RESPONSIBILITY, WORK AND TRANSITIONS ON THE STREET. A GROUNDED THEORY STUDY OF STREET-INVOLVED CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE IN NORTHERN TANZANIA.

By:

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Declaration of Authorship

I, Gemma Kate Pearson, hereby declare that this thesis and the work presented in it is entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated.

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Abstract

Street-involved children and young people in northern Tanzania have left home to make a life for themselves on the street. While they consider leaving home necessary for improving their prospects, many discover that life on the street is more challenging than they had expected. This research is based in northern Tanzania and, using grounded theory methodology, engaged 55 street-involved children and young people, former street-involved children, social workers and community members in group and individual interviews to learn more about the role relationships play street-involved children and young people's lives. Following nine months of fieldwork, data collection, open coding, constant comparison and theoretical abstraction, this thesis has identified four key areas of concern for street-involved children and young people in northern Tanzania. These four areas identify that; (1) children and young people after they leave home have broken the intergenerational contract with their families and are left responsible for meeting their own needs; (2) while children seem satisfied with the freedom and opportunity to earn money when they first arrive on the street, after time they aspire for better paid and well-respected jobs which are often inaccessible to them; (3) children and young people face certain change points during their life trajectories on the street; and, (4) after children have aged into young people, some become disenchanted due to their perceived lack of opportunities on the street and become involved in heavy drug use: the children and young people consider this 'giving up on life'. Underpinning the challenges that children and young people face on the street is an absence of someone who will share responsibility for them and grant them access to opportunities beyond the street. This thesis argues that providing street-involved children and young people with supportive relationships will expand their options and future prospects.

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Throughout the process of analysing my data and writing this thesis, I am constantly reminded of the invaluable contribution of Asimwe, my Tanzanian research assistant, cultural gatekeeper and friend. Her name features across most of my interview transcripts, reminding me of the compassionate and confident way with which she interacted with our research participants. Asimwe's conscientious pursuit of children and young people to interview, diligent transcribing and translating, and insightful analytical contributions provided the conduit through which I was able to engage with, and develop my understanding of, the lives of the street-involved children and young people in this study. Her regular presence in the field provided valuable companionship, motivation and fun which saw me through the, sometimes tedious, process of data collection and analysis. Daily companionship was also provided by Lucy and Wema, my two Kiswahili tutors. I am grateful for their patience, humour and enthusiasm for teaching me Kiwahili, welcoming me into their families, sharing their cooking skills and, crucially, always talking to me in Kiswahili. My relationship with them has been a source of joy and laughter. I am also thankful to my other research assistants, Fred, Respick and Charles, who graciously vouched for my research and introduced Asimwe and I to some remarkable children and young people. Which brings me to my research participants. My research was only possible thanks to the children and young people who, despite multiple demands on their time, participated in interviews and discussions by sharing their stories, opinions, frustrations and aspirations. They have opened my eyes and challenged my assumptions and I will continue advocating for them and others like them.

Glossary

Term	Meaning
ACRWC	The African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child.
Bodaboda	Motorcycle taxi.
Chalii [ma-]	Kiswahili slang term relating to a young adolescent boy [plural pre-fix].
Chokoraa [wa-]	Kiswahili derogatory term for a street-involved child [plural pre-fix].
Getto	A one room dwelling.
GTM	Grounded Theory Methodology.
-hangaika	Kiswahili translation of 'hassling'. Meaning 'struggle, restlessness and anxiety'.
Hassling	Anxiously struggling to get by. Denotes restlessness.
Kapurwa	A lesser used derogatory term for street-involved children.
Kingunge	A referee. Someone who will recommend a young person for a job and vouch for their character.
Kiswahili	The Swahili language: official language of Tanzania.
Kutesa	To persecute. Often used in the context where a child is unfairly treated by his or her parent, step-parent, aunt or uncle.
Maasai	An ethnic group of people who inhabit Kenya and Tanzania.
Machinga	Someone who sells goods from a pallet at the bus station or along the road.
Mama Ntilie	A woman who cooks and serves food in the market or on the side of the road.

Mascan	A term of familiarity used for the street. Incapsulates notions of 'home'.
Mawazo	Literal meaning: thoughts. Colloquial word for 'stress'.
Scrapper	A piece of scrap metal collected to sell to a trader for money: price is calculated by weight.
Street worker	Someone who works with street-involved children on the street. Usually involves building a relationship with the child and supporting them through their challenges. More commonly known as 'detached youth worker' in the UK.
StreetInvest	UK-based charity which campaigns for the rights of street children and provides training for street workers globally (www.streetinvest.org).
Teja [ma-]	Kiswahili slang term for someone who is addicted to alcohol and/or narcotics [plural pre-fix].
The Centre	The local NGO-partner. Real name concealed for sake of confidentiality.
Uchokoraa	'U' relates to the Kiswahili noun class that denotes concepts. Uchokoraa is the state of being a street-involved child, or street-involved childhood.
UNCRC	United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child.

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introducing street-involved children and young people

"Sometimes you feel it is better to leave home, to avoid copying that kind of life that my father had and go hassling[1] for life by myself." (Interview 1: Jackson[2], male, aged 19.)

We met Jackson and Samuel (aged 18) mid-morning by the main road heading out of town. They had walked about thirty minutes to meet us and held hands with each other as we walked to a nearby eatery to sit and talk. We sat down to ask them about their relationships on the street and Asimwe translated. Jackson was older, more confident and spoke animatedly, engaging keenly with the questions Asimwe was posing. Samuel appeared more pensive and would contribute most when asked questions directly. I had just returned to Tanzania following my pilot visit a year previous and my Kiswahili was not yet up to scratch, so I only caught the odd word here and there. I could tell that Asimwe and the young people were quickly building a rapport and Asimwe was obviously empathising with them. Jackson and Samuel had a lot to say and Asimwe was translating as thoroughly as she could. When I read the translated transcript, about a week later, I was able to understand in detail how open they had been about the challenges they faced on the street and what their hopes were. Their persistence in the face of adversity was astonishing. Being our first interview, I poured over every word while open coding as much as I could. It was not until later in the analysis that I realised that Jackson had so eloquently articulated a sentiment that resonated throughout subsequent discussions with street-involved children and young people: Jackson had decided that it was necessary to "go hassling for life by [him]self". For Jackson, this decision made sense because he thought that leaving home to take care of himself was better than becoming like his alcoholic father. Other children had differing reasons, but the

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[1] Anxiously struggling to get by. Denotes restlessness.

[2] All names of street-involved children and young people in this thesis are pseudonyms.

limited options that preceded the decision and the resultant, sometimes reluctant, independence are common threads articulated by participants in my study. Although we had started our study asking about relationships on the street, it became clear that street-involved children and young people's challenges and opportunities were inextricably linked to their connection, or lack of connection, within a family network. By leaving their family and communities children are taking responsibility for meeting their own needs and must build new relationships on the street to facilitate their survival. These new relationships enable children's survival on the street but hold few assurances for their future and rarely invest in their potential. As Jackson expresses, life on the street involves 'hassling' *(-hangaika*: meaning struggle, restlessness and anxiety) and lacks stability. This can lead to children and young people to becoming stuck in cycles of survival and, in some cases, decline.

Street-involved children are a persistent phenomenon across the globe, but the definitions of street-involved children shift across locations and over time. Nuances among the population require more specific categorisation, such as street-working, street-living or street-connected. The terms 'street-involved' or 'street-connected' are an attempt to encapsulate all forms of children and young people who consider the street to be a main point of reference for their lives (Thomas de Benítez, 2011). This thesis focuses primarily on street-living children and young people, with some of the older participants permanently or intermittently renting one-room accommodation. Since some of the participants sleep in rented accommodation I will refer to this population, collectively, as street-involved. Street-involved children and young people's unique stories and street experiences vary hugely depending on their socio-cultural contexts and the urban environments they inhabit. What unites the population of street-involved children and young people in this thesis is that individuals find themselves solely responsible for meeting their own needs and are often disconnected from family support structures and consistent social provision.

In both the Global North and South, street-involved children and young people are nearly always an urban phenomenon. In the Global North, street-involved children and young people may be more commonly referred to as 'homeless'. In

parts of the Global South, where poverty requires children to seek work in the informal sector, there is often a distinction between street-working children and street-living children. Although both populations inhabit the same space, interact with one another and share struggles, street-working children's regular contact with family remains a defining feature due to the significant impact that family support has on children and young people's care, opportunities and choices (Cid and Martí, 2012; Schrader-McMillan and Herrera, 2016). As Thomas de Benítez (2003) suggests, populations of street-involved children are highly visible, but those who are street-living make up a much smaller proportion:

> *"Street-living children can be taken to mean* those who sleep on the street the majority of the time and retain limited or no contact with their family of origin. *Children who live on the streets without any parental support are a fraction of the total population of street-involved children." (pg. 134, emphasis in text)*

This thesis is based on research conducted with street-involved and former street-involved children and young people in northern Tanzania who have little contact with their family. The research was co-funded and co-supervised by StreetInvest, a UK based NGO who train individuals to become 'street workers'; an intervention which is better known as 'detached youth work' in the UK. The intention of the research was to work alongside StreetInvest partners in Tanzania in order to explore children's relationships on the street. In Tanzania the research was initially hosted by a local NGO who had previously received training from StreetInvest. The local NGO also employed one of StreetInvest's Global Trainers as a street worker in one of the field sites. The local NGO and StreetInvest's Global Trainer were key gatekeepers in the initial stages of the fieldwork for this thesis, particularly during the first visit in 2014.

StreetInvest were founded in 2008 with the aim of developing and delivering UK-based street worker training in the Global South. With extensive connections and specialism in sub-Saharan Africa, the street worker training has been delivered in 8 countries across the region, training 700 street workers. StreetInvest defines street workers as, "similar to detached or community youth workers in the UK. They are responsible, trustworthy, trained, local people who work on the streets with and for street children" (StreetInvest, no date). The role

of a street worker is detailed as someone who uncovers opportunities and explores options for children and young people, builds their strengths, deals with conflict, provides access to services, advocates on children and young people's behalf when liaising with authorities and families, advocates for children's rights and provides a framework for child protection (ibid). A key characteristic of the street worker role is to seek out children on the street, rather than requiring children to attend a drop-in or similar service. Because of this tailored and flexible approach, street workers, outreach workers and social workers are often key in referring children to services that seek to help them transition away from their lives on the street (Slesnick *et al.*, 2017). However, motivated by a child rights approach, they are also responsible for supporting those children and young people who have decided, for whatever reason, not to leave the street: arguably those that are hardest to reach (McEvoy *et al.*, 2013). This is crucial since street work is one of few services willing to continue engaging with children and young people who refuse to leave the street. StreetInvest communicate the extent to which street workers are meant to pursue street-involved children in an unconditional and non-judgemental way:

> *"the street worker is present when other workers are going home at 5 p.m. The street worker's office is the street and community. The street worker conveys a message to the child that 'You are important' and 'whatever your story is I am interested to know and to help.' The Street Worker does not blame or punish"* (ibid).

The street worker approach is grounded in child rights discourse and the person-centred work of psychologist, Carl Rogers. The person-centred approach works from the premise that when individuals are engaged in a genuine, non-judgemental relationship of unconditional positive regard, they are enabled to "expand, extend, become autonomous, develop, [and] mature" (Rogers, 1961: 35). Street workers aim to create genuine and non-judgmental relationships with street-involved children based on Rogers' person-centred approach combined with child rights principles. The street worker training recognises, "[t]he significance of relationship as a basis for resourceful and empowering change for the child within the context of the street" (McEvoy *et al.*, 2013: 240).

There is a great wealth of research conducted with street-involved children that spans multiple disciplines, including children's geographies, children's studies,

social and cultural geography, sociology, criminology, social care, development studies, development and behavioural psychology and health studies. Studies range in style from ethnographic and descriptive (Beazley, 2003; Gigengack, 2000; Hecht, 1998), to deductive and quantitative (Aderinto, 2000; Aptekar and Ciano-Federoff, 1999). Such research describes the daily lives of street-involved children, tests hypotheses and explains phenomena through specific disciplinary lenses. Tisdall and Punch (2012) argue that after over a decade of research into childhoods that focus on children's experiences of their daily lives, childhood research would benefit from a new wave of research that prioritises theory building from the 'bottom-up', particularly from the Global South (pg. 259). My own reading of the literature identified, similarly, that prevailing assumptions about the supremacy of children's voices over adult interpretations of children's narratives stifled critical dialogue on the meaning of children's agency and actions, particularly when they engage in self-destructive behaviour. For this reason, I decided to conduct this research based on grounded theory methodology (GTM). GTM is a method of inquiry which uses a process of induction, deduction and abduction[3] in order to abstract qualitative data into a working theory for practical use and as a reference point for further investigation. My reasons for selecting GTM as my methodology, and how I apply it in this study, will be discussed in more detail in chapter 3.

1.2 Tanzania: An economic, social, cultural and political overview

Tanzania is located on the coast of East Africa comprising of mainland Tanzania and the semi-autonomous archipelago of Zanzibar in the Indian Ocean. Tanzania's population projection for 2016 was 50 million people, with 48.5 million living on the mainland (National Bureau of Statistics (NBS), 2017). Tanzania mainland is made up of 26 regions, of which the most populous 8

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[3] Abduction is a form of logical inference which identifies relationships between phenomena in order to establish 'new' ideas (Reichertz, 2007). It forms part of the process of analysis by suggesting explanations for observed data which are then tested in subsequent data collection.

regions make up 47% of the population, variously distributed in Dar es Salaam (5.4 million people) and central and northern regions of the country (NBS, 2017). Tanzania gained independence from the United Kingdom in 1964 and was led by President Julius Nyerere until his resignation in 1985 (Nalkur, 2009b). During his time in office, Nyerere implemented various economic policies that shaped post-independence Tanzania, including *ujamaa*[4] and villagisation[5]; both intended to establish Tanzania's own iteration of African Socialism under the theme of 'self-reliance' (ibid). After the failure of these economic policies, Tanzania entered into structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) with the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) which, among many changes, introduced fees for citizens' access to social services and generated feelings of deprivation among some (Vavrus, 2005, *particularly with reference to Chagga communities in Kilimanjaro*). The economic liberalisation which followed SAPs has arguably only benefited a narrow stratum of society (Heilman and Kaiser, 2002).

Tanzania has a high fertility rate of approximately 5 children born per woman (NBS, 2017; World Population Review, 2019) and in 2012 44% of Tanzanians were aged 15 years or under (Tanzanian NBS, 2017). Tanzania has sustained relatively good economic growth over the past decade (average of 6-7% GDP growth per year) due to growth in industrial and agricultural sectors (World Bank, 2018). Despite this, in Tanzania 31% of 0-2 year-olds and 36% of 2-5 year-olds are physically stunted[6], rising to 32% and 38%, respectively, in rural areas (NBS & UNICEF, 2016). Additionally, while the overall poverty rate has dropped, the numbers of those in poverty have not due to the country's high population growth rate (World Bank, 2018). Levels of stunting relate to availability, access to, or primary carer's awareness of the value of nutritional food for children in early years, as well as access to sufficient clean water,

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[4] Direct translation: 'familyhood'.

[5] Involving the resettlement of Tanzanian citizens, sometimes forcibly, into village units to encourage cooperation with regards to agricultural activities in order to promote 'self-reliance' at the local level.

[6] Measured against WHO indicators.

sanitation and hygiene facilities (UNICEF, n.d.). Therefore, as an indicator, it reflects a web of factors indicative of levels of development and deprivation within a country. Tanzania's Human Development Index value in 2017 was 0.538, ranking it 154 out of 189 countries and territories in the rank, placing it in the 'low human development' category, although slightly above average for other countries in sub-Saharan Africa (UNDP, 2018). Inequality across the country poses challenges for future economic growth. Additionally, while the latest President, John Pombe Magufuli, elected in 2015, has prioritised to 'clamp down' on corruption within the country (ibid), reports of his support of regressive policies regarding girls' access to education after becoming pregnant (Ratcliffe, 2017), as well as evidence of violence in response to oppositional politics (The Economist, 2018), adds ambiguity to the future of Tanzania's governance.

Across the country, school enrolment for children aged 14-17 is low, with 44% not enrolled in education, and 1 in 4 children in this age bracket being 2+ years behind their age appropriate school grade/class (NBS & UNICEF, 2016). Also, conditions fare worse in rural areas than urban areas on almost all indicators of deprivation including levels of birth registration, with 68% versus 38% not registered in rural and urban areas, respectively. The Tanzanian National Bureau of Statistics and UNICEF suggest that the education level of adults in a household has a large bearing on children's levels of deprivation, with results "*clearly show[ing] that the education of adult household members is key in reducing child deprivation, and particularly educational deprivation*" (2016: 36). Interestingly, NBS and UNICEF (2016) report that boys appear to fare worse on many of the indicators of deprivation across the age brackets from birth to 17 years old.

Culturally, Tanzania is comprised of approximately 120 ethnic groups, and many more clans which consist of various ethnic combinations (Tripp, 1999). Among Tanzanians, there is a relatively even split of Christians, Muslims, those who participate in traditional African spiritual practices and those who mix the former two with the latter (Heilman and Kaiser, 2002). For the most part, Tanzanians exist peacefully alongside one-another, due in part to the absence of the domination of any particular clan or ethnic group. However, some tensions exist

across religious lines at the domestic level, such as disagreements over burial grounds and rituals, particularly where a family member has married across religious traditions (ibid). Tanzania is a predominantly patriarchal society, with inheritance and lineage being carried down the male descendent line (Hollos, 2002; Lugalla and Mbwambo, 1999), although, traditional lineage rules can vary widely across different clans (Howard, 1994). Despite patriarchy being an element of the *ujamaa* socialist policies in the 60s and 70s, normalising the idea of the nuclear family (Lal, 2012), in reality, family structures in the south of Tanzania were much less rigid during this time, with families engaging in multiple marriages as survival strategies, as Lal (2010) argues:

> *"Far from comprising the coherent institution of either the 'traditional' African extended family or the 'modern' nuclear family sought by the state's home economics approach, family in Mtwara [south-eastern Tanzania] had in fact remained an often temporary and malleable entity throughout the villagization process. […] These included, quite frequently, forming multiple temporary marriage alliances, engaging in migration and other forms of petty wage labor, and maintaining a degree of flexibility that official policy failed to accommodate." (pg. 18)*

As Tanzania has become more urbanised and younger populations migrate to urban areas for employment, the economics of inheritance and lineage have often become disrupted with knock-on implications for family structures of reliance. Hollos (2002) argues that younger populations' engagement in the cash economy and greater economic wealth relative to their elders is promoting independence in choice of marriage and therefore extended families may absolve themselves from responsibility for offspring from such unions.

1.2.1 The fieldwork sites

The sites chosen for this research are located in northern Tanzania; two settlements located along the northern tourist circuit that links Mount Kilimanjaro and several of the country's national parks[7]. Tourism undoubtedly shapes these settlements and their economies. However, coffee production is an important income source in both regions and the larger of the two settlements, located on a main route to Nairobi, is a key transport hub. One of the field sites

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[7] The field-sites have not been explicitly named for reasons of confidentiality.

recorded a population of nearly 200,000 during the last census in 2012 (NBS, 2016a), while the larger field site recorded a population of approximately 400,000 (NBS, 2016b). The two field sites are located 80km apart on a well-maintained road and take roughly two hours to drive between by car, longer by bus. Clans local to the area include Chagga, Pare, Maasai, Meru and Arusha, among many others (Hollos, 2002; Hollos & Larsen, 2008; Kayombo et al., 2007; Kuney, 1994; Salazar, 2009). Traditional livelihoods among the clans surrounding the field sites vary between pastoral and agricultural, with some populations combining the two. The Chagga are particularly known for their commitment to education, business acumen and economic success (Howard, 1994). The two field sites remain popular with visitors of all varieties, including researchers, due to the well-established infrastructure, an international airport located between the two urban centres and a large hospital which hosts many overseas medics. Literacy rates in these urban areas is high compared to the rural surrounds, at 94.3% versus 67.3% and 94.1% versus 88.4% in the larger and smaller field sites, respectively (NBS, 2016a; NBS, 2016b). Levels of employment are comparable in both regions, with 60% and 64% of those over the age of 15 in economic employment in the larger and smaller field site, respectively. However, employment percentages for those aged 15-24 years are lower than the average employment percentage (for those over 15 years of age) in both areas, suggesting that there could be issues regarding youth under-employment (ibid). In both regions, females are less likely to be engaged in economic activity than males. In the region containing the smaller field site, 60% of economic activity involves farming and 2.5% involves livestock keeping (NBS, 2016a). In comparison the region containing the larger field site has only 38% of economically active persons involved in farming and a relatively higher percentage involved in the keeping of livestock (16%) (NBS, 2016b). The larger field-site region has a higher percentage of 'Service Workers, Shop and Stall Sales Workers' (11%) compared with the smaller field site (7%), perhaps reflecting their different levels of urbanisation (ibid).

The larger field site attracts migrants due to its manufacturing industries and mining opportunities, as well as its role in hosting various international institutions (Kayombo et al., 2007). Due to the temperate climate, lack of malaria

and a history of a high concentration of foreign migrants to the area, the location is also home to a large number of internationally funded non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and is a channel for a large amount of overseas aid (Ruben and Koch, 2008).

The smaller field site is an important commercial and industrial centre in its region. The town has a high concentration of schools, most houses are connected to electricity and water and there is a relatively well-developed infrastructure (Hollos and Larsen, 2008). The town is home to a large medical centre which attracts medics from overseas and, consequently, there is much academic research regarding health issues in this part of Tanzania. Although smaller than the other field site, there is also a large NGO presence in the area which attracts international funding and personnel.

1.3   Current framing of street-involved children's rights and agency

Since the advent of the UN Convention of the Rights of the Child, in 1989, discussions about street-involved children have focussed on empowering children and young people to access their rights, demanding that families and governments meet their responsibilities towards them (Thomas de Benítez, 2003). This same sentiment is reiterated in the UN General Comment (no. 21) on children in street situations, released in 2017. This is a necessary shift in discourse, countering narratives that demonise children and young people for stepping outside of societal norms and socially-acceptable behaviours. However, this shift has also nurtured a reluctance to address the question of children's responsibilities to society. This is problematic since many societies place more importance on children's responsibilities than their rights, resulting in a gulf between dominant academic and policy discourse and the cultural realities in many countries; particularly in the 'Majority World' (Evans and Becker, 2009; Tisdall and Punch, 2012: 259; Twum-Danso, 2009). This tension is addressed in Article 31 of the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (ACRWC), which stipulates that children have responsibility to their family, society, State and international community (Twum-Danso, 2009).

Further traction of child rights discourses has been fuelled by an aversion in childhood studies to the apparently deterministic facets of developmental psychology and a suspicion of behavioural economics, with its focus on producing functioning adults who can contribute to growing an economy, instead emphasising the structural barriers to children's inclusion and wellbeing. These discourses seek to avoid pathologising behaviours that appear to contradict perceptions of the normal or idealised Western childhood, as well as emphasising the value of children as individuals rather than their economic value as adults (Feeny and Boyden, 2004).

As individuals capable of agency and in possession of rights, children and young people are constantly negotiating their worlds and relationships in order to protect themselves or pursue goals. Although it is widely accepted that the push and pull factors that lead children and young people to turn to the street are largely due to injustices that are out of their control (abuse, neglect or family breakdown, for example), many children have still exerted agency to move to the street, albeit constrained or 'thin' agency (Klocker, 2007; Payne, 2012) and they will need to exert agency in order to leave the street. For this, the lengthy process of repairing relationships or learning to relate well with other carers, or employers, requires effort and an openness to change from both children and adults (Schrader-McMillan and Herrera, 2016). The idea of children's responsibilities need not be dismissed as a deficit view that over-emphasises 'behaviour change' and imbues children and young people with blame, as Morgan (2016: 180) bemoans. Instead, street-involved children's agency and responsibility for their behaviours, within the constraints of their environments, adds a relational and reciprocal dimension to childhood discourses.

1.4   Deciding on a research question

During the first half of this PhD study I spent eighteen months exploring different fields of literature in order to finalise what my research question would be. The question needed to take into consideration StreetInvest's interest in street-involved children and young people's relationships. After a pilot visit to the field sites and shadowing StreetInvest's local partners I discovered that research fatigue would be an issue with this research population and, therefore,

I was concerned that the research question be as non-invasive as possible. In order to begin hypothesising how relationships, and StreetInvest's street workers, may impact street-involved children and young people's wellbeing, I canvassed a wide range of literature. I explored theories of material and emotional wellbeing from the capabilities approach (Sen, 1999; Nussbaum, 2003) and, the policy think-tank, NEF (NEF, 2009). Sen's capabilities approach had been applied in research with 50 street-involved and 50 former street-involved children in Kampala and it was found that 81% of participants identified with love and care as being important for their wellbeing but that their experience of love and care was insufficient (Anich *et al.*, 2011). The wellbeing measurement tool developed by NEF demonstrates a comprehensive approach to understanding multiple dimensions of wellbeing, but seemed impracticable to apply in, or adapt for, a street setting in Tanzania owing to its length. I grappled with the childhood literature on issues of agency and the real or imagined choice available to street-involved children to leave or remain on the street (Hecht, 1998; Qvortrup *et al.*, 1994; Schimmel, 2006). It became apparent that children's agency is a widely contested concept and that children's decision making is heavily influenced by external factors; questioning the extent of children's agency in constrained environments. Moreover, pedagogical literature exploring motivation, self-determination, autonomy and self-efficacy implied that various composites of these internal qualities were essential for enhancing children's functioning, wellbeing and, therefore, agency (Chirkov *et al.*, 2003; Grolnick *et al.*, 2002; Ryan *et al.*, 2000). It appeared that children's agency, or ability to act, was important but that the quality of this agency also mattered. This triggered my exploration of the literature to consider how the quality of children's agency is shaped and a nascent proposition that perhaps relationships may have a role to play in this area. To further explore how adult relationships may be important to my research population, I engaged with literature on non-parent relationships with at-risk children and adolescents (Beam *et al.*, 2002; Chang *et al.*, 2010; Estep, 2014; Dang & Miller, 2013; Haddad, 2011; Schimmel, 2008; Shah *et al.*, 2005). These studies suggested that various positive non-parental relationships, including mentors, social workers, youth workers or foster carers, provided academic, social and emotional benefits for homeless young people and those considered at-risk; therefore, relational structures of support appeared worthy

of further investigation. Jenssen's (2015) comparative study of Cuba and Russia suggests that there is a lower prevalence of street-living children in Cuba and that is due to the government's investment in social support structures and integrated services. Schrader-McMillan and Herrera (2016) have found that interventions with 'street boys' in Mexico, including reunification or supported living into independence, are only successful when accompanied by intensive and structured systems of support and safe relationships. With a preliminary grounding in various areas of relevant literature, the next step was to consider how this could inform my research question.

When deciding on a question for the research, I wanted to avoid making assumptions about the lives of the research participants. This desire was informed, in part, by popular notions in childhood studies for research to be child-centred and child-led while appreciating the uniqueness of individuals, their experiences and the environments that shape their lives. Additionally, the literature that I read seemed to present conflicting images of street-involved children and young people: some literature was keen to emphasise their tenacity and resourcefulness, while other literature framed them as hopeless with multiple physical and mental morbidities. When faced with multiple representations of street-involved children it seemed problematic to assume who I was posing my research question to or about. StreetInvest assumed, from their practical experience, that a significant and trustworthy adult was important for street-involved children. Other studies emphasised the strength of relationship that children found among themselves on the street while shunning outside assistance (Beazley, 2003; Conticini, 2008; Naterer, 2014). It appeared, from engaging with the literature, that children and young people's experiences on the street differed depending on which country they lived in. However, I could not assume that other studies from sub-Saharan Africa could speak to the children and young people I was to encounter in northern Tanzania. After much consideration I concluded that, to avoid making assumptions about characteristics that defined my research participants and what they valued, entering the field with an openness to learning about what was important to them was the most appropriate objective for the study. Since StreetInvest were interested in the children and young people's relationships I considered this to

be a broad enough point of departure for engaging the participants. It seemed important not to lead the participants into talking about the importance of specific relationships in their lives but to listen to which relationships were mentioned and to explore their relative importance. To allow for this, the research was initiated with an open question; '*tell us about your lives and relationships on the street*'. Following this question, active listening and open questioning allowed research participants to elaborate on their answers and co-shape the line of inquiry. Using this process, informed by GTM, four thematic areas of concern were abstracted from 9 months of data collection with 55 street-involved children, former street-involved children, community members, practitioners and social workers over three separate field visits. These four areas of concern – taking responsibility for themselves, a glass-ceiling to income generating opportunities, change points, and giving-up – are discussed in this thesis with reference to the enabling, or lack thereof, relationships that shape children and young people's experiences of these subject areas. Tying these four chapters together is the concept that children and young people in this study are responsible for meeting their basic needs, or '*hassling [-hangaika: struggling] for life by themselves*'. The findings explore transitions in children and young people's lives and recognise that their choices in the present can have an impact on their immediate and long-term futures. A greater understanding of how these four themes shape the lives and decisions of street-involved children and young people can help to guide practitioners and researchers in their engagements with this population. In each theme, there is a key role for responsible adults to play in supporting children and young people's wellbeing, emotionally and physically, offering opportunities, helping them make decisions and promising ongoing support until young people are able to sustain themselves.

1.5   Fieldwork context

This research was carried out with children and young people who self-identified as street-involved or former street-involved children and young people[8]. As such, there was no upper age-limit for engaging in the study[9]. Gigengack (2014a) supports this approach, suggesting that street-involved children and young people cannot easily fit into discreet age brackets and to insist that they do may

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[8] In practice, this involved identifying with various names used for street-involved children such as 'chokoraa', 'panya road', 'mtoto wa mbwa' etc. These names were investigated in-depth in two of the field interviews and found to have little difference in their conceptual meaning (although literal translations differ). Often children and young people contradicted each other as to the meanings of these names and there is a sense that the names are used differently across field-sites. 'Chokoraa' is the main distinguishing name for street-involved children in the field-sites and carries with it derogatory connotations.

[9] The research involved street-involved children and young people between the ages of 11 and 24. Over half (25/47) of the street-living participants were aged 17 years or younger (n. 5 aged <15). This means that almost half of street-living participants who engaged in this research would be classed as adults by international legal standards. Categorising the participants in this study as either 'children', 'adults' or 'young people' is as problematic as the terminology surrounding their connection to the street. The terminology used evokes differing levels of sympathy among observers: a homeless 'adult' may be considered differently from a homeless 'young person', who may be considered differently again to a homeless 'youth', depending on cultural interpretations of the word. In this study, and others, age is a significant factor that influences the way individuals experience life on the street, so definitions, while imperfect, are important. The UN, for statistical purposes, defines 'youth' as those aged 15-24 years old (UNESCO, n.d.), whereas the African Charter for Youth defines 'youth' as those aged between 15-35 years old (African Union Commission, 2006). Ninety percent of the street-living participants in this study were aged between 15-24 years and sit firmly within the UN and African Charter's definition of youth. Due to potential negative connotations associated with the term 'youth' in the UK, I have decided to use the term 'young person/people'. However, children (<18 years) are entitled to rights as specified in the UN Convention of the Rights of the Child (UNCRC). The UNCRC is referred to in arguments throughout this thesis, therefore my research participants' categorisation as 'children' is significant. For this reason, I will use the term 'children and young people' when referring to the street-involved populations in this study, recognising (for some) their legal status as children, but also their inclusion in a specific stage of life (youth) which is characterised by a transition towards independence and self-sufficiency.

compromise theoretical depth that is important for understanding street-life trajectories. I have chosen not to explicitly disclose the cities that this research was conducted in, or the local charity partner(s) that I engaged with, since street-living child populations in this area are small enough that an informed reader may be able to pick out distinguishing features of particular children and young people among the interview narratives. Additionally, all names that appear in this thesis are pseudonyms unless otherwise stated. Within the thesis, there are references to places, such as the market, the bus station or locally named places that the children and young people refer to. Similarly, there are references to income generating and other activities that are specific to this population and this area. Where necessary I have provided clarifying descriptions of such places and activities. However, where these places and activities have not been considered crucial to the arguments and discussions being put forward, I have avoided providing unnecessary detail in line with the grounded theory ethos of avoiding excessive description and maintaining focus on what is 'relevant' to the emerging theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967).

In addition to interviewing children and young people who identified as street-involved or former street-involved children, this study included street workers, local NGO staff and members of the community. Such individuals were sampled and interviewed on theoretical grounds while developing the emerging data categories during the concurrent analysis of interview transcripts. The data is also supplemented by observations and interactions with local NGOs and children and young people on the street.

While using GTM it is customary to avoid engaging in the process of writing a literature review before entering the field to conduct research (Urquhart, 2013). I decided to use GTM not long before returning to Tanzania for my second period of field research. By this time, I had developed an extensive knowledge of the literature on street-involved children generally and more specifically around themes of relationships and wellbeing. Since it is not possible to erase knowledge that has been gleaned from literature, nor undo the transformation of thought that engaging with literature inevitably leads to, those using GTM aim to enter the field with an 'open mind' rather than an 'empty head'. This

'open mind' manifests in open lines of inquiry and careful scrutiny of interview transcripts to build a picture of what appears to be significant to the interview participants. This analysis of interview transcripts is conducted between interviews and informs lines of questioning for the subsequent interview(s). Within grounded theory circles, some argue that it is important to have a broad knowledge of literature before entering the field in order to be conscious of any 'dogmatic beliefs' the researcher may need to consciously reject in order to facilitate engagement in abductive inference (Thornberg & Charmaz, 2013: 163). However, Glaser & Strauss (1967) encourage the use of literature as a source of data and to enhance theoretical sensitivity (Glaser, 1978), which is best considered during analysis and integrated after key areas of concern have been established from the research data. In practice, I continued to read literature before, during and after my field-work, but used coding practices recommended by grounded theory that facilitate reviewing data on face value rather than through *a priori* coding categories informed by the literature (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

1.6   Structure of thesis

This thesis extends discussions on street-involved children and young people's challenge to the idea of rights and responsibilities in Tanzania, identifies key points of change in the children and young people's lives and introduces the idea of hindsight and regret among street-involved populations as they age on the street. The thesis is divided into 8 chapters: an introduction, literature review, methodology and ethical considerations, four empirical chapters and a conclusion.

This thesis contributes to methodological discussions regarding the process of studying over-researched populations; suggesting that GTM allows researchers to engage with research participants' narrative of their concerns and that this can mitigate their further alienation. I engage with discourses on child rights and child agency and, by integrating perspectives of children's responsibilities as outlined in the ACRWC, argue that meeting children's needs is necessarily a relational process in which children play a significant role. I suggest that an emphasis on expanding children's agency and autonomy is an inadequate means

of assisting those who lack structures of social support. Additionally, I contribute the notion that street-involved children and young people need elements of reliability and stability in their environments and relationships if they are to perceive, and make decisions for, their futures: some of this stability can be provided through supportive non-parental relationships such as those offered by street workers. To summarise, the conclusion of this thesis will argue that street-involved children and young people are responsible for meeting their own needs and that relationships, personal and structural, are needed to help children and young people navigate important transitions and avoid losing hope.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Literature on street children, like the area of Childhood Studies in general (James, 2010), covers a wide range of disciplines which interpret and theorise the lives of street children according to their own academic traditions and epistemological perspectives. Cross-disciplinary approaches to researching street children vary in their approaches from in-depth ethnographic studies to large-scale survey-based projects and mixed-methods research. The cross-disciplinary nature of street child literature results in a wide range of, sometimes contested, definitions of this population, labelled variously as: street-connected, street-involved, children in street situations, street-living, street-working, street youth or, according to geographical context, homeless children or couch-surfers. Additionally, the material and geographical realities of these populations can converge with those of refugees, former child soldiers or those who struggle with drug or alcohol addiction. The definition researchers choose for this population depends largely on the academic agenda being pursued. The children and young people involved in this study are 'full-time' street children (McAlpine *et al.*, 2010) or 'street-living' children as defined by Thomas de Benitez (2003):

> *"Street-living children can be taken to mean those who sleep on the street the majority of the time and retain limited or no contact with their family of origin." (pg. 134)*

This definition lies in contrast to 'part-time' street children who return home to their families either regularly or daily (McAlpine *et al.*, 2010) or 'street-working' children, many of whom have strong links with their families and may even work alongside their parents in street environments (van Blerk, 2012). This literature review will focus predominantly on populations described to be street-living unless otherwise stated. A key exception is with relation to the young people engaged in this study who are co-renting temporary accommodation. Although, in a literal sense, these young people are no longer sleeping on the street, their access to accommodation is tentative, dependent on income stability and independent from their families of origin; such individuals differ from younger and less financially fortunate street-living populations, but their lives and livelihoods share similar characteristics related to the stigmatisation they endure, income generating activities, social affiliations and a historical sense of belonging to the category of 'street child'. Therefore, and as outlined in the introduction, this study will refer to the research population as 'street-involved' throughout

the remainder of this thesis, unless otherwise stated, to refer to those both living on the street and renting a room.

The research for this thesis was carried out in northern Tanzania between 2014-2016 and so this literature review will focus predominantly on literature from sub-Saharan Africa with specific attention paid to literature from East African countries, apart from where literature refers to relevant theoretical debates across geographical boundaries.

In addition to the nature of a child's involvement in street-life, another factor to consider when engaging the street child literature relates to age. Some studies specifically focus on children as individuals under 18 years of age, as defined by the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (Olowu, 2002). Other studies focus on 'adolescents' or include both children and youth, ranging in ages up to mid-twenties, arguing that the common experiences among urban poor populations are more significant than numerical age determinants (Gigengak, 2000). Conversely, the UN definition of childhood can be a relevant tool for analysis for some studies since the legal standing of a child versus adult can have practical consequences for how that individual is provided for, or penalised by, the state; reducing their legal access to assistance and increasing their levels of culpability by law once they become 18 years old (Panter-Brick, 2002). However, in East Africa, and Tanzania specifically, numerical age is not always tracked by individuals, meaning that children and youth will not necessarily know how old they are numerically. A fluid interpretation of age can sometimes be helpful for a street child, as Abebe and Ofosu-Kusi stipulate in the context of Africa:

> *"Children can also adopt multiple ages for themselves – biological, legal, lifestyle or 'street' age – for different purposes, different social contexts and different locations. Many children can 'be' older or younger than their 'true' age depending upon whether, for example, they apply for jobs or seek financial support from NGOs [non-governmental organisations]." (2016: 306)*

They elaborate that age determinants in Africa are not only about numerical age, but also a person's positioning in terms of their levels of independence-dependence, abilities, knowledge and responsibilities (Abebe and Ofosu-Kusi, 2016). Therefore, it is important not to impose western expectations related to notions of 'maturity' or 'responsibility' when investigating street-involved

populations in Africa, but instead to consider an individual's positioning through their own interpretations of maturity and social standing which are likely to be highly reliant on their cultural and environmental context. Furthermore, since street-involved children and populations are considered an anomaly in most societies (Wells, 2014), it is important to consider that children and young people's street association may impact their 'social age' positioning, influencing the ways they are regarded by other members of society. This problematises using strict age restrictions when conducting research among this population. On this basis, this research engaged children and young people who identified themselves as 'street-involved', including those in their early twenties, on the basis that this shared identity provided more analytical relevance than age categories when seeking to appreciate a fuller interpretation of street-life.

When researching outside of one's native culture, it is also necessary to consider social and cultural contexts that influence research subjects, their attitudes and the social environments they inhabit. Street children are often found to create their own cultures which can sometimes actively challenge socially normative expectations (Beazley, 2003). Yet, street-involved populations are not completely outside of their native cultures and societies, therefore the cultural and social expectations that are placed on them during their time at home, and through their interactions with wider society, shape their actions, behaviours and interpretations of their lived experiences. Since street-involved populations are made up of children and young people from various ethnic and clan backgrounds, this thesis will not infer cultural expectations of children and young people that relate to particular clan traditions since this cannot be reliably applied across the research population. Instead, this literature review will draw on literature relating to social and cultural expectations of children and young people more generally in Tanzania and sub-Saharan Africa, referring to clan-specific attitudes tentatively.

Certain social expectations that are included in this thesis include the concept of intergenerational reciprocity (Cattell, 1997; Twum-Danso, 2009) and ideas of responsibilities within family relationships as stipulated in the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (Tisdall and Punch, 2012). This thesis

frames children and young people's lives on the street through a lens of 'responsibility', namely the responsibility street children and young people find themselves with in relation to taking care of their present and future needs and desires; a responsibility undertaken with little consistent or reliable outside help. This thesis posits that it is this responsibility that causes stress to children and young people as well as disadvantaging their future prospects.

The next four sections of this literature review will assess literature related to childhood, with a specific focus on street-children's agency, children leaving home in the context of intergenerational reciprocity, the stress of supporting oneself on the street through discussion of work and, lastly, the networks and relationships that children and young people rely on while living on the street.

2.2 Street child agency and childhood studies literature

Since the 1990's, childhood studies have shifted focus towards recognising children as active agents who co-create their social worlds, rather than being passive and empty vessels that are simply filled by their social environments and the adults around them (Qvortrup *et al.*, 1994). This shift is known as the 'new social studies of childhood'. This same shift has also been mapped in studies with street-involved children; where children are no longer seen as passive victims of their situation but as active agents who harness the opportunities around them (Thomas de Benítez, 2011). Often, how street-involved children are understood and defined is due more to the politics of representation among practitioners, activists and ethnographers, than characteristics inherent among groups of children and young people living on the street (Gigengack, 2008; Thomas de Benítez, 2011, for discussion on different representations). Meanwhile, more recent debates have begun to critique the new social studies of childhood, arguing that children's agency is inescapably shaped by their relations with others (Prout, 2011; Punch, 2016; Tisdall & Punch, 2012).

The lens through which street-involved children are studied has implications for how their agency is understood. Gigengack (2008) argues that representations of street-involved children that are shaped by institutions or activist researchers are more likely to focus on the positive elements of their agency, omitting activities

that may be deemed 'self-destructive', such as drug use or risky behaviour. Alternatively, some institutions may prefer to frame this population as having little agency in order to generate pity for their situation and justifying the moral imperative to help. From this perspective, if children and young people are perceived as having agency in their lives on the street then they could be imbued with blame for their situation and labelled 'bad' children; especially if they appear uncooperative in efforts to help them. In this instance, resources may be channelled to more hopeful recipients who appear receptive to assistance. In an attempt to balance dominant narratives of street-involved children and young people as helpless victims, childhood studies literature emphasises aspects of their resilience and the resources they employ to survive on the street (Ager et al., 2012; Panter-Brick, 2002). This mirrors child rights and child-centred discourses that emphasise the agency of children and affirms their expertise in their own lives (UNCRC, 2017). This trend is much the same in social policy literature, although Hoggett is careful to warn that resilience and resourcefulness are not the same as constructive coping:

> *"The desire to give emphasis to the active, resilient, resourceful aspects of the welfare subject is an understandable reaction to the pathologising and problematising of the passive and 'dependent' welfare subject (Titterton, 1992) which dominated much thinking about social policy in the past. [...] However, there is a danger that we then slip into equating agency with constructive coping, as if the two were synonymous."* (2001: 42-43)

Here, Hoggett is implying that 'constructive coping' may be a more valuable outcome than purely enhancing agency and celebrating resilience among welfare subjects. He eludes to a 'danger' in emphasising the latter to the omission of the former. This 'danger' has also been argued in research with street-involved children (Gigengack, 2008) with accusations that academic literature romanticises street life by focussing on children's capacity to survive and ignoring the long-term consequences of living in such a hostile environment (Schimmel, 2008). Such conflicting views are abundant in UK charity representations of their beneficiaries; either as helpless victims in order to garner sympathy and funds (Merchant *et al.*, 2010) or neoliberal development perspectives that romanticise 'the poor' as dynamic self-starters (Karnani, 2009). Neither of the extremes of this debate tell the whole story about the lives of

people living in poverty nor do they present a useful paradigm for engagement, since they make too many assumptions (Orton, 2009).

Those who come to research with street-involved children with a childhood studies lens are likely to advocate rights-based perspectives that emphasise the importance of children's 'voices' and privilege children's own perspectives of their lives, avoiding any interpretation or critique by an adult 'expert' (Thomas de Benítez, 2011). Some studies may prioritise age or location as lenses through which to understand different populations of street-involved children. Alternatively, researching this population from the perspective of urban poverty or street ethnography can draw rich insights, taking into consideration children and young people's interactions with other groups of 'urban poor' (Gigengack, 2014a). While groups of street-involved children do differ over space and time, there can also be remarkable similarities in the experiences of street-involved children in differing geographic areas, in the Global North and Global South (Karabanow, 2003).

More recent critiques of childhood studies challenge its focus on individual and personal agency, instead emphasising that children and young people are relational beings and that the way they choose to exercise their agency is influenced by relationships, environments and materials (Tisdall & Punch, 2012). In the case of street-involved children an emphasis on individual and personal agency legitimates and normalises children's desire for 'freedom' to do what they like; even if those behaviours are self-destructive. This strikes a dissonant chord among those working in the street-child sector since a desire to 'protect' children often underpins many interventions. Berckmans *et al.* suggest that accepting a child's agency need not mean disengagement from issues of protection:

> *"Going back to the complex intersection that organisations face between acknowledging children's agency and the duty to protect them: acknowledging children's agency should not mean lonely autonomy, but reciprocity, interdependence and participation as members of a social organisation." (Berckmans et al., 2016: 524)*

By including ideas of reciprocity and interdependence into the concept of children's agency, there is more scope for involvement and participation in their lives and the decisions they make. The limits of advocating for children's autonomy are discussed in more recent childhood literature. Philo (2011) argues,

with reference to Foucault's suggestion that children are capable of consenting to sexual activity with adults, that uncritically affirming what children consider to be activities led by their own agency is problematic. Philo makes the case that even the most emphatic supporter of children's voices and their right to choose would question their viewpoint when it comes to consent and agency within a sexual relationship with an adult:

> *"More generally – and here is the hinge of the present editorial – such a response [that a child is incapable of consenting to a sexual relationship with an adult], however 'right', 'common-sensical', or 'natural' it might seem, actually flies in the face of the child-centricism (child as capable and knowledgeable actor to whom we must always listen) at the heart of contemporary social studies of children and childhood. […] I would suggest, that most children's geographers would* not *want to follow his [Foucault's] lead, preferring instead to return to an 'adultist' position – adult society knows best, the children are mistaken – which elsewhere is anathema to them."* (pg. 125, emphasis in text)

Philo suggests that there is a deeply held conviction among adults, even children's geographers, that children may not always be able to assess what is best for them. If this is the case with regards to children's sexual relationships with adults, then perhaps this logic can also apply to street-involved children and young people's engagement with seemingly self-destructive activities on the street.

Gigengack's (2008) main critique of viewing children and studies of street-involved children through actor-orientated and rights-based lenses is the propensity for this to take a uniquely 'present' view of street-involved children's lives. He argues that perspectives that prioritise present agency neglect consideration of the long-term, and potentially destructive, implications of children and young people's actions:

> *"The new paradigm stipulated that 'children must be seen as actively involved in the construction of their own social lives' and suggested that childhood be analysed by a focus on 'the present, ongoing social lives of children rather than their past or future' as had hitherto been most often the case (James et al. 1997: 4-5). Applied to street children studies, however, these prescriptions lead to approaches in which the successful, rather than the flawed, day-to-day survival becomes central.* What is problematic is not that street children are seen as actors; rather that in such studies the underlying idea of agency is an unreflexively positive one. *The retreat into the present further facilitates overlooking the self-destructive aspects of street children's agency:* only through a shrunken time frame can persistent inhalant use be

> interpreted as a coping mechanism, and its consequences be ignored."
> *(Gigengack, 2008: 211, emphasis added)*

In Gigengack's example, researchers' preoccupation with children's active construction of their social lives amplifies the present-orientated and survivalist aspects of street-involved children's street experiences without problematising the consequences for children's futures. Therefore, researching from a perspective which privileges children's voice over researcher interpretations can stunt critical engagement with children's narratives and render representational blind-spots.

Thomson *et al.* (2002) explain, in their study into young people's life transitions in the UK, that young people's narratives contain a web of individuals and structures that contribute to their decision making and shape the consequences of their actions, for better or worse. The young people in Thomson *et al.*'s study were able to exercise agency and make choices with the information available to them in the present but did not always have the necessary information to make constructive decisions for their futures:

> *"Expulsion or exclusion from mainstream schooling clearly has important consequences for young people's opportunities, yet we suggest that such objective circumstances can only be made sense of in relation to individual biographies and the extent to which different young people have access to the requisite resources to enable them to respond constructively to events and changing circumstances." (pg. 350)*

Thomson *et al.* are suggesting that young people's decisions may appear to sabotage their best interests for the future but that such decisions may seem appropriate for the young people from their constrained environment. Using Thomson *et al.*'s example; being excluded from school may seem positive for those who do not have the support required for them to achieve academically and who would rather invest in communities outside of school, such as gangs. If researchers and service providers focus too much on the present survival tactics and resilience of street-involved children and young people, they risk denying them the perspective of time and the opportunity to consider the possible long-term consequences of their present-day actions.

Honwana and de Boeck (2005) provide a helpful distinction between tactical versus strategic agency which emphasises how agency can be employed

differently depending on an individual's ability to influence their futures. Using the example of child soldiers in Angola and Mozambique, they suggest that these individuals were able to exercise tactical agency, 'a specific type of agency that is devised to cope with the concrete, immediate conditions of their lives in order to maximize the circumstances created by their military and violent environment' (pg. 49). However, they explained that child soldiers lacked strategic agency, which would require a mastery over the long-term consequences of their actions. This distinction between tactical and strategic agencies implies that child soldiers were capable of using their agency to commit horrific offences because they had no control over their futures or could not imagine what their futures might be like. This tactical agency perhaps earned them security in the present, as they performed the role expected of them, but from a position of hindsight resulted in grave consequences for their futures: this is similar to children and young people's decisions to remain on the street when offered alternative living or educational opportunities. While children and young people may seem to prefer their street lives, in contrast with living in shelters or going to school, very few desire to be adults living on the street. This disconnect, between the present opportunities afforded by living on the street and a different future aspiration that involves living away from the street, reflects Honwana and de Boeck's description of tactical over strategic agency. To avoid becoming street-living adults may involve exercising strategic agency which requires them to have some level of assurance over the long-term consequences of their present activities and the ability of foresight. However, it is not clear how one might have agency over a future that does not yet exist, or if anyone is capable of 'strategic agency' under this definition. Rather than control over the future, one may have a greater sense of the dependability of the future outcomes of their present activities allowing them to employ strategic agency. Such dependability requires stable relationships of reciprocity and reliable reward structures, such as social services and legal structures that protect individuals' interests. A heavy focus on agency in the present may result in the neglect of strengthening structures that offer more dependable future-outcomes for agents.

