



**Addis Ababa University**

**College of Social Sciences**

**Department of Social Anthropology**

**MA Thesis**

**On**

**Streetism and Social influence: A Case of Street life and Street culture in  
Addis Ketema Sub City, Addis Ababa**

**By**

**Tilaye Zelealem Berhanu**

**June 2020**

**Addis Ababa, Ethiopia**

**Addis Ababa University**  
**College of Social Sciences**  
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**A Thesis Submitted to the Department of Social Anthropology  
Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree  
of Masters of Art in Social Anthropology**

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## **Dedication**

This study dedicates to all street children who struggle street challenge life all over the world!

## **Declaration**

I, the undersigned, ID. No. GSR/7361/10, do hereby declare that except for reference to other people's work, which all sources utilize for this research have been properly acknowledge. This is my original work that titled "Streetism and Social influence: A Case of Street life and Street culture in Addis Ketema Sub City, Addis Ababa". It is conducted under the supervision of Dr. Tekalign Ayalew at the school of Social Anthropology, Addis Ababa University(AAU). This work has neither been prepared and submitted in full nor in part for a degree , or Master program in the University or elsewhere.

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This thesis has been submitted to be worked on with my approval as University supervisor.

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Finally, none is responsible for any remaining errors in the research paper. Any mistakes and interpretation that remain are my own.

Tilaye Zelealem Berhanu

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## **Acronyms**

<b>AAU</b>	Addis Ababa University
<b>ACPF</b>	African Child Policy Forum
<b>AIDS</b>	Acquired immune Deficiency Syndrome
<b>BOLSA</b>	Bureau of Labor and Social Affairs
<b>CSA</b>	Central Statistical Authority
<b>ECA</b>	Economic Commission for Africa
<b>EEA</b>	Ethiopian Economic Association
<b>FDRE</b>	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
<b>FGD</b>	Focus Group Discussion
<b>FSCE</b>	Forum for Street Children
<b>FSS</b>	Forum for Social Studies
<b>GDP</b>	Gross Domestic Product'
<b>Godana Adari</b>	Work and live on the street
<b>HIV</b>	Human Immune Deficiency Virus
<b>MEDAC</b>	Ministry of Economic Development and Cooperation
<b>MoLSA</b>	Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs
<b>MoWCA</b>	Ministry of Women and Children Affairs
<b>NGO</b>	Non-Governmental Organization
<b>OAU</b>	Organization of African Union
<b>SC UK</b>	Save the Children United Kingdom
<b>STDs</b>	Sexually Transmitted Diseases
<b>UNECA</b>	United Nation Economic Commission for Africa
<b>UNESCO</b>	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organizations
<b>Veranda Adari</b>	Work on the street and sleep in veranda
<b>UNESCO</b>	United Nations Education scientific and Cultural Organizations
<b>UNICEF</b>	United Nations International Children and Emergence Fund
<b>UN</b>	United Nations
<b>Yedureye Quanqua</b>	Street created words used by street children for their survival.

**NB.** In the thesis local used Amharic terms has given their meanings in English.

## Abstract

*There is an increasing number of children living on the street of developing countries like Ethiopia. This research has been undertaken with children who live their lives partially (street On) and permanently (streets Of) in Addis Ketema sub City, Addis Ababa. The study focused on "Streetism and Social influence: A Case of Street life and Street culture in Addis Ketema Sub City, Addis Ababa". It illustrates the causes and dynamics, street capital, risks, and coping strategies. The study employed qualitative research design, which is suitable for studying serious social problems like streetism. An ethnographic approach employed in natural setting through field work to explore street real life (their culture, risks and coping strategies) from a holistic standpoint. The data collection method was unstructured interview, focus group discussions, case studies, observation and hand writing (give pen and paper to them to write their street experiences and coping strategies in more details by their own hands). The study carried out on a sample of forty eight street children age between 10-18 years who live on the street of Addis ketema sub City. The data was analyzed using narrative because most of the information that have emerged from research questions and fieldwork was real life stories about pre and current life experience. Triangulation employed in terms of different theoretical perspectives discussed in the literature and diversity sources of information. The research finding shows that streetism becomes a way of life because they acquired the street respect system (group culture and urban space), or simply a set of learned pattern of socialization from early and becomes a second nature to them in the process of street creed. Streetism is caused by the minimum set of societies' system failure (family, politics, education and economy). This revealed in poverty, dysfunction of the families (death, divorce or violence), government policies, displacement of people in the country, peer influence, globalization, abuse (physical, verbal or sexual) and lack of vision for future assurance. System failure in a society lead children to depart from their families and live on the street. They perceive street life as a means of freedom, constraints, a house, a food getting area and internalized it as a habit to live. Acquired street habit develop into street culture and becomes a way of life (habitus). They experience both pain and joy life, and created their own culture as a response to the minimum set of societies' system failure in creating sophisticated coping strategies. These days, streetism is a dynamic and complex social problem, and it needs multidimensional and integrated solution from the society at large.*

**Key terms:** *Streetism, Social Influence, Street Children, Street Life, Street culture, Risk, Coping Strategies.*

# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1. Background

Children are the most treasurable human capital of any community. The future productive citizens and leaders, undoubtedly, come from these children or younger generation. The term “children on the street” which is commonly used in literature on the thematic area initially defined by United Nations International Children’s Emergency Fund (hereafter, UNICEF) as any boys and girls aged under eighteen years for whom the street has become home and /or their source of livelihood and who are improperly protected or supervised (Save the children United Kingdom (hereafter, SC UK), 2012 in Yakob, 2018).

Children are the most sensitive and vulnerable segment of any society. They exist with adults, without any care giver or partial care giver. The significant number of them in the world live in poverty, without parents and guardians to take care of them. Even those who have parents may not obtain their basic needs and live in absolute poverty. As a result, children without any care giver and basic needs forced to migrate into the city and become streets. The magnitude of Streetism is shocking worldwide coupled with multi-effects. Poverty, rapid urbanization, abuse, violence, social neglect and dysfunction of families are factors contributing to increase street children at an alarming rate and escalating worldwide social problem. Kopoka (2000) addressed that throughout the world in general and in Africa in particular witnessing rapid and extensive socio- economic and political changes with both positive and negative consequences, from which the negative consequences of these changes lead to large number of children to end up on the street.

Although it is shocking in fast growth, there is no accurate and clear data of number of street children. Previous studies depend on estimates and varies from one source to another. UNICEF (1996), estimated 100 million children worldwide live at least part of their time on the streets. After ten years, Hosny et al,(2007) estimated street children population in the world is approximately 150 million with a constantly increasing number; 40% of these are homeless and the other 60% works on the streets to support their families(Hosny et al, 2007 in Waziri 2013).

These days in the world, it also estimated that more than 200 million children work and live on the street. In Africa, it is increasing at alarming rate. By 1992, the Organization of African Union (hereafter, OAU) estimated that Africa had about 16 million children on the street and 32 million by the year 2000 (Kilbride, 2000 in Yacob, 2018). However, UNICEF (2005) report indicates that, in sub-Saharan Africa, 32 million children are believed to live on the street. SC UK (2012), put the lowest estimates 250,000 children on the street in Kenya.

In Ethiopia, the Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs(hereafter MoWCA) in collaboration with UNICEF(2018) addressed the demographic characteristics of children from the Central Statistics Authority(hereafter CSA 2018) projected total population of Ethiopia to be 96.5 million, with most (47.8 million) children under 18 years old nearly half of the total population. The high number of children under 18 years old, both in rural and urban areas potentially exposed to poverty, inequality and migration. This is because in Ethiopia, poverty incidence is higher in the rural settings (47%) than urban areas (37%) (African Child Policy Forum 2012; Forum on Street Children Ethiopia 2006). A study by UNICEF (2000) estimated that nearly 600,000 children in Ethiopia and over 100,000 in Addis Ababa, live on the street.

The Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs(here after MoLSA, 2018) estimated that 50,820 urban destitute live and work in Addis Ababa; street children, the homeless, and beggars. From this, Addis Ketema Sub city estimated 8000 urban destitute; 2480 homeless street children,1520 homeless street dwellers/Adults, 1040 people living from begging, 1520 in sex worker and 1440 live in other activities. This shows that street life become a serious problem in the city and characterized by severe hardship and difficulties(Ibid). Also the Addis Ababa Bureau of Labor and Social Affairs(here after BoLSA, 2019) estimated that 58, 820 street children live and work on the street of Addis Ababa. Although the problem of street children is understood as an urban phenomenon, many of these children have rural origin. Chronic livelihood poverty in rural areas of the country which traditionally relied upon subsistence farming, in general, leads children to move into the city in search of better life(African Child Policy Forum 2012; Forum on Street Children Ethiopia. 2006). Once they live in street life, they expose to insufficient resources, risks and challenges, create street culture and coping strategies.

## **1.2. Statement of the problem**

Investigating and critically examining the previous studies help us to get a wider and clear image about streetism and its phenomena. In many countries of the world, a number of universities, colleges and institutions studied street children. However, most previous researchers focused on poverty, vulnerability, coping strategies, gender/HIV/AIDS, and criminal activities. From the previous researchers; Abate (2016), Kassa (2015), Kieni (2015), Tesefaye (2015), Anah (2014), Abebe (2014), Agyemang (2011), Hailu (2006), Mekuriaw (2006) and Ayalew (1998) focus on the role of government, non government and community response to these vulnerable street children. Other researchers like Yacob (2018), Anna (2015), Zerihun (2015), Kelil (2015), Samuel (2014), Tettegah (2012), Diriba (2012), Sebelewongel (2012), Abebe (2008), Negash (2007) and Girmay (2007) shown that poverty and family issue as a cause of streetism, and indicate how they cope different challenges and turn away problems.

In the same fashion, in Harju (2013) research, the major cause of streetism in his finding are peer influence, money and excitement, and children`s own misbehaving. Similarly, Hong, D.K. and Ohno, K.(2005), in their part included mindset problem (wrong attitude of parents or children themselves towards street) as a major cause of street children. Likewise, G/medhin(2014), Tsehay (2013), Abro (2012), Friends-International and CSCN (2011), Rana(2011), Hirpa (2007), Tesfaye (2007), Shah.S,etal (2005), Mekonnen (2005), Mulugeta et al. (2000), Berhanu (1998) and Beyene (1995) focused on the challenge of street life which includes health and psychological problem, water and sanitation, criminal activities, and their coping strategies use to deal with problems faced on the street.

Although the above mentioned studies conducted on the causes, risks, coping strategies and other related issues, many of them were shallow to address the details of street culture and their coping strategies. It is based on western perspective or a ‘vision of an idealized Westernized childhood’. Western societies define children in a bureaucratic way. For instance, in western culture, children means under 18 years old, rolled in school and get social protection or community response. They provide multiple care to children, and care is ‘socially distributed’. In the western world a child out of school and becoming on street seen as a deviant and criminal behavior. This implies that studies based on western perspective has little relevance to children living in communities very different understandings of adult/child relationships.

In our culture(adult/child relationships) children expect to play part of economic role to their families like farm activities or petty trade, and act as mature prematurely. They expected to show care toward their siblings (to offer assistance and respond to their requests), be more responsible, make more responsible suggestions to others, and do more tasks required for family survival. They experience challenges at early age and grow with it in their families. Also to alleviate any challenge, they leave their home and move into different areas. Most vulnerable children in urban and rural families dropout from school and migrate into the city to suck economic benefits, freedom and better life. They live in street life and urban space become a refuge center to them. In urban space they experience to play independent role to help themselves and try to fill the economic gap of their families. In my study, I focus on street children's voice and agency, examining their view and understanding, and analyse street culture and their way of life. Studying street children based on their voice is fundamental to understand in details the street life, cultural experiences, risks and coping strategies.

Anthropologically streetism as a way of life is less studied and lack ethnographic reality “Getting there and find out street real life”, and “new insights into their lives and experiences”. For example– some researchers agreed that ‘begging’ and ‘stealing’ are the main survival strategies to street children; however, they did not show what kind of ‘begging’ and ‘stealing’ style use in their daily activities. I tried to find out different kind of begging and stealing as coping strategies. Adugna(2006) explained that street children and street youth use ‘unfamiliar’ words in their daily life. However, he did not address in details and I elaborated it what kind of unfamiliar words they use? For what purpose they use it? and in what condition they use it? It extended to understand and make an explanation details to what life looks like on the street. I attracted in the real life of street culture and choose the study area in Addis Ababa a site of “Addis Ketema Sub city”; in which, it is the main destination place for rural migrants and potential place for urban origins. It is the country's stoke market center (Merkato) to attract them and engaged in different legal and illegal activities. Although there are so many publication on coping strategies, it is shallow to address street real culture. Therefore, I wanted to add through ethnographic field work in a setting where it is essential to learn.

### **1.3. Objectives of the Study**

#### **1.3.1. General Objective**

The overall objective of the study is to explain what children's life looks like on the street and their street culture in Addis Ketema sub city. It is basically designed to address further information on streetism as a way of life. The study also meets the following specific objectives:

#### **1.3.2. Specific Objectives**

- To identify the causes of streetism and its dynamics.
- To examine the street culture: habitus and different kind of capital(economic, social, cultural and symbolic) used by street children– streetism as a way of life.
- To explore the risk and challenges face street children.
- To identify different coping strategies in street life.

### **1.4. Research Questions**

The study also expected to answer the following research questions.

- ✓ What are the causes of streetism and its dynamics?
- ✓ What are their experiences and sub culture they have developed?
- ✓ How street words helps them as capital in their everyday life ?
- ✓ What are the risks they face in street life?
- ✓ What are their coping strategies to survive in street life?

### **1.5. Significance of the study**

This study can have the following contributions and significance: First it can provide scientific based information concerning; the cause of streetism and its dynamics, street habitus and different kind of capital(economic, social, cultural and symbolic), risks and Coping strategies in street life. Furthermore, it helps the government, non government and community members to know street real life and their survival strategies for further intervention. In addition, the study

helps for documentation of scientific research on street children real life. Finally, it also attempts to identify a gap of knowledge and throws a challenge for future research.

## **1.6. Limitation and Scope of the study**

The first limitation of the study is finance, the other one is the reluctance of street children to provide basic information. Most of them sleep during the day time. However, I go out to gather reliable data and basic information from them from 3 p.m. to 7 p.m. Because in these time intervals, they become active in chewing chats, smoke cigarettes and eat bulle. The other limitations of the study was lack of current and fresh quantified data from the institutions and NGOs they claim to play.

All informants of the study identified from Addis Ketema Sub City, therefore, it is difficult to infer for the remaining nine sub-cities and the city of Addis Ababa as a whole. They were within the age range of 10-18 years. The limited age range was not included above 18 and below 10 years age street destitute. The mobile nature of them makes difficult to find respondents who listed during administration of questionnaire. However, I use street informal leaders to find them and most of the time they got them. From their experience they assumed the exact location where children found. Refusal of some female streets who engaged in prostitution was the limitations of this study. However, to overcome this challenge, I negotiated them and gave some benefit to their time spent with me.

The scope of the study extends in Addis Ketema sub city of (*Bus station, Marekato, Sebategna, Addisu micheal, Mesalmiya, Habetegiorgis, and Tekelehayemanot*) area. Streetism is not only for children hence there are different kinds of people who are also vulnerable and part of the street life. However the study is limited to street children those who live and work in and on the street and spend most of their time there. For this study, street children meant children who are 10 - 18 years of age where as street children who live and/or work on the street of Addis Ababa. The study is also limited in Addis Ababa City particularly to that of Addis Ketema Sub City.

## **1.7. Organization of the Thesis**

The research is divided into seven chapters. Chapter one is the introduction part which also consists of statement of the problem, objective, significance, scope and limitation, and

organization of the study. Chapter two is the review literature begins with some discussions on the issue of contextualization of street children and theoretical perspectives that are relevant to the research problem. The theoretical perspectives begins with the concept of practice theory and social navigation theory, and its relevance to the problem under investigation. The new social studies of streetism which consider streetism as a way of life will be discussed to highlight the problem at hand. Chapter three presents the research methodology. It discusses the methods used in the data collection, analysis and the reasons for its choices. It also explains the justification upon which the study was based and clarified the means adopted to answer particular research questions. It reflects the researcher's field experiences and raised ethical and analytical issues in relation to researching children and more particularly, those who live and work on the streets of Addis Ababa.

Chapter four, five, six and seven present the actual findings of the research. Chapter four presents causes, animating factors and motivations of children went out to the street. It explores the causes of streetism, background and the profiles of street children. Chapter five addressed street culture: habitués, and different kind of capital(economic, social, cultural and symbolic). Once in the city, they become experienced in street culture and integrate into the urban environment. Chapter six focuses on risks and coping strategies of street children. It addresses different risks and coping strategies in more details. The final chapter presents the conclusion of the whole study.

## **1.8. Definition of basic terms**

The concept "Street Children" is a vague term to define. It often appears to be bold and embarrassing. The term street children were widely accepted during 1980s in Latin America and then send overseas like Africa and the rest of the continents (Benitez, 2011). The term is utilized everywhere in the world but it used varies from one country to the other. For instance terms like “out of place”, “homeless children”, “runaway”, are used in different countries to refer to street children. For the purposes of this study, the following terms will assume the meanings expressed below.

**Street Children:** Children who generate their livelihood from the street.

**Children On the Street:** Children working on the street who have regular ties with their families. They return at the end of the day and have a sense of more or less belonging to the local community.

**Children Of the Street:** Children see the street as permanent base of life and only tenuous relations with their families or relatives. They maintain the urban space as their home and a family member to it, where they seek shelter, food, companionship and habitually sleep on street.

**Streetism:** Jumping into street and habited street life as a culture.

**Social influence:** Social factors such as power and economic advantages that influences street children.

**Street Culture:** Street style of wearing, feeding, and respecting system of a group.

**Street life:** Live and work on the street habited both pain and joy life.

**Risk:** Children expose to harm, danger or loss.

**Copying strategy:** children response to harm, danger or loss.

**Urban space:** Open geographical place found in a city or town.

## CHAPTER TWO

### CONTEXT AND LITERATURE

#### 2.1. Conceptualization of Key Terms Used in the Study

##### 2.1.1 Conceptual Definition Children On/Of the street

**Children on the street:** first used in 1951 by the United Nation Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (hereafter, UNESCO) to refer to vagrant children following world war the second (Panter-Brick, 2003) and it was ardently discussed in the wake of the international year of the child (1979), resulting in the formation of the inter NGO program on the children on the street and street youth in 1982 (Lalor, 1999 in Yacob, 2018). The term —children on the street are commonly in Europe, North America and Australia, the term homeless children, runaways and push-outs are more common utilized (Le Roux and Smith, 1998). In South America the term —children on the street; gaminl (urchin) in Columbia, resistolerosl (little rebels) in Brazil, pajarofrutere(fruit bird) in Peru, where as in Africa the term— moustiquesl (mosquitoes) in Rwanda, mala pipell (pipe sleepers) in South Africa, and monstiques(mosquitoes) in the Cameroons. Other names also given to them such us hopeless, ruffians, thieves, parasites, hooligans, and bad influencell (Michael, 2010 in Yacob 2018).

Children on the Street are children who come to the street to work in order to supplement their families` income and return home at night. Significant number of them attends school on a part time basis. Worldwide, these children perform similar tasks such as shoe shining, wash and mind cars, sell lottery ticket, etc.(Lalor, 1999). Children who are On the street and who are engaged in an activity of an economic character, from begging to sale. Most of them go back home at the end of the day and share their earnings with their close relatives. They can go to school and keep a feeling of belonging to their family. As a result of the fragile economic environment of their family, they can progressively choose to permanently live on the street.

According to Lalor (1999) children on the street are a heterogeneous population, there are three main categories: (1) children at risk the largest group of in this typology. These are the children of the urban poor and they form the reservoir from which children on the street emerge. (2)

Children on the street as those children who came to the streets to work in order to supplement their family's income, and they will return home to their families at night time. (3) Children of the streets who have been the street are their main living place. Family ties may exist but are remote and their former home is visited infrequently. A sub category of street child in the UNICEF typology is that of \_'abandoned children''. This category includes orphans, runaways, refugees, and other who have no contact with significant careers. Therefore, it cannot be assumed that all children on the street are homeless(yacob, 2018). Children on the streets as those engaged in some kind of economic activity ranging from begging to vend with most of them going home at the end of the day and they contribute to their family earnings. Because of the economic fragility of the families: these children may eventually opt for a permanent life on the streets(Kieni, 2015).

**Children Of the street:** are whose main living place is street. Connections with their family may exist but are remote and their former home is visited infrequently (Lalor, 1999). In addition, street children are those who for the majority of the time sleep on the street and retain limited or no contact with their family of origin'. These are in the majority, "abandoning" rather than abandoned children, who have generally left home for the street as a result of family breakdown and violence almost invariably linked to the stresses of extreme poverty. Their definition of street children holds the common notion that they are distinguishable from other children in terms of their special relationship with the street.

Thus "the life style of children who for various reasons work and/or live in the street with all of its sub-group cultural values, norms, customs and expectations". It is always difficult to define the life of children in Ethiopia because of its variation in geographical, cultural, religious, social, and linguistic differences within a country has led to multiple life standards. For example:- the far and marginalized areas with lack of accessibility in terms of basic infrastructure has created a difficult life. Similarly, the cultural and religious enforcement of people has created burden on children to help families. Furthermore, some cultural contexts encourage to have more children as family power, property and helper when they become older. However, the increased number of siblings in household result in competing on resource and to migrate into the city.

In Ethiopia the problem of street children is growing yearly with increasing urbanization and urban-focused opportunities. Children from rural and urban areas migrate and become streets. These children in Ethiopia often known as '*Godana Adari*', others also call them '*Veranda Adari*', a disparaging term, meaning 'on/of' street and sleep in veranda respectively. In the context of street children the term has strong association with unstable behavior. The public as well as the children themselves have clear ideas of who the '*Godana Adari*' are, and what defines them as '*Godana Adari*', they do not attend school, they scavenge, beg, steal or work for their food, they sniff glue, and they are dirty and unclean. The life situations of street children who usually live in the streets and engage in menial income

These generalizations form the basis upon which people label the '*Godana Adari*' or '*Veranda Adari*', yet they mask a great deal of variation in the actual lives of individual street children. Some are absolute orphans, some have all or some of their family and many actually sleep at home. It is the way of life of children who consider the street in its widest sense with its own esoteric. Moreover, given a longer period of study, it seems likely that a more fluid pattern of individual movements in and out of the group (i.e. to homes, to relatives, to institutions) would emerge. Yet I would argue that these children do not move en masse between these social worlds and thus there remains a core to this group that is not dependent upon specific individuals but rather on some collective sense of identity. In my study, the age of the participants ranges from 10 - 18 years old.

Throughout this study, then, both children On/Of the street Addis Ababa are defined in terms of their relationship to the 'street' as a means of livelihood or a place of living. In relation to participation in a well-defined group structure a series of shared cultural understandings are constantly shaped, interpreted and reshaped through various activities. I would argue that the term 'street children' may be reserved as useful shorthand and groups of them need to be defined in terms of their own unique 'sub cultural' identities.

## **2.2. Theoretical framework**

Theories are treated as lifeblood to the disciplines like anthropology. As a newer discipline is grown over the last two hundred years and anthropology has proposed different important theories on human and culture (Ramli, 2014). Since theories are important in any research

projects, they serve as a guideline in the research process and are fundamental to define research problems. According to Jaggar and Rottenberg (1993), a theory in the broadest sense offers a general account of how ranges of phenomena are systematically interconnected; by placing individual items in a larger context. Moreover, a theory is ‘a set of interrelated constructs (variables) definitions and propositions that presents a systematic view of phenomena by specifying relations among variables with purpose of explaining natural phenomena’ (Kerlinger, 1979).

Street children live and work on the streets. Although every people observed their misery life, no one get closer to them. As a result of this, my observation inspired me to get closer to them, listen to them and try to know the details of their street life, why they are on the street, their livelihood strategies, street capital, social relation and network construct. Consequently, two area of theoretical approaches become very important to my research: Bourdieu “practice theory” and Henrik Vigh “social navigation theory”. More specifically, habitus theory and social navigation theory helps to make a more realistic understanding of their street habited life within and how they cope with and/or survive. On the other hand, I desired to understand them to know the meaning they have given to a life on the streets as their habitat instead of their original homes because every human action has meanings.

Bourdieu argued that human action is a product of dialectic relationship between objective structure and subjective structure (cognitive structure). Although most research on street children are too frequently presented as victims of economic, social and psychological circumstances, this study notices children as the best informants about their own street cultural lives, played a prominent role to create street culture, freedom of choice and actions to adjust to their livelihood constraints. As an anthropologist, my research agendas are incited by wanting to get behind the ‘facts’ as they appear to us in everyday life and seek to understand the processes and practices underlying the evidence of change or conflict that we might see around us (Limb & Dwyer 2001). Therefore in this research, I used Bourdieu's “theory of practice” and Vigh's “theory of social navigation” to anthropological concerns; that are appropriated to understand the practical logic of cause to street life, their culture, risk and coping strategies of everyday life.

### **2.2.1. Practice Theory**

For Bourdieu, practices should be posited as the primary inquiry for social scientists in analyzing social reality. To pursue his goals, Bourdieu proposed three of core theoretical concepts habitus, capital, and field in explaining practices. Dialectic relationships among habitus, fields, and capitals produce agents' social practices as Bourdieu illustrated in an equation:  $(\text{Habitus} \times \text{Capital}) + \text{Field} = \text{Practice}$  (Bourdieu, 1984). In this study, I elaborate the three of Bourdieu's core theoretical frameworks in analyzing social, cultural, economic, and symbolic capital of street children in their street life. I have noticed the usefulness of Bourdieu's theory of practices, and in particular the notion of habitus, for the study of 'Street children' and their incorporation into street culture. For example, A child come into an inhabitant of the street life by acquisition of a new habitus. At this point, the main concept of Bourdieu's framework significantly stressing the theories of assimilation, acculturation and integration: integration into a group, a new environment, society, and culture. Bourdieu considers a dynamic and intertwined change of street children habitus and the field in which they begins to 'play' (Bourdieu, 1999). For Bourdieu, social practices should be posited as the primary inquiry for social scientists in analyzing social reality. The core of practice theory lies on the concepts of 'habitués,' 'capital(economic, social, symbolic)' and 'field'(Bourdieu, 1984).

