) .....

38. Usually,how often do you see your family/parents/ siblings/relatives/other guardian?
1. Every day .....
2. At least every week .....
3. At least every month ....
/__/
4. Few times a year .....
5. Really .....
6. Irregularly .....
7. Never .....
8. N/A .....

39. IF NEW TIMES A YEAR/REALLY/NEVER Why do you not return home?.....
/__/

40. When did you last see your parents/family/ guardian?
1. Today/this morning .....
2. 1-3 days ago .....
3. 4-7 days ago .....
/__/
4. 1 week-2 weeks ago .....
5. More than 2 weeks ago but less than a month .....
6. 1 month-2 months ago .....
7. 2-6 months ago .....
8. 6 months or more (specify) .....
9. N/A .....

F. EDUCATIONAL HISTORY

41. Have you ever attended school?
1. Yes .....
/__/ 2. No .....

41.1 IF YES, 1. Priest school .....
2. Koran .....
/__/
3. Regular school .....
4. N/A .....

42. IF NO Q41, why not?
1. Financial constraints .....
/__/
2. Child works and family income will be
3. Helps family (non-financially). If he/

54. Do you think your parents/guardians approved or disapproved of your living/working/or playing on the street?

1. approved .....

/__/

2. disapproved .....
3. didn't care .....
4. don't know .....
5. N/A .....

55. Have conditions of your family improved or worsened since the time you come onto the streets?

1. improved .....

/__/

2. no change .....
3. worsened .....
4. D/K .....
5. N/A .....

Why? .....

/__/

56. Have you ever experienced any of the following at home?

		1=Often 2=sometimes 3=rarely 4=never
56.1	spanking/pinching	
56.2	beaten	
56.3	beaten with some object	
56.4	hunger	
56.5	frustrated by violence between parents	
56.6	upset by fighting and shouting	
56.7	unsupervised by adult for long periods in the home	
56.8	too strict supervision in the home	
56.9	drinking in home which upset you	
56.10	prostitution in home which upset you	
56.11	other (specify)	

SECTION 3: Present Life Circumstances

57. Where do you usually go to sleep?
/__/
1. home .....
2. home and street .....
3. street .....

57.1 IF STREET, specify (eg. veranda, church yard, bus stop) .....
/__/

58. What do you usually do to play or have fun? .....
/__/

59. How many times a day you eat? .....
/__/

60. What kind of food do you have for lunch or for dinner? .....
/__/

61. Do you work?
1. Yes, regularly .....
/__/
2. Yes, sometimes .....
3. No .....

61.1 IF NO, how do you survive? .....
/__/

62. What types of jobs do you work at?
62.1 Main job .....
/__/
62.2 Secondary job .....
/__/

63. Usually, how many hours a day do you work?
..... N/A .....
/__/__/

64. How much do you earn in a day?
..... N/A .....
/__/__/

65. Who helps or protects you while on street?
1. No one ..... 2. Siblings .....
/__/
3. Friends ..... 4. Groups .....
5. Parents ..... 6. Other adults ....
7. Others (specify) .....

65.1 How do they help protect you? .....
/__/

65.2 When do they help or protect you? .....
/__/

66. Do you beg?
1. Always .....
/__/
2. Often (usually) .....
3. Sometimes .....
4. Rarely .....
5. Never .....

67. IF YES, How much do you get begging on a usual day?
/__/__/__/__/

68. What did you do with the money you earned all together in a usual day?

68.1 FOOD Birr .....
/__/__/__/__/__/__/
68.2 FAMILY Birr .....
/__/__/__/__/__/__/
68.3 SCHOOL Birr .....
/__/__/__/__/__/__/
68.4 ENTERTAINMENT Birr .....
/__/__/__/__/__/__/
68.5 SHELTER Birr .....
/__/__/__/__/__/__/
68.6 CLOTHES Birr .....
/__/__/__/__/__/__/
68.7 OTHER (specify) ..... Birr .....
/__/__/__/__/__/__/

69. IF GIVES MONEY AT HOME How does (mother/father/guardian) use the money you bring home? .....
/__/

70. What is your parents/guardian's reaction to the contributions?
1. Happy .....
/__/
2. Sad .....
3. Angry .....
4. Indifferent .....
5. Don't know .....
6. N/A .....

70.1 Give your opinion about the contribution .....
/__/

71. Have you ever pressurized to contribute to the family income?
1. Yes .....
/__/
2. Sometimes .....
3. No .....
4. N/A .....