When taking into account the remorse produced by hindsight it is clear that it is unhelpful to romanticise children's agency or presume all children's 'agencies' to

be unequivocally positive (Aufseeser, 2014: 837; Punch, 2016). Agency that is acted out in a context of very limited options, what Klocker (2007) would refer to as 'thin agency', or 'tactical agency' as described above, may lead children and young people to act in ways that are undesirable to them. Additionally, there needs to be more discussion about agency and how it is acted out when an individual is acting from different states of being; rational, impulsive, intoxicated, tired or hungry, for example. Drug and alcohol use is common among street-involved populations. Since drug use is related to depression and hopelessness (Kidd, 2004), and the need to acquire drugs impacts daily decision making among those who are addicted (Draus *et al.*, 2010), it is conceivable that the use of drugs influences children and young people's experience of their agency limiting their agentic potential. This suggestion is also made by Duff (2012) and Plows (2012) with reference to actor-network-theory by highlighting the role of materials in influencing human action (this discussion is expanded further in this chapter and drawn on in chapter 6). Finally, resource constraints, age-related decision-making tendencies and stressful experiences make it more difficult for children and young people to consider the future consequences of their present actions (see Glik, 2007 for a discussion on how some types of stress affect individual's ability to process information). These factors limit children and young people's agentic capacity to the present with potential adverse consequences for their futures. I will consider further arguments relating to children's agency over the following three sub-sections of this chapter; expanding on the issues introduced in this paragraph.

2.2.1   More agency or better agency?

Bordonaro (2012) argues that agency is only credited in research with street-involved children and young people when their actions are seen to be positive. By contrast, when their actions are negative, such behaviour is deemed as 'deviant' rather than a celebrated part of their agency. I argue that to conflate 'agency' with 'behaviour' is misleading. Agency is neither good nor bad, it is merely a person's ability and will to act on their needs and desires and the information provided to them, as Orton explains:

> *"The various dimensions of agency, the very essence of our humanity, means […] people simply use the resources available to them, their skills, motivations etc. […]. Demanding greater agency or moral judgmentalism and apportionment of blame is consequently of limited analytical value. (2009: 496)*

Behaviour can be 'bad' depending on its impact on self and others, and indeed what is 'bad' may be considered subjective. Bordonaro (2012) suggests that:

> *"there has been little reflection on how the abstract concept of agency itself relates to the more mundane domains of morality, responsibility, citizenship and politics […]." (pg. 421)*

If agency is neutral, then discussions of morality, responsibility and citizenship are somewhat different. I argue that a person's agency, ability to act or agentic capacity is not the same as how they choose to act and the resultant behaviour. Issues of morality and responsibility more appropriately relate to questions of children's rights. Therefore, an increase in agency for children and young people need not be in opposition to discipline for unacceptable behaviour, as is the premise of Bordonaro's (2012) article, and similarly an increase in agency cannot be conflated with an increase in their rights. Children and young people can use their agency to choose to do something forbidden and accept the consequence for that action through discipline. Discipline need not inhibit a person's ability to act, but instead shape how they choose to act. Whether the discipline or consequence is fair and balanced in relation to the behaviour belongs to the child rights debate. This ability to act, or agentic capacity, may be dependent on and shaped by an individual's internal and external resources (nef, 2012). Therefore, arguments around *how much* agency is acceptable to permit in children and young people is somewhat irrelevant. Freedoms may be taken away from a person, but agency can still be exercised through acts of resistance (Honwana and de Boeck, 2005). Resistance can manifest in diverse ways, one of which is the refusal to allow environmental factors to affect aspects of individuals' internal resources. One extreme example of this is Viktor Frankl's (2008) account of his time spent in Auschwitz, where he found that survival was contingent on his ability to choose his attitude in an extremely oppressive environment.

Frankl was clearly an exceptional person in his ability to mentally endure his time in Auschwitz and many street-involved children and young people are similarly exceptional in their abilities to survive street life. However, surviving is not the

same as thriving or flourishing and therefore 'agency' cannot be viewed as the end goal. Enhanced agency cannot be considered the panacea for releasing street-involved children and young people from the constraints of adult and societal oppression, which are real and present. Similarly, some choices that children and young people make may lead to their flourishing, whereas others may not. Likewise, some choices that street-involved children and young people make may exacerbate their agentic capacities – such as engaging in drug use or entering into commitments with non-benevolent street associates. In these matters, discussion of agency can become a distraction and a means of hiding social scientists' discomfort with confronting questions of how best to guide and assist street-involved children and young people without imposing external values on them.

Children and young people do have agency and exercise their agency daily. However, their agency may be considered 'constrained' by the people, structures and environments around them, much like adults' agency (Tisdall and Punch, 2012; Payne, 2012). A constrained agency may not necessarily mean 'less' agency, but a reduction of choices that are available to children and young people. I argue that agency is neither good nor bad: it is morally neutral. Conversely, street-involved children and young people's behaviour may be considered 'good' or 'bad' and it is beneficial to engage them in considering the consequences of their behaviour. Discussions surrounding the consequences of their behaviour, or imposing consequences on children and young people's behaviour, need not be considered as constraining their agency: instead it may help them to understand the potential outcomes of the choices that they make. However, it is still important to seek to understand street-involved children and young people and encourage them to advocate for themselves where societies, structures and people impose unjust sanctions on them for 'status offenses[10]' (Qvortrup *et al.*, 1994). I argue that rather than focusing on increasing street-involved children's

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[10] A 'status offence' is understood as a behaviour that is disproportionately punished in one population over another. For example, an adult may not be arrested for sleeping on the street or selling goods at a bus station, whereas a child might.

agency, or recognition of their agency, discussions may be more fruitful if they turn to the 'quality' of agency children and young people can employ; the quality of their agency is influenced by children and young people's internal and external resources.

While some decisions that street-involved children and young people make are forced by limited choices, other decisions can be affected by internal pressures, such as drug use. Drug use similarly impacts the way that individuals are viewed by society, thus exacerbating their exclusion from participation in 'normal' social life (Draus *et al.*, 2010). The next section will address the role of drug use and its impact on agency.

2.2.2 Drug use

Literature related to street-involved children and young people's drug use can reduce the role of drugs to the purpose of 'self-medication'; a means by which individuals cope with hunger, cold or other challenging aspects of their lives (Ayuku *et al.*, 2004). Other research recognises the ways in which drug use can provide temporary relief from difficulties alongside the risks involved; such as 'decreasing awareness of potential danger, increasing physical risk through overdose or addiction, disconnecting them from support systems, and increasing risk for violence related to criminal behavior' (Bender *et al.*, 2012: 2392 investigating street-involved youth in the US). Some explore the way in which drug use shapes individuals' agentic capacities from the perspective of urban poor and homeless populations (Draus *et al.*, 2010; Duff, 2012). Draus *et al.* (2010) consider drug addiction as a 'space of confinement' (pg. 663). For the participants in Draus *et al.*'s study in Detroit, heroin use was described as having its own gravity, pulling individuals into a world of its own. Gigengack (2014b) argues that, the problem with equating drug use with rational explanations, such as self-medication, is that such rationalising does not necessarily reflect the experience of substance users. Draus *et al.* (2010) further add that their research participants found that their addictions, and the desire to satisfy their addictions, dictated their daily activities – it was only when the craving for drugs and food were satisfied that participants reported considering what bigger purpose there may be for their lives. Furthermore, the significant resources that were required

to secure drugs daily made it more difficult for individuals to invest in other opportunities or aspirations; trapping them in a cycle of day-to-day and hand-to-mouth living (Draus *et al.*, 2010).

Draus *et al.* (2010) emphasise that it is not only a person's internal resources that are affected by drug use and addiction but that being a drug user comes with its own stigmatisation which further isolates individuals from mainstream society. This in turn limits the social and economic resources they are able to access:

> *"While some might claim that addiction itself is the cause of this perpetual marginality, we contend that there is a symbiosis between these conditions that is both fed and maintained by structural factors." (Draus et al., 2010: 674)*

Draus *et al.* also add that heroin epidemics tend to flourish where there are large gaps between aspirations and individuals' abilities to reach their aspirations. While Draus *et al.* are keen to add that a gap between aspiration and a group's likelihood of reaching their aspirations does not lead to heroin addiction in a deterministic manner, they argue that those who do resort to drug addiction to manage their disappointment, or self-soothe their hopelessness, are further exacerbating their opportunities to achieve their aspirations.

Duff (2012) explores the agentic roles of objects and spaces in relation to the consumption of alcohol and other drugs. He argues that it is too easy to exaggerate the autonomy of human agency and that not enough attention is paid to the social and environmental influences which shape the way people act out their agency, or the role that substances can play in limiting individuals' agentic capacity. As well as shaping how street-involved children and young people make decisions about their daily lives, drug use has also been found to exacerbate children and young people's sense of hopelessness and worthlessness (Kidd, 2004). Kidd (2004), similar to Draus *et al.*'s (2010) 'spaces of confinement', explains that the use of drugs is strongly related to the feeling of 'being trapped' among his research participants in Canada (pg. 42) and that such sentiments of 'feeling trapped' were key factors that contributed to young people's risk of attempting suicide. Duff (2011) explains that resources like hope, joy and excitement extend an actor's agentic capacities. Conversely, drug use, through the internal and external restrictions that it creates for the user, can be considered to diminish hope, joy and sustained excitement, thereby reducing an individual's

agentic capacities. Stoddard *et al.* (2011) suggest that without hope, "adolescents are less likely to be concerned about poor choices that may adversely affect their future" (pg. 280).

It is difficult to generalise about drug use since individuals use drugs differently and for a variety of reasons. There are many high-functioning and motivated street-involved children and young people who engaged in drug use, recreational or otherwise. It would be unhelpful to assume that drug use is a necessary path to hopelessness and a life of drug dependency and addiction since there are many cases to the contrary within this study and beyond. However, it is still important to consider the significantly problematic role that drug use, and subsequent addiction, can have in the lives of some street-involved children and young people. Furthermore, it is important to take into consideration the role that drug use may play in influencing how street-involved children and young people make decisions about their lives and potentially reduce the range of options that are open to them.

2.2.3 Children and short- versus long-term planning

A final discussion on agency is included to consider the impact that different time perspectives can have on a child or young person's decision making. Gigengack (2008) argues that it is only when street-involved children and young people are considered solely in the present can drug use be viewed as a 'coping strategy' rather than a problem for a person's future or a consequence of past afflictions. Therefore, a preoccupation with present life over planning for a future life may also impact the way that children and young people evaluate other activities that they engage in through their day-to-day lives.

Zimbardo and Boyd (1999) explain how a person's perspective of time can significantly alter the way they choose to live their lives and the types of decisions that they make. Zimbardo and Boyd have identified various time perspectives that feature different behavioural characteristics. These include: present fatalistic, present hedonistic, past negative, past positive, future and future transcendental (Zimbardo & Boyd, 2012). These time perspectives are not mutually exclusive and are measured on a scale. Zimbardo and Boyd suggest that

individuals' time perspectives are often skewed to either past, present or future and this skew may change over time. All time perspectives are valid and necessary, and none are objectively 'superior' to others. If children and young people are living stressful lives where daily survival is pressing, then it follows that their time perspective may be skewed to the present rather than the future. This has various implications for what children and young people choose to invest in and how much they may consider the future consequences of present actions. It may also make them more effective at developing daily survival strategies. When working with homeless populations in the US, Zimbardo and Boyd (1999) found that those who had a future time perspective were more likely to enrol and engage in education and training, whereas those with present time perspectives were more likely to engage in 'avoidant' behaviours, such as watching TV, eating more and saving less money.

Concepts of time and how it is measured will vary across cultures. Therefore, it is important to be critical when applying western concepts of time, and how these perspectives influence individuals' behaviour, into an African context. Zimbardo and Boyd's Time Perspective Inventory (ZTPI) (1999) has been applied in a South African context to assess the relationship between academic competence and time orientation among Black African undergraduate students (Lill & Naude, 2014). Lill and Naude conclude that 'participants seemed able to utilise various time frames as motivational forces in their academic work' (2014: 167). Keyser (2017) similarly applied ZTPI among students in South Africa and found that their 'results suggest the ZTPI is usable for research purposes' in this context (pg. 243). However, studies using ZTPI in an African context outside of South Africa are difficult to find. Lekoko and Modise (2011) provide a contextual understanding of perceptions of time in an African context, explaining that Africans tend to perceive time as a series of modular events rather than focusing on numerical time. They explain that time is 'functional' and 'situational' (pg. 14) and therefore is experienced by individuals through exposure to events rather than an independent variable that passes outside of recognition. Lekoko and Modise are self-conscious about prescribing an attitude towards time for the entire African continent. Indeed, there are many factors that could influence individuals' ideas about time, such as economic class, rural

or urban living, a country's historical context, or a person's age and life stage. I did not find any studies about time perspective that were carried out among poorer populations on the African continent. However, I argue that realistic future goals are necessary for children to develop the motivation to make decisions based on long-term rewards rather than short-term benefits. Tisdall and Punch (2012) point to the value of considering the role of relationships in shaping individuals' agency, questioning the inherent value of a focus on the individual and personal agency. Combined with children's agency and voice, adults can act as 'expert partners', providing a facilitative environment to bridge children's current situations with an array of potential future outcomes (Tisdall & Punch, 2012).

In summary, enhancing a child or young person's ability to exercise agency will not necessarily lead to long-term benefits for street-involved children and young people. It may also be necessary to consider their time perspective and encourage them to learn from past experiences if they are to plan for realistic future goals.

2.3   Leaving home, family ties, intergenerational reciprocity

"[…] leaving a household without parental authority may constitute a marked rejection of normative expectations of reciprocity in which the emotional and material support received by young children is repaid as they grow older." (Kaye, 1962: 149).

Street-involved children leave home for a variety of reasons, most commonly relating to experiences of emotional or physical abuse, neglect or exploitation by family members (Berckmans et al., 2012; McAlpine et al., 2010; Mizen and Ofosu-Kusi, 2013; Olsson, 2016), sometimes proceeded by the death of a parent (Olsson et al., 2017), parental substance abuse (Nalkur, 2009), separation of a parental couple (Olsson et al., 2017) or issues relating to poverty which compound all other factors (Aderinto, 2000; Lugalla and Mbwambo, 1999). In situations where a parental couple has separated and remarried or one or more parent has died, children may leave home due to tensions surrounding provision of care for a child that can lead to infighting between (step)parents and wider family (Mizen and Ofosu-Kusi, 2013; Olsson et al., 2017); a child may also be pushed away due to disagreements over inheritance, when certain members of the family may wish to cut a child out of their inheritance entitlements (Evans,

2011). Disagreements over who is responsible for caring for a child may result in children being placed with unwilling carers which can lead to the abuse, neglect and exploitation that leads some children to leave home. For others, their reasons for leaving home may be economic, seeking employment opportunities (Aptekar and Ciano-Federoff, 1999), or searching for adventure, excitement and novelty in urban areas (Webster, 2011). While the latter reasons for leaving home apply to many street children, those who find themselves living on the street full-time often do so because of some fracture in the family environment which makes returning home seem untenable. Those who spend time on the street predominantly for economic opportunities and excitement are more likely to maintain ties with their families and return home on a regular or semi-regular basis (Hecht, 1998; van Blerk, 2012).

Since many street-involved children leave home due to issues of abuse or neglect from within the family, their chances of returning home are greatly reduced unless the underlying issues that caused them to leave are addressed with additional support from social workers, or similar agents (Berckmans et al., 2016; Schrader-McMillan & Herrera, 2016). Difficulties relating to children's integration into families is particularly problematic in sub-Saharan Africa since families represent the first port of call for social support in the region, including the involvement of extended families (Lugalla and Mbwambo, 1999; Mizen and Ofosu-Kusi, 2013; Twum-Danso, 2009; van Blerk, 2012). As Therborn (2006) argues:

> *"However changing, the family retains a particular centrality in African social life because of the weakness of other institutions and social clusters, of the state, of specific religious institutions among holders of African beliefs, of classes, castes, and nations."* (pg. 19)

However, as mentioned above it is sometimes extended families who, intentionally or inadvertently, push children away either due to strains on family resources associated with the HIV epidemic (Beegle et al., 2010), or more general issues surrounding provision of finances for children's education, upkeep and support through to independence (Beegle et al., 2010). This means that a lack of resources required in providing for children and young people's future can be a key issue in some children's move to the street, as children themselves perceive

that, in the absence of family investment, they need to seek alternative options to provide for their own present and future financial security (Mizen and Ofosu-Kusi, 2013). In the context of Tanzania, it is possible that neoliberal economic policies, following the dissolution of Tanzania's socialist 'Ujamaa' era in the mid-1980s, and the subsequent life-style changes that ensued from privatisation of health services, the commoditisation of land in urban areas and an increasing reliance on the cash economy, has added extra strain to communities and households (Kamat, 2008). Such strain, and the resultant inequalities between those with access to land and those without, coupled with employment instabilities, may cause conflict within families and exacerbate families' abilities to care for children (Kamat, 2008).

The African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child was established in 1990 to complement the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, stressing the need to consider African values when addressing issues related to the rights of the child in Africa (Olowu, 2002). It stipulates that families have responsibilities toward their children and that children have responsibilities toward their families. Such responsibilities expected from children include "the duty; (a) to work for the cohesion of the family, to respect his parents, superiors and elders at all times and to assist them in case of need" (Tisdall and Punch, 2012: 258). In Tanzanian society, child discipline and subservience to adult authority are particularly important and embodied in performances of 'respect' towards parents. To secure child discipline and subservience, corporal punishment is commonly practiced in Tanzania, with many Tanzanians believing that it is necessary to beat a child to ensure that they develop a good character (Frankenberg *et al.*, 2010).

Within Tanzania, responsibilities towards the family are strongly felt and, like in much of Africa (Therborn, 2006), extends to ancestors. As Awedoba argues, neglect of these responsibilities can have serious social and spiritual implications which persist even after death:

> *'The reciprocities between African parents and their children are life-long ones and are backed, not by legal requirements necessarily, but by moral and religious obligation. Society does not spare those African parents and children who fail in their reciprocal obligations. The recalcitrant child or parent may be ridiculed or gossiped about by*

> *concerned others. The aged parent may curse the negligent child who neglects that aged*
> *parent. Not only is this reciprocity lifelong, it continues after the death of the parent*
> *and finds expression in religious prestations such as sacrifices and offering at shrines*
> *erected to deceased parents in many African societies.' (2002: 90)*

Additionally, with reference to expectations surrounding remittances from migrant children in rural Tanzania, Lassen and Lilleør (2008) detail the various social and practical sanctions that are imposed on children who fail to remit including; "deny[ing] non-remitting children inheritance in the form of land, including access to burial grounds" (pg. 9). In a culture where family provide material and symbolic significance, where children are expected to respect and obey their parents and elders and parents may 'curse' non-compliant family members (Awedoba, 2002), a child or young person living on the street on their own is an exception to normative social behaviour (Shanahan, 2003). Additionally, children and young people's visibility in urban spaces, and particularly 'street' spaces, carry certain connotations of idleness and rebellion. Sherrington (2007) argues that young males who inhabit non-respectable street spaces in urban Tanzania are easily accused of being anti-social and represent issues of unemployment which carry the implicit risk of such individuals engaging in theft, he writes:

> *"This process of 'walking the streets aimlessly' (kuzurura, to roam; or kupiga mitaa,*
> *to hit the streets) feeds into popular ideas and discourses about the relationship*
> *between space and personhood, where being in the street is synonymous with deviance*
> *and being in the yard or at work correlates to virtuous morality." (pg. 5)*

This thesis argues that this anomaly – being visible on the street and/or appearing to have abandoned or disobeyed their families – is one contributing factor to the stigmatisation that children and young people face on the street. This stigmatisation, in turn, can contribute to feelings of low self-worth as children and young people begin to accept the negative perceptions of those who stigmatise them (Conticini, 2008).

Much literature on street children identifies the allure of 'freedom' which children and young people seek and, in some respects, find on the street – this can be a freedom from restrictive family expectations, a freedom to act on their own desires and wishes on a daily basis (Evans, 2006; Gigengack, 2000; Nalkur, 2009) and/or a freedom to keep the money that they earn (Conticini and Hulme,

2007). The 'freedom' narrative has arguably become popular in child rights discourses on street children which value children and young people's ability to make choices about their lives (Schimmel, 2006) The child's rights agenda and the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC or the Convention) have provided a useful framework for lobbying on behalf of children and encouraging the inclusion of children in decision making that impacts them. This ethos is often applied at a local level in developing countries through internationally-funded non-governmental organisations (NGOs) (Wells, 2015). A child's right to participate in decisions that impact them as advocated in the UNCRC is an important development for ensuring children's wellbeing, but it is qualitatively different to embracing a child's desire from 'freedom', especially if that freedom is in reaction to abuse or oppression in the home. This 'freedom' will not necessarily ensure that a child's rights are secured, but instead represent the exercise of a fragile sense of agency. Inevitably, 'freedom' from family constraints is one of a number of elements that make street-life desirable. However, this freedom may be illusional or short-lived, as other relationships of coercion and exploitation on the street, or addiction, limit children's ability to act out their freedom (Conticini, 2008; Lyså, 2009). While respecting that 'freedom' makes up a large part of street children and young people's narratives this thesis argues that the consequences and reality of this freedom can limit children and young people's opportunities in the long-term. Recent literature on African childhoods warns against 'glorifying' children as knowledgeable agents at the expense of knowledge that comes from the families and communities who make up their relationships and social structures (Abebe and Ofosu-Kusi, 2016: 311). Indeed, those who have experienced, and are now outside of, childhood can provide valuable analysis into how children and young people's lives are reproduced. This thesis suggests, as does other literature (Thomas de Benitez, 2003; Twum-Danso, 2009; van Blerk, 2012), that secure family connections are important for street children's, as well as all children's, present and long-term prospects. These connections carry a weight of inherent responsibility, have the potential to offer emotional and material support to encourage and advocate for children and young people and their interests, while buffering them in times of difficulty.

2.4   Stress and disadvantage: work and supporting oneself

Children and young people living on the street face significant stress resulting from their preoccupation with meeting their daily needs and managing the relationships they have developed on the street in order to secure their practical and emotional survival (Jones et al., 2007 on feelings of 'valuelessness' and suicidal ideation; Raffaelli, 1999 reference to experiences of insomnia and night terrors; Schimmel, 2008 on exposure to trauma; Shah et al., 2005 on the importance of relationships for feelings of inclusion; Whitbeck et al., 2000 on hypervigilance and anxiety associated with homelessness). Street life is not always experienced as stressful and at times children and young people report feelings of excitement and satisfaction from mastering their environments and learning new skills (Conticini, 2008). However, stress is certainly a key component of street life and, arguably, increasingly so as children age into adolescence and adulthood (Gigengack, 2014; Rizzini and Butler, 2003). Plenty of literature relating to street children portray the challenging economic, social and material environments in which children and young people survive daily. Interestingly, the studies that refer to street children and young people's mental health, stress or trauma are mostly based in the Americas, with very little academic research investigating these same issues among street children on the African continent. Reasons for this may be cultural; in Tanzania discussions about mental health are a taboo and stoicism is viewed as a sign of maturity (McAlpine et al., 2010). Regardless of the taboo of mental health, it is reasonable to suggest that at least some of the stress and trauma felt by street-involved children and youth in the Americas is also felt by those in Africa, albeit manifested differently, perhaps.

The challenges and constraints relating to children's quest to find work and earn money to buy material essentials is effort that would otherwise be shared, at least in part, in a family environment (Nalkur, 2009). Although, in reality, many children move to the street due to families' failures to support them in meeting their physical or emotional needs, once they have left, the possibility of having these needs catered for by family are reduced and their likelihood of finding alternative relationships to fill this gap is unpredictable. Socially, there are

numerous studies that highlight the web of relationships and connections that street children and young people depend on in order to buffer periods of illness or misfortune, as well as relationships that are required for daily activities, such as food vendors, scrap mental merchants, security guards and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) (Anich et al., 2011; Evans, 2006; Mizen, 2018). However, these relationships can also be abusive and exploitative, most notably the mistreatment street children face from police (Berckmans et al., 2012) or abuse at the hands of members of society or security guards (Outwater et al., 2013).

Within this setting, street-involved children and young people face significant hardships and these difficulties result in them resorting to crime in order to earn sufficient income to meet their needs and material aspirations (Shand et al., 2017), and some become increasingly dependent on alcohol and other substances, the use of which can dictate children and young people's daily activities (as discussed later in this chapter) (Berckmans et al., 2016; Conticini, 2008; Gigengack, 2000) and sometimes lead to morbidity and mortality (Gigengack, 2008; Jones et al., 2007). Tanzania, particularly, has challenges with street-level heroin use, increasing over the past two decades, due to shipping routes that transport heroin and other narcotics via Zanzibar and Dar es Salaam (Kilonzo and Simmons, 1998; Majini, 2013). The relative ease of access to heroin, along with the risk factors associated with needle use and HIV prevalence, has triggered the establishment of regionally unique methadone treatment centres in Dar es Salaam (Bansal, 2015) and attracted funding from DFID for initiatives to stem the flow of narcotic substances via Tanzania's shores (Elgot, 2018). Although drug-use is reported among street child populations in Tanzania (Kilonzo and Simmons, 1998), there is little research that records street children and young people's engagement with heroin use in this setting, with much of the current research on heroin-use in Tanzania focusing on the risks associated with needle-use and HIV. Additionally, literature relating to street children and their drug use commonly features East European (Naterer, 2014), Latin American (Huang et al., 2004) and North American (Kidd, 2004) contexts, with very little literature investigating the use of drugs among street children in sub-Saharan Africa.

Some street children manage to secure work that is sustainable enough to provide an income for renting a room of their own and therefore are able to 'leave' the street. Mizen (2018) suggests that the ability to support oneself and eventually earn enough money to leave the street is as much to do with good fortune than it is children or young people's internal resources. Children and young people may work hard, but without the sufficient opportunities to capitalise on their efforts, they can become disheartened and distrustful of others' offers of help (Bender et al., 2018). This highlights the pivotal role of children and young people's relationships and connections in children's achievements rather than an emphasis on their internal resources or survival skills, as is the focus of earlier literature on street children (Lugalla and Mbwambo, 1999; Rurevo and Bourdillon, 2003; van Blerk, 2005). A perspective which recognises the importance of relationships in street children's lives mirrors a shift in childhood literature from a focus on the individual child, their agency and present lived experiences towards an appreciation of children as relational beings and becomings, who act out their agency among people, societal structures and for present and future goals (Ansell et al., 2014; Tisdall and Punch, 2012). Literature regarding children's resilience and coping is helpful for validating children's activities and achievements in constrained environments, but I argue that it does not necessarily provide useful frameworks for addressing the reasons behind children's decisions to leave home nor a critical deconstruction of the situations in which children have become so successful in surviving.

This research argues that it is fractured support networks, especially severed relations with families, that contribute to long-term negative outcomes among street-involved children and young people. In the absence of a functioning state social welfare system that is able to take care of children and young people who are no longer able to live with their families, children and young people who move to the street are, in large part, left to fortune as to whether they meet the necessary people or are offered the necessary opportunities to create lives that go beyond survival.

2.5   Street children are not alone, but in a network of diverse relationships

While this thesis argues that an apparent absence, actual or assumed, of close family connections leaves children and young people vulnerable on the street, street-involved children are far from alone. There are many examples from the literature of the close relationships that children and young people build with one another on the street, relationships that may replace some of the functions that a relative would ordinarily perform; such as emotional support, sharing food or other resources, buffering a child in times of illness and misfortune or paying for medical expenses (Conticini, 2008; Evans, 2006; Lugalla and Mbwambo, 1999). Similarly, children and young people on the street may benefit from significant emotional support from their street-based peers, providing solace, solidarity and fun (Ayuku et al., 2004). However, there is reason to suggest that these relationships, although supportive, can also be fraught with conflict and/or violence and children and young people may feel that, ultimately, they are alone and cannot completely rely on others (Beazley, 2003; Evans, 2006; Hecht, 1998; Naterer, 2014).

Other relationships and networks include those they encounter while engaging in income-generating activities on the street: vendors, shop-keepers, market-stall owners, lorry drivers, security guards, scrap traders and bus drivers (Mizen, 2018). Some of these relationships may be beneficial to children and young people and some may be exploitative. Naterer (2014) suggests that, in a Ukrainian context, good relationships in the market-place are crucial for a street child's survival. However, it is most likely that these relationships will be contingent on relationships of mutual trust that are developed over time and, at least initially, consist of multiple casual interactions (Mizen, 2018). Therefore, the presence of such relationships provides no assurances in the immediate and require significant investment to be beneficial. This contrasts with assumptions inherent in the intergenerational contract whereby children offer parents the potential of future security and an undercurrent of reciprocity is assumed in the first instance rather than developed over-time, as with relationships with 'new' benefactors (Therborn, 2006; Twum-Danso, 2009).

Other significant groups of relationships for street children and young people may be those developed with social workers (Conticini, 2008), which are considered by some as crucial relationships for providing individualised care and advice to street children and young people that can enhance emotional wellbeing (Nalkur, 2009; Schimmel, 2006). Social workers, street workers and outreach workers often engage in education and training activities with children and young people and will commonly seek to integrate children into broader interventions that may have the intention of rehousing, reducing their dependence on drugs and helping children and young people seek viable income generating opportunities (Berckmans et al., 2016; Bordonaro, 2012). These services, and the relationships that deliver them, often only meet a small proportion of street children since they are resource intensive and strict success metrics mean those who are most difficult to engage can be eliminated from activities at an early point of contact (Beazley, 2003). Those who are most difficult to engage are often those who have been on the street for longer, are older or are most wary of interventions from outsiders, including a fear of being 'sent home' to their families. For children and young people who engage in well-functioning and holistic NGO programmes that seek to work alongside children at a pace that is appropriate for them, while meeting their immediate material needs, prospects of access to education and/or employment and the re-building of relationships with their families can be greatly increased (Schrader-McMillan and Herrera, 2016). However, as already stipulated, these services may only reach a small fraction of street children and, therefore, social workers' reach into the lives of street-involved children and young people can be limited.

The relationships that children and young people encounter on the street are important because they influence the decisions children make (Schimmel, 2006), their sense of self-worth and their feelings of stigmatisation. Nalkur (2009) found that a narrative of belonging and acceptance were unique to former street child populations[11] who had been given shelter through outreach interventions.

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[11] When compared with street-living children and children who had never lived on the street.

She suggests that feelings of 'belonging' replace feelings of being 'ostracised', allowing former street-living children and young people to think more positively about their futures (2009: 678).

This thesis argues that the relationships children and young people encounter can provide them with opportunities. Relationships encountered on the street may give children hope or cause them physical and emotional harm which can drive them towards life-enhancing or self-destructive activities. Crucially, relationships can open-up social, economic and physical spaces and places to children and young people. However, outside of family relationships of reciprocity, the incentive for sustained investment in children and young people is arguably lacking. Consequently, this thesis argues that children and young people's relationships on the street are, comparative to family relationships of reciprocity, low-commitment and require high-maintenance, further adding to the stress of street-life.

2.6   Concluding paragraph

"Being poor is itself a health hazard; worse, however, is being urban and poor. Much worse is being poor, urban and a child. But worst of all is being a street child in an urban environment" (De la Barra 1998: 46)

Thomas de Benitez (2003) identified six factors that she argues contribute to keeping street children in extreme poverty and excluded from mainstream society: (1) their condition of being 'out of place' while on the street; (2) their increased likeliness of coming into contact with the criminal justice system and their lack of an advocate when in this system, (3) their reduced chance of being enrolled in education due to their mobility, lack of documentation or an adult to enrol them, (4) their greater exposure to health risks, and possible death, due to street accidents, sexually transmitted diseases, solvent abuse, suicide or murder, (5) the sporadic and marginal work in the informal sector on which they depend that is outside of child labour protection services and (6) the challenges they face securing shelter due to sporadic incomes and age restrictions (pg. 135). Many of the challenges the children and young people raised in this study relate to the six factors outlined above. Through the use of grounded theory methodology, this thesis frames these challenges through the lens of responsibilities and

relationships; street children and young people bearing responsibility for themselves, those who have let them down in their responsibilities towards them and the need to establish relationships of reliance and reciprocity as a substitute for a functioning and supportive natal family structure. Underpinning these findings is a discussion of agency; how street-involved children and young people are able to exercise their agency and within what internal and external constraints, with reference to literature on family support and cultural expectations of the roles of children in sub-Saharan Africa and Tanzania specifically.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1   Introduction

As already outlined above, this research set out to investigate the relationships and social networks of street-involved children and young people in two cities in northern Tanzania; prompted by StreetInvest's desire to gain a better understanding of the role their street workers played in the broader context of children's lives. Initially the intention was to carry out this research in a region where street workers were operational in order to obtain research findings specific to the street worker intervention. As I will explain later in this chapter, this was not possible. Instead, we turned the attention of the research towards a broader view of street-involved children and young people's street relationships using a grounded theory methodology (GTM). Due to the nature of GTM, while the question of children and young people's relationships underpinned the investigation during initial data collection, the research continued its line of inquiry on the basis of the concerns and challenges that children and young people identified during open questioning. It became apparent that children and young people's relationships on the street were fundamental to their experience of street life, how they made decisions and what opportunities were available to them; relationships and their influence cut across data categories. However, during analysis, after abstracting the data to a theoretical level through coding and constant comparison[12] as advocated in GTM (Glaser, 1967), relationships themselves were not identified as children and young people's main concern.

The methodology followed during this research, as outlined in this chapter, is a product of sincere consideration of what would be most accessible and non-intrusive for the research participants, feasible in the research locations, mindful of the political and power dynamics of local partnerships and effective at

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[12] Constant comparison is the process of comparing new excerpts of data ('incidents') with others coded in the same category ('code') to allow for the meanings of categories to evolve during data analysis while also informing theoretical sampling.

meeting the research objectives. I consulted my PhD supervisors, StreetInvest and the advice of local contacts throughout my fieldwork as a means of accountability and to sense-check my research processes (see Appendix 8).

This chapter will explain in more detail how the research presented in this thesis evolved in relation to fieldwork constraints and opportunities, ethical considerations and through the use of GTM.

3.2 Research context: shaping research within the opportunities and constraints NGO partners offer

3.2.1 Preamble

Before commencing my fieldwork, StreetInvest linked me with a local NGO partner in Tanzania who would host me during my stay and assist me as a gatekeeper for street-involved children and young people. This local NGO partner was chosen due to the strong links they had with StreetInvest; employing one of StreetInvest's Global Trainers and being a recipient of street work training in the past. Additionally, the local charity had a good reputation for carrying out research for evidence-based practice which meant that they employed staff with fieldwork experience.

Working with, and being funded by, StreetInvest offered significant opportunities and specific constraints for planning fieldwork and caring out research. StreetInvest allowed me access to their contacts through partner organisations and vouched for my credibility as a researcher. This enabled me to enter the field confident that I would have a foundation of relationships to draw on for beginning my research. These relationships introduced me to geographical areas where street-involved children and young people spent time, individuals who were known to, and trusted by, the research population and logistical support in the early days of the research; such as an invitation for the necessary visa and a contact for research permission. While this support from StreetInvest facilitated a smooth entrance into the fieldwork and data collection, it also placed limitations on the locations where I was able to conduct research. A key requisite of StreetInvest's support of this research was to investigate a

location where there were street workers who had been trained by StreetInvest. This condition meant that it was difficult to mediate issues relating to research fatigue, which became apparent after my pilot research trip in 2014; since populations that have interventions from NGOs are more likely to attract researchers (Sukarieh and Tannock, 2013). An awareness of the presence of research fatigue among some of those involved in this research played a large part in informing the research methodology as outlined in this chapter. My relationship with StreetInvest and the local NGO also shaped the research methodology since I was acutely aware of my contractual obligation to present findings to the research partners alongside my ethical obligations for safeguarding the children and young people and StreetInvest's relationship with their local partner.

3.2.2 The research context

The fieldwork for this thesis was carried out over three visits to two urban centres in northern Tanzania over a three-year period between 2014-2016. The purpose of the first visit to the field-sites was to meet the local research partner, observe their activities with the children and familiarise myself with the research location. This visit spanned 8 weeks in the summer of 2014, dividing my time between the two locations. The local charity partner was operational in both locations delivering broadly the same programmes in each area. However, the difference between these two locations is that the head office and the children's transition home was based in one of the field-sites while the other site ran an office where children and young people could drop-in. Due to StreetInvest's interest in the impact of their street work intervention, the main focus of this first visit was to shadow the local NGO's street workers and familiarise myself with their working environment.

During this first fieldtrip I gained several insights into the research environment that directly informed the planning of my second field trip. These insights were, firstly, that some key staff were disaffected by the large volume of overseas visitors to their programmes. I spent my first day with the NGO meeting several members of staff at differing levels of authority within the organisation explaining my intentions and seeking their input on the best mode of interaction

with their teams and the children. The monitoring and evaluation manager specifically informed me that key members of staff were dissatisfied about my visit while others were apathetic about engaging with research. Secondly, I learned that the children and young people were very comfortable with foreign visitors and that their attitude towards visitors had been shaped over time by a donor-recipient dynamic. One example of this attitude was expressed while I was walking to the NGO offices to attend their monthly music event; children intercepted me outside of the transition home and engaged me in English while telling me that the NGO was "a very good place." This interaction occurred before the children knew that I was walking to the NGO offices and before I had introduced myself to them. A sense of the donor-recipient expectations also seemed to be present during interactions with adults. A Tanzanian member of staff who was particularly close to an American member of staff was asked by his Tanzanian colleague - "Lucy[13] was given an iPhone by her white friend, what has your white person given you?" The idea that the relationship may involve the transaction of goods offended both the Tanzanian and American members of staff. I also had several requests from colleagues for me to leave them my bicycle during my second fieldtrip. The third insight I gained from my first fieldtrip was how to request the necessary research clearance and work permit to allow me to conduct research within Tanzania. This is something that I was not aware of before my first visit and being able to prepare for this saved me time during my second fieldwork trip; allowing me to secure clearance and start collecting data by the second week. Before addressing my response to these insights in the 'Ethics' section of this chapter I will briefly explain the context to my second fieldtrip to Tanzania.

My second visit to Tanzania took place over 6 months during the second year of my PhD studies. Unfortunately, between leaving Tanzania in August 2014 and returning in February 2015, the local NGO partner had ceased all activities with children and made their entire staff redundant. Before learning of the local NGO's demise and returning to the field for the second time, I arranged to raise

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[13] Pseudonym.

funds by running a marathon in-country with the proceeds to be donated to the local NGO. I had hoped that this would help the local NGO to understand that I was grateful for their assistance and their future support of my thesis research. After meeting with the interim director of the local NGO I explained that since they had suspended their services to children I could no longer offer them the money; instead I directed the funds to StreetInvest. The sentiment was appreciated, and the interim director explained that he understood my decision. The local NGO had been established for twenty years and had become a well-known and respected local charity with partners from the UK and the US. Their cessation of activities was surprising in this respect. However, on reflection, the tensions I experienced during my first field visit may have been a manifestation of their impending funding and staffing challenges. The change in plan from working with the local NGO as a partner, to conducting the fieldwork independently brought with it a series of advantages and disadvantages. Without the NGO programmes, it was not possible for me to gain access to the children who had been living in their transition home. While collecting data via theoretical sampling, it became apparent that having access to this population could have added depth to the data by way of contrast. The local NGO also would have provided a sustained presence in the field locations after my fieldwork; thereby offering the children involved in data collection a clear line of contact to me and my research. This would have allowed the children to contact me if they wanted to withdraw data, contribute to data or inquire about what was being done with the data.

Without this institutional presence, I felt much warier of the risks of engaging the street-involved children in my research since there were fewer lines of accountability for my activities. However, the redundancies made by the local NGO enabled me access to former employees to hire as research assistants. This meant that I was able to secure these former employees' full attention and make the most of their skills and experience to meet and engage the children they had formerly worked with on the street. During my second fieldwork trip I worked with four research assistants. My primary research assistant was Asimwe, a 26-year-old female who had previously worked in monitoring and evaluation at the local NGO. In both field-sites Asimwe and I worked with former local NGO

street workers to gain access to children and young people who were willing to take part in the research. In one of the field-sites we worked with Respick who himself is a former street-involved child who had lived in the NGO's transition home. In the second field-site we worked with Fred who was a StreetInvest Global Trainer for street work. In addition to Respick and Fred I worked with a fourth research assistant, called Charles, who is also a former street-involved child and former resident of the local NGO's transition home and had later become a street worker. I worked with Charles to interview former street-involved children and young people while he was on break from his university studies.

Working with research assistants who were formerly associated with the local NGO had significant advantages as well as some limitations. It was beneficial for the research that children were already familiar with, and had a level of trust with, the research assistants. However, the assistants were regularly asked by children and young people on the street when the NGO might recommence activities. This shows how, through association with the NGO, the research assistants carried a responsibility to speak on behalf of the NGO and manage the children's expectations which may have been uncomfortable at times. Although I worked with four research assistants the majority of the interviews with children and young people on the street were led by Asimwe. All of the research assistants I worked with had some experience of conducting research due to their former roles with the local NGO. Asimwe was the most skilled and informed on this particular research project, therefore she was able to offer consistency across interviews. Charles' interview style was not as perceptive as Asimwe's. The data he gathered, however, offered useful insights into research categories from the perspective of a different population and provided a sufficient counter-point from which to approach the bulk of the data collected on the street.

Although the employment of these research assistants added greater expense to the research budget, compared to working through the NGO staff and programmes, it also provided flexibility for data collection and we were therefore able to collect data in the evenings; the most convenient timing for the research

population. Additionally, towards the end of the fieldwork, I was able to employ Asimwe full-time to ensure that we were able to make the most effective use of my remaining time in the field. Having a more consistent and dedicated research assistant was beneficial in several ways. Firstly, the children were able to build a relationship of trust and affection with Asimwe since they were able to see her on a regular basis for six months. Secondly, since Asimwe was able to give more time to the fieldwork I was able to include her in the analysis process. Asimwe, therefore, had a firm grasp of the direction of the research and participated in peer debriefing after each data collection event and during interpretation of the translated interview transcripts; as recommended by Baxter & Eyles (1997) to enhance the credibility of findings. As Leck (2014) argues, research assistants can provide considerable depth of insight during research analysis due to their direct interaction with research participants and their understanding of cultural attitudes, practices and vocabularies. This deep understanding of the research process and direction allowed Asimwe to be responsive while posing questions, with no need for notes or prompts that might have otherwise provided a barrier between herself and the research participants.

On balance, while working with a local NGO would have facilitated access to a wider pool of research participants, the flexibility of conducting research independently and having access to full-time research assistants enabled the research to build a depth of relationships with the children and young people living on the street that was unconstrained by NGO working hours or alternative agendas.

3.3   Ethics and choice of methodology

> *"We have already been interviewed a lot. So many researches [sic] about us have been conducted already, so many times since we starting being "uchokoraa[14]" until we are almost old. In the end, it seems like we are just talking without action being taken.*

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[14] Chokoraa is a derogatory term for street-involved child in Swahili. *Uchokoraa* is a noun which denotes a concept. For example, "kweli" means true, while "*u*kweli" means truth. By this definition, "Uchokoraa" refers to the state of being a street-involved child, or street-involved childhood.

> *You know there is a way someone uses you as a bridge, someone lies you down and he walks by on your spine."* (Interview 7: Pauli, male, 22.)

The reception I received from the local NGO staff during my first fieldtrip prompted me to consider the ethics of conducting research in what could be considered an "over-researched" area of Tanzania. The loss of field-level research accountability following the demise of the local NGO heightened my concerns about my research seeming extractive and exploitative of the children and young people and I became cautious about the impact of approaching this already disenchanted population – disenchantment that Pauli so eloquently expresses at in the quote above. One of my main contacts in Tanzania, a former employee of the local NGO, tactfully probed me about what would result from the research I was carrying out. He asked:

> *Gemma: Ok, do you have anything else to add or any questions for me before I tell you a few of my thoughts about... [cut off before finishing the sentence]*
>
> *Fred: Ok. Erm, in most cases, you know this is something I have observed also. I've seen lots of students from the UK, the US, from some other places also. They do research, because that's something they also want to implement. You know, the findings will help them set up something to provide a solution to whatever they see as a problem or a challenge. While, it may be very opposite for us here, sometime, people do research and it's shelved - thrown on the shelf and they don't implement anything. Ehhh, maybe you are planning to do something after your studies, or... [chuckle]?* (Interview 23: Fred, male, street worker)

After I explained my own reservations about conducting research in a potentially over-researched environment the respondent continued to comment on children and young people's expectations when researchers visited to speak with them, he added:

> *Gemma: I think it is possibly more damaging to raise their expectations by showing up than it is...*
>
> *Fred: [Interrupting] Yes, sometimes they'll see, when they see like, yeah yeah. It can be really challenging. They may expect quite a lot from you and, yeah. I agree and I understand how challenging it can be. And even with us, sometimes I remember a case where we were trying to introduce, you know, "good news garden" to some children and because we had some people coming from [the] International School […] to help, yeah several white people. They later, some boys they were saying that we took money from them and now we are putting the money into our pockets. Which I said was, totally, not true [sad chuckle].* (Details as above.)

The genuine concern that this member of staff voiced comes from years of experience of working with street-involved children and young people as well as

facilitating visits from donors and overseas researchers. He questions the value of conducting research that may just be 'left on the shelf'. Additionally, he expresses sadness about the mistrust that is sometimes bred between the NGO staff and the children when the children suspect that 'white people' are providing money for them and this money is being kept by the NGO staff. The same individual expressed in a later discussion that the children and young people considered NGOs a barrier between them and the wealth that was being offered to help them. The children and young people would point out that they were the reason why the NGO staff had jobs and salaries, and that it was unfair that they did not see any of the financial dividends of this. For this reason, and in consultation with Fred and Asimwe, I decided to maintain a level of distance between myself and the street-involved children and young people in order not to raise expectations or suspicions. I recognised that this distance would have implications for how I was able to interpret the interview data. Without being present in interview settings, I would miss embodied communication and social dynamics among the street participants. Additionally, although visiting locations where the children and young people spend time for field observations, I would miss the subtle ways they behaved and interacted in their social spaces during the interviews. I did not have the opportunity to build relationships with the street-involved children and young people, to grow fond of some or learn to become wary of others. For these social cues, dynamics and contextual influences I was dependent on Asimwe's post-interview feedback and our sessions running through interview transcripts to interpret meaning and tone. I regularly read between the English and Kiswahili transcripts to discern meanings from the texts, identifying key Kiswahili words used and investigating the other contexts in which such words were applied. When my English/Kiswahili dictionary definitions seemed insufficient, Asimwe and I would talk at length about the meanings of key concepts such as; kutesa[15], -hangaika[16] or mascan[17].

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[15] To be unfairly treated, teased, bullied.

[16] To worry and be restless.

[17] Home on the street.

Without being present in the interviews with the street-involved children and young people, I made great efforts to be as close to the data and the intended meaning of the transcripts as possible, complementing this with visits to the streets to greet children and young people and observe their activities during the day and night. An additional consideration was the analytical approach I intended to use with my data. Since one of GTM's key distinctions is concerned with theorising rather than describing events, experiences or populations (Griffin, 2011), this reduced the need to focus on detail within the data and social interactions that might otherwise be required for an ethnographic approach. Glaser (2016) suggests that it is easier to code other people's data since the distance this provides avoids excessive description that might otherwise interfere with category development. GTM is concerned with explaining participants' behaviour with regards to how they resolve their main concern (Griffin, 2011), thus GTM data analysis involved identifying participants' main concern and eliciting information on their activities regarding this concern rather than a focus on the detail and nuance within the stories themselves (Suddaby, 2006). My direct engagement in other forms of data collection, such as interviews with English speaking adults and fieldnotes, allowed me to glean additional context from the researcher-participant interaction, while the process of analysis, constant comparison and theoretical sampling required by GTM meant that my engagement with the interview transcripts of the street-involved children and young people was able to elicit necessary insight for the development of data categories.

While conducting this fieldwork research participants frequently asked about the relevance of the research for their lives. This was usually the first question that the children and young people asked after we had read the informed consent form to them. Informed consent was obtained verbally as this meant that the research assistants did not need to travel with paper and pencils, and that those who were not able to read or write were not forced to disclose this in front of their peers. Day (2014) argues that verbal consent is more appropriate than written consent in some African communities and that, when working with youth, verbal consent saved her participants the potential embarrassment of disclosing their literacy levels. When the children and young people asked us

about how the research would benefit them, we informed them that we could not guarantee that there would be any direct benefits to the participants for having contributed their time to the research. We explained that we would buy them dinner and that sometimes having the opportunity to talk about their concerns was a useful process for both researcher and participants. The older youth were more likely to lament that they had been involved in research before but had never seen any improvement in their lives, or the lives of their peers, as a result of their participation. It is possible that previous research had been beneficial in the past for some street-involved children. However, since this research was focused on those children and young people still living on the streets, despite having had access to NGO interventions, it is possible that they are least likely to perceive the potential benefits of research since NGO interventions have continued to 'fail' them (see chapter 7 for more on older and disenchanted street-involved children and young people). For this reason, we did not push street-involved young people to engage in interviews and we remained open to changing our sampling in line with participants' willingness to engage.

Because many children and young people appeared disillusioned following their engagement with researchers, it was important to Asimwe and I to provide adequate remuneration for the time they devoted to our interviews. We agreed together the equivalent remuneration of an evening meal (1000 TSH[18] per person) and the participants seemed to appreciate this offer. This amount was decided, awkwardly, after I had under-offered remuneration during our first interview. I offered the young people a drink or the equivalent price of a drink (700 TSH each) for their participation. They chose to receive money rather than a drink at the location where we conducted the interview. At the end of the interview, after offering them money equivalent to the price of a drink, Asimwe, looking embarrassed, gave them an extra 1000TSH to share between them.

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[18] About 30 pence at time of research: conversion rate being 1 GBP to 3300 TSH. Simple meals served by street vendors ranged in price from 700 TSH-2500 TSH.

From years of discussing the ethics of remuneration at university I was aware of the risks of raising expectations amongst research participants, I was therefore uncomfortable giving money to the young people directly. I had intended to buy them a drink for their time, but upon meeting them thought it reasonable to offer them the choice of the equivalent money instead. Day (2014) recognises a similar tension during her research with young care-givers in Zambia. She concludes:

> *"Whether they had caregiving responsibilities or not, many had economic responsibilities for their families, often as the sole income generator. I believed that it would have been unethical not to give them something in recognition of this, to compensate for any lost earnings, and also to recognize their value and contribution to the study." (pg. 200)*

While the children and young people involved in my study were not responsible for providing for their families, they were responsible for providing for themselves. After this initial interview I apologised to Asimwe and thanked her for stepping in to subsidise my poor remuneration offering and repaid her 1000 TSH. As highlighted in this first interview, and many interviews subsequent, work, income and finances preoccupied a large part of children and young people's time and energy on the street. For children and young people, each day was a struggle to make enough money for food and other essentials, and it seemed unfair to take their time for granted without proper remuneration. In later interviews, we followed groups of children to a food stall and paid the cook directly as the children and young people took their food. This, however, proved difficult too since children felt like they were being treated differently when their food was being paid for them directly by the research assistants. It occurred to us that children's ability to pay for their own food, with money from their own pockets, was an empowering act; allowing them to be a consumer rather than a street-child being 'helped'. After this, we gave the children and young people their 1000 TSH after interviews so that they could take it to buy their own food or something else if they chose. Since our objective was to build a relationship of trust with the children and young people who participated in the research it followed that we needed to trust that the children and young people would spend their money in a way that they saw fit; even if we would consider the purchase undesirable.