#### **Habitués**

The concept of habitus is central to Bourdieu's theoretical framework and a way of describing the embodiment of social structures and history in individuals– it is a set of dispositions, internal to the individual, that both reflects external social structures and shapes how the individual perceives the world and acts in it(cf. Bourdieu: Power 1999). Habitus concept is an avenue of explaining how social and cultural messages shape individual's thoughts and actions. The habitués, basically, is thus not wholly structured, though it is still remains strongly influenced by historical, social and cultural contexts. In their street life children internalized street culture and the way of life. Most of them smoke, drink, chew chat, take drugs, beg, steal, eat leftover food, sleep on urban space and experience risks. Bourdieu's term for a set of street habits in this way is habitués. Therefore habitués help us to look and react to the street way of life. Hence street habitués is based on their daily practice and survival strategy.

Their practice to survive in street life is not an intrinsic manner but acquired through experience sharing on the street. All street children habited street experience at the initial time and grow into street habitus— streetism a way of life or new social sub group. Bourdieu defines habitués as a property of social actors. It is ‘structured’ by one’s past and present circumstances (such as Street life and street experiences), and helps to shape one’s present and future practice. It comprise a system of dispositions that generate perceptions, appreciations and practices (Bourdieu 1990: 53). Habitus is thus a result as well as a cause for an individual’s way of being, acting and thinking. It accounts for the ‘practical knowledge’ of social actors in the sense that they ‘know’, through socialization, how to act, feel, talk, hold one’s body.

## **Capital**

The term capital typically refers to economic resources used in the production and distribution as well as exchange of goods and services, but Bourdieu had in mind something much broader. In urban life, material wealth like buildings, super markets, high ways, real estate, urban space and money what Bourdieu called capital. Bourdieu described forms of capitals in four categories: economic, social, cultural, and symbolic capitals. Capital is an important theme in revealing street children's real life.

In street life capital is in short supply and correspond to extremely low economic sorts; however, accepted social and culture capital which can be embodied and objectified, and their symbolic capital which conveyed by symbols (all kinds of languages). In street life, capital is a base of power relation. Their lived experiences (habitués) derive from relative endowments of different forms of capitals, which in turn, define their historically evolving positions within social settings. Pierre Bourdieu helps us to understand how street children try to make capital in street life— as a guide to understand street life, I need the concept of capital, of which: economic, social, cultural and symbolic. Street children exchange and accumulate capital in the course of street culture and everyday social interaction. Bourdieu (1997) describes three fundamental forms of capital: economic capital, which is readily convertible; social capital, which is comprised of ‘social obligations’ or ‘connections’; and cultural capital or ‘cultural competences’, which can be embodied (internalized and intangible), objectified (cultural products), and institutionalized (officially accredited).

## **Economic capital**

Bourdieu (1986) defined that economic capital refers to income and other financial resources and assets. It is the most liquid capital in that it may be more readily converted into other capitals (Rudd, 2003). His perspective on the forms of capitals offers two observations that inform analysis of everyday politics. First, given unequal distribution of capital in any given context, social interactions tend to reproduce existing power relationships even as incremental change occurs. Second, the forms of capital are convertible such that cultural capital might produce increased income (Wilshusen, 2012). The forms of capital as mutually constitutive in that economic capital affords the time and resources for investment in the development of their cultural capital, which is associated with future educational and occupational success, and in turn contributes to the accumulation of economic capital (Bourdieu 1997). Most street children dropout from school due to the lack of finance or economic capital

Economic capital to street children is insufficient to fulfill their minimal needs. Because they are not well educated to perform professional and urban based skill jobs. Most people not trusted with them to invite any job to generate income (economic capital) to their daily needs. They have got less socioeconomic success in future life. Because socioeconomic success is associated with economic capital to invest in time and resource. Economic capital beyond minimal needs result in a failure of success for futurity to accumulate social capital that forced them to create their own street culture to live in street life.

## **Social capital**

Social capital (also cultural capital) as developed by Bourdieu referred as a 'network of permanent and fixed social relationships' of mutual recognition and mutual acquaintance, beneficial and productive for the one who has them and maintains them and which are linked to integration into a group (Bourdieu, 1994: 92; Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 95; Sobel, 2002). Street children developed their social capital through the network of street friends. In their social interaction and networks, they share experience and develop power relation. According to Bourdieu, social capital represents a person's entirety of social relations. It is one's network of genuine or latent resources that can be legitimized by the family, group or class membership

(Bourdieu, 1986) and that allow access to material and immaterial resources, information and knowledge (cf. Gretzinger, Hinz, and Matiaske, 2010; Walther .M, 2014).

Social capital can be institutionalized in a title of nobility and requires efforts for its creation and maintain, example:– by reciprocal invitations (cf. Bonnewitz, 2005; Walther. M, 2014). It is cultural resource that is socially designated as a being worthy and that give advantage to group possessing such capital. It also refers to the social networks and associations in which people participate, and from which they can derive support that contribute to their livelihoods (Ellis 2000). For social interaction to be termed ‘capital’ it must be persistent, giving rise to stocks (for example, of trust and knowledge) on which people can draw, even if the social interaction itself is not permanent(Rakodi 2002). It is described as ‘the rules, norms, obligations, reciprocity and trust embedded in social relations, social structures, and society’s institutional arrangements, which enables its members to achieve their individual and community objectives(Narayan 1997 in Rakodi 2002).

### **Symbolic capital**

Symbols are things or behavior to which people give meanings. In symbol, people can also interact. In Symbolic interaction people act toward things because of the meaning things have for them. Symbolic interaction revealed through symbolic capital because it is the meaning conveyed by symbols (all kinds of languages), which becomes discernable and is employed by those categories of acting subjects who are familiar with it, understand it and recognize it, in other words, lend it value (Bourdieu, 1994).

In street life, street children wear worn-out clothes, eat leftover, can have scratched body and use *yedureye quanqua* (street words) as familiar symbols to understand each other and trust street values. The street words help them in daily activities like sign showing, storytelling, begging and thieving. In any case, as Bourdieu claims, every kind of capital (economic, cultural, social) can have the tendency to function as symbolic capital if it is recognized expressly and actually, in other words, when it is recognized as ‘legitimate power’(Bourdieu, 2002b). Symbolic capital yields the increase in status goods and is linked to the idea that interests are not always necessarily narrowly economic (Bourdieu, 1986: 134; 1992: 47).

Street children create and use street words (*yedureye quanqua*) as artificial language which has to be sustained by their social interaction. Because they use it for survival strategies. They are symbols and capital to them. It transmitted into the larger community and used by in everyday life. The question of performative utterances becomes clearer if one sees it as a particular case of the effects of symbolic domination, which occurs in all linguistic exchanges. The linguistic relation of power is never defined solely by the relation between the linguistic competences present. And the weight of different agents depends on their symbolic capital, i.e. on the recognition, institutionalized or not, that they receive from a group. Symbolic imposition - that kind of magical efficacy which not only the command and the password, but also ritual discourse or a simple injunction, or even threats or insults, purport to exercise - can function only if there is a convergence of social conditions which are altogether distinct from the strictly linguistic logic of discourse((Bourdieu, 1991)

One may note, in passing, that the source of the profit of distinction, procured by any use of the legitimate language derives from the totality of the social universe and the relations of domination that give structure to it, although one of the most important constituents of this profit lies in the fact that it appears to be based on the qualities of the person alone. Austin's account of performative utterances cannot be restricted to the sphere of linguistics. The magical efficacy of these acts of institution is inseparable from the existence of an institution defining the conditions (regarding the agent, the time or place, etc.) which have to be fulfilled for the magic of words to operate(Austin, 1975).

## **Field**

Thompson(2008) explained that the term field refers to the formal and informal norms governing a particular social sphere of activity (e.g. family, community school, advanced/higher education, art, politics, and economics). Fields are organized around specific forms of capital or combinations of capitals, which 'are both the process within, and product, of a field'. Bourdieu linked habitus and capital to the concept of —field. In Bourdieuan language this concept relates to a structured space of forces and struggles, consisting of an ordered system and an identifiable network of relationships that impact upon the individuals' habitus (Bourdieu, 1986). Fields are arenas of struggle, competition, adaptation, and access needs in which actors attempt to accrue or control various resources such as economic, cultural and social capitals.

In street life, the field is the urban space like bus fermata, shop veranda and leftover resource areas in which they compete to control and access resource. It is a struggle area and source of power in street life. In a comparable explanation, fields are relational in nature and are characterized by their own particular legalise principles – the ‘rules of the game’ or ‘logic of practice’ – which are subject to power struggles among different interests seeking to control the capital (and ‘rules’) in that field(Bourdieu, 1991). So that personal locations within a particular field draw from the interrelation of their habitus and the capital they can mobilize in that field. People’s practices or actions – their behavioral repertoire – are the consequences of their habitus and cultural capital interacting within the context of a given field.

The dominant or subordinate positions that individual and group actors hold within a field determined their relative endowments of the various capitals. Indeed, the struggle for possession of capitals therein indicates uneven distribution of available resources. The character and configuration of fields constantly shift as power relation between dominant and subordinate actors or agents in increasing and/or maintaining agents’ position in a given society. Bourdieu’s theory of practice ties all three core concepts together such that actors’ dispositions (habitus) not only reflect their lived experiences but also depend on changing capital endowments and the boundaries of fields, including rules of the games.

In term of the study, elaborating Bourdieu’s theory of practice in analyzing human actions provides broader understanding of how actors (in this case: street children) interact within their social world in obtaining and controlling various resources to satisfy their basic needs. Fields coincide and exist at various levels, with smaller fields (e.g. family) nested in larger fields (e.g. religious, school, economic field). Fields are semi-autonomous, but often share similarities (homologies) in terms of defining social patterns and practices. All fields fall within the overarching field of power (social space), which is structured by two competing principles of social hierarchy: the distribution of economic capital and the distribution of cultural capital.

### **2.2.2. practice theory and social research**

Having given a brief description about Bourdieu key concepts, I would first focus on the relevance of practice theory to empirical research in social science and then to this research in particular. In recent years, one of the most hotly debated issues in social science, particularly in social anthropology, has been the nature of the relationship between theory and empirical work. In social anthropology at least two views have prevailed. For those who see it as an ordering framework, theory acts as a type of ‘filing system’ for classifying empirical events, whilst for those who see theory as a way of conceptualizing something, theory provides an explanation for empirical events. It is within this second strand of thinking that interest has grown in social anthropology. In general, Bourdieu tried to connect his theoretical ideas to empirical research activity, based on everyday life, and his work can be considered sociology/anthropology of culture or, as he himself labeled it, “a theory of practice.” For Bourdieu, each individual occupies a position in a multidimensional social space; he or she is defined not only by social class, but by any kind of capital that can be articulated through social relations.

In fact, theory helps not only for explanation but also for in depth understanding of social phenomenon. There are three guidelines which Bourdieu offers for empirical research in the social sciences. First, all social research is supposed to involve an ‘ethnographic’ moment. Since it is an activity conducted by some people (usually academics) on other people, it necessitates the mediation of one set of concepts with those used by individuals in the course of their everyday lives. Part of the research process then, is the learning of what these individual know, and have to know, in order to get on with their everyday lives. A second guideline relates to the complexity of skills which individuals show in daily social life. Last, Bourdieu maintains that empirical research must recognize ‘the social/ urban-space constitution of social life’. He argued that researchers should see temporal and spatial structures as integral to the production and reproduction of social life (Bourdieu 1986).

Any theoretical position rests ultimately upon two philosophical components: ontology and epistemology. Epistemology gives guidance on how to work scientifically; ontology provides a basis for understanding the world. In this case, Bourdieu practice theory is largely ontological in its orientation. He has tried to develop ontology of human society (focusing on theorizing human everyday activities) and to consider the implications of this theorizing for the analysis of the

everyday life activities of any society. Therefore practice theory is a cultural anthropology of the social theory known as ‘ethno-methodology,’ which Bourdieu calls the practical consciousnesses of representatives in everyday life –the habitual actions and communications of routine and confident performance.

Qvortrup (1994) and Adugna (2006) argued that a growing body of research on children living in contexts of extreme poverty, forced migration and war has extended the study of childhood far beyond the worlds of families, neighborhoods, and schools, situating children within the process of political and economic change. Anthropologically, the term street children is problematic. It serves highlight a set of working and living conditions that diverge from accepted norms about children. Street children are those who occupy the public spaces of urban centers and whose activities are largely unsupervised by adults, which leads people to view them as different from other children. However, research has convincingly shown that it is important to move beyond a sole focus on the street and that there is more to the lives of children than what is revealed by ad hoc categorizations based on the criteria of physical location, social neglect, and economic marginalization.

Children form a part of the structure of the society, and as actors are struggling to adjust themselves to their social environment. More specifically, the relevance of practice theory for this study is to make a more realistic understanding of the factors that shape the lives of street children within their society, and of how they practice daily life. This research considers children as competent social actors who have certain freedom of choice and action (Cohen 1989; Giddens 1984). Therefore, I would also examine the dynamics forces children to the street. Or I would conceptualize onto what extent street children habituate and lead their lives in the city.

For Bourdieu, the model ‘practice’ represents the daily activities of social network. Practices are understood as ‘the result of an indefinite, unconscious, double relationship between habitus and the field’ (Bourdieu, 2003: 147). The practice and survival mechanisms for street children not only obtaining food, clothing and shelter, and protecting themselves against violence and other forms of abuse but also it depends on the child’s continuous practice to adjust with the changing and competitive social/urban environment. Similarly(Olwig and Gullov, 2003) pointed out that relatively unsafe, uncontrolled open environment of urban space give considerably more freedom for children to develop their social relations and cultural values that mainstream society does not

necessarily either share or appreciate. In line with this, I would analyze their informal networks, friendship within a group and with other social actors.

His work, and that of the sociologist Giddens, informs various studies that have reformulated the 'socialization' problem into one concerned with how the history of social relations enters into people's understandings of themselves and of the world they live in (Barnard and Spencer, 2002: 773). From anthropological perspective, socialization is not only a matter of adaptation and internalization but also a process of appropriation, reinvention and reproduction. Corsaro(1997) argued that children create and participate in their unique peer cultures by appropriating information from the adult world to address their own concerns. This would help me to see every day life of street children's experience sharing, power relation, livelihood strategies, negotiation and their cultural identity. In this view, habitus theory to study street children are match and would help greatly to carry out the problem under study.

### **2.2.3. Social Navigation Theory**

In the research, rather than only focusing on their practices in the city as participatory or creative agency, a frequent approach in the literature, I introduce the concept of social navigation and argue that it is useful in understanding how street children navigate daily challenges to survive in urban space. Vigh (2009) states that 'navigation' literally means 'to sail'. The word originates from the Latin word 'navigare', which means 'to sail over and go by the sea' and thus indicates a motion within motion. As an academic tool, 'navigation' is rooted within anthropology, and is used to describe the 'act of moving' in times of volatility and opacity (Ibid).

What makes navigation as a concept especially suitable to represent and investigate street children, its recognition of the mechanisms of acting, adjusting and attuning one's strategy in relation to how one experiences and imagines the future. That is to say, navigation is related to acts of agency, mobility and different survival and coping strategies within a given dynamic environment. Second major strength of navigation as a concept is its ability to provide a third dimension of movement, which would normally be outside the scope of the study. Since through applying navigation theory, we can examine gaming place(environment), individuals(street children) and their relationship between the two agents. In other words, social navigation aspires to provide an understanding of the connection between the environment and social movement.

Based on fieldwork in Guinea Bissau, Vigh et al.(2006) examines how young people choose to become soldiers in order to gain stability and improve their future possibilities. He translates the concepts developed in that study to urban contexts in the case of young migrants from Guinea in Lisbon to show how life in the city requires a reading of the unfolding of the every day. By relating the concept of social navigation (Vigh, 2009), I understand the reflectiveness and spontaneous practices of street children in relation to the way they socially navigate urban space. Understanding social movements in the city through the notion of social navigation implies more than simply learning how young people(street children) interact with the environment. It entails understanding how they orientate, interpret, maneuver and define their social spaces in relation to the surrounding social movements.

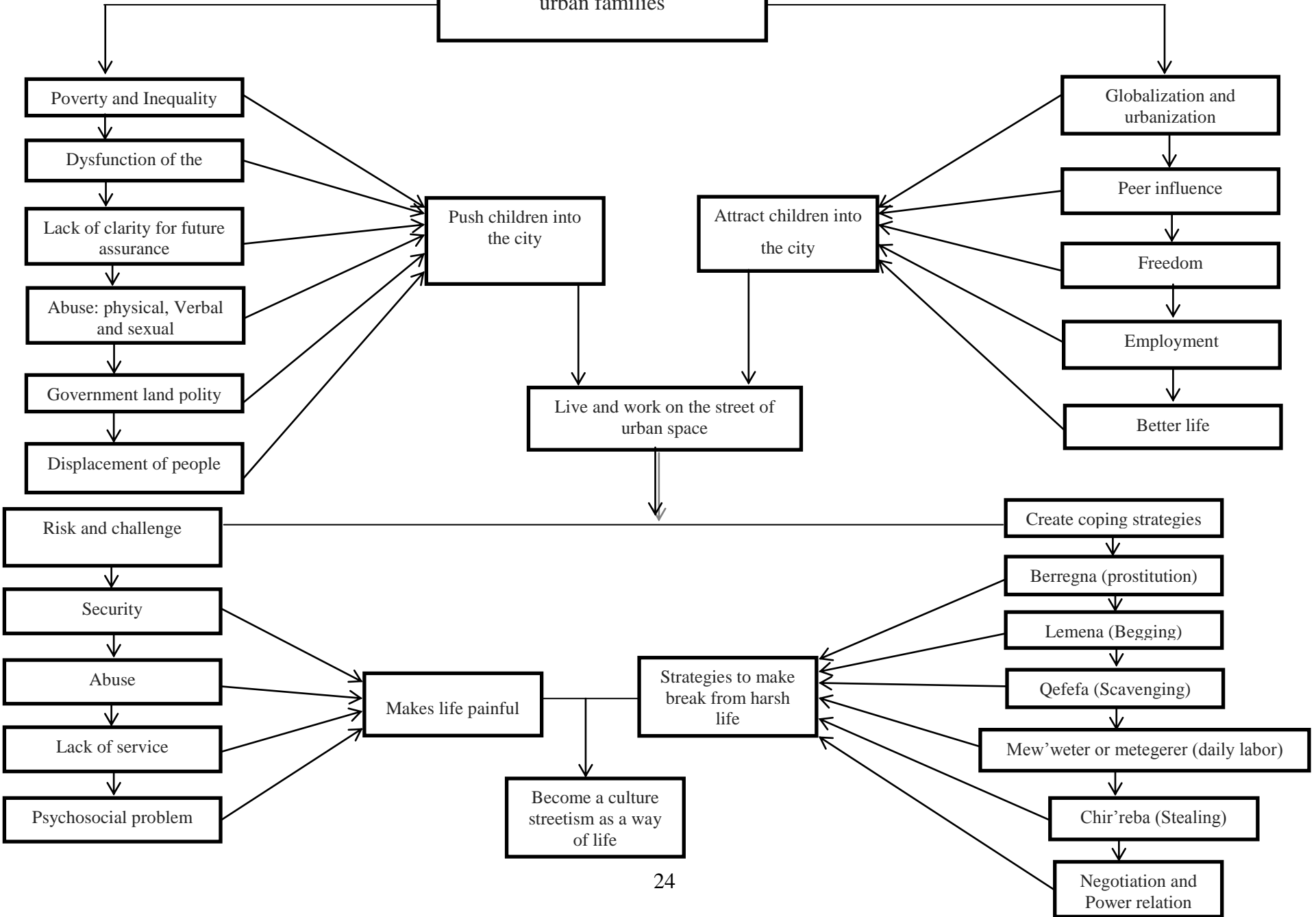
Vigh uses the term ‘social navigation’ to show that we move in social environments, which engage and move us as we move along. According to Michel de Certeau, we have ways of operating (de Certeau, 1984) – ways of using, doing, walking, cooking and living. And while doing these things, we practice home, meals, city and so on. de Certeau makes a distinction between strategies and tactics. Every day practices, tactile doings and bodily movements can be understood as tactics, and these are often practiced more silently; dispersed, hidden and without a fixed focus. This can also be termed social navigation (Vigh 2009). In a context of urban space, street children minimize social places that city dwellers can define by and for themselves. Thus they come together socially in a context that seems to be as victim and marginalized, but from another perspective it is doubtful and open to lucid interpretation.

Vigh’s concept of social navigation (2006, 2009, 2010) is an appropriate approach to understand street children's mobile character and changing social formations in the urban context. Applying a social navigation theory to street children enables us to consider how these children “simultaneously negotiate the immediate and the imagined,” addressing short-term needs and desires while also seeking to position themselves favorably in the pursuit of longer-term aspirations. In these ways, the concept of social navigation offers an alternative way to frame their place: not as the endpoint of the street children's trip, but as ongoing negotiation of unstable, multi scalar socio-economic and political environments in the pursuit of viable futures. As a logical concept social navigation is, thus, interesting as it grants us an alternative perspective on practice and the intersection between agency, social forces and change.

Social navigation aspires to provide an understanding of the connection between the physical and social movement. For this understanding interaction between the navigators and environment play a key role. Obviously, there are verbal and non- verbal communication system in everyday life of street children. Hence during their navigation street children use verbal and non-verbal(touch, body language, personal space) communication for their interaction. Since they construct their own alternative life style that are not embedded within a formalized social setting. Also they create their own cultural setting in a context of street life to navigate their challenges in the urban space.

# Framework of the study

Children from poor rural and urban families



## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **METHODOLOGY**

This section represents the methodology and its approach that employed in the collection and analysis of the data. It also gives a brief overview of the validity and reliability of the data and reflects on the field experience and problems encountered during the fieldwork

#### **3.1. Ethnographic Approach**

The study was carried out adopting ethnographic approach. Ethnography is a social science research method. It relies heavily on up-close, personal experience and possible participation, not just observation, by researchers trained in the art of ethnography. These ethnographers often work in multidisciplinary teams. The ethnographic focal point may include intensive language and culture learning, intensive study of a single field or domain, and a blend of historical, observational, and interview methods. Typical ethnographic research employs three kinds of data collection: interviews, observation, and documents. This in turn produces three kinds of data: quotations, descriptions, and excerpts of documents, resulting in one product: narrative description. This narrative often includes charts, diagrams and additional artifacts that help to tell “the story” (Hammersley, 1990). Ethnographic methods can give shape to new constructs or paradigms, and new variables, for further empirical testing in the field or through traditional, quantitative social science methods(Genzuk, 2003)

Qualitative research is carried out in natural field settings. It is also known as field research and endeavors for depth of understanding in natural settings. Quality refers to the what, how, when, and where of a thing—its essence and ambience. As a social researcher it seemed best to study children in their natural setting, in this case “the streets”. Ethnography means to write about a particular culture. It is the core of anthropological research. Any anthropological research is essentially based on ethnographic fieldwork, involving mainly participant observation and case study method. As a set of methods, ethnography is not far removed from the sort of approach that we all use in everyday life to make sense of our surroundings . In the study the ethnographic approach use to explore the street children's real life, their street culture, their risks and livelihood strategies. I studied them in their own natural settings in minimizing my effect on the

behavior of them being studied. I gain an understanding of their real cultural perspective on which they are based. When used as a method, ethnography typically refers to fieldwork (alternatively, participant-observation) conducted by a single investigator who 'lives with and lives like' those who are studied, usually for a year or more."(Manen, 1997). It tries to interpret and describe the symbolic and contextual meanings of the everyday practices in their natural setting.

As an anthropologist graduate student and beginner researcher, qualitative research is the most valid one. The fieldwork was done on the street, a setting that is complex and difficult to control. Robson(2002) and Greig et al(2007, 139) observed that conducting real world research requires a recognition, that work must be done in a complex, messy, poorly controlled field setting. Drawing upon the writings of Pierre Bourdieu, I use the qualitative approach to examine street sub culture with his core concepts: habitus, fields, and capitals in their street life. In other words, the core concept of Bourdieu's habitués in street life is based upon their habited daily practice and survival strategy. Their practice to survive in street life is not an intrinsic manner but acquired through struggle and experience sharing on the street. Urban space is a field of struggle to assure capital in street life for. Drawing upon the writing of Vigh(navigation theory), I examine how they navigate challenges and create coping strategies in their life.

I try to interpret and describe the everyday activities of street children. I consider their street character and daily interaction with each other in low or high intensity. I observed them in the urban space with informal conversation. Ethnographic is a goal-orientated investigation into the social and cultural phenomena. That means not only it is based mostly on interviewing and observing, eventually using the focus groups, but also that it is designed to meet some certain heuristic demands, although not so strictly postulated(Genzuk, 2003). It is often used when a research topic requires information greater than what an interview can produce. For example:- when studying or trying to find reasons for certain cultural practices and relationships. Employing this approach, I explore and describe the experience of street children. In my study ethnographic method would a fantastic tool to discover the causes of streetism, street way of life or street culture, risks and coping strategies in the urban space based on street context.

## **3.2. The Case Study Approach**

Case Study means intensive study of a case. It is extensively used in anthropology. Case is a social unit with a deviant behavior. It is a method of qualitative analysis. It aims at obtaining a complete and detailed account of a social phenomenon or a social unit, which may be a person, family, community, institution or an event. The essential characteristics of case study in the study of streetism as a way of life are: It is an intensive, comprehensive and detailed study of a street child unit, it helps to understand the personal as well as the hidden dimensions of street life (Upadhyay, V. and Gaya, P., 1994). The case study method helps retaining the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real life events – such as individual life cycles, small group behavior, and culture. The case study I collected information from various sources. The important sources include life histories, information obtained from interview, observation and personal written documents. For this study, I would do seven case studies on street children. Case study is like a case history of a patient. When a patient goes to the doctor with some serious disease, the doctor records the case history. The analysis of case history helps in the diagnosis of the patient's illness. Anthropologists study the case history of a group (Makhan, 1994). Case history may be obtained, using a combination of different methods and techniques such as interview and participant observation. Questionnaire and schedule are highly ineffective in the case study. To overcome this challenge, I become flexible accordingly.

## **3.3. Site and Informant Selection**

### **3.3.1. Site Selection and Justification—(Addis ketema sub city)**

One of the first steps in conducting research is site selection. A site is the context in which events or activities occur, a socially defined territory with flexible and shifting boundaries. Because the case, activity, or group of interest may span several physical sites. For example, a college football team may interact on the playing field, in the locker room, in a dormitory, at a training camp, and at a local hangout (Neuman, 2014). Selecting a suitable field site is the most important decision that the researcher makes between “Getting there” and the adjustment stage of field work. This decision is based upon the objective of the researcher and the practical circumstance that face him when arriving in the study area.

