

LIVELIHOODS AND SURVIVAL STRATEGIES AMONG THE MIGRANT SHOE-SHINNING CHILDREN:

A CASE STUDY AT ARADA SUB-CITY, ADDIS ABABA

Habtamu Getnet Altasseb



MA Thesis 2011
 Center for Rural Development (CRD)
 Institute of Development Studies (IDS)
 Addis Ababa University

March, 2011
 Addis Ababa



THE
 H2L4
 2041

**LIVELIHOODS AND SURVIVAL STRATEGIES AMONG
THE MIGRANT SHOE-SHINNING CHILDREN:**

A CASE STUDY AT ARADA SUB-CITY, ADDIS ABABA.

A Master's Thesis submitted to the Institute of Development Studies;
Addis Ababa University

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts in Development studies
(Rural Livelihood and Development)

By:

Habtamu Getnet Altasseb

Advisor:

Degefa Tolossa (PhD)

Co- advisor:

Tatek Abebe (PhD)

**March, 2011
Addis Ababa**

THB
M224
2011

**ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES
INSTITUTE OF DEVELOPMENT STUDIES
(IDS)**

Title

*Livelihoods and Survival Strategies Among the Migrant
Shoe-Shinning Children: A Case Study at Arada Sub-
City, Addis Ababa.*

**By
Habtamu Getnet**

DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

APPROVED BY THE BOARD OF EXAMINERS:

SIGNATURE

Dr. Ali Hassen
CENTER HEAD

AH

Dr. Degefa Tolossa
ADVISOR

Degefa Tolossa

Dr. Bamlaku Alamirew
INTERNAL EXAMINER

Bamlaku Alamirew



TABLE OF CONTENT

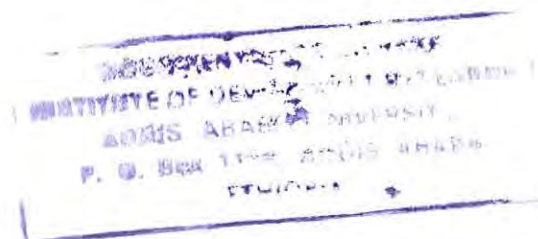
Table of Contents.....	I
List of Figures.....	VI
List of boxes.....	VI
Acknowledgements	VII
Acronyms	VIII
Abstract.....	XI

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1. Background.....	1
1.2. Statement of the problem.....	2
1.3. Objectives of the study.....	4
1.3.1. General objective.....	4
1.3.2. Specific objectives.....	4
1.4. Research questions.....	4
1.5. Significance of the study.....	5
1.6. Scope of the study.....	5
1.7. Limitations of the study	6
1.8. Structure of the thesis.....	7

Chapter 2: Review of Literature and related works

2.1. Theories and Concepts	8
2.1.1. Theories of Migration and Remitting behavior of migrants.....	8
2.1.1.1. Theories of Migration.....	8
2.1.1.1.1. The Neo-Classical Model.....	8
2.1.1.1.2. Human Capital Theory of Migration.....	9
2.1.1.1.3. The 'New Economics of Labor Migration'	9
2.1.1.1.4. Social Capital Theory.....	10
2.1.1.2. Remitting Behavior of Migrants.....	10



2.2. Review of Related Works	11
2.2.1. Why do children work.....	11
2.2.1.1. Incentives, constraints and agency.....	12
2.2.1.2. Markets and institutions.....	12
2.2.2. Child Labor in Ethiopia.....	13
2.2.2.1. Causes of child labour in Ethiopia	15
2.2.3. Children in the informal economy.....	16
2.3. Basic Terms and Concepts.....	17
2.3.1. Child labor defined and classified.....	17
2.3.2. Definition of street children.....	18
2.3.3. Categories of Street children.....	19
2.3.4. Identifying street children: Five criticisms.....	19
2.3.5. Listros (Shoe-shiners).....	20
2.4. Conceptual Framework of the study.....	20
2.4.1. The sustainable Livelihood approach.....	20
2.4.1.1. Livelihood resources: Combining different types of capital.....	21
2.4.1.2. Livelihood strategies: Portfolios and pathways.....	22
2.4.1.3. Livelihood outcomes.....	23
2.4.1.4. The urban contexts of SLF.....	25
2.4.1.5. Vulnerability.....	26

Chapter 3: Research Methodology

3.1. The context of street children in Addis Ababa city.....	27
3.2. Research design and Methodological approach.....	28
3.2.1. The case study research approach.....	29
3.2.2. Participatory research approaches.....	30
3.3. Area of the study	30
3.4. Sample and sampling techniques.....	32
3.5. Multiple Methods of data collection and analysis.....	33
3.5.1. Primary sources of data and collection instruments.....	33
3.5.1.1. Semi-structured individual in-depth interview	34

3.5.1.2. Focus group discussions (FGD)	35
3.5.1.3. Direct and semi-participant observation.....	36
3.5.1.4. Small Exploratory Survey.....	37
3.5.1.5. Story writing.....	38
3.5.1.6. Key informant interviews.....	38
3.5. 2. Secondary data and sources of information.....	39
3.6. Methods of data analysis and presentations.....	39
3.7. Field experiences: Problems and constraints	40

Chapter 4: Children’s Demographic and Socio-economic profiles

4.1. Sex and age category.....	41
4.2. Parent’s survival status	42
4.3. Household’s size.....	43
4.4. Ethnic and Religious affiliation	44
4.5. Educational attainment and reasons for dropouts.....	45
4.6. Duration of work.....	47
4.7. Parent’s occupation and sources of income.....	48
4.8. Decision to move.....	49
4.9. Reasons for migration.....	50
4.9.1. The push factors.....	50
4.9.2. The pull factors	51
4.10. Children plan: Back to home or being an urban citizen	52
4.11. Summary	55

Chapter 5: Children’s Relationship to their work and Socialization

5.1. Urban space and the street-work career.....	56
5.1.1. The street work territory and its livelihood importance.....	57
5.1.2. Why shoe-shinning? A matter of Necessity or choice.....	58
5.1.3. Adaptations and challenges of shoe-shinning work.....	58
5.1.4. Nature and social meanings of shoe-shinning work.....	60

5.1.5. Subsistence Work: The living wage	61
5.1.6. Informal negotiations: labour wage and conflict grounds.....	63
5.1.7. Ways out of shoe-shinning work.....	64
5.2 . Shoe-shinning work as an agent of socialization.....	65
5.2.1. Children’s perceptions and attitude towards work.....	65
5.2.2. Shoe shinning work and its controversies.....	66
5.2.3. Children’s perspective towards family and childhood.....	68
5.2.4. The spirit of social life among the working children.....	69
5.2.5. Group identity, socialization and solidarity	70
5.2.6. Community image and children’s outlook towards streetism and child work.....	71
5.3. Summary	74

Chapter 6: Livelihood conditions of the shoe-shinning children

6.1. Survival Livelihoods: The ‘effort’ to survive.....	76
6.1.1. Daily meals.....	76
6.1.2. Shelter	77
6.1.3. Clothing.....	78
6.2. Survival strategies and coping mechanisms.....	78
6.2.1. Minimizing the daily food intakes and eating cheaper and less nutritious food stuff.....	78
6.2.2. Iqub: Saving beyond subsistence.....	79
6.2.3. Iddir: Peer group welfare association	80
6.2.4. Communal life style: A matter of necessity	80
6.2.5. Livelihood diversification.....	82
6.2.6. Accumulation of Livestock resource	84
6.3. Vulnerability and Resilience features.....	84
6.4. Summary	88

Chapter 7: Conclusion, Recommendation and Some ways forward

7.1. Conclusion90
7.2. Recommendation and Some ways forward.....91

References.....

Appendices.....



List of Figures

Figure 2.1: The DFID Sustainable Livelihoods framework	21
Figure 3.1: Map of Addis Ababa and the study sub-city	31
Figure 3.2: The researcher while conducting individual in-depth interviews.....	34
Figure 3.3: The researcher while conducting the FGDs.....	36
Figure 3.4: The researcher while observing the children at home (Left) and work place (Right).....	37
Figure 4.1: Percentage distribution of the study children by different age category.....	41
Figure 4.2: Percentage distribution of the study children by their Parent's survival status.....	43
Figure 4.3: Percentage distribution of the study children by Household size.....	44
Figure 4.4: Percentage distribution of the study children by ethnic and religious identity.....	45
Figure 4.5: Percentage distribution of the study children by educational status.....	46
Figure 4.6: Percentage distribution of the study children by work experience.....	47
Figure 4.7: Percentage distribution of the study children by parent's occupation.....	49
Figure 5.1: The newly migrant children sitting together on the left (Left Photo) and standing on the right (Right Photo), adapting shoe-shining work from their friends and the urban environment.....	59
Figure 5.2: Percentage distribution of the study children by the level of daily income and food expenditure.....	62
Figure 5.3: Shoe-shinning children eating (Left) and working together (Right).....	69
Figure 5.4: The spirit of togetherness and grouping among the shoe-shinning children at work place.	71
Figure 6.1: Children cooking at home together (Left) and taking food outside (Right).....	82
Figure 6.2: Shoe-shinning children undertaking additional livelihood activities-car cleaning (Left) and petty trade (Right).....	84

List of boxes

4.1. Situational analysis of the case of rural milieu-Hadiya Zone.....	53
5.1. A case study shoe-shinning child informant 1.....	73
6.1. A case study shoe-shinning child informant 2.....	86



Acknowledgments

I am greatly indebted to numerous commendable people who gave me their fabulous assistance for the fruitful accomplishment of this case study.

First and foremost, I am incredibly grateful to my praiseworthy supervisors Dr. Degefa Tolossa and Dr. Tatek Abebe, for their invaluable advice, intellectual and constructive comments. This research would not have been doing well without their dedication, unreserved guidance, inspiration and encouragement. May I also express my sincere gratitude to the Norwegian Centre for Child Research, for giving all the necessary financial support in doing this research project.

I am also appreciative to the heads of some governmental and non-governmental organizations. In particular, the heads of MOLSA (Ministry of labor and social affairs), and FSCE (Forum for Sustainable Child Empowerment) for giving me all the necessary support during the field works. I am also indebted to all the shoe-shinning children who actively participated in the project by providing me with all the necessary information during the fieldwork. Sincere thanks may also go to my assistant researcher Ato Gari Umeta for devoting a great deal of time and energy during the fieldwork. It is also my great pleasure to thank my classmates and best friends Fekadu Sisay and Dereje Yeshidinber who have been a source of encouragement in the whole period of study.

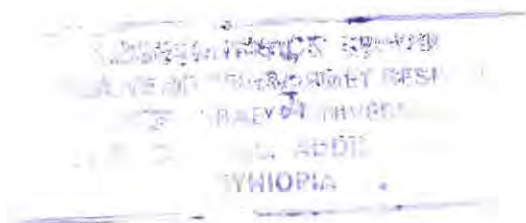
The encouragement and support from my family has always been with me throughout my studies. I would like to express my sincere gratitude and deep affection to my beloved wife, Birtukan Tessera and my mother-Felka Tesfaye for their inspiration, constant moral support, encouragement, and love throughout my study.

This thesis is wholly dedicated to the loving memory and care of my deceased father (Getnet Altasseb), whom I haven't ever seen him unkind. He is the everlasting source of endurance in all sort of my academic life to the great extent that has never been forgotten and always renowned in the diary of my life and loved at the underside of my heart. I strongly aspire God bless him and his brother in the heaven forever.

Exceedingly, Praise to Almighty God for all his divine favor.

Acronyms

AAU:	Addis Ababa University
CDS:	College of Development Studies
CSA:	Central Statistical Authority
DFID:	Department for International Development (UK)
FGD:	Focus Group Discussion
FSCE:	Forum for Sustainable Child Empowerment
HIV/AIDS:	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/ Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
ILO:	International Labor Organization
IRD:	Institute of Rural Development
MCDP:	Multi-Purpose Community Development Project
MEDAC:	Ministry of Economic Development and Cooperation
MOFED:	Ministry of Finance and Economic Development
MOLSA:	Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs (Ethiopia)
NGOs:	Non-Governmental Organizations
NTNU:	Norwegian University of Science and Technology (Trondheim)
PIN:	Peoples in Need Ethiopia
SCD:	Save the children Denmark
SIDA:	Swedish International Development Agency
SNNPRS:	Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples Regional State
SLF:	Sustainable Livelihood Framework
SSA:	Sub Saharan African
SCU:	Save the children UK
UN:	United Nations
UNDP:	United Nations Development Program
UNICEF:	United Nations Children's Fund



Abstract

Qualitative research approaches and methods that broadly fall under observations and interviews are the principal methods employed to uncover and understand what lies behind any phenomenon involved in the daily experiences of the children because the natural context of the children's lives and the interpersonal and socio-cultural fabric influences their livelihood perspectives, experiences and actions. Besides, using the case study research approach, we attempted to assess the social networks and or relationships constructed by the children. In fact, the whole process of generating the research data was primarily made on the basis of the children's own perspectives and understanding of their work and livelihood conditions. In doing so, I asked them how they think of their lives in their own terms and gave their own viewpoints.

Poor rural parents are unable to provide education and basic survival needs to their children. As a consequence, children are often obliged to quit school and joined the city streets in search of employment in the informal sector. In fact, working (shoe-shinning) children discontinued education not because they are uncaring to school rather due to lacking assistance from their parents because of families' impoverishment, and death or disharmony. Mostly, children are obliged to dropout at school and migrated to the city in search of work not because of the net benefits of attending school are low relative to the rewards from shoe-shinning work. Even though, the study children properly acknowledged that attending school is absolutely vital for their life, it was beyond their capability to pursue education because their families are impoverished and unable to send them to school. It was mainly due to lacking basic survival needs that children are obliged to work. Thus, survival is the foremost and an irreplaceable agenda than schooling for the needy children.

The study reveals that the livelihoods of the shoe shiners are dynamic and there is an intense solidarity among shoe-shinning children in Addis Ababa city. Most of them maintain very close social ties and networks with peer groups, relatives, customers, and with other street actors. The most predominant social tie and or network is peer group socialization which is mainly constructed on the basis of identical work and geographical origin. Those who came from the same geographical origin and or rural village form a unified functional group and develop high sense of belongingness. They live and work together for getting the benefits of communal life style. Children conceived that living together is the sole livelihood strategy which enables to reduce urban living cost and perhaps makes life easier and enjoyable. They use their social networks and bonds to overcome some of the challenges they face such as reducing their meals and sharing apartments with colleagues as well as relying on each other's help in times of scarcity. Moreover, they create a new sense of 'family-hood' with their social groups and exercise a sense of enthusiastic love and care to each other. At times they suffer, they usually share material and financial benefits from each other. For instance, if a child lacks income to get food, friends will invite and or lend some money. If somebody is sick or injured they would take him to the clinic or give treatment at home. Shoe-shinning children one among the urban poor in Addis city, have been exposed to various vulnerable living conditions. Most of them lack adequate livelihood income and basic necessities which in turn affected their spatial well being and health conditions as well. Miserable life due to the failure to completely acclimatize and mitigate the urban life constraints (such as the high cost of living (rising food price, and high house rent cost), inflation, poor housing access, insecure wage, and poor sanitation), have been aggravating the vulnerability conditions of these children. In general, lack of access to sufficient resources and vulnerability to the aforementioned urban life hazards, stresses and shocks are responsible for the unsustainable livelihoods, poor wellbeing and lack of the children's basic necessities.

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1. Background

Poverty may be defined in social terms as a lack of options and possibilities affecting own life situation. Poverty appears to be the major reason for child labor. As the poorest continent, Africa has a higher incidence of child labor. The incidence of child labour is higher in sub-Saharan Africa than in any other region in the world (ILO, 1998 cited in Andivig, *et al*, 2001). It is estimated that 41% of children aged 5-14 years in sub-Saharan Africa work, accounting about 80 million children. This number is almost twice the Asian rate. Participation rates are highest in East Africa, followed by West Africa and central Africa. The incidence of child labour in the same age-range and for the same definition of work is estimated to be 21% in Asia and 17% in Latin America (Ashagrie 1998 cited in Bhalotra 2003). The number of working children is, however, greater in Asia on account of its greater population density. Of the 250 million children estimated to be in work, 61% are in Asia, 32% in Africa and 7% in Latin America. 120 million of the 250 million children are in full-time work. In many developing countries, more than half of the population is under 20 years. High child work participation rates, therefore, involve a substantial fraction of individuals (Bhalotra 2003).

Africa is characterized by a high labour force growth, a large agricultural labour force, poor prospects for urban formal employment and a large informal sector in the major cities. A common trend appears to be the growing importance of the informal sector in providing urban employment in all but the most modern of the developing economies. A large proportion of the labour force is seeking alternative forms of employment, outside the boundaries of officially defined work, giving rise to the informal sector. As a result of the declining opportunities in the formal sector, developing cities are characterized by large informal economies. Even despite the new opportunities created by export-oriented industries, growth rates in manufacturing employment have failed to keep up with urban population growth (Potter and Lloyd-Evans 1998: 183).

Ethiopia is the second most populous nation in SSA countries next to Nigeria, with a population of over 73.9 million (CSA 2008), and one of the most impoverished (UNDP 2005). It is a country that heavily relies on agriculture, with over 80 percent of the population depending upon

agriculture for its livelihood. It has one of the highest incidences of child labour in the world, one of the lowest school enrolment rates in the world and one of the highest fertility rates, 7 children per woman on average. It is a country of the young with children under 15 years accounting for 44% of the population (Getinet & Beliyu 2007).

Despite the limitation of obtaining reliable statistical data to establish the number of children who are in the labor force in Ethiopia, the National Child Labor Survey conducted in 2001 shows that the total number of children in the age group of 5-17 was 18,197,783 (PIN 2009: 7). Out of this figure, it was indicated that nearly 9,483,611 children had been involved in productive activities of the country in different sectors of the economy. The figure shows that nearly 52.1% of the total children population in the country is engaged in the active workforce (SCD 2003: 9). A large proportion of the underemployed are seen to constitute the informal sector which provides part-time, casual and unproductive jobs, for the urban poor. According to the 2003 Informal Sector Survey of Ethiopia, this sector contributes nearly 50% of urban employment in the country (CSA 2007). Beggars, hawkers and small-scale operators are commonplace in the fast growing developing cities. Research has shown that urban children are more likely to work for a wage in a diverse range of informal occupation such as shoe shining and sweet selling, to factory work (Potter and Lloyd-Evans 1998: 183).

1.2. Statement of the problem

Ethiopia is one of the poorest countries in the world which suffers from enormous socio-economic and political problems. As is the case in many aspects of life in the country poverty plays a major role for the ever-growing involvement of children in the labour market that is characterized by exploitation and denial of basic rights of the working children. In both rural and urban areas child labour is in one way or another attributable to poverty at local and national level. Children are the hardest hit by poverty. It affects the ability of society at all levels to fulfill its obligations to children. The effect of poverty causes life-long damage to children's minds and bodies, making it more likely that they pass on poverty to their own children, thereby perpetuating the poverty cycle (PIN 2009).

The plight of street children is the result of social change of varying degrees, changes which destabilize life or disintegrate the family and the community. According to UNICEF (2002), poverty, natural disasters, family disintegration, AIDS and violence are the major reasons why children live and work on the streets. Combination of poverty and strong work requirements for children make conducive environment for the economic exploitation of Ethiopian children. Although the problem of street children is understood as an urban phenomenon, the factors exacerbating the problem are originated, by and large, in the rural villages. Rural children's migration to Addis are not dominated by a single factor but caused by a combination of multiple interrelated factors. It is usually in response to the deterioration of the living conditions in rural villages. Most of these children are driven to the street in order to improve their lives and that of their families. For many of them, the perceptions that larger towns offer greater economic opportunities make the street a more attractive alternative than a poverty stricken rural household (Kopaka 2001 cited in Girmachew 2006). In spite of this, the life waiting in the city is often difficult. They often lack the access to basic necessities from family, society, as well as from government and NGOs. They often do not have education and basic skills necessary to deal with the risk factors and cope with adversity (Girmachew 2006).

There have been recent calls in Africa to study children as both actors in and victims of socio-economic changes (Kesby et al, 2006: 199 cited in Tatek & Kjørholt, 2009). Despite this, little is yet known about the full extent of the problem related to survival and livelihood conditions of the children who are undertaking shoe-shinning activity in Addis Ababa city. The few researches conducted on the life of working children did not focus on typical livelihood activities and strategies and did not take into account the children's own experiences and perspectives of life. Tatek & Kjørholt (2009) in their article which explores the role of children in household livelihoods among the Gedeo ethnic community in Ethiopia stated that even though the economic role of children in household survival strategies has long been recognized, the social meanings of their work and its geographical context have been researched less. Thus, there is a strong need to get knowledge about the reasons why most children decided to migrate to the city and carry out shoe-shinning and a range of additional livelihood activities, how they first congregate with this kind of activity and how they managed to survive and of the strategies employed in their attempts to survive and establish life in the city.

1.3. Objectives of the study

1.3.1. General objective

The overall aim of this study is to assess the livelihood and survival strategies among the migrant shoe-shinning children in Addis Ababa city.

1.3.2. Specific objectives:

- To explore the fundamental reasons for children's migration in general and shoe-shinning engagement in particular.
- To reveal children's relationship to their work and part of their socialization; characteristic nature, traits and social meanings of shoe-shinning work.
- To assess the social relations and networks developed between and among shoe-shinning children and what kind of support these relationships offer.
- To identify urban life challenges and shocks encountered by the shoe-shinning children and their coping mechanisms.

1.4. Research Questions

This study is mainly intended to seek answers to the following research questions:

- Why shoe-shinning? Do children work because their families are impoverished and need the child's income in order to survive? (Or) do they work for themselves to make life easier and education possible? Or do they work because the net benefits of attending school are low relative to the rewards from this work?
- What are the push and pull factors behind children migrating to the city to undertake shoe-shinning activity?
- What are the nature, challenges and social meaning of shoe-shinning work?
- What are the urban life challenges and shocks? How do they cope with and managed to survive in the city? What are the major survival livelihoods and strategies?
- How do shoe-shining children construct their social networks and or relationships among themselves and what this relationship serves?

1.5. Significance of the study

As there is scant study made so far in Ethiopia on the livelihoods of working children in general and shoe-shinning children in particular, this thesis would primarily serve as a source of knowledge that would help to contribute to efforts of filling the gap of knowledge. It may also serve as an input for further study to be conducted in the same and or similar area of the study in such a way that practical researchable problems directly or indirectly related to the topic can be identified.

Most importantly, it is expected to enable policy makers and other administrators understand and formulate enabling policies, programmes and strategies against child poverty, migration, vulnerability, child work and or informal employment in order to build protective environment and or adaptability to the changing socio-economic circumstances. This is in turn, helpful in placing the contributions of research and also in directing the needs of policy.

1.6. Scope of the study

The 'work' that children do encompasses a diversity of activities whose boundaries are difficult to distinguish and their views vary considerably (Invernizzi, 2003). This study has focused on a particular type of activity (i.e. shoe-shining only) carried out by migrant children in Addis Ababa City. Addis Ababa is a big city and the study has been merely confined to Arada sub-city only comprising of three specific study locations namely: University area (Arat Kilo & Sidest Kilo University Campus), Piazza (the busy shopping area) and Shero-meda area whereby most of the study children are concentrated around in order to make their livelihoods. These areas have been offering an opportunity for these children to easily explore what it is like to work and live in these settings.

By doing fieldwork, the researcher was mainly aimed at exploring how shoe-shinning children survive and mitigate urban life challenges and shocks, nature and traits of their work, social networks established among them and between them and other social groups, both from the city and from the rural areas.