72. Why do you stay on streets? (use child's words) .....
/__/

73. On Anti-social Behaviors

	Behavior	1. Every day 2. Every week 3. Rarely 4. Never
73.1	Drinking	
73.2	Smoking	
73.3	Chat	
73.4	Glue/Benzine	
73.5	Other (specify)	

74. Do you ever steal things from the markets on other places?
1. Yes .....
/__/
2. No .....

74.1 IF YES, What? .....
/__/
75. Have you ever been caught by the police?
1. Yes .....
/__/
2. No .....
76. IF YES, Why?
1. for stealing .....
/__/
2. for being a street child .....
3. for no reason .....
4. other (specify) .....
5. N/A .....
77. Have you ever been beaten or hurt on the streets?
1. Often .....
/__/
2. Sometimes .....
3. Rarely .....
4. Never .....
78. What is the biggest problem you face most of the time? .....
/__/
79. Are you satisfied with your life now? .....
/__/
80. Under what conditions would it possible for you to leave street life ? .....
/__/
81. Do you know places or organisations that help children like you? (please name) .....
/__/
82. Have you ever had any contact with it/them?
1. Yes .....
/__/
2. No .....
3. N/A .....
83. IF YES, what was your experience of it? . .....
/__/
84. What do you want to be in the future? .....
/__/
85. IF RESPONDENT OVER 12, Have you ever done any sexual acts for money or goods?
1. Often .....
/__/
2. Sometimes .....
3. rarely .....
4. Never .....
5. N/A .....
86. Has any one ever forced you to do any sexual acts?
1. Yes .....
/__/
2. No .....
3. N/A .....

87. Health Check-list

	Problems	1. Yes 2. No
1	Skin problem	
2	Eye problem	
3	Ear problem	
4	Stomach problem	
5	Teeth problem	
6	Headache	
7	Nasal bleeding	
8	Handicap or permanent injury	
9	Others (specify)	

88. Have you received any treatment?
1. Yes .....
/__/
2. No .....
3. N/A .....

89. IF YES Where? .....
/__/

90. IF NO Why not? .....
/__/

91. Are you still receiving treatment?
1. Yes .....
/__/
2. No .....
3. N/A .....

92. IF NO, SPECIFY WHY NOT .....
/__/

93. Where do you usually go to get help when you or someone is sick? .....
/__/

94. INTERVIEWERS COMMENTS

A. Appearance:
1. Well dressed and clean .....
/__/
2. Torn cloths, but clean .....
3. Torn and dirty cloths .....
4. Other (specify) .....

B. Health:
1. Healthy and strong .....
/__/
2. Weak and skinny .....
3. Not well or malnourished .....
4. Other (specify) .....

C. Most striking non-verbal behavior:

/__/ 1. Cold and friendly .....
2. Shy/Reserved .....
3. Sad/unhappy .....
4. Alert/active .....
5. Smiling/happy .....
6. Friendly/open .....
7. Mischievous/delinquent .....
8. Other (specify) .....

D. Level of Co-operation

/__/ 1. Very good .....
2. Good .....
3. Fair .....
4. Bad .....

E. Recommendation .....

/__/ .....

F. Other comments .....

/__/ .....

Appendix 6 - Victim Survey and Self Report Study

Victim Survey

1. Are there some dangerous areas in this city where you would not go on your own? Name these areas.

2. Why would you be afraid of these areas?

3. Has anybody ever beaten you on the street with their fists or kicked you? If "Yes", see table below.

How often?	Who?	Why?	What did you do about it?	Worst damage?
Once	Robbers	To steal	Nothing	None
A few times	Merchants	For fun	Tell police	Bruises
Many times	Police	You stole	Tell gang	Broken bones
Regularly	Other boys	Other, (Specify)	Other, (Specify)	Other, (Specify)
	Other, (specify)			

4. When is the last time this happened to you?

5. Has anybody ever beaten you on the street with a stick or any other kind of weapon? If "Yes", please describe the last time this has happened to you. Where did it happen?

6. Has anything ever been stolen from you?

7. When was the last time this happened to you?
   What was taken?
   Who did it?

8. How often does this happen to you?

   (a) Every day

   (b) Twice a week

   (c) Once a week

   (d) Once every two weeks

   (e) Once a month

9. Have you ever been beaten and had something stolen from you at the same time?

   (a) Never

   (b) Less than 5 times

   (c) More than 10 times

Where did/does this happen?

When is the last time this happened to you?

Who usually does this to you?

10. Have you ever not been paid for doing a job? If "Yes", how often does this happen you?

11. Has anybody ever sexually attacked you or abused you?

Who?

Where?

When is the last time this happened to you?

12. How often has this happened to you?

(a) once in your life

(b) less than ten times

(c) much more than ten times

(d) more times than you can remember

13. What did you do to stop this abuse?

14. Has anybody ever paid you with money, or other things, to do any sexual acts?

How old were you when you first did this?

What are you usually paid?
Who usually pays you to do this?

15. Can you think of any other bad things people have done to you?

16. Tell me a little bit about what you think of the police.

17. Overall, what do you think of adults?

18. Do you feel safe around the streets of this city? What do you do to make your life safer?

19. Have you ever reported a crime against you to the police? If "Yes", what was done? If "No", why not?

20. Would you say you're subjected to more abuse than other children? Why?

Self - Report

1. I am interested in the slang that you might use for things like stealing and fighting. Could you give me some examples of the language you might use among your friends?

1.....	6.....
2.....	7.....
3.....	8.....
4.....	9.....
5.....	10.....

2. Was anybody in your family, besides you , ever arrested?

   Who?

   Why?

   How many times?

3. Were you ever arrested?

   Why?

   How many times?

   Were you sexually mis-treated while in prison?

Tell me about the last time you were arrested. How did the police treat you?

How did your parents/family react when they found out you were arrested?