I selected Addis ketema sub city to my field site based upon its potentiality that a number of street children can get easily. Most migrant children from the country side come to this area. Consequently, it is the final destination area to most long and medium distance migrants. In other words, it is the first arrival or destination area to them and I selected seven sites in it(*Autobus Terra, Teklehaymanote, Habitegiorgis, Sebategna, Addisu Micheal, Marekato and Mesalmiya*). The relevant of choosing a field site here; it is the business area or stock market of the country “*Merkato*” centered in it. It attracted most street children towards it and I can get rich data than other sites. In relation to street daily activities and diverse event of interaction, children become visible as a heterogeneous group consisting of girls and boys. It is the main diversified area and its inhabitants(streets) engaged in different daily activities. In this spirit, I can get rich data in it.

### **3.3.2. Informant Selection and Justification**

The relevance of the informant selection to the research is that all informants were street On/Of between 10–18 years old. I consider informants to be street children because their livelihood is earned on the street and are poorly protected, un helped, or un supervised by responsible adults. Although they are not protected, they create their own street world as a way of life. I use a judgmental/purposive sampling because probability sampling was not possible. No list of all street children exists in gender categories, age, health and income. There is no a clear cut and specific criteria for choosing informants in qualitative research. The selection process I should obtain their consent in that I take consideration; how informants accept the research objective, when they become voluntary, what is their basic knowledge to the research and what they need from me.

I selected 50 informants (33 males and 17 females) for individual interview, case studies and discussion. From 33 male informants, 32 were street boys(8 ‘On’ Street, 12 ‘Of’ street, 4 for case studies), one professional informant from Ministry of Labor and Social Affair/MOLSA/, and 8 male street informants for a group discussion. The majority of male street informants selected from seven sites(*Autobus Terra, Teklehaymanote, Habitegiorgis, Sebategna, Addisu Micheal, Merkato and Mesalmiya*). In the same fashion, from 17 street girl informants, 16 were street girls(5 ‘On’ the street, 3‘Of’ the street, 3 for case studies), one professional informant from Ministry of Labor and Social Affair/MOLSA/, and 5 street girls for a group discussion. These

street girls selected from commercial sex working sites(Autobus-Terra and 32 areas, Merkato, and Sebategna) because it is the potential areas to get them.

### **3.4. Data Collection Methods**

I used both primary and secondary data to gather information. The data from secondary sources regarded the available written materials on street children. Mostly found in the libraries of Addis Ababa University, government and nongovernmental organization. While the primary data is original and collected with an aim for getting solution to the problem at hand. The term primary data refers to the data originated by the researcher for the first time. Therefore I collected primary data through interview, case study, focus group discussion, and observational methods.

#### **3.4.1. Unstructured interview**

These questions are not structured in advance because it adjusted according to the needs of the situation, with maximum flexibility to collect as much information as possible. It is an open ended interviews to get first hand information from them. Using unstructured interview for them brings new information and understand their experience, reconstruct events, risk and coping strategies. It allow more fluid interaction between I and the respondents. In this formant, respondents are not forced to choose from a pre-designed range of answers; instead, they can elaborate on their statements and connect them with other matters of relevance(Marvasti, 2004).

The ethnographic field is the social context that guides the interview in terms of what questions are asked, which people are interviewed, and how their answers are interpreted. Emphasize three dimensions of ethnography: involvement with and participation in the topic being studied in a very limited condition, attention to the social context of data collection, and sensitivity to how the subjects are represented in the research text(Marvasti, 2004). The type of unstructured interviewing that is more focused on the social context because the meaning of a social action, event, or statement greatly depends on the context in which it appears. It includes time context(when something occurs), spatial context (where something occurs), emotional context (the feelings regarding how something occurs), and socio-cultural context (the social situation and cultural milieu in which something occurs)(Neuman, 2014).

I used it both individual interview and group discussion whose age group was 10 - 18 years old. I trust the informants for interview as a researcher and friend. They treated as partners rather than an object of research(Rubin and Rubin, 1995). I used observations from the field to assess the meaning and relevance of interview data. In other words, the data also collected through techniques of participant observation. Before the interviews, I prepared an interview guide with understandable and clear unstructured questions covering the major area of enquiry.

I went to the field with interview guide, which consist of open ended question and followed their feeling or interest in the conversation that happened between the informants and me. Before starting the interview, I took time to establish friendly relation to gain their trust and open acceptable communication with them. To interview them, the place where possible the interviews based on the informants' consent. Considering their character and habit of mood, the final decision to the interview was the choice of informants. Mostly, the interview process conducted with informants take place in an open urban space, under the rail way bridge, *Arekebe suk* (boiled coffee sell shops) with inviting bread, water or cigarette to them; also in bar where we can have a bottle of soft drink whiles having a purposive conversation.

Choosing a safe place for the interview would be one of the biggest challenges on the field. The site was one of Addis Ababa's highly business center area like Merkato(Addis Ketema), a noisy place and the most densely populated area. In addition, during the day times most street children were take a rest. To continue the best flow of relation, I decided to set up the interview at their resting place or choose with maximum freedom. I understand where informants were relaxed and feel secured to talk more with me. This helped me to get reliable data from the informants.

Initially, most street children were disbelieving and in doubt when any strange entered into their space. To overcome this, I remained friendly, free, and told my research objective to convince them. I entered into potential space and give attention for their stories with maximum care and understanding. As street life is harsh and challenge full, it is clear that I cannot be neutral, distant, or emotionally uninvolved in their stories(see also Rubin and Rubin, 1995). I heartily sensed them and showed belongingness not there to exploit or control them but to listen to their voices and understand their street culture. This assures trust on me to tell their stories freely and in details I raised or probing follow up questions.

### **3.4.2. Hand writing as a method**

In this research, I use hand writing as a method of qualitative inquiry. I am interested in using it as a method of getting accurate data from street children. The method involves purposely selecting educated street children to write their own experiences and coping strategies to survive in street life. I negotiated with them to write about their pre life history, current street life experience, street risks and their coping strategies. Also I encouraged them to write their non educated street friends' real life, character, feelings, reactions, experience, challenges and way out strategies, and the overall considerations of street life. During my field work time, I select four street children considering hand writing, communication and negotiation skills to write their untouchable secret street life. I prepared a white paper and pen/pencil, and gave to them to write their street experience, daily activities, and their overall risks and coping strategies. In other words, I negotiated and established friendship relation with an ethics of confidentiality to write their sensitive secrets, street culture and coping strategies in more details. I get reliable data from them.

Most importantly, it is a relaxed technique and best opportunity for them to write their own street life skills and culture with confidence. I gave two weeks interval to write their street experience. Each day I also met and observed them whether they write well or not. Consequently, I gave some daily benefit to compensate their energy and time. This method helped me to get street skill, experience and street values in their own life setting. It assures their willingness to accept responsibility and become interested to write down their street experience and coping strategies.

### **3.4.3. Focus Group Discussion(FGD)**

Another research instrument that I used in the process of data collection was focus group discussion. It is a form of qualitative research where questions are asked about their perceptions, attitudes, beliefs, opinion or ideas. In focus group discussion participants are free to talk to each other with its group members; unlike other research methods it encourages discussions with other participants. It generally involves group interviewing in which a small group of usually 8 to 12 people (Hennink, 2007).

I practiced two focus group discussion in gender wise. I gather eight street boys, and 5 street girls. During field work, the street boys and girls put into smaller groups made up of friends

selected from street children. I collected male street children from *Mesalemia, Autobus terra, Habetegiorgis, Sebategna, Gojjam Berenda, and Anwar Mosque*. While street girls selected from *Merkato, Sebategna, around Autobus Terra and 32 area*. However, street boys were not that much closed friends because they come from different sites and mostly not spent their time together. On the other hand, the street girls who knew each other as co-worker because they engaged in street sex work call their friends to the research discussion.

The street boys discussion consist of *one Gurage, two Gojjamie, two Oromos, one welayita, one Hadiya and one Gondere* who work shoe shining, selling lottery ticket, begging, carrying luggage and semi illegal activities on street. All of them stayed more than two years on the street and experience the real street life. The discussion with these children done in *Arekebe shop* (a boiled-coffee selling place) with inviting coffee, soft drink, and bread. On the other hand, street girls' discussion consist of *two Amhara, one Oromo and two from southern Ethiopia* who practice sex work on the street and other activities. All of them stayed on the street from two to three years and experienced harsh street life. The discussion with street girls was made during lunch time in a small and quite café inviting lunch, coffee and soft drink since I was consuming some of their survival time. During discussion, I encouraged street males and girls to speak in more details about their daily practice, street experience, survival strategies, street capital and how they view their own world and the meanings to characterise their street life.

In discussion time, I used only to taking notes because they are not voluntary to be recorded and take their photo. As a moderator I followed a predetermined interview guide to direct a discussion in a group to get their perceptions, attitudes, and experiences on a defined topic (Weinberg, 2002). I was flexible to follow the predetermined interview. I tried to observe their discussion, their emotional feeling, verbal and non verbal reactions as the intent of focus groups is to develop a broad and deep understanding of the topic of interest rather than a quantitative summary (Adugna 2006, Limb and Dwyer, 2001)

#### **3.4.4. Observation**

In regard to the street children being observed, I take seriously the settings of participants who have diverse backgrounds, perform different daily activities, gender, social relation, street culture, risk and coping strategies. Effective observation and reflection contributed to valuable

understanding and clear image about them. There are different observation time. The best choice depends on the research questions to be answered, access to sources and its available for conducting the research. I observed them early in the morning, midday, and in the afternoon( 3 pm. to 7 pm.). In these time ranges, they have different characters. For example- early morning(5.30 am.– 8.30 am.) I observed them how they sleep with their friends and dogs to protect any strange. In mid day, I observed their movement to find daily basic needs; leftovers(bulle) from restaurants/bars, chat from chat terra and cigarette. In the afternoon they become active to practice every activities. From 3 pm.–7 pm., it was appropriate time to negotiate and perform an agreement with them to get any information. Observation can be participant or non-participant.

#### ***3.4.3.1. participant observation***

Most commonly, I participate as a member in limited way. I use Ferew(street child) as key informant easily to negotiate with them. He convince them to talk with me and observed them. I observed to my objective and recognized each street practice in a smooth and healthy way with Ferew because aggressive and unhealthy observation make them feel sick. Observed areas; Autobus–Terra, Teklehaymanote, Habitegiorgis, Sebategna, Addisu Michael, Merkato, and Mesalmiya.

Consents of participants would take to participate in the data provision processes. Pseudo names would use to name the participants in order to maintain full anonymity. Participant observation was practice when I engaged in the leisure environment. Through participant observation; I can experience the street process, including the integration of children into street life, experience, the street culture and their emotions. One disadvantage is the difficulty of recording the experience unobtrusively as it unfolds. As a participant observer, I use of a structured walk technique, involved a number of walk to all my research sites through the range of different experiences that might encounter in a complex street environment. In each selected street sites which prefer to participate, sensed a range of street experience and helped to evaluate a total street way of life. In participant observation, I tried to cover all the research sites to collect rich and reliable data.

### **3.4.3.2. *Non participant observation***

Non-participant observation is where I 'stands to one side' and views the experience of street children in their daily life activities or the interaction within their cultural environment. This can be achieved through direct or indirect observation. Direct observation is useful for looking at facilities and also for identifying problem situations. In my observation time, I can take notes as I observed them. There are limitations of direct observation: It is like unremarkable observations; note keeping may be somewhat random, since it is difficult to distinguish key activities; the sense of being watched may influence people's actions. In non- participant observations, cognitive information, such as attitudes, beliefs, motivation or perceptions cannot be observed. However, I observed them how they communicate, sit and play together, how they beg, smoke or chew chats.

### **3.5. Ethical Challenges and way out strategies**

In this section, I reflected on the ethical challenge of ethnographic field work. I personally interested in studying street children. By assuming a covert research role, I was able to observe the dynamics of streetism and their daily practice. However, incapable to make good relation with them disturbing feeling of my research mask. By making my study open, I was able to fulfill ethical obligations as a researcher and able to negotiated them to speak their street life. I responded to such ethical dilemma by changing the level of concern, participating in street culture as an insider and observing them as an outsider in a very limited way. The link and familiarity that established between I and informants in qualitative studies can raise a variety of different ethical concerns, and I face dilemmas such as respect and value for informant privacy, establishment of honest and open interaction, and avoiding misrepresentation(Warusznski, 2002).

Ethically challenging situations may emerge if I have to dealt with contradicting issues. Some important ethical concerns that should be taken into account while carrying out this research are: anonymity, confidentiality and informed consent. According to Richards and Schwartz'(2002) findings, the term 'confidentiality' conveys different meanings for health care practitioners and researchers. For street children researchers confidentiality means that no personal information is to be revealed except the informants allowed to do so. I attempt to minimize the possibility of

interruption into the sovereignty of informants by all means. When highly sensitive issues are concerned, children and other vulnerable individuals should have access to an advocate who is present during initial phases of the study, and ideally, during data gathering sessions. It is sometimes even necessary that the researcher clarify in writing which persons can have access to the initial data and how the data might be used (Agar M. 2006; Morrow V., 2001).

Informed consent has been recognized as an integral part of ethics in research that achieved in different fields. For my study, it is of the utmost importance to identify in advance which data will be collected and how they are to be used (Hoeyer K . et al., 2005). The principle of informed consent stresses the researcher's responsibility to notify informants of different aspects of the research in comprehensible language. Clarifications need to include the following issues: the nature of the study, the informants' potential role, the identity of the researcher and the financing body, the objective of the research, and how the results will be published and used(Orb A. et al. 2001). Informed consent naturally requires ongoing negotiation of the terms of agreement as the study progresses(Hoeyer K . et al., 2005).

There are several effective strategies to protect personal information; for instance, secure very critical personal data, removal of identifier components, biographical details amendments and pseudonyms (applicable to names of individuals, places and organizations) (Orb A. et al., 2001). I have the accountability of protecting all informants in a study from potentially harmful consequences that might affect them as a result of their participation. It is getting increasingly common for research ethics committees to seek documented proof of consent in a written, signed, and ideally, witnessed form. Researchers can only do their best to protect their respondents' identity and hold the information strictly confidential as there would be no guarantee for it otherwise(King et al., 1999).

In investigations of sensitive topics where written consent puts the informants at risk, audio recorded oral consent would be more appropriate(Brenner, 2006). However, in my research, to investigate the sensitive topics of street children(like illegal activities) for their survival strategies, hand written information would be more appropriate than audio recorded. To get the reliable data about street real life, I negotiated and made consent with them to write their own life on white paper in their own hands like begging, thieving style, street capital like street words) and other street cultural aspects. Informants and I tried to work out and checked it before

data interpretations– what they have said and write in their own hands. This helps me in order to get the meanings of what informants tell or write.

Personal relationships with street children possibly expected while collecting certain data. Therefore, researchers should seriously consider the potential impact they may have on the participants and vice versa, and details of such interactions should be clearly mentioned in research proposals(Guillemain M, and Gillam L., 2004). Overall, the role of the researcher as (a) stranger(outsider), (b) visitor, (c) initiator, (d) insider-expert or other should be well defined and explained. As Brenner quoted Kvale state that, preparing an ethical protocol can cover issues in a qualitative research project from planning through reporting(Brenner, 2006).

Based on Richards and Morrow(1996) explanation, when asked what it means to be ethical in the research, I am doing with children in their street cultural contexts and not to heart their emotions, I directly take into account my ethical consideration of; the informant's consent (children's agreement to participate in the research), the form of the questions (I am open-minded to them and avoid questions that make children feel that I expect a particular answer), power balance(I am aware of the implications of the power differences between I and them) and confidentiality(I keep their information and personal secrets which they give to me).

To be more specific, as an ethnographer I form relationship and gain respondents' trust for the purpose of gathering 'good' data. Given the possibility that respondents could mistake my intention and feel exploited, it is mandatory that I am informed my main purpose for being in the field, which is to research. This process is called obtaining *informed consent*. This create trust between I and informants not to heart children emotions. The goal is to protect the subjects against potential, emotional or physical harm that could come from participants in research.

### **3.6. Data analysis and strategies**

As a researcher, the procedure and the methods of analysis was one main issue that has been ongoing throughout the entire research process. Qualitative analysis is the analysis of qualitative data such as text data from interview, observation, case story and group discussion transcripts. It is heavily depend on the researcher's analytic and integrative skills and personal knowledge of the social context where the data is collected. The emphasis in qualitative analysis is "sense making" or understanding a phenomenon, rather than predicting or explaining. A creative and

investigative mindset is needed for qualitative analysis, based on an ethically enlightened and participant-in-context attitude, and a set of analytic strategies(Bhattacharjee A., 2012).

The specific analytical tool adopted was the narrative analysis. The narrative analysis method was used first and foremost because; most of the information from my informants was stories about their pre street lives and current street lives (Eshia 2010). This method was used in order to be able to get the meanings of what the children's experiences are, because narrative analysis focuses on the meaning and the linguistic form of texts (Kvale and Brickmann, 2009). It is a term that covers quite a wide variety of approaches that are concerned with the search for and analysis of stories that people employ to understand their lives and the world around them.

Watson(1985) state that a 'life history is any retrospective account by the individual of his life in whole or part, in written or oral form, that has been elicited or prompted by another person. It has become particularly prominent in connection with the life history or biographical approach. Meaningful study of marginalized groups in a society can be made by adopting case histories that are characterized by an everyday life perspective (Holt Jensen, 1999). The life history more than any other technique except perhaps participant observation, can give meaning to the overworked notion of process (Limb and Dwyer, 2001) and also provide a window on social change (Rubin and Rubin, 1995).

However, narrative analysis is not exclusively concerned with the elucidation of life histories. It is often engaged to refer both to an approach- one that emphasizes the examination of the storied nature of human recounting of lives and events and to the sources themselves - that is, the stories that people tell in recounting their lives(Tettegah, 2012). It entails sensitivity to: the connection in people's accounts of past, present, and future events and states of affairs; people's sense of their place within those events and states of affairs; the stories they generate about them; and the significance of context for the unfolding of events and people's sense of their role within them. It is the ways that people organize and forge connections between events and the sense they make of those connections that provides the raw material of narratives analysis (Bryman, 2008). In my analysis I interpreted children's experiences by addressing their pre street lives, their current lives(street habit, and street capital: economic, social, cultural and symbolic), power relation, risks and coping strategies.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **PRIOR HOME EXPERIENCE, THE CAUSE AND DYNAMICS OF STREETISM**

This chapter presents causes, animating factors and motivations of children went out to the street. It was one of the specific objective to explore their backgrounds, profiles and the causes of streetism. The main question how earlier experience become factor to bring children into street life? It discussed under the analytic categories: poverty or economic difficulties/hardship, family break, neglect and abusive families, lack of clarity for future assurance, sexual abuse, peer influence and globalization, government land policy, and internal displacement of people in the country.

#### **4.1. Demographic Characteristics and Profiles of the Street children**

Basic demographic characteristics of the respondents; age, gender, education, religious affiliation, ethnic background and place of origin were reviewed. The findings presented in subsequent sub-sections.

##### **4.1.1. Age and Sex Composition**

Children migrated into Addis Ababa either alone, with family member, or with any adult. I observed children as young as eight who live on their own or with friends, usually adult streets. I only consider children between 10–18 years of age. According to the study, the majority(62.5%) of the respondents characterized by age group of 15–18 years, with the less including the 10–14 age group. This shows that children in all ages migrate to cities to make a living by their own.

Among 48 respondents, 32(67%) are boys and 16(33%) are street girls. This verifies the previous studies (Yacob 2018; Abebe 2014; Adugna 2006; Hailu 2006) claimed that there are more boys than girls who work and live on the street of Addis Ababa. It implies that the greater proportion of male group migrate into the city and accepted as a culture to live on the street. Most street boys are poor rural families origin who have no enough cultivated land to produce more. This forced them to migrate into the city and seek better life, and tried to fill families economic gaps. Most street girls invisible at day time and appeared at night time on the street. In the city, they also tried to find their economic niches in the informal sectors as housemaid, washing clothes, and fetching water. In other words, they engaged in domestic activities to support them and their

families or they might migrate elsewhere like to the developed or developing world. That is why girls are less on the street.

#### **4.1.2. Religious Affiliation**

Of the main religions in Ethiopia, about 43.5 per cent of the population adhere to Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity, 33.9 per cent to Islam, 18.6 per cent to Protestantism, 0.7 per cent to Roman Catholicism and 2.6 per cent to traditional religions(UNICEF 2018; in Minority Groups International).

From 48 respondents, the majority are Christians 36(75%); Orthodox 28(58%) and protestant 8(17%), and Muslims 12(25%). This compatible to Zerihun(2015) study in Nekemet town. It implies that Christian children are dominant in street life and Muslim less in numbers as compared to half population size in the country. Most Muslims communities located at the eastern part of the country and engaged in trading, animal husbandry and semi agriculture, and governed by clans. Usually the clan member shared benefit from his community and can stay in home. They also migrated to Arab countries to seek better life and sent remittance to their families. This may reduce their number on the street. Whereas most Christian communities located at the western, central and northern highlands, which is cultivated for many years and loss its fertility, and children withdraw from their home into the city and become streets.

#### **4.1.3. Origin and Ethnicity**

Ethnicity as one variable was associated so as to know which ethnic group to be on the street. Based on the allotment of the inspection, I am provoked to conclude that the street of Addis Ababa comparatively dominated by children of one ethnic group; however, this ethnic group may come from different geographical areas.

Street children in Addis Ababa are originated from different ethnic backgrounds and compatible with empirical facts reported in several studies(Zerihun 2015; G/medhin 2014; Adugna 2006). From 48 respondents, the majority 21(44%) are Amhara ethnic group, followed by Oromo 11(23%), and the SNNPR 9(19%: Wolayta, Sidama, Gurage, Hadiya). This implies that the Amhara ethnic group experience migration as a culture. Most Amhara ethnics are followers of Orthodox Christianity. In rural areas church use as a school, and rural children learn in it. Church students(*Yekolo temari*) daily needs depend on begging from its surrounding kebeles or villages.

They beg *Kurash–Injera* (half or quarter bread) from each nearby households of the church or far away villages. They also go far away to get good teacher and experience migration and begging as a culture. Most rural children from poor families experience migration as a culture without any doubt. Many studies indicate that the Amhara ethnic is the dominant one in street life. Even Zerihun(2015), shows that the majority of street children in Nekemete town are Oromo ethnic, followed by Amahara ethnic group. It is an evidence how the Amhara ethnic children are on the street even out of Amhara region. In the region the land is cultivated for a long period of time, lose its fertility and many farmers have no enough cultivated land. They cannot produce more to feed their families and poverty forced children to migrate into the city to seek better life and to help their families.

#### **4.1.4 . Education**

I was interested in showing the educational status of respondents and current break status of them in school and their street work. It confirm that street children have a low level of education. From 48 respondents, 25(52%) of the respondents attend primary school, 11(23%) of them junior secondary school and 4(8%) secondary school where as 8(17%) of the respondents have never enrolled in school. The finding demonstrates that about 40(83%) of the respondents have got formal education. However, at the time of interview only 6(13%) are currently attending school. These children go to the school during the evening while throughout the day working on the street to finance their education.

However, 42(87%) of the respondents did not attend school at the time of interview. In other words, the majority had been enrolled in formal schooling and quit school when their destination become street life. Some of the reason of withdrawal of school for these street children are lack of awareness, worried about the educating system and employment opportunity and economical problem. Most of them are school dropouts at the early age and struggle to sustain life and tried to contribute families' livelihood. This implies that migration into cities and working on the street has resulted in inhibiting them to get through the cycle of poverty. The low level of education smash out their chance to get employment opportunity in professional and skill based urban labor market. In fact, through education children can accumulate cultural knowledge to be competitive in future life. However, economic hardship and other challenging factors forced to stop school

and joined the city streets in search of employment in the informal sector. Street girls than boys had never seen any formal education— this assures that still many rural families did not give equal chance to females to attend formal education in school.

Families with insufficient economic capital cannot support their children. Children struggle to fulfill economic gaps of a family. Because insufficient economic capital push them to find another life dimension to be survive. On the other hand, sufficient supply of economic capital helps parents to be devote to their children. For example:- one family send children to good school, recreate in different cinema and theater centers, buy different necessary print media to improve their capital— this increased children's capital for future life. In contrast, street children live in poverty suffer as fish out of water and live unwell on less than they need on the street. This result to create their coping strategies— how to live unsatisfactory life less than minimum needs and experienced to live in stressful street life.

#### **4.1.5. Family Description**

To understand the pathways for becoming streets, I focused various activities they perform and take actions before the current street life. The findings indicates that several attempts were made by children before finally forced to become streets. Thus I tried to assess their family background before the current street life. Children's migration to the city depend on their positive or negative outcome of family statuses. I inquired them to share information about their family status before pushing into street life circumstances

From 48 informants, 37(77%) of street children comes from step families( 22(46%) from step mothers, 15(31%) from stepfathers). The rest 8(17%) from separated family and 2(6%) from no family. The majority, 35(73%) their remained parent remarry another partner. This compatible with G/medhin(2014) and implies that the major reason why joining on the street were claiming the dysfunction of their families as a pull factor appears parallel to the level of economic poverty in their place of origin. Children in the step parental upbringing might expose to neglect, physical attack, insult, ignorance, sexual abuse, exploitation and prostitution. This occurs particularly countries like Ethiopia where protection and legal machinery to enforce child related laws is very weak. They become desperate in family life and migrate into Addis Ababa. Also all informants come from large family size on average 6–12 members(including their parents). Large family size in poor economic status created tension and pressure on them to stay in home.

Respondents revealed that the occupation of their parents 35(73%) are farming, 8(17%) trading of farm product, 3(6%) day laborer and 2(6%) beggar. This implies that the majority of street children come from rural farmers. It is real evidence that rural farmers live in poverty to feed, clothe and finance children to school. On the question of whether their parents were involved in the decision to migrate into the city, 31(65%) were not aware of their migration into the city. This indicates that most street children migrate into Addis Ababa without families' decision. Whereas 17(35%), were aware of their migration. This is compatible with Bigsten(1988) migration as a household decision in which a family allocates labour to the urban or rural sector depending on the marginal products of combined wages.

The finding shows that the range of period spent in the city is between two - twelve year and most of them have spent exactly more than three year, and some spent basically two years in Addis Ababa. This indicates that streetism become a way of life and culture of adaptation to immature children. Before migration, street children were engaged in different activities. The most common ones include farm work, keeping animals, house chores, fetching water, collecting fire woods, care giving to younger siblings, and other household activities. However, in street life they engaged in different activities like shoe shine, carrying luggage, sex work, begging, petty trading, fetching water, selling of collected plastic goods, selling of leftover vegetables, hawking, thieving, and drivers' mate.