The researcher only focused on children, under the age of eighteen who are undertaking shoe-shinning activity alone or together with other additional street based activities in the city. My sample consists of only shoe-shining children who came from the rural villages (migrants) and who may or may not have close ties with their families, guardians, and/or institutions. As all the study objectives are defined in line with this formula, thus, the study didn't include children who were born in the city and are working shoe-shinning job on the street with one or both of their parents.

1.7. Limitations of the study

The Ethiopian literature on the lives of working children is relatively scant (Tatek, 2008). There is no apparent or definite data exist on the livelihoods of shoe-shinning children in Ethiopia. As there is no clear demarcation between street children and shoe-shinning children, few existing literatures and researches conducted on the lives of street children didn't yet regard who shoe-shinning children are. Besides, the concerned government and non-government offices lack comprehensive data about the working children in general and shoe-shinning children in particular. These problems in fact, highly constrained the researcher from getting relevant information and adequate literature.

There is no concern on the life of the shoe-shinning children both at national and city level. Most NGOs like FSCE, Goal Ethiopia, and Hope enterprise working on relief and rehabilitation of street children in the city did not yet address the problem of shoe-shinning children. MOLSA also did not yet regard these children's affair as they gave attention and work on labor issues in the formal sector. The head of the organization replied that "these children were not regarded in the various schemes and programmes designed by the organization as they are self employed one and involved in the informal sector". Thus, the researcher could not get relevant data and expected information in those target organizations. All the aforementioned constraints have been the fundamental bottlenecks of this study.

1.8. Structure of the Thesis

This thesis consists of seven chapters. Chapter one gives an overview of background of the study, statement of the problem, objectives, and research questions, definition of basic terms and concepts, significance, scope and limitations of the study. Chapters two presents the review of literature and related works. This chapter clarifies the conceptual framework used to analyze the livelihoods of the shoe-shinning children and concise review of related works. Chapter three is about research methodology. It examines about the street children's context in Addis Ababa city, research design and methodological approaches, area of the study, sample and sampling techniques, and methods of data Collection and analysis.

The next three chapters thoroughly elaborate the discussion and analysis of findings of the study: Chapter four presents demographic and socio-economic profiles of the study children. It gives highlights of the most fundamental social and economic indicator variables pertinent to the research problem. Chapter five elaborates important analytical issues on the children's relationship to their work and part of their socialization and Chapter six thoroughly discusses about the livelihood perspectives. Finally, chapter seven highlights conclusions and some ways forward and recommendations and policy implications.

Chapter 2

Review of Literature and related works

2.1. Theories and Concepts

2.1.1. Theories of Migration and Remitting Behavior of migrants

2.1.1.1. Theories of Migration

There are several theories available as far as the factors of migration are concerned in developing countries. Some of the fundamental theories relevant for this study are the Neo-classical, Human capital, New-Economics of Labour Migration and Social Capital theories of Migration.

2.1.1.1.1. The Neo-Classical Model

Some proponents of this theory are Todaro (1969) and Straubhar (1988). According to the Neo-classical theory, utility maximization is the major driving factor for rural-urban migration. However, lack of budget constraints migrants from doing so. These actors indicated that perceived (not actual) wage differences urge rural people to be attracted to the thought of moving to urban areas. They stressed that the decision to migrate depends largely on the costs of migration, the chance of getting employed in urban centers, and the expected income. In fact, they did not deny that information from friends, and the urge to experience modern urban life could trigger rural-urban migration. But they maintain the idea that migration is a decision of the individual migrant, not of the whole family.

Todaro brought a more detailed analysis of the factors of migration in Africa. He indicated that the decision-making procedure of a potential migrant from a certain rural area depends of some fundamental principles. These are; the individual him/herself, rational cost-benefit analysis, a decision based on expected economic gains and the expected chance of attaining a job in urban areas. He argued that a migrant from a rural area may not find it easy to get employed in rural urban jobs. Instead, he/she may end up working in the informal sector, which is very small in scale. To sum up, According to this theory, the most important determinants of rural-urban migration are:

productive. Once the decision is made, the family covers transport costs and arranges social networks for the prospective migrant. In return, the migrant remits his/her parents. This shows that migration is a collective action. Similarly, Lynch as cited in Traore (2009) states that decision for the rural-urban migration are often taken by the household rather than the individual migrant.

2.1.1.1.4. Social Capital Theory

Social capital is the sum of resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of institutional relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition. This theory indicates that people gain access to social capital through membership in networks. Therefore kinship and shared community both at origin and destination are important to increase network, which further enhance the likelihood of migration by reducing cost and risk. Private recruiting agencies may also play an important role by providing information and establishing links for potential migrants (Paulson and Miller, 2000).

2.1.1.2. Remitting Behavior of Migrants

According to Paulson and Miller (2000), there are four types of remitting behavior of migrants. These are:

Endogenous migration-altruism: Remitters respond to emergency situations for victims of famine, drought and civil war because of their altruistic behavior. Migrants send money to their parents and /or family members simply because their utility increases when they see that their families consume or benefit. Hence, remittances of such type are symbolic in nature, which means that they are compensatory (increasing at slack periods and decreasing at good times).

Portfolio approach: This approach dwells on the idea that migrants remit their parents or families because of their self-interest to establish a business at origin, not because they are altruistic. Based on the economic situation and the investment climate at origin, migrants could involve in investment by sending money and closely following the progress by assigning a close relative of their own. At times of shortage of capital at origin or when in need of expansion of the business, these migrants actively involve by sending extra money and providing moral support. But it is less likely that the migrant him/herself runs the business due to barrier of distance.

Social Capital: This approach argues that remittance is a result of a complex process of negotiation between household members at origin and destination. This approach argues that it is not because the migrant is altruistic or selfish that he/she sends money but because there is a strong urge from the family at origin.

Co-sharing of risks and Insurance: Proponents of this approach argue that both migration and remittances are collective decisions made by the family, not by the individual migrant. This is what the New Economics of Labor Migration argues about.

2.2. Review of related works

2.2.1. Why do children work?

A number of factors are responsible for the high incidence of child labour in developing countries, many attributing this to poverty and poverty-related factors. It is argued that households that do not have enough resources to sustain the family have no choice but make their children engage in various activities to make ends meet. In such cases, not having the children work puts the very existence of the family at risk. Limited access to (quality) schooling is also among the factors identified as encouraging child labour. In areas where there is little or no access to schooling, parents may consider child work as an opportunity to help their children develop a future “career”. Those in favor of this line of argument call for expansion of primary schooling as a deterrent to child labour.

According to a report by the ILO (2006), “education is pivotal to eliminating and preventing child labour”. Of course, school expansion may not lead to a significant reduction in work participation. Imperfection in the labour and capital market, family expectations, and culture are other factors responsible for the high incidence of child labour worldwide (Getinet & Beliyou 2007).

The commonly held view that poverty compels child labour reflects the importance of subsistence constraints. However, micro data reveal that children work in households that cannot be classified as subsistence poor. There must, therefore, be other reasons why children work. A useful organization of causes, suggested in Bhalotra (2001), is to categorize them in terms of incentives, constraints and agency.

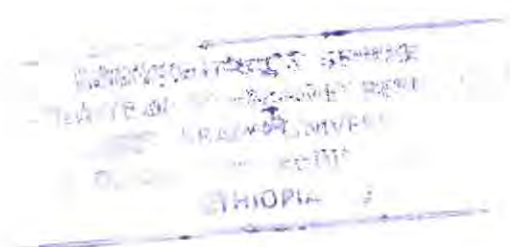
2.2.1.1. Incentives, Constraints and Agency

The incentive to work is determined by the return to work relative to alternative uses of time such as school attendance. Thus children may work because the net returns to education are low and the returns to work experience are relatively large. Policy can modify incentives, for example, by improving school quality or lowering school fees. However, even where incentives favor education over work, a household may be compelled by poverty constraints to send a child to work. When these are binding, the opportunity cost of schooling is too high. In this case, policy interventions are best targeted at alleviating poverty in households supplying child labour.

Agency issues arise with child labour because the decision to work is typically taken by parents. This distinguishes it from an adult labour supply decision. However remote it may seem at first glance there is, in principle, the possibility that some children are set to work because their parents value their own consumption more than the long-term welfare of their children. Child welfare may then be raised by policies that make schooling compulsory or that ban child labour, thereby eliminating the agency of parent. These different factors may, of course, interact. For example, parents' labour supply decisions will determine the tightness of the household budget constraint. So (parents) with limited altruism may choose to consume some leisure while sending their children to work, which highlights the agency problem. Since the policy implications are very different, depending upon whether it is incentives, constraints or agency factors that dominate, it is important to investigate their relative force (Bhalotra 2003).

2.2.1.2. Markets and institutions

The strength of markets and institutions will mediate the force of incentives, constraints and agency. In this section, the role of imperfections in the markets for credit, land and labour, and the part played by tastes and norms are considered. For example, underdeveloped credit markets will tend to increase the force of constraints in determining child labour (Ranjan, 1999; Lahiri and Jaffrey, 2002; Bhalotra 2003). For theoretical analyses of the effects of credit constraints on schooling and child labour, Limited access to capital markets not only perpetuates chronic poverty but also traps non-poor households in states of poverty following income shocks (Bhalotra 2003).



Poor households are likely to be particularly risk-averse and they may employ children ex ante to diversify their sources of income or ex post to make up income losses in bad times (Jacoby and Skoufias, 1997 in Bhalotra 2003). Similarly, imperfect labour markets may strengthen the incentive to put children to work. For example, it may be difficult to substitute hired labour for family labour, or difficult to rent out or sell land. This creates an incentive to employ family labour (Cockburn 2001a; Bhalotra and Heady 2000; Bhalotra 2003). The fact that the marginal product of family labour is increasing in the value of productive assets such as land or livestock means that we may expect to find that the children of the land-rich are more likely to be in work than are the children of small landowners or landless agricultural workers.

Anthropologists have suggested that children may work because they enjoy work or the independence that it brings more than they enjoy going to school (Delap 2000 cited in Bhalotra 2003). Thus incentives can be non-material and local policy interventions should be sensitive to encouraging creativity and joy in education as much as to improving infrastructure and increasing pecuniary returns.

The question of parent's agency and altruism towards children is clearly likely to be influenced by social norms. In some societies and at certain stages of industrialization, child labour may be more acceptable than in other times and places (Bhalotra 2003). Child labor has a long history in most countries, and changes in participation rates are naturally regarded as a long-term growth issue. Slow changes in norms, in the educational system, and in technology, together with changes in the economic structure, will influence both the nature of the work performed and the participation rates. Changes in the participation rates will impact the accumulation of human capital, production, and the growth rate of the economy. There might also be a short-term, strongly anti-cyclical, macro component to African child labor. This is important for several reasons. If tight fiscal policy and devaluation cause large increases in child labour, this is a valid reason for government policy concern (Andivig, *et.al* 2001).

2.2.2. Child Labor in Ethiopia

In Ethiopia, children working on the streets are not typically classified as the worst forms of child labour. Nonetheless, the problem of streetism is growing considerably in the country. Simultaneously, the extent of child labor is increasing due to poverty and social, economic, and

political crises. Children between the age of 9 and 13 and even younger are engaged in different economic activities on the street. These children have health problems for which they did not get treatment. They are abused and threatened by older children. They are exploited and underpaid. They feel insecure and have worries about several things in their lives. And finally, school has become either a fantasy or an infrequent pastime when there is enough time and/or money. These circumstances indicate work that is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of the children. (ILO Convention 182 - Article 3 cited in UNICEF 2000).

In the face of extreme poverty in Ethiopia, especially in the rural areas, coupled with the rapid growth of population, survival for families can be possible through labor intensive subsistence farming where children at young age take part vigorously. It is therefore evident that in Ethiopia children join the world of labor at an early age for different reasons. Some of the major factors that force children to become laborers at their early ages include extreme poverty, death of parents/guardian, indifference of parents for their safe growth, changing family structure, harmful traditional beliefs, peer pressure, gender imbalance and rural urban links in terms of push and pull factors that contribute massively for the voluntary and force migration of children from rural to urban centers and others. The nature and scope of child labor in Ethiopia vary in between rural and urban settings, between the sexes and among different sectors (PIN 2009). Child labor is becoming a structural part of many economies in both the formal and informal sectors. Many types of work are done by children including agricultural work, domestic service, home-based work; work in factories and shops, street selling, mining and quarrying, construction, sex industry, and a wide range of other activities (UNICEF 2006b).

In the formal sector of the economy, small scale industries commonly prefer to employ children, who are under the age of 18. This is absolutely a calculated move by the employers as children cannot negotiate the terms of employments such as wage and benefits. Some of the most common sectors that are known for employing children for different reasons include the construction sector (road, real state etc), small scale manufacturing industries (wood and metal works, shoe factories) and agro-industries. These are sectors of the economy with small capacity to invest. Therefore they exploit the labor of children to maximize their profit margins as that enables them to reduce the labor cost significantly. Children employed in such kinds of small

scale industries in the urban centers work extremely arduous activities to both their physical as well as psychological wellbeing (PIN 2009).

2.2.2.1. Causes of child labour in Ethiopia

A long list of factors can be made regarding reasons why children in Ethiopia are forced into the labour market in their early ages. The outstanding causes that force children in the labour market include poverty, family problems and migration. The demand aspect in the labour market cannot however be ruled out as it contributes its own share for the incidence of child labour. From point of view of demand in the labour market, children labour is cheap and easy to access compared to the adult workers who have the relative advantage of bargaining the terms of employment in the labour market (ibid).

Poverty is a major trigger for children to be tempted to work on the streets. Family disintegration, abuse and neglect by parents, and the lack of social services are also noted as main factors for children being forced into begging (Veale 1993 in Tatek 2009). Other disruptive reasons include the failure of rural livelihoods, including displacement due to drought, famine and war; harmful traditional practices (e.g. early marriage), hostile step-parents, peer pressure, a lack of opportunities for social mobility, and uncaring environments at home (Tatek 2009).

Poverty: In both rural and urban areas child labour is in one way or another attributable to poverty at local and national level. In rural parts of the country household poverty is caused by large family size, increasing fragmentation of farm land that ultimately leads to low family income. The situation in urban areas is also so severe that, lack of employment opportunities, that lead to low family income deprive parents to send their children to school and provide their basic needs. Instead they tend to encourage and even sometimes force their children to enter into the labour market in their early ages so as to enhance the household income to sustain their families. Considering the extreme poverty in both rural and urban conditions, the use of child labours in on farm and off farm activities and in other sectors of the economy has become not a matter of choice (PIN 2009).

Lack of Opportunity for Schooling: In a study conducted by Forum on Street Children Ethiopia (FSCE) on the situation of child domestic workers in Addis Ababa, it is indicated that

the primary motivation for many children (both male and female) to work as domestic servants is the desire to get access to education which they did not have owing to the extreme poverty that their parents are trapped in coupled with lack of educational infrastructures in their home villages. According to the study most children especially in rural parts of the country fail to continue their education due to work load, inability to cover the costs related to education such as education materials and cloths. The inability of children to continue their schooling owing to the hard work they are forced to do brings frustration which culminates at the children's migration into urban areas where they aspire to get access to better schooling (FSCE 2008 cited in Tatek, 2009).

Migration and Child Trafficking: Due to the pressure on the farm land in the rural areas caused by the rapid growth of population and lack of basic social services specially education, it is reported that a large number of children migrate into the urban areas especially Addis Ababa, the capital of Ethiopia year after year. It is however evident that both the push and pull factors which are interrelated that exacerbate the migration of children from rural to urban centres. On the side of the push factors as it is explained poor living conditions of rural families coupled with limited access to education force children to leave their place of origins in urban areas especially in Addis Ababa (PIN 2009). The role of child traffickers can also be considered as one major push factor that results in increasing magnitude of induced migration of children into urban areas. Traffickers use the relative opportunities in urban areas especially in Addis Ababa to get access to education as means to cheat the children and quite often their poor parents to traffic them to urban areas where the children end up being labourers in arduous conditions.

2.2.3. Children in the informal economy

The informal sector refers to the unaccountable and unregistered activities which are found in most countries of the world. Despite the difficulties in measuring the exact scale of the informal sector, it has been estimated that 50 percent of the labour force in developing countries work within it as opposed to 3 percent in developed nations (Thomas, 1992). Almost by definition, the informal sector is unregulated: whatever labour laws and regulations apply in the formal economy, such as factories and the civil service, are not observed and little attempt is made to enforce them. This applies both to laws governing a minimum age for employment and those covering health and safety at work. The millions of children living and working on the streets

around the world come into this category, as do many apprentices sewing and hammering away in small workshops (UNICEF 2005).

The informal sector is heterogeneous, with respect to both its activity and its workforce. The majority of goods and services in the formal economy have similar versions which serve both low-income communities and the international economy. Within the informal sector there are a range of small scale producers, retailers, and service providers, many of whom operate beyond the reach of government (Potter and Lloyd-Evans 1998). The informal sector is not just a haven for marginalized workers, but a positive provider of productive employment opportunities, albeit one that is associated with certain difficulties and problems (ibid). The concept of marginality implies an existence on the periphery of the economy or society, and has been largely discredited, as it implies that many people live outside the system (Perlman, 1976; Lomnitz, 1977). Since the concept of structural marginality has been used to assess the degree of participation within the system and it is increasingly appreciated that people are disadvantaged by the system, rather than being external to it.

The informal sector of the economy in urban areas like the agricultural sector massively uses child labor in Ethiopia. Since the expansion of industries is at its infancy stage and the low level of the large scale commercial farms, children starting at the age of 5 get themselves employed in the informal sector that has a variety of forms. It's not in the factory but on the streets of developing cities where most of today's urban working children can be found. Some actually live on the street, having left or lost their families, while others earn their living there, hawking food, drinks and a whole range of other products, carrying everything from someone's shopping to crippling loads, and running to and fro at their employer's orders. In urban settings the most common types of child labor are shoe shining, lottery tickets selling in the streets, vending injera (traditional bread), kolo and bread, peddling, working as taxi assistant (woyala in local language), begging, prostitution, weaving, baking and carrying goods for people (PIN 2009).

2.3. Basic Terms and Concepts

2.3.1. Child labor defined and classified

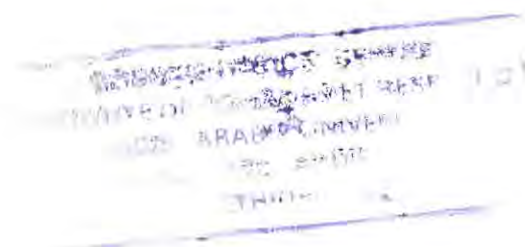
Child labour is meant for labour performed by children believed to be too young, meaning that by doing so they unduly reduce their present economic welfare or their future income earning

capabilities, either by shrinking their future external choice sets or by reducing their own future, individual productive capabilities. By child work, it means work performed by children under fifteen years of age. Child work is simply a descriptive term in which we assume nothing about welfare consequences (Kielland, *et al.* 2001). Many writers on child labour as well as some politicians in developing countries like to define child labour as work that impairs the development and welfare of children. This subjective definition makes it hard to understand child labour, because the effect of any child activity on the child's development and welfare is always debatable. The present study follows the standard in most recent research within which economics of viewing child labour as any economic activities in which children participate to sustain their livelihoods.

2.3.2. Definition of street children

Street children are children who are abandoned or neglected for whom the street has become their home (Van Bueren 1995, cited in Schmidt 2003). A street child is one who: lives on the streets most of the time; works in the streets on jobs of low status and income; lives in the exposed conditions of the street; has no or little parental supervision or other social protection; has either intermittent or no family contact at all; is vulnerable to the hazards of urbanization and urban living conditions (Agrawals 1999 cited in Girmachew 2006).

The term 'street children' is highly debated in the literature. Some say it is negative – that it labels and stigmatizes children. Others say it gives them an identity and a sense of belonging. It can include a very wide range of children who: are homeless; work on the streets but sleep at home; either do or do not have family contact; work in open-air markets, live on the streets with their families, live in day or night shelters, spend a lot of time in institutions (e.g. prison) (Girmachew 2006). Likewise, in spite of the fact that street has become the major source of livelihood income for all shoe-shinning children under study, they all have rent-home and always sleep at home. Thus, the definition of street children adopted for the purpose of this study, which is a little bit controversial and broader in context, was taken from (UN 2002) which defined as 'boys and girls for whom the 'street' become their homes and/or source of livelihood, and who are inadequately protected or supervised by responsible adults'.



2.3.3. Categories of Street children

Heinonen (2000) proposes new categories of street children (based on her 5-year research in Addis Ababa) such as street working children, working children and street children. **Street working children** are children who live at home, attend school part time and work or trade in the street the rest of the time. They have close ties with their families.

Working children include children living at home, aged eight and older, who do not beg, do not attend school and work full time in the street. **Street children**, aged 5-18, do not attend school and beg full time in the street and those under 8 alternate between street and home life. Once they reach 10 most join loosely knit social groups of the same-sex or mixed gender groups. In line with the authors' definition, the whole shoe-shinning children under study belong to the second category of street children i.e. working children. Thus, for the purpose of this study, the term shoe-shinning children can be alternatively understood and labeled as working children.

2.3.4. Identifying street children: Five criticisms

Deceptively simple, the term street child has proved problematic. A basic definition of the term is "a homeless or neglected child who lives chiefly in the streets" (Oxford Dictionary). The statement emphasizes two peculiarities about street children: the place they occupy (the streets) and the absence of proper contacts or links with adults in the family home and in society. This encapsulates much of the thinking behind studies of street children in the 1980s. Such work was concerned with establishing the hallmarks of a street lifestyle and the characteristics of street children in terms of their use of public spaces and their links with family and public institutions. Recent literature has argued that the appellation "street children" is problematic for several reasons. First, it is a generic term that obscures the heterogeneity in children's actual circumstances. Second, it does not correspond to the ways many children relate their own experiences or to the reality of their movements on and off the street. Third, it is imbued with pejorative or pitying connotations. Fourth, it deflects attention from the broader population of children affected by poverty and social exclusion. Indeed, "street children" is a construct that reflects various social and political agendas. These are strong criticisms, which go some way toward explaining why "street children" is a difficult working concept and why other terms of reference or appellations have emerged in recent analytical literature (Panter-Brick 2002).

2.3.5. “Listros” (shoe-shiners)

The young shoe-shiners in Ethiopia called Listros, which is an Amharic term referring the meaning of “to make it shine.” In other words it indicates that all children and teenagers in working every day typically as shoe polishers, but also additionally undertake fruit vending, knife grinding, cattle grinding, lottery ticket selling activities. Working as shoe polishers, the Listros experience the value of work and social communication in the working environment. They learn to take personal responsibility and how to find creative ways to solve various problems. The Young Listro shanko in the study made by Girmachew (2006) explained that

“The Ethiopian shoe shiners are not recipients of pittances but youngsters who, instead of begging, shape their lives with a lot of creativity, in other words: independent micro-entrepreneurs. This child labor does not aggravate poverty but overcomes it because the income is usually being invested in school education or in an expansion of the business.