4.

	Do you ever steal from shops or markets?	Do you ever pick-pocket?	Do you ever steal from inside or outside a house?
Yes/No			
What do you steal?			
Where?			
When start?			
When last time?			
How often?			
Planned or spur of the moment?			
On own or with friends?			

Do many of
your friends
do this?

5. Why do you steal, pick pocket or steal things from houses?

6. If you steal something that is not food, what do you do with it?

7. Were you ever caught stealing anything? If YES, what happened to you?

8. Have you ever stolen anything else?

9. Do you ever feel it is wrong to steal? Would other people in your position do it?

10. Did anyone ever pay you to do anything wrong? What did you have to do?

11. Do you or your gang ever beat people?

12. How often do you do it?

13. Why do you beat people? Do you plan to do it, or does it just happen?

14. Do you beat them with your hands and feet or with sticks?

15. How badly have you ever beaten somebody?

16. Do you ever carry a knife or any other kind of weapon? If "Yes", have you ever used it? Describe this incident.

17.

	Chew khat	Sniff benzene	Tella	Beer	Wine	Spirits	Smoking	Gambling
Yes/No								
Age start								
How often?								
With whom?								
Why?								
Where?								
Where do you get these substances?								
How much a week do you spend on these products?								

18. Do you ever steal or fight when drunk? Is this when you usually steal or fight?

19. What sort of gambling do you do?

20. Would you steal every time you got the opportunity or are there some people you would not steal from?

21. Can a child-prostitute earn much money? How much?

22. If a street child is a prostitute, does he/she have to have a "pimp" - fetalla?

23. Is the fetalla a relation/friend/stranger?

24. What would happen if a prostitute didn't have a fetalla?

25. Must they give much of their money to the fetalla?

26. Do you know any street child who is a prostitute?

27. What do you know about the disease Aids?

28. Do you know many people with Aids?

29. Do you ever break things like windows or things on the street? Why?

30. What other kind of crimes have you committed?

31. What's the worst thing you ever did?

Appendix 7 - Remand Home Questionnaire

The questionnaire used in the Remand Home used the victim survey and the self report study, as found in Appendix 6 above. In addition, the following questions were included:

Family details and background

Date:

Interviewers:

Location:

1. Name?

2. Sex?

3. Age?

4. Race/Tribe/Ethnic group?

5. Where were you born?

6. Where have you lived, and for how long, since then?

a. Location: Length of time:

b. Location: Length of time:

c. Location: Length of time:

7. So, you came to Addis Ababa when you were how old?

8. Did you ever go to school? No Yes (To what level?)

9. Are both your parents living? If not, how old were you when they died?

10. Are your parents living together/separated/divorced?

11. Where do your parents live now?

12. Tell me what you remember most about your life at home.

13. What does your father do for a living?

14. What does your mother do for a living?

15. How many brothers and sisters do you have?

16. While living in Addis Ababa, where and with whom did you sleep?

17. How did you get money?

Work. What kind? Average earnings per day?

Beg. Average earnings per day?

Other. Please elaborate.

18. If you worked on the streets and lived at home, how long did you live like this?

19. If you worked and lived on the streets, how long did you live like this?

20. Why did you leave your home to live on the street?

21. What religion are you?

22. To what extent do you practice your religion?

Questions relating to Remand Home

1. Why were you sent here?

2. Describe the process from the time you were arrested to the time you were sent here.

3. How long have you been here?

4. How long more do you have to go?

5. What do you plan to do when released?

6. Describe a typical day in here.

7. Have you ever been beaten by anyone in here? Who?

8. Do you yourself ever beat people here? Who? Why?

9. How do you find the living conditions in here? For example, the food, beds, health care, washing facilities, sports leisure and work facilities.

Appendix 8 - Case Study Questionnaire

Date: Interviewers: Location:

1. Age

2. Sex

3. Where were you born and where have you lived since then?

4. Where and with whom do you live now?

5. If lives on the street, how long have you lived like this?

6. Tell me about your family?

7. What part does religion play in your life?

8. Why did you first come to live on the streets? How long did you live on the streets?

9. Why and when did you first begin to steal things?

10. Describe the process of becoming more and more involved in crime as you got older and were longer on the streets.

11. Tell me about your life on the street as a *deriyea.* Stealing,

fighting etc. What kind of things do you do? What's the worst thing you ever did?

12. Are *khat* and drinking big parts of your life? How much of each do you do a week? Why? Why do delinquents chew and drink more than other people?

13. What age were you when you first started having sex? When was the first time you used a prostitute? Did you ever force a girl to have sex with you?