Some respondents implies that their parent also migrated into the city and engaged in bagging activities. Especially at the winter season(December to March) they come to Addis Ababa and engaged in begging, day labor or any activities, and sleep on the street. However, in the summer season they returned into their home. This implies that some rural families currently become seasonal navigators between their home and Addis Ababa. Sandell (1977) and Mincer (1978) view migration as a family decision. The family as a whole migrates if their net gain is positive. If only one partner finds a (better) job at the destination, the family only migrates if gains of one family member internalise the losses of the other family member. The family migration decision is thus in essence an aggregation of individual migration utilities.

## 4.2. Causes of streetism

The interview, case studies and discussion of informants revealed that the causes of streetism are poverty(economic/financial), family(divorce/death/violence), peer influence, globalization, lack of vision for futurity, abuse(physical/verbal/sexual), government policy, and displacement of people in the country. This indicates that the system of society determine children's life. Children tried to take actions before they became into streets. According to Tariku(not real name) said that:

*My parents have not enough plot of land to produce enough. Then I break from school and migrated into Addis Ababa. On the verge, I rented a bed to sleep each night and finished my money. Then I started working with loading and unloading; however, I cannot get enough to support myself. Finally I become a street boy.*

This compatible to MoLSA(2018) implies that children did not immediately become streets but through processes because they left their original home and migrated into the city, engaged in any activities to generate money, then become street. Absence and lack of basic capital asset like agricultural land in rural areas result in less production to feed family members then children migrated into the city. There are multiple and interdependent conditions that lead children to flee to the street. The major ones list here:

### 4.2.1. Poverty and inequality

Almost all informants mentioned that the reason to migrate into Addis Ababa are poverty, lack of finance and unable to eat and clothe. This forced them to leave their original home in order to search better life. Some families directly or indirectly push children to leave their house. Most migration studies have proven that amongst the myriad reasons why people migrate include the issue of poverty within the family and its economic resource constraints in their home areas (Eshia, 2010). According to Ayenalem (not real name) said that

*My family has not enough plot of land to produce more. There are 10 family members. We have no oxen, cow and other domestic animals. Always I understand my mother's tension about her children. She begs grain from our neighbors to feed us. She always*

said to us “*erasachehun awetu*”(find your way to support yourself). This forced me to migrate into Addis Ababa.

This indicates that poverty and lack of finance in the family push children to migrate into other areas. When resources are scarce and insufficient in a family, the immature children left their home. The base of human capital is economy because it plays the central role to human advancement and social maturity. Insufficient economy is a factor to push children into street life. This finding agreed with Yacob(2018). Parents may directly or indirectly influence their children to migrate into the city. In other words, some parents advise their children to find their own way for future better life. Extreme poverty and its pressure on families push children into other areas and become streets.

#### **4.2.2. The breakdown of family and its relation**

Most informants revealed that the cause of street life is the death of a father or mother, or their separation. Children suffer a lot when their remained parent remarries because they faced challenges from stepparents. For instance; from interview, case study and discussions the common pain to them were beating, insulting, abusing or punishing in hunger. The female informants explain that they exposed to sexual abuse by stepfather, step siblings or forced into early marriage. Those who come from alcoholic stepparents are highly vulnerable to abuse. Street boys mentioned that stepfather beat and forced to leave the house and stepmother punished in hunger– as their reason to become streets. The death of both parents and remain without responsible body to support them result in streetism. According to Tarikua(not real name) said that:

*I lost my parents in Addis Ababa. Then, I worked on the street to support my little brothers. In first time, I start to sold kollo(hotly dried grain). However, I could not generate enough to support my brothers and rent a house. Through process, I become a street girl.*

This also suggests that when children lost both parents, no any community institution to support the immature children in their village. Without any alternative opportunity they face into street life. To sustain life, they engaged in some informal activities; however, they could not get

enough finance to fulfill basic needs. The dysfunction and loss of social support(traditional support system) with exigencies of poverty drive them into street life.

#### **4.2.3. Lack of vision for future assurance**

The other factor of children to become into street life was the lack of vision to future life. For example:- some children currently desperate on the future value of education and its employment opportunity. In the interview one informant(Beyene) said:

*Education loses its value in my community. I stop my grade five and migrate into Addis Ababa. There are four B.A holders in my village but unemployed. Until graduation, they got finance from their parents. After graduation they also ask money to seek a job in different regions without any success. I desperate on the values of education. Instead of losing time in school, I migrated into Addis Ababa to seek finance, and deposit for my futurity.*

This shows that some rural children desperate on value of education and dropout from school. This incompatible to Lauer(2003, 217) confirm that the results by children and youth dropout of school before they leave their homes in the preference for life on the streets. Dropout from school is not only a preference to live on the street but also desperate on its value. This assures that the educational system of the country had not brought behavioral changes on the attitude of youth and children. Because most graduate youth become more idle in their community than becoming innovative to solve social problem. This agreed with the Addis Ababa Bauru of Labor and Social Affairs(BoLSA, 2019) that picks 3,147 street children from street life into eight rehabilitation center; from which 500(16%) found educated(one master, thirteen first degree, four hundred certify with diploma and certificate, and one hundred with driving license. This tells us urban space become a shelter to many people and street life become accepted culture not only to immature children but also matured graduate youth. This is a strong evidence that no one can blame children desperate on the value of education to dropout from school and migrate into the city instead of staying in school.

Different social attitudes, expectations and understanding to better life and future prospect led them into street life. One informant (Chaltu) describe the reason why she become a street girl as follows:

*My aunt come to our house from Addis Ababa. She negotiated with my mother to take me with her into Addis Ababa to attend formal education. My mother agreed to go with her. However, in her house I worked any kind of work from early morning to mid night. I stayed for five years without attending school. Even my wag was in kind (low cost clothes, shoes and leftover food). Finally, I left her house and become a street.*

This implies that rural families expected city life is better than the rural once. They have no any awareness about child labor exploitations and its burden. Labor exploitation beyond the capacity of a child creates tension, unsecured and lack of freedom on his/her life. Some people lose morality to exploit child labor without any payment. To overcome greedy exploitation beyond their capacity, children prefer street life as an opportunity to get freedom. In present time as poverty; social attitudes, expectations and lack of vision for future assurance become a cause to streetism.

#### **4.2.4. Sexual abuse**

Sexual abuse in a family victimizes many children. It is a behavior that puts children at risk. It is also difficult to know the abusive system because it practice in a secret way. Sexual abuse on children finds a number of factors associated with loss of parents, chronic poverty in the family, unemployment, alcoholic parents, absence of responsible families, and the loss of moral ties in family norm. In the overall conditions, the loose of social support– in the form of social service, community assistance, and cultural norms about the primacy of motherhood– as related to child abuse– most abusers are those with weak community ties and little contact with friends and relatives (see also Baca Zinn and Eitzen, 2005). Many female informants entered into street life due to sexual abuse. Jemila reported as follows:

*My mother died when I was 7 years old. My father remarry but he died in short time. After this my brother-in-law punished and abuse me. Also my stepmother's relative can abuse me. Life become so bad to me. To get freedom, I spent time on the street at day and return to my house at night time. However, they insult, kick and prohibit food to me. I become a street girl.*

Sexual abuse is the most common problem for all street girls before and after in street life. More than 95% of the respondents complained that they were raped by their family member or any

individual. Females are sexually vulnerable and exploited when they lost their parent. Most of the time, step parents abuse, punish in hunger, insult, ignore and kick without mercy. Above all, cultural based inequality influenced females not to protect their rights in the house and community at large. Lack of awareness about “family law” and “weakness” of its implementation exposed children to abuse and exploitation. These challenges in their families forced to withdraw and become a street child. Another street girl(Mitu) also explained:

*When my father died, my mother remarried another husband. This had led me to enter in street life. In view of that my stepfather abuse me. My mother know the sexual relation with my stepfather and she beat me to leave the house. Then I run into street.*

This revealed that sexual abuse on females also resulted in conflict between family members. In some cultures like ours, it is taboo to do sex with both mother and her daughter. Even if the sexual abuse done in a secrete way, it creates psychological tension on children, and a moral panic. It may break social relation for the last time between family members. So sexual abuse on females contributed to streetism. Another street girl Sebele said:

*Before my street life, I was employed as a house servant for five years. After five years, the owner of the house abused me and I become pregnant. When he understands that I am pregnant, he forced me to leave his house. I left the house and born a child on the street, and become a street girl with my baby.*

This shows that house servants exposed to sexual abuse by the owner of the house. Most of the time, sexual exploitation on house servants result in HIV/AIDS and pregnancy. Because the poor always weak to protect their rights from any violation. For instance, poverty put its pressure to lose his/her confidence to protect his/her rights in a legal way. Most researchers in their finding concluded that still females are not beneficiary from economic, social and political rights. Their marginalization in all aspect make their life challenge and multidimensional. Sexual exploitation becomes a cause to street life.

#### **4.2.5. Peer influence and consequence of globalization**

Peers are those with whom you interact on equal terms such as friends. It is an important agent of socialization. Young boys and girls learn society's image of what supposed to be through the

socialization process(see also Anderson and Taylor, 2007). Peer influence for children often take the form of clique– friendship circle where members identify with each other and hold a sense of common identity. It is also a source of social approval, disapproval and support, for example, some street children from Addis Ababa go to their families and share information to their friends. Children become highly eager to go to Addis Ababa. The influence of globalization become high in each village of rural districts. Everybody have information about western world. When you ask an individual, he told you about Arab or western worlds. In the interview an informant explains how peer influence and globalization makes him to migrate into Addis Ababa and become a street. Roba(not real name) said:

*I come from southern Ethiopia. In our village some youth go to south Africa and Arab countries. Most of them send money to their families. I envy to go to these countries as my friends and to improve my family life. However, it is not easy without enough money. Therefore I come to Addis Ababa to earn money for further migration to South Africa. Unfortunately, I become a street boy.*

This indicates that the local economy, social and cultural structure of every village are now influenced by powerful commercial interests in fast ways that everyone could not have imagined. Because before digital revolution, most societies’ culture relatively fully independent systems. However, today many nations become multicultural societies, composed of numerous smaller subcultures. For instance, each local people around the world now become familiarized with variety of goods and services; words like mobile, face book, and brand-name clothes. Influence of globalization forced people to compare and contrast their local village with dominant culture apart from them. For example- if someone migrate into developed nations and send remittance, clothe and brand electronic devices to his families, his friends influenced and decide to migrate into cross boarder countries. Some of them migrated to south Africa, Arab and western countries. Also unemployment and political instability create tension on them to migrate into Addis Ababa or cross boarder countries.

#### **4.2.6. Government Land policy**

In discussion, interview and case studies shows that almost all informants were rural origins. In rural community land is a backbone of a family. The lack of it face economic problem and loose

of social status. In current times, rural family cannot give a piece of land to their children. Without a small plot of land the son cannot marry a wife and form a family. To overcome this challenge, children at early age migrate into urban area. Take one migration history, Tariku(not real name) said:

*I come from Gojjam. My family have not enough amount of land. Our land was taken by Weyane(he says FDRE) in 1997/98 consider my father as a Derg bureaucrat. They left only one hectare of land for ten family members. Then my elder brother come to Addis Ababa and become a street child since 2010. I follow him in 2014 and our sister in 2016. Also from January to April our father comes to Addis Ababa and begs on the street.*

This implies that access to land is an essential element of the right of adequate standard of living and the realization of the right to work. In rural communities, agriculture is the major occupation of the people. Any attempt by governments to take large portions of farmland from one farmer has often been affected that family in losing their livelihoods. For the rural people, lack of agricultural land is considered as a deprivation of well-being. The right to food in rural area is directly linked to the right to work and got enough product from their land. Livelihood outcomes such as improved incomes are directly related to the level of productivity. The loss of livelihood assets also loss of source of income. The government of Ethiopia(FDRE) without any equity aggressively distributed the land in Amhara region for its political project. Those who were committee members in Derg time considered as bureaucrat and take their land without considering family members. It was the human right violation to access adequate food, to live in security, peace and dignity. It is true that economic capital is the base of stability to any family. Tariku's family becomes on street and of street. Especially in winter time, most family members migrate into Addis Ababa for saving and coping strategies. On the other hand, unfair land distribution also create tension on parents and forced their children into migration. Aweke (not real name) explain:

*We have not enough plot of land. Our land has taken by the government because my father was seen as a Derg bureaucrat by FDRE. For twelve family member, we got only one hectare of land, which cannot support the whole family. Our father always became sad, angry, furious and kicks his children. Our mother weep and cry. All my sisters and brothers leave our house. Two of my sisters migrated into Bihar-Dar. My elder brother and I come to Addis Ababa.*

This implies that unfair land distribution create family tension to push children into migration. Aweke's father even loses his morality to save his children. Adequate economic capital plays leading role to form healthy families. However, the lack of it result in conflict and desperate on life. The loose of land below family members is a total calamity because it is a backbone to family life. The shortage and absence of this basic livelihood asset degraded hope, surrendered freedom, and forced to migrate into the city. Children dropout from school and migrate into the city to fulfill their basic needs and family economic gaps. Children become behind their families and school cultural socialization.

#### **4.2.7. Internal–displacement of people in the country**

The other cause of children to become street children are the internal displacement of people in most part of the country. Currently, Ethiopia is the leading country within the internal displaced people of the world. The 2018 was marked by unprecedented political and economic reforms, the ongoing transformation resulted in increased unrest and conflict across the country creating a complex humanitarian situation. Severe ethnic conflict during the year led to large scale internal displacements, which increased the number of people displaced to 2.95 million by December from 1.7 million in February (UNICEF report 2018). One informant explained the condition of displacement from southern Ethiopia (Guraferda district) before some years ago; Tilahun (not real name) said:

*I am 17 years old. I was born in southern Ethiopia Guraferda district. In Guraferda, a lot of people forced to leave considered as not native to the area. During that time displace people weep, cry and emit their tear into the sky. My mother come to Addis Ababa with three children and beg on the street. We sleep-in a shanty plastic house. At night the police come and disturb us and we do not know what happen tomorrow. We decided to go to Northern Showa.*

This implies that at present in all parts of the country there are many displaced people. When they displaced from their habited areas, they move into different parts of the country. The federal system of governance was established along ethno-linguistic lines by the transitional government of Ethiopia after the defeat of the Derg regime in 1991. The 1994 constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE) considers ethnic contradiction as the primary problem

in country's politics and reaffirms ethnic federalism with the right to self administration for all regional states including the right to secession (Adegehe, 2009). However, a lot of people were displaced from different region of the country. The federal structure is responsible for many communal and identity conflicts. Because these conflicts associated with issues related to self determination/secession, the politics of resource sharing, political power, representation, identity, citizenship, ethnic and regional boundaries and others. Even the drawing of boundaries led to the generation of violent conflicts among various ethnic groups and almost in all border areas of regional states. Following the introduction of ethno-federalism and political manipulation of ethnic identity by local cadres, the relationship among ethnic groups expose to confrontation, violence and displacement. People navigate challenges "act in difficult situations, move under the influence of multiple forces or seek to escape confining structures" (Vigh 2009).

## **Conclusion**

This chapter presents the street children's prior home experiences, the causes of streetism and its dynamics in current situation. The conclusion that emerges from this study is similar to other researchers revealed that many street children come from rural areas(Zerihun 2015;Abebe 2014 and Adugna 2006). Some studies(MoLSA 2018; Abebe 2014; Tsehay 2013; Adugna 2006 and FSCE 2003) confirm that many of them come from the orphan, women headed and two parent families. However, in my study I find that the majority come from stepparent families. When children are in stepparent families, they do not get proper care, love and affection. such phenomena pushes them to engage in street life. Because they punish in hunger, physical attack, abuse and ignorance.

The majority are dropout from school due to poverty, financial problem and lack of assurance on the value of education. They desperate for home life and migrate into the city. Also the majority originate from Christian families and Amhara regions. Thus most Christians and Amhara people are engaged in agricultural activities. The land of the region is cultivated for a long period of time and lose its fertility without applying modern technology to produce more. Children from poor agricultural families migrate into the city to seek better life and reduce food sharing and to fulfill economic gap in a family.

In order to understand 'the why' of children's migration and becoming street children; most previous researchers focused on socio-economic background. Their conclusion revealed that the reasons behind the initiation to street life is poverty and inability to satisfy basic needs. However, my finding shows that family dysfunction, land policy of the government, lack of vision for future assurance and internal displacement of people in the country contributed to street life.

The dynamics of streetism varied from time to time. Because it is the result of system relation within the society. It is based on interaction between them and social system. The street children have promoted inequality and poverty. Examining causes of streetism in Addis Ababa address the linkage between social system and children. The relationship is weak to alleviate the problem and become multidimensional. Streetism become dynamics from its cause to its culture because not only children under 18 years old live and work on the street but also the matured graduate youth currently work and live on the street. Streetism become a complex social problem and it needs complex social solution at large from the government.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **STREET WAY OF LIFE/ STREET CULTURE**

This chapter analysis the culture of street children in street life. It was another specific objective of the study to examine the 'street way of life' as a culture what they have developed (street habitus and different kind of capital like economic, social, cultural, and symbolic). It addresses the question: how they create their own capital in street life? how their capital helped them in the street way of life?

#### **5.1. Urban space and street children**

Once they get into street life, their former context faded behind the city that could bring along with them and found themselves stripped to street spaces. Because the separation from home life transferred into new street way of life. Once out of their home and becomes on the street, they try to assume maturity prematurely. At the initial time, the hardship of street life creates the immediate confusion on them. However, through process they habited it and grow into accepted culture. This compatible to (Mathew 2003; in Tettegah 2012) and implies that children find themselves in an ambivalent situation, neither children nor adults; 'persons who are not quite adult but no longer a child'. The process forced them to reconstruct acceptable life based on street culture. Because it shaped them to act in a street way of life and create attachments in the urban space. They acculturated from street psychological, economic, social and symbolic process in the urban space and place.

In the study, most informants explained that urban space is a field of hopeful and hopelessness to their street life. Because in their original homes, more or less have been set in families' shelter with adults. However, after they left home, it is difficult to get a safe place to sleep or to take a rest. Urban spaces as a house with instantly holds onto great odds. In fact, these urban spaces are an imaginary corner of safety place. It is shallow and temporary setting to them. Also it is a preamble recovery and what participants called "my home" or "our home" as they partially, temporarily, or currently live. It is not only their permanent or temporary destination but also a spatial displacements of feeling crack, hopelessness and temporary set of dedication. In urban

space their culture and thought are run in and run out. Boyte and Evans(1992) calls “urban space”– those spaces in which hope is nourished in spite of impoverished material circumstance. In occupancy of space and place to sleep, they move about good or odd deal. As a culture they move from street to street, area to area and setting to setting but some do occasionally colonize or settle down at particular places for a period of time before moving on again(Tettegah, 2012).

Their spaces are not bounded by barbed wire, big fence or controlled by guards; however, an imaginary border permitted to sleep, become membership or share experience in it. Urban spaces to street children are “*instrumental incubators*” to invent their street culture. They invented their own “*new street culture*” for survival. In other words, they develop their own skill to resist harsh and miserable life and its public representation in it. In Bourdieuan language urban spaces are arenas of struggle in which actors attempt to accrue or control various resources such as economic, cultural and social capitals. It captures formally institutionalized relationships based on explicit codes or rules as well as non-formalized, customary relationships structured by cultural norms or practices(Bourdieu, 1986).

One informant explained his arrival in Addis Ababa and how the street children trapped him into their own street culture in the urban space. Murad said:

*I come from southern Ethiopia. When I arrived at the Bus station, I get Bichu on the street. He take me to his friends and all of them greeted me. They take 150 birr from my pocket and bought chat, cigarette, ganja and **araki** (local alcohol). Also they forced me to do everything with them. Bichu order me to smoke ganja(marijuana). I smoke it and Bichu become happy. He said oh! that is nice, keteebikut! (I am the first to teach him how to smoke ganja). Also his friends advised me how to lead my street life in active way as ‘beete - beete’, ‘beete - beete’(start to be active, become so active in any daily activates).*

This indicates that in their arrival to Addis Ababa, they often exposed to loneliness of immediate condition. Because their destiny into urban space faced into uncertain challenges and new risks. No street children become in a state of enjoy with life satisfaction expected from it. Their hopeless life and sense of helplessness forced them to form friendship within the context of street culture. They become like a stray dog to find food, sleeping place and money from kindly hands. Urban space; a place of work and nurture to the new street way of life. The UNICEF(1988)

report suggests, 'Street children need spaces in which they can assert their own interests and shape their own lives'. Urban space creates the room for an exchange of experience between them which might mean job possibilities, searching of daily food, police related activities and other essential features of life.

They adapt spatial places to assert their interest and construct their own life within the parameter of street culture. Street children notice urban space as house; however, most of them face painful life in it. If any difficulty in the urban space trouble them, they end up staying and move to other safe corner of the city. In the same fashion, a lot of them become friends in their cultural context in the new space. Some street children may stay in one urban space permanently or temporarily breathing both painful and joyful life. Sami prefer to live on specific urban space for a long period of time even if he faced any challenge. He said:

*I stayed in Autobus terra(Bus Station) more than ten years. It is a business center area. It is an initial and end point to distance travelers. In the area, I can get bulle by begging or bought by money. Everything is accessible in it. Early in the morning, I go to Atekelterra(vegetable market) and take some leftover vegetables for daily meal. Moreover, the whole day the area is very crowded and I can get different chances from it. So I like it very much as a house and bread getting area to my street life.*

This implies that some street children prefer to live some places like *Autobus terra*(bus station). The majority of them prefer it, because it is highly crowded, its availability of daily needs and its overlapping to Atekelet Terra(vegetable market). They may get different chances from the crowded interaction. For example:- they beg money or carry luggage to passengers. At the same time, if condition is good, they make *chireba*(theft money or any materials) from them. Many of them prefer it as bread area. That is why their number is high in Addis ketema sub city as compared to other urban spaces. On the contrary, some street children also change their urban spaces instead of staying in a specific place for a long period of time (even if they may not faced any challenge). Murad said:

*I live on the street more than six years. In the first time, I was in Saris for a year and come to Bole Michael. Again I go to Megenagna and lived two years. From Megenagna I go to Piazza and finally come to Autobus terra. I change my urban space because of*

*conflict between street children, be weary of the areas, to see new face in other street area or to find solution to my challenges especially the daily needs*

This shows that some street children experience comfort in going to other urban spaces where unfamiliar faces have seen. For some, it is a matter of having a place to go outside of home. For others, it is a place where problems can be discussed to find solutions. In general, all street children had not a fixed place to continue their street life. However, they tend to stay places where any strange is minimal to drive them away or interfere with their personal spaces, and occupy places where they can get jobs and available of daily basic needs

In my observation, most of them sit and sleep together in the urban space of bus fermata, under the bridges, open markets, around churches, shop corridors and at the side of buildings. Some of them from the same region and ethnicity sleep together, while others from different backgrounds also sleep together. Males and females street children are not regularly sit and sleep together. However, in some cases both of them sit, play and sleep together. In this case, there is no remarkable sex segregation within themselves. Also they are not spent time regularly with their friends because they take their opportunity to look into their advantage.

Therefore urban space and children become a house and family members respectively. As any person in his normal house feels, street children at night also wake up and turn to feel their life condition. However, pass of night early morning's light in the eastern horizon the certain is come. Again in daily activities fear may come that most intimate life would not remain the same. On the other hand, they face any challenge in street life. In resolving street challenge, their confidence may not together because there is no permanent relationship outside the context of street life. Most of the time, they driven from their sleeping areas by police or any community members. At other times, people ignore their presence in the sleeping space. The culture of street life is full of navigating urban space. So every change from stable place affect children to generate a sustainable source of income. However, they accepted it as a way of life.

## 5.2. Habitués and Capital in Street Life of Addis Ketema Sub City

### 5.2.1. Nuro Kalut Meqabir Yemokal (sensed warm living in a grave) or Habitus

There are individual similarity in the experience of street life in the manner of risks and coping strategies. Some of the respondents feel that street life has a freedom one just live in it. Others believes that it is a painful life and feel helpless. However, both of them habited their joy or painful life. Gamow, Aweke and Setegn said:

*We eat bulle(leftover), wear worn-out clothe, chew chat, smoke cigarette and take ganja. We cannot live without drugs because it is our solider to reduce our tension and damn life for some hours. Even if street life is harsh and painful, we habited it and live in its room– ‘nuro kalut meqabir yemokal’(kept warm live in a grave).*

This assures that habit is the most permanent consequence of street experience. In fact, it is a gradual process by which the street children who have been adapted it in a prolonged exposure to the street culture and situation. Every street children share similar habitus of cultural beliefs and develop it in their spirit. It means that their habitus is the product of cultural practices on street when a street child learned it for the first time. Factors influencing street children to habit street way of life, for example:-forced by social environment and individual motives. The old street have experienced in street life while newcomers share from them and habited it.

Culture is a habited way of expression– whether it is the culture of wearing, dressing, or eating/drinking and materials production. It is a base of life in its social and natural environment. It acquired and internalized in deeper significance. For example, most of them smoke, drink, chew chat, take drugs, beg, use street words, steal pocket money and eat leftover food. Bourdieu term for a set of street habits and custom in this way is habitués. Street habitués is the acquired experience to live on street. Culture in street life is not an intrinsic manner but acquired through process and become a second nature to them.

According to Aptekar’s (1994) finding, children often start their street life in a gradual process, at first by staying away for hours, or a night, and then gradually staying more days away from their home. This notifies that they habited its culture at the initial time and grow into street habitus. Through habited practice, they try to deserve their social and economic needs. Once

habitués developed in street life, it become hard to break because they rotate in its vicious circle and they expressed their street way of life as ‘*nuro kalut meqabir yemokal*’(kept warm live in a grave).

## **5.2.2 Different kind of capital in street life**

Usually, the term capital refers to economic resources used in the production, distribution and exchange of goods and services. However, Bourdieu had in mind something much broader. In urban life material wealth like higher buildings, market areas, high ways, real estates, bridges, urban space and money what Bourdieu called economic capital. In urban space the sort of capital is in short supply to street children. Their street capital is far below than minimum needs and not get what they want. We do not know about all forms of capital value in their street life; however, they are keen followers of street character like wearing worn-out clothes/shoes, eat leftover and scratched body modification confer considerable street capital. These street fashions determine their economic, social, cultural and symbolic capital.