2.4. Conceptual Framework of the study

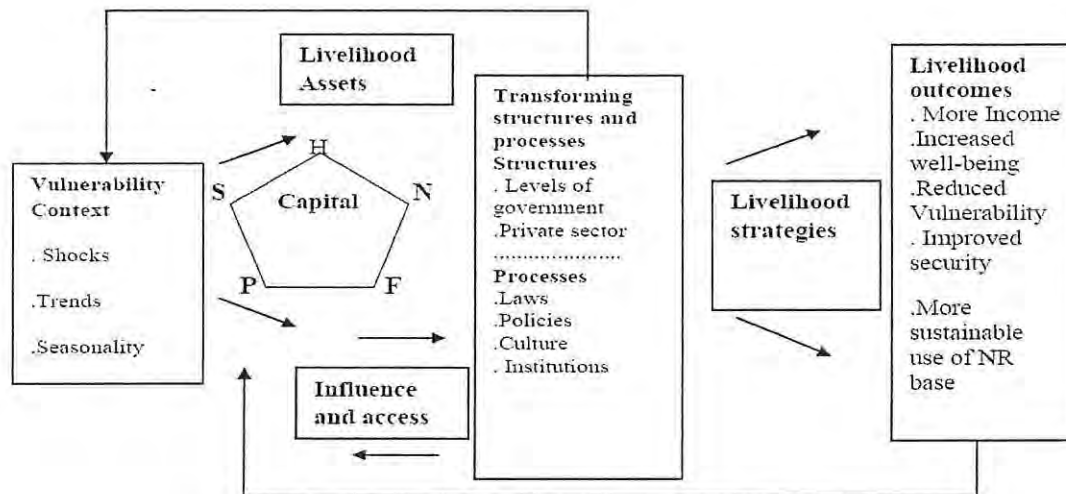
2.4.1. The sustainable livelihood Approach

Livelihood is the way that a household or an individual gets by. A livelihood is, therefore about money, food, labour, employment and assets (Rigg, 2007). The activities, the assets, and the access that jointly determine the living gained by an individual or household (Ellis, 1999).

A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, while not undermining the natural resource base (Scoones, 1998).

Livelihood is the command an individual, family or another social group has over an income or resources that can be used to satisfy their needs. A livelihoods approach views the world from the point of view of the individuals, households and social groups who are trying to make a living in volatile conditions and with limited assets. It puts people at the centre of development and provides a framework for understanding the opportunities and assets available to poor people and the sources of their vulnerability, as well as the impact upon them of external organizations, processes and policies (ibid).

Figure 2.1: The DFID's Sustainable Livelihoods framework



S = Social capital F = Financial capital N = Natural capital H = Human capital P = Physical capital

The DFID sustainable Livelihoods framework; Adopted from Rigg (2007: 31)

2.4.1.1. Livelihood Resources: Combining different types of ‘capital’

Assets may be described as stocks of capital that can be utilized directly, or indirectly, to generate the means of survival of the household or to sustain its material well-being at different level above survival.

The ability to pursue different livelihood strategies is dependent on the basic material and social, tangible and intangible assets that people have in their possession drawing on an economic metaphor, such livelihood resources may be seen as the ‘capital’ base from which different productive streams are derived from which livelihoods are constructed (Scoones, 1998).

Assets can be identified as five different types of capital: human, physical, natural, financial, and social capital (Carney 1998; Ellis 2000). This capital can be stored, accumulated, exchanged, or depleted and put to work to generate a flow of income or other benefits (Rakodi 2002).

Human capital: It is often said that the chief asset possessed by the poor is their own labor. Human capital refers to the labor available to the household: its education, skills, and health (Ellis 2000). Lack of human capital in the form of skills and education affects the ability to secure a livelihood more directly in urban labor markets than rural areas (ibid).

Social capital: Social capital is defined 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 households constrains their ability to save and obtain credit. 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 (ibid).

Natural capital: Natural capital refers to the natural resource base (land, water, trees) that yields products utilized by human population for their survival. The natural resource stocks (soil, water, air, genetic resources etc.) and environmental services (hydrological cycle, pollution sinks etc) from which resource flows and services useful for livelihoods are derived (Scoones, 1998).

Physical capital: Physical assets comprise capital that is created by economic production processes. Buildings, irrigation canals, roads, tools, machines and so on are physical assets. In economic terms, physical capital is defined as a producer good as contrasted to a consumer good. The latter is something that is purchased and consumed for its direct effect on material standards of living; whereas a producer good purchased in order to create a flow of outputs into the future (Ellis 2000). It is important for health and thus contributing to human and social capital; it also enables people to access, and directly supports income-generating activities (Rakodi 2002).

Financial capital: refers to stocks of cash that can be accessed in order to purchase either production or consumption goods. This is chiefly likely to be savings, and access to credit in the form of loan. Neither money saving nor loans are directly productive in the forms of capital; they owe their role in the asset portfolio of households to their convertibility into other forms of capital or into consumption (Ellis 2000). The lack of financial services suitable for poor urban households constrains their ability to save and obtain credit (Rakodi 2002).

2.4.1. 2. Livelihood strategies: portfolios and pathways

Livelihood strategies are composed of activities that generate the means of survival. The strategies people adopt to attain livelihoods is highly influenced by their asset position. According to Scoones (1998), a household located in a particular context and economy may choose between (or be constrained from choosing) three main clusters of livelihood options

agricultural intensification, income diversification and migration. The latter two strategies are found more important and applicable for this study.

Migration: Migration means that one or more family members leave the resident household for varying periods of time. Migration is a common response to economic and environmental pressures, and an integral part of livelihood strategies in many parts of Ethiopia. Migration clearly plays an important role in helping keep families and children out of poverty (DFID 2005).

Livelihood Diversification: Diversity refers to the existence, at a point in time, of many different income sources, thus also typically requiring diverse social relations to underpin them. Diversification may involve developing a wide income earning portfolio to cover all types of shocks or stress jointly or the strategy may involve focusing on developing responses to handle a particular type of common shock or stress through well developed coping mechanisms. The reasons that households or individuals pursue diversification as a livelihood strategy are often divided into two overarching considerations, which are necessity or choice. **Necessity** refers to involuntary and distress reasons for diversifying. **Choice**, by contrast, refers to voluntary or proactive reasons for diversifying. But in practice these categories are less distinct from each other (Scoones 1998).

2.4.1.3. Livelihood outcomes: Desirable or Undesirable?

A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stress and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation; and which contributes net benefits to other livelihoods at the local and global levels and in short and long term (Chambers and Conway 1992). On the other hand, Degefa 2005 argued that livelihood outcomes need to be seen in the light of both desirable and undesirable. According to him, A Livelihood outcome which the aforementioned authors call 'sustainable livelihood' is the desirable outcome. On the contrary, survival under vulnerable livelihood situations, poverty and food insecurity is what he calls it, the undesirable outcomes. Some of the desirable livelihood outcomes are described as follows.

Creation of working days: This relates to the ability of a particular combination of livelihood strategies to create gainful employment for a certain portion of the year. This may be on or off-

farm, part of a wage labour system or subsistence production. Sen. (1975: 5) notes three aspects of employment income (a wage for the employed), production (employment providing a consumable output) and recognition (where employment provides recognition for being engaged in something worthwhile). In terms of the income/production aspects, various target levels have been suggested, but 200 days a year appears to be widely used as a minimum level to create a livelihood (Lipton 1991; 1993 cited in Scoones, 1998).

Poverty reduction: The poverty level is a key criterion in the assessment of livelihoods. Various measures can be used to develop an absolute 'poverty line' measure based on income or consumption levels (Ravallion 1992; Baulch 1996; Scoones 1998). Alternatively, relative poverty and inequality can be assessed using Gini coefficient measures. There are a range of pros and cons for each measure, as well as some major measurement challenges (Greeley, 1994 cited in Scoones 1998). However, such quantitative assessments of poverty can be used in combination with more qualitative indicators of livelihoods.

Well-being and capabilities: The notions of 'well-being' (Chambers 1995; 1997) and 'capability' provide a wider definitional scope for the livelihoods concept. Sen. sees capabilities as 'what people can do or be with their entitlements', a concept which encompasses far more than the material concerns of food intake or income. Such ideas represent more than the human capital which allows people to do things, but also the intrinsically valued elements of 'capability' or 'well-being'. Chambers (1997) argues that such a well-being approach to poverty and livelihood analysis may allow people themselves to define the criteria which are important. This may result in a range of sustainable livelihood outcome criteria, including diverse factors such as self-esteem, security, happiness, stress, vulnerability, power, exclusion, as well as more conventionally measured material concerns (Chambers 1989 in Scoones 1998).

Livelihood adaptation, vulnerability and resilience: The ability of a livelihood to be able to cope with and recover from stresses and shocks is central to the definition of sustainable livelihoods. Such resilience in the face of stresses and shocks is key to both livelihood adaptations and coping (Davies 1996). Those who are unable to **cope** (temporary adjustments in the face of change) or **adapt** (longer term shifts in livelihood strategies) are inevitably vulnerable and unlikely to achieve sustainable livelihoods. Assessing resilience and the ability to positively

adapt or successfully cope requires an analysis of a range of factors, including an evaluation of historical experiences of responses to various shocks and stresses. Different types of shock or stress, in turn, may result in different responses, including avoidance, repartitioning, resistance or tolerance mechanisms (Payne and Lipton 1994 cited in Scoones 1998).

2.4.1.4. The urban contexts of SLF

Recent conceptualization of livelihoods has proposed frameworks that seek to reflect the diversity and complexity of ways in which different groups make a living (Satterthwaite & Tacoli ; Rakodi 2002). The livelihoods of the poor are determined predominantly by the context in which they live and the constraints and opportunities this location presents. This is because context largely determines the assets accessible to people, how they can use these, and thus their ability to obtain secure livelihoods (Meikle cited in Rakodi 2000). These frameworks have been developed from a rural perspective, while they are sufficiently broad to incorporate non-natural resource-based livelihood strategies, for example income diversification and rural urban linkages (Ellis 1998 in Rakodi 2002).

Most urban areas, despite distinctive individual attributes, share similar economic, political, social and physical characteristics with each other. These have implication for how poor men and women live and frequently mean that the livelihood strategies of the urban poor have to be different from those of their rural counterparts (ibid). Living in an urban environment is clearly a distinct experience. Yet despite the contrasts in terms of contexts, there is one factor that remains unchanged: people themselves. Wherever people live, they retain essentially the same human needs, and the desire for the same entitlements or rights. They require access to productive resources and from these an income to support consumption needs. Thus, these requirements amount to the entitlement each person has to lead a life that is fundamentally secure in respect both of the basic needs and broader social and psychological sense of a livelihood (De Haans 2002; Scoones 1998).

Rural livelihood systems can be found in villages and small towns with agriculture as the primary source of livelihoods. Secondary and tertiary livelihood activities include wage labor, casual labor on large estates, and migration to urban centers. Whereas a cash economy is the major indicator, informal employment (short and long term) being the primary source of

livelihood in urban areas (UNDP 1999 in Girmachew 2006). Urban livelihood strategies center on income-earning activities in either the formal or informal sectors, as wage employees, unpaid family workers or in self employment. The urban setting results in a different emphasis for each type of livelihood asset (Carney 1998; Rakodi 2000). Many of the physical, economic and social infrastructures are not owned by the men and women who use them as livelihood assets. This highlights the fact that the existence of assets alone is not sufficient to promote livelihood assets what is key is accessibility. There is a room to adapt rural livelihood approach into the urban context. This is so mainly because the asset portfolios utilized by rural and urban publics have some overlap though there are differences in social structure and vulnerability contexts which make them pursue different livelihood strategies.

2.4.1.5. Vulnerability

Another analytical principle of the livelihood approach is the vulnerability context. A widely used concept when discussing risk, coping and survival is that of vulnerability. Vulnerability is defined as a high degree of exposure to risk, shocks and stress; and proneness to food insecurity (Chambers 1989). Some groups in society are more prone to damage, loss and suffering than others. Vulnerability is thus closely correlated to socio-economic position (Carney 1998).

The concept of vulnerability is helpful because it emphasized on understanding the wider shocks and stresses to which children's livelihoods are subject. On the other hand, it helps to analyze whether children are resourceful and resilient to maintain their livelihoods, since their resourcefulness and resilience determine their survival. People's livelihoods and their access and control to resources can be affected by the vulnerability context. The assets which poor people possess or have access to, the livelihoods they desire and the strategies they adopt are influenced by the context within which they live (Rakodi 2002). When immediate survival is more important than future prospects, sustainability may be dismissed.

Chapter 3

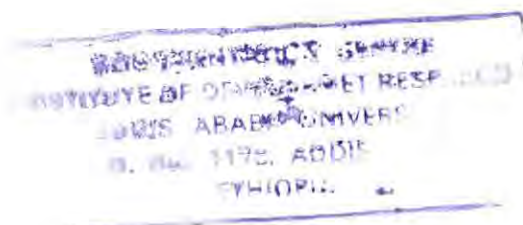
Research Methodology

3.1. The context of street children in Addis Ababa city

Between 60,000 (estimation of UNICEF and the Ethiopian government) and 100,000 (estimation of SIDA) children live on the streets of Addis Ababa. The NGO Forum on Street Children estimates that the number of street children continues to increase by 3% each year, because the conditions that give rise to the phenomenon do not improve. In Addis Ababa there are children on the street (they live on the street all the time) and of the street (meaning they sleep at home during the night and work on the streets during the days). Some 15,000 children in Addis Ababa are believed to be children of the street, which means they work 12-14 hours a day and then go home. The majority however lives their entire lives on the streets. The most common places where street children hang out in Addis Ababa are Churchill road, Merkato, Stadium, Bole road, La Gare and Piazza. They live on the street because the street is a public market place and offers an ideal opportunity to beg (Schmidt 2003).

The majority of street children are between 8- 14 years old, but some are much younger or even born onto the street. Around 80% of the street children are boys and 20% girls (estimation of the NGO Hope for Children 2003). The numbers are different due to socio-cultural reasons. Girls usually stay at home and work in the mother's household. If girls run away from home they are at a particular risk of becoming victims of sexual abuse. And they are partly aware of this likelihood to be exposed to violence. It is more normal that boys look for work outside their homes. Some relatives even encourage boys to look for work in the city. It is an ideal, a dream, a romanticized picture of a more modern life, which is synonymous with job opportunities and making money. They leave their miserable family situation (characterized by lack of food, lack of perspective or also lack of love and care) and follow their illusion about a better life in the city (ibid).

The majority of street children come from the countryside, because families do not have enough food for their children and the work in the subsistence agriculture is very hard. These perceive street life as a life, at least in independence and free from hard work at home, followed by the



disillusionment that Addis Ababa is not what it promised to be. The problems that lead to a street child in Ethiopia are inter-related and complex. One reason can be that children's parents have died from HIV/AIDS - there are up to one million AIDS orphans in Ethiopia. Another reason is that youngsters move from the rural areas into the urban centers in search for a job opportunity and end up wandering the streets. There is a limited access to educational opportunities and to recreation and sport centers. Teenagers in Ethiopia are vulnerable to becoming street children because of a lack of educational or job opportunities in the country, the Ministry of Labour and Social affairs acknowledged (Schmidt 2003).

3.2. Research design and Methodological approaches

Quantitative research refers to counts and measures of things. Quantitative methods are employed when one wishes to count or measure the extension of a phenomenon (Bryman 1989; Berg 2001). Also, qualitative methods can give the intricate details of phenomena that are difficult to convey with quantitative methods (Strauss & Corbin 1990 cited in Girmachew 2006). Qualitative techniques emphasize quality, depth, richness and understanding, instead of the statistical representativeness and scientific rigor that are associated with quantitative techniques; this does not mean that they can be used without any thought. Rather, they should be approached in as a rigorous a way as quantitative techniques.

There are many valid reasons for doing qualitative research. One reason is the conviction of the researcher based upon research experience. Another is the nature of the research problem (ibid). The values of qualitative research are shaped against the backdrop of a shift towards a child centered focus on 'well-being', to replace a more traditional systemic focus. This shift, while not restricted to research on children, has advantages that align well with children's rights, and specifically independent children, because it focuses on what children feel about what they can do and be; respects children's feelings about what they can do and be; expands the focus to include children's physiology and psychology; is based on children's current experiences; emphasizes the importance of local cultural context and specificity in construction of childhood well-being; Addresses 'new' areas of well-being particularly important to children autonomy, enjoyment/fun, relatedness, and status (Jones and Sumner 2007).

The primary shortcoming of research into understandings of wellbeing and ill-being is a lack of attention to children's perspectives and, where these are acknowledged, insufficient attention to diversity within the broad category of children. Qualitative methodologies offer the possibility of participants contributing directly to the research process rather than simply being an object of study (Cousins and Milner 2007; Grover 2004 in Aitken, and Herman 2009). According to Strauss and Corbin (1990), qualitative methods can be used to uncover and understand what lies behind any phenomenon about which little is yet known. This approach supposes that the natural context of peoples' lives and the interpersonal and socio-cultural fabric influences their perspectives, experiences and actions. Therefore, the researcher employed a mix of both qualitative and quantitative research approaches.

3.2. 1. Case study research approach

Case study is not a methodology because it is defined by interest in the case rather than by the method of inquiry used (Stake, 2005 cited in Tatek 2008). Because they are studies of particularities, the suggestion that the findings that are derived from them may be applied more widely may seem somewhat contradictory, if not invalid (Sikes, 1999 cited in Tatek, 2008).

Hartley (in Cassel & Symon 1994; Girmachew 2006) further argues that in case studies a number of methods may be used and these may be either qualitative, quantitative or both, though the emphasis is generally more on qualitative methods because of the kinds of questions which are best addressed through these method. The strength of case studies lies especially in their capacity to explore social processes. Extremely rich, detailed, and in-depth information characterize the type of information gathered in a case study. Using the case study approach, the researcher attempted to assess the children's life history, reasons for migration, the social networks and or relationships, urban life and working conditions, activities performed during day and night, motivations and daily lived experiences.

3.2.2. Participatory research approach

Methodologically, children and childhood research has largely followed an 'adultist' perspective (Kefyalew, 1996 cited in Tatek, 2008). Few studies explore how children think of their lives in their own terms or give their own viewpoints (Tatek 2008). A rights-based methodology can be

aligned with the approaches to children and childhood in the new social studies of childhood (James et al. 1998). In these approaches, children's participation is centralized, as they are recognized as capable, social agents. Researching children this way is considered to be an ethical strategy (Panter-Brick 2002).

Children's participation can take many forms and operate at different levels in the research process, from children participating as research informants to children participating as researchers. For children to be able to participate in research it might be necessary to develop different non-adult centered methods. John (2007 cited in Aitken and Herman 2009) suggests there is a need for "age-appropriate" methods that "empower children" and lead to "valid child-led data". As a subset of user-friendly research, child-friendly methodologies focus critically on child contexts and relations (Aitken and Herman 2009). Therefore, the methodological approach used in this in-depth case study is child-friendly, flexible, semi-participatory and multi-method. The whole process of generating the research data was primarily made based on the children's own perspectives and understanding of their work and life phenomenon. I believed that this methodological approach best fits this research problem in tandem to effectively carrying out the whole process of gaining valid child lead data and accomplishing the study successfully.

3.3. Area of the study

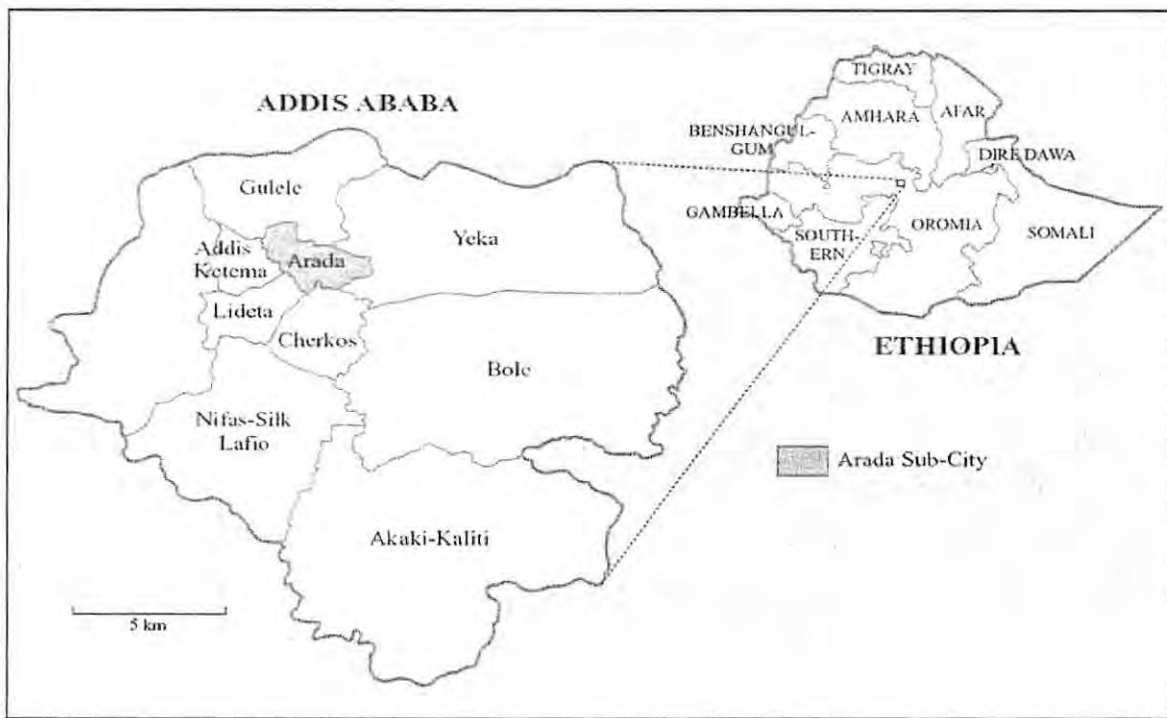
As studying the entire population of shoe-shinning children in Addis Ababa city on the whole is practically impossible, a manageable size of specific area of the study is obligatory in order to successfully accomplish the study via managing within a given time and resource constraints. Having this in mind, one among the 10 sub-cities found in Addis Ababa was purposively selected i.e. Arada sub-city. Thus, the study was conducted primarily based on empirical analysis of the data obtained from shoe-shining children living and working in Arada sub-city only. This area was purposively selected on the basis of the fact that the study children preferred living and working in this place due to the availability of cheap rent houses and better working condition.

As shoe-shinning children usually occupy a certain public space and or work territories in order to make their living wage through deriving the benefits arising out of it, selecting those work territories helped the researcher easily accessing the study children at work and gaining adequate research details from them. It would not be possible to deal with the daily lived experiences and

livelihood conditions of the study children without laying oneself in side those work territories. Therefore, with in the selected sub-city, three specific locations were also selected namely, university area (both Sidest Kilo & Arat Kilo University), Piazza (the busy shop area) and Sheromeda (area of the children’s residence).

Selections of those specific locations were made based on convenience or opportunistic sampling technique. Berg (2001) noted that convenience sample is sometimes referred to as an accidental or availability sample. This category of sample relies on available subjects, i.e. those who are close at hand or easily accessible (Ennew 1994). Likewise, those specific locations within the selected sub-city were selected based on the fact that the shoe-shinning children are highly concentrated in those locations working nearby and or around schools, universities, busy shop areas, and open markets and became easily accessible for the study. Besides, studying those locations in particular helped the researcher easily explore the livelihood and survival strategies of the children along with the characteristic nature of their work.

Figure 3.1: Map of Addis Ababa and the study sub-city



Source: Adapted from Addis Ababa Mapping Agency, 2011

3.4. Sample and Sampling techniques

Another category of non probability sampling used in this study is purposive or judgmental sampling technique. When developing a purposive sample, researchers use their knowledge or expertise about some group to select subjects who represent this population (Berg 2001). Thus, it was not easy to find an accurate number of shoe-shinning children in Addis Ababa city in general and in Arada sub-city in particular from which I can select a proper scientific sample by random method. As a matter of fact, purposive sampling technique was used to select the study informants based on some of the attributes like age, ethnicity and or geographical origin.