There are several factors that may contribute to the high volume of research with street-involved children and young people resident in this part of Tanzania. One factor could be the strong presence of, until recently, two large, internationally-funded NGOs operating within both field-sites. International donors operating in development contexts often require rigorous monitoring and evaluation data from the projects they support. This is in addition to baseline surveys and mid-project and end-of-project reporting. Similarly, if an NGO desires to improve its programmes it may choose to engage in its own research to inform future implementation. Sultana (2007), while discussing fieldwork dilemmas in international research, reflected that dismissal of researchers' advances "occurred more often in villages that had been over-studied by various development organizations and NGOs, compared to villages where there were fewer external interventions" (pg. 381). Sultana's (2007) assertion implies that an increase in external interventions correlates with more researcher presence in a field area and therefore a greater sense of research fatigue experienced by local populations.

Other factors that may contribute to over-research within a community are explored in Sukarieh and Tannok's (2013) assessment of research in Palestinian refugee camps in Jordan. Sukarieh and Tannok state that communities are most at risk of being over researched if they are characterised by one or more of the following; being poor, minority or otherwise marginalised; communities that have experienced some sort of crisis or engage in resistance to their conditions of poverty or marginalisation; and/or communities that are easily accessible by outsiders. The final point is of particular relevance to Sukarieh and Tannok since they explain how some refugee camps receive many more researchers than others depending on location and ease of access. Prioritising engagement with those who live at the extremes of poverty and marginalisation was strongly advocated in the late 80s and early 90s by Chambers (1983, 1997). Chambers argues for a 'paradigm of reversals' (1995: 134) where the priorities of the poorest are considered before other material matters of development; centred on the concept of holistic wellbeing. This may well have led to an increase in research that sought to address the injustices that Chambers writes about with regards to privileging the powerful and the expert over understanding and

valuing local knowledge. Chambers advocates for active engagement with poorer communities that reduce inequality and enhance wellbeing. However, research fatigue is caused by research that does not appear, to those being researched, to address the injustices that Chambers bemoans. While Chambers' 'paradigm of reversals' justifies the prioritisation of research with the most marginalised and impoverished it is important to acknowledge that good research does not in itself dissolve inequality or integrate the marginalised.

When considering street-involved children in light of Sukarieh and Tannok's (2013) criteria, it could be argued that they are poor and marginalised, engaging in resistance to their conditions of poverty and are relatively accessible by outsiders due to their visibility on the street. This would make them a likely population to be over-researched. Similarly, I would argue that the northern region of Tanzania represents a part of sub-Saharan Africa that is particularly easy to access due to the well-developed tourist infrastructure built around Mount Kilimanjaro and the several National Parks, most notably the Serengeti National Park. While good tourism infrastructure facilitates movement of academics it may also increase the flows of voluntourism within the area thus increasing contact between local communities and non-native visitors. Ezra (2013), in his masters dissertation investigating community perceptions of volunteer tourists in the northern tourist circuit of Tanzania, explains that host communities would not necessarily distinguish between volunteer, NGO worker or donor visitors. Ezra (2013) asserts that host communities were more likely to view visitors through a socio-economic and racial lens rather than distinguishing between visitors' different purposes. This may leave host communities with the impression that they are receiving an excessive level of outside attention even if a smaller percentage of this attention is from academic researchers. This view is also purported by Smith (1999) who, as an 'indigenous researcher', critiques what she considers to be the colonising undertones of Western academic research. She writes,

> *"of course, most indigenous peoples and their communities do not differentiate scientific or 'proper' research from the forms of amateur collecting, journalistic approaches, film making or other ways of 'taking' indigenous knowledge that have occurred so casually over the centuries" (pg. 2).*

I perceived something similar during my first visit to the local partner NGO, in July 2014, when I was informed that the organisation had recently received many donor visitors and were not enthusiastic about receiving another guest. While I saw my visit as being very different to that of a donor, or a volunteer, to the host NGO and their beneficiaries I was another wealthy, white visitor from a donor country. My presence came with a certain level of baggage that the hosts associated with the money and power of donors who have the ability to remove funding, close programmes and end jobs. An event that occurred in the local NGO less than six months following my visit.

When visitors are predominately characterised by their racial and socio-economic identities, a pertinent ethical question must be addressed concerning Western and European failure to redefine their identity within formerly colonised countries (also argued by Madge (1993) over twenty years ago). According to Sukareih and Tannok (2013), such perpetuation of imperialist and colonial power imbalances are something in which researchers are also complicit. They refer, again, to Smith (1999) as an indigenous researcher writing from the perspective of the 'colonised', she asserts:

> *"the term 'research' is inextricably linked to European imperialism and colonialism. The word itself* […] *is probably one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous world's vocabulary. When mentioned in many indigenous contexts, it stirs up silence, it conjures up bad memories, it raises a smile that is knowing and distrustful."* (1999: 1)

Furthermore, as Madge (1993) argues in critique of Sidaway's (1992) discussion of the ethics of 'first world' academics researching in the 'third world': despite all attempts at levelling power imbalances in the field the visiting researcher still holds the power of writing about the data "in a (prevalently) one-way flow of information" (Madge, 1993: 295). Madge (1993) emphasises the argument of relativity, dismissed by Sidaway (1992), suggesting that 'first world' writings on the 'third world' can only be interpretive at best; reflecting as much about the researcher as the research participants. These arguments surrounding representation, and the potential for undertones of neocolonialism in development research and practice, have been addressed in more recent literature relating to 'voice', particularly the 'voices' of local people (Lunn, 2014: 147 and particularly chapters written by Day and Leck in the same volume.) Day

(2014) argues that although research with young people can be 'intrusive' (p. 193), it is also necessary in order to give them a voice; particularly through the use of participatory research methods. Leck (2014) emphasises the importance of including local research assistants' voices in the analysis and representation of data since they hold specific local knowledge and offer a contextual interpretation of data. These discussions contribute to efforts to include local voices in data interpretation and representation in order to present rich and nuanced understandings of research phenomena. In line with these arguments, interview questions in the field for my study prioritised participants' areas of concern and research assistants played a crucial role in data interpretation and analysis.

However, being sensitive to histories of exploitation and extraction by Western powers in sub-Saharan Africa still cannot erase the memory of colonialism which informs how local people interact with Western researchers in the present day. To draw again on my own field experience, I was frequently challenged by my Kiswahili teachers about the negative impacts of colonialism in Africa. These arguments ranged from the hypocrisy of the UK having a non-elected head of state to the assertion that it was the Europeans who introduced malaria to Africa. While this does not prove that all Tanzanians receive non-native visitors as neo-imperialists, it demonstrates that the history of colonialism is still a topic that influences Tanzanians' interactions with citizens from former-coloniser countries. Those who are being researched could argue that exploitation is still being practised as researchers extract information from Tanzania to further their own careers, as was asserted to me by one immigration officer while justifying the high cost of research permits. Sukareih and Tannok (2013) refer to a similar level of scepticism within some Palestinian refugee camps where people feared that information was being extracted for wider political agendas which they were powerless to influence. These examples emphasise the necessity for researchers to critically reflect on the purpose of their research so that they are able to engage in dialogue with research participants and sufficiently justify their role as actors in the field. Staddon (2014) reflects similarly when she was asked by a research participant, 'so what kind of student are you?' (pg. 249). While taking her by surprise, Staddon was able to justify her position as a researcher and explain why

her contribution to the community would be different to those before her. She explains that she was able to 'give back' to the communities that she engaged with by offering them respect, access to academic literature, payment for their time at local wage labour rates, investing in the skills of her research partners and providing access to knowledge for the communities she worked with (ibid). She explains that with critical self-reflection:

> *"There are no right or wrong answers, only situations to be negotiated in the best way we see fit." (pg. 257)*

While the arguments presented so far paint a grim view of the impact of research in areas of the world where, for political, geographical or social reasons, people are prone to research fatigue, it may still be possible to constructively engage in research in these areas by taking preparatory action. Brooks (2014) argues for a pragmatic approach to dealing with research uncertainties;

> *"Academic preparedness is vital before embarking upon fieldwork, [but ...] [i]f before every research activity we were to weigh up all the potential consequences for ourselves and the research subjects, consider them earnestly and think about the immediate outcomes, then the probable repercussions, then the possible effects, and then finally the ultimately imaginable products of our actions, we would never set foot outside the library." (pg. 44)*

By understanding some of the frustrations that over-researched communities express, it is possible to design research that is sensitive to communities' concerns. Clark (2008) conducted research with academics to glean common narratives of research fatigue that had been expressed during fieldwork. According to Clark's research (2008) the three key contributors to research fatigue were: "the lack of change that results from engagement; issues of apathy and a diminishing interest in research engagement; and the practical barriers to engagement such as cost, time and organization [sic]" (pg. 957). It is not possible for researchers to promise that change will result from their investigations. However, Clark's findings provide a reminder to researchers to consider their motivating factors for engaging in field-work. Researchers have the responsibility to consider the negative impact their engagement with the field may have on subsequent researchers who may be better resourced to ensure their research can have a positive impact. Communication of findings is one element of impact which is within researchers' control. During, and following,

my fieldwork I maintained a blog to communicate about my research[19]. This included a guest blog from Asimwe and a Kiswahili translation of a presentation that I had given to summarise my findings. I also pursued presenting opportunities at academic conferences as well as presenting for StreetInvest and drafting briefing papers of my findings for their website. I carried out these activities with the intention that the findings from my research would be accessible for a broad readership and inform others' attitudes, practice and research. Alternatively, Hickey and Mohan (2004) argue for changing research priorities towards the political and structural causes of poverty and marginalisation, in the expectation that such research will have less of an imposition on over-researched communities. By outlining the various critiques of participatory methodologies, specifically the limited transformational power of hyperlocal research, they argue for more immanent rather than imminent research, i.e. research that addresses the 'underlying forces of socioeconomic and political change that shape people's livelihoods' (pg. 10).

With regards to apathy, and participants' diminishing interest in research, an attitude towards greater sharing of data may mitigate excessive repetition of research questions that leave participants feeling unheard. As one participant in Sukareigh and Tannok's research suggests,

> *"'[t]hey do the same interviews with the same people all the time,' says Lama, 'Why don't they use the interviews that were done by researchers before?'" (ibid.: 501).*

While it is important to ensure that data is gathered in a rigorous and appropriate way, and to be mindful of issues of informed consent, it would be presumptuous for a researcher to believe that data is only good enough if collected by themselves in person. Therefore, there is a compelling case for drawing more on secondary sources of data and data sharing among academic researchers, especially with regards to over-researched communities.

Finally, while longitudinal studies and participatory research methodologies gather unique and rich findings that are important for filling gaps in

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[19] See www.methodandmeaning.com

understanding and knowledge, these lengthy techniques demand high time and financial engagement from participants, with limited outcomes for transforming participants' lived realities (Hickey and Mohan, 2004). In addition to funds spent on travel to engage in an interview or focus group, participants incur an opportunity cost of spending time engaging in research, travelling to and from research locations or filling out research diaries. It is important to consider the ethics surrounding participant remuneration in order to fully appreciate the monetised and non-monetised resources that the participant has contributed to the research. Indeed, research fatigue may result from a break-down in this negotiation of remuneration, since in early research the participant may have anticipated being remunerated for their time with improvements in their local area. When this expectation is unfulfilled, a participant may perceive that there is less to gain from engaging in research and understandably refuse to engage a second time or demand to be paid for their contribution instead. With this argument it may be important for researchers to understand what denotes value within the communities that they are researching and how their particular economies practise remuneration (Gibson-Graham, 2014).

For this study I decided to work with a local team of research assistants and to use a methodology based in grounded theory. The decision to conduct research in this way was underpinned by a desire to negotiate the ethical challenges raised by my research intervention. The next section will discuss how these decisions were made.

3.4   Situating Grounded Theory Methodology in this study

Grounded theory methodology (GTM) in this research is understood as a process of sampling and analysing data in order to identify research participants main concern and theorise about how they address this concern. GTM is used alongside interviews, participant observation and memo writing to collect qualitative data. Using GTM in this study meant that the progression of sampling and interview questions were not agreed before going into the field but were decided inductively based on each data collection event. GTM can be interpreted in a variety of ways; both in its philosophical underpinnings and in the process of research execution. This chapter will discuss some of the arguments

surrounding the use of GTM and offer justification for the form of GTM used in this research.

After engaging with literature from a variety of disciplines, and a two-month visit to the field, I was undecided about what my research aim and objectives should be. The literature I had read presented a pre-conceived understanding of what the children and young people I planned to research would be like and each representation was seated in its own academic discipline; be it economic, geographical, psychosocial, pedagogical, sociological or legal. Many of these perspectives seemed fragmented and overly specific and therefore of limited theoretical value. This mirrors a trend in childhood studies which has focused on empirical studies of children's experiences and lived realities over theory building during the late 90's and early 2000's (Tisdall and Punch, 2012).

Since the research for this thesis was carried out in partnership with a UK-based NGO, and involved working with local NGOs in Tanzania, I was keen that the research findings were practically relevant and understandable for practitioner audiences. Conticini (2008) critiques an approach to researching street-involved children and young people that focuses on "personal interpretations of the problem to be addressed instead of a systematic understanding of it" (pg. 414). He argues that "they [street-involved children] are, by far, the most misunderstood and misaddressed population in the world of interventions to reduce child poverty. […] [And that] [i]t seems nearly 20 years of specialized literature have done very little to improve our [practitioners and policy makers] practices on the ground" (ibid.: 414). The literature I had engaged with enriched my understanding of the challenges that street-involved children face and some of the ways that these challenges can be addressed. However, I found that the existing literature painted careful context-specific stories of street-involved children's lives which left me confused about the population I was to be working with. Since much of the research emphasised nuance – that all street-involved children and young people are different depending on their experiences and environments and that street-involved was different to street-living, which was different to part-time, or working children – the distinct population I was to be engaging with remained elusive in the literature. I did not know which of the

multiple definitions the children that I would encounter in Tanzania would fall under. In light of contradictions in the literature it was difficult to decide upon a deductive method of inquiry. To do so would require siding with a disciplinary approach that would then shape the entirety of my thesis. This seemed inappropriate without first understanding the population I was to be working with. It seemed sensible to approach my research using a method that encouraged more open, inductive, inquiry while minimising any pre-conceived assumptions. GTM provided one means for approaching my research participants with open questioning and, unlike other ethnographic and participatory methods, it also seeks to develop theories rather than to provide in-depth descriptions of street-involved children's lives and perspectives.

For similar reasons, Conticini (2008) used GTM for developing a theory to inform policy and practice; arguing that increased specialisation in academic literature limited its capacity to produce interdisciplinary and practical contributions to development practice. This rationale relates to the frustration with hyperlocal research outlined in the discussion of research fatigue in section 3.3. Conticini uses the term "pathology of case studies", explaining that:

> *"In this respect, much research on street life regularly enriching academic journals has made the focus of investigation so narrow in nature, so contextually dependent, so highly framed within the traditional boundaries of the disciplines it belongs to and with so little reference to any wider scenario of practical experience, that its capacity to inform practitioners* [sic] *and policy makers* [sic] *results has become compromised and limited."* (2008: 416)

Conticini's (ibid) arguments articulate the frustration I experienced while exploring the literature on street-involved children's lives. In contrast to studies that couched street-involved children within one particular academic discourse, and findings shaped by a particular way of understanding the world, Conticini attempted to take a systematic approach to understanding the lives of street-involved children to develop his own grounded theory. A grounded theory may not prove or disprove the efficacy of a development intervention or provide case studies on issues that are relevant to specific policies, but it may reorganise what is known about street-involved children and young people from a unique point of departure; informed by data analysis that is grounded in participant's narratives and seeking their main concern through constant comparison. Such

reframing of the issues that impact street-involved children and young people's lives may offer new insights and ideas for engaging with the population and provide possibilities where current interventions and approaches have failed them. When faced with a multiplicity of case studies with a primary focus on nuance, a focus instead on developing theory can provide a useful counterbalance, as Healy (2017) argues,

> *"more nuance typically obstructs the development of theory that is intellectually interesting, empirically generative, or practically successful." (pg. 118)*

Without wanting to define what Healy (ibid) means by success, my intention was to use GTM to develop a theory that was intellectually interesting, empirically generative and practically *useful.*

This section of the methodology will outline the attributes of GTM that are relevant to this study. While acknowledging that there are many qualitative research methods that offer a similar approach to GTM this section will explore why GTM was chosen for researching this population; linking to the earlier discussion on ethics. Finally, there are many interpretations of the use of GTM which can lead to misunderstandings regarding the epistemological underpinnings of studies that use GTM. For this reason, it is necessary to briefly explain the interpretation of GTM that I have employed.

3.4.1 Distinctive attributes of GTM

Grounded theory methodology, its use and its epistemological underpinnings are fiercely critiqued both among adherents and those who dismiss the methodology altogether. As with many contestations within academia, debates and disagreements surrounding GTM stem from differences in understanding and interpretation of the original approach to grounded theory as outlined by Glaser and Strauss (1967) and its subsequent evolution with Strauss and Corbin (1998) and Charmaz (2006). Urquhart (2013) refers to grounded theory *methodology* in order to circumvent many of these debates by framing GTM as a method and a tool rather than purely an ideology. Bryant and Charmaz (2007) also support this approach, stating:

> *"we must distinguish between what is key to the method, and what needs to be discarded or reformulated if the method is to shake off its reputation for being*

positivist, philosophically naïve, and a refuge for the methodologically indecisive." (pg. 49)

Grounded theory was developed in the 1960's in reaction to an academic environment that perceived qualitative research to be non-scientific, and therefore inferior to quantitative research, and a sociological discipline that placed great importance on verification of grand meta-theories over the development of new theories through research (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007). While early grounded theory can be interpreted as taking a positivist epistemological approach, later appropriations of the methodology take a more constructivist view of both the meaning of data and the application of theory (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007). As Charmaz states:

"Unlike their [Glaser and Strauss] position, I assume that neither data nor theories are discovered. Rather, we are part of the world we study and the data we collect. We construct *our grounded theories through our past and present involvements and interactions with people, perspectives, and research practices. (Charmaz, 2006: 10, emphasis in text)*

Here, Charmaz echoes the sentiment expressed by Madge (1993), as presented earlier in this chapter, that research is an interpretive process shaped by researchers' positionality and therefore grounded theories do not 'emerge' but are 'constructed' during this interaction.

In reaction to the dominant use of grand meta-theories in sociological research, Glaser and Strauss intended to create a method for theory generation that was grounded in data and therefore understandable to the population being researched rather than forcing data into pre-conceived theories or theoretical frameworks that bear little resemblance to the participants' lived experiences (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). In the conception of grounded theory Glaser and Strauss (1967) rejected the primacy of logico-deductive methods of inquiry based on *a priori* assumptions of phenomena; including practices such as sampling based on preconceived criteria of importance such as demographics (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007; Hood, 2007). Instead, the approach of grounded theory was informed by pragmatist philosophy and symbolic interactionism which held that theory is devised by process rather than hypothetical deduction; viewing data as representing a partial and fluid point in reality that reflects the interaction between differing actors, i.e. the field, the issues being discussed and the

researcher (Star, 2007; Strübing, 2007; Timmermans & Tavory, 2007). For this reason, a grounded theory is always evolving (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) or being constructed; as Charmaz may suggest. By seeking contradictory incidents from data and using literature as a form of data in the process of constant comparison, theories can be continually refined and applied more generally (Dick, 2007).

Working within a geography department, another obvious critique of grounded theory is the exclusion of the relevance of 'place' when seeking to explain and interpret individuals' socio-economic fortunes. This critique suggests that GTM is at risk of overgeneralisation, homogenisation of populations and a skewed focus on individual agency over structural constraints that are often place-bound. Dorling (2001) levels a similar critique at studies which use household deprivation data to argue that area-specific interventions are not effective. From a geography perspective, the argument is that significant information is omitted if research does not take into account the context and environment that shapes the social interactions being observed. Without considering place, data is disembodied and loses practical relevance. However, while 'place' is important for understanding social phenomena, a grounded theory methodology will not assume 'place' as a predominant influencing factor *a priori*. If 'place' is to feature in a grounded theory it must be found to be important during analysis through constant comparison of the data and literature. Since 'place' is often a key influencing factor in social phenomena it is likely to feature in the data collected in grounded theory research; as indeed it did in this study. However, it is not guaranteed to become a theoretical hook on which to hang the research findings since GTM intends for theories to emerge, or be constructed, from data through inductive means.

To understand the key distinctive attributes of GTM it is necessary to separate the methodology from the arguments surrounding its founding epistemology; as previously discussed in chapter 2. The way GTM is used may differ depending on whether individuals choose to follow the process of data analysis as outlined by Glaser and Strauss (1967) or a later iteration of this process as suggested by Strauss and Corbin (1998); the difference here lies in an extra level of data analysis added by the latter called 'axial coding'. Despite this divergence, studies

using GTM are expected to include certain key methodological facets. Considering GTM as a tool for qualitative research, Urquhart (2013) outlines what she considers GTM's 'key characteristics':

> *"[1] the main purpose of GTM is theory building [2] as a general rule, researchers should make sure that they have no preconceived theoretical ideas before starting their research [3] analysis and conceptualization are engendered through the core process of constant comparison [4] 'slices of data' of all kinds are selected by a process of theoretical sampling […]" (pg. 16, emphasis in text).*

Numerous critiques of GTM have developed as it has become more widespread and the methodology has been misinterpreted and wrongly cited. Olesen (2007) states that:

> *"many GT studies are descriptive rather than discovery focused, selectively rather than theoretically sampled, and are not lodged in an interpretive inquiry […]. Others claim that researchers have borrowed bits of GT […] and that rarely are grounded theory strategies fully realized. Instead, researchers give lip service to the method […]." (pg. 419)*

I will address my interpretation and use of Urquhart's (2013) key characteristics of GTM in the next section.

3.4.2   Reasons for using GTM in this study

While I do not claim that GTM is unique in all its facets, superior to any other methodology, or a methodology that I can claim to have followed perfectly and without error, there are a number of elements of GTM that appealed to me as a researcher and seemed appropriate for this research project. Firstly, since this study is being conducted in collaboration with a UK-based NGO, I was attracted to the idea that using GTM could allow me to develop a theory that was both understandable and useful in practical terms for working with street-involved children. Additionally, since GTM does not take a logico-deductive approach to verifying meta-theories, it seemed more likely that it could produce conclusions that were relevant and applicable for the research participants.

Secondly, GTM advocates conducting research with an "open mind" which requires the researcher to consider their data, as much as possible, on its own terms without imposing pre-existing theories on the data analysis or sampling (Dey, 2007). This element of GTM is also often misinterpreted and critiqued for

several reasons, (1) it is not possible to enter the field with a completely empty head, since all researchers have their preconceptions, (2) researchers may naively think they are reporting new ideas which have in fact been previously recorded and (3) advice to postpone literature reviews for grounded theory often comes from experienced researchers who are already well versed in literature (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007). However, for the purposes of this study, and in light of the difficulties I encountered reconciling the literature in a way that could guide the development of a set of research aims and objectives, I welcomed the opportunity to put the literature out of mind until after I was able to develop core categories from the field data produced with the research participants, as recommended by Charmaz (Giles *et al.*, 2013).

Thirdly, I appreciated the rigour that GTM provides for the collection and analysis of qualitative data; following a clear process of coding, sampling and constant comparison for identifying connections and patterns within and between perceived phenomena.

For the purpose of this study, and in response to my concerns about the levels of research fatigue among the research community, I was keen to take a non-presumptive approach to the research I conducted. Since street-involved children are a population who face stigmatisation in Tanzanian society, I wanted to use a methodology that could help to mitigate the power imbalances between the researchers and street-involved children and young people involved in this study. GTM is not exclusive of participatory methodologies. GTM provides a method for sampling and analysing data that can be collected in a variety of ways; making it compatible with any data collection vehicle. One key element of GTM which is helpful for engaging with communities who may be over-researched is the process of theoretical sampling and theoretical saturation. Theoretical sampling involves sampling conducive sources of data as research findings are generated. This is different to collecting a predefined number of interviews or survey responses which often focus on generating data that is representative of a population. Often, survey responses can elicit repetitive data whereas being mindful of theoretical saturation means that if a question elicits the same answer by several respondents, the researcher stops asking this question or asks about a

similar issue in a different way. While the inability to statistically generalise from data gathered using GTM is a weakness of the methodology there is an efficiency in the agility of theoretical sampling which saves both the researcher and the research participants' time.

GTM presents one way of engaging research populations in a more open field of negotiation and knowledge production since it purposefully intends to omit theoretical preconceptions from the data collection process. As Denzin (2007) suggests:

> *"Grounded theory, because of its commitment to critical, open-ended inquiry, can be a decolonizing tool for indigenous and non-indigenous scholars alike." (pg. 456)*

In practice, this allows participants to present information that is of concern to them and the researcher is free to follow up on lines of inquiry that research participants talk most animatedly about, or themes that have been identified from numerous interviews. The risks associated with this approach could be that themes are identified from the data that may not be significant or new and therefore may not attract interest during dissemination. However, the process of data collection may result in a sufficiently minimal imposition of previous academic assumptions on the participants that they are able to feel genuinely listened to on their own terms. This, I argue, is an important gesture for communities who are already marginalised or have felt exploited through excessive involvement in research in the past and, therefore, a research risk that was worth taking in this context.

It was not the purpose of this study to understand the ways in which street-involved children responded to different research methodologies. The decision to use GTM for this study was based on multiple reasons already outlined above. However, anecdotal reports from the main research assistant on this project, who had conducted several research projects with street-involved children before in her role with the local NGO partner, expressed how GTM was a more enjoyable research methodology to engage with. She expressed how, by taking a non-assumptive approach, she was able to learn new information about street-involved children and feel like she was able to build a more genuine relationship

with the research participants which she would be able to continue to engage in after the research had finished. She writes,

> *"The most thing I liked about Grounded Theory Methodology is its tendency of developing a binding bond between the researcher and interviewee. […] [W]ith street–connected children the methodology worked so perfect [sic]. I feel the bonding has developed through the methodology's tendency of valuing everything the interviewee says and giving out an active ear to everything, rather than being selfish on what you only want to hear. Also back and forth feedback that is shared on what is going on in the data […] means you seek information from the same people or same group of people […] this was enough to be a good starting point to have a bond […]. I believe this research has expanded my networks and even after it is done I can maintain my relationship with these children if I want to." (Suedi, 2015)*

3.4.3 GTM and the reflexive, constructivist pragmatist

Identities are fluid, intersectional and transitional through space and time and therefore somewhat unhelpful to pin down. However, in the interest of reflexivity, I appreciate that it is important to situate my own interactions with GTM and the research process in order to mediate my role in data collection and analysis, and to facilitate the reader's interpretation of my findings.

This chapter has already gone some way in expressing my concerns about being perceived by my research participants and assistants as a privileged, and relatively wealthy, white person from a former coloniser country. I have also explained how this has shaped my desire to carry out research that is not considered to be extractive. From former experiences working in NGO settings in South Sudan I have developed an acute awareness of donor-beneficiary dynamics and multi-nation working environments. I am a person who operates with a desire to fully respect people and their time; especially those who are most marginalised and therefore taken for granted. While conducting my research, I decided that engaging with research participants in an open and respectful way was of upmost importance to me. For this reason, I did not push data collection or research themes that seemed unnecessary or unwelcome by the research participants; an approach which can be accommodated by GTM. It is also for this reason that I decided to take a step back from engaging in direct data collection with children and young people on the street. My Tanzanian colleagues warned me how participants' levels of expectation would be heightened should a white person visit them on the street to ask them questions. I respected this insight and

therefore limited my personal engagement to "street walks" with the main research assistant in order to greet children and allow them to know who I was. I also wanted the research participants to build a relationship of trust with the research assistants that was uncompromised by the continual presence of a white 'employer'. Had the local NGO partner been operational, my involvement in the daily activities of their transition home, as a third space, would have offered a more appropriate environment for me to engage with some of the former street-involved children; with children's immediate and future needs being addressed and the constant presence of staff from various racial and socio-economic backgrounds. The removal of this opportunity for me to engage more directly with the children and young people is unfortunate but did not prove obstructive to me gathering a broad and in-depth understanding of the population I was investigating.

Leck (2014) argues for greater attention to be paid to the key role of local research assistants (RAs) in the generation of data, since their direct interaction with research participants can provide critical insights for data collection and analysis. Because of this, it is also important to consider RAs' positionality and its impact upon the research process. She argues:

> "RAs bring their own concerns, values, beliefs, and assumptions to the research process which are shaped by their own social worlds and require consideration." (pg. 61).

Gemma Pearson: Royal Holloway, University of London. Thesis submission 2019.

Because of the pivotal role that my main research assistant, Asimwe, played in the collection of data, I have asked her to answer questions about her own research positionality. Her responses are included in Box 1 below.

Box 1: Asimwe's researcher positionality

1. What is your age, gender, education and work background?

Am 26 years old, female, I hold a Degree in Project Planning Management and Community Development. My work background: I used to volunteer as a Research Assistant and later work as a Research Officer with a local NGO (street-connected children center [sic]) found in northern Tanzania from 2013-2014. Currently am working with a different NGO as a Mentor to adolescent girls.

2. How did you feel when you were going to the street to meet the children and young people?

Going to the street meeting with children and young people, made me feel good with few reasons: I previously used to work with street connected children but my former work did not give me an opportunity to be close to them as this did. Going to the street made me feel happy since speaking to them made me understand them better as I also had a status-quo [preconceptions] on them before. Also going to the street and speak[ing] to them made me feel my relationship with them becoming better and is the kind of relationship am proud to develop.

[cont…]

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3. What are your views of street-connected children and young people?

My views with children and young people living in the street, as every human being has a different way of thinking, making decision and choice on life style. Children and young people living in the street have everything that you can find from children and young people living with their families. This means it's very hard to judge or give a conclusion thought on them, as they have different reasons that has made them come to the street. So my views towards them is that, they are just part of society who think and act like others just environment and situations they grew up and current[ly] live in impact them in different way.

4. Who did you feel most comfortable talking to when conducting research?

I was comfortable speaking to any child or young person who was willing speaking to me. But the most person I was comfortable speaking to, was Steve [name changed], the reason I was comfortable is because he was honest and more open to me. Also he was very good at introducing me to other children and young people living in the street which made it much easier for me to get close to everyone as if we have known each other for years (this was during the days I did not go with my fellow Research Assistant, Respick).

5. Was there anything that made you feel uncomfortable?

At the beginning going to the street was uncomfortable for me, because of my gender as well as time. Even with children and young people were surprised to see a lady visiting them at dark hours. Also working with children and young people in the second field location made me uncomfortable because I had no close relationship with them.

6. How did you feel about being involved in the research?

Being involved in this research made me happy, first of all I learnt a lot about

[cont…]

children and young people living in the street, as I grew up in a society that has negative perceptions towards them. Apart from that, I have never worked with anyone so close and so helpful as Gemma Pearson who is doing this research for her PhD Thesis. I have learn[ed] so many things since she just did not let my responsibility only to be collecting data but also my views, reflection and my cultural understanding into this research were valued.

7. Did you ever feel like you had to do something that you didn't want to do?

Meeting them only at night if you real[ly] want to have an attentive discussion with them was not something I prefer the most, but due to their life routine I had to meet them at night.

8. What do you think the children and young people thought about you?

From children and young people appreciations when I show up in the street "Mother, it has been I [a] while you have not visited us, you know your visit is a comfort to us. We feel we are part of the society." If everyone was doing what you are doing that would be very good." And even sometimes they tell me [']mother we feel we are human being because you are not under look [look down on] us[']. This tells me that they see me as their sister and may be happy with my presence in the street.

[END]

Additionally, since my interactions with Asimwe are crucial to my understanding of the data collected, a brief explanation of our relationship is necessary here. Following my time working with Asimwe, I came to consider her as a research assistant, key informant and friend. Asimwe impressed me with her ability to engage in critical thinking when I met her during my first visit to Tanzania in the summer of 2014 and we engaged in a debate on the topic of polygamy. Later in the visit, I taught Asimwe how to use FrontlineSMS[20] in order to collect data for

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[20] Software which allows for the collection of data via mobile phones.

StreetInvest's wellbeing measurement tool. Asimwe showed an eagerness to learn, a diligence with new tasks and a curiosity that allowed her to see the value in research. Before I left Tanzania the first time, I bought a modem so that the local NGO could use FrontlineSMS with their street workers. Asimwe kept this modem to return to me after the local NGO had made their staff redundant. This act, among others, showed me that Asimwe was trustworthy. After returning to Tanzania the second time, we began our working relationship slowly. We discussed payment and the terms of her contract and she was able to challenge me on things that she thought were unfair. She took a proactive approach to finding our first two research participants; two street-involved young people who we interviewed together near the hostel I was staying in. Recognising that Asimwe would spend a lot of time transcribing and translating interviews, we agreed that it would be beneficial for her to learn how to touch-type. After introducing her to an online programme Asimwe continued to improve her typing skills in her own time. After collecting the first few interviews, and training her in interview skills and active listening, it became apparent that Asimwe's critical mind was useful for discussing data analysis as well as collecting data. Because I wanted Asimwe to understand what I was doing with the data we spent several days over the 6 months analysing data together with computers, post-it notes and a big white wall. I wanted her involvement in the research to be a learning opportunity for her which she could take into future jobs. As a female, Asimwe was often met with surprise when she visited the street at night. Culturally, it was strange for a young women to be on the street after dark, particularly one dressed in Muslim attire. Asimwe appeared to enjoy this opportunity to challenge the children and young people's stereotypes of Muslim women and it may have helped them to connect with her since they saw her as doing something that was against cultural normalities, much like themselves. In interview transcripts, the children and young people call Asimwe '*Dada*' [meaning 'sister'], which is a term of endearment and familiarity for women of a similar age, and 'Mama' [meaning 'mother'] by those who were much younger than her. Over time, Asimwe became a fond friend and we talked about many aspects of Tanzanian and British culture including family, religion, careers, politics, NGO work and academia. Despite this, we kept our social lives separate since she lived in a relatively restrictive family environment. Additionally, I did

not feel comfortable visiting her since she lived with former staff from the local NGO partner who I had learned to mistrust. I remain grateful that I was able to work with a very competent, professional and insightful research assistant. My good working relationship with Asimwe allowed the fieldwork to progress smoothly and made the analysis and interpretation of data especially enjoyable. Asimwe's good relationship with the children and young people enabled her to ask difficult questions as the research progressed. However, I was also aware that, inevitably, Asimwe and Respick took a lot of responsibility for who was being interviewed and where. It is important to consider that Asimwe and Respick's own preferences for individuals, groups or locations will have influenced the breadth of data that was collected. Respick's existing relationship with children and young people who were engaged in the local NGO means that populations that were formerly excluded from the NGO's interventions, intentional or otherwise, will also have been omitted from this research: this may explain the absence of females in our sample. Despite this, there is a necessary trade-off between the depth of engagement with research participants that can be gained by working with one dedicated research assistant versus having a wider number of gatekeepers who may be able to access different communities for more surface level engagement. For the purpose of this study, the depth of engagement gained from working with Asimwe, and other former street workers, was preferable for meeting the research objective of understanding the street-involved children and young people's relationships and concerns in the field-sites chosen.

As a researcher, I come from an academic tradition that recognises that 'truth' is relative and realities are constructed by individuals, their identities, their environment and their interactions with other people and objects. This tradition has led me to appreciate the multiple points of interpretation that have facilitated both the collection and analysis of the data gathered for this study; as well as the contested meaning of data itself. A constructivist understanding of the world is not at odds with the pragmatist philosophy that "view[s] reality as characterized by indeterminancy and fluidity, and as open to multiple interpretations" (Charmaz, 2006: 188). However, the pragmatist roots of GTM have meant that the methodology is not concerned with making claims to reality but instead

developing a theory that 'works'. Therefore, a theory's usefulness is not defined by how accurately it represents reality, but instead how useful it is in practice (Strübing, 2007). Kearney (2007) describes theories as "efficient handles by which to grasp large volumes of information" (pg. 128). She explains that in practical professions, such as nursing, social-work or education, theories assist practitioners to better understand the "dynamic conditions of human lives and behaviours" (ibid) in order to guide interventions. She admits that theories are temporary and change as knowledge proliferates but nevertheless offer a starting point for action.

The methodology chapter thus far has discussed the practical and ethical reasons for my choice of research methodology and mode of engagement with the research participants, on and off the street. However, I do not suggest that this is the only appropriate way to engage street-involved, or other vulnerable, populations. Living on the street and their resultant levels of vulnerability were only one aspect that influenced my choice of methodology and engagement. Following my initial visit to the field, my approach was developed in consideration of this particular location; specifically, research with street-involved children and young people who showed signs of research fatigue resulting from regular engagement with well-meaning, predominantly 'white' and western, individuals.

The next two sections of this chapter will turn to the practicalities of data collection and data analysis.

3.5   Data collection

All interview data for this thesis was gathered during the second, six-month long field-trip between February and August 2015. The purpose of the initial two-month field trip in July and August 2014 was to meet the local partners and observe their programmes in order to inform the logistical planning of data collection ahead of the main field-trip. I also used this initial trip to Tanzania to solidify my grasp of Kiswahili which I had spent a year learning at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London. After meeting with a Kiswahili tutor almost daily for several weeks, I was able to hold simple conversations in

Kiswahili and had improved my reading and comprehension skills. I capitalised on this during my longer field-visit in 2015 by continuing to meet with my tutors; allowing me to play a part in interpreting and verifying Kiswahili to English translations of my data.

After arriving in Tanzania in February 2015, obtaining a research permit and meeting with the research assistant, we collected the first interview at the beginning of March by convenience sampling. There is no recent data on numbers of street-involved children and young people living in the two field-sites where this study was based. However, a census study from 2012 suggests that there are 869[21] individuals who identified as street-involved children across the two field-sites; 627 of which self-identifying as 'part-time' street-involved children (Spector & Brook, 2012). We continued to collect 25 individual and group interviews with 55 full-time street-involved children, former street-involved adults, community members, practitioners and social workers over a six-month period using a mixture of convenience sampling, purposeful sampling[22], theoretical sampling[23] and theoretical feedback interviews[24] (Morse, 2007). Further theoretical feedback interviews were conducted with one group of children and young people and two of the research assistants, Fred and Asimwe, during a third research trip in 2016.

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[21] This figure includes children and young people under the age of 18. This thesis argues that it is important to include individuals older than 18 when researching street-involved children and young people, since age categories on the street are fluid.

[22] Purposeful sampling is defined here as sampling which seeks participants to either confirm or otherwise a nascent theoretical idea generated through data analysis (Morse, 2007).

[23] Theoretical sampling is defined here as sampling specific participants who may be able to add additional depth to the understanding of established theoretical categories from the data. This questioning may be more direct than earlier, exploratory data collection.

[24] These are interviews where the emerging theories were presented to the children and young people and they were given the opportunity to add, disagree or affirm the contents.

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During all of my field visits I conducted 'street walks' in each field site. Initially, these took place alongside street workers as I accompanied them during their visits to the street. Latterly, I would visit the street with Asimwe to greet children and young people informally and visit the market-place and bus stations on a regular basis to observe children and young people. During and after these 'street walks' I added observation notes to my folder of memos. In these notes I recorded how the children responded to myself and Asimwe, how animatedly they talked, how comfortable they appeared, who they interacted with and how, details of their surroundings and what they had told us. Baxter and Eyles (1997) explain that observations are important for triangulating data and strengthening the 'credibility' of research findings. They add that qualitative research in social geography need not be undermined by smaller sample sizes provided that researchers are mindful of mitigating potential biases that can occur during sampling; of which reflective observations play a role. Additionally, after each interview, Asimwe's observations were discussed and recorded in my research memos. A summary of the interviews and the age, gender and background of participants is detailed in Appendix 1. We interviewed some participants twice in subsequent group interviews, and some participants three times. Staddon (2014) explains that, from her experience, interviewing the same participants with gaps in-between allows for ideas to settle and grow which leads to richer subsequent research encounters.

All of the interviews were recorded with permission from the participants. This allowed interviews to progress with fluidity without the need to stop for note-taking. Although infrequent, if participants voiced concerns about talking to a voice recorder they were offered the option of continuing interviews with the recorder switched off or ending the interview. Recordings were stored on a shared Dropbox file which was accessible by Asimwe and I. Research participants were informed that it would only be Asimwe and Gemma who would hear the recordings. This folder has now been unshared with Asimwe and is only accessible by me for verification as necessary.

The mean, median and mode age of participants involved in this study who considered themselves street-involved was 18, 17 and 15 respectively. All but

one of the street-involved children and young people interviewed in this study were male. This is not to say that there are no female street-involved children and young people in the field-sites, only that they are less visible and more difficult to engage due to their participation in sex work or domestic labour; activities that make them reluctant to be interviewed or that keep them out of sight (Spector & Brook, 2012). In 2012, 68 (8%) street-involved children and young people identified on the streets across the field-sites were female: 53 of which identified themselves as 'part-time' and only spent time on the street during the day (ibid). From the community, we interviewed three former street workers from the local NGO partner, the former monitoring and evaluation officer, an elderly woman, two young professionals and three adults who were former street-involved children. These interviews were theoretically sampled and selected because the analysis highlighted that community members' perception of street-involved children was especially important to them. The three former street workers and the former monitoring and evaluation officer also assisted in data collection in some way. During data collection an additional population were referred to on numerous occasions: 'mateja'[25]. Street-involved children and young people referred to mateja as those who had given up on life, were addicted to drugs and need not necessarily have been street-involved children but that some street-involved children did become mateja. We were not able to sample mateja communities directly. Similar to female street-involved children and young people, mateja were difficult to access due to the highly stigmatised behaviours they engaged in which made them less visible. Although all but a couple of street-involved children and young people involved in this study regularly used drugs of some variety, mateja engaged in more serious drug use which made them less coherent and able to engage in interviews. At times, more

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[25] 'Teja' [sing.] is a drug addict who used cocaine and heroin. In Kiswahili, the noun 'mteja' [pl. wateja] means 'customer' when using the noun class prefix (m- and wa-] which identifies people. However, at times language users will apply a different noun class to the noun root in order to create a different meaning, or sometimes to cause offense. Therefore, 'teja' [pl. mateja] may not be found in a dictionary. The meaning used in this thesis is that provided by the children and young people.

intoxicated children and young people dropped in and out of interview settings but did not engage in interviews in a meaningful way. If we were to actively sample from the mateja community it would have been necessary to find a gatekeeper specific to that community. However, the ethics of asking Asimwe to engage with this community would have been beyond the scope of this study and the ethical clearance; as obtained before going into the field. However, it would be interesting for further studies to be designed to target mateja communities' experiences of street life due to the findings outlined in the final empirical chapter of this thesis.

For sampling street-involved children and young people in the field-sites it was helpful that the research assistants were former staff from the local NGO since they were known and trusted among the research population. This made convenience and purposeful sampling easier in the initial stages of the research. However, all the research assistants were affiliated with the same local NGO and this had the potential to create biases in the data. Children and young people may have identified the research with this particular NGO which may have shaped their engagement in the research and the information they chose to divulge. During data collection with street-involved children and young people across the two field-sites the researchers were welcomed with differing degrees of openness and familiarity. It is not unlikely that research participants would choose to hold back information, provide "stock" answers to questions, or provide answers to questions that they believe were appropriate or desired rather than what was necessarily truthful. The quality of data across the field-sites improved throughout the research process as the research assistants built trust with the participants. It is anticipated that by engaging the participants in the research process, through feedback sessions, and by theoretically sampling based on codes identified in the data, each additional excerpt of data would add to conceptual categories developed during analysis and that irrelevant information would remain undeveloped; mitigating some of the research bias. This is based on a practical aspect of GTM which states that important themes will re-emerge during the process of data collection. In the main field-site, researchers' prolonged engagement with the children and young people allowed research

participants to become used to associating with the research assistants on different terms to their former engagement with them as NGO staff.

Throughout the research, data collection and analysis were carried out concurrently to allow for purposeful and theoretical sampling. Interviews were conducted with groups of children and young people and often self-selected by relationship groups. Visiting different areas of the urban centres, and at different times, often meant that the research assistants encountered different children and young people. By employing GTM, I avoided framing my investigation of street-involved children and young people's lives around age or in/out definition constraints, instead engaging those who identified as street-involved children and young people. The label that children and young people identified with in this study is 'chokoraa'; a derogatory term, but one which denoted a street sub-culture with shared social and economic activities. This meant that the age range of those involved in this study spans 11 years to 24 years, including those who predominantly sleep on the street and those who move to renting their own room. As Davies (2008) suggests from his research in Kenya, a sense of belonging to the sub-culture of 'chokoraa'[26] encompasses those who both do and do not sleep on the street. When it seemed theoretically relevant, we actively sampled older or younger populations as well as participants who were not street-involved. The first two interviews were led from the base question of 'tell me about life and relationships on the street'. The first interview was conducted with two young people who seemed confident and spoke animatedly about all aspects of street life and relationships on the street. The second interview was conducted with a young person in the second field-site who misinterpreted the question and thought Asimwe was asking about romantic relationships. After the second interview was transcribed and translated Asimwe and I went through it, question by question, as I provided her with feedback on her interview style. Since Asimwe and I were together for the first interview, and she was alone for the second, she attempted to re-create the first interview; asking similar questions without sufficiently listening to, or responding to, the research

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[26] 'Chokraa' in Kenya.

participant's response. Looking at the transcript, we identified points where Asimwe could have asked the respondent to explain further, extend his points, or just listen and allow him to talk casually 'off-topic'. Asimwe and I role-played interviews and I encouraged Asimwe to practise active listening and repeat back information I had given. I told her that my main concern was that the children and young people felt listened to and not to worry too much about where the conversations led. I spent a considerable amount of time open-coding the first two interviews and, alongside discussions with Asimwe, we decided what questions should be asked next based on issues and themes raised in the first two interviews (see Appendix 2 for a list of categories and incidents from the first interview). Asimwe and I would discuss each interview transcript, relate it to previous data and codes and decide where the gaps of understanding were. We listed any gaps in the data and grouped them by theme and took these questions to the next research participants (see Appendix 3 for example of questions following analysis of the first two interview transcripts). We were not always afforded the time to fill all gaps in the data as each data analysis session would throw up multiple lines of inquiry, and it was necessary to decide at each point which was the most relevant to the participants' main concern and therefore worth pursuing. Decisions were made about which line of inquiry to follow with the understanding that if it was theoretically important, it would emerge again in later interviews and be addressed at that point.

Because interviews required transcription, translation and analysis before collecting subsequent data, data collection progressed slowly during the first half of the fieldwork. This is because GTM advises that initially data should be open coded, word by word and line by line. Due to the length and depth of the first interview, it took two weeks to analyse using open coding while recording memos throughout the process. It took two months, alongside observational visits to the street, to collect, transcribe, translate and open code the first four interviews, using constant comparison to identify, merge and refine data categories. Each interview needed to be analysed to this depth before the subsequent interview could be collected to ensure that the line of questioning would deepen emergent categories to allow for the research to move onto the next stage of selective coding. After the fifth interview, in the third month of the

field-trip, I became more confident with the categories generated from the data and shifted to a more rapid analysis which allowed me to read the interview transcripts, apply selective coding and suggest further questioning. Urquhart (2013) explains that this is a legitimate compromise in theoretical sampling when conducting research under strict time-constraints. She writes,

> *"for reasons of access and expense, [some] researchers only get one shot at collecting data in the field and will not be able to analyse it while they are in the field […] in this situation, [it is possible] to review data that have been collected and do a preliminary analysis of any emerging themes. Such analysis may give ideas for new interview questions and what to follow up in subsequent interviews"* (pg. 64-65).

This method, alongside emergent theoretical sampling of different populations, allowed for a speed up of data collection and initial analysis for the remainder of the fieldtrip. Although, I did find that the line of questioning that came from the rapid coding of data was not as incisive or insightful as the earlier coding, which took considerably more time. Overall, 116 research memos were taken while analysing the first seven interview transcripts and field observation notes during my time in the field (See Appendix 5: Memo dates and titles). Other than conducting rapid selective coding, the remaining interviews were analysed after returning to the UK, following data collection.

Research with children and young people on the street was most often conducted in the evenings since children and young people tend to work during the day. Before collecting data on the street Asimwe would be briefed on the topic and guiding questions for the evening and how they relate to the other data that had been previously collected. Asimwe would lead interviews and be accompanied by a former NGO street worker; Respick in one of the field-sites and Fred in the other. We chose to work with Respick due to Asimwe's good working relationship with, and respect for, him and because he remained connected to the street-involved children and young people after the cessation of the local NGO activities. Similarly, Fred was known and trusted by many of the children and young people in the second field-site and he was able to guide Asimwe in a street environment that she was unfamiliar with. Respick, especially, had proven himself to be particularly trustworthy to many children and young people and this showed his dedication to this group beyond the remuneration afforded by employment. Two young people explained:

> *"Jackson: Brother Respick sometimes he leaves his works at night and comes to spend time with street involved children.*
>
> *Samuel: We have chitchat with him."* (Interview 1: Jackson and Samuel, both male, aged 18 and 17).

And this relationship was also apparent during observations:

> *"We arrived at the market and sat for a short while. Eventually some young teenage boys walked by and saw Respick. They jumped on him and started play fighting. I could see that Respick and the boys were happy to see each other, and they all sat around Respick taking turns to talk to him."* (Field-notes following an evening street visit with Respick and Asimwe on 18 April 2015)

Because approximately two-thirds of interviews and street visits were carried out in the primary field-site it was more difficult to build rapport with the children and young people in the second field-site. Although the children and young people were familiar with Fred he had not had the time to maintain such close relationships with the children and young people in his area. This meant that interviews collected in the second field-site were less fluid and often shorter than interviews in the main field-site. Interviews across both sites lasted on average 30 minutes and ranged between 10 minutes and an hour.

Twice during the data collection I prepared a summary of findings which was presented to the children and young people to ask them for their opinions[27]. This happened in the middle of the research, at the end and, also, during the follow up visit in 2016. The purpose of this was to check for resonance with the children and to involve them in the evolution of our data categories and concepts. This feedback occurred in both research sites and these sessions were recorded, transcribed, translated and used as data.

At the end of the fieldwork term we asked the children and young people to summarise what messages they would like to communicate to their community. We had decided that it would be useful to leave the children and young people with a tangible output from their engagement with us. Therefore, we promised the participants that we would take their messages and present them on fliers

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[27] Theoretical feedback interviews.

which we would give to them to distribute. This idea emerged earlier in the data collection process when a disconnection between the street-involved children and young people and the wider community was highlighted.

> *"So because I have come to you I have closed my hand like am in a prayer already I have told you my intentions and purpose or the reason or challenge am facing so, in delivering them to the community, […] they [the challenges] should be delivered in a convincing way that it may cause something new to happen like a law or something, like provoke compassion which will help to erase those challenges for good because each year these are explained [but nothing changes]."* (Pauli, male 22)

During interviews in both field-sites children and young people were prompted to suggest what they would like to communicate to the community. Following this the key messages were distilled and translated back into Kiswahili. Asimwe then presented seven messages to the participants for them to vote on and the top five messages were printed as fliers and given to the participants to circulate at the end of the field work (see Appendix 4). This allowed Asimwe an opportunity to reconnect with the children and young people after the official end of data collection in 2015.