### **5.2.2.1 Tereffe– chella (seed money) or Economic capital**

Economic capital is the most liquid and tangible capital in that it may be more readily converted into other capitals. However, it is insufficient in street life because their competition to obtain economic capital is limited in the social environment. They are not well educated to perform professional urban based skill jobs and people not trusted with them to invite any job to generate income(economic capital). They cannot get enough income and be able to meet their daily needs. Their economic insufficiency, for example, is manifested in the capacity to purchase different personal needs. However, they are not passive with insufficient income because they have developed scavenging culture in street life. Abebe(nick name) show me his sleeping place:

*Under the bridge of light rail way, I observed some worn–out clothes, small size radio, knife, plastic goods for water, blanket and pillow for night wears which found leftover from somewhere in his shanty plastic room.*

Children flout searching for leftovers shows that they are not well versed in economic capital. In other words, they parade economic capital by scavenging leftover things to show that they are out of the right system. This implies that insufficient income to satisfy their minimal needs is far

less than they get. To sustain life, they take their advantage from scavenging culture. They collect clothes, shoes, plastic materials, food and other important things from different potential areas. However, they are not permanently depend on their scavenging culture because in rare cases they also get much amount of money in street life. Jibo(nick name) said:

*One day in a dark place, I hear a sobbed sound inside the car. I go there and said what happen in this car! One child cry a lot! Unfortunately, one guy raped him. Then I forced a man to open a car. Also I said to him, I call the police. However, he negotiated with me and gives 3000 dollar. I take this money and enjoy with my friends.*

This implies that street children are not always live beyond insufficient economic capital. In some rare cases, they may get a lot of money that can be change their life. However, instead of saving the money, they enjoy with it. For example:- When they get a lot of money, they buy new clothes, shoes, brand mobile, eat and drink in restaurants. After they finished it, they sell their new clothes, shoes and mobile phone. Most of them habited sharing system and cannot save money to break street habitus. Also some street children get a lot of money in different ways. For example Murad said:

*I cover my right eye with white bandage and beg for a month. In a day I get more than eight hundred birr and get a lot of money. One day the police take me to the police station and check the white bandage. I expect someone may inform to the police. I stop it.*

This implies that street children create their own culture and special strategy to full fill their economic needs. In the above quotation, this street child get more than thirty thousand birr in a month. In some rare cases getting high amount of money without taxation attracted them into street life. They are not capital less, but in some cases they get a large amount of money. However, the main difficulty is unable to save for their future life because they use it for addiction and other necessities.

#### **5.2.2.2 Wegennew/ nat(he/she is our member) or social capital**

In street life, social capital exist in their social relations, network and contacts. It is manifested as a kind of strategy which serve as a mechanism to exchange other capital. In other words, for street children social capital is the basic and useful resources in determining their existence in

street harsh life. It possessed in terms of their living arrangements and interpersonal networks. The street is a sphere of socialization, solidarity, violence and exploitation to them. The respondents were asked with whom live currently– the majority explains that they live with their street friends while a few of them live with families. However, it is not that much regular in contact with families. “UNICEF definition” Children “on” explained that “children are engaged on the street but have regular contacts with their families”. The research finding differ from it that they are not regularly contact with their parents because it depend on the interest of the child. One informant (Umer not a real name) said:

*I live with my mother. She is very poor to help me. I quitted my school in grade four and work on street to survive. When I get money, I often rent a bed and sleep because not regularly go to my home. Most of the time I sleep with my friends instead of going home.*

This shows that street children prefer to interact with their friends even if they have families. Because their social relation with their friends is more trustful than parents. Street social relation is valued than their parent relation. Also “UNICEF definition” Children “on” explained that “children are engaged on the street but have regular contacts with their families” means children at day time on the street but at night in their house. However, the finding differ from it that there are “*street children who stay at their home during day time and go to streets at night time*”. These children originated from poor, stepparent or alcoholic families. They are best friends to the street “Of” children– they call them ‘*ken–tenawoch*’ or ‘*ketenawoch*’(day in their house but at night on the street). My informant, **Kesto**(nick name) always come to street at night time and explain about his life as follows:

*My mother died when I was ten years old. My father is a day laborer. Early in the morning he goes to work as a laborer and at night he returned to his home. We expect him to come with bread but finished his money for drinking alcohol. Always he is angry and punished me. To protect myself, I left my house and go to street at night time. When the night become pass, early in the morning, I returned to my house. Moreover, at night I practice different activities with my street **Kakkire** (street children also define themselves as **Kakkire**) or with my street friends.*

The story of Kesto implies that unhealthy social relation with their parents forced them to habit street social relation. When any challenge faced them in families, they create their own social opportunity to sustain life. As Kesto they adapt the street life at night and returned into their home early in the morning. Street life social capital is more attractive than parental social capital. Their interaction is not in a strong bond with their mother or father. However, their social bond and interaction is high with their street friends. At night time together with street “Of” children— they ramble in each village and may take washed clothes found on the rope, or any material available outside of home. When they get any drunker person, they take his *chella*(money), *jawal*(mobile), *chuba*(ornament), clothe even shoe and consider him as their *keleb*(landlady).

They developed **social capital** in terms of street living pattern and interpersonal relationship. It reveal in their network and accepted habit of street life. Their social relation and network of credit sensed them to develop street social capital. Like economic capital, it distributed inequitably throughout street life. Social capital which Bourdieu describe a "durable network of more or less institutionalized relationship of mutual acquaintance and recognitions"— what we might call having friends in their places. Social capital is a habit of them that reveal in their interaction and social relation— basic to street life. Bamelaku and Aster are friends on the street said about their social relation as follows:

*We are friends on the street. We can do jebello(petty trade); ask or beg bulle(food) from cafeteria for our needs, wash parked cars, negotiate any strange, share daily minimal with street children.*

This implies that they have social capital not validated by community members. They habited street based social relation among each other. However, their interaction varies in its relation because interaction and network is high with street friends while less with community members. Their social network is a base of street knowledge and skills. Experience in the pattern of street social network and relation assure social capital. Their social capital is unique and have their own habited communication and interaction skills as compared to other community members.

Informants made clear that at individual level, street children benefit from their street social capital through which he/she increase social networks and resources that vital to street life. Because their daily needs is accomplished through social networks. In street life, social capital is

important to get resources individually or in group, and to adapt street life. The finding agreed with the research result of Abebe(2014) and G/Medhin(2014). Street children created their own shared values, norms and rules relating to its life. It is hard to believe, but true, that so much pleasure should come of talk in their social capital because in free talk and interaction they easily become friends. No need to ask any doubtful questions what risks; the ability to communicate with each other was bond enough.

Social capital and networks play a resilient features to street life. In street life no one a member of only one street group but far richer than this. They belongs to several networks; interacted with friends, cafeteria or bar owners' to get leftovers or to beg money from any people. As Mizruchi(1992) social network is a set of links between individual or between other social units. Most informants explained that their social interaction determined by the availability of resources on street. For example:- their interaction to cafeteria or bar is calculating the degree of getting leftover food. In other words, social network among themselves and outsiders depend on the outcome of its benefit. If their interaction with street friends or outsiders not profitable, it is not continued. However, if their interaction with street friend or outsiders is profitable, it continued.

Most informants discussed that social network contributed to develop high social bond with their street friends. For example:- If one street child begged bulle(leftover) or buy it from leftover venders, he shares to his friends. Even closed friends can smoke one cigar with interval and chew chat in group. This assures their street social obligation and connectedness. These are street social profits that embodied in street social networks. It tends to accept as the base of street life conformity and increase social bonding to share street capital in positive or negative ways. Social isolation in street life result in losing social network. An isolated street child from street social network to share any capital(like money, leftover food) symbolize his greedy character in sanctioning words such as '*ashagete*' or '*abesebes*' (rotted money without any function) and '*englize*'(A British just to show he/she save money). According to Bourdieu (1986), social capital embodied in social networks which can be used by individual to obtain and accumulate capitals as well as social position and status.

Every social interactions involves both verbal and non verbal communication. Verbal communication consist of spoken and written language and includes a conversation with the

person next to you (Anderson and Taylor 2006). When communication takes place, interaction usually does too, although not always. For example- A street child might begged money from bypasses (go around man/woman) using different words- verbal communication. Interaction is conveyed by non verbal means such as touch, tones of voice and gesture.

In anthropological perspective: non verbal forms of communication such as gazes, gesture, and tones of voice can communicate meaning even when it is unspoken. They use eye contact with people to communicate and tones of voice to give signal to their friends when police come into their sleeping areas. Surprisingly large portion of our every day interaction with others is non verbal communication. Consider all non verbal signal exchanged in a casual chat: body position, head nods, eye contact, facial expression, touching and so on.

In their daily life activities street children use touching to communicate and interact with different people. They touch their hair to communicate without saying any word to beg money or leftover food. Because they interact and understand each other. In their social context body language involves gesture, facial expressions, body position and the like to benefit them in different ways. For example:- They communicate through stretching hands -if the street child stretch his hand to someone, he/she may understood that he needs money and may give to him/her. If they do not want to give money or any help, he/she wave away from the street child. They can communicate with other people without any word expression.

They crossed their hands, legs and sit-down at the road side or anywhere transmitted meanings and interacted with outsiders. Their scratched face also told something to the outsiders and communicate without saying any word. Facial expression seen on them make hidden interaction with society that recognize as sadness, disgust or anger. Their interaction with body language also result in ignorance of the meaning that get them in trouble. They are more friendly interacted and feel towards each other. At any danger, they stand together because their street network confirm them to stand closer to each other on stranger.

According to anthropologist E.T Hall (1966; Hall 1987) we all carry around us a proxemic bubble that represent our personal, three dimensional space. When people we do not know enter into our proxemic bubble, we feel threaten and may take evasive action. Friends stand close, enemies tend to avoid interaction and keep far apart. In street social network, personal space

clearly seen when street children use transport system and communicate with other community members. In bus or rail way transport, street children enter and interact; however, their closing style and unclean personality makes them as a strange to the service user. Their interacting distance is quite larger than between street children and people interact with them at distance as much as possible. According to Hall theory, we attempt to exclude from our private space those we do not know or do not like even though we may not be fully aware that we are doing so.

### **5.2.2.3 Hiwotachenen– yelebese/ch (live in street way of life) or cultural capital**

In fact children at home suffered by ignorance, poverty or helplessness had fled to street life as a refuge. They create a culture of conceptions and practice that intimately expressed in street sense of reality. It is true that most street children are bother about the personal gain or loss to their daily life. In street life, they trust each other and have common sense to their culture. The street culture translate into acceptable value system. Because they internalized it and expressed in day to day activities and professed similar faith to it. The majority of respondents explain that through experience sharing, they recognized street culture in deeper significance. They habited to accept or deny street tension and clouds of uncertainty. Culture is a way of life in which people develop their own acceptable norm, values and custom.

Explaining street life in terms of street culture is basic; the street considered as a home or a house, a source of bread and clothe getting area, a place of freedom or constraint, and which they call no explanation. Although people could not that much help them to withdraw from this life, they create their own culture to lead street life. Street culture is their basic knowledge and skills to be sustained on street. They internalize it as a sense organ to live in urban space. Because it helps them to understand each other in the logic of street reality. In other words, they more often and completely playing inside the culture of street life. It is their general pattern and process through which all street children become experienced in distinctive similarity within themselves, and distinctive difference from urban community. Becoming streets meant not a simple conformity to a previous pattern, but adjustment to the need of a new street life with its culture.

In street life, culture is the base of social and economic resource to live. Because they have their own '*cultural capitals*' that reflect in wearing worn-out clothes, scratched body pattern, eat leftovers, and using street words– these characters are street cultures. For example- *Yedureye*

*quanqua*(street words) is their street cultural capital. It exchanged for economic advantage in begging time, in the form of admiring, storytelling, or sign showing. This notifies that they can translated cultural capital into economic capital. These words enhance ‘street creed’– which is vital aspect of cultural capital to increase the credibility of street life. Compared to community members, they have less cultural capital because their culture is more restricted to street life and far from family socialization and school educational values to learn fine arts.

I observed that street children decorate their body parts with artificial sore. For example:- some street children go to Merkato or around Abebe Bikela stadium to confer a considerable artificial sore on their leg, head, or hand. This artificial sore used to beg money on the street. To be decorate with artificial wound needs high amount of money. Only some children can pay to be decorated(artificial wound) while others cannot afford it. In some rare cases a street child negotiates with experts to be decorate(artificial wound) and shared equally the daily income got from begging. Aweke said:

*I am 16 year old. This wound on my leg is not the real wound but an artificial one. It is done by an expert in Merkato. Always early in the morning, I wake up and go to the street and lay down to beg. I got a lot of money in a day and share it equally with the decorator.*

This implies that possessing considerable symbol is an opportunity to obtain money (economic capital) in street life. They create their own culture to be competitive on resource because lack of cultural capital result in losing resources. In mega cities like Addis Ababa, street culture cannot compete with urban dominant culture. For example- in urban life children and youth wear fashion clothe, listen modern music, learn in school and accumulate cultural capital for futurity. Street children are like fish out of water in overall system. Unlinked life to the society's system forced them to create their own cultural capital in street life. Their cultural asset internalized and practice as a response to the dominant culture. It is not totally detach from the society at large.

In street life, power relation reflected in street culture and day to day life activities. In street life, it exercised between seniors and new comers, old and small street kids, male and female streets, local and migrant streets. Seniors and experienced children exercised their informal legitimate authority on new comers and small street kids. Because they have more cultural capital than new comers. Also it depend on mutual benefit in street life. The seniors and old street children give

protection to new comers, they also expected to provide benefits to seniors and old streets. One informant Fellow said:

*My friend, if he wanted drug or leftover food(bulle) he call me; 'Fellow' he says 'go and buy green pistol(hashish), go and beg bulle(leftover food), go and get chat' and I cannot say no (...) but if I face any strange in my daily life, I get his help. He says to me: 'yes you are a child now, I have a responsibility to help you' and he will help me. However, this relationship stayed only we become experienced and go to other areas.*

As explained in quotation demonstrates that their power relation and position determined in their physical strength, seniority and experience of street life. Seniors on new comers, old on small street kids, males on females streets, local on migrant streets struggle to influence and become dominance in street life. Because strong, seniors or old street has authority over small street kids, newcomer and vital resources. However, small street kids, or newcomer stayed under the control of them for some period of time. In other words, they usually defined and lasts up to experienced and full adaptation to the street way of life. When small street kids and newcomers share street knowledge from old streets, they move into other street areas. In street life, cultural capital play a great role to the position of power, authority and social worth to experienced street boys.

In street way of life, street children able to fully realize their position to accept and negotiate in relation to power. Both power and authority connected to positive and negative daily activities. They are contextually define and dependent on the levels of affluence and experience with being able to signify position of very different social worth and possibilities. In their street culture power is exercise in an informal hierarchies of relations. Their power relation is complex, informal, and invisible. The power relation not practice in top-down approach. Although the strong and experienced street boys exercise their authority on newcomers, there is rivalry among experienced street children on resources. One informant demonstrates the power relation among street children(**Jibbo**) said:

*We compete on bus fermata in urban space. I take it from other children using my force. At night time this "bus fermata" is my absolute property and day time to public property. In the rainy season, I rented it to other street dwellers from 15 – 20 birr for a night. It is a base of my street life. However, in the rainy season it become a rivalry for the entire*

*streets. I fight for it not to be taken by other children. I sleep at day time and actively protect small street children at night. They come with bulle, cigarette and money to me.*

This implies that gang leaders occupy veranda or bus fermata with force and consider it as their property and territories while the newcomers considered as invaders. To recognize as their own property they expect to be physically fit to resist other experienced street children in street life. Power relation in street life is an important aspect of cultural capital that reflected in urban physical capital. Most street children claimed that sleeping on the street during *kiremt*(the rainy season) is horrible. During rainy season they forced to pay in cash or in kind for street gang leaders who occupies verandas or bus fermata before them. It protected them from rain and cold weather condition. Bus fermata and verandas use as sleeping house, source of income and source of power in street life. Usually they negotiate to get verandas from individuals business owners; gate keepers or police since street life require negotiation. It become a field of struggle to controlled it(see also Adugna, 2006). The bus fermata as field refers to informal norms governing a particular social sphere of street activities. Fields are relational in nature and are characterized by their own particular regulative principles – the ‘rules of the game’ or ‘logic of practice’

#### **5.2.2.4 Hiwotachenen–mesekari(evidence to our life) or Symbolic capital**

The specific internal logic of habited culture gives symbolic meaning of street life. Because it express streets behavior and emotions. In street life **symbolic capital** expressed in their economic, social and cultural elements. Most informants symbolize street life as a place of freedom, misery life, and lack of basic needs. They symbolize leftover food, drug or scratched body pattern depend on its usefulness in street life. One informant, Gamow symbolized street life and street children as follows:

*Most of us wear **fedee**(worn out shoe), have seen **bombed– face**(scratched face) and dressed **selemon**(unclean and worn out clothe). We understand each other simply have seen personality. We recognized such street child as **hiwotachenen–mesekari**(evidence to our life).*

This implies that street personality is a base of ‘honor and recognition’ among each other. Hence they ‘acknowledge’ it in their street way of life. Their economic, social and cultural capital

reflected in their 'external and internal' recognition. It is their basic street qualities to judge street way of life. As Bourdieu symbols are things or behaviors to which people give meanings and bestowed by the meaning people give it. Symbols are powerful expression of human life. For example-street children symbolize drugs as *enemy killer*(like water trust, hunger and tension). Murad said:

*I smoke cigar, take benzene and drink alcohol. I cannot live without it. Because it gives relief to me and sleep without any fear at night time. Also it reduces water trust, hunger and tension life– these are enemies in my street life. Drugs are my enemy killers.*

This implies that drugs symbolize as a pain break from hunger and tension life. They have an ideal symbolic image of good looks into it as a response to disordered life. In other words, it symbolized as killer to their hunger, water trust, tension and night's cold. Because of the human capacity for reflection, symbolize and give meanings to their street behavior. They interpreted as one another's behavior and these interpretations that form the social bond. These interpretation are called "definitions of the situation"(see Anderson and Taylor, 2007). Symbolic capital is the meaning conveyed by symbol (all kinds of language), which become discernable and is employed by those categories of acting subject who are familiar with it, understand it and recognized it, in other words, lend its value. Street children use different kinds of drugs for their positive image to be reloaded from their tension and damn life. In other words, "the symbolic meaning of smoking or taking substance in street life overrides the actual facts regarding smoking and risks"(see Stjerna et al, 2004). It yields the increase in stature goods and is linked to the idea that interests are not always necessarily narrowly economic(see also Bourdieu, 1986: 134; Bourdieu, 1992: 47).

#### **5.2.2.5 Street words (*Yedureye quanqua*) as capital in street life**

Street children created their own words (*yedureye quanqua*) as asserting a life of street identity. Although they have a lot of disordered life condition, they struggle to change into normal way of life adapting different strategies. For example:– created words is their essential capital in street life. They use it (*yedureye quanqua*) in daily activities to assured economic, social, cultural and symbolic capital. It associated with the street context of street reality. Language is primarily

characteristics of cultural identity. It is not merely seen as a means of communication but as an expression of once culture and history(Steiner, 1995).

Street culture just comes from street way of life, not from their personal attributes. In fact, streetism as a way of life is the result of street culture and shared experience of who live on the street. As a matter of fact, in street life the street culture is multidimensional which consisting of both material and non- material elements– some part of culture being abstract other more concrete. The different part of culture include language, norm, belief and values(Anderson, M.Taylor, H., 2007). When children enter into the social group of street life, they have to learn street language(*yedureye quanqua*) to become member of street group and use the street term of reference. For example:– they said **‘wegennew’ / ‘wegennat’**(he/she is our friend/companion), the street vocabulary and way of constructing sentence called, not exclude him/her, he/she is our member(See Adugna, 2006). Becoming streets in a friendship circle learn street words(language) that group experienced it. Learning the language of a culture is essential to becoming part of the society and it is one of the first thing children learn; indeed, as one commentator on language has said; “Life lived as a series of conversation”(Tannen, 1990).

However, if they do not share the street words (language), they cannot fully participate in their culture. Language is a set of symbols and rules that put together in a meaningful way to provide a complex communication system. The formation of culture among humans is made possible by language. Street children created street words(*yedureye quanqua*) a response to urban dynamics. In its nature language is fluid, dynamic and evolve as a response to social change. It assured that street words(language) are knowledge created by street children and fluid into urban community. For example:- how street children's special words fluid into urban community; See it next:

**‘Ayeneffam’** (not attractive)

**‘Finidatta’** (fire age)

**‘Chokka’** (very active and courage thief)

**‘Kewetie’** (very disturbance).

**‘Dureye’** (un honest and wanderer in his/her life)

**‘Beregna’** (sex worker) and other words are habituated in urban communities.

The above words has created on the benefit of street way of life. It transmitted out of them and used by the community. Most street words that created in street life depend on their perception, interest, personal attribute, and manner of activities. They created it to address street reality. Dominant urban culture not fully undermine the development and its fluidity of street culture. More practically dominant culture in one society can shape and weaken the culture of marginal groups. However, the culture of sub group also influenced dominant social group and share some specific culture to them.

Its fluidity into communities favored to continuing cultural relations with urban community–strengthened cultural ties between them and the community at large. In these case, as Edward Sapir(writing in 1920) and his student Benjamin Whorf(writing in 1950) thought that language was central in determining social thought. In other words, language determines other aspects of culture. It provides the categories through which social reality is defined and constructed. Sapir and Whorf thought that it determines what people think and perceive because language forces people to perceive the world in a certain term(Sapir, 1921; Whorf, 1956). They create and use different words to name their daily meal. Among the words:

- ‘**Bulle**’ (different and fragmented leftover food which collected together)
- ‘**Bochella**’(Somalis' remaining food after satisfaction)
- ‘**Deyaas or Hassenkewie**’ (Imprisons' house food)
- ‘**Enechuf**’(moisten injera with wat that remain from someone after his satisfaction)
- ‘**Fewes**’ (leftover food to restore from extreme hunger)
- ‘**Shenekore**’(hotels' leftover food, also stealing wood from wood traders)
- ‘**Temelash**’ (any remaining food from someone after his satisfaction)

This suggests that in street life children created their own words tacitly to admit street sensed meanings. They habited different cultural words in their social sub category. Most of them come from different back ground and interests. This become opportunity to get a diversified street words(street knowledge) to define street way of life in their context. In urban space children in group behave and interact in relation to street identity. Street words(language) address the culture of street life through which social reality has been defined and constructed. The daily leftover food which got from anywhere named it differently assures its street reality. For example:- staying without food for a long hours and got to eat call it ‘**fewes**(leftover food to restore from

extreme hunger)’. This clearly shows that they associated their street way life based on its reality. The representation in different names to their daily meals which got from different places determine the street way of life in what way they sensed, perceived and explained street reality. They create different names(words) to street item, activities or substance in use. For example- *Arakie* (local alcohol) named it as follows:

‘*Mereffeie*’/needle (satisfies with small amount to warm internal sense)

‘*Qesha*’ (quick sense that warmth the brain)

‘*Qanebura*’ (drunkenness in short time)

‘*Akechu*’ (quick boozing)

‘*Kill me quick*’ (lose sense quickly )

‘*Chemistry*’ (made from different substances )

‘*Lion's milk*’ (feels strong when you drink)

‘*Pinnata*’ (booze in little drinking).

This implies that street children give different names to a single drinking liquor from their sense of reality. Most of them drink alcohol to lose their sense in sleeping time. Because at night time they sleep on open space and exposed to bad weather condition or any strange. To overcome these challenges, drunk *araki*(traditional alcohol)to lose personal senses or to become fearless. In such cases, they connote different names to it. When they drunk it, they satisfied with small amount, created quick sense to warmth their brain and forget stress life. For example- they call it chemistry, which means made from different substance through fermentation, to address its strength call it ‘*lion's milk*’ which means when they drunk it, they become fearless and sensed as strong as lion. In addition, they also named **drug**(hashish) differently as follows:

‘*Mitu*’(little female baby)

‘*Asa or green Asa*’(fish, green sfish)

‘*Ashekutie*’(vagabond and active)

‘*Satila*’ (related to umbrella)

‘*Ehil*’ (food that is to be eaten)

‘*Ekka*’(goods or material)

‘*Wid or Ganja*’ (the name of hashish)

This suggests that street children create different terms(names) to represent drug from the reality of street experience. In fact, most of them use drugs to reduce the tension of street life. The main reason to call it in different name is to be secured from police or any strange. To buy it from shops or illegal drug seller, they negotiated with these terms. For example-instead of asking their client have you hashish? they ask *mitu tenorehalech*(have you little baby)? *asa yenorehal* (have you fish)? or *ekka yenorehal*(have you goods or material)? This assured security both the buyer and the seller. Confidentially, they agreed each other without any interference.

In exchange time, if the buyer asks directly *have you drug or hashish?* the seller immediately become angry and said I have not any! Their communication ended without any agreement. To be secure in street cultural context, they use different names to negotiate without any doubt. Some street children make a bridge between illegal drug seller and other drug users in the urban space. Because some people interacted with some street children using these secrete words to buy it. They created secret street cultural words to communicate in such illegal activities. Then again, they give different names to their *Chireba* (theft)styles and named it as follows:

*'Lebba'* (theft)

*'Laborro'*(tireless stealer)

*'Techewach'*(wise and strategist stealer)

*'Chokka'*(very active and courage stealer),

*'Motor alew'* (courage stealer).

This also implies that they use different words(terms) to name stealing. Instead of saying he is a thief/a stealer, they prefer to say *'tiru techewach neew'*( he is best thievery), *'chokka neew'*(he is active and courage stealer) or *'esu motor alew'*(he is courage stealer). To be successful in street way of life, they use street cultural terms to interact in daily activities. Street words represent street way of life and directly related to the guarantee of street cultural life.

Also *'tella'*(local beer) named differently as: *'Bozza'*, *'Sello'* or *'Ghetto'*. This also indicated that in relation to drinking local beer, they use their own street words(terms). Because most informants inform that instead of saying *'tella eneteta'* says *'bozza eneteta'*(let us drink local beer) or *'sello eneteta'*(let us drink local beer). *'Tella* is familiar to everybody– use their own street terms to the interest of their life. They also said *'ghetto bet enehid'*(let us go to local beer

house) instead of *'tella bet enehid'*(let us go to local beer house) as a way of communication in their social sub category.

On the other hand, they give name to *'tij'*(alcoholic liquor made from honey) call it *'Brazil'* to represent its yellow color. They related its color with Brazil's football players who wears yellow in playing time. They also give different name to leftover cigarettes as: *kuro*(leftover cigar found on the street) or *chama tiffie*(leftover cigar on the street and pressed by someone foot). When they lack cigarette, they use leftover even if pressed by foot like *Chama tiffie*(leftover cigar pressed by the foot of a person).

## Conclusion

This chapter has taken me beyond the earlier various studies of victim and vulnerable life of street children and analyzed streetism as a way of life by which habitus and different kind of capital(economic, social, cultural and symbolic) in street life. This is another specific objective of the study to analyze how street acquired skills internalized and become habitués? how they create their own capital and it helped them on the street? Street experience enables them in the to explore possible ways to engaged in various activities– bring capital to their life in urban space.