Child labour is sensitive to both the age and gender of the child because of the physical attributes of the child (strength, endurance, etc.) or because of cultural and social attitudes (Bhalotra 2003). As a matter of fact, the great majority of the children undertaking shoe-shinning work in Addis Ababa city are boys. In fact, I found no girls at all undertaking shoe-shinning work in the study sub-city. And hence, the whole child informants for the purpose of this study would be boys. Moreover, I believed that addressing the issue of gender for the purpose of this study would be a tricky and imaginary work in the absence of negligible target groups of both sexes.

The logic of using a sample of subjects is to make inferences about some larger population from a smaller one. Qualitative inquiry typically focuses on in-depth on relatively small samples, even single case, selected purposefully (Berg 2001). Therefore, this case study was conducted primarily on the basis of the empirical data collected from a sample of 50 purposively selected shoe-shinning children migrated from two different rural districts (Hadiya and Wolita zone in SNNPRS) and are undertaking shoe-shinning activity in the purposively selected study sub-city. Out of which, majority (the dominant position) of the study children (90% or 45 in number) belongs to Hadiya ethnic group and the rest few (10 % or 5) of the children belongs to Wolita ethnic group. This is because of the fact that the overwhelming majority of the shoe-shinning children in Addis city were migrated from Hadiya rural district. In spite of the fact that the wolita migrants are less in number, most of them are above the age of 18. This intern becomes the other reason for the minimal representation of this population group.

As the population of shoe-shinning children in each of the study locations cannot be accurately known because of the movable, inconsistency and or flexible nature of their work, proportionality of the study children with respect to each study locations has not been properly

maintained. Thus, equal numbers of shoe-shinning children were purposively selected from each study location irrespective of their ethnicity and or geographical origins.

3.5. Multiple methods of data collection and analysis

Every method has a different line of sight directed towards the same point, observing social and symbolic reality. By combining several lines of sight, researchers obtain a better, more substantive picture of reality, a richer, more complete array of symbols and theoretical concepts, and a means of verifying many of these elements. The use of multiple lines of sight is frequently called triangulation.

Triangulation includes multiple data-collection procedures, multiple theoretical perspectives, and/or multiple analysis techniques (Denzin 1978 in Berg 2001). According to Aitken and Herman, (2009), mixed-methods, and also inter-disciplinary and transnational research, are recognized as productive and practical means to generating breadth and depth in our understanding of complex social processes, such as those that generate and characterize occurrences of independent child migration. Due to the fact that there is no single perfect method and or tool of assessing livelihood strategies (Weinberg 2002), the researcher used a combination of various methods by means of triangulation technique so as to investigate the problem in deep and ensure validity and reliability of the data.

3.5.1. Primary sources of data and collection instruments

Qualitative methodology, which explores the feelings, understandings and pieces of knowledge, of others through interviews, discussions, or participant observation, is increasingly used by geographers to study some of the complexities of everyday life in order to gain a deeper insight into the processes shaping our social worlds. This method enables researchers to study children's livelihood strategy that is mediated through every day experience in everyday space (Limb & Dwyer 2001; Valentine 2001; Crabtree & Miller 1992; Girmachew 2006).

Likewise, as a primary data collection instrument, the researcher employed a combination of individual in-depth interviews, informal dialogues, direct and semi-participant observation, focus group discussions, story writing, and key informant interviews. In addition, small exploratory survey was found very crucial for the purpose of generating quantitative data regarding the demographic and socio-economic conditions of the study children.

3.5.1.1. Semi-structured individual in-depth interviews

Interviewing may vary from very conversational to more formal one. Less structured methods of interviewing are more appropriate for younger children (Christensen & James 2000 cited in Girmachew 2006). However, it is possible to use both individual and group semi-structured interviews with children who have reached the age of 7. They are treated as partners rather than as objects of research. For the purpose of this study, semi- structured individual in-depth interviews were administered with the help of an interview guide. The researcher conducted this in-depth and semi-structured interview with about 18 (about 6 from each study location) purposively selected shoe-shinning children.

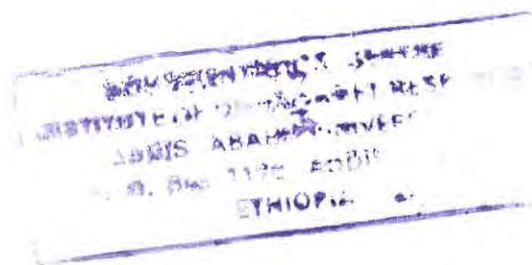
Figure 3.2: The researcher while conducting individual in-depth interviews



Source: The author, January 2, 2011

The interview setting is quite important. It is argued that the place where children are interviewed is quite likely to influence the way they respond. Interviews usually conducted in the absence of another person and in places where the informant can talk freely (ibid). In line with this, the sample shoe-shinning children were interviewed in the suitable recreational areas and mini-cafeterias nearby the study locations.

All the children under study were migrants of the rural parts of Hadiya and Wolita zones in SNNPRS. Out of all the interviewed shoe-shinning children, 13 were purposively selected from the Hadiya child migrants and the rest (5) were purposively selected from Wolita child migrants.



The interviews were conducted based on some pre-defined and straightforward issues in the form of open ended and follow up questions raised by the researcher himself. Children were able to frankly react to those definite issues and gave their unrestricted responses to the best of their level knowledge and experiences. In doing so, many probing terms were used by the researcher so as to take the interviewed children back to the unfocused and relevant issues for discussion.

3.5.1.2. Focus group discussions (FGD)

Another research tool that was employed by the researcher in the process of data collection is focus group discussion. The focus group may be defined as an interview style designed for small groups usually between four and eight individuals who are brought together to discuss a particular topic chosen by the researcher (Burgess& Bedford 2001). Likewise, the Focus group discussions were conducted with 3 different groups consisting of 5 purposively selected shoe-shinning children (based on age, and ethnicity and or geographical origin). One focus group discussion consists of shoe-shinning children under the age of 15 and the other focus group discussion is above 15 and below 18 years old. Both focus group discussants consist of all Hadiya ethnic children. The third focus group discussion consists of wolita ethnic children below the age of 17. Indeed, all the children under study were migrated from SNNPRS. The discussants were well attentive, communicative, and reactive discussing real life problems in their everyday life experiences and gave important opinions.

The focus group discussions were conducted after looking for the appropriate place and time with in the study locations. Parks and open cafeterias were preferred being the right place for these discussions. In the whole process of the discussion, the researcher did not directly intervene instead, played vital role as a facilitator or moderator making the discussions run smoothly. Consequently, children were able to reach at consensus on each issue regardless of having greater idea-disparity among them. As a moderator, the researcher followed the predetermined interview guide directing the whole discussion in a group. In doing so, one assistant researcher specialized in the field of human resource management accompanied the discussion in the process of recording and organizing the data in particular and facilitating the whole process in general.

The main aim of the discussion is to explore the children's common feeling, attitude and perceptions towards a defined topic. This helped the researcher to easily identify and narrow the individual attitudinal and understanding differences. And hence, personal bias and subjectivity could be minimized.

Figure 3.3: The researcher while conducting the FGDs



Source: The author, January 7, 2011

3.5.1.3. Direct and semi-participant observation

Observation, direct or participatory, enhances the validity and reliability of the data in the sense that it gives the possibility of observing repeatedly occurring activities and/or behaviors of the same or different children in similar or different contexts (Simmons 1969). Therefore, the researcher adopted direct and semi-participant observation technique in most attempts of generating the research data. First of all, the researcher had exerted various attempts in making closer attachment, daily involvement and everyday contact with the shoe-shinning children through placing in their working place, eating and playing together, talking to them in their space and sharing their idea. This helped the researcher to easily capture the shoe-shinning children's behavior and attitude in every matter in all situations.

On the after everything else, this semi-participant observation via closer visits in and around the residential quarters of the shoe-shinning children was conducted with the help of the children themselves in the process of directing the researcher in all walks of their life in the city. Starting from giving an appointment to receiving me at their home, children were highly vigorous and

dedicated to serve me as well. They actively took part photographs and video records. Thus, this active participation of the children enabled the researcher well acquired first hand information. For that reason, the materials that have been drawn up using this method were compared with the data obtained from other methods of data collection. In this case, what to be observed was more on the livelihood perspective of the shoe-shinning children (how do they manage to survive in the city, what livelihood strategies are helping them to cope urban life challenges and shocks). Besides, it focused more on the spatial and temporal organization of the children's lives, paying particular attention to the children's daily activities, life conditions, capability, competence, and inter and intra-household relationships, and social networks.

Figure 3.4: The researcher while observing the study children at home (left) and work place (right)



Source: The author, January 1, 2011

3.5.1.4. Small Exploratory Survey

The researcher administered a simple survey of the whole study children to generate quantifiable data. The questionnaire survey consists of 20 questions providing general information on the respondent's background, demographic and socio-economic attributes. Questions on the overall demographic and socio-economic conditions of the study children include age, sex, parent's survival status, household size, ethnic and religious affiliation, educational attainment and reasons for dropouts, duration of work and parent's occupation and sources of income.

The first draft of the questionnaire was prepared in English and was directly translated in to Amharic (official language) using very simple words and phrases to avoid inconsistencies and communication barriers. The researcher made thorough expressions and clarifications to the respondents while administering the survey.

3.5.1.5. Story writing

Story writing is a research method that exploits young people's particular talents, affording them greater control over the process than many other methods (Ansell 2001 cited in Tatek 2008). Children were offered a choice of topics which will enable them to express their thoughts and feelings. On the other hand, the researcher had explored the perceptions of children by asking them to write essays about their real life problems and experiences. This was done with 5 purposively selected shoe-shinning children's who are relatively younger age, well literate (able to read and write in Amharic).

The topics for this method of data collection has been meant to uncover the children's life history, reasons for migration, attitude and perception towards themselves and their work, everyday activities and experiences, their future life dreams, urban life opportunities and constraints they face or may expect to face in the future, and narrating the worst situation in life and their coping mechanism. This method of primary data collection was conducted after the researcher made mini-exercise books and pens available in advance to the children and then asked them to take appropriate time and place to think of those questions in deep and narrate accordingly.

3.5.1.6. Key informant interviews

Key informant interviews (KII) for the purpose of this study, were conducted with the heads of Addis Ababa city social affairs office (MOLSA) and FSCE- NGO (Forum for Sustainable Child Empowerment). These face to face interviews were conducted by the researcher via directly going in to the office of the interviewees. A lot of informal discussions were also made with those officials whenever the researcher met them in their offices. Finally, these interviews were conducted a week after prior arrangements. The whole processes of interviewing were made based on the questions listed down in the interview guide. Moreover, adult informants were

interviewed in order to explore to what extent their perspectives would be congruent with children's own narratives of their livelihoods and living situation.

3.5.1.7. Secondary data and sources of information

The secondary data for this study comprised of reviewing a variety of literatures in relation to child labour, Geography of street children, childhood poverty, children livelihoods and survival strategies etc. These secondary data that are relevant for this study were collected mainly from the internet produced in the form of working papers, online publications, news paper, journals/articles, and policy manuscripts. Moreover, Statistical abstracts, reports, publications, brochures, books and other relevant official document had been referred from AAU library, MOLSA library and FSCE-NGO working with street children in Addis Ababa city.

3.6. Methods of data analysis and presentations

The whole process of data analysis and interpretation was made after the collected data were successively organized into similar themes and manually encoded and transcribed. The researcher employed more of qualitative and very limited quantitative data analysis technique. The demographic and socio-economic quantitative data generated through the small exploratory survey were analyzed through very simple figures, graphs and charts. The entire qualitative data were analyzed by using photo essays and narrative/descriptive frame of analysis.

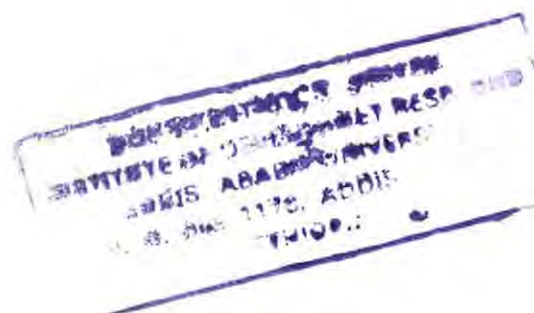
All combinations of primary data sources were conducted entirely based on the children's point of view, perceptions, and interactions. As a result, while drawing on the aforementioned range of principal materials, the study contextualized the direct quotes of the children and whose views were used to illustrate the main tendencies of the data and the overall findings of the study. Lastly, to make the findings and discussion obvious and easily understandable for the readers, photos, maps, figures, graphs and charts were necessarily used to display, clarify and interpret the findings of the study as well.

3.7. Field experiences: Problems and constraints

A lot of challenges and obstacles were encountered by the researcher during the field work. One among the most dangerous problem was lack of awareness of the community in the area of child research. People did not at all expect doing research with the working children rather most of them believed that field work with those children is for the sake of earning donation and assistance from various income generating projects. A lot of obstacles were occurred while conducting the interviews and the focus group discussions. Thus, during the field work the researcher was mainly constrained by the people's bad attitude and misperception towards research on the life of the children.

The other field work challenge faced by the researcher was complications to mobilize the working children. Shoe-shinning children only give attention to work and earning money and are able to rationally judge the importance of each and every occasion in the city. They do not give any meaning and attention whether you approach them very well or not. They would immediately rush after doing their work irrespective of what you favor them. To eliminate this problem, the researcher had invested a lot of time, energy and money. This in turn, highly affected the research time and progress as well.

One of the core mechanisms adopted in the process of mobilizing the study children for the purpose of creating and developing rapport was designing temporary "foot ball game project". This mechanism was really the most significant of all which rapidly mobilize very large number of shoe-shinning children in the study locations. The researcher observed that children were very happy and eager to spend the whole weakened with me playing foot ball with their friends and relatives. However, the researcher was obliged to quit the project with in short period (for about a month) of time and this a little bit affected the marvelously developed trusty approaches of the children. On the other hand, most of them did not forget the long period money and food favors made by the researcher and hence they still approached very well and express their deep affection in every occasion the researcher met them.



Chapter 4

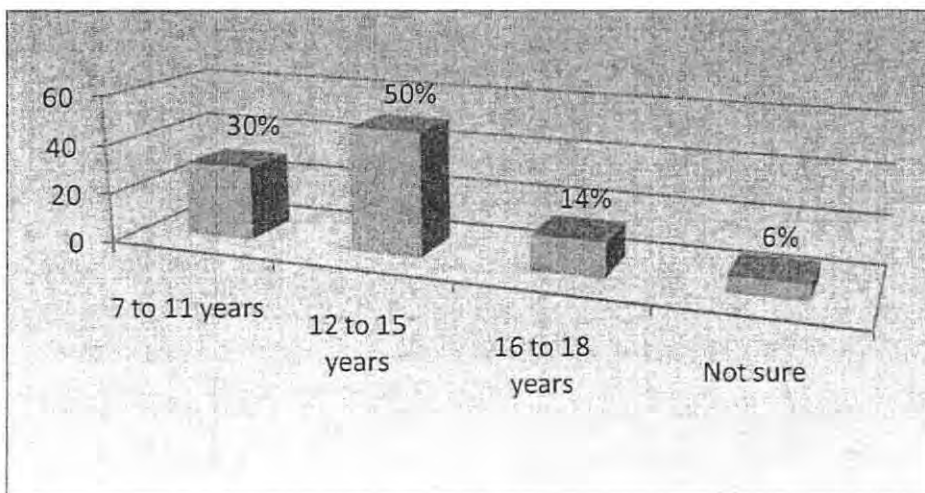
Children's Demographic and Socio-economic profiles

In this chapter, the researcher has attempted to elaborate clearly the study children's demographic and socio-economic backgrounds based on the assumption that the causes of children's migration and work engagement in urban area has been directly or indirectly connected or influenced by the socio-economic reality that prevail in their families' and that of the rural milieu.

4.1. Sex and Age category

In spite of the fact that child labour is sensitive to both the age and gender of the child because of the physical attributes of the child (strength, endurance, etc.) or because of cultural and social attitudes (Bhalotra 2003). The entire child informants for this study are boys and did not address girls because the great majority children undertaking shoe-shining activity in Addis Ababa city are boys. During the preliminary survey, I observed that negligible numbers of girls only perform this livelihood activity. In fact, I found no girls at all undertaking this livelihood activity in the study locations. Thus, the study reveals that there is also gendered division of labour on the street based activities.

Figure 4.1: Percentage distribution of the study children by different age category



Source: Field Survey, 2011

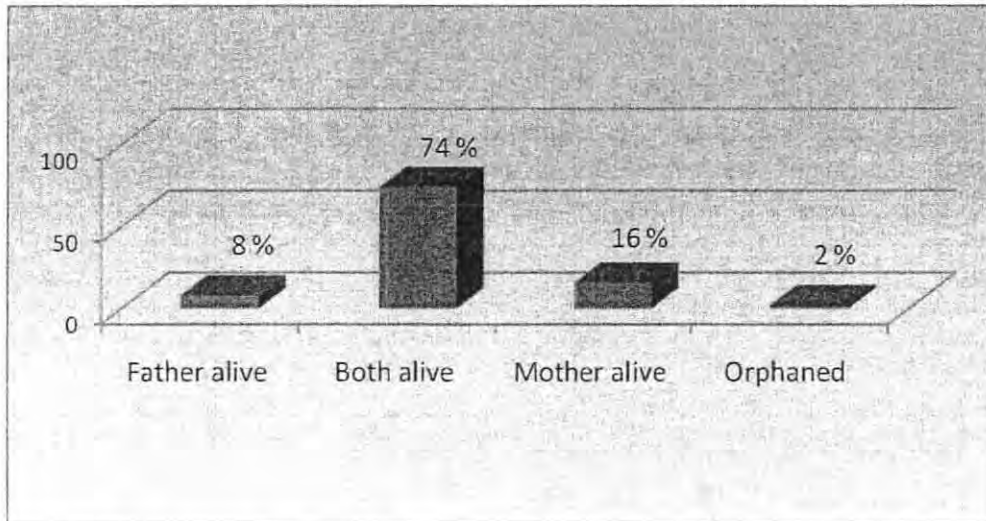
The definition of a child adopted for the purpose of this study was taken from the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. That is, one who is below 18 years of age (UNICEF 1995). In line with this, the researcher had deliberately sampled the study children below 18 years of age and is composed of three age categories depicted as follows.

Among the 50 shoe-shining boys, the great majority 40 (80%) of them fall below 15 years of age and the rest 10 (20%) are above 15 years of age. This implies that most of the shoe-shinning children in the city belong to 7 to 15 years of age. One of the reasons that most of the working children prefer to do this work is because they are not skillful and capable enough to do other livelihood activities. As the study children said, shoe-shinning activity does not require as much skill, capability and experience as other livelihood activities require. Working children mostly prefer to do better earning livelihood activities as they grow older and older. Most of the senior workers have been changing their livelihood activity after adapting themselves to the urban environment and improving capability. From this we can understand that age limits the children's livelihood activities as a matter of skill and capability requirements.

4.2. Parent's survival status

Although many studies revealed that most street children come from female headed or step father/mother dominated households (FSCE 2003), this study revealed that majority 37 (74%) of the study children have come from two-parent headed families. Thus, the presence of both of the parents by itself does not protect their children from the rural to urban migration and from facing very dangerous livelihood conditions in the city. Likewise, Girmachew (2006) in his study stated that the availability of both parents doesn't guarantee that children may remain at home since many rural children come to the city to support their family and/or solidify household income and others abandoned their families as a result of neglect, domestic abuse, and lack of love, and of protection among others.

Figure 4.2: Percentage distribution of the study children by their Parent's survival status



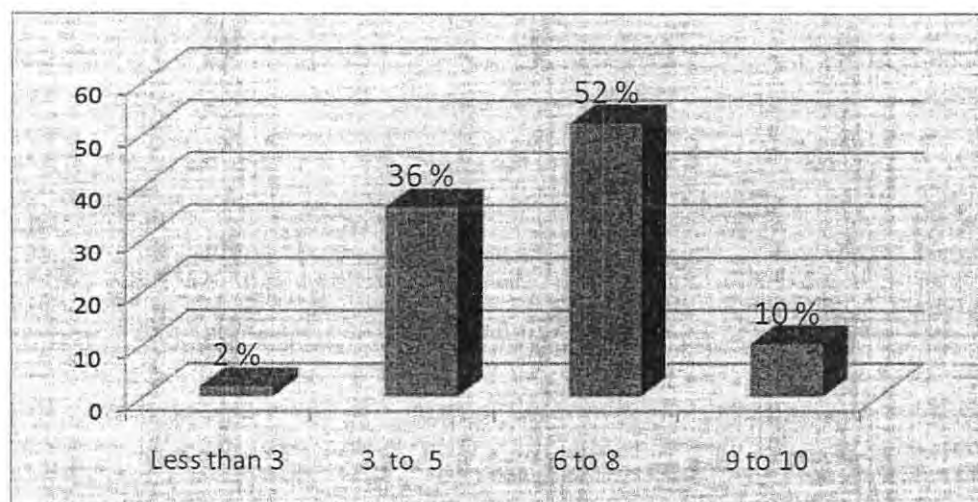
Source: Field Survey, 2011

Figure 4.2 shows that 12 (24%) of the study children have come from one parent headed family of which 8 (16 %) of the study children from mother headed household family and 4 (8 %) of them were come from the father headed household family. Moreover, 1 (2%) of the children are orphans who lost both of their parents. Children had lost one or both of their parents which, in turn, becomes one among the various reasons that the household would be impoverished. Consequently, children would be forced to migrate to the urban area and perform shoe-shinning activity for survival.

4.3. Household size

This variable is mainly aimed at exploring the possible interplay between the increase in members of a family and other socio-economic dynamics, such as migration, child work and vulnerability. Figure 4.3 depicts that out of the 50 study children, only 19 (38%) of them have come from households with less than five family members, of which 1 (2%) and 18 (36 %) of them have come from households less than three family members and with 3 to 5 family members respectively. The majority 31 (62%) of the study children have come from households with more than six children. Out of this 26 (52 %) have 6 to 8 and 5 (10%) have 9 to 10 sisters and brothers respectively. Obviously, this shows that most of the study children have come from the large family size.

Figure 4.3: Percentage distribution of the study children by Household size



Source: Field Survey, 2011

This finding is analogous with the CSA (2001) and Girmachew (2006) that family size is greater in rural than urban areas. Lack of awareness of family planning may be the major cause of this problem which, in turn, is mainly caused by lack of education or illiteracy. Besides, lack of adequate health centers and extension service and cultural belief of thinking that children are an asset to the family may also aggravate the problem. Thus, large family size is one of the reasons for family impoverishment and children migration in search of work in the urban city. As a result, the rural parents may not be able to fulfill the increasing food and other material and financial demands of their children. Hence, size of the family mainly aggravates the vulnerable livelihood conditions of the children which, in turn, effected migration and labour engagement by the children.