14. What happens as delinquents get older? Do they become more and more involved in crime or do they give it up?

15. What types of crimes do boys of different ages become involved in?

16. Do you have a gang? Why? What sort of things do you do together?

17. What kind of fights have you been involved in? Why?

18. Under what circumstances would you give up crime and lead a normal life?

19. Where are the main places to find delinquents in Addis Ababa?

20. Describe the life of an eighteen year old girl who lives on the street?

Appendix 9 - Questionnaire Used for Interviewing *Girls of the Street* (1992)

Family details and background

Date: Interviewers: Location:

1. Name?

2. Sex?

3. Age?

4. Where were you born?

5. Where have you lived, and for how long, since then?

6. Describe your family and your relationship with them.

7. Why did you leave your home to live on the street?

8. Describe your life on the street? Where do you sleep? With whom? Where do you eat? What are your biggest problems?

Victim Survey

1. Has anybody ever beaten you on the street with their fists or kicked you? If "Yes", see table below.

How often?	Who?	Why?	What did you do about it?	Worst damage?
Once	Robbers	To steal	Nothing	None
A few times	Merchants	For fun	Tell police	Bruises
Many times	Police	You stole	Tell gang	Broken bones
Regularly	Other boys	Other, (Specify)	Other, (Specify)	Other, (Specify)
	Other, (specify)			

2. When is the last time this happened to you?

3. Has anything ever been stolen from you? What? Who usually does this?

4. Has anybody ever sexually attacked you or abused you?

Who?

How old were you when this first happened to you?

When is the last time this happened to you?

5. How often has this happened to you?

6. What did you do to stop this abuse?

7. Are you afraid this will happen to you? What will you do if you become pregnant?

8. Has anybody ever offered or paid you with money, or other things, to do any sexual acts?

How old were you when you first did this?

What are you usually paid?

Who usually pays you to do this?

9. Can you think of any other bad things people have done to you on the street?

10. Tell me a little bit about what you think of the police?

11. Do you feel safe around the streets of this city? What do you do to make your life safer?

12. Would you say you're subjected to more abuse than other children? Why?

Self - Report

1. Were you ever arrested?

Why?

How many times?

Were you sexually mis-treated while in prison?

Tell me about the last time you were arrested. How did the police treat you?

How did your parents/family react when they found out you were arrested?

2.

Do you ever steal from shops or markets?	Do you ever pick-pocket?	Do you ever steal from inside or outside a house?
Yes/No		

What do
you steal?

Where?

When start?

When last
time?

How often?

Planned or
spur of the
moment?

On own or
with friends?

Do many of
your friends
do this?

3. Why do you steal, pick pocket or steal things from houses?

4. Were you ever caught stealing anything? If YES, what happened to you?

5. Do you ever feel it is wrong to steal? Would other people in your position do it?

6. Did anyone ever pay you to do anything wrong? What did you have to do?

7. Do you or your gang ever beat people?

8. Why do you beat people? Do you plan to do it, or does it just happen?

9. How badly have you ever beaten somebody?

10. Do you ever carry a knife or any other kind of weapon? If "Yes", have you ever used it? Describe this incident.

11.

	Chew khat	Sniff benzene	Tella	Beer	Wine	Spirits	Smoking	Gambling
Yes/No								
Age start								
How often?								
With whom?								
Why?								
Where?								

Where do
you get these
substances?

How much a
week do you
spend on
these
products?

12. Do you know any street child who is a prostitute?

13. What do you know about the disease Aids?

14. What's the worst thing you ever did on the streets?

Appendix 10 - Questionnaire Used in 1993 to Interview *Girls of the Street*, Concerning Victimisation, Long Term Effects of Street Life, Factors of Vulnerability to Victimisation, the Role of the Group and Coping Strategies

Family details and background

Date: Interviewers: Location:

1. Name?

2. Sex?

3. Age?

4. Where were you born?

5. Where have you lived, and for how long, since then?

6. Describe your family and your relationship with them.

7. Why did you leave your home to live on the street?

Long Term Effects of Street Life

How do you feel about the fact that you are attacked and abused and other girls are not?

How do ordinary people treat you in the street? Why is this?

Are you afraid of boys and men? Why?

Are you afraid to be on your own on the street?

What is your greatest fear?

Why are you attacked by men? (if relevant)

Would you prefer to have a baby boy or a baby girl? Why?

What do you think the long term effects of your living/working on the street will be? (if relevant)

Factors of Vulnerability

In cases where you are attacked, what is your relationship with the offender? Do you drink together? Do your clients abuse you in any way? (If girl sells sex)

Where do you sleep and with whom?

At what times are you robbed/attacked/raped? Why are you attacked? Where does it happen?
Do you go out in the evenings alone? Why?

Do you do anything to make attacks happen, eg, mix with *deriyeas*?

What could you do to prevent it from happening?

Why are you picked and other girls are not?

Where do you go in the evenings? Why?

The Group

Who do you spend most of your time with on the streets/at home?

What ages and sex are your friends?

What do you and your friends do for each other?

Do you work alone or with friends? Why?

How do your friends help you when you are in trouble?

Do you do anything with your friends in the evening? Do you

drink or chew *khat* with them?

Do you share money with your group? Why?

If you see one of your group being attacked, what do you do?

Do you sleep with the same people you work with?

Coping Strategies

How do you protect yourself from robberies and attacks?

Would you ever tell the police if that happened?

Would you tell anybody?

Is there any way you can get revenge?

If you or somebody you know becomes pregnant, what can you do about it?

How can you protect yourself in the evenings from being attacked?

Are there certain areas you avoid?