The study shows that urban space plays a central role to street life. They use it as a base of livelihood, a place of socialization and opportunities to mitigate risks and aggression which they exposed in other places (also see Van Blerk 2005; Evans 2006). It is a key element of physical capital in livelihood strategies for the urban poor (Nooraddin 1998 in Rakodi 2002). They often use it for economic and social purposes as a place of work to earn income, a source of food, a place of freedom or constraints, a place of social interaction and a field of identity. The finding shows that in urban space, street culture and street thought are run in and run out. For example- *yedureye quanqua*(street words) created in it and some of these words transferred into the larger community. So urban space should have seen as an *"instrumental incubator"* to invent their own new street culture for survival strategies, and to resist harsh and miserable street life. As a result, their social formation is not that much separated from larger social structure.

The study analyzed all form of street capital that valued in street life because they are keen followers of street character. The lack of economic capital beyond minimal needs verifies to

develop scavenging culture, experience informal low paying jobs and engaged in the illegal activities to earn money. Insufficient economic capital makes them to habit alternative ways in their street life. They have social resources in terms of relationship with friends or other community members. Every street children have their own social capital like that of other community members. Because social capital revealed through their network of interaction. The social network is a habit of street children and capitalized it as a base of street life.

Cultural capital is a base for social and economic resource. It analyses how cultural capital translated into economic and social capital. Familiarity in street culture result in habitus in the context of street life. For example:- the cultural capital of street words(*yedureye Quanequa*) exchanged to economic and social advantage in the form of begging, storytelling, or sign showing in street life. It depends on their perception, interest, personal attribute, and manner of activities. Street words(*yedureye Quanequa*) as a cultural capital enhance 'street-creed' among themselves and an important aspect to increase credibility of street life.

They give different names to the street daily meals, drinking substances and street activities. In its nature language is fluid, dynamic and evolve as a response to social change. Its fluidity into others favor to continue cultural relations and strengthened cultural ties between them and the community at large. Tacitly it admitted street sensed meanings and street habited life reality in the subculture and other community members. They are not behind the system to transform their street cultural capital into acceptable economic, social and cultural possibilities because they transfer street words into urban communities.

I discussed their power relation in street life that exercised between seniors and new comers, old and small street kids, male and female streets, local and migrant streets. Experienced street children exercise power on new comers and small street kids. The seniors or old street children give protection to them until they become experienced. Although they give protection to them, they also expected to provide benefits to their seniors. In their power relation they also compete for urban space resource. The urban space resource such as bus fermata and veranda as field refers to the informal norms governing a particular social sphere of street activities and source of power. They struggle to control and compete power on it. Fields are relational in nature and are characterized by their own particular regulative principles – the 'rules of the game' or 'logic of

practice’ – which are subject to power struggles among different interests seeking to control the capital (and ‘rules’) in that field (Edgerton and Roberts, 2014).

## CHAPTER SIX

### RISKS AND COPING STRATEGIES IN STREET LIFE

#### 6.1. Risks in Street Life

Street children in urban space are highly vulnerable to risks more than their original home life. They live in absolute poverty and at high risk in street life. The majority of respondents explain that urban space is full of risk in security, health, sanitation and other strange. The findings read as follows:

##### 6.1.1. Access to service (food, cloth and shelter)

Obviously, street children have no basic service in street life. The food is insufficient in quality and quantity. They wear tired clothes, shoes and have no additional to change. Wearing the a tired clothe results infected with flea and louse making them vulnerable to communicable diseases. Shelter is their main problem and have no permanent place to sleep. The police and other community members forced them to leave it. Aweke said

*Most of the time I cannot get leftover food from the hotel. Because most hotels start to sell it. As such, in some days I sleep on the street with my empty stomach. Additionally night cold and other strange disturbed me to sleep.*

This implies that street children not always get leftover food from restaurants, hotels or bars. Leftover food currently becomes a source of income to hotels and restaurants. This finding is compatible with Adugna(2006), and I observed that some hotels sell leftover food to their customers. These customers also retail to very poor people who can buy it. Street children are now in problem to get food without money. MoLSA(2018) indicate that in urban destitute, especially the homeless, experience serious food insecurity. Their clothe is worn out and cannot prevent night cold in the open urban space. In summer season their sleeping place damped in rain and unable to sleep the whole night in some days. Even in the next day, it may rain and cannot get sunny place to take a rest. Really, life is miserable to them.

### **6.1.2. Health and Sanitation Problem**

Street way of life is exposed to health problem. Most of the time their needs depend on leftover food and clothe. They attracted in west materials from garbage bins, health centers and garage. They experience health problems among these the most recurrent include: skin diseases, coughs and cold, stomach ulcers, diarrhea, STDs, malnutrition etc. (Ochola and Dzikus, 2000). Tariku said:

*I collect leftover medical materials from health centers but one day sharp glass cut my finger. I could not get medical treatment because I have no any money. I often eat leftover food and become sick in typhus and typhoid. Always, I become sick in influenza due to harsh weather during night. There is no water to drink and to keep my sanitation.*

This assures that health is the main problem in street life. Most of which are related to their working environment, eating pattern, sanitation, weather condition and sleeping areas. Lack of adequate water supply result in failure to provide minimum sanitation and sewerage facilities. In my observation, the worry situation in the urban space is the lack of access to sanitation facility. They excrete their feces in any open space at night and urinate on the street or at the side of their sleeping areas. Even they urinate into plastic bottle closed it and thrown onto the road. Everybody can observe the thrown urinate plastic bottles on the road side. Most informants use open space as toilet, which is a critical to community health problem. Deficiencies in sanitation forced them to use open space, road side and ditches to dispose their waste that exposed them to serious health risks. Everybody can observe them how their way of life is an evidence to their health problem.

### **6.1.3. Psychosocial problem**

Street children are marginalized in the social environment. Due to this, community did not given chances to work and get enough finance. Children forced to believe that they have no any societal responsibility. In discussion, interview and case studies most informants reveal that community members define them in marginalized ways based on street character and way of life. Aweke, Murad and Tariku said as follows in what way the community define them:

- *It is the 'will or desire of the child' to live in street life.*
- *It is 'abnormal way of life' and not controlled by family, community or school teachers.*
- *It is the 'criminal life style' un honest and theft.*
- *It is the 'deviant and visionless life style'.*
- *It is the 'life of komeche'(rural origin conservatives and hard workers).*
- *It is the 'life of borkoho' (scavenging life/ destitute life).*
- *It is the 'life of yenebite'(bagger, homeless and live without anything or capital)*
- *It is the 'life of metegiya-yelesh'(those who have not any parent or relatives)*
- *It is the 'life of Wemetee or dureye'(Un honest, active and live without life plan)*
- *It is the 'life of tesefayelesh'(hopelessness)*
- *It is the 'life of Kakkere' (mostly Street child defined among each other as Kak'kere')*

This implies that street children face awful reactions because of societies' negative perception towards them. The majority of them felt that the community differentiated them as trouble makers. They do not suffer merely from physical homelessness but also from a psychological homelessness since they have nowhere to belong. The finding also agreed with Abebe (2014). In the group discussion, street children said that they were treated violently by their community in marginalized ways. They connoted them as visionless, hopelessness, un honest, scavenging life, helpless, deviant, or komeche. In fact, the connotation and context of them are contested among various actors– each of the actors use their own ideal definition(see also Abro 2012). People defined them from the view point and domain of reference in which life on the street represented in marginalized ways. Street children experience psychosocial problem as frustration, unhappy, quarreling and fear from police or any night strange, and feel insecure to afraid community, peers and environment.

#### **6.1.4. Abuse (physical, verbal and sexual)**

The study shows that a large number of respondents experience abuse on the street. Most of them said verbal and physical abuse is the main risk in street life. In discussion, male street children point out that they suffer physical and verbal abuse by police while street girls sexually abused by street boys, police and other strange. If any difficulty face them, the police consider them as

part of the problem and do not help them. Conversation with one street girl Tigist (aged 16 years old) said the following:

*At night, most police members did not help us. Their symbolic police clothe without ethical function.*

Tilaye: Are you sure that the police is not problem solver to you?

*Tigist: Yes! even sometimes they are part of the problem. They sexually harass female streets or make as a sex partner to them. If we go to them with a problem, they just say 'solve your problem; that is your mistake live on the street' and do nothing to us. When they get male streets with us, without any evidence they punished them.*

Having said this, some police members often play a minor role to help street children. They also part of the problem based on their interest. The majority of male street children beaten by police at night time because they consider them as a thief and forced to leave their sleeping space. While street girls not that much physically attack by police. This suited with Bhaskaran and Mehta(2011) implies that there is gender difference in the type of physical abuse rather than age group related to difference. However, sexuality raises their susceptibility to physical violence and sexual abuse. Also male street children fight each other in group with other group street children.

## **6.2. Coping Strategies in Street life**

Although street children are in risky and economically disadvantaged, they have strong social and cultural capital to live on the street. They are not voiceless and develop coping strategies to live on street. They get daily food from bars, restaurants and cafeterias via personal networks in an informal way. For instance, getting bulle(leftover food) from cafeteria more often a matter of who you know than what you know. Through these interaction, their social network marked an effect on daily life. Searching of food and other materials depends on their social relation and networks in social environment. In their daily life activities they use street norm, value and role.

All informants(children On/Of the street) revealed that no street children engaged in a permanent paid job and economic possibilities beyond everyday survival. What emerged as a significant feature is they live under difficult circumstances. To overcome difficulties, most of them are

engaged in different activities like prostitution, carrying luggage, shoe shining, pity trading, *Chireba*(stealing), car washing, fetching and *Lemena*(begging). Others work Melleta(collected plastic materials, piece of *dizza* or metal)from the road side, river edge, flood channel, and garbage bins collect and sell it to get money.

Although most street children are aware of the difficulties of street life, they prefer to struggle it instead of facing to get basic necessities from their families. Most of them explain that different legal and illegal activities are survival strategies. There is no alternative opportunity to them, the only opportunity to survive is creating different strategies in street life. Most of them twisted into street life as a means of supporting themselves and their family in finance. In daily life activities, they got very low paying jobs but always work to assure their existence. Although they ensured that daily need depend on informal ways, we should not be consider them as irrelevant. We should have seen them as relevant because they give serious attention to each street activities, make decision, practice it to sustain life and take responsibility to their action. As coping strategies, street children perform legal and illegal activities. It is a way of life in which they practice daily activities to satisfy needs as a response to the closed social system. According to informants there are different coping strategies that performed in street life. Some of the coping strategies read as follows:

### **6.2.1. Bereгна (Prostitution)**

By and large, street girls are prone to suffer economic problem and engaged in street sex work.. From 16 street female informants, 14(91%) work in street prostitution. Child prostitution is a growing phenomena and become one of the major social problems Ethiopia is facing. MoLSA (2018) estimated that there are about 1520 destitute sex workers in Addis Ketema Sub City— Addis Ababa. One 16 years old street girl was found near shanty plastic house together with her two years old baby— in the day time, she begs money and at night engaged in sex work. Melat said about street prostitution:

*I work street sex work. My clients pay from 15–20 birr for short sex but if he pay more he could stay more. My clients not only street children but also other community members.*

This suggests that street girls engaged in sex work to earn money for survival. Most of them work every night to earn money for meal the following day. They experience it as a source of money and food. In sex work not only boys on the street but also by other public members paid to enjoy on them. Melat obliged to do this work because she has the responsibility to provide meal for her baby. The painful life and desperate situation with lack of finance to eat and clothe is a reason to involve in prostitution. The finding shows that the street sex workers get on the average 950 to 1000 Birr in a month. The aforementioned finding also consistent with MoLSA(2018) that “average weekly cash income for livelihoods among urban destitute ranges from Birr 197(from begging) to Birr 1,200 for those engaged in commercial sex work”. Prostitution is the main income generating activity rather than engaged in other street works. The implication of this is that girls on the street end up with limited survival strategies It is an evidence to feminization poverty and a limited strategy to seek better living condition.

### **6.2.2. Lemena (Begging)**

Begging is one of the survival strategy to street children. In urban space not only street children beg but also disables, priests, and sick people for medical treatment use it to generate income by fortune-telling, displaying photos or exhibiting articles. According to BoLSA(2018), 1040 beggars live in Addis Ketema Sub City. They beg in church, mosques, shops, market places, cafeterias, restaurants, bars, crowded areas, and traffic lights. In Ethiopia, some studies in the past identified that urban destitute as encompassing people living from begging, street dwellers (street children and youth), street girls who engage in sex work (for survival), the homeless and the mentally challenged (MoLSA, 2018). As studied in recent years by ILO(2013), beggary can involve the act of soliciting or receiving alms in public places for earning livelihood, whether or not under any pretense such as singing, dancing, fortune-telling, displaying or exhibiting articles, photos or other materials(MoLSA, 2018). Street children are without homes or run away from homes to live on the street or in temporary shelters; and at the same time do not have access to a sustainable livelihood and often resort to begging or illicit activities to make a living(Ibid).

Because of this, begging is the most important strategy and source of income for street children. Even in begging time, the location of place and their style determine their success to get money. The competition is high to beg near the get of the church, mosque, bar, restaurant or cafe. Female street girls born children for begging purpose. When the small babies beg, most people sensed

them and give money because their needs are emotional which provokes immediate sympathy than the older ones. In the study the finding indicates that street children use at least six different begging styles to get money in public spaces and bulle(leftover food) from restaurants, bars, or hotels. Read as follows:

#### **6.2.2.1. *Shikela (Begging targeted only coin)***

Street children practice shikela at the crossroad, traffic light, church, mosque, market place or very crowded areas. Most of the time there is conflict among each other on potential location to beg money. It targeted only coin which conceded as the main source of daily income. It is practiced by the majority of street children, disabled people, priests and any old people. It is temporary or permanent in public space. For example- some people use temporarily to generate money to aboard treatment for a serious disease. Others engaged in it for a long period of time as a source of income to their life. The word shikela seems related to the word ‘shekel’. ‘Shekel’ an ancient Jewish coin(money or cash) that was a unit of currency between 66 AD and 130 AD (Oxford 6<sup>th</sup> ed.). It somehow seems related to shekel. If you ask a street boy “what do you do in a day?” he may answer to you as “I do shekel or shikela” or he may answer “Early in the morning I go to shekel”. Most of the time they did not get better benefit from it but the disabled children, small babies and very old people get a better chance from it.

#### **6.2.2.2. *Tefatet (begging without any shame)***

*Tefatet* is a kind of begging style from females on the street. Most of the time females kindly give money to them. It is like a forceful begging style on the streets, in shops or anywhere if the situation of the environment is good for them. Some children beg with weeping and not go to other place unless they get some money. They also use it for ‘*ferenej*’(foreigners) because some foreigners give some coins to them. They follow their walking and ask money. *Tefatet* is not necessarily begged only coin but also any important materials if available.

#### **6.2.2.3. *Feleta or Kifela***

*Begging from their friends or passerby by showing some coin and asked to add on it or showing null and asked money to put on it*

**Feleta or Kifela** is a begging style practice among each other or any passerby. It has done within and outside the group. If a street child gets money from anywhere, his friend beg some coin from him. He asks by saying **bochikelign** (shred to me from you have), **betiselegn**(give a little from that you have), **feletilegn** (cleave to me that you have), **fenekitelegn** (share some from you have). It is a kind of sharing system in street culture. In the next day, if his friend gets money he can share it but there is no any obligation to return it. **Feleta or kifela** depends on their benefit because they go to different places and beg money saying to transport or to buy medicine– in one **feleta or kifela**, a street child may ask a lot of friends or any passerby to get money. I observed how Aweke begged from his friend Ayenalem. Aweke begged as follows:

*Kagegnehew bochikelign (shred to me that you have got). I am hungry, please tikit fenekitelegn (share some from you have), keyazehew fenekitelegn (cleave to me that you have) and Ayenalem give some coin to Aweke.*

This notifies that they use **feleta** or **kifela** as a sharing system among each other. It strengthen their social relation as a survival strategy. It can also begged from any bypasses. If a street child beg and get money from outside the group, his street friends also begged from him and he shares to them. It is a kind of reciprocal relationship among each other and created a strong social bond in their street life.

#### **6.2.2.4. Qibo (begging money from people admiring with different words)**

**Qibo** is practiced individually or in group on the street. The main style is admiring the passersby saying ‘**gasheye–alegnitaye–hoden fekedegn**’ (my sir, my mainstay, please invite my stomach), mother ‘**yayene– memelesha**’ (money to my eye return from you), sister ‘**zare–tewebeshal, bale–mekinawen–yesetesh**’ (you become smart today, God gives you a husband that he has a car).

It is done by singing and admiring people with sense touching words. They blessed someone even if he/she did not give money. Sometimes they also boiled coffee and spread green grass surrounding the coffeepot and begged money from any passerby. **Qibo** requires talent and creativity to convince the people. One street child beg money on the street saying as follows:

*My sister, my chocolate please give money, my sister **bemiketelew amet America duknew**(next you go to America), Mother **belejochewe amilak hoden yefekedugn**(mother in the name of your children's God please invite my stomach).*

This implies that street children use **Qibo** positively admiring people to convince and feel heartily towards them. They tell good fortune and chance for future life. People positively feel and sensed them, and give some coin to them. Most of the time this begging style practice regularly.

#### **6.2.2.5. Wedibelu (begging money stretching a hand)**

Street children beg money from any people who walk on the street, stop at traffic light or busy street areas by stretching arms and saying phrases like **talilign–lemesa** (give money to my lunch), **santim–lerate** (money for my dinner), **santim–lemaderia** (give me money for a shelter), and **santim–lemedhanit–megeza** (money to buy medicine). Usually people respond to them either saying **yelegnim** (I have nothing) or **egziabher yistilign** (let God help you) or **sereteh bila**(please, work and eat). People, most often, use the last word to let beggars away from them. Most male street children not bother the aggressive and odd responses from any passersby because they acquired experience not to be discouraged from practicing begging. On the other hand, female street children easily sensed shameful and discouraged from doing **wedibelu**. Some street children tried to make money using **Wedibelu** together with blind person. One informant explain how he beg money with the blind person: Fetene said;

I come to Addis Ababa to get a job as my friend Atenafu come from three years before. When I arrived, I was confused and afraid the busy life of Autobus-terra. I got to Mesalmiya and get two blind beggars. Then I asked my friend's name, They did not know him and they also asked me a lot of questions as:

**Beggar:** *Where did you come from?*

**Fetene:** *I come from Gondar.*

**Beggar:** *Do you have money to shelter?*

**Fetene:** *I have not any money.*

**Beggar:** *Should you voluntary to work with the blind person?*

**Fetene:** *What kind of work?*

**Beggar:** *Wedibelu.*

**Fetene:** *What is wedibelu?*

**Beggar:** *You guide a blind person by holding his hand and taking him to different places to beg for money.*

**Fetene:** *I agreed and whatever the blind person gets from **wedibelu** in a day is shared equally(Fetene 2019 Addis Ketema Sub City)”.*

This denotes that **wedibelu**(begging of stretching hands) also done together with two persons. A normal and a blind person help each other in order to get money for survival. Some street children like Fetene guide the blind person by holding his hand and taking him to different places such as churches, mosques, crowded cross roads, stop traffic lights or to any potential areas that people may interact. Most people show sympathy to the blind beggars and give money. Some street children coordinate with them and guide to beg money as Coping strategy.

#### **6.2.2.6. Beg Using Hasetegna mereja (begging money with forged paper)**

In current time, forged transcripts fabricated in some institutions through illegal ways. Some street children buy it and use it for the purpose of begging. They show forged transcript of diploma or certificate saying I am degree holder and unemployed please money to breakfast, lunch or dinner. They may show their forged medical transcript and ask people as I am sick please help me. When People see the paper as an evidence, they give money to them.

In general, street children practice six different begging styles as a coping strategy to get money and sustain street life. Most of them explained that they did not at once turn into beggary but through processes; first left their original home and migrated to the city, second come to the street finished their money and exposed to street challenge, third try to earn additional money by carrying luggage, petty trade or any labor finally engaged in legal or illegal activities like begging. This agreed with the finding result of MoLSA(2018). On the contrary, some street children come into the city and directly engaged in begging activities on the street.

#### **6.2.3. Qefefa (Scavenging)**

**Qefefa** (scavenging) is a culture and coping strategy of street children. They search from hotels, restaurants or garbage bins– food to daily meals and other used materials to sell and generate

income. Read how they scavenge food and used materials (old clothes, shoes, plastics, and other equipments) in different places

### **6.2.3.1. Qefefa (scavenging) at restaurants/bars/market and merkebe(garbage bin)**

Although street children are economically disadvantaged, they use scavenging as a coping strategy. Usually they scavenge food at restaurants/bars/hotels, *atekelet-terra* (vegetable market) and from *merkebe* (garbage bin). They get leftovers via personal networks in an informal way. For instance, getting bulle (leftover food) from cafeteria is more often a matter of who you know than what you know. Although garbage bins are the source of different leftover materials, it is not the primary source to their survival. Mostly scavenging in *merkebe* (garbage bin) is a male dominant work and also agreed with Adugna (2006). Searching from garbage bin sometimes benefited them because they got important materials in it. For example: -it is a source of plastics materials, new and old clothes, shoes and other equipments. They also get very bad things in it. My informant Beweket explain about *merkebe* (garbage bin); he said:

*Mostly I scavenge early in the morning in merkebe (garbage bin) to search through the night's rubbish. In the night rubbish, I get different things like chuba (gold), remained whisky, Kumena (fastened ten thousand birr), clothes, shoes, bulle (leftover food), banana, avocado, macaroni), and other important materials. Parallely I get also very bad things in it.*

This indicates that street children get different materials in the garbage bin. The clothes they get wear or sold to other very poor people, the food is eaten with fresh appetite, the *chuba* (gold) is sold and the whisky is drunk. They also found very bad things in it like latrine soft, dead baby, dead dog, dead cat, dead mouse and used condom. Although garbage bin contain good and bad things, they experienced it based on street way of life and scavenge daily needs; food, clothe, and any other important materials from it. Everybody can observe street them on the garbage bin in finding leftovers to their survival.

### **6.2.3.2 Qefefa (scavenging) from different places: Melleta (Qorale) collect materials**

Street children collected different pieces of metals, plastic materials, glasses, clothes, shoes, and other necessary materials in a movable searching way from village to village, in garbage bins,

river edge, flood channel, at the road side, and other dirty container sakes. The process is *mellela* (collect and sell the used materials). Because they collect scrap and sell it back to their customers to earn money.

The word *korale* is an abbreviation of *korkoro yaleh* (have you got any scrap metal?), which the collectors call out as they walk around different parts of the city collecting material for recovery (Bjerkli 2005; in Adugna 2006). Throughout the day, they carry the collected materials and shouted in each neighborhoods to get additional used materials . When *qorale's* calling hear at home, they come out with materials and sell to them. It is a tiresome work. One informant in search of different materials: Gamow said;

*Early in the morning I go to garbage bins to find piece of metals, plastic and other materials. After this, I move in each neighborhoods calling korale. If a house has any material, they call me and negotiated. If they have not any, they do not bother my calling. I move a lot of distance to collect materials and go to Marekato then sell to my client.*

This suggests that korale is really a tire some work because they go for a walk in each village and call korale whether they got any materials or not. They walk and look down to find any piece of metal on their way. Without any desperation they ramble different places and find piece of metal, plastic or any available materials from flood channel, river edge, garbage bins, road sides and dirty containers. Throughout the day, they move a lot of distance carrying their collected materials and sold it to their clients for recovery. In collecting leftover materials, they play protective role to environmental pollution and promote resilience.

#### **6.2.4 Metegerer or Meweter /Daily Labor**

Street children are not employed in a permanent job to generate adequate income to their daily needs. Since urban based activities need professional and skilled labor. They engaged in the informal sectors with minimal daily wages. I ask one street children what you do in a day to generate income? He/she answer to me as *etegereralhu* or *eweteralhu*(I work daily labor), *metegerer* or *meweter*(daily labor). In this section the finding compatible with Adugna(2006). They exhaustively take on very low informal paying jobs. The following daily labors read as follows:

#### **6.2.4.1. Carrying luggage**

Addis Ketema Sub City is a highly business center area of the country. The largest market of the country called *Merkato* centered in it. The old bus station and the newly opened light rail way present in it. There are a lot of opportunities to carry luggage from the short and long journey travelers. Street children currently get another opportunity to hang around railway stations where many passengers come to and left to north–south directions of the city. Most passengers perceive them as *dureye*(thieves) and not voluntary to give their bag.

In my observation, interview and group discussion of informants explained that some passengers preferred small children to carry bags that assured to easily control the child. Most passengers prefer to handle their belongings on their own. This desperate street children to seek other work opportunity. The finding compatible with Adugna(2006). Moreover, in highly market areas like *atekelet-terra*(vegetable market) and *Merkato*, they participate rarely in loading and unloading. In these areas most carrying associations exclude them to take advantage because they consider them as a thief. They also rarely invite small children to carry simple weight and share money.

#### **6.2.4.2. Lottery vending**

Lottery venders throughout the day move long distance in each corner of the city. The majority are working in the city because it is profitable selling in Addis Ababa than outside of it. People outside the city is not that much bought the lottery ticket. Most lottery venders sell it in urban places like churches, market areas, cafeteria, bars, restaurants and mosques using different techniques. For example– in church areas they convince their clients to buy it in matching its number with a month memorable day of the saint. Sometimes, they also thrown the lottery ticket in wind to someone and asked the person to buy it saying *Egeziabeher azezolehal gezaw* (God permitted this lottery number to you). In such cases, most people buy it. Lottery vending like *mellela* or *koralio* is a very tiresome work to children. **Setegn** a lottery vendor said:

*Early in the morning I wake up and go to my client's shop to take lottery tickets. I started from my sleeping area and go to Piazza then to Arat killo. Through Arat killo I travel to Megenagna then to Bole. From Bole to Saris and Kality. After this, I return to Lafto then Jemo to Mekanisa. Until three o'clock nigh, I try to sell lottery tickets. It is a tiresome work. From one ticket I earn 0.15 cents. Not profitable as compared to my lost energy.*

This implies that even if it is a tiresome work, some street children engaged in lottery vending for their survival. Most of them are rural origins rather than city origin street children. This shows that rural origin street children are more engaged in tiresome works like lottery vending and korale. They go for a walk from early in the morning to night 3 o'clock without any fatigue. They work at least from 12–15 hours in a day. This indicated that some street children are hard workers even more than government employees to sustain life.