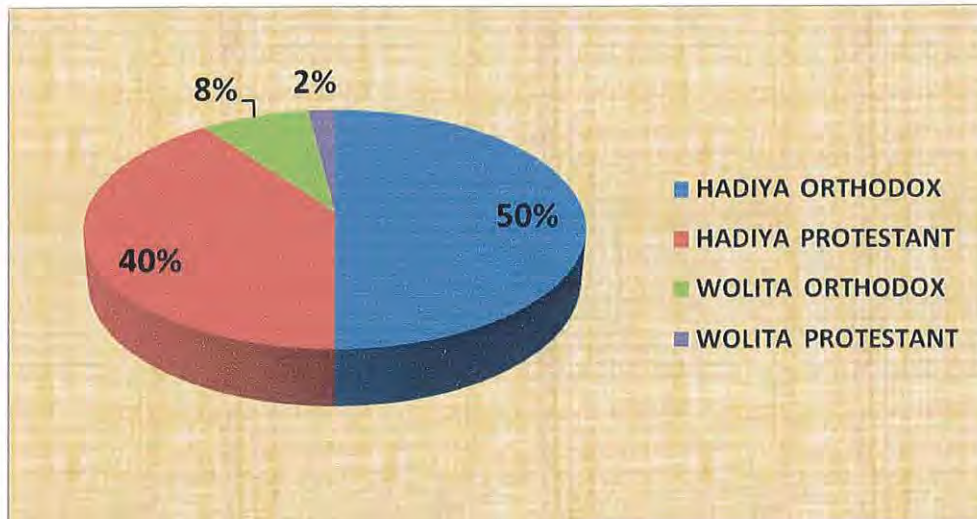
4.4. Ethnic and Religious affiliation

As shown in the figure 4.4, all the study children are Christians. Of which the majority 29 (58%) of them belong to orthodox Christianity followed by Protestants who are 21 (42%). On the other hand, the whole study children belong to only two ethnic groups i.e. Hadiya and wolita ethnic children. Both ethnic groups are found in the SNNPRS.

The overwhelming majority 45 (90%) of the study children have come from Hadiya ethnic society. The rest 5 (10 %) of the study children belong to Wolita ethnic group. Children who

have come from wolita rural district and undertaking shoe-shinning work in Addis Ababa city are very few in number than the Hadiya shoe-shiners. The study reveals that the Hadiya migrant children have the dominant position of undertaking shoe-shinning activity in Addis Ababa city.

Figure 4.4: Percentage distribution of the study children by ethnic and religious identity



Source: Field Survey, 2011

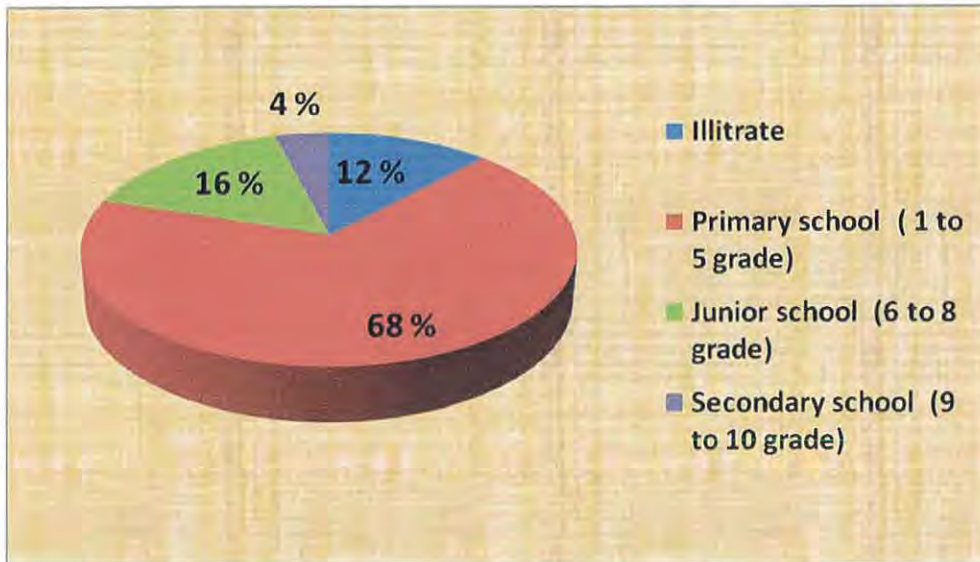
This further confirms Girmachew's (2006) finding that children coming from the same geographical area and/or ethnicity are often involved in similar occupations or activities. Previously, Gurage children undertaking shoe-shinning work in Addis Ababa city were too many in number. However, nowadays, these children became very few in number. The study revealed that currently, shoe-shinning activity in Addis Ababa city is mainly dominated by the Hadiya migrant children.

4.5. Educational Attainment and Reasons for dropouts

Figure 4.5 depicts that 6 (12%) of the study children have never enrolled in school. while 44 (88%) of them attended school of which the majority 34 (68%) attended primary school, 8 (16 %) attended junior school and the rest 2 (4%) attended secondary school. For various reasons, however, all the study children were dropouts of longer than a year. Most of the study children attended school while they were living with their parents for certain period of time. However, they were unable to pursue their schooling long period and unfortunately dropout and migrated to the city searching for employment. One of the most fundamental reasons for this is that in

order to be self-reliant and to help their family. Majority of the study children replied that it is due to economic reasons that they did not further pursue education and obliged to dropout at school. They mostly quit school for the reason that their families are unable to finance their education and survival needs.

Figure 4.5: Percentage distribution of the study children by Educational status



Source: Field Survey, 2011

In the time of economic hardships children are often obliged to quit school and migrate to the city in search of employment in the informal sector. In other words, poor rural parents are unable to provide education and basic survival needs to rise out of the cycle of poverty. Moreover, most of these children discontinued education not because they are uncaring to school rather due to lacking assistance from families (either because of families' impoverishment, death or disharmony) or peer pressure. For instance, the study revealed that significant proportion 44 (88%) of the children dropped out from schools to help themselves and their families. On the contrary, very few 6 (12%) of them replied that despite the family was advising them to continue school, they did not accept and self-willingly discontinued education due to peer pressure and advice. This is perhaps another cause of the children's dropout at school.

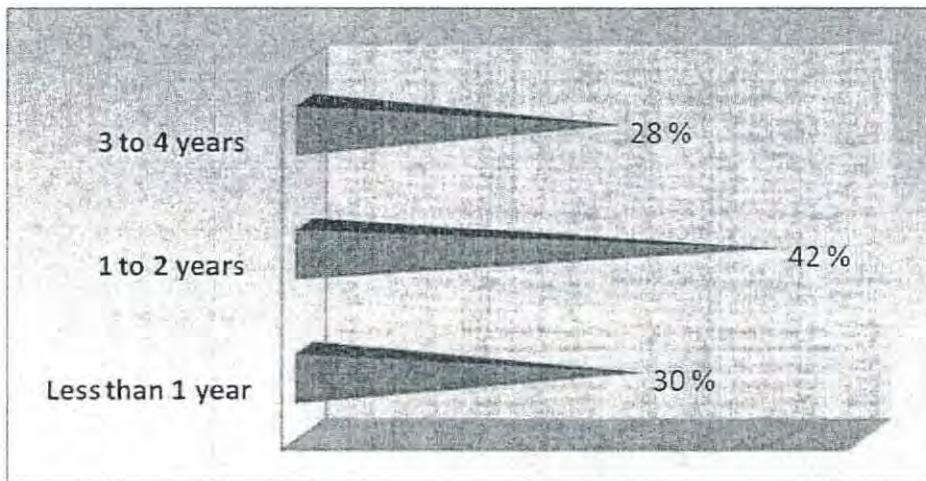
Children are mostly obliged to dropout at school and migrated to the city in search of work not because of the net benefits of attending school are low relative to the rewards from work. The study revealed that even though most of the children know attending school at childhood stage is

absolutely significant for their life, survival livelihood is in fact the prime and the foremost need of the children. Evidently, children are working because their families are impoverished and unable to send them to school. Therefore, the need for survival and family help is the fundamental reason behind the failure of shoe-shinning children dropping out at school.

4.6. Duration of work

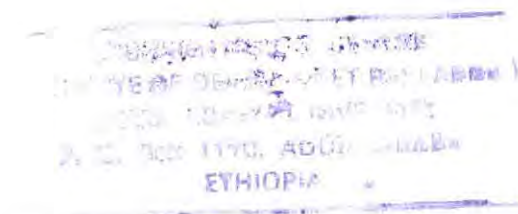
Most of the study children have come to the city without knowing the real working situations. They all have come to work regardless of deciding which livelihood activity to perform in the city. They simply came to make a living by any means of generating survival livelihoods. Thus, the first entry to work for most of the migrant working children in Addis city is shoe-shine engagement due to the ease and flexible nature of the work.

Figure 4.6: Percentage distribution of the study children by work experience



Source: Field Survey, 2011

Majority 49 (98%) of the study children did not get the opportunity to do other livelihood activities prior to shoe shinning. They all at the outset work shoe-shinning activity soon after their arrival. Only 1 (2%) among them had a construction work experience prior to shoe-shinning. Children's shoe-shinning work experience in Addis Ababa city varies from child to child. Their work experience and length of stay in the city ranged from a few days to as long as 3 years or more. A large portion 21 (42%) of the study children had been working shoe-shinning activity between 1 to 2 years, whereas 14 (28 %) of them worked there between 3 to 4 years. 15



(30 %) of the study children have joined shoe-shinning livelihood recently (below a year). The study indicates that there is a continuous flow of children in and out of this work. This shows that shoe shinning work is serving the children as a means of transition in to other form of livelihoods. One of the main reasons for this is the inadequate livelihood income of the work.

"No one child can stay longer than 3 years of shoe-shinning work. Our seniors have been changing this work sooner. I am also doing this work temporarily until I find other alternative works. I have nothing with this work for longer than 2 years of experience. The livelihood income by itself is not sufficient enough for survival let alone helping the family. (Abraham, shoe-shinning boy, 12 years old)

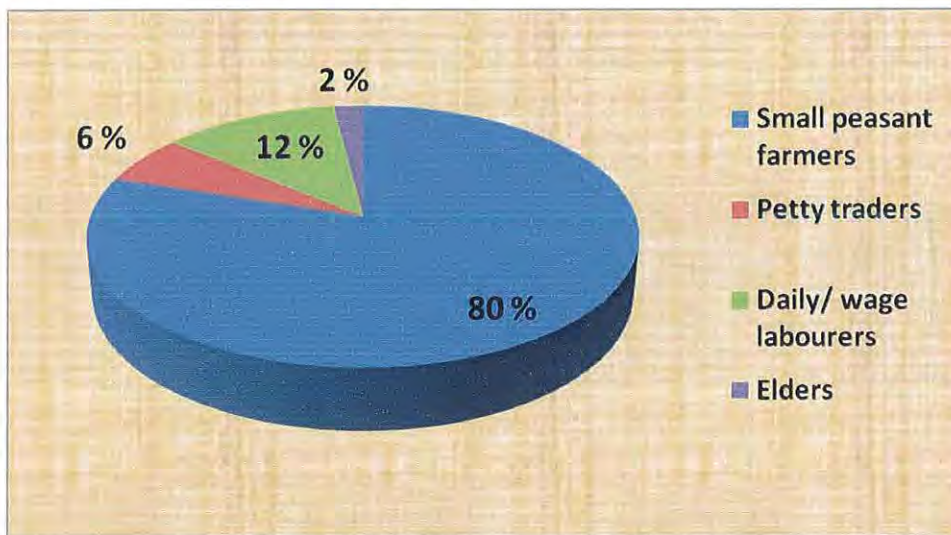
Children perceive shoe-shinning work as a temporal means of survival livelihood and way of adapting the urban work environment. As soon as they have got better livelihood opportunity, they would never want to miss it. Shoe-shinning work is therefore, a means of both temporal self-employment and way of transition into other forms of labour.

4.7. Parent's occupation and sources of income

Figure 4.7 shows that most of the study children's parents live in rural areas and are largely small peasant farmers 40 (80%) and daily laborers 6 (12 %), petty traders 3 (6%) and elders 1 (2%) who are not involved in any kind of work. Majority of the study children have come from the poor families living with subsistence agriculture. The inefficient land use, the backward agricultural production system and the poor productivity may aggravate the vulnerable living conditions of these rural peasants. Poor families put their children to work much more than families who are better off. This is a strategy not only to augment household income, but also to avoid the risks of losing one or another income source (UNICEF & Radda cited in FSCE 2003).

Predominantly, the objective of most of the study children is to improve their life and help the family. Every so often, some parents also make additional livelihoods by following their children and migrating into the city. In this regard, 3 (6%) of the study children reported that their parents were occasionally migrating to Addis to perform daily labour works and their children took part the responsibility of offering host services. This means that families may occasionally follow the same livelihood path as of their children.

Figure 4.7: Percentage distribution of the study children by parent's occupation



Source: Field Survey, 2011

4.8. Decision to move

Children have not been often considered as subjects being able to take their own autonomous decisions- rather as dependents on the decision of adults, usually their parents. Children migrate to cities not only in the wake of families or adults but also on their own initiative to make a difference on the household's livelihood (Qvortrup 1994 cited in Girmachew 2006). In this regard, Tarekegn, 12 years old shoe-shinning boy who came from Hadiya zone has elaborated the conditions for his migration as follows.

"I came here to improve my life and help the family. My family are neither able to feed their children nor send to school. Previously I had one selvage cloth and used to eat little Kocho (cultural local food) everyday. Unfortunately, no paid work is available in our locality. I found very challenging to survive and pursue education in that way. Then after, I was able to come to Addis Ababa after adequately analyzing all the pros and cons of existing rural conditions of life. Thus, I myself made all the decision and arrangements to come leaving my family behind".

This and others revealed that the overwhelming majority 46 (92%) of the study children chiefly made the decision to move by themselves. In contrast, very few 4 (8%) of the study children did not directly involve in the process of their migration. Friends, relatives and urban employers took

them by facilitating all the conditions of their move. The study indicates that children can be considered as subjects being able to pass their own autonomous decisions in life. Besides, the Neo-classical theory of migration by Todaro (1969) and Straubhar (1988) has been confirmed, stating that migration is a decision of the individual migrant, not of the whole family.

4.9. Reasons for migration

Migration to urban areas is usually closely related to employment and earning opportunities in the formal and informal sectors in urban areas (Bhattacharya 1998). Migration is a common response to economic and environmental pressures, and an integral part of livelihood strategies in many parts of Ethiopia. Migration clearly plays an important role in helping keep families and children out of poverty (DFID 2005). The migration literature has dwelt both on the 'pull' and 'push' factors for migration (Lewis 1953; Baker and Aina 1995; De haan 1999; Girmachew 2006). There are many reasons why children end up on the streets. Various push and pull factors lead to children coming to the streets. Most of them who come from rural areas share the conviction that urban life is easier. The pull of the glamour of living in a city and raising one's living standard is one of the illusions. In other cases, children dropped out of school or were sent to the cities by their families to earn money and escape the intolerable conditions of poverty in their homes (Ochola, 1996 cited in Schmidt 2003).

4.9.1. The Push factors:

The study reveals that most of the shoe-shinning children have come from the needy family. This was one of the main reasons that children were not able to lead easy life and possible education in their rural quarters. Predominantly, the aim of migration and work according to the study children is to improve life and assist their family. Generally, family impoverishment, rural unemployment, poor family planning and or large family size, lack of access to education, family death and disharmony are some of the major reasons that most of them were forced to migrate to the city. In line with this, 26 (52 %) of the study children replied that the aforementioned push factors are the main driving force behind their migration. Therefore, the children's decision to migrate is normally activated by the aforementioned push factors as well. This is chiefly confirmed by (Degefa 2005) stating that the poor households have been involved in migration in

search of a better living situation once or many times in their life time. The causes were mostly push-factors. In sum, children's migration is a response to social, economic, demographic changes in society which usually are visible at the household level. More specifically, their migration, often, is economically- motivated, looking for a better life for themselves and their families. Besides, lack of resistance to cope with rural life challenges and shocks is one of the other driving forces of children migration.

4.9.2. The Pull factors:

Results of the study indicates that 24 (48%) of the study children were migrated mainly due to the presence of friends and relatives in the city. According to them, even though the major driving forces of migration are the push factors, pull factors are also fuels which highly accelerate the decision to migrate. The availability of social ties, relatives, friends and older siblings at destination mainly triggered migration decision from villages to towns. Thus, relatives and friends at destination provide information about the betterment of shoe-shinning job, in particular and living in the city, in general and guide them on how to start life in the city. At times they arrange different mechanisms to do this job before the potential migrant come to Addis and they also host them until they adjust to the city life. This indicates that social ties and networks reduce urban risks for the migrant children and ease their decisions to move.

Children are also motivated to move to the city while they see returnees of their age with new clothes, buying sheep and supporting his/her families. However, in some instants, returnees exaggerate when they talk about city life and their achievement while they were in the city and mislead other children's decisions (Girmachew 2006). The same is true for these study children. For instance Tamiru, a 14 years old shoe-shinning boy said;

"I decided to come to Addis after looking my friends who came back home for celebrating meskel holiday once in a year. While I saw them, they had a change in their physical well being and clothing. They look like an urban child. Then, I became very fascinated and asked them about the situation. They advised me better to go along with them for improving my life and the family. Thenafter, I immediately followed them leaving my parents behind".

The pull- push factors vary from context to context. For example Brigsen (1996 in Ellis 2000) finds that the pull of high wages is more important than the push of land scarcity in explaining

migration decisions in Kenya. Similarly, this study confirms that the pull of good urban impression is more important than the push of poor living conditions and lack of access to education in the rural milieu. Mostly, children are easily pulled because of the assumption that living in city is extraordinary. In other words, they are motivated in the 'pull' of the excitement of living in the city.

Moreover, as childhood is the age of friendship and play, children may also be impressed to join their friends and relatives residing in the city due to the feeling of love, belongingness and further seeking freedom from the family. On the other hand, I want to argue that the push and pull factors are not mutually exclusive to each other. The presence of one factor may aggravate the occurrence of the other. This means that the push factors are measured and magnified along with the presence of the pull factor. For instance, good urban impression and peer pressure may lessen the children's ability to cope rural life challenges and constraints.

4.10. Children's plan: Back to home or being an urban citizen

Some 22 (44%) of the study children replied that living in the city is very challenging and hard to survive. Independent life and self-sufficiency is the very tricky life circumstances in the city for them. They underlined that despite the absence of work and lack of source of money, the rural milieu is better for living. According to them, one can have free life without experiencing the feeling of hunger, stress and hopelessness in the rural milieu for the reason that very low cost of living exists. On the other hand, majority 28 (56%) of the study children replied that the city is better for living than the rural milieu. They believed that even though it is very costly to live in the city, one can earn money for survival and very often, for family help. Children have magnified the very importance of living in the city due to the presence of better livelihood opportunity for growth and freedom from the family. According to them, living in the city is better for food, cloth and bath in particular and for maintaining the quality of life in general. This indicates that the miserable livelihood condition of the rural milieu is one of the most fundamental reasons that these children preferred to stay more in the urban city. In spite of the fact that Addis Ababa city has also unfavorable or harsh conditions of life; children measured the relative pros and cons of the rural and urban areas and they confirmed that the extent of vulnerability is higher in the rural milieu. For instance, Gezu, a 15 year's old shoe-shinning boy has explained his conditions as follows;

“While I was living with my parents, I used to eat little Kocho¹ and Kita (local bread) all the time. I was very dissatisfied with this food and this was exposing me for various health problems frequently. The doctor once in a day said it was due to lack of adequate food. However, I am eating better in Addis even though it is not all the time. For instance, the urban bulle (leftover) is better than the rural Kocho. I prefer Addis Ababa especially for the tasty food and freedom I have. Moreover, I usually feel bright watching the vehicles and people move on the street”.

Although rural poverty levels are generally higher, urban poverty has more severe consequences. Street children are the consequence of urban and rural poverty and of urbanization. Once on the street they lack the basic necessities for their growth and development: food, shelter, parental love, clothing, health care and education (Schmidt 2003). Likewise, the study confirmed that even though the magnitude of the vulnerability is higher in the rural milieu, for the reason that children are migrated with nothing, they are facing visible life stresses and shocks in each and every walks of their urban life.

Box 4.1

Situational Analysis of the case of rural Milieu–Hadiya Zone

Hadiya zone is one among the 13 zones of southern Nations, Nationalities people’s regional state. It is located in 7, 45’ Northern latitudinal and 38, 28’ Eastern Longitudinal area. The capital city of the zone is Hossana which is 230 km far from the southern Addis Ababa city and 168 km far from the north-west Hawassa town- capital of SNNPRS (Hadiya Zone Finance and Economic Development Bureau, 2010).

The zonal population size is about 1,373,841 out of which 1,259,812 (91.7%) belong to the rural inhabitant. The zonal population growth is indicated as 2.9 % per annum. The zone is densely populated among the rest 12 zones of the region with an average of 357 people settled per square kilometer land and an agricultural land density of 27 people per hectare of land.

1. Kocho is defined as a cultural food of most of the areas of southern region which is made up of Ensaté plant. The food is prepared mainly from the stem-cuttings of the plant which is processed and baked in the form of bread.

On the other hand, the zone has 11 rural woreda, of which Mesho and Gibe are the two prime rural woreda in the zone from where the over whelming majority (60% and 30%) of the study children were originated respectively. Among all the woreda in the zone, these two particular woreda are the third and sixth populated areas respectively. This indicates that high population growth of the rural milieu is directly affecting the livelihoods of the rural inhabitants (ibid).

The zonal land coverage is about 346,958.8 hectare land holding (3.52% of the regional land), of which 252,676 (69%) hectare is the cultivated land and the rest is not cultivated. It consists of 1.6 % kola land (semi-desert) and 23.7% 'dega land (tropical highland) and 64.7% woyna-dega land (low-land) type of climates. There are about 179,924 rural household families in the zone, with an average of 7 people per household family: of which 18,712 (10.4%) of the household families do not have any cultivable land, only 161,212 (89.6%) of the household families have their own cultivable lands, with an average 1.6 ha cultivated land per household. This implies that agricultural production and productivity in the zone is mainly constrained by shortage of cultivable land.

As the overwhelming majority (91.7%) of the zonal population is mainly engaged on small peasant agriculture, agricultural land is the major livelihood resource of the zone. In line with this, shortage of cultivable land has been adversely affecting the livelihoods of the rural household in general and the children in particular (Hadiya Zone Finance and Economic Development Bureau, 2010).

Chronic livelihood poverty in rural areas of the country which traditionally relied upon subsistence farming, in general, leads children to move to cities to find economic niches in the low paid informal sectors of urban areas. The prime motive generating children's migration to the city, however, is to contribute for the improvement of their families' livelihood which is constrained by scarcity of land, low and disappointing agricultural productivity, high population pressure, inability to afford the costs of agricultural inputs like seeds and fertilizers, drought and environmental degradation. Therefore, the children's migration can be better explained in terms of search for employment and survival strategy.

Chapter 5

Children's Relationship to their work and Socialization

This chapter presents an analysis of children's relationship to their work and part of their socialization process. The first section describes the children's point of view regarding their work career and what they aspire through work; adaptation and challenges of their work. The second part illustrates the children's work and their socialization, what is to be conveyed to children through work, family and childhood, street work territory, social life, solidarity and identity affairs of the children.

5.1. Urban space and the street-work career.

Urban space is a key element of physical capital in livelihood strategies for the urban poor (Nooraddin 1998 in Rakodi 2002). Street children often use the public space for economic purposes though differently. Quite often, the places of work are not entirely unknown to children. Sometimes, a child observes tasks performed by other children and then opts for one of them. Working in the street can begin in different ways. How gradual entry into such activity depends on financial pressure and the value attributed to children's work (Invernizzi 2003). Street children choose one or more activities for a living and they justify 'the why' of what they are doing as Giddens (1984) may call this 'knowledgeable agents'. Similarly, on every street corner of Addis Ababa there is a young boy looking for someone's shoes to shine.

Heinonen (2000) rightly stated that all street children regard their form of obtaining income as "work". Likewise, the study children perceived that shoe-shine work as a flexible form of self-employment which enables them to earn survival livelihoods. However, they all agreed that this career may not persist for long period. This is due to the fact that inadequacy of the livelihood income triggered their attention to look and shift in to other street based occupation. Thus, shoe-shinning children in Addis Ababa city mostly do not have a fixed career unless they have had no choice to do other livelihood activities. So it is important to note that children's survival in the city is a result of a combination of portfolio of activities. As Hetch (1998) noted, survival on the street is a full time working career. The same is also true for shoe-shinning children in Addis Ababa. They spend all the day doing the available livelihood options in the city.