Victim Survey

1. Has anybody ever beaten you on the street? Why?

2. Has anything ever been stolen from you? What? Who usually does this?

3. Has anybody ever sexually attacked you or abused you? (not including rape)

4. Are you afraid this will happen to you?

5. Have you ever been raped? How old were you when this first happened to you?

6. Has anybody ever paid you with money, or other things, to do any sexual acts? How old were you when you first did this?

7. Has anybody ever offered to pay you for sexual services? Who?

8. Have you ever been pregnant?

9. Have you ever had an abortion? How?

10. What form of birth control do you use?

11. Do you feel safe around the streets of this city? What do you do to make your life safer?

Appendix 11 - Questionnaire Used in 1993 to Interview *Girls on the Street* and Urban Poor Girls Concerning Victimisation, Long Term Effects of Street Life, Factors of Vulnerability to Victimisation, the Role of the Group and Coping Strategies

Family details and background

Date: Interviewers: Location:

1. Name?

2. Sex?

3. Age?

4. Where were you born?

5. Where have you lived, and for how long, since then?

6. Describe your family and your relationship with them.

7. Why did you leave your home to live on the street? (if relevant)

8. Describe your life on the street? Where do you sleep? What

work do you do? With whom? Where do you eat? What are your biggest problems? (if relevant)

Victim Survey

1. Has anybody ever beaten you on the street with their fists or kicked you? If "Yes", see table below.

How often?	Who?	Why?	What did you do about it?	Worst damage?
Once	Robbers	To steal	Nothing	None
A few times	Merchants	For fun	Tell police	Bruises
Many times	Police	You stole	Tell gang	Broken bones
Regularly	Other boys	Other, (Specify)	Other, (Specify)	Other, (Specify)
	Other, (specify)			

2. When is the last time this happened to you?

3. Has anything ever been stolen from you? What? Who usually does this?

4. Has anybody ever sexually attacked you or abused you?

Who?

How old were you when this first happened to you?

When is the last time this happened to you?

5. How often has this happened to you?

6. What did you do to stop this abuse?

7. Are you afraid this will happen to you? What will you do if you become pregnant?

8. Has anybody ever paid you with money, or other things, to do any sexual acts?

How old were you when you first did this?

What are you usually paid?

Who usually pays you to do this?

9. Can you think of any other bad things people have done to you on the street?

10. Do you know any street girl who is a prostitute?

11. What do you know about the disease Aids?

12. Do you feel safe around the streets of this city? What do you do to make your life safer?

13. Would you say you're subjected to more abuse than other children? Why?

14. Did anyone ever pay you to do anything wrong? What did you have to do?

15. Do you or your gang ever beat people?

16. Why do you beat people? Do you plan to do it, or does it just happen?

17. Have you ever been pregnant?

18. Have you ever had an abortion?

19. Have bar-owners or ordinary individuals ever asked you to be a prostitute?

20. Why don't you work on the street?

Additional questions to determine: the long term effects of experiencing sustained victimisation; the main factors of

vulnerability; the role of the group; and coping strategies. These questions are identical to those found in Appendix ten.

Appendix 12 - Transcripts of Group Discussions

Session 1, 17/10/1992:

Two boys aged nineteen and twenty: Benzene is only used by younger boys. They use it to protect themselves from the cold. Around age fourteen they stop using it because they will be laughed at for doing so.

A very common practice for younger boys is to steal clothes which have been left out to dry. They then sell the clothes. Boys might do this around age ten or eleven.

Younger boys, as well as older boys, hang around in groups. The groups serve different functions, depending on your age. For the younger boys, the group are other boys you will play with. You will sleep with them for warmth and protection. You will work in the same area and share whatever food or money you get. Thus, if you get nothing one day, you will not go hungry as you can depend on your friends. This cooperation of the group is also important for older boys. If you steal something, they will prevent people from following you or from shouting "Thief, thief." If you steal something, you will keep the largest share but you will distribute some of it among your gang (a) so they will do the same for you and (b) to prevent them from going to tell the police. Gangs get bigger as boys get older. At age ten, it might just be some friends looking out for one another but by age fifteen you might be in a gang of 35 boys.

Nearly all veranda girls above age seventeen will act as

prostitutes. They will offer this service around the time of their period so they can be sure not to get pregnant. If they do get pregnant, they can abort by taking tablets mixed with Coca Cola. If they keep the baby, they can do nothing except beg with it. It is said some girls deliberately get pregnant as babies are a lucrative begging aid. Around age fifteen, girls are liable to be raped. This is the time they will begin to be approached by "agents" or bar-owners to be either prostitutes on the streets or "bar-girls." Street boys begin to use prostitutes at around age fourteen or fifteen, although as young as ten is not unheard of. This may cost them 50c or 1 Birr.

Street children beg up to about age fifteen. At this age people will stop giving them money and will give out to them for not working. Thus, around fourteen or fifteen, begging ceases to be worthwhile.

Thieving is not so common among girls. However, many of the older girls prostitute themselves around National Theatre and Stadium. It is very common then that they have babies. Many of the women you see begging on the streets with babies are veranda girls who have become pregnant.