#### **6.2.4.3. Listro (shoe shining)**

**Listro**(shoe shining) is more of urban context activities. In urban life, most people wear shoes. Therefore, they seek listro to shine their shoes. In every corner of Addis Ababa, the majority who involved in shoe shining activities are boys. Most of them have fixed place while others has no it. Fixed place shoe shiners are more of skilled and experienced. Many people trusted them for using more quality creams. The finding of the research also agree with Adugna(2006) result. Work in a fixed place improves daily income and increases customers. These shoe shiners are supposed to pay taxes to their fixed place. Even in order to get a fixed place, they expected to pay more taxes. It is not easy to get fixed place like taxi centers and interactive centers.

Mobile shiners move from place to place in search of customers. They look someone's shoe when he is walking and say **gasheyee–lasamerew – Fuwalaregew**'(my sir can I make it clean), my sister or mother–**leboreshew – lasewebew**(my sister or mother can I clean it). Most customers are not interested and trusted with them because these shoe shiners have not quality creams or kiwi. These shoe shiners move from place to place in search of new customers. In the interview one informant Wejera said:

*I come from Gurage(Indebir) and start shoe shining. I have not any skill. Moreover, I have not a fixed place. Always early in the morning I go for a walk with my shoe shining tools and find any person who want to clean his shoe. Most people are not voluntary to be cleaned their shoes. It is not easy to get a fixed place. If you get fixed place, You have an obligation to pay a tax. Even if you get an open space and start to work, other shoe shiners forced you to leave the place.*

This implies that mobile shoe shiners move a lot of distance in a day. They walk around and kindly ask anybody to be clean his shoe. Occasionally, some people says yes and invited their

shoe to be cleaned. Most people are not voluntary to clean their shoe by mobile shoe shiners. Without any desperation they go for a walk look for somebody's shoe and asked them to be cleaned. In fact, working in a fixed place is more trustful to attract clients. To get the fixed place, the child must pay a tax unless he cannot get it. Most of them cannot get enough money to pay a tax and get a fixed place. Even if they pay a tax to a fixed place, they may not get attracted areas like taxi centers, institutions, or market centers .

#### **6.2.4.4. *Jeblo (Petty trade)***

In the study, most informants explained that they tried to conducted various street economic activities in various locations. This enable them to adapted various activities to met the daily needs of food, shelter, emotional satisfaction and security from other strange. As survival strategy, in Jebello they sold cigarettes, soft paper, candy, pen, pencil, *kollo*(hotly dried barely, pea, bean or any), *ganja*(drug) and *bulle*(leftover food or fruits). They work *Jebello* in a fixed place or *suke bederete* in a movable way.

Petty trading is not usually legalized by city municipal. As such, the municipal police control such informal business on the street. Petty traders hide their goods when the municipal police arrive. Sometimes may lose their materials to municipal police because not have the vending licenses issued by the local authorities. Even they did not desperate on their vending license and its challenge to work petty trades. There are places like Marekato, Mesalmiya, Autobus-terra and Tekelehymanot where petty trade takes place.

#### **6.2.4 5. *Fetch water to` households***

Now a days, in Addis Ababa there is shortage of water in each village. Most villages suffers from rationed water in a week or more than two weeks. Delaying of rationed water in a village create opportunity to street children. They fetched water with plastic container with their shoulder from distance areas and get money. In group discussion and interview both street girls and boys explained that they fetched water to get money. One informant (Tariku) explain:

*I fetched water with my shoulder to some households. Some households give food in addition to money. Mother Atetegeb give enough food to satisfied from my hunger. When water is delayed for more than a week, I become happy.*

This indicates that street children get benefits from their neighborhood when the community face challenge like shortage of water. They negotiated with some households to fetch water and get some money as well as some advantages like food. Rationing water with interval in the city open an opportunity not only to the street children but also to other day laborers. Moreover, to fetch water children may go to some distance and become tiresome but they work it with fresh hope because it creates good relationship with some households for further advantage.

#### **6.2.4.6. Vehicle related activities**

In the interview and discussion most informants revealed that they are involved in various income generating activities in relation to vehicles like washing, watching and parking. At the day time, we can observed street children around taxi center. They have good relationship with taxi driver. The finding of the study agree with Adugna(2006) result. Hence throughout the day or for one trip driving, *weyalla* (tax assistance) help the tax driver by calling passengers. Also informants described that they wash car when it parked. Most people give money to the street kids when they washed their car. Moreover, the taxi drivers trusted the street kids to watch their car, for example, to eat their breakfast, lunch or to enjoy in hotel, they leave their car to street kids. Sometimes children also wash cars to get additional money and make friendship with them for further opportunity.

#### **6.2.5. Chireba (Stealing)**

*Pick money, mobile or any ornament from males' pocket or females' bag or Pick any materials from anywhere like boutiques, churches, mosques, shops, or stores.*

Most people are accused of, and have confessed street children being thieves. Of course, they are victims of theft. In their daily street life, *chireba* (stealing) is their strategies that try to make money; however, other people also steal money. Most street children expressed their concerns of being victims of theft as a coping strategy. They engaged in picking *chella* (money), take *Jawal* (cell phones or mobile) and *chuba* (ornaments like gold) from someone's pocket/bag. They practice different *chireba* (stealing) style in daily activities. In order to be more truthful, I negotiated with street children to write only simple stealing styles. Then I select four experienced informants in street life who can write well. Then I gave white paper and pen to write only simple *chireba* (stealing) style.

I talk with them to write well their simple stealing experience and friends' in motivating to talk more, probe details to elaborate more; how they implemented it on the street? In what way they performed it? Where they implemented it? how they feel and visualized it, and what role they performed at the time of stealing on the street? Accordingly, they write down simple **chireba** (stealing) style performed in market, churches, mosques, crowded street areas, boutiques, shops and other places. I triangulate it with informants and other street children to assure its reliability whether to write simple stealing style or not. Small street children engaged in stealing activities with experienced street children. Female streets do not that much engaged in thieving activities. If condition is good they also involved in it with street boys. In the finding more than 25 **chireba** (stealing) styles practice as a survival strategies in street life. The main ones include list below:

#### **6.2.5.1 Stealing at night or day times**

Stealing at day or night time implemented on someone's house, villages, wood traders or from the slept child on the street. Some of it read as follows:

**Belebela– chebesa** (thieving style in day or night times)

Most informants explained that they implemented this thieving style in day or night times. At the beginning, they study the house whether it is convenient to steal or not and how to escape without any challenge. When they finished the study, they steal the house in day or night time. In night time, they use **welde** (hard metal) to break the juncture of the door. However, in day time they knock the door and ask whether they know “mister X” house or not: if possible they enter in to the house, make notice to the person to make him fear, and take any property from the house.

**Kuanta leba** (stealing any clothe which is found on the rope or any place)

This style can do with one or two stealers in a villages. It may implement at night or day time. Before stealing, they drink alcohol and become fearless. Then they go to any village and enter any compound or even enter into the heart of the house. If there is no any family member, they take every clothes. However, if there is a person in the house, they divert the attention asking do you know mister X house?.... sorry we enter to your house mistakenly”. And automatically they go out from the house.

**Shenekore** (stealing wood from wood traders)

This kind of stealing carried out from wood traders. There are a lot of wood traders in Addis Ababa. This wood is used by poor people as charcoal and construction of houses. Some street children take wood from wood traders at night or day time and sell to other very poor people and households.

**Gelebu** (stealing clothe from the sleeping person)

They did it among themselves. When the street child is in deep sleep and if his night clothe is good, they take it from him or they may take and ran away from the area. It is common among street children. Even the stealer may take his friend's clothe and sold it. Surprisingly, he may also invite his friend to eat and drink with his clothe money.

#### **6.2.5.2 Stealing in market**

Stealing in market place implemented using different techniques. It may takes place in boutiques or shops and take any seated materials out of shops secretly or take it without fear and shame.

**Chireba** (stealing) in market areas read as follows:

**Torbineqai** (stealing any material in boutique)

They implemented it particularly in boutiques. Usually stealers go to boutiques and beg money. The seller may give money or say *Egizabher yesetelegn* (God give you). He is not expect them as a thief because they seem like a beggars. Unfortunately, another client enter to the boutique to buy and start negotiation with seller. During that time, he may not give any attention to them and become busy. They take clothe or any material from the boutique.

**Duqeta** (taking any seated good from someone or somewhere)

They did it in very crowded areas like mill house, shops, boutiques, grain stores, churches and mosques. It may done by a single street child or coordinate with other street children. To steal any materials from the man or woman they critically observe the condition of the person and its surrounding. If the man or the woman is busy in his/her activities, they take any materials from him/her. Usually, the sellers not expect them as a thief.

**Fetatawoch** (take anything without fear or shame)

They implemented it without any shame in a very crowded market areas like boutiques, or any place. For example- they go to one boutique and wait outside until any customer enter to it. If someone come and enter to it, they also enter and see their exchange system. They seriously see how the retailer and customer give and take money. When they finish their exchange, the customer leave from the shop. Then *fetatawoch* ordered him any simple and visible material to buy. They started negotiation and agreed on its price. Then they stand and wait until he ask the money. When he ask the price, we gave you before and please give our return. He become confused and he gives to them the return. After this, they left the boutique and sell the material add on their return and enjoy with it. Sometimes they may not successful in this *chireba* (stealing)style.

### **6.2.5.3 Stealing in church and mosques**

Stealing in religious centers implemented on Sunday in church and Friday in Mosques. These styles read as follows:

**Defabachew** (stealing from churches' or mosques' baggers)

This style needs the stealers art and talent. It is implemented in churches and mosques. Usually around the church, there are baggers and they beg a lot of money in a day. In begging time, they put cents on a pieces of clothe/plastic material in front of them. Stealers go to these beggars and asked them to exchange their cents with paper money. Most of them become voluntary to change their cents with paper money. Also most beggars are non educated and easy to cheat them in exchange time. Some beggars have sight problems and they let stealers to count their cents and become opportunity to miscount from beggars. Sometimes stealers may go to beggars with *tella* (local beer) and bread. They give local beer (*tella*) and piece of bread to every baggers surrounding the church. After this, they ask kindly to exchange their cents with paper money. Then most beggars become voluntary because they did not expect them as stealers due to their invitation of local beer (*tella*) and bread trusted them. They quickly miscounted their cents and cheat them.

**Neché lebash** (*Stealing in church or mosque wearing the same religious fellow clothe*)

They committed it in church and mosque. To implement it, they wear the same religious clothes as religious followers. On Sunday, they go to church and on Friday they go to mosque to steal money, mobile or any important material from the religious fellows. In church especially on Sunday, people give alms to church. A lot of paper money collected on the church's scarf. Then they go to it as alms giver as other people practice in the church. However, they put one or five birr on a scarf and take fifty or hundred birr immediately. Usually, priest may not expect stealers take money from it. On the other hand, on Friday they also go to mosque. On the day, everybody wear out his shoe and bow down to Allah. At that time, everyone not bother about their shoes. Their attention is totally given to the religious program. Then through artful way, they take best shoes and wear another one, and they go out of the mosque.

#### **6.2.5.4 Stealing at the cross road and crowded areas**

This kind of stealing practice typically on males' pocket and females' bag in crowded areas. It targeted on pocket and bag and these stealers are called **Kestee**(stealing from males pocket or females bag). The following styles read as follows:

**Telalu** (steal a person at the crowded cross road targeted pocket money/mobile)

They implemented it at crowded areas especially targeted on front pocket money or mobile. It needs quick action and boldness. They may take and run away from the surrounding.

**Giftishu** (Push and take money/mobile from pocket or bag in very crowded areas)

They carried out it in very crowded areas like churches, congested cross roads, and crowded market areas. Mostly, they did it together with their friends. To steal someone, one of them push a man or a woman and divert his/her attention towards him. His friend quickly take his/her money or mobile from pocket or bag.

#### **6.2.5.5 *Stealing using forged materials***

Stealing using forged materials is the common experience in street life. Forged materials not only used to steal from someone but also to beg as evidence to get money. To steal they make and use forged materials as similar to the real material that to be steal from a person or a woman. The following read as follows:

**Geenter** (stealing real materials by replacing with forged materials)

They implemented it in boutiques or shops. When they go to boutique or shops, they carry a bag which is used to pawn something in it. In the bag, they hold a false material which covered with plastic or any paper. Then they enter to boutique and ask the price of one material. They started negotiation on price and ordered him to round it in plastic or paper. Then they hold it into their bag and again ask him to reduce its price. The seller may not agree in their negotiation price then they give forged material from the bag and take the real one. Immediately, they evacuate from the surrounding areas.

**Tub orZef** (cut paper at size of birr and cover it upper and below with real birr)

This style is implement together with two friends. At the beginning, they cut paper identical to the size of Birr. Then at the top and bottom of it cover with real birr(fifty or hundredth birr note) and cover with transparent plastic. They make it as a fasten ten thousand Ethiopian Birr which has been taken out of the bank. After this, they walk on the road to find someone. When they get a person, one of them walk with him and begun to play. His friend walk slowly at the back side of them. After some minute, he passed them and walk. While walking some distance, he dropped that forged material.

Immediately, his friend ran and pick it and says to the man, God gives us this large amount of money; let us share it equally. He said to him let us go another place and share it quickly. The man may agreed and go with him without any doubt. He take the man into a very hidden place. The place may danger and out of police control. Immediately his friend come with other friends and occupied him. They ask the person to give his money without any conflict unless they might hurt him. The person give all of the money that he have and become the looser in the game.

#### **6.2.5.6 Stealing in taxi center, bus or train**

Street children steal in taxi center, public bus or in train. They implemented it at the time of going to work office and returning to their home. Read as follows:

**Ferese lay metabes** (stealing in public bus, and train)

They carried out in public bus and light train from passengers. In going to work office time and work out time, the transport service become over crowded. They enter to the crowded bus or light train. This creates good opportunity to steal money or mobile from the passengers.

**Gidgaj** (Block someone to enter into taxi or bus / block to be pass in crowded areas)

Always they carried out with two instant friends. They implemented it in taxi service centers, public buses, churches and very crowded areas. To steal someone they go to these areas. From the two thieves, one must strong in his physical fitness and the other is very active child. The strong boy try to enter in to tax or bus as a passenger but he is not enter into the taxi or bus; simply blocked the gate of taxi to passengers and created an opportunity to his friend. Then his friend take money or mobile from the passengers

#### **6.2.5.7 Stealing of animals**

Street children also steal animals like sheep and donkey. They steal sheep and sell to restaurants or bars in Addis Ababa while donkey steal and sell out of Addis Ababa. Read as follows:

**Misir** (stealing sheep)

They carried out this stealing style on sheep. Every day in all direction a lot of sheep enter into Addis Ababa to sell. At the time of feast days a lot of sheep come from outside of the city. In these days, everybody can see sheep in every road. Most of the time, a lot of sheep keep with one or two persons. During the time of steer sheep, they take one or two sheep and sell to restaurants or bars or to any client.

**Shimeba or Arat koti** (stealing donkey)

Usually, it implemented together with two friends. In *Merkato*, there are donkeys for loading purpose. Some street children seek donkeys to steal and sell in other areas. Sometimes the

owners of the donkey may let at the side of the mill house or near the grain store. Then they take and sell it to any client, for example, they steal donkeys and take out of Addis Ababa to sell for rural people with simple price

#### **6.2.5.8 *Stealing by force***

Usually, street children use force to steal. Different tactics are used to get advantage at night time or day time using their force. The following read as follows:

##### **Chebu or Quqe** (stealing someone by force with catching throat)

They implemented it at night time. They use force to take money or materials from a person. Usually, they hunted their clients in alcoholic houses like grocery, bars, night clubs or prostitute areas. In these place any person enjoy at night times. After he enjoys, he pay his service and go out from the house. Then they follow him and catch his throat around darken areas. They take his money, jawal (mobile or cell phone) cloth and watch.

##### **Anketee** (forceful stealing)

They implemented it with negotiation or use of excessive forces. To carry out, they drink alcohol and become fearless to go to somewhere. They ask the expected person to give his/her money or mobile phone. If he/she refused, they forcefully kick and take his/her money or cell phone. After this, they ran away from the surrounding.

##### **Menchu** (Steal and runaway or snatched something and ran away)

They implemented it in their neighbors and crowded market areas. Their focus targeted on bags and mobile from females and men. They snatched bags or mobiles from someone and ran away from the surrounding. It needs high runner to escape from police and other people.

##### **Gechito yekereta meteyeke** (Smashed someone and excuse him/her)

They smashed someone and failed as injured. When the street child failed, the man or woman may shock and give money to him. On the other hand, if a man or a woman fail, they help him to stand and walk; however, they take his/her money or mobile. Smashed the man or the woman

around his/her eyebrow make a man/woman easily faint and fall, then take his/her mobile and money. Females are easy to smash and fail to take their money or mobile.

**Tintim** (My father/mother help me please he kick me to kill)

They have done it with coordination of three street children. Two of them old streets and one may small child. To implement it, they select the best place to this purpose. They sit down around the road side, then they wait a person or a woman to come. If someone comes, one of them kick the small child with stick. The child cry and runaway to the walking person. He catch his leg and say father/mother please help me my father kick me to kill.

The old street boy also kick the child. The walking man/woman say please do not kick the child. The child cry loudly and take a man's/woman's attention. Unfortunately, in the conflict between the child and the kicker, the other street boy take money or mobile from the person. After this, he started walking and game over. Then the kicker and the child negotiated not to kick him and go together. The man/woman did not know whether his money/mobile taken away.

**Mekina beletachoch or Arajoch** (stealing car body parts)

They implemented it on parked cars. They observed the surrounding and plug screw on car mirrors to open it. After they open the mirror of the car, they take everything which found in the car. Most of the time, they get laptop, mobile, clothe and other important materials.

#### ***6.2.5.9 Stealing using dirty things***

Stealing using dirty things is the common experience in street life. They expectorate saliva or other dust material at the back side of a woman or a person to take his money or mobile. Read as follows:

**Tibbe** (There is dirty thing on your cloth, let me clean it)

They did it together with two friends. If they expect the man or the woman has money or mobile in his pocket or bag, they call the person my sir or madam; there is a dirty thing on your cloth let me clean it. Mostly the man or the woman become voluntary to be cleaned. One of them clean

with forceful way to take his attention and his friend take money or mobile from him/her. A man/woman may not expect them as a thief.

**Tifitash** (Expectorate saliva on the back side of his/her clothe)

Two street children implemented it with coordination. This stealing style is drool the saliva on the back side of someone clothe in tactful way. Thus one of them told him/her there is saliva at the back side of your clothe, can I clean it? Most of the time a man/woman say yes! Then one of them start to clean saliva at the back side of him/her. During cleaning time, one of them takes secretly his/her money or mobile and go away quickly. After this, he stops cleaning and said to the man/woman you become clean. Then a man/woman thanks him without any doubt.

### **6.2.6 Negotiation in street life**

Negotiating is the basic generic human activity that often used in our everyday life. In street life, negotiation is an essential process of daily survival. It occurs between two friends or groups to assure the needs of friends and to improve their satisfaction. It is not a process reserved for only skilled diplomat, it is something that everyone does almost daily. Everyone negotiates about numerous things in many different situation of knowledge and skill in it are essential to everyone who works with and through other people to accomplish objective(see also Liwicki, et al., 1997).

Street children use their experience to address issues relevant to street life setting. Their activities revealed in a public space within which they had to negotiate among themselves or other community members. It is reasonable to expect an ongoing negotiation based on street style and ways of behaving in street culture. Negotiation is a common strategy utilized not only specific interest and objective but also to navigate daily strange. In their negotiation time, they might be successful or not. In my observation a street child negotiated with the respected hotel guard as follows:

*The poor street child sits in front of the hotel gate. The guard was in a hunter position to control everything. He prohibited any beggar to enter and beg leftover or money. The street child ask him to enter into the hotel, but he refused. He told him that until 3 pm. has not eaten any food; however, the guard has not given any attention to him.*

This indicates that in negotiation time, children wait patiently to get any attention from someone. To get attention personality is an important element for negotiation because most of them wear worn-out clothes and look miserable facial expression. They become unsuccessful to negotiate and interact with people in different places. Most hotels, supermarkets, or shops prohibited them to enter and beg anything. Because its rule and regulation may not allow such people to enter in it. They considered them as unethical, thief and falsifier and forced them to go far away. Although they have enough amount of money to recreate, they may not allowed to enter and get any service in such places. The guard forced them to go far away. However, they were not desperate on its negative outcome. They experience ignorance and continued with other people to get advantage. So they negotiated with someone based on their state of affairs for survival. To the above observation, the hotel guard pushed the street child some distance from the hotel. However, he sits around and beg coin from the bypass as follows:

*Father!..., I am hungry please give some money to buy bread; mother!.. I am your child please give money to eat; Sister!.. you smart and beauty today please give me some money to dinner. I have not eaten anything from the morning till this time.*

Unfortunately, two people give money to him. Immediately, he go to the shop and buy cigarette. I asked and interact with him to get more information:

**Tilaye:** *Why do not you buy bread instead of cigarette?*

**Street child:** *I do not want to buy bread because to eat dry bread I need water. I have no water to soften and swallow it. Cigar helps me to reduce my tension and water trust. It cools me and make good negotiator rather than fagot.*

The above observation and interaction implies that the motivating factor for smoking cigarette is not only stress and tension but also a choice of advantage which is better at the moment. Cigarette in street life associate with them as a daily need and treatment drug to reduce stress and tension life. In negotiation and interaction time there are specific condition take a care to beg money or leftover food from hotel/bars/cafeteria. In negotiation and interaction time, they either put the cigar out or let them to their friends. They take maximum care to beg food, money or anything from anyone in front of them or near to them.

During their negotiation and interaction time, everyone can observe street children's facial expression and stress in relation to street life reality. Some people may go away from them, others may give some money, some may close their car glass and others no response to them. Most street children's facial expression typically express shock or great pain on them. At a time a mildly and pleasant negotiator, who see negotiation as an arena where a 'success or failure' situation exist. Experience to negotiate is a base of survival that it include emotion, affective and mental maps that needed in a particular situations. Negotiation and interaction looks at their shameful eye looking, little movement of lips and sometimes use of admiring and sense touching words. Every street children have their own distinctive style to negotiate with friends or community members. Their wearing style, head down or hair touching are some of their experience takes into account to negotiate in daily life. In every street activities they have their own mental maps that have temporal and spatial experiences. They know what to get and where to benefit in street life. Experiencing in street skills how to negotiate and interact helps them to turn the conditions into their advantage. Some children negotiated in risky situation to sustain life. Tigist(not real name)said:

*I sell drug in risky condition. It needs active and high precaution because the police may come without wearing his figurative clothe and catch you. During that time, I negotiated with him to give money and some of them take it in a secret way.*

This indicates that good negotiation skill ensure personal safety in risky environment. In risky conditions negotiation is an important survival strategy for their mental, emotional and physical wellbeing to keep the secret; for example:- give money. Even in negotiation time, they lie and try to make trust others to reduce risks. Friendship among street children is a negotiated experience. Because street way of life and its experience sharing is a negotiated relationships. Interaction and negotiation helps them to alleviate risks that confront them, acting as mature and try to make possible street life. Most street girls are engaged in prostitution and it is full of negotiation between her and her clients. The old or young, lovely or plain, poor or rich people engaged in sex network. Street girls are always negotiate and interact with them. Some male street children as broker, facilitate the negotiation between street sex workers and her clients to get money.

In discussion and interview most informants elaborated that in daily life activities, they have a fraught relationship within themselves, little relation with city police and some relation with

community members. In their risk situation most of them expressed that they were strong reservation about seeking police help. They also explain that their distrust of agents of the state who frequently not only fail to provide security but also act in ways which exacerbate the insecurity of them.

In my observation police and community members pushed them to leave their sleeping area. Whatever variations of space in the city, non is familiar as a permanent sleeping place. The social pressure of strangeness strongly influenced them to navigate into other areas. Navigate into other street space is their coping strategy. Some community members financed police to drive them from their surrounding area. They consider them as a thief or un honest to sleep in it. Police members move at night to check the security of some areas. To enjoy with street children, they ordered them to sing songs or punish in pushup. However, some police members give money and invited to eat food. There are some occasions that street children and police compete each other. Murad, Aweke and Defere explain how sometimes become tactful in daily life with police to navigate risks. They said:

*If my friend steal anything from anywhere and the police may in the surrounding area, I say to my friend; **sidist aregew** (hide it, the police is behind you), or **zapaw qore honebeh** (the police follow you). Sometimes we negotiated with police when we steal a lot of money from someone. One day I (Murad) steal 3000 Birr from one female. She highly cry and disturbed the area. Then the police catch me and take to police station. He take the money and counted it, 3000 Birr. Immediately he give me 1000 Birr and ordered me to get out from the police station. In such cases they are our friends.*

This implies that street children navigated risks in using different street cultural words to their survival. When they did illegal activities, they reduce risks communicated with street words that not understood to police or any community members. For example:- **friend! sidist aregew** (hide it, the police is behind you), **zapaw qore honebeh** (the police follow you) or **lashe bel zapaw arefohal** (the police focused on you please go quickly)– are some of risk navigation strategy to survive in their street life.

When street children get much amount of money through illegal ways, the police may take the lion share from it. There is informal friendship between them and reduce risk from police

punishment. Their experience to difficult circumstances make them to negotiate, navigate and interact in daily life. They navigate risks with street value and expectations, and navigation in street life characterized by a persistent struggle to survive in the face of persistent hardship. Their everyday lives are set between an immediate struggle to secure daily meals, find the next job and survive the present, and an unceasing attempt to figure out a way of gaining viable life chances, social worth and recognition(Vigh, 2009).

In my observation they adapt cultural values to resist street daily challenges. They are active participants in street context and the place holds within it. I refer to my informants as active creator of street values, but not in a normative sense. Experience of multiple form of risks and associated fears create an insecure environment– they forced to navigate everyday lives. They practice daily activities and navigate risk in their street habit, character, notice, and needs. Being streetism means being symbolically jumped in a position of streets without possibilities of gaining the equity and social value of their positions. How our conceptualization of streets are related to the levels of risk life chances and social possibilities? demonstrate– the social navigation; the way in which urban youth(street children) through mobilization, aspire to realize social being and escape the social challenge that otherwise characterize the lives of many youths in the city(Vigh 2006).

## **Conclusion**

This chapter has discussed the risk and coping strategies of street children. It is one of the specific objective to explore risks and coping strategies in street life. I investigate differently from other researchers what kind of legal and illegal activities use as coping strategies? Because it go beyond earlier studies who discussed some kind of coping strategies. It address the finding of various legal and illegal strategies to survive in street life .