3.6   Data analysis

Processes for data analysis developed and changed throughout the research, following GTM guidance on open-coding, constant comparison, selective coding and then theoretical coding. Since this was the first time I had used GTM, data analysis was an exploratory learning experience and I became more proficient over time. Open-coding analysis was slow and laborious while generating dozens of early codes. Carefully analysing the first third of the interviews in order to identify the participant's core concern and inform selective coding absorbed much of the fieldwork, ensuring that each data collection event was as useful and relevant as possible to the emerging data categories. However, the process of data collection, transcription and translation also took time which meant that while I was analysing, Asimwe could work on preparing the next interview for analysis.

Transcripts for analysis were imported into Nvivo software and open coded within the software (see Figure 1).

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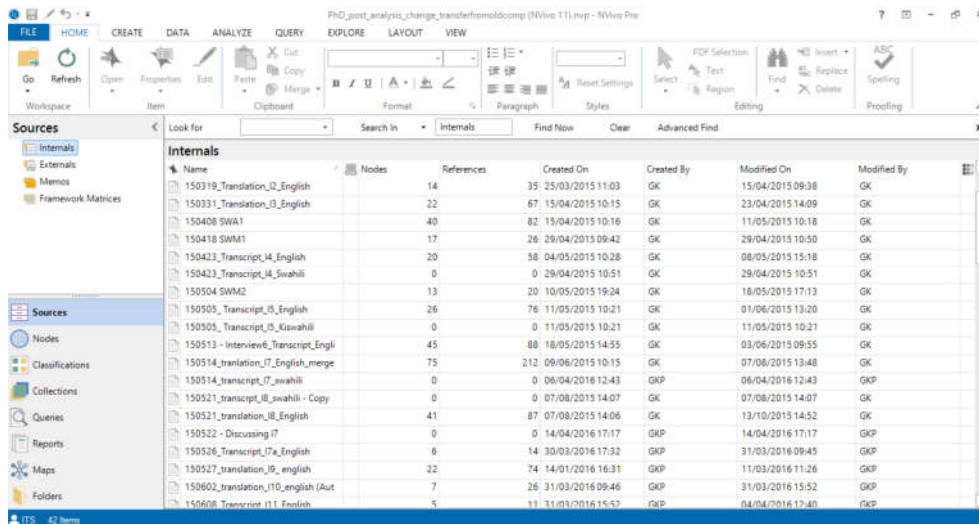
Figure 1: Transcripts imported into Nvivo software for coding.

Incidents from the data and their codes would also be lifted into a MS Word document which made them easy to search and to share with Asimwe during days of joint analysis. Memos, generated during data analysis, were recorded on Evernote (see Figure 2) and subsequently batch "tagged" to make it easier to search for relevant information among the memos (see Appendix 5).
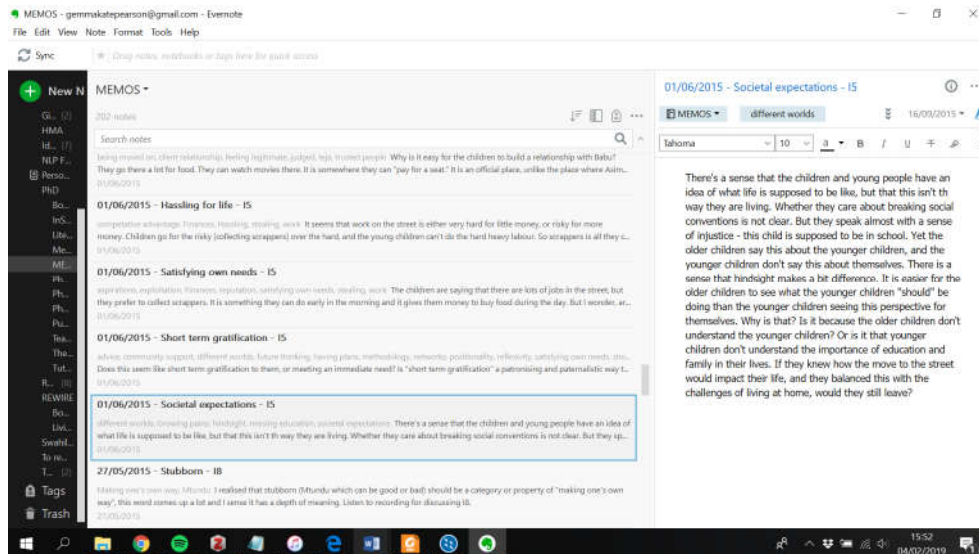
Figure 2: Memos recorded and tagged in Evernote alongside fieldnotes.

Both Asimwe and I would write up field notes after visits to the street in order to record and discuss our observations. These field notes were also imported into Nvivo and coded.

Since I was working with a research assistant, and conducting research in a second language, careful verification of the interview transcripts and their meaning was necessary. After data collection Asimwe would debrief me on the events and tone of the interview and this was often recorded electronically, transcribed and also added to Nvivo as a form of data. Each translated interview transcript was discussed with the research assistants to allow me to gain a holistic view of what the children and young people were communicating. This included discussions around how individual respondents appeared; some of whom may have seemed impatient, frustrated or intoxicated. After I had read the interview transcripts, I filled out an 'interview summary sheet' in order to keep track of themes in the data as they emerged and notes of incidents within the data that related to the developing lines of inquiry (see Appendix 6).

I decided to keep the English interview transcripts as 'literal' as possible, keeping the shape of phrasing used within the Kiswahili transcripts. Since my street-involved participants would be using their own form of slang, and Kiswahili was likely to be a second language to many of them, I wanted to ensure that I was working with literal translations to avoid too much abstraction within the translation, preferring to look to the Kiswahili transcription when the meaning of the English translation was unclear. Similarly, I reasoned, had I been conducting research with street-involved teenagers in the UK, I would similarly have quoted them verbatim rather than adjusting their grammar and phrasing within interview transcripts. For this reason, interview transcripts presented in this thesis will reflect this literal translation and may require extra explanation. Asimwe and I would spend a significant amount of time teasing out the translation of certain words and the significance of those words in the data analysis. It is inevitable that some messages and meanings will be lost in translation when conducting fieldwork in a different culture and language. However, since GTM is inductive, data verification is built into the data sampling process to ensure that important lines of communication are not missed; strengthening the chance that principal elements of participants' concerns are grasped. Additionally, the time I had spent learning Kiswahili meant that I was able to look between Kiswahili and English transcripts to interrogate interview translations during my own data analysis (see Figure 3).
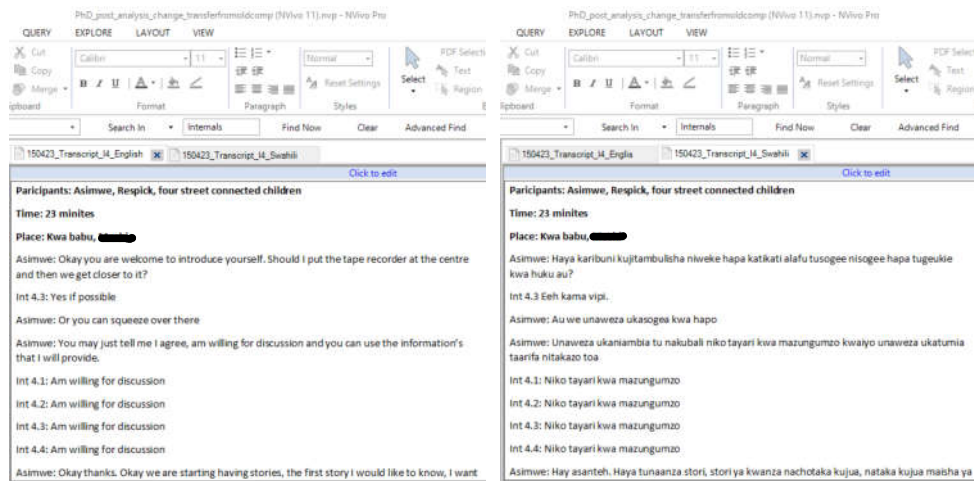
Figure 3: English and Swahili translations in Nvivo for cross-referencing.

In order to visualise the codes and begin to theorise the relationships between codes. I used post-it notes to record codes and properties on the wall of my office (see Appendix 7). This was a useful process that enabled me to collate and order codes in relation to each-other. This was a fluid process and was useful when engaging in constant comparison to allow the conception of categories, their properties and the degrees of a category.

Data analysis continued after I returned from the field during which time I distilled 148 open codes into 11 categories which seemed to summarise the most important and prevalent themes in the data. These selective categories were framed under the idea that children and young people were 'making their own way' in the world (which later became 'taking responsibility for themselves') – a core theme that underpinned the activities they carried out and the source of many of the challenges they faced (see Figure 4).
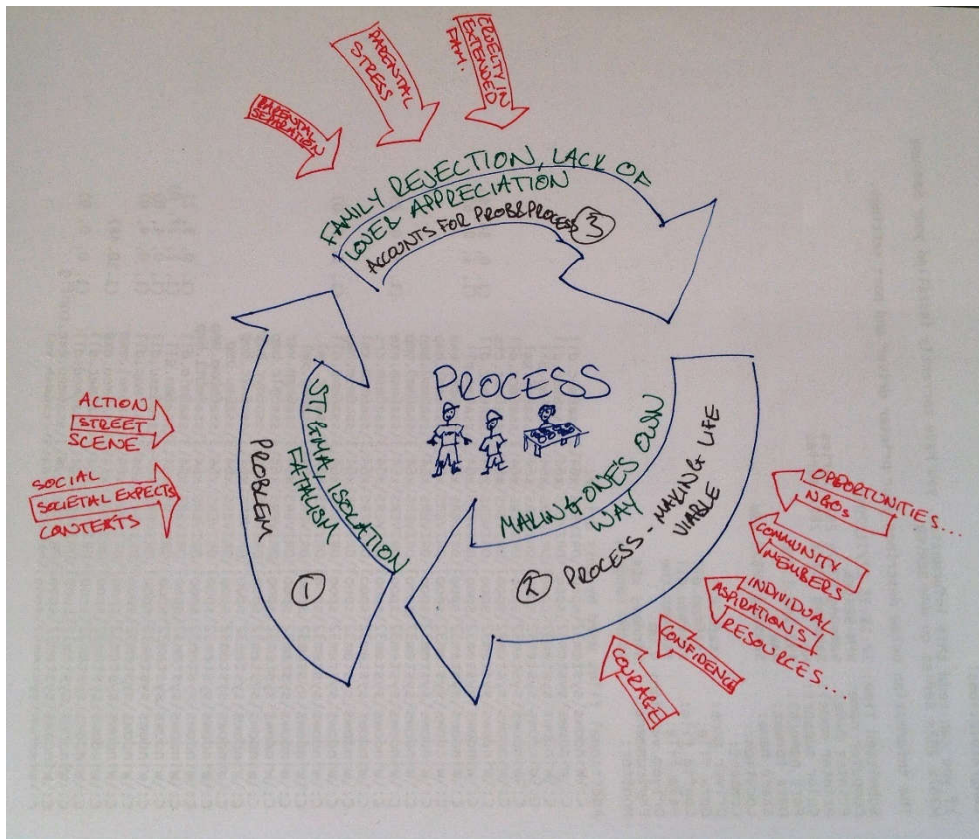
Figure 4: Distillation of codes into themes which highlight the main concern ('problem') and process that children and young people engage in to address concern, including contributing factors to the process, during half-way point in data analysis. (Photo: author's own, 15th October, 2015)

Data analysis continued for the remaining two-thirds of interview transcripts applying selective coding using the 11 categories, which were later collated into 8 categories (see Figure 5).
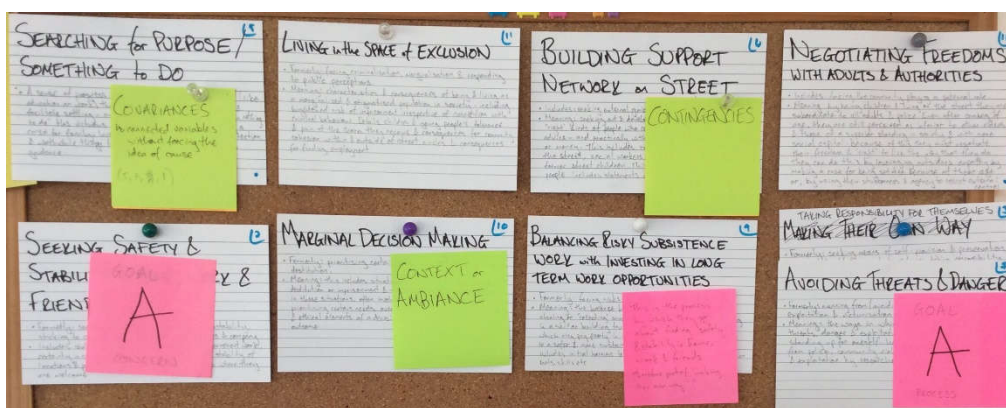
Figure 5: Eight categories and their meanings identified and defined for selective coding during the second half of data analysis. (30th March 2016)

After analysing all the interviews, a round of theoretical coding was carried out by printing all 200 research memos from Evernote and sorting them under the categories. The purpose of the theoretical coding is to search for relationships between the categories to inform theory generation. As explained in the memo below.

<div style="border:1px solid black; padding:1em;">

Researcher's memo: 9th May 2016, Theoretical Coding

So, I've sorted through all my memos and put them into piles relating to my categories. A few potential theoretical codes have emerged:

1) Change point - could this come from the 'cutting point' family of theoretical codes?

2) Running away - the children seem to be perpetually running away from something until the point at which they can settle. This links in with the Carlen book, that most often than not, the young people are running away from something.

3) Justice and basic needs - a lot of the things that the children suffer from stem from a lack of justice - i.e. access to basic needs, protection and access to legal support.

4) Time perspectives, temporal - I've written about this before. Can be associated with present and future thinking.

5) Giving up, end of line, too old - this links in with glass ceiling scenario, there is a certain point that they cease becoming street connected 'children' and life gets more dangerous for them.

6) Drugs and addiction - arguably weaves its way through a lot of what the children and young people experience and how they make decisions.

</div>

These theoretical codes were distilled into 4 themes which 'conceptualize how the substantive codes [selective categories] may relate to each other as hypotheses to be integrated into the [overall grounded] theory' (Holton, 2007

:283). The final themes, or hypotheses, now form the titles of the empirical chapters in this thesis. The memos from Evernote were arranged and collated under these hypotheses and provided the foundation for the structure of each empirical chapter. The 'incidents', excerpts of transcripts, that relate to the 8 selective categories provide the empirical evidence for each hypothesis.

Urquhart (2013) explains that grounded theories exist at differing levels of abstraction. Because GTM requires open coding initially, the analysis produces a rich range of codes. Through gradual abstraction these codes are reduced to substantive codes or core categories. A theory is then produced through theoretical coding; when the relationships between core concepts are examined. The level of a grounded theory depends on the initial scope of the theory (substantive or formal) and the time taken to abstract the data and interrogate the relationships between core concepts.

3.7   Conclusion

This chapter has introduced the research context; including information about the research partners, research assistants, locations and positionality. It has also explained, in depth, the research methodology, data collection and analysis, reasons for its use and some of the challenges encountered during the research process. Questions of ethics forms a large part of this chapter due to the issues involved in research with children and young people; particularly those who may be considered 'at risk'. Similarly, means of engaging with over-researched populations have been discussed with an explanation as to how the methodology used in this field work sought to avoid exasperating the research participants. GTM is a widely used research methodology with varying interpretations regarding its application. This chapter has delineated and provided a justification for the way GTM has been understood and applied to the research process taken in, and data gathered for, this thesis.

From this research methodology, four theoretical themes, or 'hypotheses', have been developed to theorise social phenomena among the population of street-involved children and young people involved in this study. These themes constitute the four empirical chapters presented in chapters 4-7 of this thesis;

taking responsibility for themselves; glass-ceiling; change points; and, giving up or being given up on. Together they represent the constitutive parts of a substantive grounded theory[28] stating that street-involved children and young people are 'making their own way' in life and 'taking responsibility for themselves'.

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[28] A 'substantive' grounded theory is different to a 'formal' grounded theory in that it relates to social phenomena among a specific population or in a specific context. A 'formal' grounded theory can be applied more broadly across differing social contexts.

Chapter 4: Taking Responsibility for Themselves

4.1   Introduction

This chapter will discuss the ways that children and young people in this study have taken a step towards 'taking responsibility for themselves'. The idea that children and young people are 'taking responsibility for themselves' will be framed within the context of intergenerational responsibility and reciprocity that characterises support structures in many African contexts (van Blerk and Ansell, 2007: Twum-Danso, 2009), including Tanzania. In the context of this study, 'taking responsibility for themselves' means choosing to step out of their familial context in order to find an improved living arrangement and a broader range of opportunities. For children in this study, their decision to leave home and live on the street is often within the context of familial abuse, verbal or physical, and/or neglect. This means that, in comparison, living on the street may be an 'improved' living arrangement (Evans, 2006). During initial analysis, the theory that children and young people are taking responsibility for themselves was initially coded as them 'making their own way' in life. Upon further reflection, this code did not represent *how* or *why* the children were leaving home. 'Making their own way' implied a choice to live individualistically in defiance of their family. As the analysis progressed and codes were related to one another, it appeared that when children and young people left home they were doing so to meet their needs, rather than to defy their carers. The theoretical code 'taking responsibility for themselves' was generated to relay more analytically-rich findings, with an emphasis on the active element of 'taking responsibility', and answer questions of how and why children were choosing to live on the street. The code 'taking responsibility for themselves' also emphasised some of the hardship involved when children and young people decided to 'make their own way', which was often verbalised by the participants directly as 'struggling for life by themselves'. That children are 'taking responsibility' for themselves as they leave home and live on the street does not mean that they are alone or that they do not receive support from others. Children and young people have complex webs of relationships with other peers and adults through their

interactions on the street. The concept of 'taking responsibility' illuminates the concern children and young people have for being the sole custodian of their present and future wellbeing; they may receive assistance from others, but there are few guarantees that support would be maintained indefinitely, leaving children and young people ultimately responsible for themselves. This concept is framed in contrast to the perceived ideal of the familial intergenerational contract which, although can be broken, is the predominant source of social security provision across the African continent (Twum-Danso, 2009).

This chapter will present the context in which children are taking responsibility for themselves under the heading 'who is responsible for street children?'. Following this, I will present findings and a discussion on how children are meeting their own needs and to what end. The final section will explore the toll that 'taking responsibility for themselves' takes on children through themes identified in the research.

4.2 Who is responsible for street children?

This section will present findings and draw on literature regarding the attitudes towards children and childhood in Tanzania to provide a context for children and young people's lives on the street and away from their families. It is within this broader societal context that street-involved children and young people's behaviour is viewed and judged. This section will argue that children and young people who find it necessary to leave home are put in a difficult position where, in the absence of family or governmental provision, they are responsible for their own care, yet concurrently stigmatised for exhibiting adult-like behaviour in public.

4.2.1 Contextualising street-childhood in Tanzania

Childhood is a socially-constructed concept and children's lives are shaped by the social and cultural expectations that adults and peers have of them (Wells, 2015). In order to understand how children and young people in Tanzania experience and make sense of their lives living on the street, it is important to first understand what society expects of children in a Tanzanian context. It is

from this foundation, that we can begin to contextualise and interpret meaning from what street-involved children and young people say about their daily experiences. Furthermore, while children living in northern Tanzania experience a childhood that may be distinct from children in other parts of Tanzania and in other countries, street-involved children across variant locations share notable characteristics of a street-childhood. There is a wealth of literature relating to street-involved children and the unique challenges they face as a population, particularly due to structural injustices. This section will merge literature about street-involved children with expectations of childhood in an African, and specifically Tanzanian, setting. Findings will be presented to illustrate the extent to which street-involved children and young people in this study are defying expectations of childhood and how this severs relationships of responsibility and reciprocity with their kin.

Becoming 'children of the street'

It is important to consider how families impact the lives of street-involved children in their past and present. From a global perspective, Wells (2015) argues for acknowledging the relevance of family contexts when investigating children's lives since family are, in most cases, charged with the responsibility to raise children. When the family fails in this task, wider communities and government may also step in. Street-involved children are individuals and agents in their own right, but they also represent where families, communities and governments have failed to fulfil their responsibility to children; or, a crisis of social reproduction, as Wells (2015) theorises.

In Tanzania, society expects that children are responsible to and for their families through notions of intergenerational contracts (van Blerk & Ansell, 2007) and reciprocity (Twum-Danso, 2009). Children's responsibilities to their families are actualised through care-giving in the home (Frankenberg *et al.*, 2013), obedience (Hollos, 2002) and remittances (Lassen and Lilleør, 2008). There is an expectation that children who are cared for will return this investment to their parents when they become elderly (van Blerk & Ansell, 2007) as well as providing for younger siblings, as Evans and Becker explain:

> *Many children and parents interviewed in Tanzania perceived children's future roles predominantly in terms of the 'intergenerational contract'; children were expected to provide financial support for their parents and younger siblings when they were old enough to support them. (2009: 242)*

This expectation, and therefore desire, to provide money for their family was expressed by some children and young people in this study, and quoted as a reason for not returning home, for fear that they would not be able to contribute a sum that was congruent with the amount of time they had been away (see section 4.3.3). For this reason, children who leave home and do not return regularly are not only taking responsibility for themselves, but they are also communicating to others that they may have abandoned some or all of their responsibilities to their families, intentional or otherwise (Pearson, in press). Acting in one's own interest is something which, arguably, goes against core African values, as stipulated in the African Charter on Human and People's Rights, Article 29:

> *"The individual shall also have the duty: 1. To preserve the harmonious development of the family and to work for the cohesion and respect of the family; to respect his parents at all times, to maintain them in case of need" (African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights, 1981)*

Also, similar sentiments which are extended in the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (ACRWC), Article 31:

> *Children have responsibilities towards their families and societies, to respect their parents, superiors and elders, to preserve and strengthen African cultural values in their relation with other members of their communities. (Organisation of African Unity, 1990)*

For many of the children in this study, who express reticence about returning home and visiting their families, their living independently on the street is not preserving the 'harmonious development of the family' or working for the 'cohesion and respect of the family', nor would leaving home against parents' will be viewed as respecting 'parents, superiors and elders'. However, for many children, their decision to move to the street may be preceded by an understanding that their parents have neglected their side of the intergenerational contract. Since the intergenerational contract is not a written law (Twum-Danso, 2009), its interpretation may vary across geographical, clan and familial contexts and be complicated by issues surrounding lineage and

inheritance, particularly when a biological parent has died. One young person explained how his maternal uncles showed hostility to him and his brother after their mother died, suggesting that they should be the responsibility of their father:

> *Michael: My twin over the past, let's say nineteen years, we have lost contact with each other*
>
> *Asimwe: You haven't meet?*
>
> *Michael: Yes [we haven't met], because everyone took his own direction. Because our uncles did not want us at home, at mother's home; we were living at our maternal grandmother's place, we don't know our paternal grandparents, we don't know our father, we were living with our maternal family there, so with our maternal uncles' families*
>
> *Asimwe: Mmh*
>
> *Michael: So, they [the uncles] felt our grandfather was betraying them you see, by giving us a plot maybe to build like two living rooms for our future living, you see? They felt it was not appropriate, it is better they [the uncles] help their own children and we should help ourselves with our father, that's the way it was. So, when I heard that they didn't want us there at our home I did not waste time, the same day of the last day of our mother's funeral, I came to town. Since 2002 until today, dah, so many years, I don't know, nineteen years, a lot.*
> (Interview 7: Michael, male, aged 22)

Within Michael's family, his maternal uncles disagreed that their side of the family should be responsible for the welfare of Michael and his twin, but that following the death of their mother, they should return to their father's family for their care. Michael, understanding that this was not feasible, since he did not know his father, left home and came to live on the street. Rules surrounding lineage and responsibility for children within Tanzania can vary greatly among different clans and across time, and children may be disowned or neglected for a variety of reasons, including due to cultural offenses of their parents (Howard, 1994). Indeed, which children are neglected could be down to a lottery of combined factors including birth order, child-spacing and gender (Howard, 1994). Therefore, to state that family are responsible for children provokes discussion of which family and to what extent. The responsibility that families have towards children is highlighted in the common refrain communicated by

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The Centre[29] in Tanzania, and perhaps other organisations working with street-involved children, which emphasises that 'it is not the street that gives birth to children'. This refrain was relayed to us during an interview where young people were discussing how the community neglected children living on the street. In this interview excerpt, the young people are blaming the community for the death of a friend[30]:

> *Abdul: The other thing the community should not [have] contempt[31] [for] street-connected children [Kiswahili: watoto wa mtaani, direct translation 'children of the street']*
>
> *Baraka: Yes*
>
> *Abdul: They should consider them like their children at home*
>
> *Baraka: Yes*
>
> *Asimwe: They should*
>
> *Abdul: They should understand that the street-connected children are like children at home*
>
> *Stephen: Yes*
>
> *[…]*
>
> *Stephen: First this name street children we are not street children*
>
> *Abdul: There is no [street children], the street does not give birth to children*
>
> (Interview 24: Abdul, Baraka and Stephen, male all aged approximately 23 years.)

The young people are explaining how attaching the label of 'street' to them removes them from their familial context and thus justifies communities' actions of hostility and disinterest towards them. This is also signified by the distinction they make between the way children are treated when at home versus the treatment they receive on the street. They are no longer viewed as children who belong to a home or a family, and their differentiation from home-based children

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[29] The local charity partner – a charity that was working with street-involved children in Tanzania between 1997 and 2016.

[30] The friend died of an illness, but the young people are implicating the community due to their neglect of him.

[31] Kiswahili: -dharau (verb), to ignore, despise or insult. Dharau (noun), contempt. (Awde, 2000)

generates 'contempt' from the community. The levelling of contempt towards children and young people living on the street implies a strong disapproval of their presence, activities and 'being' on the street in direct contrast to those children who are 'at home'. Here, the moral high-ground is reserved for the child who is 'at home', suggesting that this state of being is a virtue in itself. Often, such stigmatisation and scorn is explained as societies' disapproval of the negative behaviour associated with 'street life', but as children and young people pointed out, those who stay at home also engage in similar behaviours, such as using drugs, but do not receive contempt in the same way, instead they would receive punishment.

> *Omary: But it isn't only street-connected children who are smoking marijuana. Both street-connected children and children at home smoke marijuana in hiding places. For street-connected children smoking in public is normal. Nowadays, many children at home are smoking marijuana, a twelve-year-old child may smoke cigarettes and chew chat.*
>
> *[…]*
>
> *Asimwe: So, the difference is that when you are in the street, you are smoking in public*
>
> *Omary: Yes, you are*
>
> *Daudi: You are free*
>
> *Omary: Yes, you are free, you know, no one will tell you to stop since there is no one who feeds you or clothes you.*
>
> *William: There is no one who looks after you*
>
> *Omary: But when you are at home you [hide] because you are afraid that 'my father', aah, 'once my father notices that am smoking, or my mother notices that am smoking, I will be in trouble'*
> (Interview 9: Omary, Daudi and William, all male, aged 23, 19 and 16.)

Omary and Daudi are discussing wider society's attitudes towards children and young people who take drugs openly on the street. They express that, since they live in the street and there is no one looking after them, they are free to take drugs openly and that this freedom to do what they like, and the absence of someone to take responsibility for their actions, leads to their stigmatisation. However, when referring to children taking drugs at home, the main fear is with regards to punishment, rather than scorn or contempt. Here, street-involved children's freedom from the parental sphere is a contributing factor to the contempt they receive for using drugs, perhaps because there is no obvious

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parent or adult who is responsible for punishing this behaviour or because the young people have run away to avoid the punishment they 'deserve'.

In another example, young people are discussing the impact of being called derogatory names by the community, such as 'chokoraa'[32]. The young people have mixed views on how they react to being called these names. Eric says that sometimes being called these names starts a fight if the young person is in a bad mood when they hear the insults. They continue to say that the names are 'strange' and not the official names that they have been given or chosen for themselves.

> *Asimwe: Okay, and when you are living in the street and named such names [chokoraa] how does it feel? […]*
>
> *Kelvin: Bad*
>
> *Jamil: You cannot feel bad because is something we have become used to*
>
> *Eric: We are used to it. But if one is not used to it, one day you […] can wake up in a bad mood my sister. If you call someone with those strange names, because they are strange names, they are made up names and not someone's original name*
>
> *[…]*
>
> *Eric: You find if one has woken up in a bad mood, if they're called names like that, […] he reacts angrily, my sister, in front of people, having a fight*
>
> (Interview 5: Eric, Jamil and Kelvin, all male, aged 19, 17 and 14.)

Here, Eric is placing value on the original name that he was given by his family, or that he has chosen for himself. Calling him and his peers by a collective noun associated with street communities detaches them from their familial origins and makes the young people 'feel bad' and occasionally respond with aggression. Alternatively, as Jamil suggests, children and young people may learn to accept and normalise the new identity society has given them. Such name calling being 'something we have become used to' implies their lack of choice in the identity ascribed to them and a sense that it is an undesirable categorisation.

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[32] There is no direct translation in English. The meaning of the term differs between people, but it is generally associated with deviant young people who live on the street and are likely to steal and take drugs.

The young people here are ascribing the 'contempt' they receive as being associated with their street involvement and being divorced, actually or presumably, from their family associations. The negative attributes associated with these young people may reflect a general attitude towards young people within the community. However, feelings of contempt signify that the onlooker has an ideal from which the children and young people are falling short. The following two sub-sections will explore some of the expectations that community members may have regarding the behaviour of children and youth and their place in society.

Work and responsibility

Research has shown that many children in Tanzania, and Africa more generally, assume responsibilities for caring for themselves and their family members during childhood (Frankenberg *et al.*, 2013; Hollos, 2002; Kayongo-Male & Onyango, 1984). In Frankenberg *et al.*'s study (2013) of how children in Tanzania[33] are socialised into caregiving roles, children as young as four are given small responsibilities to direct younger siblings, while children as young as two are taught how to bring their father a drink of water. However, it is more commonly accepted that children, particularly girls, will take responsibility for jobs in the home from around the age of seven (Kayongo-Male & Onyango, 1984). One study with the Pare community of northern Tanzania (who reside within the research area) suggests that from the age of 12 (for girls) and 15 (for boys), a child will have the same level of power and skill for most tasks as an adult and be expected to take care of themselves and the household in the absence of an adult (Hollos, 2002). The socialisation of children into an ethic of work within the family is driven in part by a desire to instil prosocial behaviour in children (Frankenberg *et al.*, 2010) and to mould their character as "diligent, persistent and responsible to all others" (Kayongo-Male & Onyango, 1984; 22). This is also underpinned in some African communities by an ideology that children are assets who provide worth to the household through work and

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[33] The study was carried out in Lindi and Temeke, a rural and urban coastal region (respectively) south of Dar es Salaam.

service (Hollos, 2002) and equally represented in the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (ACRWC), which stipulates children's responsibilities to their families and communities. Other reasons for children's productive roles in families are more pragmatic, such as for assisting mothers – most often the primary care giver – with managing household work-loads (Frankenberg *et al.*, 2013). One young person explains the scorn that he received while living on the street through a lens of what contribution he is making to his wider community:

> *Peter: Oooh the first thing, people who have never lived in the street, first they look down on you they see you like certain kind of dirty*
>
> *Charles: Eeh [in agreement]*
>
> *Peter: Right, he sees like you don't have any help [to give] in the community*
>
> (Interview 19: Peter, former street-involved young person, age 25)

In this example, it is possible that the hypothetical observer they are referring to is not just seeing a homeless young person but is viewing an individual who is not fulfilling their role to contribute to the community. This young person's interpretation of the observer's gaze reflects some of the assumptions he has inherited about his purpose and worth in society: to be on the street is dirty, and to not help your community is looked down on. Evans (2006) explains, with reference to research with street-involved children in Tanzania, that children who move to the street may be seen to be rejecting kinship relationships and household structures. Such rejection may also be met with scorn from the wider community.

In Africa, it is estimated that one in five children aged 5-14 work (Wells, 2015). The actual proportion of working children may be much higher, since calculations of what qualifies as 'work' often have an economic bias which excludes 'care work' and household chores in many cases. Additionally, survey respondents may not consider care and domestic activities as 'work' and therefore not disclose this in surveys. Globally, work in the home is most often split by gender, with boys being more likely to participate in market work or labour-intensive, unskilled tasks which free up adults for more skilled work in resource-poor settings (ibid). Therefore, it can be assumed, that the children in this study are likely to have been expected to take responsibility for themselves

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and their families within the home at some point, and that this work played a part in them fulfilling their responsibilities to their family and communities. As Klocker writes in her study on child domestic work in Tanzania:

> *"[…] expectations that childhood be a period of play, education and innocence are Minority World constructs that do not fit easily with the reality of Majority World childhoods, where children's work is not only a necessity, but a familial responsibility and an important part of the socialisation process." (2011: 212)*

Strict definitions declaring the differences between Minority and Majority World perceptions of childhood are problematic. For emerging middle-class families across African countries, children's work may not be viewed as a necessity and a stronger focus on education may replace work as the main form of socialisation. Despite this, it remains that for many, particularly poorer families, children's contribution to the household through work of some kind is expected. That children and young people undertake responsibilities in the home may explain two things. Firstly, that street-involved children and young people have grown accustomed to taking responsibility for themselves (and others) in some way since before they decided to move the street, potentially facilitating a move into independence at a young age. Secondly, that Tanzanian society has expectations that children and young people will help within the home, and therefore if they are working and living away from their family, they are in some way neglecting their familial duties or subverting frameworks of family cohesion and deviating from the proper socialisation process.

Punishment and obedience

In Tanzania, corporal punishment is lawful and a widespread practice for disciplining children; teaching them right from wrong and ensuring that they grow up to have a good character (Frankenberg *et al.*, 2010; Hecker *et al.*, 2014). In their article on the 'care of corporal punishment', Frankenberg *et al.* explain the assumed consequences of not beating children:

> *When asked if there were parents who never beat their child, the participants primarily referred to cases where the parents were disinterested, detached or indifferent to their children and where the children grew up without boundaries. These cases were described as horror scenarios where the lack of discipline at a young age results in the children developing into villains, thieves or drug addicts with no sense of right and wrong […]." (2010: 462)*

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Young people in my study would also talk about how parents' beating of children was an act of love and something that was in their best interest, as interviewees Pauli and Eric explain:

> *Pauli: You are told, even a child does not know his mistake until his father[34] catches him and beats him. That is when he knows he has wronged.* (Interview 7: Pauli, male, age 22.)
>
> --
>
> *Eric: A lot of people, before growing up, when you are still at home and are given chore to perform, even if you're not given a chore, maybe you have made a small mistake and you don't see the mistake and then you are told that you have made that mistake, and it reaches a stage father or mother decides to punish you, you feel like*
>
> *William: You are not treated right*
>
> *Eric: You are not treated right. But once you have grown up and you reflect back, you see that a certain day I made a mistake but at the time […] you felt like you were being persecuted, but that's not the way it is – parents love us they cannot beat us if we have not done wrong, they cannot give you chores just to spite you*
>
> (Interview 13: William and Eric, male, age 16 and 19.)

Since being beaten is associated with developing a good character, children who live on the streets may be considered as being unable to develop good character since they do not have someone who can discipline them. Alternatively, an expectation that children need to be beaten to learn right from wrong may justify the actions of those who beat street-involved children; police or security guards, for example. Some members of the community held the belief that children who lived on the streets are those who do not want to be disciplined, implying that they may already be inherently 'bad':

> *Irene: Mmmm. Tanzanians think the street children are the stubborn children from the home, they are people who don't want to hear anything from their parents, they don't want to listen, they are rude, they are those people who don't want to listen to the parents, listen to the community, they don't want to be punished. Stubborn ones.* (Interview 12: Irene, community member, Female, age 26.)

Here, Irene is explaining how children who leave home to live on the streets are assumed by some Tanzanians as being disobedient and not wanting to listen to the instruction of, or be socialised by, their parents or wider community. Since

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[34] Discipline in the home is also carried out by women, not just fathers (Frankenberg *et al.*, 2010).

the majority of children and young people are exposed to corporal punishment in Tanzania (UNICEF Tanzania *et al.*, 2011), it may be difficult for some community members to sympathise with street-involved children and young people who claim to have been physically abused at home. As Fred explains:

> *Fred: [...] I think, eh. [...] If you talk about childhood experiences, the majority of the community members maybe grew up in their families and, [...] if they had problems [beatings] not very serious maybe, and, they feel a good child is the one who stays home, even if he's abused. Because they feel like parents cannot abuse [chuckle of disbelief]...*
>
> *Gemma: Yeah...*
>
> *Fred: [...] So I think they don't get that. Their assumption is just like, "ok, this is a naughty child, this is a bad child, they don't want to study, they don't want to listen to their parents and that's why they have run away from home."*
>
> *Gemma: Mmm-hmmmm.*
>
> *Fred: Yeah.*
>
> *Gemma: So, they assume that, so, they find it difficult to understand what abuse might make someone run away. And they feel like a child who runs away is bad, because they should...*
>
> *Fred: They should have stayed!* (Interview 23: Fred, street worker.)

In the excerpt above, Fred is highlighting that the normalisation of corporal punishment in Tanzanian society means that it is not considered by the community as a valid reason for children leaving home. The normalisation of corporal punishment masks the differing forms of severity that corporal punishment may take. The physical abuse of a child and a culturally acceptable level of physical punishment can both fall under the term 'beating', making it difficult for some adults to appreciate the extent of abuse some children might experience. Conversely, children may feel as though the excessive abuse they receive at home means that their families are not fulfilling their responsibilities to care for them; thereby releasing them from their responsibilities to their families and legitimising their move to the street. Twum-Danso (2009) explains, with reference to Ghana, that girls would leave home if they felt that their parents did not meet their needs, instead turning to 'boyfriends' who supported them materially:

> *"When such a parent then wants to give advice to his children, they [the children] do not want to listen. They would prefer to listen to whoever it is that is taking care of their needs, which is increasingly the role being played by older men as 'boyfriends'.*

> *[…] Thus, parental retreat may be leading to a transfer of control over the parent's traditional rights and services over their child to those who are not even kin"* (pg. 429)

A similar sentiment was expressed by young people in this study (see section 4.3). Young people expressed that it is important to listen to one's family, but if the family has asked them to leave they will no longer listen to them.

When asking children and young people about their families, many expressed similar sentiments of disconnection. This may not reflect the relationships that part-time street-involved children have with their families, who are likely to experience more integration (McAlpine et al., 2010). Certainly, for those involved in this study who lived full-time on the street, their relationships with their family appeared estranged. While many talked about visiting home, accounts expressed that these visits were under a sense of obligation and were of a short duration, as Jackson and Samuel explain:

> *Jackson: You know everyone at the street has his personal issues, I don't know about Samuel, if he communicates his family or not, but personally when I am at the street, sometimes I don't communicate with family and it reaches the point I feel I should go home to say 'hi'. Whenever I go, I only stay for two to three days because I know if I stay longer it's a problem. Because, looking at my uncle sometimes he gets sick, you help him, and he recovers. But as soon as he recovers, he turns back to alcohol. So, you have to leave him as soon as he recovers so that he struggles on his own and me, I 'hassle' with life own my own. Sometimes there is communication with family and sometimes there is none, there is rarely communication.*

> *Samuel: Not close communication. […] Personally, three years may pass without me going home because, I feel even if I go home, I will create more problems. Because, you find even at home there are problems, my young siblings are there and you find uncle, he is just a drunk man. Our grandmother who raised us has passed away already, because most of time we were staying with her. Also, when you look at auntie and mother, they are not on good terms. Mother is suffering from diabetes. So mostly uncle is the one who is responsible, working, but he is a drunk man. So, whenever I go home there is nothing very important there for me, that's why I don't go, and even if I do go, I can't sleep there.*
> (Interview 1: Jackson and Samuel, both male, aged 18 and 17)

Children and young people may decide to return to the streets since the issues at home which caused them to leave in the first place are still ongoing, as with the alcoholism in Jackson and Samuel's families. However, additional suspicion and gossip at home about the children and young people who are known to have spent time on the street may exacerbate their challenges in their home

environments, making staying at home for lengths of time undesirable, as Daudi and William suggest:

> *Daudi: You are aware of life at home, and you have lived in the street and think 'oooh, I have not gone home. Let me go home so that I greet them.' Once you go home you hear people gossiping about you, [so] again you decide to come back to the street.*
>
> *Asimwe: You decide to leave from home*
>
> *Daudi: Yes, that the way it is*
>
> *William: You will not be excited anymore going back home*
> (Interview 9: Daudi and William, both male, aged 19 and 16)

In part, children and young people's willingness to return home is due to the terms on which they left. Those who left after doing something 'wrong' are more fearful of returning than those who decided to leave as a livelihood strategy. As James and Omary explain, the reception they anticipate from their parents will dictate children and young people's willingness to return home:

> *Asimwe: But when you decide to come to the street and then decide to go back home, do parents still treat you the same way or are there changes? […]*
>
> *3 participants: Some families do, not all families. […]*
>
> *James: For example, someone who has not fought with anyone at home or has not done anything wrong, let's say maybe you run away from a certain thing but you have not wronged. You just decided to leave and come to 'hassle', but you decide yourself, 'ooh I can't [live on the street] anymore and go back home.' There is no problem with that.*
>
> *Asimwe: There is no problem*
>
> *Omary: The bad thing is when you leave home while you have done something wrong.*
>
> *James: Mmmh, Maybe you have stolen, may be you have destroyed something of your neighbour's, when you go back home they suspect you and say that you are a thief.*
>
> *Omary: They are familiar that you are a thief*
>
> *Asimwe: Okay, so it depends on how you left home and it depends with the nature of the family?*
>
> *James: Mmmm.*
>
> *Omary: Yes.*
>
> *Daudi: Yes.*
> (Interview 9: James, Omary and Daudi, all male, aged 19, 23 and 19)

While some parents made attempts to find their children and return them home, children's consistent returning to the street exasperated some, meaning that parents would 'give up on' or disown a child.

Asimwe: Okay then, explain to me about relationship, when one is in street how is the relationship between one living in the street and his family? Who is going to start?

Ricard: The relationship becomes bad […] Because you are in the street, you don't have direction. […] Even family forgets you, 'we don't have child anymore, the child is in the street he will know himself.' […] After they bring you home, every time, you are already escaping. […] After parents have said they have given up on you, that means they have given up. […] And after parent has said has given up on you, that means s/he[35] has given up on you completely

Asimwe: Mmm, what do you mean, as you have said, that after parent says he has given up on you that means has given up on you completely?

Ricard: Yes, when parent says he has given up, that means he has given up on you truly, he won't make follow-up on you any more
(Interveiw 3: Ricard, male, age 15)

For other children and young people, a lack of love at home precedes their decision to leave home, and some look for alternative relationships of attachment on the street, as Daudi and Stevie explain:

Daudi: […] There are others over here [on the street] who don't have anyone at home who loves them so he decides to go to street. He decides to leave.
(Interview 22: Daudi, male, aged 19)

Stevie: Personally, about my family, my aunty at my father's home

Asimwe: Eeeh

Stevie: At my father's home, my aunty does not love me even a little bit that is why I come here

Asimwe: Why makes you think she does not love you?

Stevie: What

Asimwe: Why does she not love you?

Stevie: Because she wants to forbid me from my father's inheritance
(Interview 4: Stevie, male, aged 16)

While sentiments of disconnection, acts of running away and stories of mistreatment at home typify much of children and young people's accounts of their family homes, a few full-time street children do maintain strong ties with

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[35] In Kiswahili the personal pronoun for s/he is the prefix 'a-' and does not distinguish between gender. Therefore, 'anatembea' means 's/he is walking' and can imply either gender. The gender of the subject must be inferred from the context.

their families and actively support their families from the money that they make living on the street, as expressed by James:

> *James: With me at the moment now, I am capable of going at home and they tell me their certain needs and*
>
> *Asimwe: And they help you?*
>
> *James: No, I am the one [to help]. If they tell me they are in need of certain thing, I help them*
>
> *Asimwe: Okay you are the one helping them*
> (Interview 9: James, male, aged 19)

Expectations surrounding the proper behaviour of children and their place in the family shape the stigmatisation that street-involved children and young people face and their marginalisation in society. Expectations of childhood in Tanzania involve the ways that children are responsible for contributing to their families and communities and a high level of obedience and subservience to those older than them. The next section will elaborate further on the specific types of stigmatisation and marginalisation that street-involved children and young people face after they leave home to take responsibility for themselves.

4.2.2 Becoming deviant and knowing one's mind

Children's decisions to move to the street are often rooted in the challenges they experience in their home communities. Whether blame is apportioned to the children's communities or the children themselves shapes the way that they are treated by the wider community. Street-involved children's deviation from the responsibilities of childhood is viewed by some as rebellion against the communities they have come from. Children's failure to remain with their families causes them to become marginalised and arouses suspicion in the minds of community members about their character. In Tanzanian society, popular discourse about those that live on the street regard such people as deviant and more likely to engage in criminal activity, thereby representing a risk to those around them (Sherrington, 2007).

Deviance

The children and young people in this study often spoke of the harsh treatment that they received while living on the street. Despite efforts by NGOs to educate

Gemma Pearson: Royal Holloway, University of London. Thesis submission 2019.

communities about the multiple reasons why children may leave home to live on the street[36], there is still a sense that their living on the street is in some part down to their own deviance. In a community workshop led by a local NGO[37] with community members during the field study, the workshop participants listed the following attributes to describe street-involved children:

> *When we think of the street connected child, is a child who*
> - *is beaten so much*
> - *is teased*
> - *is considered with contempt by the community*
> - *is missing a place to sleep/ live*
> - *is raped*
> - *is lacking health treatments*
> - *does not have clothes*
> - *has no morals*
>
> *(NGO-led workshop, 12th June 2015, research assistant's notes)*

As indicated above, reactions from community members are often mixed. The list of children's characteristics and experiences represent the hardships they face, but also their questionable character: a street-involved child 'has no morals'. From this list, it is not possible to assess the weight to which each of these characteristics was emphasised during the workshop. The list appears to reflect a dispassionate attitude towards the children, with the perpetrator of teasing, beatings or rapes omitted and no accountability inferred for the lack of health provision or clothes. Their character is questioned with reference to their morals, but the list does not relay if children's lack of morals has caused them to live on the street or are a product of their engagement with street life. Participants from the same workshop also communicated the belief that street-involved children were liars. The feeling of being deceived was one reason why community

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[36] Activities that have been carried out by The Centre and other local NGOs in the area over many years.

[37] A large NGO working with street-involved children in the field location.

members voiced reluctance to offer help to a street-involved child (I6[38]), with one participant describing how she had previously been deceived by a child she tried to help (I12). The use of deception is one way that children and young people can use their agency in a constrained environment in order to meet their material needs. Although this type of agency is a response to adults' authority over them as gatekeepers and resource bearers, the consequence of deception is a break-down of trust between adults and street-involved children in the long term.

Some community members may understand the misfortune that children have suffered and see them as deserving of help, while others may see them as cursed or inherently bad. An understanding that children may be inherently bad may lead community members to think that there is little point in trying to help them. One street worker and former street-involved child explains:

> *Robert: So, they, some people they believe that these children have been cursed by God, so they don't help them [nervous laughter]. You see. […] Er, is the belief actually of the people. They're, some of the people [believe that]. It is something that they believe that these children they don't deserve anything, yeah, you have to leave them […].*
> (Interview 6: Robert, street worker, male.)

Fred expands on this, explaining that even though Tanzanians understand the relational and structural breakdowns that can cause a child to leave home, this cannot easily change the negative perceptions that communities have of street-involved children:

> *Fred: And, and, some communities for example will know very well. There are some children who, like, who really suffer in the hands of their step-mothers, or sometimes step-fathers. If you mention that to some community members they will understand. Yeah, yeah, yeah.*
>
> *Gemma: Hmmm, ok. Why will they understand that, in particular?*
>
> *Fred: Yeah, because, er, they feel like, […] there's too much, you know, hostility from step parents sometimes, yeah. Beatings, err, sometimes er, children getting falsely, you know, accused. They've not done anything [wrong] but they're just accused. Yeah, many many things, you know like, which can cause children not to really manage to stay with their step parents. Yeah. Another thing is also when there's a loss of one of the parents, especially the father, er, if it happens and maybe it is only the mother remaining, and er, uncles maybe take over, that can also affect [the child], and*

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[38] 'I' refers to interview, i.e. interview 6.

community members can understand that. Because they see cases of widows who are chased away [...]. And land or property is taken by, you know, the uncles. Something like that. In that way they can understand. [...] But, er, quickly, it is very easy for people, some people in the community to simply judge, "well, they're bad children." [The community think] They're just bad, yeah. (Interview 23: Fred, street worker, male.)

Here there is a tension, when observing street-involved children, where the blame should fall. Fred explains that there are many situations within which the wider community would understand the disruption and suffering children have experienced; in the case of absent fathers, land-grabbing by wider family or when living with step-parents. Yet, Fred's overriding impression is that it is easy for some people in the community to consider the children as 'bad'. The idea that children are 'just bad' places an undue level of responsibility on them for their situations on the street. Conversely, while understanding the inherent vulnerabilities children and young people experience through their separation from family may help some community members to harbour empathy for them, Wells (2015) argues that emphasising this disconnection may serve to dehumanise them, facilitating their mistreatment by others:

"The frequent characterization, especially by NGOs, of street children as lacking family and community makes them more vulnerable to material and physical violations at the hands of police (Sondhi-Garg, 2004: 91-101), by the ways that it (unintentionally) contributes to ideas about street children not fully being members of human society. Street children are anomalous not only to the category of 'children' but also to the category of public space. It is this double anomaly that renders them so vulnerable to violence at the hands of state authorities [...]" (Wells, 2015:77)

Children and young people's separation from their families may mean that others, including the police, consider there to be no consequence for the way that they treat street-involved children and young people; since there is less likely to be an adult defending and advocating for the child. However, to omit their estrangement from family is similarly problematic, since, as this thesis argues, this estrangement is at the core of many of the challenges that children and young people face. Changing the perception of police and community members to consider children as 'like those at home' (see Appendix 4, message 5) is an important part of fulfilling street-involved children and young people's rights; as this represents part of the rehumanising process that Wells (2015) eludes to. Yet, street-involved children are not like children at home due to numerous relational

and material deficits; such as adults who will take responsibility for them and their futures and provide for their material needs. In order to reduce the suspicion children receive from those around them it is important to address the essence of the 'anomaly' they represent by reconceptualising the Tanzanian childhood and children's right to inhabit public space while bringing the family and wider community under scrutiny due to their absence or neglect.

Suspicion

After conducting several interviews with children and young people in the two field-sites, a clear category that emerged from the data was the suspicion that the participants experienced from members of the community. This suspicion manifested in the names community members used for the children and young people, the scorn and contempt they experienced and the reluctance of community members to trust them.