Delinquent Behaviours of Different Aged Boys

Age 10: He will be a lookout for older thieves. For this he will get a little bit of money, depending on how much is robbed; perhaps 10 Birr. He will sniff benzene at this age. Also smoking and drinking *tej* and *tella.* If opportunities arise, he will steal

things but mostly he will act as a look-out for older boys. The little boys who do this are usually the ones who have been on the streets all their lives. They were born to veranda mothers and are "pure" street children.

Age 15: By now the boy is stealing himself. He is starting sex. He is completely independent. He is becoming concerned about his appearance and wants to have nice clothes. He spends a lot of time with the gang and has a lot of spare time and money for chewing *khat* and drinking. He starts to have sex with prostitutes for one Birr but after a while will get a girlfriend. If they have the money, they will chew and drink every day. When they are drunk, they are afraid of nothing. They will fight anyone or steal. Around fifteen, the gang becomes quite cohesive. They drink and chew together. They begin to get dangerous - they will rob in groups and become violent if resistance is offered.

Age 20: By now our street child has become a "master thief." He does not sleep in the veranda anymore. He rents a room or a house. He has a lot of money and can afford very good clothes. He breaks into houses at night, with a knife or sometimes a gun. If he meets resistance, he may kill the house owner. They often have a good relationship with the police. They will share the money with them. Many of the Derg police were themselves street boys. Of course, not all *deriyeas* end up like this. Most "become good" before reaching the "master thief" stage. They may gather enough money to start a trade. They may return back to their families. Relatives or friends may advise them against their life style.

What are the family backgrounds of those who become involved in crime? Many of them do not have families because they come on their own from the rural areas. Many of them come from a female headed household. They don't have a father to direct them. How does a young child first turn to stealing? First he will start stealing sweet things and going to films. They will steal to get the 50c for the video. Sex and violence in the *video-baits* are a bad influence on the boys. Peer groups are important in leading children into bad activities, for example, missing school.

Gangs fight together if any one member is insulted. They will fight with rocks, chains and knives. Sometimes boys are killed in these fights. One famous gang is called "Bombard" and it used to be based in Kirkos where it had 250 members. They had monthly meetings. Most of them are in prison now. The EPRDF broke them up. The main places for *deriyeas* now are National Theatre, Kirkos, Markato, Mexico, Arat Kilo.

Session 2, 19/10/1992:

Four veranda boys, aged 10, 12, 13, 13, from Le Gare. Dressed in absolute rags. They have been living on the streets from between four to seven years. Their biggest source of abuse is older boys beating them to take their money. This happens always, any time they get any little bit of money. This is a big problem for all of them.

They work at minding cars and begging. They each have their own place for begging and working. One of them was beaten badly by a Derg policeman because he was suspected of stealing.

Kollo girls are easy targets. Even little boys like these can steal their *kollo.*

Once an older boy demanded money off them and when they refused (two of them together) he cut each of their arms with a razor-blade. It is not even as simple a matter as stealing - it is more systematic. If an older boy has not got any money, he will order these small boys to work or beg and bring the money to him. A form of punishment inflicted is to make the small boys run or jog or do physical exercises for a long time. One boy who refused to give money to an older boy was beaten on the head with a rock while he was sleeping.

These boys rely a lot on the police for protection. They will often inform on the older thieves but often get beaten as a result. These small boys really have very little form of protection. They stay close to the EPRDF soldiers. They have befriended one of them who told them to tell him if anyone attacks them.

I asked them if they would steal a wallet sticking out of the pocket of a big, fat man. Each of these four boys would steal such a wallet if the opportunity presented itself. From their point of view, it would be crazy to pass up such a chance. One boy's explanation for stealing a wallet from a fat man was that, if the man was so fat, he would not be able to chase him. This is one of the reasons younger boys are not involved in

confrontational crimes, including pick-pocketing. They do not have the physical strength to fight if attacked or the speed to run away. A certain physical size is needed before one can risk such a crime. Also, a certain amount of courage or "brazenness" is needed for pick-pocketing. Many boys have told me they do not pick pockets because they do not have the nerve for it. Pick pockets or bag snatchers favour female targets, preferably middle-aged ones. A young man could chase or fight them, a middle-aged man would shout "Thief, thief", but a middle-aged woman tends not to shout and cannot run after them. Most boys would not steal from an old man or woman.

Stealing: Mostly these boys steal from each other. Another way they get money is to tell the owner of some property who the thief was.

Older boys may ask them to be look-outs while they are stealing. They can be offered 3-4 Birr for this. Obviously, many small boys accept such commissions and this is their (profitable) introduction to crime.

They get food by begging for left-overs from restaurants. Sexual abuse would appear to be non-existent among boys. However, they have seen girls being raped, once by five boys and another time by twelve.

Session 3, 20/10/1992:

Four boys, aged 13, 15, 18, 18. They earn money by being *wyallas* and by carrying goods. They are very well dressed

compared to the younger boys from session two. This is one of the benefits of stealing.

Younger boys will experience a lot of robbing and beatings but this will decrease as they get older because they are bigger and better able to defend themselves. Also, they have a gang which any potential attacker will also have to take into account.