5.1.1. Street work territory and its livelihood importance

Street children have detail knowledge of the public space and usually derive benefits out of it (Girmachew 2006). Likewise, a certain groups of shoe-shinning children organize themselves based on similar ethnic identity and or geographical origin and define their working place and use all opportunities that the place offers or entails to them. Their work territory is mainly established giving much attention to the presence of many people around those places and the safety of the working place. In fact, shoe-shine service customers are many in number nearby schools, universities and busy shop areas in the city. Those places are largely invaded by a certain ethnic group polishing shoes for the sake of making their daily survival livelihood. Normally, the specific street corner, by default, belongs to those children who usually work there.

Children's territoriality is better explained in terms of the series of chains and networks that have been established by a certain ethnic group for being in a defined place for long (ibid). In the same way, the territorial boundaries for Hadiya and Wolita ethnic and shoe-shinning children have been established separately surrounding the university and Piazza area and Shero-meda respectively. This often requires high competition and they are also supposed to defend their territory from other street invaders and or new comers. Striving to make their territory clean and safe to work is another responsibility for the children as customers are highly sensitive to maintain their safety in every occasion. They know that customers mostly prefer comfortable, safe, and relatively neat places along with getting the shoe-shine service. Otherwise, they do not prefer getting the service in the unclean and sunny places. This indirectly creates competition among the children. Moreover, these children regarded their territory as a day-home from where they wash, clean themselves, take a rest, sometimes eat, drink and play with their friends. They spend almost half in a day in their territory.

As children have no any legal permission for occupying their territories on the street, police and other city gardeners sometimes may prohibit and displace the children. Working children who usually occupy the same territory interact and support each other in their day-to-day life. Knowing the area, activities and people (shop keepers, waiters, police, and other inhabitants) and developing a sense of belongingness is part of the children's efforts and survival strategies. Above all, children occupying same territory and work together serve protecting against the

urban gangsters and vagabonds on the street. This shows that accessing a given territory does not only mean accessing better livelihood opportunities but also maintaining children's livelihood security.

5.1.2. Why shoe-shinning? A matter of Necessity or choice?

The study revealed that limited access to other livelihood opportunities and the need for immediate survival are the two major reasons that the working children are carrying out shoe-shinning activity. Even though, shoe-shinning is very easy and flexible means of survival livelihood which does not require much skill, experience and capability, it has never been preferred by most of the study children. The great majority 49 (98%) agreed that it is due to the absence of other livelihood options along with the need to fulfill immediate survival that they are doing this work.

Children prefer other livelihood activities mainly due to the subsistence nature of their work. It means they lack adequate benefits out of it due to limited scope of the work and tough competition existing among the increasing number of shoe-shiners in the city. Accordingly, if they have got the chance to be employed in any other activities of the informal economy, they will be able to directly shift regardless of lacking the necessary skill and capability to do the job. This implies that shoe-shinning activity serves as a means of temporal survival until better livelihood condition has come. They will remain with this work as long as no option exist, meaning it is a matter of necessity for immediate survival.

5.1.3. Adaptation and challenges of shoe-shinning work

All the study children confirmed that they have got no previous skills and experiences of doing shoe-shinning work. They all acquired the necessary skills and capabilities while adapting from their friends and relatives. Gradual entry into the work is the experience of these children who spend most of the time with their friends and relatives at work.



Figure 5.1: The newly migrant children sitting together on the left (Left Photo) and standing on the right (Right Photo), while adapting shoe-shining work from their friends and the urban environment.



Source: The author, December 25, 2011

A child as shown above observes tasks performed by the other shoe-shinning boy and make trial of the activity. At first, the newly migrant child attempts to harmonize himself with the unknown street work conditions in particular and the urban milieu in general by serving as an assistant shoe-shiner to his friends and relatives. One of the reasons for the ease of entry into this livelihood activity is since all one needs is their labour and little money to purchase polish, brushes and soap; and then business commences right away just like that. Sometimes even in the absence of startup capital, the boys rely on their friends who provide them with old tins, water bottles, soap and shoe polish and are able to compensate their friends by returning the favors when they purchase their own polish. In general, the seniors give all the necessary host services and create the opportunities to develop the skills and experiences of the newly migrant friend or relative. Among most inexperienced children, work is qualified in terms of effort and livelihood. The activity they perform is work in that it is tiresome and produces income (Invernizzi 2003).

The work of the children can include a mixture of play and apprenticeship. The degree of involvement gives them opportunity to progress according to their skill and overall ability. That does not mean that children do not encounter difficulties which periodically challenge their confidence to succeed in the work. Few among the trickiest circumstances of the work are

customer violence, mistreatment, territorial displacement, direct rays of the sun and extreme cold, long distance travel from home to the place of work, police attack and traffic problems, theft and street attacks by vagabonds. However, it is an experience which does not last. It means that children have been adapting the work along with the existing challenges by means of gradually acquiring the required skills and experiences. In this regards, Invernizzi (2003) rightly stated that for the child who has not yet mastered the immediate environment and does not know the work well, it can be a start fraught with difficulties and overburdening.

5.1.4. Nature and social meanings of shoe-shinning work

Shoe-shinning work in Addis Ababa city is regarded as a street based activity which is normally carried out by the needy children in general and migrant children in particular. Many of the study children characterized their work as temporal means of being self employed involving in subsistence profit generating act. Usually, availability of the work mainly depends up on the movement of people and weather conditions. Thus, it is irregular and very limited work which lacks substantial skill and experience relevant for the children's future career.

Children generated more of social capital than other livelihood resources in the course of this work experience. It may be due to the dual nature of the work i.e. means of survival and strategy to adapting to the urban milieu for the sake of accessing progressive livelihood opportunity. Friends and relatives share the good and bad occasions of their life in the city. Thus, social capital helps these children to be able to respond to vulnerability at times when there is economic hardship and deficiencies exist.

During the field observation, comments on the street were heard from adult informants who regularly get shoe-shine services from the study children. The aim is to explore the meanings associated to this street based livelihood activity. Children working on the streets of Addis are not typically classified as the worst forms of child labour (Schmidt 2003). Because, it is perceived that shoe-shinning work is very easy and do not harm the child's life. On the one hand, the community believed that it is one of the livelihood paths of the unfortunate children who need self-assistance, which is implicitly better than begging. This indirectly implies the positive value recognition of the working children along with their work.

This further confirms the same opinion and attitude given by Lima community presented in the study made by Invernizzi (2003) i.e. 'there's no harm in a child working', which express how these activities are recognized as legitimate. Moreover, the people of Addis Ababa believed that poverty obliges the child to work, which rather indicates that such work is prompted mainly or even exclusively by precarious economic situations. With this background, people always give respect and encouragements to these working children in all circumstances in the city.

On the other hand, it is also argued that the benefits children are drawing out of this work is temporary and perhaps does not serve beyond temporary survival. Accordingly, the matter should not be on the work children are doing, rather what crucial needs the children are missing at this stage of life i.e. education, parents care and love. Even though, the work is helping the children to survive temporarily, it may not that much change their future life and work career. In short, the children's future destiny may not be good at all if they continued in the same way. Children are misplaced and are losing the very important psycho-social elements which are part and parcel of their future life. Thus, it is perceived that the child's daily life must be geared exclusively to education and play and hence, work is viewed as the opposite to socialization.

5.1.5. Subsistence work : The living wage

The study reveals that the great majority 48 (96%) shoe-shinning children by default charge uniform price with respect to the type of services they are offering. Prices do not vary based on the type and size of the shoe rather they vary on the basis of the type of service offered. Washing, polishing/cleaning, painting and cobbling or repairing are some of the typical services offered by the shoe-shinning children. The price charged for washing and polishing amounts 2 birr and 1 birr respectively regardless of the type and size of the shoe. The paint to be used varies according to the type of shoe. The price for Painting also varies according to the type of paint. Paints include white cream, black and blue black paint and diluted powder. The price charged for black and blue black paints amount 2 birr and 50 cents. The price charged for diluted powder and white cream amounts 4 birr, which is relatively expensive in price. The daily income of the children has been examined below on the basis of the above data regarding the services offered by the shoe-shinning children along with prices charged and their daily performance.

It shows that the daily earnings of the children are not homogeneous which varies among individuals and overtime (fluctuating). On the other side, the shoe-shinning children's daily food expenditure does not equally fluctuate with their daily income. Even though, 41 (82%) of them very often earns more than their food expenditure, they have not changed the pattern of their food consumption. This shows that these children are feeding them as minimal food as possible irrespective of the amount of their daily earnings. There are also other necessities for survival that the shoe-shinning children prioritize beyond the minimal food intake such as clothing, house rent, and working capital (for buying shoes paint and or polishes). This further had an implication on the livelihoods of the children. Thus, the study reveals that the children's attempt to survive in the city is mainly constructed on the basis of livelihood first perspective which is not in favor of the food first approach (Krantz 2001) Because children mainly focus on long-term objectives of sustaining their livelihood rather than attaining the short-term satisfaction of immediate food consumption.

It seems that, there is about 5 birr per day on average remaining in pocket beyond the daily food expenditure of the children. This is perhaps may not be all the case. Sometimes children may generate more or less depending up on the conditions of the work access. Even if this is the case, this 5 birr difference can do nothing for the children let alone covering the beyond food expenditures like house rent, clothing, family remittance, and working capital (for buying paint). For example, 45 (90 %) of the study children are paying a rent expense of 50 to 70 birr per month. At times when children face shortage of money, they usually meet their basic necessities by borrowing money from their friends and relatives. This indicates that shoe-shinning children have been continuously overburdening themselves worrying and frustrating about how to manage surviving in the city. Thus, the study reveals that the working children are facing a lot of interwoven social and economic problems in the city. This is perhaps identical finding with Schmidt (2003) stating that the street environment hardens the children, harms them physically and morally and deprives them of their childhood.

5.1.6. Informal negotiations: Labor wage and conflict grounds

When children begin their activity under the pressure of urgent economic need, their activity is marked by a period of apprenticeship that is very short. Sometimes, the child discovers work in a hard way. He or she is confronted with theft of merchandise or money, customers who do not

pay the right amount, or with the even more painful experiences of aggression from adults or other children (Invernizzi 2003). The same is true for shoe-shinning children in Addis Ababa. During the field work, I observed that few of the study children had been conflicting with their customers for various reasons like price and quality of the service disagreements.

As there is no formal agreement on the level of shoe-shine performance, customers may expect better quality of the service. Sometimes some customers may not be willing to pay if the service offered does not meet their expectation. This may be one of the major conflicting issues between the shoe-shiners and their customers. At times, conflicts arise between them; they enter in dispute by involving their friends and other people around them including the police. Violent behaviors of both parties may also be the main conflict causative factors. As a matter of fact, these obstacles are highly victimizing the children for undesirable consequences. For instance; Tamrat, a 16 years old shoe-shinning boy narrate his previous conflict conditions as follows.

“Once in a day I was conflicted with my customer. The customer was dissatisfied by the service I offered him and became unwilling to pay. At times, I became very disappointed and immediately beat him by throwing big stone and became blooded. The police immediately came and arrested me for 2 weeks time. Besides, I was punished compensating all his medical cost of 350 birr for the injury I made.

This shows that for a child who has not yet mastered the urban environment in general and does not know the work well in particular, it can be another urban life burden which may create miserable livelihood outcome to the children. In contrast, a child who is well integrated in the street milieu knows other children and adults who can intervene if need be. He or she would feel less burdened (Invernizzi 2003). The author rightly stated that Mutual-aid networks between street vendors or an extensive pool of relatives is, in this case, an essential resource for a child’s protection.

5.1.7. Ways out of shoe-shinning work

Children were asked where they move away from shoe-shinning work and how do they premeditated the path of leaving this street-based occupation and about what becomes of the children thereafter. The aim is to explore the children’s intention along with the rationale to go out of their current livelihood path and the interest to pursue in other working career. Almost all

49 (98%) of the study children regarded their current occupation as a way of transition into other means of livelihood. Even though they early conceived that this street based occupation would help to pave the right path of a living, it was found that the outcome of their stay did not yet satisfy them and had really degraded the children's curiosity and endurance.

Historically, only a few shoe-shining children grow up in the street and continue to work there afterwards independently. This kind of street based occupation is mostly experienced as unsecured means of livelihood and the permanence of it cannot be even ensured obviously. In most cases, children leave away from this street work occupation, sometimes for good, but sometimes to rejoin later after all observing the entire work environment. The children leaving shoe-shinning work for good mostly entail doing other non-street based livelihood activities seeking for improved reward and positive social recognition. There are different ways of escaping shoe-shinning work in Addis Ababa city i.e. sometimes, rejoining the family livelihood, and or looking for own activity that benefits more and bring positive social recognition such as petty trade engagement, domestic laborer, being employee of the formal sector (factory laborers), daily laborer etc. All the aforementioned essentials clearly attribute the rationale behind the study children's intentional move out of their current occupation.

5.2. Shoe-shinning work as an agent of socialization

Socialization involves the dual action of internalization and individuation including access to manifold systems of interaction (Malewska-Peyre and Tap 1991; Invernizzi 2003). The concept of socialization attempts to take account of a whole set of experiences which are not necessarily associated with any intended educational actions of adults (Waksler 1991 cited in Invernizzi 2003).

5.2.1. Children's perceptions and attitude towards work

The definition of work adopted for this study is Bolle de Ball (1987) definition, which considers work as a set of social links, understood as concrete ties of an individual (for example connections formed through cooperation or competition) and as the meaning attributed to these ties (which have a symbolic aspect contributing to identity). These ties should, according to the author, be examined on the basis of three components: socio-economic (material benefits); socio-

cultural (relations with other workers and social belonging); and socio-psychological which entails self-image and the ability to change the environment. Work is, therefore, primarily a social activity. Likewise, Sisay, a 16 years old shoe-shinning boy defined the meaning of work as follows.

“Work is the means of social integrity and community respect. For me, Life does not give meaning without work. After all, minority works are better than begging. At least people may thank for giving them service and also give you the reward and appreciation. Begging is deadness but work is the manifestation for my presence. If I do not have any work, let alone people approaching me, they may not consider my presence at all. No work is, no money and no money, is no life. Thus, no work means, indirectly no life at all”.

Shoe-shinning children perceived that work is an important element of their life. In line with the aforementioned author's definition, they argued that besides its economic significance, work has its own core social values. They believed that work is the pursuit of their recognition and respect towards the family and the community at large. This rational value judgment by the children indicates that children's work is not the only means of survival livelihood but also largely part of their socialization process. They can easily learn and experience significant life skills, competence and decision making talent in their life. This shows that children are very alert and rational subject being able to make viable socio-economic judgment towards their work and other opportunities.

5.2.2. Shoe shinning work and its controversies

The study children were asked about their attitudes (the likes and dislikes) towards their work. The responses generated were mixed. Only few 8 (16%) of the study children said that they like their job and their main reasons are the less energy, effort and skills required; ease of entry, no work burden; good rest, social recognition, and small working space required by the job; the absence of formal regulatory requirements to enter into the job; the freedom to work in any area of the city, and the opportunity this job offers oneself to be his own boss. For instance Mesfin, a 17 year's old shoe-shinning boy expressed his views as;

"When I was working as a hotel waiter around Arat Killo, I used to quarrel with the owner frequently, a situation I was tired of, then I begun Shoe-shining which I found very easy and flexible".

The study reveals some of the children find their job a convenient form of self-employment and survival livelihood because they can assist themselves and work only when they please and the job is flexible in that they can easily switch to and from it as and when it is convenient. The job is also used as transitional employment between intended jobs and help to cope easily economic hardships and shocks. On the contrary, majority 42 (84%) of the study children said that they dislike their job due to the undesirable working condition and the environment such as customer violence and abuse, extreme cold and sun, dirt and disease exposure, territorial displacement, limited work access, street attacks by vagabonds, car accident and traffic attacks, etc. They added that though they work for longer hours every day, the money they make from this venture is not adequate to cover their living cost, as a result of which they feel discomfort with their current work and some have begun thinking of shifting into another job. Moreover, children realized that the skill and experience acquired for shoe-shinning job does not serve long for their future career. Similarly, Degefe, a 15 years old shoe-shinning boy expressed his views towards his work as follows.

"I believe that work is very vital for my life. However, being a shoe-shiner, I usually feel inferior and incompetent. Doing shoe-shinning is very dangerous for life. Even though I mostly wash my cloths, everyday became dirty. I usually clean bad dirt on shoes which exposes for communicable disease like cholera, diarrhea, chronic flue etc. Besides, when I think of the money to receive, I do not feel good. It serves nothing beyond getting the in-secured daily meals. In fact, it is irritating and dishonorable work. I am working this because I can't get other livelihood option

This and other reveal that most of the study children have not been motivated towards the kind of work they are doing i.e. shoe-shinning. They highly detest shoe-shinning work mainly due to its underprivileged income. They feel bad thinking of doing an inferior and or low income status work. Thus, the study reveals that shoe-shinning work is a matter of necessity rather than choice for most of the working children mainly due to lacking employment and other livelihood options in the city.

5.2.3. Children's perspective towards Family and Childhood

The great majority of the study children have greater value judgment and respect towards their family. They all are positive and mostly undergo due respect and strong love and affection for their parents. As children said they don't like to see the livelihood burden of their family and hence, strongly believed that the major aim of migration and work is ultimately to contribute to their families' livelihood. They are helping as much possible as their efforts permit and perhaps achieve greater mental satisfaction behind serving their family. Even though most of the study children dislike the nature and traits of shoe-shinning work, coping with those traits and adopting important livelihood and survival strategies, on the other hand, enable to exercise the sense of being self-contained and independent. Thus, the study reveals that shoe-shinning children are important socio-economic actors of their families.

Regarding the standpoint of childhood, most of the study children understood the meaning of childhood from the perspective of other home-children living with their parents i.e. dependent and nurtured children. For them, there is no clear departure between childhood and adulthood stage of life. They argued that they are entirely doing what adults do and nurturing what adults nurture their family. For instance, Abraham, a 14 years old shoe-shinning boy said his viewpoints as follows;

"No childhood in the life of migrant working children. Kebet kewotu lejenet yelem meaning, childhood ends up on being away from home and or the family. Childhood exists only at home in the family. Childhood is characterized by being dependent and nurtured by the family. No one is nurturing me. I, myself is looking after my life. Thus, I cannot be a child and you cannot find a child working on the street at all. Family impoverishment and or Poverty already snatched my childhood and became the unfortunate. That is why I am doing this dishonorable work"

Many of them explained that poverty deprived their childhood stage of life because they believed that childhood is the stage of learning and playing rather than working. Thus, working children are failed to see and experience the fruits of childhood due to various social and economic problems of their family and hence, they are in the transitional stage of adulthood thinking and maturation. This shows that urban life stresses and shocks most often experienced by these

children affects their psycho-social and behavioral settings. Thus, indeed the study reveals that the unfavorable working circumstances are depressingly impacting the life of the children in particular their physical wellbeing and mental development as well.

5.2.4. The spirit of Social life among the shoe-shinning children

In line with the theory of social capital (Paulson and Miller, 2000) stating that kinship and shared community both at origin and destination are important to increase network, which further enhance the likelihood of migration by reducing cost and risk. Working (shoe-shinning) children develop a circle or networks of friends at work on the street. As survival requires grouping, their relations and way of life is characterized by enthusiastic love and mutualism, affection among them. They maintain strong linkages with peer groups, relatives, customers, and with other street actors and formed their own identity and belongingness. The most predominant social tie and network that exist among them is peer group socialization which is mainly constructed on the basis of work identity, similar geographical origin and ethnicity. They all have been alert justly picking and discharging the undesirable sprit of life happened in different occasion. As a matter of fact, in the whole process of continuous interaction, working children construct the notion identicalness and equivalence which enable them exercise the advantage of rationality for justifying their claim of inclusion and exclusion from others.

Figure 5.3: Shoe-shinning children eating (Left) and working together (Right)



Source: The author, December 10 and 12, 2011

Working children have developed a sense of due respect and recognition to their elder friends and relatives in tandem to their parent's culture, attitudes and norms. They usually acknowledge the advice and counseling of their elders. Matures, better offs and the competent actors among them are implicitly better recognized and are invisible leaders of the group. Elder children mostly perform other difficult and better wage livelihood activities like construction work, petty trade, carrying luggage etc and spend all the night at home with the younger friends and relatives. With this background, they also gain due respect and status. Rarely, working children exercise invisible differences by the virtue of age, work experience; earning ability, living status, and family exposure. This kind of relationship is rarely occurred at times when conflicting interest comes and is multifaceted, informal, and invisible one.

Children in their everyday life exercise the social values and norms which they have learnt from their family, rural and or urban environment as well. They spend most of their life time with their friends through working, playing, eating, enjoying and defending conflicts together. They have been undergoing a communal life style which is largely helping them to develop the feeling of endurance and patience. They have been sharing the good and bad items in the entire sort of urban life routes. By implication, children release the feelings of family love and affection through the social life they are excising with their peers and relatives. Generally, the study reveals that mutualism, enthusiasms, rationalism are the three most important core principles and or sprits governing the life of the working children.

5.2.5. Group identity, Socialization and Solidarity

The street can be a place of socialization and integration but also a place for exclusion and marginalization. For some children the street is a place of identity, solidarity and belonging. The context is different from place to place and from person to person. After the wrecked family experience, the street becomes the only place of socialization in which solidarity among the kids becomes a kind of family substitute (Schmidt 2003). First and foremost after immediate arrival, migrant children in Addis Ababa city are highly preoccupied through the process of harmonizing themselves with the existing socio-economic conditions of the urban milieu.

Formation of peer group friendship and or identical functional work group is the strategy to easily adapt and survive in the city. This unified work group is mainly constructed on the basis of

matching behavior, similar geographical origin and or ethnicity. The aim behind forming this functional social group is to share the urban life challenges and shocks in general, and street work opportunities and uncertainties in particular. Group friendship provides children with a sense of strength, endurance and togetherness. Within the peer group they all share and compete for resources. Their socialization is mainly conditioned on the basis of mutualism intellect and harmonies relationship among them. No sense of any quarrel exists among them.

Informal networks of the working (shoe-shinning) children are mainly constructed by supportive cares of close friends and relatives. Besides, this informal network provides children with a sense of strength, the feeling that they are not alone on the street. Working children with their social group test the good and bad items of life in the city and share more or less similar life experiences. Sometimes, street work may involve a lot of violence, danger, vulnerability and abuse by the various street life actors, and hence, their relationships, and networks mainly protect them from these dangers and enable to maintain work safety and survival.

Figure 5.4: The spirit of togetherness and grouping among the shoe-shinning Children at work place.



Source: The author, December 20, 2011

5.2.6. Community image and children's view towards streetism and Child work.

Most of the people in Addis Ababa make comprehensible distinction between the shoe-shinning children and the street children. They do not categorize working (shoe-shinning) children in the

broad of spectrum street children in general. They perceived that street children other than shoe-shinning children are those who spend all the day and night begging on the street and who do not have work and home to sleep. The working children also distinguished themselves in the same way stated above by the people. Children were asked who they are and perceive street children. For instance, Bargicho, a 17 years old shoe-shinning boy stated his views as follows.

"I am working and sleeping at a rent home in the same way as formally employed youths do. The only difference is the poor quality of life I am living and doing low income status job. This is not the case for me to be street children. For me a street child is one who sleeps the whole day and night begging food and money on the street. So it is better you call me "yeken serategna and or listro" meaning daily laborer and or shoe-shinner.