Behaviours, such as taking drugs, smoking or 'loafing' around are most problematic for the children and young people's reputations because they are illegal, adult-like activities or portray undesirable characteristics such as 'laziness'. These activities create barriers between children, young people and some in the community because they are carried out on the street in plain view. As mentioned earlier,the children and young people pointed out that these activities also take place among children living at home, but that children at home are not seen to be criminalised for these behaviours to the same extent as those who are living on the street (I2). While children at home have their families and parents to hold them accountable and negotiate their relationships with the wider community, street-involved children and young people do not have the same relationships with adults who will vouch for them. During data collection, it appeared that having access to an adult who would vouch for a child's character was important for children and young people being able to access opportunities in in the community, such as finding employment. For the young people, a significant barrier to accessing work was the lack of a referee, or someone who could trust them to the extent that they would recommend them for work:

> *Pauli: Like there is something that we talked about at the beginning [of the interview] about the issue of unemployment, you know you get employment when you get a 'Kingunge'*
>
> *Asimwe; What [is a] 'Kingunge' [Asimwe was not familiar with this word]?*
>
> *[…]*
>
> *Pauli: 'Kingunge' is someone who is on your side […], he is trustworthy or known by others [in the community]. He may come here and maybe he is known to a shop owner, and he tells him [the shop owner] that 'this is my youth he has a problem', and that I [the young person] will be trusted [by the shop owner] through him [the kingunge] you see.*
>
> (Interview 7: Pauli, male, age 22.)

Later, interviewee Pauli explains that parents would normally play the role of a referee, or 'Kingunge', but that, since their relationship with their family had broken down, they struggled to find people who trusted them enough to be their referee:

> *Pauli: And just someone else, even if he loves you he cannot stand before you [as a referee] because he does not know when or at what time you will betray [him]*
> (Details as above.)

Furthermore, since their relationship with their parents had broken down, this makes it more difficult for community members to trust them in a general sense. One young person gave an example of when he was taken to prison with a friend. The friend's relative came to pay his bail, but the relative would not pay for Pauli's bail:

> *Pauli: We were brought to prison, I was brought with my friend from their home at the village[39]*
>
> *Asimwe: Mmmh*
>
> *Pauli: His mother hesitated to pay my bail saying that, 'I have met his mother and told her that he is at the police and his mother has not come. I can't pay his bail. You never [know] how he has already wrong[ed] his mother. That means that I am not only hated by [my] parents but also with the society surrounding me.' (Details as above.)*

In this example, the breakdown of relationship between Pauli and his mother means that his friend's mother does not trust him. Pauli extends this example to the wider community, explaining that the rejection from this family leads others

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[39] Name of village omitted for confidentiality.

in society to reject him due to a suspicion that he has wronged his parents and, therefore, cannot be trusted. This example also illustrates the difficulties street-involved children and young people face building relationships of trust with other adults when they are assumed to be estranged from their family (Pearson, in press). Particularly, the reason the woman gave for not paying Pauli's bail was due to the poor relationship he had with his mother, rather than concerns over the transgressions that led him to be taken into police custody.

In the broader context of childhood in Tanzania, having a child become a 'street child' is considered one of the worst possible outcomes a child, and a family, could face, as Kate[40] suggests in interview 11:

> *Kate: […] I think that everybody dreads their child ending up on the street, you know, it's always talked about as, you know, the worst possible thing if your child [has] ended up on the street.* (Interview 11: Kate, female, practitioner.)

Evans (2011) study on child-headed households in Tanzania and Uganda also describes the suspicion levelled at young people who are living alone; assuming that, without adult supervision, young people will become deviant and engage in illicit activities. Here there is a contradiction where parents desire for children and young people to take responsibility for themselves and others within the family from an early age yet are cautious when they use their responsibility to live independently. In the case of Evans' (2011) study and my study, children and young people who are already assumed as being deviant are at risk of facing accusations from community members that could lead to police involvement, imprisonment and police fines. Such accusations can also lead to violent attacks on street-involved young people, as interviewee Michael explains:

> *Michael: Some days ago I was standing somewhere and I felt like sleeping, then I decided to enter into an unfinished building. I was travelling far away, […][41] just as I slept inside […] at the opposite side there were thieves who had stolen and they were running towards the place where I slept. When they [the community] entered there they found me asleep and they attacked [me] by cutting me with long knives. Without any doubt [they thought] I [had] committed [the crime] but after I explained myself, that I*

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[40] Kate has worked with street-involved children, and on the topic of child protection, for over 20 years in northern Tanzania. She is a British national.

[41] Location omitted for confidentiality

was innocent, they had to help me, they brought me here [...] [to the clinic] but I was [the] one responsible for paying for my own medications [...] it was yesterday when the stitches were removed [showing Asimwe the injury]

Asimwe: Sorry[42]

Michael: No worries sister that is kind of our life [...]
(Interview 7: Michael, age 22, male.)

These examples show how the suspicion that community members and police have towards street-involved young people can make them more vulnerable to false accusations that cost them emotionally, physically and financially. While communities' concerns are justified with regards to street-involved children and young people's involvement in theft, an important survival strategy that they admit to freely, communities and police may not pay such careful attention to who they punish for a specific crime. This means that any young people who are believed to be street-involved can be punished for the crimes of others. This makes it challenging for those who have chosen not to steal to stay committed to this path of action; since they will receive punishment and suspicion whether they, individually, have chosen to steal or not. As one young person explains:

Samuel: Because even if a friend has done something wrong somewhere else, when I also pass by there I will be chased away from that place. So, even me [...] I may be beaten if I show up there or even be called a thief. (Interview 1: Samuel, male, age 17.)

For this young person, being identified with a group of street-involved children has limited his freedoms and opportunities, despite the individual choices that he makes to avoid incriminating behaviour.

This section has provided a context for how children are viewed in Tanzanian society and how this view may influence the way that street-involved children and young people are perceived. Some of the consequences of street-involved children and young people's deviation from the traditional notion of a Tanzanian childhood have been discussed, such as barriers to accessing employment opportunities and risks of violence and persecution. Due to their visibility, street-

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[42] It is common to say sorry, or 'pole' [po-lay] in response to other's misfortunes, but this does not denote responsibility on behalf of the one apologising, rather sympathy for what has happened.

involved children and young people need to negotiate their freedoms from adults and authorities in order to survive, thrive and progress. The next section will discuss these negotiations in more detail.

4.3   Children meeting their own needs

By decoupling the assumption that children taking responsibility for themselves can justify blame and claiming the idea that those who engage in self-destructive activities are agents who are deserving of support, the literature on street-involved children can be reframed to accept the diverse outcomes of children and young people's agency without fear of polarising the debate. Such a reframing could cut through debates and concerns that dichotomise street-involved children as; vulnerable or deviant; able to make decisions for themselves or not able to make decisions for themselves; and, engaged in society or rejecting society. Both structure and agency play a role in street-involved children's lives and the choices they make. Blaming either the agent or the state is unhelpful, since both need to be engaged in order to create individual and societal change. In order to maintain their independence living on the street, children must continually negotiate their freedom from communities and authorities who enforce the cultural and societal structures they inhabit. This constant negotiation influences the lives they live. How this freedom is negotiated depends in part on the child or young person's age. Children and young people living on the street use their agency in a variety of ways to survive, improve their situations and address aspirations for a better living environment; often under significant constraint imposed by their environment and social status. This section will draw on these strategies to further elaborate how street-involved children and young people take responsibilities for their own lives in a societal context where choosing to live independently is frowned upon.

4.3.1   Necessary living

Necessary living can be associated with the everyday, personal agency that Lister (2004) refers to in her explanation of how people in poverty use their agency to 'get by' (pg. 130). Necessary living and 'getting by' represents a type of coping

that is characterised by small choices that enable a person to meet their basic needs and survive (ibid).

A struggle over work

In her book on youth homelessness in the UK, Carlen (1996) argues that "[a]mongst the most destitute of the young homeless a culture of *survivalism* develops" (pg. 6, emphasis in text). She critiques the survivalist culture by suggesting that the "individualistic ethic of survivalism […] can never be the basis of either a social ethic or even (long-term) survival" (pg. 5). Much like the participants in Carlen's research, the street-involved participants of this research spoke of a survivalist culture among those living on the street. This form of survivalism was often centred on the children and young people's ability to make enough money. Those who were most 'destitute' would be more likely to consider making money through risk-taking, such as theft: this enabled them to survive in the short-term but would become an increasingly risky activity the longer they engaged in it.

Much of the way street-involved children and young people framed how well they were doing was with regards to how much money they had earned, and whether they had earned enough to meet their basic needs. While children often shared what they had earned to support one another with food or medical costs, children and young people also saved money individually and acquired debts of their own. Their acute dependence on having sufficient cash-flow consumed much of their physical and emotional energy. This is not least because earning money was often a risky endeavour for many of the children who engaged in theft or other activities that the community felt was a nuisance, such as burning tyres (to harvest the metal rods from inside). In the following exchange the children and young people seem to be equating the way they tend to earn money with bravery and courage; implying that work is difficult and dangerous.

> *Asimwe: Mmmh. Okay another question, at what time [does] one feel 'I can do a particular thing', that you are courageous of saying 'I can do a particular thing.' At which times?*
>
> *Beji: Is when, like, you have hold, like, you find you have your money. You have succeeded to get money, this is when you are capable of taking the decision that 'now*

is the time I can do my own business', or I should look for something to do with this my money, or I should go to buy a particular thing

Asimwe: mmh something else?

Iman: Is not only when you have money that you can do a particular thing. Even when you don't have money you can do anything, you can do just as you

Beji: And especially when you don't have money, you get courageous, 'ooh let me do something and look for money instead of staying and doing nothing'

Iman: I should look for money

Asimwe: When you?

Benji: Even when you don't have money – that is what even make you start to thing think and find you even go for work that is not okay

Asimwe: mmmh, I have not understood there, is it when you have money is when you feel like working or when you don't have money?

Daudi: When you don't have money you work hard […] But when you have money you feel like […] 'I have money am supposed just to sit and chill.' (Interview 8: Daudi, Iman and Benji, male, aged 19, 16 and 17.)

The young people here have made their own link between 'working hard' and 'money'. When they do not have money they work harder and they may even engage in work that is 'not okay'. Although initially Benji says that when he has money this will open opportunities for him, allowing him to think about starting businesses, Daudi concludes that when he earns money he feels like he can 'sit and chill'. There is a tension here between an idealised behaviour for what they would do if they had money (i.e. start a business) and an alternative outcome; allowing them to rest. It is when children and young people found they had enough money that they were able to either relax or think about long-term goals; thus moving beyond the idea of survivalism that Carlen (1996) introduces.

The children and young people often complained that there was no work for them to do. They found their options for legitimate employment to be very narrow and highly dependent on their age and ability: a young child was not able to carry farm produce in the market, for example, since they were not physically strong enough to engage in these tasks. Meanwhile, an older youth was not able to 'collect' scrap metal[43] since this was a shameful and dangerous activity for

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[43] This is known colloquially as 'collecting scrappers'.

older people; scrap metal was often acquired through acts of kindness (a business owner giving a child scrap metal) or through theft (at garages or mechanics workshops). Many of the children and young people held a desire to engage in legitimate work since they knew the negative consequences of engaging in theft, which often resulted in beatings or, in severe cases, death. While trying to negotiate legitimate employment for themselves by burning tires the children expressed indignation when they were given a warning from the police. In their view, the activity of burning tyres was a legitimate job and they were attempting to do it conscientiously (so that the fumes would not bother people), but they found themselves breaking laws for burning tyres in the wrong location.

> *Ricard: we, when we normally burn tyres, we, Municipal [police] arrest us, after they arrest us we cannot escape from arrest. Because of tyres they tell us we pollute the air. While it is during night, by night only is when we normally burn. When we burn they [the police] inform each other, they arrest us, we are beaten. Like me here, the day before yesterday, I was beaten with sticks and they forgave me and they left telling me 'go, don't dare to take again'.*
>
> *[…]*
>
> *Asimwe: So municipal normally come looking for you at night?*
>
> *Ricard: No polices those who pass instead of going to deal with thieves there they come and tell us to stop burning. Why? While their job is that of looking for thieves over there. Why should they come to follow us here while we are burning our things and we have not stolen anyone's property?*
>
> *James: Because you are burning [this participant has been saying that it causes pollution and so is forbidden]*
>
> *Asimwe: And when they come what do they tell you on the reasons of arresting you? Or they just give you warning they don't arrest you?*
>
> *James: They normally give them warning.*
>
> *Ricard: They normally give us warning, some days they beat us. Even yesterday at 8:00 pm we burnt. […] [There are] not so many people at 8:00 pm, people are just going back at their home to sleep. To be honest we normally burn but not during the day it is during the night.* (Interview 3: Ricard and James, male, aged 15 and 16.)

In this example, children are able to find ways to make money but it is the restrictive environment that they live in that makes it difficult for them to earn money through legal means. The data gathered in this study contain many similar discussions about how street-involved children and young people negotiate authorities to earn money through legitimate and non-legitimate ways. Further negotiations with authorities apply to other forms of legitimate work, such as

being a 'machinga' – someone who sells snacks and other goods at the bus station. As Jackson explains:

> *Jackson: […] And the issue of being just chased away, one may decide 'since I am unemployed' and maybe he gets temporary place at friends' business sites that he can use for small business, it is still a problem since you are going to be chased away told you should move. Happens the same situation when you decide to work as machinga because policemen chase people away.* (Interview 1: Jackson, age 18, male)

These examples illuminate the practical implications of the suspicion that the community and authorities have for street-involved children and young people. The lack of trust that the community and authorities have for this population makes it difficult for them to engage in legitimate work in an open environment; potentially pushing them to resort to illegal means of earning money which are undertaken outside of the public gaze.

Impact of debt

An extension to street-involved children's concerns about earning money is a concern about servicing their debts. It is beyond the scope of this study to understand why some street-involved children and young people fall into debt, but it has become clear from the data that this debt influences the ways that young people are able to navigate their street lives and plan for their futures. In conversation with Iman about how he might set up a business someday, Asimwe probed further, to understand how he hoped to realise this goal:

> *Asimwe: But you are planning to get money, what is your strategy on how to get the money?*
>
> *Iman: Me?*
>
> *Asimwe: Yes*
>
> *[Silence]*
>
> *Iman: To be honest, I have not yet started to think of how I will get the money because at the moment there are certain debts, I am indebted at the place where I am staying with my friend. So, I feel like because of those debts, I need to look for money more. Those debts are causing me other problems, but as I clear them, then I can start to collect my own money and collect until the day at least it will be enough [to start a business].*
>
> (Interview 14: Iman, male, age 16.)

In this situation, Iman owes debt to a person he is staying with since an amount of marijuana went missing at a time when he was left responsible for looking

after the room. The woman who owns the marijuana business is described as irrational and violent and so this debt is weighing on the young person's mind: therefore, paying this debt takes priority over other plans Iman may have. While Iman's debt came from a single event of misfortune, other debts are accrued gradually through poor cash flow linked to the irregularity of work, as these young people explain:

> *Michael: Don't think that you can be paid twenty thousand or thirty [for unloading vegetables at the market], you may find it is just 6500 or 10000 [GBP £3] that is maximum or 12000*
>
> *Asimwe: For each?*
>
> *Michael: For each, and after getting it*
>
> *Pauli: You have already got debts from like from six mama ntilie[44]*
>
> *Michael: You have already set your goals, that 'let me eat', you will set goals first 'let me save 2000 so that tomorrow I may get some clothes to change', after saving that 2000 when you come to eat the money is finished already*
>
> *Pauli: Michael don't lie. Let me tell you, you get 10000 and you have a debt of 6000*
>
> *Asimwe: Mmmh*
>
> *Pauli: You subtract that 6000 you remain with 4000*
>
> *Michael: Is just the same thing*
>
> *Pauli: You go for food of 1000, you have not bought marijuana yet nor cigarettes, so it seems like you have not worked at all because the money gets finished the same day*
>
> (Interview 7: Pauli and Michael, male, both aged 22.)

Here, the young people had been discussing the seasonality of work in the market, where jobs for unloading vegetables coincided with the harvest, leaving large gaps where young people felt they were unable to access legitimate paid work. To survive during these times, young people would work up a tab with the women who served food in the market, paying them back when they had earned sufficient funds. Their relationship with the *Mama Ntilie* represents another way that the children and young people negotiate relationships with the community and build social resources for survival. This trust and reciprocity-based relationship is developed through frequent contact between the women

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[44] Mama Nitilie [lit. Mother, fill me up] are women who serve food on the side of the road or in the market. A simple meal of rice and beans usually costs 1000 TSH or 0.30 GBP.

in the market and the children and young people, allowing them to build familiarity with each other, as Daudi, Omary and William explain:

> *Asimwe: When I come to the street I see something, a kind of relationships that is different with others who are not at the market. What causes you to bond with Mama Ntilie or vegetable sellers?*
>
> *Daudi: With Mama Ntilie and mother who sells vegetables, you can collect somewhere a new cloth and sell it to them*
>
> *Omary: Or she can ask you to help her carrying banana*
>
> *Daudi: Yes, or 'can you help me to sell things for my business I want to go somewhere'*
>
> *Omary: Or it can be common thing to do, there were others selling there and these mama were asking them help me to sell over here and they go for something else.*
>
> *[…]*
>
> *Asimwe: But also, as we were speaking, people spoke about the challenges in getting jobs [… especially] a lot of challenges with being trusted. [They told me] once you are called wachokoraa you are judged as a thief, so when looking for a job you are distrusted by everyone*
>
> *Omary: It is true*
>
> *Asimwe: Som with these Mama, how come they leave you with their businesses?*
>
> *Omary: These mama? It is familiarity, we are familiar to each other*
>
> *Asimwe: Familiar to each other?*
>
> *Omary: Yes, familiar to each other […]*
>
> *William: Through familiarity they trust us, that you can't do something [bad] like this and run away*
> (Interview 9: Daudi, Omary and William, all male, aged 19, 23 and 16)

However, the maintenance of this resource is dependent on maintaining the relationship of trust by replaying debts and continuing to behave in ways that are helpful to the women.

Conversely, the need to repay debts may also necessitate and encourage children and young people to engage in risky work or theft; something that may have negative short-term and long-term implications, such as beatings or exacerbated loss of trust from the community. As one young person explains:

> *Michael: For example, let's say we become conductors or bus agents. We are not allowed to work without uniforms.*
>
> *Pauli: You will not be given [such a job]*
>
> *Asimwe: Why?*

Pauli: Who will give it to you? You touch, be responsible for the money [the role of a bus conductor is to take the fares from the passengers]…

Michael: There are special people [that do those jobs]

Asimwe: My other question was that question

Pauli: Mmmh

Asimwe: Why most of the time people talking say that they are working as day workers [those who encourage people to get on a particular bus] where one generates like 2000 [TSH] why are you not hired as conductor who is…

Pauli: Full time

Asiwme: Yes, full time

Michael: It is impossible

Asimwe: Why?

Pauli: You collect 8000 on the out journey and 8000 when returning back. The driver already will start suspecting you and even before he starts suspecting you

Michael: And the money for fuel

Asimwe: Mmmmh

Pauli: Me as me, when I calculate the debts that I owe people, I swear to God the driver will not get that money [Pauli will steal the money to pay his debt rather than giving it to the driver of the bus]

Asimwe: Mmmh [laughs]

Michael: And then sister

Pauli: It is better we [Pauli and the driver] meet later and have a quarrel [than miss the opportunity to pay his debt] (Details as above.)

In order to survive on the street children and young people often need to accrue debt and engage in illegal or risky work. Even when engaging in work that they consider legitimate, it is still necessary for children and young people to negotiate the expectations and stigmatisation that authorities and communities have of them. Often the suspicion that the community have for these children and young people can further reduce their portfolio of options for acquiring work. Additionally, the pressure placed on children and young people's daily cash flow, including debts accrued from police fines, misfortune or days of missed work, can place children and young people's concerns in the past – servicing debts – rather than future investments. This sentiment is shared by a homeless young person living in the UK in Carlen's study, the participant states:

"No one knows their future, but a lot of people can plan their future. But with living on the road and being skint, you can't really plan your future. You just have to wake

up every morning and make your earnings. Know what I mean? (Rory, aged 24)"
(1996: 98).

The next section will elaborate on the experiences of street-involved children and young people who have moved beyond survival and are able to exercise more agency over what they do with their time and money.

4.3.2   Intentional living

Some of the children and young people interviewed in this study viewed their living on the street as a livelihood strategy that suited them. They had a sense of how they wanted to live and they intentionally avoided behaviours that they thought would lead them into trouble; such as theft or hard drug use. They believed that they had agency within their living situation and that 'everyone knows what he is doing.' The idea that 'everyone knows what he is doing' denotes a refrain from the judgement of others and implies a solitary independence in the choices children and young people make. The same kind of reasoning, that 'everyone knows what he is doing', applies to reasons that children gave for deciding to leave home. When asking about why some siblings leave home while others stay, despite them facing the same hardships at home, Rey explains:

> *Rey: In that situation everyone has his own thoughts*
> *Asimwe: Everyone has his own thoughts*
> *Rey: Yes*
> *Asimwe: What do you mean everyone has his own thoughts?*
> *Rey: It means everyone knows what he is doing*
> (Interview 4: Rey, male, age 17.)

Rey later elaborated on the diverse types of work that his older and younger siblings were doing; including motorbike taxi and studying. This is the only young person who explained to us that he returned home to help his family. This continued connection with his family perhaps legitimised his activities on the street as a livelihood strategy rather than the more controversial decision of leaving home in order to take care of himself.

Gemma Pearson: Royal Holloway, University of London. Thesis submission 2019.

Another aspect of living intentionally was young people's ability to decide what behaviour they thought was acceptable and to stick to these boundaries. While some young people told us that they would avoid those who were engaging in hard drug use in order to avoid becoming enmeshed in this activity others disagreed emphatically; stating that people are capable of making up their own mind and are not so easily led astray. Here, Omary is disagreeing with the statement that a peer can 'destroy your life' with drugs, a claim that was made by participants in interview 1:

> *Asimwe: Most of time when we talked about friendships [in other interviews] people were saying with street life once you realise someone takes drugs you have to leave him believing that*
>
> *Daudi: He will teach you*
>
> *Asimwe: He will destroy your life*
>
> *Omary: No*
>
> *William: Depends on your brain*
>
> *Asimwe: Mmh*
>
> *Daudi: It is just your brain*
>
> *[…]*
>
> *Omary: That [taking drugs] is your own wish*
>
> *Asimwe: Mmmh*
>
> *Omary: You brought yourself, you have decided, maybe knowing 'today let me drink alcohol', or 'I have decided to smoke marijuana or cigarettes'. You put a boundary to yourself that am not going to use one drug or another.*
>
> *Asimwe: Mmmh*
>
> *Omary: Why should something cross your boundary?*
>
> (Interview 9: Omary, Daudi and William, age 23, 19 and 16, all male)

Here, Omary has chosen that some intoxicants are acceptable to him and others are not. He is confident that he cannot be led into more severe drug taking. He explains that this is the case for him but not necessarily for other street-involved children; 'it depends on your brain'.

The demarcation among people who are experiencing homelessness based on the type of drug they use is documented in other studies. As Johnsen *et al.* (2005) explain:

"Bourgois (1995) and Tyler (1995) both note that people defined and treated as 'undesirables' or 'down and outs' typically react by creating their own hierarchies. This is certainly true of homeless day centre users who interpret the differences between the three groups according to (similar) hierarchies of stigma that they themselves enact. As a consequence, 'pissheads' see themselves as superior to 'smackheads' and vice versa, and 'straightheads' consider themselves more virtuous than either of the other two groups [...]" (pg. 803)

While the children and young people seemed to have a clear distinction between those who had started using harder drugs, such as cocaine and heroin, and those who use marijuana or alcohol, it is possible that such distinctions may obscure the real dangers of prolonged use of 'less serious' drugs. The children and young people made their distinctions based on how a person was able to function under the influence of the substance in question. In their minds, those who used cocaine (referred to as 'mateja' and not 'chokoraa'), did not have the energy to work properly while this was generally not the case for those who used marijuana or alcohol. The inability to work was looked down upon by many of the participants in this study. However, it was not just the type of substance that separated individuals into those who could work and those who could not but also the way the substance was used. During one interview, a young person made the distinction between people who are in control of their marijuana use and those who were controlled by marijuana:

Daudi: And there are others who smoke marijuana and don't think of working. There is one of my friends, marijuana controls him

Omary: If we were dividing three hundred thousand shillings to every one of us, when it reaches the evening you find while he had fifteen thousand [on distribution], in the evening you find he has four or five thousand in his pocket

Asimwe: Pardon Daudi[45]?

Daudi: Marijuana is not supposed to control you

Omary: Eeeh

Asimwe: What

Daudi: You are supposed to be the one controlling it [marijuana]

Asimwe: You should be the one controlling it

Omary: Yes, so once you start sniffing cocaine, once it starts to

---

[45] Pseudonym

> *Daudi: If marijuana controls you, you will not be working. You will not be thinking of doing anything again.*
>
> (Interview 9: Omary and Daudi, male, aged 23 and 19.)

Here, the young people are relating being controlled by marijuana to sniffing cocaine. This implies that some young people believe that there are not necessarily benign and non-benign drugs, but the way an individual relates to their drug use also impacts on their ability to work and manage their resources. Additionally, in interview 1, participants made the distinction between sniffing glue but 'with plans' (having plans for their lives) and sniffing glue 'without plans', the former scenario being preferable.

This same sense of individuality, mastery of the self and personal boundaries that are applied to their use of intoxicants also applied in some way to their approach to work and earnings. While children often shared money for basic needs, many children and young people also saved money and guarded their income.

> *Omary: Everyone has his own place where he keeps money and you find he keeps money with someone like you [Asimwe], you may find that I come to you and I ask you 'sister [Asimwe], can you help me to keep my two thousand.' Tomorrow I come to you and I ask you 'sister, can you keep my one thousand or my five hundred shilling?' The day after tomorrow the same thing again, every day the same, the more days go by I continue keeping money and the day I am in trouble I ask you 'sister, can you give me certain amount' and you give it to me, that's how life is.* (Interview 9: Omary, male, age 19.)

This practice of using a trusted person to build up reserves of money with is something I witnessed during my time shadowing street workers on my first visit to the field-sites, as children would subtly give street workers small handfuls of coins with little verbal interaction.

The children and young people used their discretion regarding who they were willing to share money with. Children and young people seemed proud of their earnings and would not easily share money with children who had been begging as this was viewed as inferior work and they did not want to risk encouraging a beggar's dependency. The memo below discusses these themes in relation to young people's reluctance to share money with younger children.

Researcher's memo, 30th June, 2015

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> I wonder if being independent is an important quality amongst street-connected children in the way of not being dependent on others. This is in [relation to] a context of working - children help each other unless a child is begging (so they say). They are proud of working hard and a child who begs does not deserve to share in money earned by chokoraa. Children at one point went as far to say that children who beg are not chokoraa.
>
> In interview 7, the adult is saying that he cannot give money to the young children who are complaining because this might make them take life too easy and stop working:
>
> Michael: "And when you get away from there [as soon as you are paid] you can't walk two step ahead without coming across five or four children, you find all are crying/ complaining about problems that [']brother am hungry['] and so [on]. And sometimes you have to force yourself not paying attention on what they say, you feel that now it is every day he will relax/ fail to look after life [i.e. they may learn to depend on receiving money from that adult and stop working for themselves.]" (Michael, age 22, male)

This memo further highlights the value the children and young people place on an individual's work ethic; preferring to encourage younger children to work rather than depend on hand-outs from their older street peers. Conversely, the older youth would often take money from the younger children. How or why this was justified is uncertain. However, it seems that different rules of acceptability applied to begging for money and taking money by force, perhaps due to the different power dimensions involved.

When street-involved children and young people are not as concerned about meeting their basic needs for survival they are able to engage in active decision making; avoiding risky activities and building savings in order to control their cash flow and live in a way that is comparatively more comfortable than many of the homes they have come from. As one street-worker, and former street-involved child stated:

Robert: But nowadays I think even the relationship at home can be very bad. Sometimes the relationship can be very bad actually, so that's why the child, the children decide to come to the street, either that they'll be free, nobody will ask anything [from them], they can do their things. They feel very relaxed.

Gemma: They feel relaxed?

Robert: Yeah, very relaxed. You see most of the children they feel very relaxed.
(Interview 6: Robert, street worker, male, age approximately 30)

This ability to live intentionally and 'settle' into street life is also documented in Conticini's (2008) study on the stages of street-involved children's 'street careers' in Bangladesh and Ethiopia. Conticini (2008) suggests that street-involved children and young people tend to go through various stages of a street career which is linked to the amount of time they have spent on the street. The third of these stages is 'accustomisation' which, among its numerous characteristics, includes a stabilisation of economic activity which allows children and young people to satisfy their preferences:

> *"Economic activities develop cooperatively and strategically, permitting the children to differentiate risks and duties, increasing opportunities and raising profits, indeed moving from basic needs to preferences satisfaction." (Conticini, 2008: 426)*

According to Conticini (2008) some children and young people reach a stage in their street career where they are sufficiently well connected and accustomed to street life; to the extent where "[t]he feeling of absolute freedom, power and independence becomes stronger than ever." (pg. 425). From this point of relative security, children are more able to imagine and aspire for future lives beyond the one they are living on the street.

4.3.3 Aspirational living

Aspirational living refers to children and young people's search for a better life and to make something of themselves. This can relate to children's reasons for leaving home and, also, their dreams for what they will achieve in the future. These two concepts will be discussed in turn below.

Searching for something better

Street-involved children who leave home are often looking for a better alternative to their experience of their family lives. In some ways, the support that they find on the street may be a good substitute for what they miss at home; such as regular meals or emotional support (Conticini, 2008). One young person explains how, although he regrets not having a strong emotional connection with his family, for him, people in the street are a more appropriate alternative for enhancing his wellbeing:

Jackson: "[…] this [conflict at home] is what causes to you feel [that] someone else is better, though they are not my blood relative but I take him as my relative because may be he helps me with ideas, [or] food, you know, sister?"

(Interview 1: Jackson, male, age 18.)

Breaking loyalty from family does not come lightly. However, at times the rejection that children and young people experience from their family can trigger a rejection of family loyalty in return, as these young people explain:

Asimwe: And then also someone else comes, let's say is Respick [Street Worker], and you have never met each other before, between him and the parent who will be easier to listen to? Is my question clear?

William: The parent

Eric: Always my sister you are told that blood is heavier[46]

William: Mmmh Parent

Musa: You must listen to the parent

Eric: As you know, exactly, that this is my parent you must listen to her/him first, you know?

Asimwe: You will listen to the parent first

[…]

Edwin: But there is this, in that situation if there is problem between you with people at home

William: Or is like that, father told you to leave

Eric: You will no longer stand at his side anymore

Edwin: Yes, you can't listen your relative anymore
(Interview 13: William, Musa, Edwin and Eric, all male, aged 16, 24, 23 and 19.)

In this study, we only came across a few children who left home and claimed to maintain amicable contact with their family. Some children found that when they returned home, it was difficult for parents to understand what they had been through, which may have further contributed to the sense of isolation children experienced among their families:

Rey: Yes, you may find may be other families, you sit with them then maybe you are having friendly talk then maybe you tell them that I have gone through a difficult/vulnerable environment. You find even he does not want to listen

---

[46] Same meaning as 'blood is thicker than water'.

[…]

Iman: When you come to tell him things like that, you find that you have told him [about your difficulties] but it is considered as nothing, it is better you go to play [rather than talking to the parent]. So, you find he is another person who does not listen to you. If you tell him that 'I have gone through this and this' he/she does not understand and he tells you, 'you have not gone through it yet, you will go through it even more.'

(Interview 4: Rey and Iman, male, aged 17 and 16.)

Michael: So, you feel it is better I just go to mix with my fellows at the street because father does not understand he does not show me love he is just mean you see.

(Interview 7: Michael, male, age 22.)

The children and young people in these examples express that they, or people they know, have made attempts to share their difficulties with their parents or family members but that when this is met with indifference or dismissiveness, this makes them feel that attempts to be understood by their families are futile. Conversely, their peers on the street are able to relate to the hardships they face and therefore offer greater companionship. For many, the situation at home was not something that they felt able to live with, therefore, the decision to leave home and seek a better life for themselves seems understandable. This sentiment is echoed by Carlen (1996) in her study of homeless young people in the UK:

"What seems certain from the information culled from all reliable sources (and most especially from young people who have run away themselves) is that the vast majority of youngsters who repeatedly run away from family and/or children's homes, and eventually stay away on a permanent or semi-permanent basis, are resisting a way of life that has become intolerable to them." (pg. 38)

Or, as Conticini (2008) puts it:

"[…] for a number of children the neglect and abuse in the household was so traumatic that the option of staying at home is simply unthinkable." (pg. 421)

What children and young people consider as a 'better life' may not align with the ideas of the community, observers or NGO workers. The point here is that it may appear from the outside that street-involved children and young people are stuck in a negative cycle from which there is no exit. However, many children and young people may consider their situation an improvement and, following

a time of adaption, find that they have improved their lives compared with what they had experienced at home.

Making something of themselves

Many of the children and young people in this study aspired to succeed in life and to be recognised as important. What success looked like for these young people differed. Many aspired to rent their own room or to start businesses. These aspirations were also linked to their families' and wider cultural expectations of the wealth acquired by those who move from rural areas to the city. One young person explains how he cannot return home until he has money to take with him:

Iman: I want to go back home.

Asimwe: You want to go back home

Iman: Yes

Asimwe: Why have you not gone back, what is the obstacle for you not to go back home?

Iman: Am looking for money first.

Asimwe: You are looking for money

[…]

Iman: Yes, I don't want to go home empty handed

[…]

Asimwe: Empty hands, what do you think will happen if you go empty handed?

Iman: Nothing will happen, but I don't like going with empty hands

Asimwe: You don't like going while hands are empty

Iman: Yes, even if I go at least I should have five hundred in my pocket

Asimwe: Specifically for family or for you?

Iman: For family […] Even if I arrive and see my young [sibling] there, I will have missed her so much that I will give her at least that five hundred [GBP 0.15] and I will also be helping my family

Asimwe: You feel that if you go without money you will not be helping your family

Iman: I feel if I go without money, I will be stupid.

Asimwe: What do you mean you will look stupid?

Iman: Because my parents first they will ask 'you have stayed all those places you went and stayed all those places for how many years, you have not come even with two hundred shillings in your pocket?'

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(Interview 4: Iman, male, age 16.)

Here, the young person does not want to experience the embarrassment of being away for a long time and returning home with nothing to show for his time away. Research suggests that parents in Tanzania expect remittances from their migrating children as part of the intergenerational contract (Lassen and Lilleør, 2008). While families may not necessarily expect remittances from street-involved children, many of whom have left home on grounds of disagreement or neglect among their families, Iman assumes that his family's expectations of receiving financial dividens will be heightened the longer he stays away; this perceived pressure to bring money home is one reason preventing him from returning. Here, this young person has a sense of pride for what he wants to achieve and does not want to 'look stupid' on his home-coming.

Other young people desire recognition when they return home; they believe they have learned a lot and matured on the street and want this progress to be recognised. Even though children have left home and decided to take responsibility for themselves, some still hold significant connections to their families through a hope that they will be welcomed back and accepted someday.

Research assistant's field notes – Night street visit, 8th April, 2015.

One child said that he wants when he goes back home, he should have respect, even if his room is there but he is supposed to go with something [take something home] that will make him being respected.

They also made a joke to the one who went back home and his brother chased him away because he stole chickens. And he made it clear saying that parents at home 'normally think that we have not changed we are just exactly the way we were when we are young, while things are different [now] and we are mature, we have grown up.'

As indicated in the excerpt above, children and young people need not aspire for lofty goals, but that a capacity to aspire in general indicates a street-involved young person's ability to look beyond their present constraints. Conticini (2008) identifies several differences between those who have become accustomed to the street, freeing up internal resources, and those who are dependent on the street (a stage which may follow from accustomisation for some children and young people). One of these differences is a hope or aspiration of a life away from the street. Whereas, in the 'dependence' stage, "children are hardly capable

of thinking themselves out of the street: instead of using the opportunities of street life, they are slaves to them." (pg. 427). An indication that children and young people are hoping, and nurturing aspirations, indicates that they have managed to move out of a mode of 'survivalism' but are not yet 'dependent' on the street.

Despite children and young people's ability to become accustomed to street life in a way that they may find empowering, street life can also be unavoidably stressful for many. The next section will draw on data from this study to discuss some of the consequences of children taking on responsibility for their own lives at a young age without consistent and benevolent support.

4.4   The toll of taking responsibility for themselves

"Survival on the street is a matter of keeping body, mind and spirit together. The body has to be fed, sheltered and protected against assault or exploitation, the mind has to be kept occupied, and the spirit has to be cherished sufficiently to sustain the young people's will to go on despite the odds against them [...]" (Carlen, 1996: 98)

What is clear from the data gathered in my research project is that life on the street is difficult and that it takes a physical, mental and spiritual[47] toll on the lives of children and young people. Whitbeck *et al.* (2000) argue that being homeless is inherently stressful, since it places a person in a state of hypervigilance, anxiety and fear. Research is doing children and young people an injustice if it fails to reflect on the hardships that they speak of experiencing in their daily lives. However, to dwell only on the hardships would be to oversimplify and problematise children and young people's street lives, which is also unhelpful since the street offers children opportunities as well as challenges. As one street worker confessed, "some children […] you can see […] entirely, they want you to support them whilst still in the street [rather than leaving the street]" (I6). While respecting this tension, this section will elaborate on the more challenging aspects of street life identified in this study.

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[47] Understood here as a person's capacity for hope.

4.4.1 Struggling for life: living under the stress of responsibility

Street-involved children have a marginal existence characterised by instability and change. They often have to choose between a limited set of options and the consequences of making the wrong decision are severe: being caught by police, not having enough money to survive, getting beaten, being unemployed or being ostracised.

From the beginning of the research process, children and young people described their life as a struggle. Translated in the data as 'hassling for life' the Kiswahili verb '-hangaika' has a more complex meaning, as explained in the memo below.

Researcher's memo: 21ˢᵗ April, 2015

"Hassling for life"

This phrase came up a lot in the first interview but also in the second interview. The direct word is "hangaika" which means hassling, struggling or being anxious/restless. It implies movement, an inability to relax. They have decided it is better to go out on their own and "hassle" for life independently, or they see a child "hassling for life" by himself. It's as if "hassling" implies being alone. One's struggles are uniquely one's own, one is anxious and restless for furthering their own wellbeing [or perhaps surviving]. This is an active phrase and somewhat different to staying at home and continuing to take abuse, teasing [i.e.] kutesa, or hunger and poverty.

Taking on new responsibilities for themselves in a new environment and navigating the dangers of street life, despite the resilience street-involved children may show, takes an emotional toll on their wellbeing. One of the ways that children and young people dealt with these struggles was through movement between different spaces of safety. The ways that the children and young people did this will be outlined in the next section.

4.4.2 Moving on to cope with difficult situations

Street-involved children and young people are frequently moving. There were two varieties of movement identified in this study. The first variety involved consistent moving throughout the day between places of work, rest and socialising. The second variety included moving between villages, towns and

cities. The reasons for these movements are numerous, but among them the most consistent are due to restlessness in a location and a lack of peace. I would argue that these two types of movement are driven by two different processes; the search for opportunities and the search for peace.

Seeking opportunities

Children and young people's movement between villages, towns and cities tended to relate to their desire to run away from something or to seek new opportunities elsewhere. This relates to children and young people who have found their home situation intolerable, as discussed above, but also in situations where they may be running away or hiding from a person who they owe money to, who they think wants to punish them or who they think wants to send or take them home.

Some children and young people will go to great lengths to avoid being taken home. One street worker explained that he had known a child for 2 years and still did not know his real name, since the child feared that someone would identify where he was from and take him home (I6). Additionally, one young person, who differed from the majority of children and young people we met, since he consciously decided not to take drugs or hang-out with those who might be caught by the police, ran away from an institution because they were planning to reunify him with his family (I16). As Ricard explains:

> *Asimwe: then why did you leave from Upendo?[48]*
>
> *Ricard: Because they reunify children they don't keep children. If they were to keep them Upendo would be full already*
>
> *Asimwe: You were almost brought back home?*
>
> *Ricard: I was almost. I was brought home already [by Upendo] and I ran away from home [again] and told them I can't live with a drunk person and they said they also can't live with more children they have a lot already* (Interview 16: Ricard, male, age 16.)

Here, Ricard is running away from the drunk person at home and trying to find a better place for himself to live. It is implied in this excerpt that Upendo would

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[48] Institution's name changed.

be the top option if they were willing to take him in, whereas the street is preferable for this young person than living with his drunk relative. Meanwhile, other children are, for a time, sought for by their parents after they have left home. The way that they are sought depends on how the child left home. If the child had done something wrong then they would need to be caught and taken by force. If the child did not do anything wrong, then the parents may look for him themselves:

> *William: She [the mother] can give money asking someone to catch him*
>
> *Iman: It depends what mistake the child made. S/he will come with an intention of catching him. Just with intention of catching him, but if he has not done anything wrong s/he only comes as usual and asks for help to look for him. We look around for him and then he gets to be taken from the street.* (Interview 4: William and Iman, male, both aged 16.)
>
> *---*
>
> *Omary: Yes, even there are others when they are in the street their parents look for them so badly, you find the parent even pays money so that s/he can catch his/her child*
>
> *Asimwe: And once the child is caught, he is brought back home and life moves on?*
>
> *Omary: Once he is seen, a parent brings him back home, but some of the children are unlucky, just like me. As he reach home he stays for a week, and runs away again if he comes here at town he moves to another town, once he lives there for some time that is when he comes back to the [previous] town, he lives in the town and again he is searched for and found and brought back to home [...]* (Interview 9: Omary, male, age 23.)

Parents and family members are not the only people who children and young people on the street feel the need to run from. Due to the reputation that street-involved children and young people have for being deviant, and also their engagement in theft, they are often sought and caught by community members, security guards and the police and subsequently beaten, or in severe cases killed.

> *Asimwe: [...] Does life become more risky as you grow up in the street?*
>
> *Omary: Yes*
>
> *Asimwe: Or is just the same whether you are young or adult?*
>
> *Omary: It becomes more risky because when you are a challii [an adolescent/early teens] you can steal and when you get caught you will be slapped and they let you go but when you are an adult once you are caught stealing you must be killed* (Details as above.)

In such scenarios, the need to run away is acute. When speaking with adults who had formerly lived in the The Centre transition home, they relayed stories of how children often ran away after they had done something wrong; fearing the punishment they would receive if they stayed.

Having experienced severe forms of punishment in their lives, many children and young people's desire to run away from dangerous situations where they may have erred, or inadvertently upset someone, is understandable. Iman talks about how dangers on the street may cause them to run back home to their families for a time.

> *Asimwe: But with you when you are at the street and when you get to go home, going home to greet family, why do you go?*
>
> *[…]*
>
> *Iman: There are other things you know that…. You may leave home. You may say that 'I am leaving home, I am going to look after life on my own.' You see. […] You find here at the street you have problems. He [the street child] has his own problems so those problems are the ones that cause him running [back] to home. You see. And because there is no one who knows where his home is, he goes home and pretends there, first he stays for some time and if, maybe, he hears the mistake he did here [at the street] is almost forgotten, he comes back.*
>
> (Interview 4: Iman, male, age 16.)

To be running away from people and situations is an inherently stressful process. In situations where children and young people feel powerless to appease those who are searching for them it is reasonable that street-involved children and young people would move towns or villages on a semi-frequent basis; until they have arrived at a point where they feel they have some level of control over their environment or that a particular environment has become safe for them. This constant movement also has adverse implications for their ability to build and sustain relationships of support at the same time exacerbating the risk of their ongoing isolation and loneliness.

Although the relationships of support and solidarity that children and young people build on the street may be transient, they are still significant in compensating for some aspects of familial support that they might have expected at home. Kate explains how, in her opinion, children and young people cannot 'replace' their home life and relationships with alternatives on the street,

but that some elements of familial relationships may be mirrored among their street peers and acquaintances:

> *Gemma: Do you feel like when children make that difficult decision to leave home, do you think that they find something familial on the street that potentially they can't find at home?*
>
> *Kate: I'm not sure what they find replaces home, but it's a proxy certainly. Yeah, I mean when you look at the tightness of some of the groups of the kids and maybe the acceptance that they get, I mean certainly when I was working at The Centre I was always struck by a) how certain kids really embraced the sort of autonomy and the freedom that they got, and that maybe that was a counter to the rather sort of cloistered, over-involved, families, I don't know. Um, you know, I'm not sure it replaces home, but there are obviously connections and relationships that are built on the street that, um, you know, mirror something of what people need.*
>
> *Gemma: Mmm. What do you think that something is?*
>
> *Kate: Well, I think from a development perspective, everybody needs attachment, and everybody needs someone that they call their own, and, you know, the family set-up is of course Mum and Dad or, you know my siblings, and street kids have one way or another rejected that, but they do typically find, you know, somebody in their lives who they call their own. You know, "my best friend" or "the Mama that gives me food" or you know, "the guy I help out." All of those are sort of positive forces in the kids' lives.*
> (Interview 7: Kate, charity worker and child rights campaigner)

Similarly, children and young people in this study expressed their appreciation of street workers, social workers or other elderly members of the community that either came to the street to visit them or devoted time to telling stories with them. The children and young people suggested that this opportunity to talk to someone they trusted, and who could give them advice, provided them with comfort and reassurance (I1, I8, I13). Children and young people expressed that this kind of relationship was different to the relationship they have with their family, since social worker's expectations were low and they do not dole out punishment, whereas parents would place 'conditions' on their advice (I13).

Restlessness and lacking peace

As discussed earlier in this chapter, the need to be constantly moving is manifested in the children and young people by a sense of restlessness, or 'hangaika', and a lack of peace. In the data collected in this study, restlessness and lack of peace come from different root causes. Restlessness is a

manifestation of children and young people feeling as if they lack direction, or something that is worth settling down for. As Eric explains:

> *Eric: Sister, over here people don't get their basic needs that a normal human being is supposed to have in term of having a formal schedule. For example, tomorrow when I wake up, when the sun rises, which route should I take? You know my sister?*
>
> *Asimwe: Eeeh*
>
> *Eric: But people don't have direction. They don't know where to go when the sun rises. You find yourself walking aimlessly. You know sister?*
>
> *Asimwe: Mmmh*
>
> *Eric: But when you find that someone has someone who directs him on what to do, this and this, he sleeps and wakes up in the morning knowing how things are going to be. That would be something very good but we are missing it, just hard life.*
> (Interview 5: Eric, male, age 19.)

The antidote to restlessness, and indeed one of the reasons that children and young people initially decide to take responsibility for their own lives, is to find something purposeful to do with their time. Some older youth, and those interviewed who had lived in The Centre, talk about things that they believe would, or had, encourage(d) them to settle in one place. This included education, training, secure work or those who convinced them that they could introduce something purposeful into their life:

> *Samuel: You know you are even supposed to access education, even low education, because our age still allows us to study like, with my age I can study. When you get something like that, at least you may settle. Some children don't have problems, they can study, sleep inside the house; because you cannot study while you are sleeping outside the house that's impossible.* (Interview 1: Samuel, male, age 17.)
>
> *---*
>
> *Asimwe: But Jamil[49] you have said there are other jobs but you prefer that [collecting scrap metal] mostly. What are the other jobs?*
>
> *Jamil: Like pushing a push cart, helping people with people's casual work and so forth. But still you don't have a permanent job.*
>
> *Asimwe: What?*
>
> *Jamil: Still you will not have a formal work to settle somewhere and say you can make your own money* (Interview 5: Jamil, male, age 17.)
>
> *---*

[49] Pseudonym

Simon: So, I decided to settle down with that organization because I felt they had a purpose with me. (Interview 21: Simon, male, former street-involved child and shelter resident, age 25.)

Conversely, lacking peace is related to the avoidance of danger, as typified by Benji's thoughts:

Asimwe: Mmmh. And at what time does one feel not at peace?

Benji: Is when like these police, you find they are looking for you, that kind of dictatorship at "mascan"[50]. Any dictator comes and can do something to you

Asimwe: Mmmmh

Iman: Let's say you become angry and find yourself verbally abusing him

Asimwe: Mmmh

Benji: When he looks for you, you find yourself sitting, when you hear that someone is looking for you, you leave the place […]. You just start running you don't stay anywhere at peace (Interview 8: Benji and Iman, male, age 17 and 16.)

There are some places on the street where children and young people feel at peace and free to be themselves. These safe places are those where they are comfortable with the people who spend time there. These places are partly safe not because of their geographic location, but because of the connections that the children and young people have made with those who congregate there. The safety of these places may therefore be transient, depending on the quality of relationships, and change as children and young people age. Daudi explains the difference between how he feels at the bus station versus how he feels at the interview site (the main market):

Asimwe: […] what makes you feel at peace when you are with machalii[51] [street peers]?

Benji: So, you sit and share ideas

Daudi: Yes, because once you leave here and go somewhere else you find that you have entered the territory of other people, of those you have gone to

Benji: Mmh (agrees)

Daudi: So, you will be not at peace

Asimwe: Mmmh?

---

[50] Word used to refer to the street, has connotations of 'home' and familiarity.

[51] [pl.] Slang word used for young teenagers/adolescent males. Singular: Chalii.

> *Daudi: Yes*
>
> *Benji: Yes, you will be lonely*
>
> *Asimwe: I have not understood*
>
> *Daudi: For example, here we are with machalii*
>
> *Asimwe: Yes*
>
> *Daudi: I have freedom*
>
> *Asimwe: Mmmh*
>
> *Daudi: Once I leave here, maybe, and go somewhere else, maybe from here to the bus station, I will not be free*
>
> *Asimwe: You will not have freedom*
>
> *Daudi: Yes, because I am not in my territory, I have left my territory here*
> (Interview 8: Benji and Daudi, male, age 17 and 19)

For children and young people, the imagined antidote to lacking peace is to have a place to call their own:

> *Iman: Best life is living places that are not risky, somewhere where you have rented your living room and it is totally safe; you are not teased […], you are not followed and [you can] go somewhere for advice.* (Interview 8: Iman, male, age 16)

In the case of the children and young people in this study, it would be difficult for them to rent a place of their own, with shared living being a more realistic alternative to the street. This may not give them the sense of autonomy and safety that some children and young people are seeking.

4.5   Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the ways that children and young people are taking responsibility for themselves by moving to, and continuing to live on, the street. It has also discussed the consequences and challenges that street-involved children and young people face due to the anomaly of their street lives. This has been understood in the context of the ideal Tanzanian childhood which involves a responsibility to the family through work, as well as obedience and subservience to adults nurtured by the use of corporal punishment. The chapter is framed within discussions of agency, highlighting the various agencies that street-involved children and young people have within the constraints that they face. These types of agency are generally 'everyday' and 'personal' agencies (Lister, 2004) that manifest in survivalism (Carlen, 1996) or accustomisation to

street life (Conticini, 2008), but they can also be irrational and self-destructive (Hoggett, 2001).

The next chapter will reflect more on the structures that can lead to street-involved children to face restrictions in their income generating opportunities and what options are open for street-involved people when they stop being children.

Chapter 5: Glass ceiling to work progression

Finding enough work to secure a daily income is the main preoccupation of many street-involved children and young people. The variety of work that they can access is limited due to their levels of education, their age and their skill levels, but most notably due to their limited networks and the stigmatisation they receive for their street-involvement which precludes them from being considered by many employers. Some of the challenges that street-involved children and young people face accessing work mirrors those of their non-street-involved poor urban peers; such as the decline in formal job opportunities and the rise in the informal economy under conditions of economic decline in Tanzania that followed structural adjustment in the 1980's, making the job market more challenging to navigate for school-leavers (Moyer, 2004). This trend is exacerbated by a growing youth population in Tanzania and an increase in numbers of rural to urban migration among Tanzania's young people (ibid). In some contexts, newly migrated young urban poor appear similar to populations of street-involved children and young people; notably the *deiwaka*, a Kiswahili translation of the English term 'day worker', that feature in Moyer's study (2004) of the informal economy that has grown around the Sheraton Hotel in Dar es Salaam. Such young people may be escaping undesirable home environments in order to make a life for themselves in the city, present as street-children in order to obtain shelter and later move on to living with relatives or friends in the city. For *deiwaka*, similar to the street-involved children and young people in this study, their success depends on the networks they are able to command in order to capitalise on their skills and good fortune. However, I would argue that those involved in Moyer's study (2004) are an exception rather than the norm for many street-involved children and young people who are not able to access such favourable street-spaces in the city due to being harassed or chased away, owing to their appearance and low social status.