A boy who tries to work in a new area will be beaten by the other boys working there. If he manages to get a foot in (perhaps by knowing one of the boys already established there), he will have the least status there for a while until he finds his niche. Where to sleep at night is a perennial source of conflict. There will be only a limited covered area and every night you have to fight to claim your space. The younger, smaller boys lose most often.

Younger children (aged around ten) steal clothes from the lines and sell them in the market and use the money to buy cigarettes and benzene.

Bigger boys steal at night. They work in groups and assault people who are on their own. If they find a drunk man, they will rob everything he has.

Sharing among thieves: The robber keeps the larger portion for himself and distributes the rest among the others who have helped him, for example, look-outs and those who crowded the target so the pocket could be picked or the bag snatched. These ones will also intervene if the target gives chase. The robber has to distribute the earnings. If he does not, one of the disaffected parties may inform to the police on him.

Mostly smaller boys only steal goods from the market that are on display - glasses, soap.

Why is there this difference between the crimes of little boys and bigger boys? Some of it has to do with the older boys greater strength. Also, they have a greater need for money as they get older - for good clothes (so they will not be recognised as thieves), for *khat*, drink, money for prostitutes. Below age eleven, they only want money for benzene or cigarettes or to watch videos. They are not much interested in clothes at this stage. At around age fourteen, extra money is needed for drink and *khat*. Around fifteen, sex begins and large amounts of money are spent on *khat* and drink. Hash is also available and used but mostly only by older boys and girls. How do these habits develop? They learn from older boys. They will be offered things by older boys and encouraged by them and their own peers. If an older boy takes benzene, he will be laughed at for taking a child's thing.

What kind of crimes have they committed? Pick-pocketing on the bus. One boy first really began stealing by robbing drunk men at night. The largest amount ever stolen was 200 Birr. He was in a taxi with a drunken driver who put 600 Birr down on the seat. The boy stole 200 Birr without being noticed. He bought clothes, ate well and invited his friends to drink. Another boy stole a bag which had 25 Birr in it. He spent the money on *tej*, *khat* and food. Another stole 30 Birr and spent the money on clothes. One of them attacked someone when he was sixteen - he got him in a head-lock and took 15 Birr from him.

What are their plans for the future? The eighteen year old wants to get a driver's licence and become a driver. When asked why don't they continue stealing and getting easy money, instead of getting a job, they said that stealing does not give a regular income. You never know when you will have money. None of them want to continue stealing - not because it is wrong, but because it does not give a steady income.

Every night the two younger boys build a cardboard shelter in Abiot Square. In the morning they take it down and leave it with a man all day who sells tea. He minds it for them. Sometimes they sleep in the church compound using sacks as blankets.

I asked the thirteen year old what happens as street boys get older and older. Do they become more and more "Master thieves"? He replied that some learn from their hardships on the street and want to go back to their families and practice a "normal life." Some just continue on in stealing.

Session four, 21/10/1992. Two females, ages 15 and 16.

People have been known to steal babies so that they can be used for begging. This can double a beggar's income. Sometimes they even wrap up little dogs whose whimpering may sound like that of a baby. One of these girls had her baby stolen while she was out begging. Almost without exception, girls on the street beg and do not work. If they work, it will be in houses or hotels as maids. Girls sleep in rented rooms for about 50c a night.

These girls live in a private house which has only three other lodgers. They have a good relationship with the owners and neighbours. They risk being sexually assaulted if they sleep on the veranda. This can happen a girl as young as ten. It is almost a certainty once they become sexually mature.

Being robbed by *deriyeas* is a major problem for girls. Money is demanded from them: if they refuse they are beaten and whatever little bit of money they have is taken from them. They cannot tell the police as the *deriyeas* would cut their faces. Girls have to be in before dark. If they are not, they are likely to be raped.

A girl will not get employment unless a man who knows her well vouches for her and provides a guarantee to her employer.

Their social life consists largely of just chatting with each other. Things like foot ball, table tennis and going to *video-baits* are largely male activities.

They are afraid that if they stay on the streets that they will develop "unnecessary" acts, that is, prostitution. Brokers ask them to become involved in prostitution. These brokers are pimps. Prostitutes get good clothes, foot-wear and food. But, the negative aspect is bad health and bad behaviour - not just prostitution but drinking and associating with "bad" people.

Different stealing techniques used by *deriyeas*:

1. Spit on a passer-by. Pretend to apologise and ask for the jacket to wipe it off. When they get the jacket, they run

off.

2. Pretend to find a bag or money on the ground in front of a passer-by. Then saying, "Come on, we will go together and share this." Then they take him to a quiet place and rob him.

If girls steal, it will involve going from house to house to beg. If they are left unsupervised for a moment, they will steal whatever they can find. Another technique is to pretend to be a prostitute and lure a man to a quiet spot where boys are waiting who will rob him.

Being raped is the biggest concern for girls who are on the streets aged fifteen or more.

Appendix 13 - Street Girls' Age Related Developmental Profile

This following section is an age profile of street girls generalised from the data. As a profile extrapolated from numerous questionnaires and interviews, it necessarily involves a certain amount of generalisation. It is not necessarily *the* way street girls develop, but an outline of some of the common experiences and practises of street girls of different ages.