This shows that the western definition and image of street children is totally divergent and misconceived in our context that it is negatively labeling and stigmatizing the working children in the wrong way. The image and attitude towards these children is constructed in line with the aforementioned outlooks. Different groups of children on the streets of Addis are perceived differently. Public image towards the street children varies by virtue of age of the children, ways of streetism (on and off the street boundary according to UNICEF 2005) and the type of work children are performing. Exclusively, the community at large, Medias and institutions have no good attitude and perception towards the children who spend all the time on the street (off the street children) because they assumed that street serves these children as a place of making violence, theft, and crime. Most of the people perceive these children as robbers and gangsters who live by making theft, burglary and other crimes on the citizen.

Quite the reverse, the communities perceive shoe-shinning children positively. They perceive them as the unfortunate children striving to make their survival livelihoods on the street. On occasions, the community and some organizations give them support in the form of money tips, material, advice and encouragements as well. For instance, the researcher observed during the field work while Hiwot trust plc was distributing very big decorated umbrella to the shoe-shinning children. Addis Ababa University also offered a place for temporary custody of the shoe-shine materials and equipments of the study children. Supporting the shoe-shiners via providing shades like one that was constructed by Meta Beer nearby piazza area was also a very

crucial did. Thus, the study reveals that the community and various organizations conceived the working children as valuable assets of a nation.

Box 5.1

A case study shoe-shinning child informant

Amanuel is a 14 year's old shoe-shinning boy migrated from Hadiya rural district and has five brothers and sisters. He recounted his story as follows.

“Before I came to Addis Ababa, things became very harsh for living with the family. My parents were living with subsistence agriculture which could not feed the household in the whole year. My father has had so many quarrels with me and other family members. He frequently drunk and became intoxicated and fight with his wife. Once in a day he injured me a lot beating long period of time at home using the time of absence of my mom.

I used to work in the farm long period of time without having rest and enough food to eat. My father frequently prohibited me from going to school. Thus, I could not attend the class many times. While I often went to school, the teacher would be absent. I found all the things miserable to my life. There was no peace, harmony, family love, and care in our family. 2 of my elder brothers went out of home and are working in Hawassa city as daily laborers and the 1 is also working shoe-shinning activity in Addis Ababa city. Only I and one younger sister were left at home. During that time, I everyday thought the means to disappear from the family. Fortunately, my elder brother working shoe-shine and living in Addis Ababa called once in a day and my mother told him all the problems I was facing. Then, he advised me to come telling that the city is better for work and life. He told me I can work and help the family as well, if I came to Addis Ababa city. Then after, my mom gave me 50 birr and I immediately went to Addis Ababa without the knowledge of my father.

After I arrived my brother received me and gave the entire hostess. I have been working shoe-shine for about 2 years. Now, I am living with my brother and 3 of our friends in the rent home. I usually face shortage of money, hunger, and lack of cloth. The only thing I have got from working shoe-shine for 2 years time is 1 sheep which I bought before 3 months from what I saved through Iqub. The living condition is not good in Addis Ababa too. I am facing

so many problems but relatively well from my previous life. I have so many friends and have close social ties and network each other. Thanks to them they are often helping me while I face stresses and shocks. We all share the good and bad items of life together for the reason that we are living for each other in deed”.

5.3. Summary

Even though the study indicates that shoe-shine work is a convenient form of self-employment and survival livelihood, majority of the study children, however, disagree on that and dislike their job due to the undesirable working condition and the environment such as customer violence and abuse, extreme cold and sun, police attack and territorial displacement, dirt and disease exposure, limited work access, street attacks by vagabonds, car accident and traffic attacks, etc. above all subsistence nature of their work makes them to dislike their current work and some have begun shifting to another job. Moreover, children realized that the skill and experience acquired from shoe-shinning job does not serve long for their future career. Thus, limited access to other livelihood opportunities and the need for immediate survival are thus, the two major reasons that the working children are carrying out this activity. This implies that shoe-shine work is a matter of necessity rather than choice for most of the working children.

Social capital is one of the most significant livelihood resources in the life of shoe-shinning children in Addis Ababa city. Working (shoe-shinning) children develop a circle or networks of friends at work on the street. As survival requires grouping, their relations and way of life is characterized by enthusiastic love, mutualism and affection among them. They maintain strong links with peer groups, relatives and with other street actors and formed their own identity and belongingness. Group friendship and communal life style is the two most important and inevitable livelihood and survival strategies which enable the shoe-shinning children to easily adapt and cope with the harsh conditions of life in the city. The aim behind forming this social group is to share the urban life challenges and shocks in general, and street work opportunities and uncertainties in particular. Working children with their social group occupy a certain work territory and live together sharing the good and bad items of life in the city and test more or less similar life experiences. Their relationship is better explained in terms of the series of chains and

networks that have been established by a certain ethnic group for instance, Hadiya and Wolita children in particular. Within the peer group they all share, interact, support each other.

The informal networks of the children determine their socialization which is mainly constructed by supportive cares of close friends and relatives. Group friendship with this kind of informal network provides children with a sense of strength, endurance and togetherness. Developing a sense of friendship and belongingness is part of the children's efforts and survival strategies. Street work may involve a lot of violence, life danger, and abuse by various street life actors, and hence, their relationships and networks mainly protect them from these dangers and enable to maintain work safety and survival livelihoods.

Children working on the streets of Addis are not typically classified as the worst forms of child labour (Schmidt 2003). Because, it is perceived that shoe-shinning work is very easy and do not harm the child's life. On the one hand, they believed that poverty obliges the child to work, which rather indicates that such work is prompted mainly or even exclusively by precarious economic situations. With this background, people always give respect and encouragements to these children in all circumstances in the city. On the other hand, accordingly, the matter should not be on the work children are doing, rather what crucial needs the children are missing at this stage of life i.e. education, parents care and love. Even though, the work is helping the children to survive temporarily, it may not that much change their future life and work career. In short, the children's future destiny may not be good at all if they continued as such. Thus, it is perceived that the child's daily life must be geared exclusively to education and play and hence, work is viewed as the opposite to socialization.

Regarding the standpoint of childhood, most of the study children understood the meaning of childhood from the perspective of other home-children living with their parents i.e. dependent and nurtured children. For them, there is no clear departure between childhood and adulthood stage of life. Many of them explained that poverty deprived their childhood stage of life because they believed that childhood is the stage of learning and playing rather than working. Thus, these children failed to see and experience the fruits of childhood due to the various social and economic problems of their family. This shows that urban life stresses and shocks are affecting the psycho-social and behavioral settings of the children. Thus, indeed the study reveals that the unfavorable working circumstances are depressingly impacting the life of the children.

Chapter 6

Livelihood conditions of the shoe-shinning children

6.1. Survival Livelihoods: The 'effort' to survive

Survival is always one of the major denominators in the child's activities. However, ways in which the work is performed leave room for other dimensions to find expression (involving play, identity or relationships). Subsistence work is, however, characterized by a vision of economic activity exclusively as a means of survival and as a task that cannot be avoided (Invernizzi 2003). Likewise, the entire study children perceived shoe-shining activity as a primary means of survival which they cannot avoid unless they have got other better livelihood opportunity.

6.1.1. Daily meals

The study reveals that only few 17 (34%) of the respondents are able to get food three times in a day. Majority 33 (66%) of them were observed that they are not able to make a livelihood beyond immediate survival. Most of the time, the frequency of food intake for these children, has not been more than 2 times in a day. This further confirms the UNICEF's (2000) study which states that most of the street children in Addis Ababa city get only two meals a day. Perhaps, this may not be always the case and very often some of the shoe-shinning children spend some time without having sufficient food to eat during harsh conditions of life.

Unlike the rural economy, the urban economy depends up on cash (Wratten 1995; Satterthwaite Rakodi 2002). As a matter of fact, shoe-shinning children need adequate cash income in order to fulfill all the basic necessities of life. However, most of the study children do not earn adequate livelihood income for survival. Consequently, the food they are always taking is nutritionally poor and cheap in price. The most common type of food the great majority 48 (96%) of the study children usually took are Biscuit for breakfast, Shero or variety for lunch and enjera (local bread) with pasta for dinner. All these daily meals are cheap in price due to its poor quality and are available from small tea houses, street café's and venders working around the children's place of residence and work territory.

While children go hungry in some hardship instances, they look for and get plenty of bulle (left over) from restaurants and cafeterias. Thus, the study reveals that shoe-shinning children are frequently suffering food shortages and are exposed for unbalanced diet.

In fact, the study children are obliged to go in front with a hand-to-mouth life due to the absence of other livelihood opportunity. They spend what they earn on food and are unable to create better livelihood conditions and opportunities for their life. The work they are doing does not mostly guarantee their basic necessities for survival. If there is no access to work, there is no money and if no money, no food unless they come out into begging. Therefore, they usually have assistance from friends and relatives for preventing hunger during harsh condition of life. The study reveals that shoe-shinning children spend most of their time thinking how much to earn and pay for a living (what to eat, what to pay for rent and what to help for the family). This is perhaps exposing them for constant stress, hunger and anxiety, which, in turn, are affecting the psycho-social and physical development of the children.

6.1.2. Shelter

Housing for the poor is one of the major challenges that Addis Ababa is facing. The housing problem is understood both in terms of quality and quantity. In fact, these are beyond the reach of the poor (MEDAC 2000). Economic migrants from rural areas and people displaced internally due to civil strife continue to exacerbate the housing crisis in the city. As a result, the children of newer in-migrants inevitably face more difficult conditions (Tegegne & Daniel 1997 cited in Apteker & Heinonen 2003). As a matter of fact, the entire study children have been living in a group of 3 to 7 in a rented room paying 50 to 70 birr per individual in which pairs share a mattress and bed unit. Most of them are living in cheap (shanty) dwellings and poor housing squatters where the rents are too low. Thus, the study revealed that living in group sharing beddings is one of the coping strategies for housing problem of the city. On the other hand, the houses are serving additional purposes for the renter during day time while the children go to work places. For instance, store and kitchen houses mainly serve this purpose.

Most of the dwellings have very poor water access and do not have any sanitation amenities. This may in turn expose the children for various communicable diseases such as common cold, diarrhea, typhoid etc. On the other hand, these working children have been travelling long

distance on foot from home to their work territory. In this case, it is important to note that housing problem of the city is one of the foremost factors aggravating the vulnerable living conditions of these children.

6.1.3. Clothing

During the field work, I observed that some of the study children have been well-clothed and some have worn out clothes suited all the weather and cast-off shoes received from their relatives and or customers. Apparently, most of them are using same clothes during all period of month. Few of them did not have proper clothes, which can protect them from the bad weather conditions. In some instances, these children are using clothes temporarily given by their friends and relatives which may, in turn, expose them for some communicable diseases.

6.2. Survival strategies and coping mechanisms

Though shoe-shinning children are among the most vulnerable groups of the urban children in Addis Ababa city, they can cope with shocks and exhibit resilience through various kinds of survival livelihoods and strategies. Accordingly, the effort to survive has been mainly conditioned by the various survival livelihoods and strategies. Shoe-shinning children in the process of getting themselves out of the vulnerable living condition, they exert climax efforts as much possible as minimizing the risks and uncertainties by means of various survival livelihoods and coping mechanisms such as, eating cheaper and less nutritious food stuffs; living in a group in cheap (shanty) dwellings and sharing beddings; having meals twice and/or sometimes once a day; returning back to their place of origin during harsh conditions and at harvest time to fetch some food (grain) and at times of poor health condition. They also engage in other informal activities so as to diversify and increase their level of earning and economic savings.

6.2.1. Minimizing the daily food intakes and eating cheaper and less nutritious food stuffs

The daily food intake of the shoe-shinning children remains constantly inadequate and less quality (malnutrition) regardless of what they earn more. Children usually take little and cheap

meals a day. Even though, some of these children occasionally earn more; they do not like to eat in good health. Children would think of what to occur tomorrow and constantly adjust the minimal food intake for the sake of preserving survival livelihoods which will serve during harsh conditions of life. In general, food needs are met by these children to the extent possible given immediate and future livelihood needs. This is truly in line with the shift in thinking from food first to livelihood first perspective (Degefa 2005). Consequently, children are exposed to vulnerability conditions of defenselessness and food deficiency stresses and shocks. As a matter of fact, children's malnutrition perhaps may impair their physical development so that they grow up small and weak and may hinder brain development and their capacity to learn in the future.

6.2.2. Member ship in Iqub: Subsistence Saving

Iqub is a kind of Informal saving Association of the working children agreeing each other to rotate the fund contribution made by all the members on a weekly or monthly basis. This social set-up is mainly formed in favor of a particular ethnic line which is in turn established based on verbal agreements, trust and reciprocity. Iqub has an objective of not only accumulating money from the membership dues paid regularly but also encourages among members the principle of rotating loans which allows each member in turn to receive the amount contributed by the other members (Girmachew 2006).

Iqub also helps members to support each other and maintain solidarity. Therefore, participating in Iqub (informal saving associations) is almost a norm for majority 36 (72%) of the study children. The rest 14 (28%) of them have not yet become the member of any Iqub because of the short period work experience, incapability, lack of income and the lack of competence. Most of the study children are contributing individually about 50 to 70 birr per week regularly. Even though, it seems impossible for them to achieve this with the remaining birr in pocket (5 birr per day which is indicated in figure 5.3). The study indicates that most of them are committed to Iqub by scarifying their food and other basic necessities and if not, borrowing money from their friends and relatives. This shows that children are entered in to this livelihood commitment not because of they have but seeking to cope the unpredictable urban life incidents. It is one of the strategies to preserve future survival livelihood which enable them to cope harsh conditions of life.

Mechanisms to facilitate saving can help in dealing with stresses and shocks and building up financial assets (Meikle 2002 cited in Rakodi 2002). Likewise, children undoubtedly realized the immediate and future livelihood importance of this subsistence saving as adults do in most of the rural villages whereby modern bank saving does not exist. The saved money will be used in the time of economic hardships and uncertainties like hunger, sickness, accident, to start new career, school, and family remittances. The ever increasing cost of rent and price of goods such as shoe polish, brushes and cream are also met by this subsistence saving. Besides, children use this saving for the sake of fulfilling necessity demands which require large sum of money like clothes and shoes. Thus, the study reveals that working children are trying to cope with the urban life challenges and shocks and show resilience by exploiting all the existing possibilities and opportunities.

6.2.3. Iddir : Peer group welfare association

Iddir is an informal association of the shoe-shinning children agreeing mutually to safeguard each other from any vulnerable livelihood conditions of urban life hazards and accidents. It is a kind of social welfare established and regulated for the purpose of helping each other during the time of death of the relative or family member of their constituting members. Most of the study children are not participating in this type of social facet. Only few 8 (16%) of them are participating by contributing a sum of 5 birr per week undergoing in the process of collective assistance. The aim of Iddir, according to the children, is to protect those among the group who faced severe problems and losses. For example, this saving scheme has an important role enabling children to cope with crises (when they are seriously sick, accidentally injured, hospitalized, family death). Therefore, this kind of informal association is also one of the coping mechanisms against the urban life constraints and uncertainties faced by the working children.

6.2.4. Communal life style

There is an intense solidarity among shoe-shinning children in Addis Ababa city. Those who come from the same geographical origin and rural village form a unified group identity and belongingness. The Hadiya and Wolita shoe-shinning children under study have very close social ties and network among themselves. They live and work together for getting the benefits of

communal life style. Most of them conceived that living together is the inevitable livelihood strategy pertinent to minimize urban living cost and perhaps to make life easier and enjoyable. As shoe-shinning work involves a lot of competition, violence, and abuse, communal life style develops strength, endurance and defense power among the working children. In general, the very existing urban life challenges and shocks can be minimized and shared among the group. For instance, Brehanu, a 16 years old Hadiya shoe-shinning boy clearly elaborates the importance of communal life style as follows.

“Mutual life is a matter of necessity. Meaning, no one Listro would be able to survive alone in Addis Ababa city. Thanks to mutual life, we are living together for survival. My daily earning is not sufficient enough for food let alone covering house rent cost. Mostly, I have had assistances from friends and relatives. Whenever I feel sad, sick and hungry, friends will ask what the problem is and give help immediately. Then, I would be able to feel relief and wellbeing. Besides, everyone gives advices each other for getting in to home early night, not to drink alcohol, not to gamble and save money. No one will advise and help me if I am alone. Moreover, living together is just like living with a family. We usually enjoy life together at home having some sort of coffee or tea ceremony and celebrating holidays as well.”

Shoe-shinning children create a new sense of ‘family-hood’ with their social groups and exercise a sense of enthusiastic love and care each other. At times they suffer, they usually share material and financial benefits from each other. For instance, if a child lacks income to get food, friends will invite food and or lend some money. If somebody is sick or injured they would take him/her to the clinic or give treatment at home by bringing cooked food from restaurant or hotel or boiling tea or coffee at home. Habitually, these children are looking after each other as families take care of their children.

Shoe-shinning children spend most of their life time together with their friends and or relatives. They come and go together long distance from home to work place, perform work and take rest together in one street territory, go to cafeteria together and play together at home. Besides, they usually plan by contributing some money to go to their rural dwellings together during public holidays. For instance, Tamirat, a 15 year’s old shoe shinning boy expressed the meaning and importance of togetherness as follows.

“Loneness is shininess in our culture. Life has full of ups and downs. If I live alone, I do not have the power to overcome various life problems. Even, I may not be able to get all the daily meals for survival. Life alone is boring and tedious in nature. Above all, togetherness is the medicine of life stress and shock.”

Figure 6.1: Children cooking at home together (Left) and taking food outside (Right)



Source: The author, January 3 & 5, 2011

Nurturing and being nurtured is the fundamental cohesive force among these working children. They believed that everyone has the mandate to serve the victims among each other. When there is undesirable condition happen by vagabonds, police and or other local gardeners, they pass the information to every child on the street and defend conflicts together. The study reveals that social network and solidarity among the shoe-shinning children in Addis Ababa city is the foremost inevitable survival livelihood strategy and coping mechanism.

6.2.5. Livelihood diversification

Children in the context of poverty in Addis Ababa are engaged in a wide range of different economic activities in the urban informal sector. These include busking, hawking, shoe-shining, peddling, portaging, daily labour, working as weyalla (filling in taxis with passengers and collecting fares) etc (Tatek 2008). In the same way, beside the shoe-shine service, working children have been also involved in a range of additional income generating activities.

employment, rising food price, poor sanitation among others makes them vulnerable (UNDP 1999). In the same way, shoe-shinning children are one among the urban poor who have been exposed to the various vulnerable living conditions of Addis Ababa city. Most of them lack adequate livelihood income and basic necessities for survival which, in turn, affected health conditions of the children.

Miserable life due to the failure to completely acclimatize and mitigate the urban life constraints (such as the high cost of living due to rising food price, and high house rent cost), inflation, poor housing access, and poor sanitation), are the typical manifestations of vulnerability conditions of the shoe-shinning children. Besides, there are conditions in which children are losing their psycho-social consciousness as a result of being pained and faded up due to the constant stress and frustration they have. They spend most of their life time distressing what to earn, what to eat, what to pay for house rent and other living costs. Their survivals mainly depend up on the insignificant and unsecured wage earning and are mostly food in-secured. Much of the children's daily lives are spent seeking to mitigate or cope with present or likely future stresses and shocks. These urban life trends and shocks of the working children perhaps aggravates from time to time due to the unfavorable working and livelihood conditions in the city. For instance, children do not have any legal recognition and security to work on the street and consequently displaced and mistreated by police, vagabonds, gangsters and other street actors in the city.

Analyzing vulnerability involves identifying not only the threats to individuals and households and their assets, but also their resilience- their ability to mobilize assets to exploit opportunities and resist or recover from the negative effects of the changing environment (Moser 1996 in Rakodi 2002). Likewise, vulnerability conditions of the study children have been explored in different ways. Majority of them are resilient in such a way that crucial livelihood strategies and coping mechanisms gives them the guarantee for protecting the urban life hazards and uncertainties. In spite of the fact that urban space involves tough competition among the various street life actors, working children are exploiting the very existing opportunities and benefits arising out of it. Thus, the study reveals that even though shoe-shinning children are one of the most vulnerable groups of working children in Addis Ababa city, they can cope with shocks and exhibit resilience through the various survival livelihoods and strategies.

Box 6.1

A case study shoe-shinning child informant-2

Selamu is a 16 year's old shoe-shinning boy who has come from Wolita rural district and has seven brothers and sisters in the family. He narrated his conditions as follows.

"I came to Addis Ababa 3 years from now in 2008 from Wolita Zone with three of my local friends together. We all faced very challenging life in the rural milieu and were unable to tolerate the miserable livelihood conditions of the family and the area as well. All of our families are very poor and were not able to afford education fee and other basic necessities of life. Consequently, we all agreed to migrate to Addis Ababa city having in mind that the city is better for living and with several works to do. The information we had gained was from our friends at destination. Once in a day, while they came back for holiday celebration, they told us that everything was fine and were living better in the city.

After arrival, so many friends received us and spend all the day and night with them providing us food, and other needs temporarily. They advised us to adapt the city first and work shoe-shinning or other activities as we wish. After 3 days, one of the newly immigrant and elder friend started to work carrying bags, carton, and luggage around Merkato area and then I followed him. After sometime, I faced difficulties of getting this and other works. Then, I directly shifted to shoe-shinning work with the help of my friends who gave me brushes, polishes and other shoe-shine tools temporarily. I started to do this work simultaneous with the training given by my friends. Afterwards, I have been facing a lot of challenges and shocks in the city. Now it is about 2 and half year past doing shoe-shine work. Nothing is having in my pocket and in the family. The reality of Addis Ababa was much more different from what I had imagined. It is very difficult to survive let alone improving the livelihood conditions of my future life.

I am living together with 3 of my friends in a small squatter sharing a single mattress and casing unit which lies on the floor. As the squatter has full of drainages, holes, it does not protect us from cold and rain. We hold close to each other and spent all the night. We stand at early

morning and go by foot long distance to our work territory carrying shoe-shine boxes, sits and shades. We usually do not have breakfast and perhaps, if we soon work, we may take tea and biscuit for the moment. In the mid-afternoon while work access decreases, we all go together searching for cheap restaurants for a meal. Mostly the meal we are taking is cheap in price and poor in quality like Shero, pasta with enjera and Beyaynet. For the whole day we manage to survive by undertaking the existing livelihood activities surrounding our work territory. Such as car cleaning and washing around hotels, cafes, serving as messenger and carrying bags and other luggage. Thus, survival in the city is a full working career. We spend all the time to work unless sometime to play while work lacks.

We feel happy only when we work better and earn more. If no work access, we spend all the day watching the car festive and peoples move on the street along with the feeling of bad dreams, worrying and stresses. Without money, one cannot live in the city. We, shoe-shiners mostly face shortage of money which, in turn, affecting our mental, physical, and psycho-social health conditions of our life. What we most often worry is how to manage to survive and stay in the city because if we miss one day with out work, no food and we will be displaced at home and become homeless like on the street child. Thus, our life involves full of ups and downs in the city. For that matter, friendship, togetherness and communal life have been astonishingly protecting us from the various vulnerable livelihood conditions as well.

As shoe-shine work would never improve one's life, my immediate plan is to shift to other livelihood activities and earn more. If it is not possible the last option will be going back to family home. Now a day my family is improving their life due to the booming agricultural economy in the country. Thus, it is the time to decide where I have to be, work and or learn? In the short run, I may be inclined to attend school after I join the family. I hope learning is better than working for my life. Temporary work does not guarantee one's future livelihood. It is only education that teaches knowledge and experience relevant for future life and livelihood conditions. Thus, in deed I spoiled my life for longer than 2 years and if possible I need not survive more in the city afterwards.