For the young urban poor in Tanzania, accessing employment after finishing school is a key concern for many reasons; poorer families do not feel able to support their children once they have finished school, particularly if there are other dependents within the family, and young people are aware that they cannot

graduate socially into 'adulthood' without becoming financially self-sufficient (Banks, 2016). However, those who are able to persist in unemployment before finding formal employed work, through familial support, are able to secure themselves a future of higher earnings overall compared with those who follow paths of self-employment or assistance in familial businesses (Bridges et al., 2017). Those urban poor who are able to endure some periods of unemployment through familial support, while devoting most of their time to searching for work, are at an advantage to street-involved children and young people, who will often need to take what ever opportunities for income generation that come their way in order to secure their daily necessities. Banks describes young urban poor as being in a period of 'waiting' to find work and for the next stage of their lives to commence:

> *"The contradiction between their increased potential for agency and their inability to act on it leads to anxiety and frustration. The literature conceptualizes young people as "waiting", a term encapsulating their physical, economic and social immobility and the uncertainty, boredom and frustrations that accompany it." (2016: 440)*

The children and young people in this study shared the same anxieties, frustration and boredom due to the uncertainty of their present and future financial security. However, children and young people in this study who live on the street often do not have the luxury of 'waiting' instead they '-*hangaika*/struggle restlessly for life'. This, I argue is due to their reduced networks of support, either due to estrangement from their families or because their families live too far away to be a daily source of food and shelter.

Findings from this research suggest that children and young people's lives on the street do not necessarily prepare them for independent living. Furthermore, for many children and young people their work on the street may actively prohibit them from accessing future job opportunities.

This study found that, in some ways, children were satisfied with their daily routines of earning money, eating, spending time with peers, playing games and watching videos. After the initial challenges of adapting to the dangers of street living, street life provided enough rewards to prevent many children considering, or taking action towards, permanently leaving the street in the short to medium term. This is a trend that is apparent in much of the street-child literature where

children have developed a sense of mastery over their street lives, or built their identity around their street existence, to the extent that leaving the street appears undesirable (Beazley, 2003; Conticini, 2008; Van Blerk, 2005). However, this study also clearly identifies a change of sentiment towards dissatisfaction with street life that develops as children age and become youth and young adults (approximately age 17 and above). In this stage, young people are still hoping to leave the street one day and rent their own room, but they find that there are significant barriers to them accessing the necessary regular employment to facilitate this dream. These barriers relate to the stigmatisation of street-involved children and young people and the social exclusion they experience due to their street association, limiting the employment opportunities they are able to access; their glass ceiling. This chapter will focus on the young people in the study who appear to no longer be satisfied with their street lives but find their livelihood options diminishing due to the real or imagined cultural and societal barriers they face.

5.1   The glass ceiling

The challenges that children and young people face as they age on the street with respect to employment reflects a wider trend in Tanzania of youth unemployment. Youth (aged 15-24) unemployment was reported to be 13.7% in the 2014 Tanzanian Integrated Labour Force Survey[52] (compared with an unemployment rate of 9.8% for 25-35 years and 8.1% for 36-64 years), and underemployment[53] among this population is 14% compared with 9.9% for 25-35 years and 12.1% for 36-64 years). Youth unemployment represents 36.3% of all unemployed people in Tanzania (Tanzanian ILFS, 2014). Young people (aged 15-25) in urban areas are most likely to be unemployed (20%) compared with rural areas (4.1%), with higher levels of unemployment reported in Dar es Salaam (40.6%) (ibid). Of working children aged 5-17 years old, 89.3% report to

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[52] This data relates to Tanzania Mainland only, excluding data from Zanzibar.

[53] Underemployment is defined as: "all those working less than 40 hours a week but available or preferred to work more hours but did not do so due to involuntary reasons […]." (Tanzanian ILFS, 2014: 71)

Gemma Pearson: Royal Holloway, University of London. Thesis submission 2019.

work in the agricultural or fishery sector (ibid). Employment in rural areas is often low paid and irregular, causing many young people to move to urban areas in search of informal work; compounding problems of urban unemployment (Restless Development, 2011). Stacked against street-living children and their odds of progressing in employment is the stigmatisation they face from the community and their disconnection from a community of adults who can vouch for their reliability or be a 'referee' (see chapter 4).

Despite the stigmatisation that street-living children and young people face, some have found that it is possible to build effective and sustainable livelihoods for themselves while living on the street by focusing on building good relationships with venders in the market place: this will be discussed in section 5.3. However, due to the pressure and uncertainty of daily life leading children and young people to resort to stealing in order to survive, it remains difficult for most children and young people to adopt the necessary behaviours that enable the development of a good reputation among potential employers.

This chapter is divided into three parts. This section will explore in more depth the narratives that street-living young people present to explain why they find it difficult to gain legitimate employment[54]. Section 5.2 will discuss the daily choices and the structures that lead many street-living young people towards a career dead-end in their late youth. Finally, section 5.3 will reflect on young people's narrative of hindsight and how different time perspectives have influenced children and young people's paths.

5.1.1 Become 'too old' or 'wasted time'

Age was a key factor in the way children and young people understood their opportunities on the street in this research and others (Beazley, 2003; Evans, 2006; Invernizzi, 2003). A key concept that children and young people related to

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[54] Defined here as employment that the young people would be willing to declare to authorities, i.e. not theft, vending of stolen goods or other illegal activities.

was being 'too old' to return to school, or that their time on the street had been 'wasted'.

> *Jamil: The other thing is like this, if you say that you are going back at home, you find you left home for many years and even you dropped from school, maybe you ended at standard seven [primary school level]. You have stayed away even more than four, three years. If someone tells you to go back at home again to restart schooling, it is not something easy anymore. Once you look at the time you have wasted already then going back to school is not easy. But if you decide to give [a street-living young person] employment, a work to do, that is easier.*
>
> *Asimwe: mmmh, Okay so it is better to help him by giving him a work rather than bringing him back to school*
>
> *Jamil: Eeeh, yes it is better because someone can no longer stay at school thinking about the time you have wasted already. It is just a waste of time.*
> (Interview 5: Jamil, male, age 17.)

This young person is critiquing a common intervention offered to street-involved children: to return to school and continue their education. Jamil is saying that his time for school has already passed, that he is now too old for schooling and would consider going to school as wasting more of his time. He has been away from school for so long that he considers employment a more appropriate activity for him. This narrative of regret for the time that they have already wasted on the street and an impatience to be given employment is one that we heard exclusively from the older participants of the research, emerging from young people aged 17 or older, and was accompanied by a frustration that there were few employment opportunities available to them. A similar sense of 'regret' over wasted time has been expressed by child soldiers who lamented over the years they had spent working as soldiers, as Honwana and de Boeck explain:

> *"The accounts presented show how some of them [the child soldiers] see the period spent fighting the war as a waste of time. After years of soldiering and enduring the most adverse conditions of existence, they have nothing: no jobs, no skills, no studies, no homes, no parents, no food or shelter [...]." (2005: 50)*

Practitioners and childhood studies academics may be more likely to emphasise the transferable skills that children and young people learn while living on the street. However, it seems that gaining employment for many street-involved children and young people is less about demonstrable skills and more about reputation and perceived reliability; both of which are harmed by children's street-connections.

The idea that a 17-year-old would feel 'too old' to further their education interested me, not least because their inability to enter into skilled work seemed to cause the young people significant frustration. The young people we interviewed may have felt it important to emphasise that it is better to be given work because many interventions with street-involved children promote education and training as the main alternative to street life. It is likely that the children and young people involved in this study had been offered education and training by local NGOs in the past. I discussed this finding during an interview with one of the The Centre street workers. Below are the notes that I took immediately following this interview, reflecting on the street worker's comments on the issue.

13/05/2015 - Interview with Robert (street worker) - initial reflections

[…] Robert confirmed that as children get older on the street they start to think that they have "wasted time" and they look at those around them and they think that they should be earning money or on their way to getting a family by now. Robert feels like the only opportunities [offered to] for them are school or vocational courses, but there is nothing else. Also, children have a reputation for being thieves and for using younger children to scope out potential opportunities for thieving for them. It seems like when a child is older and they feel like they have already wasted their lives then they have little option other than turning to theft. Although clearly some children end up going a different way, and Robert drew a lot on the work of NGOs in providing other options for children to progress with [their] lives. He also talked about self-esteem and children needing to believe that they have the ability to achieve something if they are going to broaden their horizons. Perhaps stigma joined with a lack of options makes it difficult for children [to earn money] once they hit their 20s and even up to 30. Instead they use the younger children to steal things for them.

A narrative of resistance to attending school is common among street child discourses. Normally it is explained by children and young people's desire for freedom, an unwillingness to cope with structure and discipline following their time on the street, or difficulties engaging with academic studies; perhaps explaining why some children dropped out of school in the first place. These explanations certainly make sense for the disengagement of younger street-living children from institutional-based education programmes. However, it was during this fieldwork that I first came across the narrative that young people felt

they were 'too old' to return to school or that they had already 'wasted' too much time on the street to return to school.

Although the majority of older street-living young people preferred interventions that would secure them a job in the short to medium term, it was common for the older youth to suggest that the younger street-living children should be in school. This signifies that the young people see the value of education in theory. Eric explains the injustice of street life for young people who are 'supposed' to be in school:

> *Eric: Like at the moment these young brothers over here* [there were 5 participants in this interview aged approx. 19, 17, 16, 14 and 13]. *[At] This time they are supposed to be in school you know. Not waking up and thinking about working. Not working at all you know. He is supposed to wake up and look where his school bag is then leave to school. When he comes back from school, this is when he is supposed to look for other stuff [such as work].* (Interview 5: Eric, male, age 19.)

Another street-living young person expresses his concerns that the younger children may not be able to read when they get older:

> *Samuel: You know, my sister [referring to Asimwe], when I see street involved children, there are very young children. First, people should come out as Jackson*[55] *has said and give them education because they are very young, they may not know how to read and write in future when they will be adults.* (Interview 1: Samuel, male, age 17)

It could be that the older participants have already engaged in some form of education before and during their time on the street so they feel that they have an adequate level of education to be given employment, therefore their concern lies with the younger children. As van Blerk (2005) discovered in Uganda, some street-involved young people leave the street to engage in educational programmes for a time and then return to the street later. For these young people, the extra education was found to open new opportunities for them and their lives on the street (van Blerk, 2005).

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[55] Pseudonym

5.1.2 Under-qualified and under-employed

A youth-led study carried out by Restless Development identified the following challenges that youth in Tanzania face while accessing employment:

> *"It's hard for us to get jobs, even for those with further education. Employers want several years [of] experience; nepotism; financial or sexual favours are required. We are affected by social problems like drugs, crime, alcoholism, depression prevents some youth from seeing jobs or enterprise as an option. Working conditions are poor and often dangerous because the laws are not enforced. We cannot access start up capital, as many government programmes are not implemented."* (2011: 6)

Although the young people who led and participated in the Restless Development research were not street-involved children, many of their experiences appear similar to the challenges that the young people in my study spoke of. Here, Restless Development outline the corruption that young people are vulnerable to when entering the workplace, representing their lack of power in negotiating employment contracts. They also highlight the social and emotional challenges some young people may need to overcome in order to actively pursue work which are also relevant to street-involved children and young people, such drug and alcohol dependence. Finally, the young people highlight the dearth of governmental assistance, such as providing start-up capital for enterprises or enforcing laws to protect young people in the workplace. Similarly, some of the young people in this study expressed their dissatisfaction with the government's lack of interest in issues affecting young (homeless) people and employment:

> *Michael: The government has a lot of things that it does before it comes to think about us, [by that time] […] we have already become old and we don't have any job*
> (Interview 7: Michael, male, age 22.)

Since the young people in this study expressed the opinion that from age 17 upwards they should be looking to find regular, well-paid work, I interviewed the research assistant (age 26) about how her peers viewed employment to provide a contrasting perspective. I asked Asimwe specifically about what pressures her peers had experienced to find work. Asimwe explained that her peers did not experience feelings of concern in their early twenties, since they were already engaged in university education. She explained that her peers had hope of achieving things in the future, and were proactively pursuing these goals,

and so the frustration that was observed in the young people on the street was not relevant for those in higher education:

> *"But in a really common lifestyle where you are living in university, no one is worrying about culture [cultural/tribal expectations of achievement, initiation etc]. We tend to live the Western life. In college where most of us we are from 20 years to 23. No one will be worried, "oh, time is moving, I'm here getting old." And these kids [the research participants] are between 18, 19, 20, 22 and 23. The same age a person could be in the university. But once we are in university we are not worrying, because what you are doing you are expecting something [a job in the future]."* (Interview 7a: Asimwe, female, age 26, research assistant.)

Here, the young people's inability to access higher education, perhaps seen as more appropriate for people of their age, combined with their growing aspirations to leave the street and rent a place of their own, left the young people in a deadlock. On the one hand they are under-qualified for the kind of work they would like to be doing (such as being a mechanic or a bus conductor) and at the same time unwilling to return to training that is seen as being inappropriate for their advanced age. Research with street-working children in Lima similarly found that a lack of education was a significant barrier to accessing professional work, with other unqualified young people depending on their families' social capital to gain access to such employment (Invernizzi, 2003). Meanwhile, those involved in the riskiest work developed less employable skills; exacerbating their lack of employability (ibid). Here there is a difference between developing skills and becoming employable. A child or young person may develop valuable skills while engaging in risky work on the street. However, this work experience will not necessarily endear them to a new employer. Similarly, a young person with a criminal conviction may find it difficult to find work in the UK, despite their skill level.

Young people are unable to do the work that the younger street-involved children engage in. Collecting scrap metal, the most favoured job among the younger street-involved children, is off limits for the older youth. Participants in interview 7 explain:

> *Asimwe: So, my question is, is there a difference in jobs that are done between one when he is at a certain age and when you are older?*
> *All: Yes*

Pauli: Yes, it is true it becomes different, I cannot carry a bag of scrapper[56] at the moment like those children how they carry scrapper bags

Musa: And I walk around during the day

Asimwe: Why?

Michael: Because you are an adult already

Pauli: Even if you find I am selling scrapper, these are scrapper that I have already packed in a bag [to hide them], or I have already delivered them to the seller, I sit there waiting for him after he pays me I leave [leaving the bag with the buyer] as if I had not carried anything before

Michael: Due to the fact that currently when you are seen carrying scrappers and walking around you can miss a job [opportunity]

Pauli: I can't carry them during the day […]

Asimwe: [Miss a] Job?

Michael: You can miss job because already you are known, any scrapper collector is [a] thief. You see, so you miss out on jobs/money. It is not that we are incapable of collecting [scrappers] in bags [secretly], sometimes you may meet your close friend whom you studied with, maybe he asks you "oooh what kind of job are you doing" and as you explain to him about life, that I am doing this work because of life to get food, already they have seen you are unsuitable; you are collecting scrapper you are unsuitable, he may pass next day even not talking to you.
(Interview 7: Pauli, Michael and Musa, all male, aged 22, 22 and 24.)

Pauli and Michael explain the considerable stigma attached to collecting scrap metal at their age. The stigma is attached to the widespread understanding that those who collect scrap metal are likely to have been involved in theft; portraying them as individuals with a tainted character who are not to be trusted. Another, more implicit, interpretation can be drawn from Michael's explanation that a peer would consider him 'unsuitable' should he tell him that he is collecting scrap metal. This may relate to a peer's reluctance to become associated with someone who has been involved in theft: as reported in several interviews, children and young people worry about being rounded-up by the police while associating with those who may have committed, or assumed to have committed, crimes. A secondary concern may relate to the expectation that by his age (Michael is 22), he should be doing work that is more respectable. The exchange Michael relays with the hypothetical old school friend begins with enquiring about the street-

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[56] Scrap metal.

living young person's current work to which Michael replies with an explanation that he is collecting scrap metal because of life (being difficult) and in order to get food. The need to provide an explanation implies that collecting scrap metal is not a job to be proud of.

Research in other African countries, Ghana, Zimbabwe and Congo, corroborates the finding that many forms of work are age dependent:

> *"Young people may grow out of types of work they have found lucrative and have difficulty finding replacement sources of income." (Growing up on the Streets, 2015: 3)*

The other jobs that the older youth are able to engage with are those that require physical strength; such as unloading lorries at the market or helping to harvest vegetables on local farms. But, even in these circumstances, their poor reputation may mean that other young people who are not connected to the street in the same way may be given jobs before the street-involved young people are considered.

> *Michael: That means, for example, we over here, someone may, I can go to ask for a job may be at the shop or a job for unloading lorries [at the market] but the person who hires feels that you are unqualified, you are just called thief. You see, so after your name gets slandered […] it is that you are going to be a thief all years* (Interview 7: Michael, male, age 22.)

Here, the young person conflates being 'unqualified' to also being slandered by the lorry driver. This casts doubt on the assumption that gaining better qualifications would necessarily secure street-involved young people employment. Michael suggests that once his reputation is tarnished, he will be considered a thief 'all years'. Even if a young person is able to gain work unloading lorries, the pay is low and there are often large periods of unemployment in-between harvests:

> *Pauli: So, there is no life at all and the jobs that we are telling you about, [they are] not the jobs that are done every day […]*
>
> *Musa: You can stay idle even a week*
>
> *Pauli: Like today you have got 10000 [equivalent GBP £3], you may be stay idle for a month or a week while you have not found a job, like at the moment […] those jobs I normally take them continuously in some months […] but since February, March, April and the one at the moment you find there is no jobs, even the shops selling watermelon here at the market don't have products.* (Interview 7: Pauli and Musa, both male, aged 22 and 24.)

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Large periods of unemployment can lead to despair and lead young people to take on riskier forms of employment such as selling stolen goods. They also may use the younger children to steal for them or take money from the younger children by force.

Benji: Yes, there are dictators coming, they want you to act the way they want

Asimwe: Who are these dictators you are referring to?

Benji: The adults, the ones who are older than you they come for example here

Daudi: Our elders

Benji: Here at home [Kiswahili: 'mascan', slang for their street home]

Asimwe: Aah

William: They mistreat you. They [take] scrappers from you

Benji: They search you and take away money from you by force

William: They take away the money from you by force

Benji: They take the scrappers away from you by force (Interview 8: Daudi, William and Benji, all male, aged 19[57], 16 and 17.)

When faced with limited options for work, low pay for difficult work, and aspirations of living away from the street, young people have few options for survival other than stealing. Growing up on the Streets (2015), a three-year participatory research involving street-involved young people in three African countries found that, on balance, the riskiest work is often the best paid work; with theft paying five times more than labour work (£5 versus £25, GBP equivalent to the three countries' currencies). The significant difference in pay incentivises children and young people to take risks that may have negative future consequences and harm their reputation. Interviewee Michael explains how the hardships he faces lead to his decision to consider stealing:

Michael: Sleeping outside, [I have] also lost so many things in terms of future life prospects. You can sit and start thinking 'oooh it is better I go to steal so that I get rent for a living room', so when you go to steal you get to be beaten. (Interview 7: Michael, male, age 22.)

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[57] Field notes report that this young person looks a lot younger than the age he states.

The consequences of relying on stealing as a livelihood strategy is risky due to the chance that beatings can lead to fatal injuries. Additionally, young people report that individuals who have found to be stealing can be burned to death:

> *Michael: [… B]ecause with street life even we "duh" [expression of seriousness, like a sharp intake of breath] when you turn to thirty years old, sister, here at the street you get burned with a tyre [a punishment for thieves in the market], you see.* (Details as above.)

Outwater *et al.* (2013) note that in Dar es Salaam approximately half of homicide deaths were due to mob violence, according to an injury surveillance survey in 2005 and 2010, and that 'deviant youth' were the main targets of mob violence. In their own research, investigating deaths due to mob violence from a hospital mortuary in Dar es Salaam, Outwater *et al.* concluded that 87% of community-perpetrated deaths (n. 179) were due to theft, robbery and burglary. Meanwhile, "[t]he occupation recorded for 152 (74%) victims of community violence were unemployed (32), thief (62), or unknown (58)" (2013: 29). Outwater *et al.* suggest that "[f]or many of those who were killed, thieving had become regularised as a primary source of income" (2013: 30), while demographic data suggested that, "victims are > 99% male youths" (pg. 33), and cause of death was described thus, "[m]ost were killed on the street near where they lived with multiple weapons including bodily force, blunt and sharp objects and sometimes fire" (pg. 33).

5.1.3 The crime of idleness

The result of having a shortage of work to do means that many children and young people find themselves 'idle' during the day. It is not acceptable in Tanzanian culture to be 'idle' and due to street-living children's high visibility their behaviour is constantly under scrutiny; therefore, they develop a reputation for 'loafing around'. Other poor urban youth in Tanzania explain how it is not safe to roam the streets during the day because of the risk of gaining a bad reputation, or since others may accuse them of deviant behaviour and throw stones at them (Banks, 2016). Street-involved children and young people, unfortunately, have little alternatives to roaming the streets, since the street is their home as well as their place of work. The boredom of being idle between

work opportunities can be a contributing factor to alcohol and substance abuse, as Salim and Benson explain:

> *Salim: Hardship in life causes one to use drugs [this participant seemed very high on glue]*
>
> *Asimwe: Hardship in life*
>
> *Salim: Yes*
>
> *Asimwe: Pardon*
>
> *Salim: Yes, hardship in life*
>
> *Asimwe: What do you mean hardship in life?*
>
> *Benson: Hardship in life, like, there is no employment you don't have work to do, you just loaf around*
>
> *[…]*
>
> *Salim: That you have looked for what you needed out of your important needs and you have miss it*
>
> *Asimwe: Mmh*
>
> *Salim: You get influenced into taking drugs because you totally lose hope, you give up on yourself, you say to yourself let me use drugs* (Interview 10: Benson and Salim, male, both aged 18.)

While the community may view young people's idleness as laziness or an unwillingness to work hard, one street worker considers the role of self-esteem and personal reflection to be important in helping children and young people find something meaningful to do with their time. The following two memos record these reflections.

01/06/2015 - Self-Esteem - I6

Robert [street worker] talks about how building self-esteem is important for a child and how a child doesn't often know what they need. But he also says that a child who leaves home is very clever and he can make his own way. He says the best we can do for him/her is to provide them with lots of options. [...] But he talks about options for children to find out "who they are and what they want to do." It isn't just about giving all the children the same opportunities.

11/05/2015 - Motivation/Making one's own - reflections

It seems that Robert (perhaps street workers in general) are the only ones advising the youth in the street. It seems they feel trapped, unable to move forward, unable to return home, discouraged living from day to day. They desire having a job, having a business and making something of their lives but they are uneducated and uncertain about how to attain a future. Robert provides an example for them since he is a former street-living person

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> who has made a life for himself. […] They see their income options as limited (I5). […] But some have hope that they can 'make it' in the future.

The words that the children and young people use for their inactivity, 'idle' and 'loafing around', are emotive words with negative connotations. The use of these words portrays the frustration that the young people feel during periods of inactivity as well as the negative way inactivity is viewed by the community. Despite the frequent occurrence of periods of inactivity, boredom and frustration in the young people's lives, very little research to date addresses this phenomenon among street-involved children (for a discussion of inactivity of unemployed youth in Ghana, see Langevang, 2008). There are many areas for exploration; whether inactivity is a choice for these young people or a consequence of the lack of options available to them for productive activity, or their inability to access activities due to their relative poverty. Similarly, there does not seem to be any research into whether these periods of boredom and frustration are more prevalent in older populations, who may have become less motivated due to living on the street for longer or become disenchanted after engaging in services that did not suit them.

5.1.4 Gatekeepers and accessing basic needs

Many of the challenges that street-involved children and young people face, and the barriers that prevent them progressing in a post-street career, are directly related to their difficulties meeting their basic needs. Since street-involved children and young people are challenging societal expectations and living separately from their families they do not have respected adults whose responsibility it is to advocate on their behalf. Instead, street-involved children and young people need to develop and invest in relationships with people who are willing to cooperate with them and assist them in accessing their basic needs. The street-involved population in this study reportedly struggle to access healthcare (due to financial costs or a sense of being stigmatised), are physically abused by members of the public and police and denied sufficient judicial assistance, often being incarcerated spontaneously and with dubious charges. These struggles are directly related to street-involved children and young

people's exclusion from mainstream society and therefore lack of protection that 'respectability' offers individuals.

Street-involved young people are wholly reliant on their relationships with institutional gatekeepers, traders, buyers and vendors in the market-place in order to access health services, education, employment, financial services and gifts in kind. Additionally, many face a tail-off of services as they age beyond the limit for accessing NGO programming. Panter-Brick (2002) identifies the dilemma that many children and young people from my study find themselves in as they transition into an older age bracket, and find that their street lives no longer deliver the short-term gains that they had become accustomed to:

> *"[…] street life is often able to offer payoffs in the short-term, while compromising individuals in the long run (Richter 1991). As Gregori (2000) noted, how Brazilian street children circulate in social spaces and negotiate with a range of institutions is marked by their status as legal minors; when they reach the age of majority, they face a difficult transformation of identity as the institutional support for minors falls away."*
> *(pg. 165)*

As street-living young people age out of the category of 'minors', they lose the protection of NGOs but are not able to reap the benefits of becoming a respected adult within the community. Here, their rights are denied because they are marginalised. There is little government legislation or inclination among NGOs to protect the rights of those who have already become adult – this is also reflected in campaigns for the rights of care leavers in the UK (Barnardos, n.d.; Care Leavers' Association, n.d.).

Street-involved young people in this study live life through a daily pattern of short-term acquisitions. Money for each day's food must be earned before they can eat; it is not feasible to save food for the next day or invest in items to allow them to cook for themselves, since such items are likely to be stolen. Each day may contain several achievements for the children and young people to be proud of, but there is no certainty as to whether their needs will be met the following day. In essence, street-involved young people are tied into an expensive, urban way of living with limited means of accumulating resources to allow them to gradually make meeting their daily needs easier. The next section of this chapter will focus on the present uncertainty of daily life and how this affects street-involved children and young people's ability to plan for the future.

5.2   Present uncertainty precludes future planning

When faced with stressful situations people tend to focus on meeting their basic needs and it is difficult for them in the same moment to also to think about planning for future rewards (Wood, 2003; Zimbardo & Boyd, 2012). When a person's environment is stable, it is much easier for that individual to accurately predict the future consequences of present actions (Zimbardo & Boyd, 2012). Similarly, whether someone tends to focus on present needs over future goals, or vice versa, also affects the way that they behave. A study with homeless families accessing sheltered accommodation in the US found various links between a person's time perspective and the activities that individuals engaged in while in the shelter (Epel *et al.*, 1999). For example, those with a more dominant future time perspective were more likely to enrol on educational programmes, meanwhile those with a more dominant present time perspective were more likely to engage in 'avoidant coping strategies' (pg. 575) such as watching more television (pg. 586). Present-orientated individuals were also more likely to report symptoms of depression. The study discusses that having a predominantly present mindset is not necessarily a cause of someone's homelessness, but that a person's level of future thinking diminishes in line with duration of homelessness. This may mean that those who experience homelessness develop a predominantly present orientated view as a means of survival and in order to cope with the uncertainty of their environment. Interestingly, although those with a future mindset on average left the shelter sooner than those with a present mindset, who were more likely to extend their stay at short notice, neither mindset predicted a person's ability to access stable housing. The authors suggest that this is due to the social, economic and political barriers that this population face to accessing a secure housing arrangement. Conversely, those with a more present mindset were more likely to secure temporary housing arrangements for themselves. Although this study relates to a different location, culture and age demographic, it introduces an interesting perspective for engaging with the narratives of those who experience homelessness. Additionally, other studies have explored in more depth the scenario of postponing future goals due to present insecurity caused by poverty in the context of developing countries (Wood, 2003):

"A further defining characteristic of poverty is uncertainty: being unable to guarantee future stocks and flows. This induces short-term behavior and the avoidance of riskier, longer term investments in economic or personal projects." (pg. 456)

The data gathered during in my research is steeped in statements related to the children and young people's perspective of time and how this impacts what they are able to do, or plan to do, in the future. Such statements relate to the things that children and young people need to do today, the debts they still have to pay from the past and the time and thought they give to planning for the future. Statements also relate to children and young people's age and when they feel they have become responsible enough to develop their own businesses. The Epel *et al.* (1999) study is interesting in that it shows that an individual's time perspective can impact the decisions that people in uncertain living arrangements make, but also that one time perspective is not necessarily better than another. The study concludes that a balance of perspectives that focus on present needs as well as future achievements are important for reducing depression, pursuing future education and securing immediate housing (Epel *et al.*, 1999). This section will discuss how the younger children engaged in this study (age 17 and below) differ from the older youth in terms of their perspective of time, and the role that their environment plays in shaping their time perspectives.

5.2.1 The uncertainty of daily life and a focus on present needs

Much of the literature on street-involved children and young people celebrates their resourcefulness and focuses on the need to respect their rights to self-determine (Patwary *et al.*, 2012; UNCRC, 2017; Veeran, 2004; Young, 2003). This literature echoes popular mantras in childhood studies from the late 90's; "mantras about childhood being socially constructed, recognition and focusing on children and young people's agency, and the valuing of children and young people's voices, experiences and/or participation" (Tisdall and Punch, 2012: 251). However, as already argued, children's agency, resourcefulness and independence are often exercised within very challenging environments with few alternative options (Schimmel, 2008). The forced decisions that children and young people involved in my study engaged in represent the structural and environmental influences that shape the choices that they make. An

overemphasis of street-involved children and young people's resourcefulness in their constrained environments limits conceptual understanding of their lives to the present and immediate and ignores what they could be, or might achieve, should the environment be different.

The children involved in this study had a daily set of routines which involved working at the start of the day to earn enough money for food followed by resting and spending time with their friends.

> *Taye: In the morning, again the same, we go to collect scrappers. In the noon we burn tyres, we go to measure [weigh the metal rods for selling]. After coming from measuring we then go to collect scrappers again, when we come from collecting scrappers we go to sell. We come to watch CD [DVD], after watching CD we go at _____ [58] [where they sleep and rest]. We sit there at _____, if we see we need to do something else or get bored we go to _____ [a video hall]* (Interview 3: Taye, male, age 13.)

Taye is the ideal target age for NGOs hoping to enrol street-involved children into their programmes. At this age, Taye spends the day working together with his friends to earn money and buy a meal at the market. It is possible that the food he gets at the market is more substantial than the food he received at home, and he has the added satisfaction of having earned the money himself. After he has earned enough to eat, he then has the freedom to spend time with his friends or watch a DVD in the local video hall before finding somewhere to sleep and starting the cycle again.

When asking a group of slightly older children (mode and median age 15) how they are preparing themselves for their futures, some of them considered this idea impossible due to their daily preoccupation with how to earn enough money for food.

> *Asimwe: Yes, how have you prepared yourself, when one is living in the street how does he prepare himself for the future life?*
>
> *Ringo: It is impossible*
>
> *[…]*
>
> *Asimwe: When you are the street you can't get prepared*

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[58] Location omitted.

Oscar: I cannot prepare at all

Asimwe: Why?

Oscar: daaah [a Kiswahili expression of surprise]

Ahmed: Over here you only prepare yourself with money for food

Ringo: Yes, only food

[…]

Dennis: Over here there is no one who knows things about the future

Asimwe: There is no one thinks of it

Ahmed: Yes, with them they think of getting five hundred to spend on food, getting one thousand and spend it on food, there is nothing else

(Interview 17: Dennis, Ringo, Ahmed, Oscar, all male, age 16, 15, 15 and 15.)

In this example, the children are suggesting that the need to earn money for food is pressing enough that it is impossible to think about planning for the future. Similarly, from numerous interviews and street observations, we can be confident that almost all children are using a form of substance, either glue, marijuana or alcohol – the drugs favoured by younger populations. Therefore, we know that food is not the only necessity that they need to make money for each day. It could be that the children and young people have their own hierarchy of needs (food, drugs, clothes, washing, money to pay guards for protection), and it is only after these immediate needs are met that they may be able to turn their attention and income towards more long-term plans. As we have discussed in chapter Chapter 4:, many children save money by depositing small amounts with adults in the market. This indicates that children, in general, are not only thinking about today's needs, but also the needs of future days should they become ill, or need to make a significant purchase, like clothes for a festival.

Meanwhile, some young people are nonchalant about their ability to meet their basic needs. In interview 3, the children began telling us that there are no problems in the street, since they are always able to get enough food to eat:

James: Chokoraa does not die of hunger he does not have a problem

Ricard: Truly God helps

(Interview 3: James and Ricard, male, age 16 and 15)

Although these children are confident that they will be able to eat each day, the suggestion that this might be the only, main or most notable problem they could face indicates a low level of ambition about what they could expect from street life. Older children were much more likely to complain about a lack of jobs and training. Since interview 3 was early in the research process, it could be that the children did not feel comfortable enough to open-up about the bigger challenges they face or aspirations they may have on the street. In later interviews, children talked more openly about the uncertainties inherent in their daily lives:

> *Thadei: I would like to speak because in the morning I wake up, even I don't know if I will have breakfast, and where the following day, where will I be heading to look for money, or where should I go to work, I don't know. With me when I wake up in the morning, am just there [in the same place] in the noon, evening. Just day moves on that way.* (Interview 5: Thadei, male, age 13)

While we know that street-involved children exercise some agency with regards to what work they do and how they spend their money, here Thadei does not seem to portray a sense of agency with regards to what he does with his day. For him, the day 'just moves on that way' and he finds himself 'just there' in the noon and the evening. This example shows a particularly passive engagement with street life which may not reflect his total experience of the street but shows a sentiment of powerlessness and frustration that he feels from time to time due to the daily uncertainties he faces. When faced with uncertain opportunities in an unpredictable environment, Thadei appears to become discouraged regarding his ability to exercise agency and instead goes with the flow of the day. Here, his present preoccupations with where to go to get breakfast and look for money led to a sense that the days are 'moving on' with seemingly little improvement.

As discussed before, children and young people face various set-backs while living on the street which diminish their resources and capabilities. One of these set-backs is debt. Debts can be accrued in various ways: some children and young people build debts with food vendors in the market when they have insufficient funds to buy food. One young person acquired a debt when someone's marijuana was stolen while under his care (I14). Having a debt on the street adds to the daily necessary outgoings that preclude saving for future activities:

Iman: I have not yet started to think of how I will get the money [to start a business] because at the moment there are certain debts, I am indebted' (Interview 14: Iman, male, age 16)

Similarly, becoming ill, being beaten or being incarcerated (and therefore fined) can also cause significant set-backs and barriers to children considering matters beyond their immediate challenges, as Iman explains:

Iman: The day before yesterday as I was passing by, I was beaten, and I felt like, 'aah this is stupid let me rest for some two or three days'

Asimwe: Where were you beaten?

Iman: Over there while collecting scrappers, I met a watchman and I was beaten

Asimwe: So, you have to rest from doing what?

Iman: At the moment?

Asimwe: Yes

Iman: Isn't that I have stopped [working] but I have decided to rest, just sitting and reflecting, thinking you see, feeling the pain of being beaten and recovering (Interview 14: Iman, male, age 16.)

Being beaten seems to have taken a toll on this young person's physical and emotional energy. He not only needs to rest to recover from the pain of being beaten, but also to reflect and think. It could be that this young person was able to decide to rest after being beaten because at some time in the past he had saved enough money to support him for several days should he become unwell. Otherwise, during this time of recuperation he would need to rely on support from his peers for food and drugs, or accrue debts with Mama Nitilie for food; putting pressure on future income.

Children and young people also adapt to the daily uncertainties that they face through their mobility in the city and between cities, towns and villages. This would often involve harnessing benefits from relationships that they had maintained either at home or with local NGOs. Children and young people were known to return to their villages to avoid conflicts on the street, returning to the street later when issues had subsided (I4), or visit family members for support and encouragement (I7). Children and young people may also visit NGOs to maintain relational ties and receive food and medical assistance (I1). Children and young people may also travel between cities to secure more lucrative

income-generating activities (SWM1[59]). Constant movement implies the absence of stability, or something for which they can 'settle' (I1). Without a stable environment it is very difficult for children and young people to plan for the future, as Zimbardo and Boyd's research suggests (2012). However, since street-involved children and young people's lives are lived in a delicate equilibrium of coping that can change daily, these networks of support and opportunities are valuable aspects of children and young people's survival on the street: this is an example of how their present-focused activities keep them safe and active. Additionally, maintaining these relational ties to families, institutions and potential employers is also a strategy for keeping options of support open for the future. Spending time 'greeting' others is considered an important activity and helps to maintain ties and good favour with family and members of the community (I1, I4, I6, I7, I9, I10, I13).

The challenges and set-backs that children face on the street make it more difficult for them to plan for the future. However, in the context of this study, these challenges are not the only variable that prevent younger children, for whom most NGO interventions are targeted, from considering their future lives. This section has discussed why it might be that children are most likely to focus on the present, leading them to prioritise avoiding danger, meeting their basic needs and resting.

5.2.2 'Too young to think of the future': Age and responsibility expectations

Some of the children and young people in this study explained that they were 'too young' to begin thinking about their futures and instead communicated a relative satisfaction with their daily lives. During the field study, there were various references to the 'adult brain' and the 'child brain'. The children and young people implied that there was an age where a child became able to plan for their future. The age at which this change occurs is unclear for several reasons; it may differ among children, it may differ between cultures, it may

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[59] Street observation.

relate to how old the children look and therefore what kinds of work they are able to engage in without getting in danger, and/or some children and young people may not keep track of their age and so it is more of a sense of maturity rather than being defined by numerical age.

Here, Ricard believes that his brain is not yet ready to 'reason' and therefore make plans for the future. Despite knowing what kind of profession he would like in the future he has decided to wait until he is an adult before he starts saving to start a business.

> *Asimwe: Yes, how are you planning your future at the moment?*
>
> *Ricard: At the moment I have no idea because my brain has not yet been able to reason*
>
> *Asimwe: The brain is not yet able to reason*
>
> *Ricard: Yes*
>
> *Asimwe: But what do you think about your future, what are your future plans?*
>
> *Ricard: In future*
>
> *Asimwe: Yes*
>
> *Ricard: My plan is to be an entrepreneur*
>
> *Asimwe: An entrepreneur*
>
> *Ricard: Yes*
>
> *Asimwe: What are you going to do so that you become an entrepreneur?*
>
> *[…]*
>
> *Ricard: After I become an adult, I will be saving my money slowly. I will be saving little by little and from saving I will be having a kiosk like Maasai's kiosk[60]*
> (Interview 16: Ricard, male, age 16.)

Additionally, Omary explains how having a 'childhood brain' means that the community will permit children to engage in risky high-paid work, such as theft, only punishing them lightly when they are caught, as stated in the previous chapter. Conversely, adults and older youth are expected to use their superior physical and mental strength to consider more respectable work, such as unloading lorries and transporting goods in push-carts.

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[60] Members of the Maasai tribe in this area sell small bottles of goods along the side of the street in temporary stalls which they set up daily.

Asimwe: Why, why don't you get killed [for stealing] when you are young?

Omary: He looks like he still has [a] childhood brain [way of thinking], but you as an adult once you do it, [it] will look as [if] you have done it purposely.

William: Yes, because he [the adult] is energetic

Omary: Because he [the adult] has energy and he can walk, why should he not carry luggage or push a push cart. He is a thief then you get beaten until you die
(Interview 9: Omary and William, male, age 23 and 16.)

Omary suggests the issue of intent, or the ability of adults and older youth to understand the consequences of their actions as being a key difference between communities' response to child and adult theft: 'it will look as if you have done it purposely'. As discussed before, children's ability to continue with risky high-paid work in the present may eclipse their inclination to consider the challenges they may face in the future when they are no longer permitted by the community to steal.

The participants in interview 10, interviewed in a different town from interview 9, reiterate the same sentiments. They add that as an adult, they have become aware of their responsibilities and how life really is.

Asimwe: And the difference when you are young chalii and when you are an adult, is there a difference in the work that you do?

Noel: Yes, there are differences

Benson: There are differences

Asimwe: Mmh

Noel: Because with adults are the ones who can [do] work like carry luggage, unloading the luggage from truck and so forth but the young ones because they cannot work [not physically strong enough] they will need to be beggars

Benson: Or collecting light scrappers

Noel: Yes

Asimwe: Mmh, light scrappers. When you are an adult and you are in the street can you collect scrappers just like the young ones?

Noel: You can not

Asimwe: Why?

Noel: You must look for money on your own because you are adult already. Because your brain has already become strong you must know maybe if I do this like carrying luggage so that I get money. Because you cannot beg anymore.

Benson: You can't

Asimwe: Mmh. Why can't you beg anymore?

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> *Noel: Because you are self-aware [Kiswahili: jitambua – realising your responsibilities, waking up to the reality of life] already*
>
> *Benson: You are grown up already, you are self-aware already and you are aware that "I am an adult already"* (Interview 10: Benson and Noel, male, both age 18.)

Benson and Noel link the 'adult brain' to becoming self-aware, which can also be translated as; realising one's responsibilities for oneself and waking up to the reality of life. While children and young people leave home and become responsible for meeting their needs when living on the street, as discussed in Chapter 4, it appears that there are significant differences in the allowances offered by communities for children and young people's behaviour. From this excerpt there is a sense that as one becomes older they are expected to take responsibility for their actions and, therefore, income-generating activities involving theft are viewed as an offence. Conversely, younger children have less 'energy', are less able to 'reason' and have a 'child's brain'; thus, the community are more willing to let them get away without taking responsibility for their actions when they steal.

In the same interview, the participants extend the logic that children are less able to look after themselves to justify NGOs' focus on younger teens rather than working with adults:

> *Asimwe: Okay, the other thing we have seen is the presence of institutions which work with children. They seem to be helpful to children in accessing their needs for example clothes, food, health and shelter. Is this correct?*
>
> *Noel: That is for some*
>
> *Asimwe: For some*
>
> *Noel: Mmh*
>
> *Salim: For some*
>
> *Asimwe: For some, who are they?*
>
> *Noel: Not all, first of all, even those institutions are people who are helping are young children*
>
> *Asimwe: Young children*
>
> *Noel: Because they [young children] cannot help themselves, adults can*
>
> *Benson: Like that one [a young chalii is passing by]*
>
> *Noel: Yes, like this child are the ones who can be helped.*
>
> *Asimwe: From which age?*

Benson: Fifteen years old and below

Noel: They take from fifteen years old and below are the ones taken, so with us here we cannot go to the institutions (Interview 10: Benson, Noel and Salim, all male, all aged 18.)

The type of mind that a child or young person has may influence the decisions that they make and how they manage their resources. One research participant explained how when he was younger he managed to save a lot of money but, due to his age, rather than investing the money in a business he decided to stop working and spend the money on 'enjoyments'. He reflects on this behaviour and says that if he had a brain 'at that time' like he does now, he would have invested the money:

Omary: Yes, you save a lot of money [working on the street], I saved at one of these mama nitilie who used to sell over there. I had already saved three hundred thousand shillings [approx. 100 GBP] by that time, it is not recent, it was 2007, until three hundred thousand shillings, that amount you would [have been able to] buy a plot at ____,[61] am I lying Respick [research assistant]?

Asimwe: Mmmh

Respick: it is true

Omary: Three hundred thousand shilling, but due to street life when I used to get much money like that, I used not to work anymore. If I had brain at that time like I have at the moment, you would find me so far at the moment now, ask Respick, you would find me so far by now. But at that time, you find once I earned money I didn't work anymore I just stayed jobless and enjoy going for enjoyments you see. You find you want to eat, you see, because you have money I just spend I don't want anything to pass by me [miss opportunities to buy what he wanted] because good things, is like clothes and so forth, I buy it because I have money I wait until at least it [the savings] decrease [that] is when I start[ed] working again. (Interview 9: Omary, male, age 23.)

The introduction of hindsight to literature on street-involved children is interesting since it resists the argument of whether it is suitable for children to live and work on the street, but instead provides an insider, hindsight perspective of the consequences of street life. With hindsight, street-involved young people can begin to understand why interventions may have encouraged them to pursue education or skills training and urge them not to steal. At the time, children may not consider such interventions as personally useful for them or were not

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[61] Location omitted.

prepared to take the risk of sacrificing their daily income to attend a training course that might take them nowhere. Street-involved young people become a key link in the chain to help younger children consider the potential consequences of living for the moment without sufficient regard for what the consequences might be. Similarly, the accepted attitude that the children are not mentally able to plan or help themselves may feed into the children's expectations of themselves; leading them to put off investments in their skills or assets.

Street-involved children have shown great ingenuity when taking responsibility for meeting their daily needs. It is possible that they can also apply these skills and energy to considering the needs of their future. In order to consider their futures, children and young people may require external encouragement from those with experience and hindsight. The next section will further explore instances of hindsight gathered during this field study.

5.3   Hindsight and the 'adult brain'

In this study, we found that as children aged on the street some became bored, disenchanted and stated a desire for structure and guidance. This was communicated in interviews through laments for missed opportunities and an expressed desire for someone to give them 'direction' for their lives. These young people tended to hope for a different future but were unclear about how to plan for it and suggested that they needed assistance in order to change their current situations. This section will expand on these sentiments of 'future' or 'directional thinking', will discuss young people who have taken a long view to developing their reputation and therefore job opportunities, and the advice that the young people have for the children they live alongside.

5.3.1 Future and directional thinking

One of the ways that children and young people in this study talked about their future was through the concept of having direction for their lives. What constituted 'having direction' among the respondents differed and some interpretations involved conceptions of the distant future while others referred

to the near future. Some children and young people believed that 'direction' related to their own personal agency while others believed that they needed the help of others in order to have direction in their lives. Direction as a concept referred to ideas of stability, purpose and positive progress. This section will expand on the definition and role of directional thinking as discussed by the participants in this study.

One aspect of having direction that the children and young people discussed involved their connection to their families. In interview 3, one young person explains that not having direction is like when a person's family gives up on them. This is the first time that the idea of 'direction' was introduced in the field study:

> *Asimwe: Okay then explain to me about relationships, when one is in the street how is the relationship between one living in the street and his family? [Pause] Who is going to start?*
>
> *Ricard: The relationship becomes bad*
>
> *Asimwe: It becomes bad, what do you mean it becomes bad*
>
> *Ricard: Because you are in the street, you don't have direction. Yaah.*
>
> *Asimwe: You don't have direction*
>
> *Ricard: Even family forgets you, "we don't have child anymore." The child is in the street he will know himself. Eeh [affirming his statement] […]*
>
> *Asimwe: What do you mean that you are in the street you don't have direction […]*
>
> *Ricard: After parents have said they have given up on you that means they have given up*
>
> *Asimwe: Mmmh [listening]*
>
> *Ricard: Mmmh [Done]*
>
> *Asimwe: That is what it means 'you don't have direction'.*
>
> *Ricard: Mmm. Yes.* (Interview 3: Ricard, male, age 15)

In this excerpt, Asimwe is asking the child about his relationship with his family and he replies that the relationship 'becomes bad' because he is in the street and does not 'have direction'. This child directly links the bad relationship with his family to his not having 'direction' due to living on the street. However, it is unclear what 'not having direction' means to this young person: whether the lack of direction is because he is living on the street or because his family has 'given up' on him. The clarification is missing as to whether this child gets 'direction'

for his life from being part of a family network, or by following the 'right' path of education/employment. This distinction would help to add clarity to the question of whether 'direction' is something that a child can make for themselves, or if it is inherently dependent on the cooperation of other significant adults. The theme of 'direction' was followed up in subsequent interviews, but the link to family was not repeated by others, apart from in interview 17, where the respondents mentioned 'missing advice' from their families.

In another example, Eric explains that having 'direction' involves knowing each morning that he has a business that he can go to. This young person's sentiment implies that stability and certainty are part of the requirements of direction:

> *Eric: Yes, the idea that one thinks on what he can do. You wake up in the morning knowing exactly that am going to open my office at particular place. It does not matter what you will be selling, anything, but you know that I have my own business at particular place. After having something like that, my sister, you must have direction in life.* (Interview 5: Eric, male, age 19.)

Earlier in the interview, the same participant goes as far as to say that having direction is a basic need or right, something that a 'normal' human is 'supposed' to have. Similarly, having direction is something that is intentional and that has purpose – the opposite of an 'unplanned walk':

> *Eric: Sister over here people don't get their basic needs a normal human being is supposed to have in term of having formal schedule for example tomorrow when I wake up, when sunrises, which way should I take? You know my sister,*
>
> *Asimwe: Eeeh?*
>
> *Eric: But people don't have direction. They don't know where to go when sunrises. You find yourself having unplanned walk.* (Interview 5: Eric, male, age 19.)

The sentiment that this young person is expressing is converse to other literature on street-involved children which states that children and young people dislike structure and prefer to be in charge of their own lives (Hecht, 1998; Martinez, 2010). It could be that this young person desires a formal schedule, but on his own terms. However, the presence of such openness to having a formal schedule indicates that there is potential for engaging some young people in structured training programmes if they can be made certain of the outcomes. This would require interventions that do not aim to remove young people from the street

but instead work alongside them to help them develop skills that have been identified as useful for them and their livelihoods.

For other young people, aspects of street life can provide direction for their lives without mentioning external assistance. In this excerpt, Noel explains that the main priority is to work hard in order to obtain shelter and that this becomes a spring-board for future success:

> *Asimwe: When we were talking, people said life in street has no direction so what we learned is, at the end of the day in street life you find that life has no direction*
>
> *Noel: No [not true]. May be if personally you have given up on yourself on life. First of all, life is how yourself you*
>
> *Benson: Direct it*
>
> *Noel: The way you control yourself and the money you earn. You feel 'aah am tired of sleeping outside while someone else sleeps inside'. You collect your money and once you live inside it [is] a starting point of successes.* (Interview 10: Benson and Noel, male, both age 18.)

However, the same participants go on to explain that 'direction' is not necessarily an inevitable outcome of street life, since some young people have already started taking more serious drugs and have 'given up' on themselves, despite renting their own room:

> *Noel: The ones who have given up on themselves?*
>
> *Asimwe: Mmmh*
>
> *Noel: Like teja, those who are taking cocaine, are the ones who have given up, lost hope, but there are some who takes cocaine and lives in getto[62], but most of street-connected children smoke and they live outside*
>
> *Asimwe: Mmh. Okay, so for example out of ten, how many [mateja] would probably [have] given up on life?*
>
> *Noel: The way I see losing hope*
>
> *Asimwe: Mmh*
>
> *Noel: Out of ten you find all of them have given up*
>
> *Benson: I have already given up/lost hope* (Interview 10: Benson and Noel, male, both age 18.)

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[62] A single room.