Age 12

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

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

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

Age 13

The average age for initiation to street life among our sample of 70 *girls of the street* is 13.13 years and the single most common reason given for coming to the streets was conflict in the home. This suggests that moving onto the street is widely perceived to be a more attractive option than continuing to live in a negative home situation.

Girls of this age are in the "grey area" between being asexual children and sexually mature young women. This grey area has become clear by age fourteen. Twelve and thirteen year olds still do not have the fear of rape which is so prevalent amongst fourteen year olds. They are in a transition period. Some of the younger looking girls will laugh at the very idea of being sexually attacked; it is simply not a reality for them. On the other hand, those twelve and thirteen year olds that do sleep on the street are beginning to become very wary of the possibility. They may have received a scare or may have actually been raped. It would be unusual for a girl of this age to be still sleeping on the veranda.

Individuals are beginning to solicit girls for sex at this age. Bar-owners will not be approaching them yet - this comes when they are a little older. However, the vast majority are not prostituting themselves yet.

Age 14

Most of the girls are now sexually mature. They will be routinely solicited for sex. Fear of *deriyeas* and sexual assault

is something many of them have to live with continuously. This is the age when girls begin to be raped (the average age for a first experience of rape is 13.8 years). It begins to happen that they are beaten by *deriyeas* when they refuse them sex.

Their appeal to passers-by as endearing, helpless orphans begins to wear off. This used to offer a measure of protection from the general public. Now girls will begin to experience abuse from passers-by because they are begging. This abuse will generally come in the form of insults and being spat upon.

For the more mature looking girls, bar owners will start inviting them to be prostitutes. Most girls have moved into rented rooms at this stage.

Age 15

An increasing proportion of the girls report having been raped. Some of them now are associating with *deriyeas.* They are becoming part of a hardened sub-culture. This may involve becoming sexually active, prostitution, theft, *khat* chewing and drinking. Such girls are a minority among street girls. Many more are religious and moral, maintaining the standards by which they had been brought up. The hopes for the former of any kind of effective rehabilitation are becoming increasingly slim. Girls who wish to avoid this life style see the importance of staying away from *deriyeas.*

Pregnancy starts becoming a problem at this age. Pregnancies may be as a result of rape, prostitution or through being taken in as a "wife." The children from these pregnancies are at a very high risk of illness and accident.

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

By begging on the streets, girls are subject to a number of different types of abuse: police, with varying degrees of force, will move them on; passers-by will reprimand them for begging and for not working; and rivalry and competition amongst the girls is very keen and often violent. The smaller or less protected a girl is, the greater the chance that she will be regularly beaten and robbed of her earnings.

Age 16

While some girls are becoming more involved in a *deriyea* sub-culture involving prostitution, others (particularly girls of this age who are new to the street) try to avoid such a lifestyle: "I would never do it [prostitution], even if I was starving. I'd rather eat *kollo* and water." Others take a more pragmatic approach, "I know I can get good clothes and food from it, but this will not compensate for unknown diseases."

Girls who arrive on the street at this age are seen as easy pickings. As one street wise fourteen year old said, "They are from the country. They know nothing." Girls in their late teens arriving on the street for the first time have not been hardened to street life and have not as yet developed the skills necessary to survive there.

Age 17

Some street girls start becoming full time prostitutes or bar-ladies at this age. They wear new clothes, rent nicer rooms and lead a far superior material life than younger street girls. As one fifteen year old said, "They were like us once, but now they are rich." Girls of this age who are prostituting themselves no longer sell themselves as occasional acts of desperation. Rather, prostitution has become a part of their life style. Full-time prostitutes are more comfortable financially and, to sustain the life style they have become accustomed to, they continue to prostitute themselves. Girls of this age who do *not* prostitute themselves will be teased and asked, "Why don't you?", "What makes you so different?"

Age 18

There are a number of clearly identifiable paths girls can take at this stage:

(a) The *deriyea.* This girl is a full-time prostitute and thief. She mixes with a gang of males and females who spend a lot of their free time and money on drink, hash and *khat.* She has no interest in a "normal" life style and feels no particular affinity with society. In the words of one girl who had spent many years on the streets, "I don't give a shit about anyone, as long as I'm happy."

(b) The law-abiding street girl: This girl believes stealing

is wrong, prostitution is a sin against God and does not mix at all with *deriyeas*. She aims to be a full and productive member of society and greatly regrets that she never got an education. She would go hungry and sell her clothes rather than prostitute herself. The insults she receives for begging deeply hurt her. She lives by begging and longs to leave the streets. She lives a subsistence life style.

(c) The single mother: Either as a result of rape, prostitution or consenting sex, this girl has a baby to care for. The only way she can rear the child is by begging. She may receive up to twice as much money as a girl with no baby. Nevertheless, this only allows her to barely survive. The child receives little or no proper medical care and it's chances of dying are high.

Conclusion

It seems likely that girls on the streets in their late teens are those who could find no way to leave the streets. Thus, it cannot be assumed that they are representative of girls who have spent some time on the street. Many girls do find a satisfactory exit from street life. Some get married, sell *tella*, wash clothes, become full time prostitutes or bar-ladies, become maids, or work in bars, hotels or restaurants.

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