6.4. Summary

Unlike the rural economy, the urban economy depends up on cash (Wratten 1995; Satterthwaite Rakodi 2002). Shoe-shinning children usually face problem of cash in Addis Ababa city because of the subsistence nature of their work and absence of other livelihood option. Most of them do not earn adequate livelihood income for survival. Thus, these children are facing shortage of all the basic necessities of life in the city. The food they are always taking is nutritionally poor and cheap in price. The study reveals only few of the working children can fulfill their daily food needs. Most of the time, the frequency of food intake for these children, has not been more than 2 times in a day. Perhaps, this may not be always the case and very often some of the shoe-shinning children spend some time without having sufficient food to eat during harsh conditions of life.

On the other hand, most of them are living in cheap (shanty) dwellings and poor housing squatters where the rents are too low. Most of the dwellings have very poor water access and do not have any sanitation amenities. This may in turn, expose the children for various communicable diseases such as common cold, diarrhea, typhoid etc. On the other hand, these working children have been travelling long distance on foot from home to their work territory. In this case, it is important to note that housing problem of the city is one of the foremost challenges aggravating the vulnerable living conditions of these children. The study indicates that shoe-shinning children spend most of their life time thinking how much to earn and pay for a living (what to eat, what to pay for rent and what to help for the family). As a consequence, these children may be exposed to vulnerability conditions of defenselessness, food deficiency, stresses and shocks.

Though shoe-shinning children are among the most vulnerable groups of the urban children in Addis Ababa city, they can cope with shocks and exhibit resilience through various kinds of survival livelihoods and strategies such as, Minimizing the daily food intakes and eating cheaper and less nutritious food stuffs, which means taking little and cheap meals a day; living in a group in cheap (shanty) dwellings and sharing beddings for the sake of tolerating the high cost of living in the city; committing themselves to subsistence savings in the informal saving associations such as Iqub and Iddir; Children entered in to this livelihood commitment not because of they

have but seeking to cope the unpredictable urban life incidents. It is one of the strategies to preserve future survival livelihood which will enable them to cope harsh conditions of life; they also engage in other informal activities so as to diversify and increase their level of earning and economic savings such as petty trade, taxi assisting, lottery vending, carrying luggage, car watching, cleaning and parking. Most often, those activities are undertaken simultaneously or alternatively with the shoe-shine service.

The other most fundamental survival strategy is communal life style among the children. As street work in general involves a lot of violence and struggle, formation of work group and leading communal life develops a sense of strength, endurance and defense power among the working children. Children also create a new sense of 'family-hood' with their social groups and exercise a sense of enthusiastic love and care each other. At times they suffer, they usually share material and financial benefits from each other. Majority of them are resilient in such a way that crucial livelihood strategies and coping mechanisms gives them the guarantee for protecting the urban life hazards and uncertainties. Thus, the study indicates that those livelihood and survival strategy and coping mechanism are part and parcel of the children's life in the city.

Chapter 7

Conclusions, Recommendations and Some way forward

7.1. Conclusions

Children are the major victims of urban and rural poverty and of urbanization. Rural-urban migration by children is the result of unfavorable demographic, social, and economic conditions in the rural milieu. Chronic livelihood poverty in rural areas which traditionally relied upon subsistence farming leads children to move to cities to find economic niches in the low paid informal sectors of urban areas. Children were obliged to quit school and migrate to the city in search of employment in the informal sector for the reason that rural parents are not able to fulfill their food and other material and financial demands. In other words, poor rural parents are unable to provide education and basic survival needs to rise out of the cycle of poverty. In general, children's migration is a response to social, economic, demographic changes in society which usually are visible at the household level. More specifically, their migration, often, is economically- motivated, looking for a better life for themselves and their families. Therefore, the children's migration can be better explained in terms of search for employment and survival strategy.

Survival is always one of the major denominators in the child's activities. However, ways in which the work is performed leave room for other dimensions to find expression (involving play, identity or relationships). Subsistence work is, however, characterized by a vision of economic activity exclusively as a means of survival and as a task that cannot be avoided (Invernizzi 2003). The findings indicate that shoe-shining activity is a primary means of survival for the study children. Limited access to other livelihood opportunities and the need for immediate survival are the two major reasons that children are engaged in this activity. Due to the subsistence nature of their work, children mostly lack the basic necessities for survival and growth: food, shelter, parental love, clothing, health care and education. Thus, the study indicates that children's attempt to survive in the city is highly exposed to various life-dangers and is mainly conditioned by other livelihood resources and strategies. They respond to food shortage crisis and other vulnerability conditions through practicing a variety of coping and adapting strategies.

Although rural poverty levels are generally higher, urban poverty has also more severe consequences on the life of the working children (Schmidt 2003). Poverty in urban areas is affected by a combination of factors that produce a wide range of vulnerabilities. The urban poor are more immersed in the cash economy and live in slum, squatter and periphery of urban centers. Their lack of legal status, insecure, low-wage employment, rising food price, poor sanitation among others makes them vulnerable (UNDP 1999). Likewise, shoe-shinning children are one among the urban poor who have been exposed to the various vulnerable living conditions of Addis Ababa city. Most of them lack adequate livelihood income and basic necessities for survival which, in turn, affected their psycho-social, mental and health conditions. Miserable life due to the failure to completely acclimatize and mitigate the urban life constraints (such as the high cost of living due to rising food price, and high house rent cost), inflation, poor housing access, and poor sanitation), are the typical manifestations of vulnerability conditions. Rapid urban growth has also enhanced rural-urban migration and the rapidly increasing of slums. Thus, poverty, urbanization and misconceived rural-urban policies have had its own adverse impacts on the life of the shoe-shinning children in Addis Ababa city.

7.2. Recommendations and some ways forward

- ✦ Building protective environment for working children in Addis Ababa should mainly focus on preventing adverse impacts of urbanization and ensuring an immediate response towards violence and abuse. In this regard, the city administration, NGOs and other community development actors should play vital role in the process of strengthening commitment and capacity to fulfill children's right to protection and promoting the establishment and enforcement of adequate legislation. Indeed, the administrative government of Addis Ababa city now-a-days has started doing a good deal of collective bargaining measures in favor of street children living in the city. The government plan to make some progressive achievement in the life of these children is well regarded. The effort to mobilize these children into some apprenticeship, vocational programmes and training institutions is very vital urban development scenario. Hopefully, it is a good momentum to change the life of these children. However, it should not be an end and still further efforts should be urged at grass-root level in order to address the root causes of the problems.

- ✚ The ever growing rural poverty and poor livelihood conditions of the family are the principal and root causes of vulnerability and migration by children. In this regard, the regional and local governments should play vital role. Providing all children with access to education should be the major responsibility along with practical means of preventing child migration and work. Free, compulsory and good-quality educational services should be vital component of the rural development schemes and programmes. For instance, building the capacity of families and communities should be one among the strategy to prevent child work. Policies which focus on household welfare will necessarily improve the wellbeing of the children. For instance, Credit access to the families and safety nets programme plays vital role in this regard. Social programmes which support families in need and their children should be one of the strategies to alleviate the problems of working children in Addis Ababa city.

- ✚ Many working and or shoe-shinning children's lives in Addis Ababa city are often found criminalized even though they did not commit any crime. Street work involves a lot of violence; abuse and discrimination which create problems and impacts on inter-personal relationships for these children. Thus, the administrative government should create enabling environment for children who make their livelihoods on the street. This would be possible if and only if these children have got legal recognition by the administration giving them Kebele Identification card and enrolling them in small saving groups, protection of their work and safety of the working environment.

- ✚ The study also reveals that alternative employment and place of work and housing facilities are very crucial needs which would protect the working children from the existing vulnerability conditions in the city. Shoe shiners capacities are ought to be improved through organizing in cooperative lines and training them modern and alternative tasks of offering the service in a well organized manner forming their own organizations. The municipality and other stakeholders need to engage with and support the shoe shiners through providing them with better operating spaces such as shades, containers and other material support. Provision of the operating spaces would also improve city beauty and reduce the public health risks they so much complain about such as closeness to open sewer lines which transmit foul odour to them and their clients and increases their susceptibility to diseases.

- ✦ In general, urban policies and programmes should give due concern on the real life problems of the working (shoe-shinning) children and priority should be given for creating enabling environment in order to pave better livelihood conditions. Children should be provided essential services for prevention, recovery and reintegration, including basic health, education and protection. This will help them to easily build the capacity to cope with the existing urban life challenges and shocks.



References

- Aitken, S. and Herman, T. 2009. *Literature Review on Qualitative Methods and Standards for Engaging and Studying Independent Children in the Developing World*, Innocenti: Working Paper, no. 2009-05, Florence.
- Andivig, J.C. Canagarajah, S. Kielland, A. 2001. *The issue of child labor in Africa*, Africa Region Human Development Working Paper Series; Human Development Sector; World Bank, September 2001.
- Aptekar, L. & Behailu Abera. 1997. *Conflict in the Neighborhood: Street and Working Children in the Public Space*, *Childhood* 4: 477-490.
- Aptekar, L. and P. Heinoen 2003. *Methodological implications of the diversity of street children* *Children Youth and Environment*, Vol.13: No.1. www.colorado.edu/journals.
- Bar-on, A. 1995. *Criminalizing Survival: Images and Reality of Street Children*; journal of Cambridge University Press.
- Berg, B. L. 2001. *Qualitative research methods for the social sciences*, Allyn and Bacon, United States.
- Bhalotra, S. 2003. *Child Labour in Africa*, OECD Social, Employment, and Migration Working Papers No. 4, Bristol, United Kingdom.
- Bolle de Ball, M. 1987. '*Aspiration au travail et expérience du chômage: crise, déliance et Paradoxes*', *Revue Suisse de Sociologie* 1: 63-83.
- Camfield, L. & Yisak Tafere. 2009. "*Children with a good life have to have school*" a diverse Understanding of well being among older children in three communities; working Paper number 37; January, 2009, young lives, department of International development, University of Oxford, UK.

- Carney, D. 1998. *Implementing the Sustainable Rural Livelihoods Approach*; In Carney D. (ed): *Sustainable Rural Livelihoods: What Contribution Can We Make?* Department for International Development (DFID): H.M. Government, London, 1998.
- Chambers, R. 1995. *Paradigm Shifts and the Practice of Participatory Research and Development*. In Nelson N. and Wright S. (eds): *Power and Participatory Development: Theory and Practice*; Intermediate Technology Publications, London.
- Chambers, R. and Conway, G. 1992. *Sustainable rural livelihoods: Practical concepts for the 21st century*: IDS Discussion Paper 296, IDS, Brighton.
- CSA. 2007. *Compilation of Economic Statistics in Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa: Central Statistical Agency.
- CSA, 2001. *Ethiopia Child Labor Survey Report 2001*: Central Statistical Authority, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.
- CSA, 2008. *Summary and statistical report of the 2007 population and housing census*: Federal democratic republic of Ethiopia population census commission; central Statistical agency; Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, December, 2008.
- Davies, S. 1996. *Adaptable livelihoods: Coping with Food Insecurity in the Malian Sahel*, London: MacMillan
- Degefa Tolossa. 2005. *Rural Livelihoods, Poverty and Food Insecurity in Ethiopia: A Case Study at Erenssa and Garbi communities in Oromiya zone, Amhara National Regional State*, Doctoral thesis, Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim, Norway.
- DFID, 2005. *Voices of Child Migrants "A Better Understanding of How Life Is"* Development research centre on migration, globalization and poverty, Migration DRC UK, Department for International Development, London, UK.

- Ellis, F. 2000. *Rural Livelihoods and Diversity in Developing Countries*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Ennew, J. 1994. *Street and Working Children: A Guide to Planning; development Manual 4*. Save the Children UK. London.
- FSCE, 2003. *Sample survey on the situation of street children in eight major towns of Ethiopia*, Forum on street children in Ethiopia: Addis Ababa.
- Getinet Haile and Beliyou Haile. 2007. *Child Labour and Child Schooling in Rural Ethiopia: Nature and Trade-off*: Policy Studies Institute (PSI) & Department of economics, Columbia University, London.
- Girmachew Adugna. 2006. *Livelihoods and survival strategies among migrant children in Addis Ababa*, (Master's Thesis): Norwegian University of Science and Technology: Trondheim. Norway.
- Guarcello, L., Lyon, S. & Rosati, F. 2006. *The twin challenges of child labor and youth Employment in Ethiopia: Understanding Children's Work (UCW) Project*, ILO, UNICEF and World Bank group: Working Paper series July 2006, University of Rome "Tor vergata", Faculty of Economics, Rome.
- Haan, A., Drinkwater, M., Rakodi, C., & Westley, K. 2002. *Methods for understanding urban Poverty and livelihood*: UK Department for International Development/DFID, UK.
- Harper, C. and Marcus, R. 1996: *Child poverty in sub-Saharan Africa*; Save the Children UK; Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.
- Hecht, T. (ed.) (2002) *Minor Omissions- Children in Latin American History and Society*, The University of Wisconsin Press, Wisconsin.

- Heinonen, P. 2000. *Anthropology of Street Children in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia*: Ph.D. Dissertation; University of Durham, Durham, U.K.
- Huang, Barreda, P., Mendoza, et al. 2004. A comparative Analysis of *abandoned street children and formerly abandoned street children in La Paz, Bolivia*, 89:821–826; March 4, 2004, Boston, USA.
- Invernizzi, A. 2003. *Street-working children and adolescents in lima; work as an agent of Socialization*; Centre for Family Research, Social and Political Sciences Faculty, University of Cambridge, Cambridge, UK.
- James, et al. 1998. *Children and social competence: arenas of action*, Routledge Falmer: Taylor and Francis, pp. vii-x. Macmillan: Palgrave.
- Kjørholt, A. T. 2004. *Childhood as a Social and Symbolic Space: Discourses on Children as Social Participants in Society*. Doctoral thesis: Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim.
- Krantz, L. 2001. The sustainable livelihood approach to poverty reduction: published by Sida February, 2001.
- Lalor, K. 1998. *Researching the victimisation of street children in Addis Ababa*: Methodological issues. In D. Hogan & R. Gilligan (Eds.), *Researching children's experiences: Qualitative approaches* (pp. 27–34). Trinity College, Dublin, Ireland: The Children's Research Centre.
- Lomnitz, L. 1977. *Networks and Marginality: Life in a Mexican Shanty Town*. Academic Press
- Lusk, M.W. 1988. Street Children Programs in Latin America; *Journal of Sociology and Welfare* 16: 55–77.
- MEDAC, 2000. *An overview of urban poverty in Addis Ababa*, Ministry of Economic Development and Cooperation: Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

- Mehrotra, S. & Bigger, M. 2002. *The Subterranean Child Labour Force: Subcontracted Home Based Manufacturing in Asia*; Working Paper No. 96 November 2002; UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre and Department of Economics, University of Florence, Italy.
- Panter-Brick, C. 2000. *Street children, human rights, and public health: A Critique and Future Directions* Department of Anthropology, University of Durham, Durham, UK.
- PIN, 2009. *A study on the situation of child labour in Ethiopia: review of existing studies and brief assessment*; people in need Ethiopia, 2009, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.
- Poluha, E. 2007. *An annotated bibliography on children and childhood in Ethiopia: save the Children Sweden and save the children Norway*, March 2007; Dalarna University, Sweden.
- Potter, B and Lloyd-Evans, S.1998. *The city in the Developing World*, Essex, Addison Wesley Longman Limited.
- Rakodi, C. 2002. *Economic Development, Urbanization and Poverty* in Rakodi, C. & Lloyd-Jones T. (eds.) *Urban Livelihoods: A people-centered approach to reducing poverty*, Earth scan Publications Ltd, UK.
- Rigg, J. (2007). *An Everyday Geography of the Global South*, Routledge, New York.
- SCD, 2003. *Child Labor in Ethiopia with Especial Focus on Child Prostitution*; Save the Children Denmark; Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.
- Schmidt, A.L. 2003. *Neglected and forgotten: the Human Rights of street children* Poverty reduction and development in Ethiopia; Master thesis; European masters' degree in human right and democratization, July 2003.

- Scoones, I. 1998. *Sustainable rural livelihoods: A framework for analysis*, IDS working paper No.72, Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex, Sussex, UK. 1998.
- SCU, 2004. *Children and formerly abandoned street children; a comparative Analysis of Abandoned street Child situation analysis for Ethiopia*; Save the children UK, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.
- Sen, A. 1975. *Employment, Technology and Development*, Oxford: Clarendon Press
- Simonnes, A. 1996. *When Children are at Risk-Ministering to Children and Their Families in Crises Situation*, Fagbokforlaget, Bergen.
- Strauss, A. & Corbin, J. 1990. *Basics of qualitative research: grounded theory, procedures and techniques*, sage publications, London
- Tassew Woldehanna, Bekele Teferra, Jones, N., & Alebel, B. 2002. *Child Labour, Gender Inequality and Rural/Urban Disparities: How can Ethiopia's National Development Strategies are revised to Address Negative spill-over Impacts on child Education and Wellbeing?* Working Paper No. 20: Young lives, an international study of child Poverty, London.
- Tatek Abebe. 2008. *Ethiopian Childhoods; A Case Study of the Lives of Orphans and Working Children*; Doctoral thesis, Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim, Norway, January 2008.
- Tatek Abebe. 2009. *The Survival Strategies of Ethiopian Child Beggars*: In, Proceedings of the 16th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, ed. NTNU, Trondheim, Norway.
- Tatek Abebe & Kjørholt, A.T. 2009. *Childhood: Social Actors and Victims of Exploitation: Working children in the cash economy of Ethiopia's South*; 16: 175.
- Thomas, J.J. 1992. *Informal Economic Activity*, Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheat sheaf.

UNICEF, 2005. *Child labour today; end child exploitation*: New York, The United Nations Children's Fund London, UK.

UNICEF, 2006b. Child protection information sheet: *Child labour; child protection section*; UNICEF, May, 2006.

UNICEF, 2000. *Children working on the streets of Ethiopia; "Study on Street Children in Selected Towns of Ethiopia"*; UNICEF, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

UNICEF. 1995. *The convention on the rights of the child*. UK Committee for UNICEF, London, UK.

UNICEF, 2006a. Selected Statistics and Indicators on Child Labour; *Incidence and Nature of Child Labour*, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

Appendices

- I. Semi-structured guide for individual and in-depth interviews
- II. Themes for in-depth/ Focus group discussions (Target children)
- III. Small exploratory questionnaire survey
- IV. Story Writing topics
- V. Check list for direct and semi-participant observation
- VI. Key informant interview guide with heads government (MOLSA)
And Non-government officials (FSCE)

I. Semi-structured guide for individual and in-depth interviews

- Name, age, religion, place of origin and ethnicity?
- Where and when did you come to Addis Ababa? 2
- How (with whom) and what made you come to Addis Ababa?
- Do you have any prior information about shoe-shinning job?
- Have you started to work shoe-shinning immediately after your arrival in Addis?
- Do you attend school? Which grade? If you don't, why?
- How do you describe the nature and traits of shoe-shinning work and associated hazards?
- Explain the aim of doing shoe-shinning work?
- Why do you prefer this livelihood activity? How long have you been doing this job?
- What are the likes and dislikes about shoe-shinning engagement?
- How are you leading your life? Where do you usually sleep? With whom?
- Is what you earn enough? If not, why? How much do you earn per day on average? How much you spend per day on average?
- The size of the household, age and gender composition?
- What is your parent's occupation (economic activities of a family)? What are their sources of income?
- Do you have any contact with families? How often?
- Do they encourage you to work? What and how do they encourage you?
- Who usually help you when you have faced difficult problems?
- Do you have any contact with friends and relatives?
- What does these social relations serves you?
- Briefly describe any participation in any social aspect and or other Community affairs?
- Briefly describe any linkage or support from internal and external organizations (NGOs), community associations?
- Do you think shoe-shinning work has been changing your life?
- How does it change and what changes have you realized yet?
- Do you have any additional livelihood activities and strategy to supplement your income?
- Describe which livelihood strategy is creating more gainful means of living?

- How do you learn shoe-shinning skills and experiences?
- What kind(s) of major problem(s) you face while working as shoe-shiner?
- What resources and or assets are accessible to you? How do you acquire these assets?
- How do you evaluate shoe-shinning work? Advantages and disadvantages?
- What are the urban life opportunities and constraints? How do you cope?
- Briefly describe your living situation? Food/meals, clothing, health status and sanitation aspects?
- How do you characterize yourself and your work? What is your vision in the future?
- Remember the worst situation in your life and the copying mechanism?
- What are the ways to improve your life?
- What do you expect from the Government, NGO and other community development organizations?

II. Themes for in-depth Focus Group Discussions

- Issues of education, sanitation, recreation, substance abuse?
- Why shoe-shining? A matter of Necessity or choice?
- What is good or bad in shoe-shinning job?
- Urban life opportunities and constraints?
- What are the push and or pull factors towards migration to the city?
- How do you evaluate shoe-shinning work? How does it change life?
- Nature and social meaning of shoe-shinning work and associated hazards?
- What are the toughest problems facing shoe-shiners? What should be done to alleviate these problems? Copying mechanisms?
- What should be the priority to childhood? Education or work?
- What are the Merits and demerits of social life and community linkages?
- Community perceptions and attitudes towards shoe-shinning children.
- Support services and public programmes required to empower shoe-shinning children at grassroots, institutional and national levels? What policies and programs are needed?

IV. Story writing questions

- Explain your Migration status (causes, reasons, purpose....)
- Describe the aim of shoe-shine work, its trait and characteristic nature?
- Narrate your life history and daily livelihood conditions in Addis Ababa city?
- Describe the social relationship and networks developed?
- How do you manage to survive in the city (daily activities, income, expenditure, food, shelter, etc) and what are the urban life challenges and shocks you have been facing?
- Describe the worst situation in your life and the coping mechanisms?

V. Check list for direct and semi-participant observation

- Urban space and competitive use by the shoe-shinning children.
- Home life and street work environment and obstacles facing the children.
- Physical wellbeing, clothing and health conditions.
- Way of adapting the urban environment. Coping mechanisms.
- Livelihood and survival strategies.
- Daily activities and time spent during the day and night.
- Life leading, competence and self responsibility.
- Visible life stresses and shocks shoe-shinning children are facing.
- Expenditures, savings and money (resource) use and management.
- Communal life style and access and use of shared resources and or assets.
- Social ties and networks with friends, relatives, police, shop-keepers etc
- Playing, doing, sleeping and eating?
- Sanitation, shelter, well-being, Health care, recreation activities?

VI. Key informant interview guide with the heads government (MOLSA) and non government (FSCE) officials

- Name, profession, position, work experience?
- What is the aim of your organization? Does it aim to serve shoe-shinning children?

- How do you perceive shoe-shinning children and their work?
- What are the push and pull factors behind children migration and work in the city?
- Do you think shoe-shinning work has significant impact on the life of the children? How?
- What is the implication of shoe-shinning job on childhood poverty? Causes and consequences?
- Are there any shoe-shinning children advocacy strategies and programmes designed by your organization?
- How serious are the problems of shoe-shinning children in the city?
- What support services are required to empower shoe-shinning children at grassroots, institutional and national levels?
- What should be done to improve the life of shoe-shinning children in Addis Ababa?

DECLARATION

I, the under signed, declared that the thesis is my original work, has not been presented for a degree in any other university, and that all the sources of materials used for this thesis have been dully acknowledged.

Declared by:

Confirmed by:

Venue: Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

Date: March 2011