These participants highlight the personal agency involved in finding direction on the street and making a future for themselves. They indicate that it is within the reach of street-involved children and young people to make enough money to find their own shelter. However, while Noel believes securing one's own shelter is the starting point for success, he also concedes that there are people who 'give up' on themselves and become *mateja* even though they have secured shelter. For Benson, he already knows what it is like to give up and lose hope. Therefore, while it is possible to support oneself and provide purpose for oneself while living on the street, a healthy balance between perseverance and despair can be difficult to maintain. As Panter-Brick summarises (2002), the outcomes of street careers vary across cultures and almost certainly between individuals:

> *"It should not surprise anyone to find that the outcomes of homeless careers will differ by cultural context. In Northeast Brazil, Hecht (1998) reported that prison, insanity, or death were the common expectations of life for street children […] By contrast, in Nepal, Baker (1998) documented that homeless children could achieve stable employment, marriage and families of their own (see also Baker & Panter-Brick 2000)."* (pg. 164)

Since street-living young people are used to working with NGOs as beneficiaries of programmes, and often rely on the generosity of strangers for their livelihoods, it is understandable that some children believe that their future depends on the assistance of others and is not within their control:

> *Ahmed: In future in my life if I get someone to pay for my studies, I would have studied, I would have become successful in life. But at the moment I cannot pay for my studies, I don't have father. I have mother who does not have money to pay for my studies but if I would get someone to pay for my studies I would continue with my studies.* (Interview 17: Ahmed, male, age 15.)

Here, although Ahmed is being asked about his future he slips into the past conditional tense. This perhaps gives away his sense that getting someone to pay for his studies is not likely to happen in the future and instead he refers to past regret that someone has not already paid for his studies; thereby preventing him from becoming successful already. As Asimwe presses Ahmed for what he is able to do to realise his aspiration of returning to his studies, Oscar interjects that it would mean that he would need to take action to ask someone for the money. Ahmed's response suggests that he would prefer someone to volunteer to pay for his education rather than asking them directly. Although, he admits

that he could take action by going to an NGO to request for help paying for his studies.

> *Asimwe: What should you do so that you get someone to pay for your studies?*
>
> *Oscar: Ask him*
>
> *Ahmed: May be if anyone volunteers or I should go to any institution and if they decide to pay for my studies they do so, or if someone just volunteers. If [he] decides to pay for my studies I will settle and study.* (Interview 17: Oscar and Ahmed, male, both aged 15.)

It is likely in the context of this interview, since this is the field site that Asimwe is less familiar with and containing a larger population of street-involved children, that Ahmed is hoping that Asimwe or Fred might volunteer to pay for his education; therefore downplaying any actions he could take to pursue this objective. Although a child cannot be feasibly expected to survive without a family and pay for his own education, it is still crucially important for the success of an intervention that a child actively pursues his desire to return to education. One street worker told us that often children may ask outsiders for help with school, since this is something that they know is an acceptable request of the outsider, but that they will often leave school after they feel they have gained what they wanted from the situation; money or clothes, for example (I6). This is also a common cycle reported in a lot of street-involved child literature and is a key reason why those working with street-involved children become fatigued and deflated, since they observe children 'drop-out' of services on a regular basis (Hecht, 1998). Regardless of his intent, Ahmed still associates studying with something that will allow him to 'settle'. In actuality, to 'settle' may not be something he wants but it indicates that education as a means to settling is something that is valued at least to outsiders.

As discussed in Epel *et al.* (1999), structural barriers prevented hostel residents both with a tendency to plan for the future and those who tended to focus on present needs from accessing stable housing. Without assistance accessing education, training, accommodation and food, street-involved children and young people are disadvantaged among their peers in terms of social mobility. However, there are many positive stories among street-involved communities where young people have managed to gain stable shelter and employment. A key element from the examples of those who had made these gains is a commitment

among these young people to building a good reputation for themselves among the community. This often meant being seen to be working hard and resisting the temptation to steal and make money 'quickly'. The next part of this section will explore the concept of children and young people building a reputation for themselves.

5.3.2 Forging a reputation for the future

As discussed in chapter Chapter 4:, street-involved children and young people develop a bad reputation which makes it difficult for them to find someone to employ them. A report conducted by a Tanzanian-based NGO concurs with these findings:

> *"Many centers [sic] who attempt to link their youth with local tradesmen or shops for an apprenticeship face challenges, as it is very difficult to escape the stigma that street children face. Prospective employers have assets to protect and are often unwilling to take the risk that they feel is inherent in hiring a child who has come from the streets. They may believe that the child will steal or destroy equipment or will not be competent to work with customers. Even when entrepreneurs eventually do agree to hire street children, they are sometimes unwilling to give them adequate responsibility. […] It is inevitable, however, that there will still be youth who behave inappropriately. This is a risk associated with guaranteeing an apprenticeship, as sometimes one youth can ruin the opportunity for others by putting into question the integrity and credibility of a center [sic] that vouched for them." (Blackford et al., 2008: 25)*

When a centre or NGO becomes a referee, and vouches for a young person with a prospective employer, it is the centre's reputation which suffers if that young person behaves inappropriately. This is also the case for the reputations of individuals who become referees for young people, as discussed in interview 7. Many street-involved young people believe that it is not possible for them to secure work for themselves or to be trusted without the support of a respected adult. However, others argue that this is possible but that it requires hard work and commitment. Interview 9 is an example of when children and young people with differing views discuss this point. On one side, some participants are saying that there is no work to do in the street while other participants say that there is plenty of work to do but that the teenagers [machalii] are 'not committing themselves'.

> *Asimwe: So, there is possibility of renting a room [for children who are living on the streets]?*

Omary: Yes

Asimwe: If you decide to do so

Daudi: if you commit yourself

Omary: Why not, I had my own room when I was at the age of 16

Daudi: Machalli are not committing themselves

Asimwe: Eeh [what]?

Daudi: Machalii are not committing themselves, but if they decide to commit themselves and save money for renting a room

Omary: You can rent your room very well

Omary: But they are not committed

William: There is no work

James: Yes

Asimwe: What?

William: Is not that they are not committing themselves, there is no serious works

James: Yes, is not that they are not committed there is no serious works

Daudi: No, they are not committing themselves, there [are] so many works to do. There are many jobs to work on.

Omary: When I was 16 years old I had my own living room

Asimwe: Jobs are many, for example?

Daudi: Like selling like that…

James: Listen works are many it is true, yes. You know the one unloading luggage over there [there was a truck in front of the participants] he is known

Daudi: Yes, he is known

James: So if your name is unknown you can't go and unload. Right?

Omary: No, you can unload

Daudi: You can unload

Omary: With me even now if I go there, have you ever seen me unloading luggage? But if I go there I will be told "Omary[63], unload"

James: Okay

Asimwe: But you have said you have done something [so that] your name to be well known

Omary: Yes, but there […] First of all, over there, let me tell you [it] is not an issue of being known the way I know these people [the people around him], over there [by the truck] it is just you and your energy

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[63] Pseudonym

Daudi: it is your energy

Omary: Yes, it is you and your energy they don't have bad heart since cars [trucks] enter the market the whole night until in the morning (Interview 9: James, Omary, Daudi and William, male, aged 19, 23, 19, and 16.)

Among the group there is disagreement about whether there is enough work to do or not. At one point they suggest that there is no 'serious' work to do. 'Serious' work could relate to the reliability, formality or the level of pay, since the examples that they give of available work are casual labour jobs which are physically challenging and do not pay well. Additionally, it could be that the participant who is 16 years old is too young and therefore physically unable to unload lorries; therefore this type of work is not yet available to him. However, Omary repeatedly states that by the age of 16 he was renting his own room. This could mean that rooms were cheaper seven years previous to this interview or that there was more work for children and younger teenagers in the past, or that he was more 'committed' to finding work when he was younger than the machalii that he is referring to in this excerpt. It is not possible to verify this information, but what is interesting about this excerpt is that Omary is known to have made a name for himself. He is known as being reliable and therefore does not struggle to find paid work and, as a consequence, no longer lives on the street but rents his own room. Omary explains how he managed to build up a good reputation:

Asimwe: So, with these mama [ladies working in the market] how come they leave you with their businesses?

Omary: These mama?

Asimwe: Mmmh

Omary: It is that familiarity, that is why am telling you [we are] familiar to each other

Asimwe: Familiar to each other

Omary: Yes, familiar to each other because someone like me over here

William: Through familiarity they trust us that you can't do something like this and run away

Omary: I can be crossing that way due to the fact that I have already become well known here at the market, I can go and express my problems that my things are not okay [economic hardships] but I want goods, goods so that I can sell them "I will bring your money [later]". Since am well known and we have already become familiar to each other and we have worked together already [they will give him goods to sell],

you see? Am already known because I used to carry luggage and apart from that I was selling fruit, do you see these people selling fruits besides the road[64]?

Asimwe: Mmmh

Omary: [I] Am the one who taught them, I was the one who started selling fruits with a push cart on the roads there was no one selling before. […] The same with getting goods, since I was well known already going in farms and carrying luggage and so forth. My intention was to be well known and get rid of this name chokoraa. That was how I got to be well known, even today. Until tomorrow in the morning I can wake up and take my push cart, go and fetch water over there and sell it, in the evening I bring what belongs to someone [wholesale price of the goods] and I remain with what belongs to me [profit]

Asimwe: Okay so there is a means to get rid of this name?

Omary: Yes

Asimwe: And that way is by

Omary: To keep yourself busy with works

Asimwe: Keeping yourself busy with work

Omary: Yes, and after working in front of many people's eyes, you can't miss minor casual works [you will be given small jobs to do]

Asimwe: You can't miss

Omary: Mmmh, you can't miss at all (Interview 9: Omary and William, male, age 23 and 16.)

The key factors involved in building Omary's reputation are becoming known to the women and vendors in the market, being innovative (by selling fruit in push carts at different locations in town) and working hard 'in front of many people's eyes'. Other examples of children and young people who are conscious about their behaviour in front of others in the market can be found in the data. One child we observed as never spending time with the other street-involved children his age, but instead spent time with adults who owned shops or drove motorcycle taxis, known as bodaboda. Here, he explains why he avoids other street-involved children:

Asimwe: most the time when I come to the street I see others in groups, but you are alone

Ricard: I have my intention because, you can walk with groups, from those groups when one of them steals he might come to accuse you or they can say anything [to you],

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[64] At various locations around town young men stand with push carts full of oranges and sell them for 100 TSH each, 0.034 GBP equivalent.

> *[…] you can pass by here with those groups and they [the community] verbally abuse [you] and when you come to stay here brothers beat you and tell you that 'you are walking with those gangster machalii, it is better you stay here and walk around on your own.'*
>
> *Asimwe: Who are those brothers?*
>
> *Ricard: They are just brothers you may also find a brother telling you 'stop doing a certain thing it will affect you,' and it is true that you will be affected*
>
> *Asimwe: Are those brothers the street-connected adults?*
>
> *Ricard: No are just people who pass by like bodaboda over there [who] I spend time with*

(Interview 16: Ricard, male, assumed 16 but unsure of his age.)

This child has responded to the advice of adults whom he encounters in the market and the surrounding areas. He does not smoke marijuana and he does not steal. However, he does beg; a behaviour that many street-living young people would not respect. Ricard is given gifts in kind by community members and earns small change sweeping the area where the *bodaboda* drivers wait for customers. Despite this, Ricard is known to the other street-involved children and young people and he took us to find them on several occasions during our street observations. Ricard is not someone who is explicitly forging a reputation and building relationships with others in the market for future employment gain, since he believes that he is too young to plan for his future. As he ages on the street, there will come a time where he will no longer be able to make a living begging or performing small chores for other adults. At this point, it would be interesting to discover how his behaviour and obedience to other adults in the market have impacted his ability to gain employment. Ricard is an interesting anomaly in the data for his ability to resist peer pressure and to avoid behaviours that he believes will get him into trouble with other adults or the police. In effect, by abiding with societal rules of acceptable behaviour, Ricard is accepting that his own stability is dependent on others who are more powerful and wealthier than himself. Other street-involved young people may not be willing to let go of their autonomy in the same way. As Wood (2003) explains, to be poor is 'to be unable to control future events because others have more control over them' (pg. 456). Wood argues that people are poor because of others, specifically the political economy that they live in, and that '[s]ecuring any kind of longer term future requires recruiting the support of these others', but at the price of

'dependency and the foreclosure of autonomy' (pg. 456). Securing the support of others is exactly what the street-involved children and young people find difficult, as is the idea of giving up their autonomy and becoming dependent on adults whom they do not know if they can trust. Perhaps in this instance it is Ricard's willingness to be subservient to adults that allow him to recruit their support; similar to children who decide to stay at home despite living in poor conditions.

It is difficult to assess for sure why some children and young people feel able to cooperate with adults in the market place and become well known for being hard working while others resist manual labour and small jobs. Economic reasoning would suggest that high-risk jobs, such as handling stolen goods (I7 and I9), and jobs involving deception, such as being an agent[65] (I9), require less effort and pay more money and therefore a rational self-interested human would naturally choose to engage in this sort of work over laborious and low paid work. Other explanations may include the children and young people's perception of the availability of alternative work; as in the example above, some believed there was no work while others believed there was plenty of work. Additionally, some children and young people may have a low sense of self-efficacy for attaining work opportunities. Following numerous set-backs, it is understandable that children and young people would begin to believe that accessing some forms of employment is impossible; as discussed in the previous chapter with regards to becoming a bus conductor (I7).

If children and young people reach the stage where they believe that gaining a permanent, secure and legitimate income is impossible, then the glass-ceiling becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy. The difference of experiences that shape the attitudes of participants in I7 and I9 will be numerous. Similarly, there may be vast differences in the young people's character and expectations that shape their choice of income-generating activities. What is clear is that Omary (I9) has gained confidence in his ability to make a living in the market and that this

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[65] Reselling stolen goods.

confidence allows him to have a more positive outlook on his employment prospects; an enthusiasm that few other street-involved children and young people in this study shared.

5.3.3   Hindsight and 'passing down wisdom'

As was introduced at the beginning of this section, the street-involved young people and children approach street life differently either because their opportunities differ, because of varying levels of experience, or possibly because of neurological development associated with age (see Blakemore, 2012 for discussion of the neurological changes occurring in the brain during adolescence; see Crone *et al.*, 2008 for findings on difference in risk-taking decision-making in young versus older adolescents). The young people in this study appeared more able to reflect on their lives on the street and consider regrets they may have had regarding their past decisions. Perhaps because the older youth had learned what it was like to reach the end of their street career without securing stable employment they insisted that younger children should be at school. Additionally, street-involved young people said that they discouraged younger children from remaining on the street and encouraged them to return home and rebuild the relationship with their families:

> *Michael: Even if you become friend with him [a child considering street life] there is no street-connected child who [would] stop telling his fellow that 'you should not come at the street, we are living very difficult life, so you should go back home, don't copy us'. But a street-connected child never hides the truth to a new child entering the street*
>
> *Asimwe: Are they normally told?*
>
> *Michael: Yes, they are normally told that 'ooh if you have run away on your own wish, no one has chased you away, just go back at home and ask for forgiveness from your parents', depending on the kind of life that we have already lived, we have seen [what it is like on the street]* (Interview 7: Michael, male, age 22.)

Michael is suggesting that it is better for children to return home and make peace with their parents than to stay on the street since life on the street is difficult. You might expect him to be more understanding of children's reasons for moving to the street since this is a decision he has made himself but he does not want to 'hide the truth' from new children arriving. Michael offers the younger children a specific perspective on street life owing to his experience. He perhaps knows that children when they have just arrived are at a unique point in their

street life when it would be easier for them to change their mind and reverse their decision; something that becomes more difficult the longer they remain on the street.

In the previous section, Omary is encouraging the younger street-involved teenagers that it is possible to find a lot of work and rent their own room if they are willing to work hard. Since children arrive on the street with relatively limited life experience, and no foresight of the consequences of pursuing a a livelihood on the street, the hindsight that street-involved young people can offer to children is highly valuable. Additionally, it is possible that younger street-involved children will be more likely to listen to older peers who have had similar experiences to them than adults who have no experience of living on the street. However, the older youth also exploit the younger children, and this may make it difficult for the children to trust the older youth. This idea is explored in the following memo.

30/06/2015 - I7 - age differences

It seems very clear that there are differences between the ways that the young and the old children experience, think about and live life. The older children/young adults are thinking about ways to help the young ones - encouraging them to go home and avoid the mistakes they made etc. Whereas the children see the adults as people who harass them and make their life difficult - taking money from them etc. There is an element of reciprocity in their relationship, however. Like different members of the same family, since they share similar experience. Do the young children shun the adults' advice like they do that of their parents and others? The young children discuss how they lose respect for the youth/adults who become mateja.

It is clear that the young people's hindsight and shared experiences could be an asset in helping younger street-involved children consider the consequences of their choices and behaviours on the street. It is possible that the young people may be able to offer the younger children advice and ideas that an NGO practitioner would not think to consider. Exploring avenues to improving collaboration and cooperation between the street-involved generations could provide children with useful ideas, opportunities and strategies for engaging with street-life in a way that does not lead to restrictive livelihood prospects. However, such collaboration would also require meeting the needs of the street-

involved young people, who are currently a population that governments and NGOs have neglected in developing country contexts.

5.4   Conclusion

This chapter has explored different examples of what street-involved children and young people's livelihoods consist of in the areas studied and how these income generating activities can hit a glass-ceiling that is unforeseen for many children and young people. In section 5.1 I discussed what it means for children and young people's work opportunities to be limited by the stigmatisation and exclusion they experience, in section 5.2 I explored how it is that children find themselves aging into reduced livelihood options and section 5.3 discussed examples where children and young people had managed to circumvent the restrictions many face on their income generating opportunities. The chapter suggests that a person's present time perspective, in part shaped by their environment of uncertainty, leads street-involved children to make choices that may benefit them in the short-term but negatively impact their reputation in the long-term. However, others who live in the same environment can perceive the opportunities around them and understand the importance of developing a good reputation for securing future employment.

For many childhoods, adults serve the purpose of advising and guiding children into making good choices. No child can be expected to have the foresight to consider the consequences of their own actions without gaining life experience or being advised by someone who has a broader perspective and understanding. The challenge for street-involved children is that there are very few adults that they can trust and accept this advice and guidance from. It is clear that children are very skilled at surviving on the street and may reach a point where they are content with their street lives. It is important to appreciate that street-involved children have made a difficult choice to live on the street and try to understand their concerns and priorities. However, it is also important to remind children that they will grow up and that the actions that they take in the present will influence what they will be able to do in the future. None of the children we spoke to desired to become an adult living on the street, and many aspired to rent their own rooms. More research needs to be done into the best ways to

engage children in planning for their futures and how best to harness their potential to ensure they are able to achieve realistic and context appropriate goals. Since street-involved children and young people are a highly-mobile population, there is limited research on their transitions into adulthood. Additionally, interventions with street-involved children may cease when a child reaches a certain age (Evans, 2006); thereby losing contact with the child and any information about what becomes of them. The focus on future is also fundamentally important because once a child can no longer imagine themselves away from the street this is when they are most likely to fall into street-dependence (Conticini, 2008) and 'give up on themselves', as the participants in this research so eloquently expressed.

Chapter 6: Change Point

This study has identified that at various points in children and young people's street experiences they will make a decision that will change the course of their lives; sending them on a trajectory that is difficult to return from. All of the street-involved children and young people in this study have individual street stories, but many of them go through similar scenarios of decision making that I have termed 'change points'. These scenarios include: deciding to leave home and stay on the street, deciding to move into sheltered accommodation or remain on the street, deciding to engage in risky or non-risky work and deciding to take soft or hard drugs[66]. Other studies with young people have identified similar moments of change, exploring the levels of agency a child or young person was able to exercise (see Thomson *et al.*, 2002 and their discussion of 'critical moments') and the influencing factors that cause individuals to choose to reform from crime or otherwise (see Cid and Martí, 2012 on 'turning points' and 'returning points'). Berckmans *et al.* (2016) identified four common stories of change among their female street-involved research participants in Bolivia; turning 11 or 12 years old, running away from home, street life and leaving the street (pg. 516). They identified that social bonds, avoiding feelings of loneliness and having someone to 'live for' (ibid: 523) were key factors that influenced children's decision to leave the street, with family relationships playing an influential role.

Thomson *et al.* (2002), when investigating young people's transitions into adulthood across socio-economic backgrounds in the UK, identify 'critical

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[66] The distinction between a soft or hard drug is defined here as the children and young people would consider it. In the research, there is a clear distinction between those who smoke marijuana and those who sniff, smoke or inject cocaine and heroin. Those who habitually smoke marijuana do not normally use khat (a drug with similar effects to amphetamines), but their attitude towards khat implies that it could be a gateway drug to 'harder' drugs. Glue sniffing is normally considered a soft drug, although, some young people recognise that the use of 'soft' drugs can have negative impacts if a person allows the drug to 'control' them.

moments', defined as "an event described in an interview that either the researcher or the interviewee sees as having important consequences for their lives and identity" (pg. 339) and a 'pivot' point "on which a narrative structure turns" (pg. 339). Thomson *et al.* seek to understand young people's agency within these critical moments and where outcomes sit on a choice/fate continuum. While acknowledging that the young people's decisions are related to their circumstances and social location, they also emphasise the sense of agency young people claimed over their choices and the role these choices played in identity formation. Such choices, although facilitated by young people's agency, can at times reduce young people's overall options. Thomson *et al.* provide the example of Hamad who had committed to his identity as a 'bad boy', potentially limiting his choices at critical moments:

> *"Hamad has engaged in a process of 'bridge burning' - with his community, the education system and friendship groups [through expulsion from school and engagement in crime]. Timing was a crucial factor in this. The early decision he made about his identity had long-term consequences in his life and his ability to access subsequent resources and opportunities." (Thomson et al., 2002: 350)*

It would have been difficult for Hamad to understand the long-term consequences of 'burning bridges' with those around him; making it difficult for these consequences to factor in his decision making. Indeed, Thomson *et al.* acknowledge that hindsight played an important role in the recognition of critical moments among participants in their study.

Cid & Martí's (2012) study, conducted with individuals from Spain, the Maghreb and Latin America, use theories of 'turning points' developed by Sampson and Laub (1993) and added the concept of 'returning points' when considering reoffending rates of young people convicted of crimes or involved in drug taking. Both theories engage with the role of support networks, relationships and opportunities for employment in shaping young people's sense of self-efficacy and decisions to turn away from criminal activity. Cid & Martí (2012) distinguish 'returning points' as points where pre-existing supportive family relationships have encouraged individuals to 'return' to their families and away from their criminal lives. Whereas 'turning points' may be triggered by a new opportunity, such as offer of a job. Cid & Martí (2012) raise two interesting theories that are of relevance to this chapter. The first being the concept of

'cumulative disadvantage', also taken from Sampson & Laub (1997) whereby those who have a trajectory of crime that began later in life found it easier to turn away from crime, whereas those who had started younger "require[d] a more intense number of factors and social bonds as a catalyst of change." (Cid & Martí, 2012: 625). Secondly, Cid & Martí found that age and 'maturity' may play a role in a person's willingness to turn away from criminal activity:

> *"The more consistent finding in this respect is that 'returning points', based on the new meaning that the family or partner acquires for the person because of their supporting role during imprisonment, appeared in the profiles of young-adult and adult offenders but not in that of young offenders. This finding suggests that some pathways to narratives of desistance may more easily be activated by more mature persons." (2012: 615)*

Why a person's level of 'maturity' may affect their likeliness to experience a 'returning point' is uncertain. However, based on responses from my study, older street-involved populations appeared to reflect more on their situations, past mistakes and lack of options for their futures. This tendency for reflection, and fear of what will become of them in the future, may make young people more likely to consider options that were previously unthinkable; such as returning to a family environment.

Other studies from behaviour change perspectives engage with theories that influence decision making. Such discourses suggest that decision making under stressful situations is complex and challenging. When people are 'upset, angry, fearful, outraged, under high stress, involved in conflict, or feel high concern' (Glik, 2007: 36), they are generally less well able to process external information, are less likely to trust figures of authority and are more likely to hear negative information than positive information. As discussed in chapter Chapter 4:, street-involved young people in this study receive more negative feedback from broader Tanzanian society than positive messages due to the heavy stigmatisation of street-involvement. It is therefore logical to assume that the street-involved children and young people in this study are making decisions about their lives in stressful environments where they are most likely to hold onto the negative messages they hear about themselves and are concurrently less likely to trust figures of authority. When living in such an environment, it seems even more remarkable that some children and young people are able to take the

decision to move away from the street and into sheltered accommodation provided by local NGOs.

> *Francis: […] I can't just forget the day when I joined The Centre. For me it was a great change because when I used to live in the street, I think almost all of my dreams were, I think like, evaporating, like, I didn't have time to think about my future. What I was focusing was the only way to get food and protection […].* (Interview 18: Francis, male, former street-living child, former shelter living child, now an independent adult.)

Here, Francis explains that the conflict of priorities that he faced when he lived on the street meant that he did not have time to think about his dreams or his future. However, after deciding to settle at The Centre decisions such as how to find enough food and protection were no longer his responsibility and he became able to return his attention to dreaming about his future. Francis' experience is reminiscent of what is termed "mental noise theory", '[t]his theory holds that when people are stressed, they are attending to a great deal of internal "mental noise" and are less able to attend to externally generated information' (Glik, 2007: 36). While Francis was preoccupied with the daily stresses of food and protection, he was unable to process information that would help him to prepare for his future. For Francis, living at The Centre reduced the mental noise associated with attending to his basic needs and offered him the security necessary to access his internal resources (nef, 2012).

This chapter is divided into three sections. The first section will expand on the stages in life where change points occur. The second section will discuss some of the reasons why street-involved children and young people make a change from one situation to the next. The third section will discuss reasons why street-involved children and young people may resist change. Between these scenarios, 'change' may refer to a move towards a scenario that could be considered better or worse for the child or young person. Throughout this chapter, I will refrain from such value judgements and instead focus on why the change in question 'makes sense' to the child or young person being discussed.

6.1 Stages in life when a change point occurs

These stages broadly map a chronological process when change points occur that are likely to change children and young people's future trajectories and

opportunities. This is not an inevitable linear progression, only this is something that *tends* to happen among the population of street-involved children and young people who engaged in this study. Along this process, not all street-involved children will necessarily have been offered shelter at one of the centres operational in the field areas. Similarly, of those who may have attended the centres, it is not certain if they were given the option to stay at a centre for the medium to long-term, since reunification with families is often prioritised. In these instances, the change point becomes about home or street, rather than shelter or street, with shelter not being a long-term option.

6.1.1   Home or street

Reasons for why children leave home to live on the street are well researched. While many children and young people learn to regard the street as their 'home', when referring to 'home' in this section I am meaning the family, village or community within which the children and young people were born and spent the first part of their childhood. For many children the decision between home and the street is a continuous one, with some children returning home frequently (Van Blerk, 2005), allowing home to remain a key site of identity production for the children and young people. This was not the case for the majority of children and young people involved in this study; only one spoke of his life on the street being for the purpose of continuing to support his family. For many of the children and young people in this study home remained a counterweight against which they measured the merits of street life; constantly balancing which life holds most promise for them at any given time. As discussed in Chapter 4 of this thesis, the children involved in this study expressed a detached relationship from the families and communities they had come from due to the abuse or neglect they had experienced while at home. Simultaneously, however, they idealised 'home-life'; suggesting that at home children would get dry sheets, food and not have to think about their own needs. The following short memos show the progression of our understanding of how the children and young people in this study perceived their own or an imagined home life.

29/04/2014 - Resources/Work and finances

Is the only reason for being on the street so that they can get more resources than are available at home? Therefore, if they're not earning on the street they might as well go home? This chimes with the 'leaving home to better oneself, to improve one's quality of life, to seek something more than is provided at home' [narrative].

03/06/2015 - No jobs so returning home - I10

When discussing interview 10, Asimwe was told that there aren't many jobs on the streets anymore, so children are returning home.

22/06/2015 - Discussing interview 9 with Asimwe

We are discussing why it is that children keep comparing the street with home - "at home we would be sleeping under bedsheets, we would be going to school, etc." We were discussing how, if home is so enviable, why do they still stay on the street? We deduced that although these specific children may not want to, or would find it difficult to, go home, a [theoretical] home life is still preferable, and some talk about wanting to have a 'cared for' family. It is unlikely they would want their own children to grow up on the street.

23/06/2015 - Looking through I9, I10 - half-way feedback

Yesterday Asimwe and I were talking about how the children are often comparing life on the street to life at home, almost romanticising home. However, when they talk about the times they have been home, they say that home isn't as good as the street since there's no freedom and they can't earn money […].

13/10/2015 - Best life - I8

Some young people say best life is being back with family, but implicit in this is a family which cares - meaning not necessarily the family how it currently is, but how they would like it to be.

It seems from the interview data that the children and young people's idea of 'home' was not life on the street. However, there is evidence that they have 'made home' on the street by their use of the word 'mascan' (I5, I8 and I13), which they use when referring to the street as the place where they live and find a sense of belonging. However, the word used to refer to 'home' in the interview transcripts, referring to the family or community they have come from, is 'nyumbani'. This is the Kiswahili word for home which, if translated literally, means 'in the house'. In the following excerpt the children and young people are talking about the 'best' life. The respondents offer various suggestions, including renting their own room, living somewhere safe and having somewhere to go for advice. One child suggests that living at home is the best life:

William: The best life is also living at home

Asimwe: What do you mean with home?

William: Home

Asimwe: Eeeh

Daudi: When you are at home anything that you need you get it

Benji: At home you under care of parents

William: Yes

Benji: You don't think of looking for money…

William: For food

Benji: … [Or] How will I look for money for clothing, you don't think of anything

Asimwe: Mmh

Benji: Because for example here [on the street], you think on how to look for money so that I [will have clothes to] wear, I look for money so that I eat

Asimwe: Mmmh

Daudi: I should look for money for soap

Asimwe: Mmmh. Please, can I ask a tricky question, if that [is] the case why are we in the street?

Benji: What

Asimwe: Why are we in the street?

Benji: It depends on how other's life is

Daudi: It depends with the way life is at home

Benji: You find others their life at home is tough
(Interview 8: Daudi, William and Benji, all male, aged 19, 16 and 17.)

After speaking about how life at home is preferable, Asimwe asks the respondents why, if home life is best, they live on the street. They reply that it depends on the way life is at home for individuals; for 'others' their home life is 'tough'. This emphasises that 'home' may seem like a desirable destination in theory, but that *their* home, or the homes of others may not resemble the ideal home that they imagine. Children in this study had a variety of reasons for leaving home which were coded as: feeling like a burden, feeling different, irresponsibility or neglect, kutesa[67], lack of love, rejection and step-parents/inheritance. Underpining the excerpts of data that were collated under

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[67] Being treated unfairly and/or tormented.

these codes was the narrative that some children in the family are treated differently or more harshly than their peers; asked to perform more chores, given less food, punished more severely or suffer teasing compared with other children in the household. This treatment often followed the separation of parents, or the death of a parent, and the introduction of a step-parent into the family. The following excerpts illustrate some of the reasons why children decided to leave home.

> *Stevie: Yes, if mother has separated with father she gets married again and father gets another lover and leaves the child with grandmother then the child finds life, like, I don't know, being tough and he goes to the streets.*
>
> *Iman: You live with step-mother, but that step-mother does not treat you with your rights as your biological mother was treating you. Or you find step-father does not treat you accordingly with your rights like your biological father was treating you with your rights*
>
> *Asimwe: Which rights?*
>
> *Iman: You find s/he hates everything that you are doing, everything that you do s/he hates. […] If s/he see you sometimes he feels like vomiting.*
> (Interview 4: Stevie and Iman, both male, aged 15 and 16.)

In Stevie's explanation for children leaving home, step-parents are a key push factor. He relates the presence of a step-parent to not being treated well and not having his 'rights' fulfilled. When pressed futher, he elaborates that not having rights fulfilled is linked to a more active, and even guttural, 'dislike' that a step-parent might have for certain step-children; a persistent disgust and detestation of a child and everything they do. The next excerpt elaborates on this same sentiment, explaining how this constant harassment by step-parents can become unbareable and cause children to retailiate.

> *Taye: Okay, me, I have already lived with my step-mother after my father married her. When I lived with father, that step-mother was mistreating me, like, when she is preparing food, okay, at eating time, she tells me I eat too much and so forth, I just kept quiet, stop eating and go to wash my hands, take a bath, then go to sleep. If I go out for a while to play, she suddenly calls me and scolds me, and suddenly she hits me. I then decided to go to my mother. When I went to mother, she told me to go and stay with my father. I went back to my father and still that step-mother continued oppressing me. That is when I decided to leave to come to the street. That is when I left, I hated that mother and left her with a scar*
>
> *Asimwe: You left her with a scar?*
>
> *Taye: Yes*
>
> *Asimwe: What did you do to her to give her a scar?*

> *Taye: I threw a stone at her head*
>
> *Asimwe: You threw a stone at her head*
>
> *Taye: Yes*
>
> *Asimwe: Was that the reason why you left home, or you left home because she was oppressing you?*
>
> *Taye: I left home because she was oppressing me.*
> (Interview 3: Taye, male, aged 13.)

In Taye's example, he suggests that he left home because of the torment he received from his step-mother. Practically, his retaliation and 'scarring' of his step-mother would likely be considered a serious offence and potentially prevent him from returning home due to uncertainty about how he would be received, as other young people have explained when leaving home following their involvement in a misdemeaner (I4), presented in Chapter 4 of this thesis.

One street worker and former street-involved child explained how if home is safe and if children's parents are safe, then home is the best place for a street child (I6). Despite this, children and young people discussed many reasons why staying at home had become untenable for them. Being beaten, or the threat of being beaten, at home or at school is another reason why children may decide to leave home (I4, I23). However, corporal punishment is common in Tanzania, at home and in school (Hecker et al., 2014), so being beaten is unlikely to be a sole factor in a child's decision to leave home, but instead is likely to be accompanied by other forms of neglect or abuse which may contribute to more extreme beating than is considered 'acceptable' (Frankenberg *et al.*, 2010).

Another reason why living at home may become untenable for children involved a sense of being over-worked and under-appreciated at home. In the initial stages of open coding the data, the category 'kutesa' was highlighted as a key contributor for children deciding to leave home. Kutesa [lit. to persecute in Kiswahili] describes the harsh treatment that some children receive from their non-parental caregivers, such as step-parents, aunts or uncles. In discussion with Asimwe, we came to a common understanding of 'kutesa' in English:

21/04/2015 - Family (Category)

Kutesa/teasing/exploiting:

> This is the Cinderella or Jane Eyre analogy. [The] child has lost his/her mother, the step-mother/uncle/aunt doesn't want them [in their home] so they make them work hard, they tease them, they give them less/less quality things than the biological children. They are seen as less valuable, [and] they must work harder. This makes leaving and running to the street seem favourable.

However, it is not just with non-parental caregivers that children feel that they receive an unnecessary burden of work in the home. In interview 4, Asimwe asks the young people if it is only abusive families that lead children to run to the street. The interview participants discuss other reasons why children and young people leave the home, including the 'harsh' treatment of parents.

Iman: when you come back from school you have to go to dig

Rey: Once you come back from school

Asimwe: Once you come back from school?

Rey: You take a hoe

Asimwe: Going to dig

Iman: There is no way that I come back from school am tired and other stuff then I go to farm, never

[…]

Asimwe: When you say father is harsh, mother is harsh, what do you mean?

Rey: Harsh is

Asimwe: Mmmh

Rey: Is like that way this (Iman) is saying as soon as you finish taking out school uniforms and you have eaten you go direct to farm

Asimwe: Mmh

Rey: another….

Iman: Another, he does not even want to let you to breath even for a little while to let your body get rest and a normal human being is supposed to let his body relax
(Interview 4: Rey and Iman, male, aged 17 and 16.)

Rather than being teased or singled out for bad treatment, as with Kutesa, the form of 'harshness' discussed above relates primarily to being overworked. Another child explains the conditions under which he may consider returning home:

Asimwe: What do you think of your future?

[Silence]

Iman: That means about my life?

> *Asimwe: Yes, in future*
>
> *Iman: My future*
>
> *Asimwe: Yes*
>
> *Iman: I think of, if. If I can be able to get my money just a little amount not so much amount. Just little amount. I will go back home first. Then after going back home. […] If I go back and mother tells me maybe she can bring me to school again. I will go [to school]. But if it is just performing chores at home. No [I don't want that].*
> (Interview 14: Iman, male, age 16.)

Here Iman only considers staying at home worthwhile if his mother is able to send him to school. He does not want to stay at home if it means 'just' doing chores. Perhaps in this scenario, he considers the work he is able to do on the street more beneficial to him and his future than the chores he would be performing while at home.

Another factor that influences a child's change from home life to street life in a more determined and final way, is if a child feels like they have been rejected by their family. In order to understand the differences between the relationships that children and young people have with street workers and the relationships with their parents, Asimwe asked who they would listen to the most when being given advice.

> *Asimwe: And then also someone else comes let's say is Respick [a street worker] and you have never met each other before, between him and the parent who will be easier to listen to? Is my question clear?*
>
> *William: The parent*
>
> *Eric: Always my sister you are told that blood is heavier*
>
> *[…]*
>
> *Edwin: But there is this, in that situation if there is problem between you and the people at home*
>
> *William: Or is like that, father told you to leave*
>
> *Eric: You will no longer stand at his side anymore*
>
> *Edwin: Yes, you can't listen your relative anymore*
>
> *Asimwe: mmh*
>
> *Daudi: You think of what he has already done to you, rejecting you or chasing you*
> (Interview 13: William, Musa, Edwin, Eric and Daudi, all male, aged 16, 24, 23, 19 and 19.)

In this discussion, the rejection they have experienced at home changes the way they relate to those at home. If they have not been rejected, then 'blood' is

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considered 'heavier than water'. However, after being rejected, they disconnect themselves from such family loyalty and become open to influences outside of the home (as previously mentioned in chapter 4), such as a street worker. While some children may return home on occasion, some may find rejection from family solidifies their decision to remain on the street, as was discussed in one of the street observations:

> *They [the children] also made a joke to the one who went back at home and his brother chased him away because he stole chickens. And he made it clear saying that parents at home normally think that 'we have not changed we are just exactly the way we were when we are young while things are different and we are mature, we have grown up'.*
>
> *[Quoting a young person] 'I decided to go back at home and when I reached home even before I sat down my brother accused me of stealing chickens something I did not [do]. He started fighting me and I decided to leave home for good. But currently I have my cow at home I guess it is big enough now. [Paraphrased for field notes]."* (Notes from street observations, Asimwe.)

In these field notes, one child feels connected to his home due to the assets that belong to him there, such as his cow. However, being accused of theft and being chased away by his brother helped him to decide 'for good' not to return home.

Stigmatisation and suspicion from family, alongside a lack of appreciation for how children have 'matured' on the street, help to push children and young people towards their resolve to remain on the street (SWA1[68], I4). This is a self-reinforcing feedback loop, where children's time away and further involvement in street life risks their reputations at home and widens the gap of understanding between parents and children (I4). This may lead to the children and young people facing increased suspicion when they return home, making returning home more uncomfortable.

Other cultural traditions may make it difficult for a child to return home after they have left and spent time on the street. For example, they may have missed cultural initiation ceremonies that mark their transition into adulthood, as with some Maasai customs (street observation A1) (Spencer, 2015); meaning that they

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[68] Street observation.

cannot return home since their position in their home communities becomes ambiguous. Additionally, since Tanzanian culture requires that children be punished so that they can learn from their mistakes (see section 4.3) some children and young people would avoid returning home for fear of the punishment they might receive on return:

> *Francis: And the other thing, if you, you know. This is sometimes depending on how you leave your home place. Sometimes for me, the [my] second phase [leaving] to the street, I stole the money from home. So, getting back [returning] to my home place...*
>
> *Gemma: Yeah...*
>
> *Francis: ... was a very difficult thing because I knew, when I would just get back there I would be punished. So, if I heard that The Centre is planning to do, to visit my home place with me [inhale of breath through teeth], I was quite, I mean I was afraid of that situation. And I remember the day when they took me there [short inhale of breath through teeth], I was very worried, you see? And then, ahhh, fortunately my parents were not at home! [Laughter]* (Interview 18: Francis, male, former street-involved child and former street worker at The Centre.)

For a child that may have experienced severe abuse at home, the fear of punishment on return is likely to heavily influence their decision to remain on the street and look for alternative homes.

> *Michael: Yes, they [the younger children] are normally told that "ooh if you have run away on your own wish [and] no one has chased you away, just go back at home and ask for forgiveness from your parents"* (Interview 7: Michael, male, age 22.)

Here, Michael is explaining how the older youth advise the new children who arrive on the street. Implicit in a child's return home is that they will need to ask for forgiveness. From interviews with community members (I12), it is understood that in Tanzanian culture, forgiveness is most likely to be granted after a child has been punished so that they are able to learn that what they have done is wrong. This punishment often includes being beaten (Frankenberg *et al.*, 2010).

Finally, some children and young people expressed a desire to go home with gifts or money and that they were waiting to make enough money before they returned home (I4). It could be that children and young people never feel like they have made enough money to take home and that greater lengths of absence may increase the burden of bringing home something to show for their time on the street (I4). Since we have discussed that as children age on the street it

becomes more difficult to earn money without resorting to stealing, it could be that the increased challenges, combined with a sense of shame for engaging in illegal behaviour, make it more difficult for children and young people to earn enough money to return home. While this may be the case for some children and young people, it is important to note that during this study we did come across street-involved young people who earned money on the street in order to support their families at home and therefore maintained good ties to their families (I4).

So far, this section has focused mostly on why children and young people face a change point after which they become very unlikely to return home. Other parts of this thesis have focused on the comparative benefits children and young people perceive from living on the street; including opportunities to earn money and live free from familial constraints. Children and young people may also find respect and appreciation on the street that they do not receive at home. When asked what makes children feel happy, one participant volunteered:

> *Benji: Even if you don't have money even if you did not get money [that day] but there is a time when you gather with all machalii somewhere*
>
> *Asimwe: Mmmmh*
>
> *Benji: You feel happy and so, you share ideas and having [telling] stories so you will be feeling happy, you feel like life goes on but difficulties in life are [still] there.*
> (Interview 8: Benji, male, age 17.)

As children continue living in an environment that is alien to their families, the relationships they share with those who understand them become even more important. The familiarity children and young people experience and support that they receive from one another on the street become an alternative to family life and offer them belonging that can solidify their identity on the street (van Blerk, 2005).

In all these scenarios, children and young people are making the decisions that they think are the best for them and it is unfair and unrealistic to place the burden of reunification on their shoulders. The factors that culminate in a home-to-street change point are largely out of their control and in many cases their actions are led by their desire for protection and to meet their basic needs. Once living

on the street, the freedom and opportunities they experience make returning home seem undesirable, as one young person argued:

> *Omary: You see, and go back at home and see like there are certain things like you are forbidden from, so you see aah, it is better I go to town if you have already used to get money and at home you don't get money you see*
>
> *Asimwe: Mmmh*
>
> *Omary: Or may be at home you are given five hundred or one thousand while you are used to own money while at town, you find aah what is home for? I better go to town.* (Interview 9: Omary, male, age 23, renting his own room, formerly street-living.)

From the data presented in this thesis, is unrealistic to expect children and young people to take an active decision to return home and reunify with their families without significant external assistance. Conticini (2008) argues similarly in the context of Ethiopia and Bangladesh:

> *"Despite the fact that most NGOs exclusively focus on motivating the child to go back home, far more attention should be paid to motivating the family and community to reaccept the child, removing those problems that made the child go on the street in the first place, and reducing cultural taboos—such as the ones related to 'reputation'—which could prevent the reinsertion of the child into her/his community. In the cases where children are running away from abusive parents or guardians, the best interest of the child should prevail with no attempt at reunification." (pg. 423-424)*

Here, Conticini (2008) is arguing for the burden of responsibility for reunification to be placed on the family and home community to create a welcoming environment for children and young people to return to. Indeed, as Cid & Martí (2012) found in their study of incarcerated young people, strong family bonds developed as young people were supported while in prison and away from home. These bonds were key in a young person's decisions to return home and turn away from crime.

6.1.2 Shelter or street

Similar to the home/street change point is children's decision to, if offered, take up residence in a shelter. In the case of shelters, children may not have any experience of living in an institution and therefore are not able to make an 'informed' decision unlike when deciding between living on the street or returning home. Instead, the decision to attempt living in a shelter is similar to a

child's initial decision to leave home in that it is moving from a known scenario to an unknown scenario. As discussed before, a child's decision to leave home is often based on a home situation that has become intolerable and therefore leaving the child with no perceivable alternative. However, once a child has habituated to street life and has begun to find it tolerable and sometimes enjoyable, it is understandable why they may be less willing to risk another significant and unknown change. This may be one reason why NGOs find it easier to recruit new arrivals to the street for shelter interventions (Beazley, 2003), since new arrivals will be choosing between one unknown and intimidating option (the street) versus another unknown and intimidating option (the shelter).

When interviewing adults who had formerly lived in sheltered accommodation, it seemed that it was common for a child to make their decision about staying in the shelter over time and following several periods of moving between shelter and the street before making a final decision.

> *Simon: I used to stay there [the shelter] a couple of days but then I would run away because I was so used to hustling and getting money so they come for me again they capture me[69] and they take me back. So I did that several times.* (Interview 21: Simon, former street-involved child who lived in shelter, now adult.)

Children's return to the shelter was often due to encouragement from a street worker[70] who had taken time to seek out the child and talk to them about why they decided to leave.

> *Simon: During my hustle/struggle with life [on the street] I came across a teacher from The Centre. They pleaded with me telling me to go to their centre which had other kids like me, street kids. I heard about them but I used to dodge them because I was scared but after they told me that I would get an education there. So, I decided to go with them though when I got there it was so hard to get used to that environment there. […].* (Details as above.)

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[69] It is possible here that the interviewee is referring to his 'capture' flippantly. The shelter that he is referring to had an open door policy where children were able to come and go as they pleased. It is unlikely that they would have 'captured' children by force and if they had, the children could easily leave the shelter at will.

[70] The children refer to street workers and social workers both as 'teachers'.

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Peter: And come here/The Centre I felt I was missing town again and I have found different life over here so I decided to go back

Charles: You went back to town

Peter: Yes

Charles: And as you went back how was the street life?

Peter: Because when I went back, when I came back [to the street from the shelter], already I had been interviewed by teachers from The Centre when I went for the first time because he [the youth he met on the street who advised him to go to The Centre the first time] brought me and handed me to teachers. Right. So, I was interviewed where are you coming from and so and so. Right. I was told to take a shower and so and so, by the time I was told to take a shower is when I escaped.

Charles: You escaped

Peter: On the following day is when the teachers themselves followed me

Charles: Aaah

Peter: Teachers from The Centre

Charles: So, teachers from The Centre were there ones who came and search for you at the street

Peter: Yes, in town

Charles: Not that youth

Peter: Not him, teachers from The Centre were the ones who looked for me again and took me. Right.

Charles: Aaah

Peter: It was on the following day

Charles: Yes

Peter: For example,e at twelve or two [pm], is when then I started living at The Centre, I got used to life from there and started to live from there. (Interview 19: Peter, former street-involved child who lived in shelter, age 25.)

As in the example above, and for others interviewed in this study (I18), a familiar youth or group of young people provided the link between children on the streets and the shelter. Many of the interview participants expressed a sense of fear when anticipating moving to a shelter and took time to get use to the new environment. For some, finding familiar faces on arrival at the shelter provided comfort.

Francis: [W]hen I was in the street I used to pass the The Centre way, […] I thought it was a school. But when someone, when I get the chance to go there it was surprising. […] I wish I had known it earlier. And sometime when I was having, I

used to go to the river, there is a river close to here known as ____[71] river, so we went there, get swimming. So, there was The Centre children whom we met with them when we were swimming in that river. So, we didn't know, I didn't know if they were the street kids like I.

Gemma: Ahhh, did you talk to those children when you were at the river?

Francis: Ah, yeah! I used to talk to them. And also when I get to The Centre and I found them in The Centre, ooo(!), everyone was looking at each other and saying, "you used to... [not clear what was said, but a sign of recognition and surprise]," and it was funny when I recognised that I had spent some of my time with them. Yeah. That was the situation. And I also remember when I was in the street, the The Centre team did a census, a street children census, and I was interviewed by them, by one of the guy whom when I came to The Centre I also saw him.

Gemma: Ah-ha. So you...

Francis: ... he was an older boy, yeah.

Gemma: Ah-ha. An older boy who lived at The Centre and then...

Francis: Yeah, he once lived in The Centre and then he joined higher education. He's called ____, have you heard about him?

Gemma: Yes.

[…]

Gemma: How did that feel, arriving and seeing, seeing these people [the ones he recognised]?

Francis: For me, it was happy, because when I get there for the first time, I thought it is not a very very very nice place. Because, I found a high number of children there, and with different ages. Yeah. Like, there was very old kids, like the youth, and there also was the very young children. So I thought [wondered] whether I could just live peaceful there. (Interview 18: Francis, male, former street-involved child, shelter resident and, latterly, street worker.)

Francis felt happiness and surprise when he saw people that he recognised upon his first visit to The Centre. He experienced these emotions alongside a sense of intimidation and, despite getting into a fight on his first day, Francis eventually habituated himself to The Centre enough for him to decide to stay for the long-term. It is difficult to assess the extent to which the people who he had met outside of The Centre helped him to feel more secure at The Centre, or whether these people were a crucial factor in him deciding to stay. However, a consistency of encounters with The Centre staff does feature in these adults' narratives of change from street to shelter life, despite the challenges associated

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[71] River name omitted.

with the change such as facing new and apparently intimidating peers; thus, the significant role of supportive relationships in this process cannot be discounted.

Although the reasons for children and young people deciding not to stay in shelters are numerous and complex, the two most commonly cited reasons in this study are that children miss making money and miss taking drugs; two things which they cannot do when they live in the shelter full-time. While these reasons are likely to be overly simplistic, they highlight the stated importance of earning and drug use in the lives of the children. This resonates with numerous accounts from children in this study, emphasising their concerns over work and income, and the significant role that substance use plays in their daily life and socialising. Although it is not possible to explore the physiological impact of substance use in this thesis, Duff (2012) explores the role of relationships, objects and spaces in influencing the consumption of alcohol and other drugs. Using actor-network theory, Duff (2012) ascribes agency to spaces, objects and relationships that he argues mediate the way that alcohol and other drugs are consumed (Wilton and Moreno, 2012). This includes the acknowledgement that alcohol and other drugs are considered by some as important for bonding with friends and strangers, and that substances themselves have an agentic role in the process and practices of consumption:

> *"It was especially common for participants to describe unexpected desires to consume more once intoxicated, with most participants speaking very explicitly about the force of the substance and its role in shaping consumption patterns." (Duff, 2012: 151)*

It is not unreasonable to assume that children and young people's environment, relationships and chosen substance all play a role in whether children and young people feel able to live away from the street. Prout (2011) argues for a deconstruction of the modernist dichotomies that characterised the beginnings of the new sociology of childhood (such as structure versus agency); 'including the excluded middle' and 'attending to the networks, flows and mediations of its [childhoods] production' (pg. 4). A deeper analysis of environmental factors and mediating substances could produce interesting insights into the barriers to change that children and young people experience when faced with an opportunity to move to a shelter. This is another change point in which placing too much emphasis on a child's stubbornness (I12) or aversion to structured

living is unhelpful. To do so places too much emphasis on a child's individual agency to make an informed decision. Instead, Duff refers to a person's 'agentic capacity' which is mediated through a network of relationships, spaces and objects (2012), which could include the use of substances and the stress of living in a street environment. Duff also explores a person's agentic capacity in relation to the role of 'enabling spaces' for health promotion and increasing a person's wellbeing; defining enabling spaces as:

> *"A place may be described as enabling to the extent that it furnishes resources like hope, joy or excitement that extend an actor's agentic capacities, even if only momentarily." (2011: 154)*

Duff argues that discourse on enabling places often puts an overemphasis on the psychological processes of recovery rather than the restorative qualities of the place itself. When faced with a population who is reluctant to enter into a potential 'enabling place', this begs the question of whether there may be some enabling processes that can influence a child or young person's ideas about embracing shelter life, should a particular shelter be appropriate. Certainly, Duff's research (2011) re-emphasises the importance of planning and building shelters for street-involved children that are genuinely enabling, providing hope, joy, or excitement that extend the children's agentic capacities.