The finding shows that street life is full of risks in access to service, health and sanitation, social and psychological problem and abuse (physical, verbal or sexual). No street children engage in a permanent paid job, and get economic possibilities beyond everyday survival. They live in risks and challenge full life. Although they live in risks and economic possibilities far beyond every day survival, they are not voiceless and idle in life. Most previous research findings shallowly indicate that street children involved in different legal and illegal activities like begging, and

thieving to earn money(Ayalew 1998; Adugna 2006; Gebresellasia 2006; Hirpa 2007; Eshia 2010; Schernthaner 2011; Arthur 2012; Tettegaha 2012; G/medhin 2014; Abebe 2014; Kieni 2015; Zerihun 2015). However, my finding go beyond and find out different *lemena*(begging) and *chireba* (stealing) strategies for their survival.

Although they are accused for theft, they are not involved in more serious crimes(using gun, pistol and motorcycle). This blame may be goes to Latin American street children (see Hetch 1998; Marquez 1999 in Adugna 2006). Six styles of *lemena* (begging) and twenty– five simple *chireba*(stealing) styles were find out. Previous researchers agreed that those who involved in thieving activities have often behavioral problems and usually addicted to drugs. However, the study of finding shows that all of them have not a behavioral problems. Because at the time of stealing from someone's pocket or bags, they also found ID cards, passports and other important certified paper. They show sympathy and leave it secretly near to the police station. This assured that even if they steal something from someone, they have humanity and heartedly feel how it creates challenge on a person. They are not morally eroded to hurt anybody instead *chireba* (stealing) as a survival strategy to eat and clothe themselves.

The finding shows negotiation is an essential survival strategy in street life. Their experience is basic to negotiate and bring skill to survive. To negotiate and interact, they create their own skills to turn the conditions into advantage. They use admiring and sense touching words to negotiate easily. Their emotional, affective, and mental engagement into a particular situations needed street experience. Risk navigation or coping strategies enables them to make sense of opportunity and tactical ways to withdraw from any strange. In difficult conditions, they navigate to expand their chance of survival to limited resource and unsecured environment. Navigation strategies help them to find safe environment and form relationship with other street friends. As a strategy, they negotiate and navigate to connect, reconnect, and disconnect from their limited resource and harsh environment.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### CONCLUSION

In concluding my study, I shall briefly look at the themes that this study intended to explore causes of streetism and its dynamics, what are their overall experience after joining street life (street habitus and different kind of capital like economic, social, cultural, and symbolic), risk on the street and their coping strategies.

There are many causes that make children come into street life. Missing the clear consideration of the push and pull factors for children to migrate into the city, it is impossible to address the overall social influence from their locality to urban space. When I asked them why they left their original home, they expressed different reasons. The finding of the study indicated that social and economic factors appeared to be the primary in pushing children into streets. Poverty limits the families' capacity to meet the needs of children and forced to leave their original home. Alongside the death of parents(one or both), family breakdown, violence and abuse, lack of vision for future assurance, government policy, and displacement of people in the country are some of the push factors that forced them come into the city. While peer influence and globalization, the search of freedom, better life and employment opportunities attracted children into the city. This tells us that the issue is dynamics, multidimensional, and complex one.

Examining its dynamics address the linkage between system of societies and children relation within the system. System failure to perform properly and unable to control social problems like streetism drive children outside their families or communities. In other words, when policy and strategies to alleviate social problems in the societies are weak, children migrate into the city to live and work on the street. During fieldwork not only children under 18 years old are streets but also the matured graduate youth and poor rural families live and work on street of Addis Ababa, and street life become culture.

The majority of street children in the study area are males, Amhara ethnic group, Christians, and stepparent families origin. In stepparent families, children do not get proper care, love and affection, punish in hunger, physical attack, abuse and ignorance. The majority 40(83%), of the respondents have got formal education of which 25(52%) of them attend primary school 1- 4

grades but the numbers of respondents who have gone beyond this level were minimal. This notify that children at early age drop out from school at lower level and becoming streets. The number of street children increasing at an alarming rate due to the complex social and economic challenges.

The separation from home life transferred into street way of life. Their former context faded behind the city and found themselves stripped to street spaces. At the initial time, the hardship of street life creates immediate confusion on them and assume maturity prematurely. However, they have to struggle to survive, develop strategies and integrate into urban space. Urban space and street children become a “house” and “family” members respectively. It is a preamble recovery and what participants called “my home” or “our home” as partially, temporarily, or currently live. Urban space plays a central role to street life. It use for economic and social purposes as a place of work to earn income, a source of bread, a place of freedom or constraints, a place of social interaction and a field of identity. Their transfer into street life not mean that they live without culture. Through process they habited new way of life and grow into accepted culture. In the urban space street culture and street thought are run in and run out, and it should have seen as an “*instrumental incubator*” to invent their own culture.

The finding shows that children associated their habited street life as ‘*nuro kalut meqabir yemokal*’(sensed warmth living in a grave). They habited to sleep on the street, wear worn-out clothes, smoke cigarette, drink alcohol, chew chat, take drugs, beg, use street words, steal pocket money and eat leftover food, acculturate it and accepted as a normal life. It is a gradual process by which the street children who have been adapted it in a prolonged exposure and share similar habit of cultural beliefs, and develop it in their spirit. It means that their habitus is the product of cultural practices on the street and experienced it. Their habited culture and way of life in this way is **habitués** or ‘*nuro kalut meqabir yemokal*’(sensed warmth living in a grave).

In relation to street capital, in order to live in street way of life they developed different street capital like *terefe– chella*(seed money) or economic capital, *wegennew /nat*(he/she is our member) or social capital, *hiwotachenen– yelebese/ch* (live in street lifestyle) or cultural capital, and *hiwotachenen–mesehari*(evidence to our life) or symbolic capital.

The vital factor through which to generate economic capital is their appropriate street skill. It is the basic one to generate capital. Evidence from the finding shows that street experience is basic to earn daily income. The lack of appropriate urban based skill makes them unable to compete in permanent paid jobs. They experience too low informal paying jobs and illegal activities to earn minimal income. Economic capital is comparatively dysfunctional in their street life. They live income beyond minimal needs– insufficient economic capital makes them to habit scavenging culture as alternative way in their life. However, in some rare cases they also get large amount of money through illegal way on the street. Although they get large amount of money, most of them enjoy with their friends without saving and change of life. This notifies that they are not without economic capital, they also get very much amount of *terefe– chella*(seed money) or economic capital in some rare condition.

Social capital in street life are trust, norm, and networks. Their primary component through which social capital shared from old street children. Experienced street children maintain a lot of social capital through long lasting street attachment. It is clear from the finding that become experienced in street life is the base of social relation. They interact based on street way of life and develop their own social capital. It makes them close and form network as a spider to share life challenge, and develop their own street identity. For example- closed friends can smoke one cigar with interval, chew chat in group or share any profit. This assures street social obligation, connectedness and life guide lines to them. These are street social profits that embodied in their social networks and tends to accept as the base of street life conformity. Social isolation in street life result in losing social networks and exposed to many daily strangers.

Cultural capital in street life includes all of tangible and intangible assets that help them to assure their social and economic power on street. Among these are street based skill, and its proper appreciation of things that are valued in their street way of life. They have unique street character reflected in wearing, searching and eating leftovers, and observable scratched body modification. Cultural capital also revealed in power relation between seniors and new comers, old and small street kids, male and female streets, local and migrant streets. As a culture seniors street children exercise power on new comers and street kids. They also give protection to small street kids until they become experienced in street life. Although they give protection to them, they also expected to provide some benefits to their seniors. They mutually benefited from street life. Experienced

street children have more cultural capital and it increased their coping strategies than new comers.

Street words(*yedureye quanequa*) as cultural capital translate to economic and social advantage in the form of begging, storytelling, or sign showing. Street words enhance ‘street–creed’ among each other and an important aspect to increase its credibility of street life. They give different names to their daily meals, drinking substances based on street sense of reality. In its nature language is fluid. It fluid into and favored in continuing cultural relations, strengthened cultural ties between them and the community at large. Some street words fluid into urban communities, and used in their daily activities. This notifies that street children not behind the dominant culture to transform their capital into acceptable economic, social and cultural possibilities. Even new words are created from street children and fluid into the larger community than academic world.

The finding shows that children face challenges in street life. Lack of access to service(shortage of food, shelter and clothing), health and sanitation problem, social and psychological problem, and abuse(physical, sexual and verbal) are serious challenges in street life. They are addicted by different drugs and victims to be engaged in illegal activities. Although they face challenge in street life, they are not mere victims and develop their own coping strategies. They are not voiceless and without capital to challenge street challenges. In relation to coping strategies; *beregna*(prostitution), *lemena*(begging), *meweter or metegerer*(daily labor), *qefefa*(scavenging), *chireba*(stealing), ignoring police and community members influence in the case of abuse(physical, verbal, sexual)), changing sleeping places, using alcoholic drinks and addictive substances, negotiate with offenders and community members, using dogs and mutual supporting groups— are their coping strategies.

From 16 street girl informants 14(91%), engaged in *beregna*(prostitution). It is their main income generating activity instead of other street works. The implication revealed that girls on the street end up with sex work as a survival strategies because they get some benefit as compared to other street works. The majority cannot employed house maid since they cannot get *teyaze*(guaranteed man/woman) to get minimum salary. Girls on the street end up with limited survival strategies because they are vulnerable to sexual abuse and forced to do street sex work. At day time, most of them not much seen on the street because they hide themselves in different places; however, at night they come on the street to do business. In the research, street girls explained that averagely

they get 950 to 1000 Birr in a month from street sex work. This is an evidence to feminization poverty and limited livelihood strategies in their street life.

The finding revealed that *lemena*(begging) is the main strategy to street children. They beg in public spaces as churches, mosques, shops, market places, cafe, restaurants, bars, crowded street areas, traffic lights and any house in their surroundings. They experience six begging style like *Shikela*(beg target only coin), *Tefatet*(beg without any sham especially from females and *ferenej* or foreigners), *felleta or kefela*(begging from their friends or bypasses showing some coin to add on it), *Qibo*(begging admiring with colorful words), *Wedibelu*(begging money with stretching a hand) and *hasetegna mereja yezo melemen*(begging money with forged paper). This tell us that begging is the main street culture and coping strategy to generate income for daily needs.

*Qefefa*(scavenging) is the survival strategy to economically disadvantaged street children. They scavenge from restaurants/bars/hotels via personal networks, *atekelet-tera*(vegetable market) and from *merekeb*(garbage bin). They collected different pieces of metals, plastic materials, glasses, clothes, shoes, and other necessary materials in a movable searching way from village to village, in garbage bins, river edge, flood channel, at the road side, and other dirty container sakes. The process is *korale or melleta*(collect the used materials and sell). This implies that we should have seen them as environmentalists in clearing leftovers that pollute the environment. In philosophical argument life can exist in a dysfunctional economic capital or too extremely far less than minimal needs adapting scavenging culture as coping strategy.

*Meweter or Metegerer*(daily labor) is another coping strategy in street life. They engaged in different daily labor activities like carrying luggage, lottery vending, *listro*(shoe shining), *jebello*(petty trade), fetching water to households, and vehicle related activities. This indicated that their daily labor activities are dominated by temporary and low paying informal sectors. Lottery vending and qorale/meleta(collecting materials) are tiresome and exhaustive daily labors. For example- the lottery venders work at least from 12–15 hours in a day. This indicated that some street children are hard workers even more than government employees to sustain life.

*Chireba*(stealing) is the other kind of coping strategies tried to make money in street life. It is a complicated coping mechanism. They implemented it in different times and places through different techniques. Some of them are stealing at night or day time, in market, in church and

mosques, at the cross road and crowded areas, in taxi center, bus or in train, stealing of animals, stealing by force, and stealing using dirty things. It is assumed that those who involved in stealing activities have often behavioral problems and usually addicted to drugs; however, the study shows that all of them have not a behavioral problems. At the time of theft from someone's pocket or bags, they also found ID cards, passports and other important certified paper. They show sympathy and leave it secretly near to the police station. This assured that even if they steal something from someone, they have humanity and heartedly feel how it creates challenge on that person. They are not morally eroded to hurt anybody instead stealing as coping strategy to eat and clothe themselves.

Streetism is the new urban phenomenon and social problem caused by the minimum set of societies' system failure. System failure result in children migration into the city to live and work on the street. Once in the city, they experience streetism as a way of life as a response to societies' system failure. They experience both pain and joy life, and socialize street life as a place of freedom, constraints, a house, a food getting area and become a culture to live. Streetism is the complex social problem and it needs multidimensional social solution from the society at large.

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## Appendix 1

### Interview guide with Street Children

#### Introduction

My name is Tilaye Zelealem. I am from graduate school of Social Anthropology at AAU. I am currently collecting data “Streetism and Social influence: A Case of Street life and Street culture in Addis Ketema Sub city, Addis Ababa”. As part of my assessment, I am talking to street children in the city. I would use the information to fulfill my thesis requirement and to present information to help those concerned bodies to plan activities that will address the real life of street children, their risks and opportunities, and what the larger structure tells about it. I may ask you some personal questions . I am not going to talk to any person about what you tell me. Your answers are completely confidential. Your name will not be written on this form and will ever be used in connection with any of the information you tell me. Or you can change your name if possible. You do not have to answer any question that you do not want to answer, and you may end this interview at any time you want.

However, your honest answer to these questions will help me better understand the present situation of street children in the city. I am writing about the lives of street children and the problems they face on the streets would like to talk to me about your experiences in the street, the dynamics of causes of streetism, street life , life condition, niches, space, how street children negotiate, navigate risks and opportunities? I have used my phone as a small tape recorder which I will use to record our conversation which we shall listen to after we have finished recording but it is not mandatory to record if you are not interested. The research is conducted purely for academic reasons and, thus, all your answers are confidential.

I would greatly appreciate your help in responding to this study. The interview will take 50 minutes to 1 hour. Would you be willing to participate?

Signature if interviewer\_\_\_\_\_

(Respondents have given certifying that informed consent verbally)

#### A. Personal Details/ Demographic background.

1. What is your name?
2. How old are you?

3. What is your caste/ethnicity?.....
4. Sex .....
5. Previous (home)address..... Current address (if any) .....
6. Where is your Main Working Area?.....

## **B. Education**

7. Have ever been to school?.....
  - 7.1 What grade were you in when you left school?\_\_\_\_\_
  - 7.2. Why you left school\_\_\_\_\_

## **C. Family Description**

8. Are both your parents alive?
9. Whom do you live with?
10. How many are you in your family?
11. What work does your parent/guardian do?
12. How long have you been away from home?
13. When did you first come to the streets?
14. Can you tell me about your family of origin?
  - 14.1 Do you still have any connection with them?
  - 14.2 If not, who have you looked to as your “parents” or “family” since becoming a street?

## **D. Reasons for being on the streets**

15. Why did you leave the home?
16. How did you come to the streets?
17. What kind of work do you do on the street?
18. Where do you sleep at night?
19. What are the problems that you and others face on the streets?
  - 19.1 How can you solve these problems that you face on the street?
20. What are the good things about living on the street?
21. What has been your experience since becoming a street child?
22. What kind of work have you done to support yourself since becoming street child?
  - 22.1 What kind of work do you like best? why?

### **E. Street Children's Work**

23. Where did you work on the street?
24. Which kind of work you do in your daily practice? Why?
25. Did you change your working area ? Why?
26. Could you told me a kind of work you like or dislike? Why?
27. Is a street work sustainable to you? Why?
28. Can a person has a trust on your work?Why?

### **E. Getting daily mail**

29. From where do you get your daily meals?
  - A. leftover from restaurants ; in what way?
  - B. street venders' ; in what way?
  - C. small café's ; in what way?
  - D. garbage bins ; in what way?
  - E. others, specify; in what way?

### **E. Support Networks**

30. Can street children support each other?
31. How can you support/in what way among yourself /each other?
32. Do you have a best friend on the street?
33. Are there some other children you see as your best friends?
34. What Is your feeling about your friend(s)?
35. Why do you like/dislike your friend(s)?
36. How can you support each other at night time?
37. how can you support each other at day time?

### **G. Building of relationships on the street for their daily life**

38. Can you build relationship with the urban society you live in? How?
  - 38.1. Can you communicate with them? how?
  - 38.2. Have they trusted on you? how? why?

39. How do society perceive you?

39.1. Why do you think that some people do not like street children?

39.2. Why some people also like and treat street children?

40. Are you afraid of any particular person on the street?

40.1. Why do you fear this person?

40.2.. What is your feeling about this person?

#### **F. Substance use**

41. Do you use any drug on the street?

42. Why do street children sniff glue?

43. What other drugs are taken by street children?

44. For what purpose you sniff glue and other substances?

#### **H. Risks (threatening condition)**

45. Is street life full of risks? Why?.....Is there safety condition in street life? how/why?

- physical risks
- weight lifted/carried/
- physical abuse or beating by other children or adults
- Emotional or mental risks
- level of stress
- fear or worrying situation

**46. How can you reduce risks? /How can you navigate risks**

- Individually
- in-group

## **Appendix 2**

### **Observation guide with Street Children**

To get a good picture about the street children I will observe them through participant and non-participant observation. “Streetism and Social influence: A Case of Street life and Street culture in Addis Ketema Sub city, Addis Ababa”. The observation takes place at dawn and dusk time as well as mid-day to 3 pm. In the first part of my observation I use non-participant observation method. The next is participant observation. Through this I will negotiated and convinced them to cooperate with me. It is also flexible according to the time and situation of the mood of the street children.

### **OBSERVATION; for participant and non-participant observation**

#### **1. I will observe what kind of interaction that goes on between the street children.**

- A. How friendly they are with each other.
- B. How violent they are to each other.
- C. How they help each other in relation to age/sex/tribe, and sharing of food and other things
- D. The extent to which there is leadership.
- E. Are there groups?
- F. Gender. Do they move in groups of the same sex?
- G. If there are babies, are babies' fathers around?
- H. Naming and symbols they use and interacted

#### **2. I will observe the interaction between them and others who are not street children.**

- A. Their relation to grownups on the street.
  - Are grownups friends or enemies?
- B. Their day to day relation with others. For example
  - NGOs., Police, .Authorities., Hotels , Cafeterias, shops(market areas)  
guards( a guard to hotel, cafeteria, house or any other)
  - Others.....

**3. I Will also observe their sleeping time /how they sleep and wake up/.**

A. Taking the weather condition into consideration.

Is it raining or dry season?

Where they sleep?

On what they sleep?

How they cover themselves.

If females have babies, how they sleep.

how females and boys sleep/ together or separately?

**4. I Will observe their personal condition how well or not well they look.**

A Their skin condition

B. Their hair

C. Physical condition.

**5. I Will observe their movements and involvement in activities on the streets.**

How they move from their sleeping area to other place?

B. why they move ?

**6. . I will observe their time play?**

For example games, drumming and dancing and other games.

**7. I will observe their relation with dogs**

A. how street children and dogs helped each other?

B. their relation with dogs at night and day times.?

**8. I will observe their family life**

Are they engaged in love?

B. Are they trying to replicate family life?

C. Are children who have been born and raised in the streets?

D. weddings(if they practice it)

**9. I will observe how they use their street words**

A. For what purpose they use their created words?

B. Are they benefited in their created words?

C. Is street children words used by community?

## **Appendix 3**

### **Focus group discussions for females and boys street children:**

My name is Tilaye Zelealem. I am from graduate school of Social Anthropology at AAU. I am currently collecting data “Streetism and Social influence: A Case of Street life and Street culture in Addis Ketema Sub city, Addis Ababa”. As part of my assessment, I am talking to street children in the city. I would use the information for fulfill my thesis requirement and to present information to help those concerned bodies to plan activities that will address the real life of street children, their risks and opportunities, and what the larger structure tells about it. I may ask you some questions in group and discussed it freely. I am not going to talk to any person about what you discussed it. Your discussion are completely confidential. Your name will not be written on this form and will ever be used in connection with any of the information you tell me. Or you can change your name if possible. You do not have forced to answer any question that you do not want to answer, and you may end this interview at any time you want.

I have used my phone as a small tape recorder which I will use to record our conversation which we shall listen to after we have finished recording but it is not mandatory to record if you are not interested. The research is conducted purely for academic reasons and, thus, all your discussions are confidential.

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

### **Focus Group Discussion Guide For Female Street Children**

#### **1. Demographic background:**

Name,.....Age,.....

Gender,.....Religion,.....

Education, .....Place of origin,.....

#### **2. Migration history:**

2.1 From where did you come?

2.2 How did you come to Addis Ababa

- 2.3 With whom did you come?
- 2.4 How long did you live here?
- 2.5 Where did you go when you came first?
- 2.6 What made you move here?
- 2.7 Who made final decision for your migration?
- 2.8 What was your expectation before you come here?
- 2.9 What did you do in your village before you come?
- 2.10 What are the main sources of income for your family?
- 2.11. How is life on street?
- 2.12. What are the good sides and the hardships of living on streets?
- 2.13. How do you get money to meet your needs? Do you think it is enough?
- 2.14. What do you do to overcome problems on streets like hunger, rain, cold, loneliness, sickness, etc?
- 2.15. Have you ever faced a problem that threatened your life? If yes how do you overcome it?

### **3. Everyday activities:**

- 3.1 Do you work?
- 3.2 What kinds of work do you perform?
- 3.3 How do you perceive you work?

### **4. Daily personal demands**

- 4.1 personal hygiene, (sanitation, recreation bath, laundry, where to keep personal belongings, toilet)
- 4.2 feeding,
- 4.3 health care and
- 4.4 Issues of education
- 4.5 Substance uses?

### **5. Female Street Life, its Challenges and Opportunities**

- 5.1 How did you get the street life?
- 5.2 Where do you usually sleep?
- 5.3 With whom do you sleep?
  - 4.3.1 What are the challenges to
  - 4.3.2 By whom?

- 5.4 What you have practiced on the street each day?
- 4.5 How do you find shelter, food, Clothing?
- 4.5.1 What are your priorities?
- 5.6 Do you have any contact with families, relatives in the city, local community like shopkeepers, district governance, NGOs?
- 5.7 Do you have contact with peers, other street children, police and other gangs? What is their importance to you?
- 5.8 What are the most pressing problems of your life?
- 5.8.1 How do you cope with?
- 5.9 Who help you when you face problems?
- 5.10 What living and coping skills do you have or do you lack?
- 5.11 How do you learn new survival skills?
- 5.12 How do you spend time daily?
- 5.13 Do you move a lot in different parts of the city? Why?
- 5.14 How do you budget your time?
- 5.15 What do like about living and working on the streets?
- 5.16 What resources are accessible to you?
- 5.17 How do you characterize yourself and your life on the street?
- 5.18 what are your challenges on the street
- peer influence,
  - assault,
  - accommodation (including where to sleep)
  - meeting daily needs
  - finding clients
- 5.19 What is your dream in the future?

## **Focus Group Discussion Guide For male Street Children**

### **1. Demographic background:**

Name,.....Age,.....

Gender,.....Religion,.....

Education, .....Place of origin,.....

### **2. Migration history:**

2.1 From where did you come?

2.2 How did you come to Addis Ababa?

2.3 With whom did you come?

2.4 How long did you live here?

2.5 Where did you go when you came first?

2.6 What made you move here?

2.7 Who made final decision for your migration?

2.8 What was your expectation before you come here?

2.9 What did you do in your village before you come?

2.10 What are the main sources of income for your family?

2.11. How is life on street?

2.12. What are the good sides and the hardships of living on streets?

2.13. How do you get money to meet your needs? Do you think it is enough?

2.14. What do you do to overcome problems on streets like hunger, rain, cold, loneliness, sickness, etc?

2.15. Have you ever faced a problem that threatened your life? If yes how do you overcome it?

### **3. Everyday activities:**

3.1 Do you work?

3.2 What kinds of work do you perform?

3.3 How do you perceive you work?

### **4. Male Street Life, its Challenges and Opportunities**

4.1 How did you get the street life?

4.2 Where do you usually sleep?

4.3 With whom do you sleep?

4.3.1 What are the challenges to you at night?

**4.3.2 By whom?**

4.4 What you have practiced on the street each day?

4.5 How do you find shelter, food, Clothing?

4.5.1 What are your priorities?

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

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

4.8 What are the most pressing problems of your life?

4.9 How do you cope with?

4.10 Who help you when you face problems?

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

4.12 How do you learn new survival skills?

4.13 How do you spend time?

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

4.15 How do you budget your time?

4.16 What do like about living and working on the streets?

4.17 What resources are accessible to you?

4.18 Issues of education, sanitation, recreation, substance uses?

4.19 How do you characterize yourself and your life on the street?

4.20 what are your challenges on the street

peer influence,

assault,

accommodation (including where to sleep)

meeting daily needs

finding clients

4.21 What is your dream in the future?

## Appendix 4

### Interview guide for government officials (MOLSA)

My name is Tilaye Zelealem. I am from graduate school of Social Anthropology at AAU. I am currently collecting data “Streetism and Social influence: A Case of Street life and Street culture in Addis Ketema Sub city”. As part of my assessment, I am talking to street children in the city. I would use the information for fulfill my thesis requirement and to present information to help those concerned bodies to plan activities that will address the real life of street children, their risks and opportunities, and what the larger structure tells about it. I may ask you some questions in group and discussed it freely. I am not going to talk to any person about what you discussed it. Your discussion are completely confidential. Your name will not be written on this form and will ever be used in connection with any of the information you tell me. Or you can change your name if possible. You do not have forced to answer any question that you do not want to answer, and you may end this interview at any time you want.

I have used my phone as a small tape recorder which I will use to record our conversation which we shall listen to after we have finished recording but it is not mandatory to record if you are not interested. The research is conducted purely for academic reasons and, thus, all your discussions are confidential.

#### A. Demographic background:

1. Name, .....
2. Age, .....
- 3 Sex, .....
4. Profession, .....
5. Position,.....
6. Work experience .....

#### B. Streetism and related questions

1. How serious are the problem of streetism in the city?
2. What are the major causes that lead children on to the street?
  - 8.1. From rural area to urban ?
  - 8.2. Urban origin streets?
3. How many children live on the street?.....
  - 9.1. How many of them are children ‘of’ the street? How many of them are children ‘on’ the street?

4. How its dynamics tell us in the city?(From your Experience?)
5. How do you define and categorize street children?
6. What are the major problems of rural migrant children on the street?
  - 12.1. What are the major problems of urban origin street children on the street?
7. What measures does your office take to alleviate the problem?
  - 7.1. How to plan to alleviate the problem of streetism at the current situation?  
Compare and contrast the previous planning to the current one?
8. What are your intervention mechanisms to deal with the problem?
9. How is your office relation with NGOs working with street children and how do you evaluate other NGOs activities in dealing with the problem?
10. Why the number of streetism increased from time to time?
11. Can you tell me your suggestion about street children and how to alleviate it?
12. Is there current plane to change street children's life into productive citizens?
  - 21.1. If yes, In what way?.....Do you believe that this plan alleviate streetism in Addis Ababa?(particularly in Addis Ketema Sub City)