6.1.3 Risky or non-risky work

The change point for risky or non-risky work is different from the other change points in that almost all children and young people will engage in risky work (such as stealing or 'collecting'[72] scrap metal) at some point during their time on the street. The change point occurs as children and young people decide on their main income-generating activity based on an assessment of their appetite for

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[72] When children and young people talk about 'collecting' scrap metal, this often means taking scrap metal from other people's properties. Children and young adolescents do not get punished as severely as older teenagers when caught taking scrap metal from private property. Nevertheless, it is considered as risky work since a child can be beaten if found and it is an activity that is stigmatised, thereby negatively impacting a child's reputation and therefore future employment opportunities.

engaging in risky work. Some children and young people decide to not engage in risky work either because of fear of being punished or arrested, or because they want to build a good reputation for themselves in the market place and earn money legitimately. The concept of balancing the risk-reward of different income-generating activities has been recorded among street-involved child populations in Congo, Ghana and Zimbabwe (Shand *et al.*, 2017). Shand *et al.* (2017) similarly define risk as "the potential for violence, injury, and arrest when undertaking the task [of income generation]" (pg. 427) and have found low-risk and low-reward work to be 'labouring', low-risk and high-reward work to be 'begging', 'recycling' and 'cleaning', high-risk and low-reward work to be 'guarding', 'vending' and 'carrying'[73], and high-risk and high-reward work to be 'gambling', 'theft', 'selling drugs' and 'sex work' (pg. 427). Shand *et al.* (2017) also link age to the level of risk associated with particular work: older children may be more physically able to carry loads.

This thesis argues that collecting scrap metal, and theft in general, holds higher risk for older street-involved populations. While children and young people spoke frequently of being beaten on the street, the notion that they may be killed by the community when caught for theft was raised in two of the interviews (I7, I9). I cannot independently verify that young people have been or are being murdered by community members when found stealing. However, research into deaths caused by mob violence in Dar es Salaam paints a profile of victims that resemble the description of street-involved young people (Outwater *et al.* 2011). Outwater *et al.* (2011) studied homicide morgue entries in Dar es Salaam and focused on those who had been killed by mob violence but whose bodies had not been identified, labelled 'Unknowns'. In the Dar es Salaam homicide surveillance of 2005, 74 individuals were labelled as 'Unknown', accounting for 22% of all homicides (Outwater *et al.*, 2011). They summarise characteristics of this group of homicide victims:

> *"quantitatively, it was discovered that Unknowns are younger [mean and median age 26.4 years and 25 years], more often killed by mob violence, in a public place than Knowns. Qualitatively, through the open-ended question it has been learned that many*

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[73] Referred to as 'unloading' produce from lorries by participants in this study.

of the victims are petty thieves, and observations of their body size and clothing suggest that they are economically very poor." (pg. 264)

Using qualitative interviews, Outwater *et al.* were able to collect profiles of some of the victims labelled as 'unknown'. Here, they provide information about one of these victims:

"Dula was from Mtwara. He had no relatives. He stayed a long time at DogoDogo Center [a home for street children], until he wanted women. He saw that he had already become an adult and he ran away. He tried petty business—he tried to sell cassava. He bought cassava and sat by the side of the road, but the cassava dried up before he could finish selling it. Thereby he came to steal. He lived in an area of chaos: a lot of uproar, breaking and entering, thieving, smoking bhangi. Dula smoked heroin and marijuana. In the evening, he went to steal. Dula lived on the streets although for the last year he had got a room. He owned a radio, a video, and a bed."
(2011, 263)

Dula's story is reminiscent of many of the stories told by participants in my study; arriving on the street, spending time in a centre for street children, attempting to make money through small business, struggling to make enough money and therefore stealing, using drugs, progressing onto more serious drug use, renting a room and continuing to steal. By some standards, Dula had 'succeeded' by renting a room and no longer living on the street, but his dependence on theft for his income still presented an issue. Dula and a friend were killed using machetes and stones for stealing a mobile phone, but they had been known by the community to be serial offenders; compounding the case against them. Additionally, the majority of unknowns 10/74 had died in the business section of one ward, where mechanic and vehicle spare-part sellers were located (Outwater *et al.*, 2011): this may support the assertion made by the participants in my study regarding the risk of 'collecting' scrap metal. When concluding their discussion Outwater *et al.* suggest that Dula's case may have been representative of many of the Unknowns identified in their study, arguing that:

"as the merging of the data sets was so smooth, the story resonates, and his [Dula's] demographics (age, sex, site and cause of death) are typical, he may be representative of many of this cohort: uneducated, unemployed petty thieves, without nearby family to claim the body. The community supported him while he lived his life as a parentless street child, but finally refused to sustain an adult preying on them for all his needs."
(2011: 264)

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While many street-involved children engage in theft throughout their time on the street. The research from Outwater *et al.* (2012) and claims from participants in my study suggest that an over-dependence on theft as an income, or stealing as a career, comes with significant risks: the risk of becoming locked into unsustainable living arrangements that depend on high-reward work and ultimately the risk of becoming ostracised and death.

For those who are willing to accept lower rewards, the long-term pay-off is a reputation of reliability among others in the market-place. However, to invest in lower reward work in the present with the hope of future gains requires the necessary facilitative environment and support network, as discussed in chapter 5.

6.1.4 Hard or soft drugs

Almost all the children and young people in this study consumed alcohol or other drugs on a regular basis. Often drug use was a communal activity where children and young people would share with their peers what drugs they had managed to acquire. Although there did seem to be some difference in drug use between the field sites, with children in one field site more obviously sniffing glue than those in the other, most children agreed on a hierarchy of acceptable and non-acceptable drugs to use. This hierarchy was determined on the basis of whether a drug made someone 'out of their senses' (I1, I2) enough so that they could no longer work. To be 'out of one's senses' meant that one was no longer a good companion on the street since they were unable to look after themselves or engage in meaningful conversation (I2). Over time during the fieldwork, we became familiar with the noun 'teja' [pl. mateja]. As introduced in chapter 4, 'teja' refers to someone who uses serious drugs, whose main preoccupation is with getting access to drugs, who lacks energy to work and who is easy to run away from and therefore not threatening. In the opinion of the children and young people, a teja is not a street-involved child since street-involved children pride themselves on being active and able to support themselves (see chapter 7 for more on [ma]teja).

Within the drug hierarchy, children and young people were open and unapologetic about their use of marijuana and glue. Despite being aware of the stigmatisation attached to substance use, children and young people had normalised this behaviour and justified it by arguing that even children at home smoke marijuana (I9).

> *Omary: But if you smoke marijuana you can move from here and go to work may be unloading luggage from trucks with your fellows. Your brain will just be thinking of how to get money but after sniffing cocaine all you do is sleeping, once you wake up you want to sniff again even if you have [a] million [shillings]. You don't do any kind of work.* (Interview 9: Omary, male, age 23.)

However, the children and young people recognise that even glue and marijuana, the more harmless drugs, can also 'take control' of a person to the extent that they spend a significant proportion of their money on the drug and are not able to think about things other than securing more of the substance (I9). This also affects their ability to work:

> *Noel: That is how you will look for it [direction] you will get more committed to work at the end you find you are successful already. But if you just sleep outside your main work is sniffing glue you find you lose hope, giving up on yourself, you see whatever will happen let it happen, eating, sleeping and drinking done.*
>
> *Asimwe: So there*
>
> *Noel: That is how you will be, once you wake up you just think of where to earn money for glue and food, cigarette, marijuana and so forth that's all, the next day the same*
>
> (Interview 10: Noel, male, age 18.)
>
> *[…]*
>
> *Daudi: Marijuana is not supposed to control you*
>
> *Omary: Eeeh [agreement]*
>
> *Asimwe: What?*
>
> *Daudi: You are supposed to be the one controlling it (marijuana)*
>
> *Asimwe: You should be the one controlling it?*
>
> *[…]*
>
> *Daudi: If marijuana controls you, you will not be working*
>
> *Daudi: You will not be thinking of anything again* (Interview 9: Omary and Daudi, both male, aged 23 and 19.)

Here, a distinction between the effects of soft drugs versus hard drugs is not being made, but instead the change occurs when a person loses hope and gives

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up on themselves, or when they are no longer able to 'control' their drug use or their dependence on a drug and this impacts their desires and activities. The individual who has lost control of their drug use lets life 'happen' to them and seemingly lets go of any agency beyond meeting basic needs. In this instance, the young people are suggesting that control is the issue rather than the drug itself. Implicit in the change point from soft drugs to hard drugs is losing control of their lives, giving up on their lives and becoming weak, inactive and 'out of their senses'. It seems that while a move to taking harder drugs is an obvious change point, the role of drugs in a child or young person's life can change subtly in a way that manifests in the young person's behaviour and attitude to life.

Children and young people differed in opinion about whether friends and acquaintances led each other into taking more serious drugs. Some children and young people said that they purposefully avoided those who took particular drugs because they did not want to be influenced to participate in harder drug use. Others said that is it down to the individual's decision and resolve about whether they decided to take more serious drugs or not.

> *Omary: You can be with a friend who takes drugs and you may not even touch it. I stayed with my three friends and we all did shrewd works [work that involves deceiving people]. We got money but my fellows were sniffing cocaine from morning to the evening; because we were working the whole night and in the morning everyone has his money. Once we get at the getto [one room abode] in the morning, we take breakfast as soon as we finish taking breakfast, they just sniff drugs from morning up to evening. You know my addiction is cigarettes and marijuana and after taking them I sleep. I have stayed with them for six months but I have never touched it even I don't how to make it I can't until today. I have stayed with them but you won't believe I have stayed with them for six months*

> *[…]*

> *Omary: You brought yourself, you have decided may be knowing today let me drink alcohol, or I have decided to smoke marijuana or cigarette. You put a boundary on yourself that am not going to use other kind of drugs. Why should something across your wish/boundary?* (Interview 9: Omary, male, age 23.)

Although Omary displays significant resolve to not take cocaine, Duff's (2012) discussions of actor-network theory suggests that a subtle change in his environment, company or the way his body interacts with the substances he uses may lead him to use cocaine in the future. Despite being resolved never to take a certain type of drug, for some children and young people there is an inevitable

creep into using harder drugs when current drugs do not have the same affect anymore.

> *Asimwe: What do you mean enjoyments [starehe[74]]?*
>
> *Noel: Enjoyment I mean if someone smokes hash*
>
> *Fred; mmmh*
>
> *Noel: And his friend sniffs cocaine*
>
> *Asimwe: Mmh*
>
> *Noel: So the more they continue being friends there is a day the one who smokes hash will not have it*
>
> *Fred: Mmh*
>
> *Noel: And his friend who sniffs cocaine will have cocaine (so he will be given to compensate marijuana)*
>
> *Asimwe: Mmh*
>
> *Fred: Aah*
>
> *Noel: That is how it will continue and he will continue to buy cocaine by himself and sometimes he will help his friend as well and then he will continue sniffing that is why you see people sniffs cocaine*
>
> *Asimwe: Okay so the use of cocaine starts when one has miss his enjoyment/the drug that he takes so you*
>
> *Noel: You find you are tired of kind of enjoyment/drug you take, so you feel that I have used this too much so you say to yourself let me use the other one today*
> (Interview 10: Noel, male, age 18.)

Although Omary explained that each person has their own mind and can put boundaries around their levels of drug use, Noel illustrates a scenario where a child or young person's resolve might be tested. In Noel's example, it does matter what company he decides to keep because he is likely to be offered the drugs they use and may find he feels a need to use these stronger drugs when he is not able to source his own.

A final distinction on those whose drug use was acceptable was when they used drugs but still 'had plans'.

> *Jackson: You know, sister, even with drugs, you may be using drugs like marijuana, glue, and cocaine but, I know exactly, this person is smoking marijuana but with plans [as in, he has plans for life] but not just smelling glue randomly. I know he uses*

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[74] Literal translation: peace, calm, comfort, relaxation or pleasure (Awde, 2000).

drugs but at a particular time he is okay and have senses. So that is just his behaviour. (Interview 1: Jackson, male, age 18.)

The concept of 'having plans' has similar connotations to 'having direction' or exemplifying someone who has not given up on themselves. This supports the understanding that taking drugs is acceptable as long as one is able to work and consider other priorities in life outside of merely securing more drugs.

6.2   Reasons for change

The last section explained the nature of each change point and how it is significant in children and young people's lives. This section will focus on some of the influencing factors for change that cut across these change points.

6.2.1   Encouraging people

As discussed in the shelter-or-street change point and the hard-or-soft drugs change point, the influence of others can make a significant difference to the decisions that children and young people make. Throughout the fieldwork, numerous children and young people explained how much they appreciated the advice of street workers and other adults who came to visit them on the street, as noted in the following memo:

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06/10/2015 - Feeling happy - I8

"Sometimes" they feel happy when the "guardians/teachers" come to visit. […] They feel happy "when you come to visit us here and give us good advice." Coming to visit at the street - this is the location. They don't say they feel happy when they go to The Centre or the other institutions, but they feel happy when people come to them and "give" not money or things, but advice. The relationship is important here? They add, "and other good ideas and change our thoughts." This is the second time we've heard them express that they like that people come and help them to change their thoughts.

</div>

This memo refers to an interview where we asked the children and young people when they are happy. The street worker gave the example of how he was happy when he had made money, however the children and young people were quick to say that even if they do not earn money, spending time with their peers made them happy. Following this, they expressed that they were happy when the street workers came to visit them. This response could have been encouraged by one

of the interviewers being a former street worker at The Centre. However, the children did not have anything to gain from making this statement, since they all knew that The Centre was no longer functioning. Similarly, they did not say that The Centre made them happy, but that people visiting them on the street made them happy. Since many of these children and young people would have been welcome to drop-in at The Centre, the significance here of the children and young people being visited is relevant. Similarly, the children and young people did not say that they were happy when people visited them and gave them money or clothes, but instead when they gave them advice and helped them to change their thoughts. Perhaps this is because the children and young people may be given money and gifts from tourists, visitors or members of the community that they have sought to help in the market. Whereas the street workers offer a unique role of coming to visit and giving advice. Fortunately, street workers are not the only people where they receive this same type of input:

> *Asimwe: Do you meet people like Respick type [street worker]?*
>
> *Iman: Yes*
>
> *Eric: We meet people who are at our father's age and grandfathers, you know*
>
> *Musa: And we sit and narrate stories to each other as usual*
>
> *Eric: He gives you some advices that helps you in life* (Interview 13: Musa, Eric and Iman, all male, age 24, 19 and 16.)

However, building relationships with street-involved children is difficult due to the challenges that some children experience building trust with adults, as Conticini (2008) explains:

> *Social workers can play a very important part in this period [adapting to street life] as they become proper role models as well as genuine friends or 'big brothers' for children who have lost trust in adults. Most of the children are unable to develop stable relationship with adults; they manifest withdrawal, detachment and attitudes that constantly challenge practitioners, testing them to see if they will give up on them. (Conticini, 2008: 424)*

One street worker explains how this testing of relationship can lead helpers to lose hope in children (also recorded in I12 by a member of the community who had helped a child go to school and later found them to be still on the street):

> *Robert: There is kind of life you can live and it tend to be hard to change it takes long time to change. It takes so long one to change but the important thing he was saying. That, before you take one out of the street, you must make sure that the thing you are*

bringing him to is a thing that he really need. Or he does not need because sometimes I have already seen there are children who have already brought to school there are many, Six, Sungura [Kiswahili for rabbit] they pretend that they want to go to school. […] But the truth is not that they want to go to school [but] they have their own goal that 'we are using this person to get what we want.' So, they know it is certain surviving mechanism they know that this person has money so because he has money I will get close to him when his money gets over I will pass another way. Or if it reaches a point he suspects us we pass this way so you find he lies but the truth is he did not want school; there are people got the chance of being brought to school and they would be supported in school until they get far. […] But the person who [provides the] support comes to lose hope after realising there is a lot of lies. […] While you have said you want to go to school and brought to Kenya [location of the school] *they have stayed for a year they face just simple challenge you find they run away […]. So, you come to find that this child this was not the thing he needed he just did with a certain goal [of getting what he wanted out of the offer].* (Interview 6: Robert, street worker.)

Here, the street worker is placing the responsibility for the child dropping out of school on the helper, suggesting that school was not what the child or young person needed in the first place and therefore it was the wrong intervention. He explains that it takes a long time to understand what a child needs and what they are good at, but that it is important to learn this in order to help them move onto a different situation (I6). This requires a prolonged relationship with a child to build sufficient trust and familiarity for offering appropriate advice. Although encouraging people may play a significant role in helping children and young people to change their environment or behaviour, children and young people are still likely to take action that they think is best for them.

Similar to being encouraged, being valued is also something that is important to the children and young people in this study. During one street observation, the researchers noted that one child described how he would be happy to return home if he felt respected there:

28/04/2015 - Being valued – street observation - A1

It seems that "being valued" is a key thing that would pull this young person back home. […] His room at home doesn't matter, but being "respected", "having respect" or being "given respect" are important things to him. Does this also link to the reasons why children left home in the first place, i.e. not feeling valued or appreciated?

In the former section of this chapter we discussed how feeling misunderstood and judged helped children to decide that they would leave home, sometimes

'for good'. Conversely, it seems that a sense of being valued and encouraged at home, may help to tip the balance of this change point and help a child or young person to consider returning home. Similarly, it was highlighted that many of the children who decided to attend the The Centre were often encouraged by a young person or street worker to consider shelter life over street life. Likewise, street workers encourage young people not to use drugs irresponsibly and not to steal; advice that some young people take to heart (I1, I7).

Without conducting a study with a control group of children who have not received positive encouragement from trusted adults, it is difficult to claim the extent to which encouragement influences children and young people's decision to make a change. However, it is clear that in many situations where a change has occurred it has been accompanied by the advice or encouragement of an older and seemingly more knowledgeable person. Such changes may not always be objectively 'good', since the same encouragement may cause a young person to use more serious drugs, or a child to steal (on behalf of an adult). Since ideas are not formed in a vacuum, it is possible to claim that a child or young person's network of peers and adults influences their decisions in life and are influencers in the four change points outlined in the previous section.

6.2.2 No other choice – a forced decision

'Forced decision' is one of the categories that was identified in the data during the beginning stages of analysis. This category includes statements such as:

> *Jackson: […] may be accidentally I have stolen, you know sometimes someone steals not because he wants to do so but due to hardships he faces* (Interview 1: Jackson, male, age 18.)

> *Eman: There are others don't have parents, their parents passed away and others are humiliated by their relatives they just have to leave [home]* (Interview 2: Eman, male, age 19.)

> *Michael: You see, the situation forces him, he has to join us you see, and after you join us it will take many days, many years, to go back home* (Interview 7: Michael, male, age 22.)

> *William: Is not that they are not committing themselves [to doing legitimate work] there is no serious works* (Male, age 16.)

> *Benson: Even with me without smoking marijuana I can't get sleepy […] After smoking just a little even a puff I sleep well.* (Interview 10: Benson, male, age 18.)

> *Sami: They [the community] should know that street-connected children, because they have not wished at all to live the environment like this* (Interview 22: Sami, male, age 22.)

There are many more statements along these same lines, where children and young people have come to understand that there is no other choice for them and that they have to leave home, steal or use drugs. In these instances, children and young people are choosing the course of action which appears to be the best for them considering their balance of priorities. For children above the age of 15, their choices are further limited by the reduction of programmatic intervention that target them; specifically shelters and residential homes. When asking the young people if there was any difference between the various social workers who visit the street, they expressed that some organisations were no longer interested in them:

> *Asimwe: When they come [street workers from a different organisation] how do you call them?*
>
> *Eric: Teachers from 'Centre X'*
>
> *Asimwe: Even them are called teachers?*
>
> *Eric: Just the same thing*
>
> *Asimwe: Okay*
>
> *Edwin: But they are not more familiar*
>
> *Eric: They are not familiar so much compared to teachers from The Centre because they have already segregate us long time ago*
>
> *Iman: They want the young children* (Interview 13: Edwin, Eric and Iman, all male, aged 23, 19 and 16.)

In some instances, these forced decisions can lead to disillusionment and despair. When asked about when it is that one does not feel at peace, one young person explained:

> *Benji: And in hard life you will be getting the same thoughts [mawazo][75], thoughts on hardships, being teased you find that you are thinking other things in your heart [it is unclear what 'other things' he is referring to.]* (Interview 8: Benji, male, aged 17.)

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[75] In this part of Tanzania, the Swahili word for 'thoughts' [mawazo] is colloquial for 'stress' or 'depression'.

Forced decisions are instances where children and young people openly express that they have no other choice but to take a certain action or engage in a particular behaviour. This category is a balance to the more positive and pro-active statements that are associated with a child 'taking responsibility for themselves' (see chapter Chapter 4:). These two sentiments may run parallel and manifest differently depending on a child or young person's experiences. However, there is reason to suggest that over time, as a young person's choices diminish and they become dependent on their street lives and further disconnected from home and community (through theft, drug use and increased stigmatisation due to their biological age), this series of forced decisions can lead young people to develop a fatalistic understanding of their lives (Conticini, 2008) and to 'give up' (see chapter Chapter 7:).

An additional aspect of children and young people's forced decisions relate to their biological age. The phenomenon of aging on the street and the consequences of this are fully explored in chapter 5. As children age on the street they are treated less favourably since they are expected to be able to help themselves from a certain age and they are no longer able to engage in work that is more suitable for younger children. As children grow older on the street many find they have no choice for work other than stealing. There does not appear to be any discernible link between drug use and age, as incidents from the research would suggest that changes in drug use patterns are more linked to amount of time spent on the street rather than biological age. However, it is by no means inevitable that an increased amount of time spend on the street would lead to an increase in severity of drug use.

6.2.3 Become familiar to a new environment

As children habituate to an environment their ideas of what appropriate behaviour is can change over time. Generally, ideas of what is acceptable and preferable are socially constructed and individuals' ideas can adapt to changing environments (Deneulin and McGregor, 2010). When interviewing former street-involved children who had been resident at The Centre, almost all had gone through a period of adaption to the shelter; involving a rotation between the street and the shelter for some time until they decided to stay in the shelter:

Peter: I followed him [youth from the street] and we came to The Centre but after coming to The Centre I found life dah I found different people children mixed with youth living at the same place but their life at that centre was also different

Charles: Aaah

Peter: So I was scared the same day I went back to the street, at the evening I left

Charles: You left

Peter: Yes

Charles: So when you came the same day you decided to leave again

Peter: I decided to leave because people had different life style

Charles: Different

Peter: Yes, from what I thought

Charles: Maybe how did you find it different?

Peter: It was gangster lifestyle [at The Centre] walking this side you find people fighting, walking the other side you find people cooking, people are just random, like mad people and I said to myself I can't make it over here

Charles: You saw things were difficult

Peter: [I thought] I can be killed tonight, a lot of drama [at the centre] so I decided to go back to the street the same evening

Charles: To go back to the street at the same evening

Peter: Mmmh

Charles: So, you saw the life at the street was not like the life you found at that centre?

Peter: Yes, I got scared after coming to that centre

Charles: Eeeh

Peter: I was afraid then after staying there I felt like dah, you know you have to become familiar there, after leaving ….

Charles: Eeh

Peter: And come here, The Centre, I felt I was missing town again and I have found different life over here so I decided to go back

Charles: You went back to town

Peter: Yes (Interview 19: Peter, male, former street-living child and shelter resident, age 25.)

In this excerpt, Peter was surprised by what he found at The Centre and saw that it was not how he had expected it would be. He found the environment more intimidating than he had expected and felt fear for his safety. This made Peter return to the street the same day, to a perhaps more dangerous place but somewhere which was more familiar to him. After The Centre staff pursued

Peter, he decided to return to the shelter again and he "got used to life from there and started to live [at the centre] from then."

Simon (male, former street-living child and shelter resident), found that it took time for him to consider life in the street as more difficult than life in the shelter, "I really started to think about the life I was living and how hard it really was in the streets." He expresses that it was "hard to get used to that environment" at The Centre and that he ran away "several" times before he eventually decided to stay (I21). This same argument of becoming used to or familiar to an environment can also apply to children and young people's progression into using drugs. It has already been discussed in this thesis how some children and young people avoid others who might encourage them to take more serious drugs (I1, I2, I16). Similarly, children and young people have told us that their peers will take more serious drugs when the ones they are using don't provide the same 'kick' anymore (I5). In addition, the relational aspects of drug use mean that individuals become familiar to others' drugs and may be more likely to try this drug when they are unable to obtain their own (I10).

6.2.4 A new purpose

In interviews with adults who eventually decided to stay in a shelter or engage in other NGO services, many of them stated that a turning point for them was when they realised that the agencies could offer them a new purpose in life.

> *Francis: So, The Centre, I think, awakened my dream when I used to live there.*
>
> *---*
>
> *Simon: So I decided to settle down with that organisation because I felt they had a purpose with me. […] By the time I was in the street, the street was not encouraging me to have very big ideas to help me think other big issues instead I just look for money but not thinking about other things. Being stubborn or stealing, but The Centre changed me and I stopped stealing and [this] is when I understood the meaning of life.*
>
> *---*
>
> *Charles: So you were desiring [money from jobs on the street] as well? With you, when you came to live at The Centre you, why you did not want to go back to the street again?*
>
> *Julius: Because I saw the money wasn't helping me anything at that moment because for example I can get three thousand and wake up the next morning and find myself I don't have even money*

Charles: You don't have even money

Julius: Yes, so I saw the money was not helping me anything

[…]

Julius: They [the agencies he attended] have changed me because they have taken me from bad life and bring me at the place where in future I can be able to depend on my own

(Francis, Julius and Simon, all male, all aged in their mid-twenties.)

In these examples, the agencies that engaged these young people were able to offer a different vision of the future and accessible goals that they were able to work towards. One participant explained how the agency not only gave them education but helped them learn how to live within the community and give them confidence (I20). A significant change point occurs when a young person's dreams are "awakened", when they understand the "meaning of life" or when they realise that their daily struggles on the street are not helping them for their future. When conditions are nurtured for this change point with the right kind of people, a good environment and enticing opportunities, children and young people are energised to work towards a different life for themselves.

6.3 Reasons that prohibit change

This section will focus on reasons that discourage the children and young people from change or encourage them to remain with things with which they are familiar.

6.3.1 Found to miss things

This reason relates mostly to children and young people's decision to remain in the street after being invited to attend a shelter project. Reasons cited in the literature for children not wanting to stay in shelters relate to the conditions of the shelter (Martinez, 2010) or children and young people's desire for spontaneity and freedom (Hecht, 1998; Martinez, 2010). In Mexico City, children and young people are concerned that staying in shelters for too long compromises their public identity due to the 'weakness' inherent in accepting aid (Turnbull *et al.*, 2009). In my study, the reasons cited related to the things that children tend to miss from their lives on the street; including working for money, taking drugs and their friends.

Francis: Mmm. So you want to know the reason for them to, to stay living in the street and for me to come in The Centre, right?

Gemma: Yeah, just your opinion, there are no right or wrong answers.

Francis: Ok, here is the fact, and even myself I recognised it, that. Huh. There are kids who are still living in The Centre, I mean living in the street [correcting himself], once they know that there are centres for these children where they can live. So, this happens because, if a child lives in the street for a long period of time and adapting to the street environment like, er, I mean like using drugs, say sniffing glues - have you heard about it?

Gemma: Mmmm [agreeing]

Francis: Or smoking, and things like that, where they couldn't find it in a centre, they decide to live in the street, because when they think of the centre, they believe that when they come to join The Centre, these things will not be there - like smoking being, I mean independent. You see? So they think that the centre limits their independence, you see? This is the case, er, for one of the guy, my friend, er, who prefer the life of street connect to the life of the centre. So when he, when The Centre brought him to the centre he used to live like 2 days and then go back to the street. And when we tried to ask him he said that, "mmm, at The Centre I don't get the chance to smoke my stuffs, and that's what I hate, so it is better for me to live in the street." And, the other thing is [short pause], most of the kids living in the street, they want money, they like money. So, if you decide to live in a centre, it means that the access for money, for the cash, it is limited. (Interview 18: Francis male, former street-living child and shelter resident.)

Charles: […] what made you escape from The Centre and go back to the street […]

Simon: I missed so much looking for money because I was used having money already

(Interview 21: Simon, male, former street-living child and shelter resident, age 25.)

Here Francis is explaining that children often return to the street when they miss using drugs or earning money; Peter and Simon support this view. It is interesting to compare this latter reason for returning to the street with children and young people's complaint that there is a shortage of work to do on the street. Although the children and young people perceive there to be a shortage of available work, for some the work that is available is enough to encourage them to leave the shelter and return to the street when coupled with other influencing factors such as drugs.

Although work is hard on the street and young children can be exploited by the older youth (I19), children and young people become used to a sense that using drugs and earning money is a right that shelters are denying them (I21). This

accustomisation to certain elements of street life makes it difficult for children and young people to imagine a life where they are dependent on adults thereby losing their independence, as Conticini (2008) states:

> *"[In accustomation phase] the child sees the street as his/her natural present environment and acknowledges him/herself as an outsider to the original community structure. 'Although life here is difficult, we have work and we can earn money. We don't think of going back home' said Ratnha (a 14-year-old girl). And Shoma (17-year-old girl) added: 'it [home] is a life which doesn't belong to me anymore'." (pg. 424-425)*

Hoggett recognises that to engage in change requires risk, and for people to exercise their agency to change often requires risking a loss of belonging, friendships or identity for the sake of something new (2001). He believes that this agency reflects more than just 'coping' in the face of adversity:

> *"A radical model of agency must illuminate how people break out from the social systems which make up their lives and endure the risk that any radical change in one's life course brings – risk of loss of belonging, loss of friendships and loss of identity."*
> *(pg. 51)*

However, when working with vulnerable populations, it is difficult, and potentially inappropriate, to expect individuals to engage in additional risks such as these. As Conticini (2008) recommends for children in the accustomation phase of life, it is generally not possible to take the child out of the street, and instead rehabilitation must start on the street:

> *"However, it is very difficult to take the child out of the street before having taken the street out of the child. Rehabilitation, not just reintegration is highly needed, but this rehabilitation should start when the child is still living on the street to prevent traumatic changes that often discourage children and push them back to the street."*
> *(pg. 425)*

Rehabilitation may mean reducing children and young people's need for drugs and offering them small opportunities for change. Following from examples in this chapter, it may also be helping children and young people to build a relationship of trust with someone who is equipped to provide them with good advice. If a shift occurs in what children and young people seek and value, then they may be less likely to miss the self-destructive behaviours that they engage in on the street.

6.3.2 Deciding one's boundaries

The idea that principles and deciding on one's boundaries prohibits children and young people from engaging in particular change points relates predominantly to taking drugs and engaging in risky work. As has been discussed in chapter 5, some young people refuse to engage in theft and other activities that are illegal or that may harm their reputation. In this example, their principles are linked to a broader understanding of what they wish to achieve in life, such as a reliable income stream, and prevent them from transitioning into crime or harsh drug use. Similarly, some young people decide to set a limit to what drugs they will use (I9) or chose to avoid certain groups of people so as to not be encouraged to take certain drugs (I1, I2, I16). Reasons for not engaging in serious drug use relate to the stigmatisation associated with being a teja and the negative impact that harsh drug taking can have on engaging in productive work.

> *Asimwe: And the other we have seen from conversation is that once you take drugs like cocaine either by sniffing or injecting*
>
> *Daudi: Eeh [yes]*
>
> *Asimwe: You become someone else, a different person, that is a teja*
>
> *Omary: Exactly*
>
> *Daudi: Yes exactly*
>
> *William: Yes*
>
> *Omary: And your life gets lost already*
>
> *Daudi: You become someone different from the person who smokes marijuana*
>
> *Omary: And life get lost already completely*
>
> *Daudi: Different from one who sniffs glue* (Interview 9: Omary, Daudi and William, male, aged 23, 19 and 16.)

Why some children and young people will set themselves ideals or live by different principles to others is not well understood. One young person said that he had a bad reaction to marijuana and so did not want to use it again (I16). Others seem more concerned with the reputational damage of stealing and openly taking serious drugs (I1). The ability to consider their reputation requires an element of reflexivity on behalf of the children and young people, which implies that this may be more likely to occur in the older street-involved population or those who feel that their lives are more stable. Whereas Ricard

(approximate age 16) was more concerned with what his non-street living 'brothers'[76] would say about him spending time with the wrong people. In both of these situations, the gaze and opinion of the community are important for informing their decisions.

6.3.3 Fear, uncertainty and desiring consistency

> *"When people make choices which affect the course of their lives the process is made complex not just because the rules and obligations governing the situation may themselves be conflictual ('one praising what the other condemns' as Bauman (1993, p. 20) puts it) nor even because of the unintended consequences of our actions – no, making choices is also complex because the conflicts are often within ourselves."*
> *(Hoggett, 2001: 41)*

As discussed in chapter 4, present stress and uncertainty makes it difficult for individuals to plan for the future and therefore make active choices about their lives (Zimbardo and Boyd, 2012). This is also corroborated by mental noise theory as introduced at the beginning of this chapter; when people who are stressed and processing internal 'noise' find it difficult to simultaneously process external information (Glik, 2007). Although people are still able to take action under stress, these theories imply that such actions may not be well informed, be congruent with an individual's moral preferences or take into consideration the full spectrum of opportunities that are available to them.

For children and young people, a main challenge for engaging in shelters involved fear. Initially, they were concerned about shelters taking them back to their families (I16, I18). Children would also often run away from shelters after doing something wrong due to fear of punishment (I18). The risk of being taken home or being punished for doing something wrong is a real risk and therefore the children's response of running away is logical. However, in this study, one of the shelters forbid corporal punishment and it required encouragement from shelter staff to allay the children's fears that they would be beaten for their mistakes.

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[76] These are individuals who worked as motorbike taxi drivers and who this young person sought help from.

An additional consequence of living in excessive fear or uncertainty is a desire for consistency. One interview participant expressed disdain for researchers and the general public, saying that while all his friends in town know him and would help him if needed, researchers and visitors to the street come and go and therefore cannot be depended on (I2, age 19). If a child or young person's friends on the street and street environment are the main forms of consistency in their otherwise very challenging lives, it is understandable that these elements might prevent them from taking the identity and relational risks that Hoggart (2001) speaks of in his definition of active agency.

6.4   Conclusion

This chapter has outlined four different points in a street-involved child or young person's life where they make a change that is difficult to revert. It has also elaborated on some of the reasons for or against children and young people engaging in these different change points; identifying reasons that cut across different change points. The role of relationships and encouraging people has been highlighted as crucial to change points in this study and others (Berckmans *et al.*, 2016; Cid and Martí, 2012). The role of relationships and social support can also play a role in providing children and young people with more choices; helping them to overcome their fear of new environments and also offering them a sense of purpose in life.

Research with street-involved populations consistently finds that it is exceptionally difficult for children and young people to leave the street, especially if they have been living on the street for extended periods of time (Beazley, 2003; Berckmans *et al.*, 2012; Conticini, 2008). Because of this, the 'reasons that prohibit change' cannot be overlooked. Underpinning these reasons, with the exception of deciding boundaries, are elements of fear and addiction. Linking these findings together, reasons for and reasons that prohibit change, it would be illuminating to explore further how relationships and social support may play a role in breaking cycles of addiction and reducing a sense of fear and uncertainty among street-involved populations.

Chapter 7: Giving up or being given up on

This last empirical chapter relates to a phenomenon that occurs only for some street-involved children and young people. It relates to a situation where children and young people have lived on the street for some time and have lost hope of leaving the street or are unable to imagine a different future for themselves. Many of the individuals who have 'given up' are consumed by severe drug addiction and have little incentive to avoid risky work. 'Giving up' is a phrase taken from the research participants while describing their peers who use drugs excessively and no longer 'work'. The extent to which someone has 'given up on life' is a continuum on which 'losing hope' is a precursor. This phenomenon has also been discussed in reference to homeless populations in Canada. Kidd (2004) conducted a qualitative analysis of youth suicide in Toronto and Vancouver and found that young people who felt stigmatised by society, lacked substantive supportive relationships and were heavily addicted to drugs were at risk of committing suicide or committing 'slow suicide' through self-neglect. Kidd justifies his concept of 'slow suicide' thus:

> *"Giving up, which emerged as an important component of suicide in the participants' experiences, has not been commented on previously. Much has been written, however, about the many dangers of street life in terms of self-destructive behavior and victimization […]. Thus giving up is, in that context, very self-destructive and is essentially suicide."* (2004: 50)

Whitbeck *et al.* (2000) identified that experiencing victimisation on the street, defined as "how often they had been beaten, robbed, sexually assaulted, threatened or assaulted with a weapon, or deprived of food for an entire day while they were on their own" (pg. 726), is critical in the development of depressive symptoms and substance use among homeless youth across four locations in midwest US. Kidd (2004) further explains the role that drug addiction and stigmatisation plays in what he terms the "toboggan slide" (pg. 43) towards suicide:

> "Drugs as escape and trap. *[…] Drugs were linked with the worthlessness of having the identity of an addict, and addiction was linked strongly to the construct of being trapped, having no hope, and giving up."* (emphasis in text, pg. 42)

In both of these studies (Kidd, 2004; Whitbeck *et al.*, 2000), external negative experiences on the street, stigmatisation and victimisation, are determining factors in young people's decline in mental wellbeing.

The concept of 'giving up' seems similar to the 'dependence' stage in Conticini's (2008) research of street-involved children in Ethiopia and India. By 'dependence', Conticini refers to a dependence on the street where a child or young person is not open to imagining a life for themselves beyond the street and, rather than capitalising on the opportunities of street life, they become 'slaves to them' (2008: 427). He explains:

> *"This dependence phase is characterised by high level of depression and low self-esteem. […] Children define themselves as bad people. In previous phases they had a positive image of themselves against the stigmatisation of mainstream society, but in this phase children accept the negative perceptions of mainstream society as 'true definitions of people like them'." (Conticini, 2008: 428)*

Similarly, Conticini recognises that the 'dependence' phase is something that applies to some street-involved children, but not others:

> *"Moreover the dependence phase was observed only in a number of well-established children in street situations, suggesting that this is a phase which might occur to some children and not to others." (2008: 427)*

From my study, it is not possible to predict which children and young people might end up 'giving up' and which might be successful in finding stable work and subsequently renting a room and leaving the street; an outcome to which many of the children aspire. If Whitbeck *et al.* (2000) are correct that it is the external negative experiences and victimisation that children and young people experience which leads to depression and consequent depressive behaviours, then a person's trajectory into despair, or otherwise, may be triggered by circumstantial and environmental factors. However, my study presents themes that relate to 'giving up' among populations in a sub-Sahara African setting. Like the two studies quoted above, a sense of fatalism and hopelessness, drug addiction and the severe stigmatisation that street-involved children in my study face all relate to a person 'giving-up'. I argue that a propensity to give up is further compounded by the reduced services offered to older youth in the community and the increased stigmatisation they receive due to their age and the expectations society has of their capabilities from age 17 onwards.

This chapter is presented in three sections. Firstly, I introduce the themes of fatalism and losing hope that can lead to someone giving up. Secondly, I present the process of becoming a teja and discuss how this is a community that is distinct from the community of street-involved young people, although some individuals may teeter on the edge of both of these communities for a time. Finally, I will critique the supporting structures and agencies that seek to assist street-involved children but which often fail to address the needs of older youth.

7.1   Fatalism & losing hope

Much of the data gathered in this study highlights the proactive and determined aspects of the lives that the participants lived on the street. However, the data also contains many narratives of fatalism and despair. In some instances, statements of acceptance of their street lives and identities could be viewed as necessary techniques of adaption to help children and young people cope with the challenging situations they find themselves in. On the other hand, acceptance and normalisation of the hardships and abuse that the children and young people experience can disempower them from seeking or even imagining a better life for themselves, as Contincini (2008) describes in his 'dependence' stage of street life. Furthermore, Jones *et al.* (2007) argue that the 'steeling' effects that assist street-living children in daily life may also be 'signs of stress, risk and coping with suicidal ideation personally or among peers' (p. 466). Statements connoting a sense of worthlessness and powerlessness are present in the interview transcripts, in many cases alongside statements of determination.

7.1.1   Accepting street identity and hardships

A sense of fatalism, or losing hope, in the narratives of the research participants manifest in both small and more dramatic ways. Initially, an acceptance of their status as 'chokoraa' and other names that the community use to verbally abuse street-involved children can be appropriated as a form of resistance as it portrays indifference towards, and defiance against, the community's perception of them. However, this can also be interpreted as the beginning of a process of defining themselves and normalising their identity as different and inferior to others in the community; accepting the perceived anomaly of their lives and erasing their

humanity (Wells, 2015). Below, three research participants discuss how they have come to accept being called derogatory names by the community:

> *Asimwe: So, when it reaches that point where someone has already got used to such names, is it that you don't like or you just decide to leave it as it is? How is it?*
>
> *Jamil: You cannot deny it because you are in that community*
>
> *Eric: It is true, that is kind of life you are living*
>
> *Jamil: Everyday*
>
> *Eric: Even when they are calling you that way*
>
> *Jamil: And you find that is true*
>
> *Eric: Yes [In agreement]*
>
> *Asimwe: It is true in which sense?*
>
> *Jamil: The way you are told, it is true because yes you are a chokoraa*
>
> *Eric: Yes*
>
> *Asimwe: So, you take it easy/pretend as nothing has happened because it is true?*
>
> *Jamil: Yes, sometimes you take it easy*
>
> *Asimwe: So, is it different when someone is new to the street and once he gets used into the street is when it comes with getting used to being called by these names?*
>
> *Kelvin: Yes, you find one has just come in the street, if you call him that name, he is not used to be called with such a name*
>
> *Asimwe: How does a new person take it or what actions does he take when called with such names?*
>
> *Kelvin: He can even beat you* (Interview 5: Eric, Jamil, Kelvin, all male, aged 19, 17 and 14.)

This excerpt explains how, over time, the children and young people 'sometimes' accept being called 'chokoraa' since 'it is true'. However, in the beginning, a child who is called 'chokoraa' would become angry and respond with violence. It is difficult to explain the significance of the word 'chokoraa' to a non-Kiswahili speaking audience, since the word holds no cultural references in the English language. Indeed, the word is used in Tanzania and in Kenya and may have different connotations in different Kiswahili-speaking contexts. When speaking to a British resident of Tanzania, who has founded two charities in Tanzania, one for street-involved children and one targeting child rights interventions in the community, she explained how she considered Tanzanians to view street children:

> *Gemma: […] [W]hat would you say is [Tanzanian] society's view of street-connected children?*
>
> *Kate: Oooo, gosh. […] I think that, um, you know the stereotype is wachokoraa, you know, "dirty, bad boys", […]. So they [are] almost a social pariah and, I suppose in the way that people get stigmatised […].* (Interview 11: Kate, female, practitioner.)

Put simply, this interviewee's interpretation of the term 'wachokoraa' relates to 'dirty, bad boys': social pariahs who are stigmatised. A similar word in English could be 'scum', connoting dirty, or 'crook', connoting deviance or bad. Either of these words would likely elicit a strong response if used against another person in a UK setting. It is possible to get some sense of the severity of this word from the response of the newcomer to the street, who initially would be likely to act aggressively when called by this name. In the following excerpt, Asimwe is providing half-way feedback and the children and young people are discussing the extent to which it is possible to 'accept' life on the street; including being called names and living in hardship:

> *Asimwe: Mmmh. Okay there is an issue about accepting the real situation. For example, the way community has decided labelling street-connected children or hardships in street life. Street-connected children tend to accept these situations. This means accepting the real situation at the street.*
>
> *Noel: Being called with such names?*
>
> *Asimwe: Yes, this is an example. For example, that you are called chokoraa it reaches a stage you say to yourself 'oooh there is no way I have to accept this/get used to it.'*
>
> *Benson: Yes that the way it is*
>
> *Asimwe: That the way it is*
>
> *Benson: Yes, even if you call me chokoraa, bull shit*
>
> *Noel: But the moment we are here, no one can call you kapurwa[77], you must beat him, right?*
>
> *Asimwe: Mmh. Why?*
>
> *Noel: You are not kapurwa, are you? I have my name why should you call me kapurwa?*

---

[77] Another derogatory names for street-involved children, used more in one field location than another.

Benson: My name is Benson[78] and you call me kapurwa, shouldn't you keep quiet?

Fred: But between chokoraa and kapurwa which is worse?

Benson: Chokoraa

Noel: Is not the matter of which is worse. They are all worse.

Fred: all are worse

Benson: Chokoraa is worse.

Fred: But kapurwa is worse it makes one angry

Noel: I see all are [worse] […]

Asimwe: So

Fred: But why sometimes you call each other [these names]?

Noel: No, with us you find is because we are familiar to each other.

Benson: You find we are familiar to each other

Fred: Familiarity

Benson: Is between us

Salim: Between us but not someone from outside

Asimwe: So, the way we understood that is something that you get familiar to and accept, is not that way?

Benson: Yes

Asimwe: It is not true that is something you can get familiar to, it is not possible

Noel: it is not possible being familiar to it

Asimwe: Is not something you can be familiar to, what about life hardship? It is not even being familiar to, is being acceptable to the real situation?

Noel: You can't accept that situation.

Benson: Because sometimes someone might call you and you get angry and throw a stone at him [still referring to being called names]

Asimwe: Mmh

Benson: That means you have not accepted the situation [reaction to being called a name]

Asimwe: What about hardships in life?

Noel: Life is really tough, like with shelter, we sleep at verandas, covering sacks if we were at home we would cover ourselves [with] bedsheets

Asimwe: That's why am telling you when we are reading these conversation we get, we see there is a certain thing that you live at the street you feel it is okay, accepting street life. Is it true or we are wrong over here?

---

[78] Pseudonym.

Benson: It is true

Asimwe: It is true

Benson: Yes

Asimwe: You have accepted the hard life in the street

Benson: Yes, because you feel it is a normal thing because you are used to it

Asimwe: You are used to?

Benson: Yes

Asimwe: So, you become acceptable to street life hardships but not acceptable to names

Benson: I don't accept it [names]

Asimwe: You don't accept it. Okay

Benson: Because if it is hard life it is created for we human beings [life is hard and that's the way it is] (Interview 10: Benson, Noel and Salim, all male, all aged 18.)

This long exchange highlights the dissonance among the children and young people and the extent to which they can get used to, or accept, being called names or living a hard life on the street. Unlike the children in the other field-site, these children and young people do not believe it is possible to get used to being called names by the public. Yet, they appropriate these names, and the identities associated with it, among themselves as a form of group solidarity. However, when it comes to being addressed by the community, presumably other people who work on the street and who they have become familiar to, Noel and Benson are insistent that they have their own names and so question why they should accept being called a derogatory name. Here they are holding onto their unique identities and sense of self-respect. Additionally, participants in interview 1 explained how being called chokoraa and a thief meant that they 'lose peace' and 'feel bad'. However, it is easier for the children and young people in the excerpt above to accept the hardships they face on the street, since a 'hard life is created for we human beings'. Although this statement portrays stoicism and the ability to absorb hardships, it also portrays a sense of fatalism; life is hard and there is nothing that can be done about it. Additionally, the excerpt suggests that the young people can 'get used to' hardships on the street, but this may not be the same as 'accepting' it, which is the word that Asimwe uses. The older youth in I7 expressed many statements of fatalism such as it being impossible to be given a formal job, since the community had already lost trust in them, or

feeling unable to return home since as they got older some believed their family had already forgotten about them.

7.1.2 Being disappointed by others and losing hope

Alongside a sense of fatalism is also a gradual loss of hope. This can be attributed to children and young people receiving numerous setbacks, which then affect their ability to believe that good things can happen. In the following excerpt, one young person is explaining that if someone were to offer him a job, he would not believe them:

> *Pauli: You know like us we have already given up ourselves, to the point [where] you find that when someone calls at the moment 'come so that I give you work' I feel like he is enjoying [or playing a joke on] me I don't go because the way it is in that sector*
>
> *Musa: The have developed a mindset*
>
> *Pauli: They have already seen us that they have already developed a mind-set that even if someone call me it looks like he is enjoying [or playing a joke on] me*
>
> *Musa: Or he is trying to see what you will do, playing a game* (Interview 7: Pauli and Musa, both male, aged 22 and 24.)

Pauli describes that he and his companions have given up on themselves and this correlates with a disbelief that anyone would offer him legitimate work. Here, giving up on himself is directly linked with the lack of hope in attaining new opportunities. Another reference to dashed hopes came from one participant who communicated frustration that the research we were conducting would not be directly benefitting him. He explained how he had experienced many researchers who had come to talk to him and raised his hopes, only then disappear until the following year:

> *Eman: You come to visit us here we see you and we get hope, not that you just stay there you interview us only today then until next year again*
>
> *Asimwe: Where someone comes to visit you at the street do you get hope?*
>
> *Eman: eeh [yes], you get to know this person intends to help me coming to visit me every day* (Interview 2: Eman, male, age 19.)

After previous experiences of being disappointed by researchers, this respondent is protesting about the unfairness of researchers coming to visit them and raising their hopes without following up with any tangible benefits. Before this excerpt, he says that if he is being interviewed, he should be the first to benefit from the

results of the research. Over time, having his hopes dashed leads him to be angry at researchers and less likely to believe that someone will help him. A similar experience is recorded in Conradson's (2004) study of a community drop in centre in Bristol, UK. Of the case studies that he presents, one is of a more reserved client who confessed to have been disappointed by services in the past which he felt had failed him. Because of this, he was cautious when building relationships with volunteers at the drop-in centre; taking a long time to develop trust with people. Upon returning to the project to feedback to the staff after Conradson finished his research, he found that there had been a substantial turnover in volunteer staff and, concurrently, this client had stopped attending the drop-in centre. Conradson (2004) hypothesises that the change in volunteer staff at the drop-in centre may have disrupted this client's ability to feel comfortable, compounding his reluctance to build relationships with new volunteers and therefore led to his disengagement. This example implies that the relationships at the drop-in centre are just as important to some clients, if not more so, than the space and tangible services a centre may offer.

Conversely, the same interview participant who had lost hope in those who might offer him work explains how he is able to get 'hope' from his grandmother, a constant and encouraging relationship in his life:

> *Pauli: And I for example when sometimes I see in town that I have become normal [tired of something or bored] that I can't continue anymore, I normally go at the village to stay with my grandmother for a day. She gives me hope verbally [encouraging words] and so and so. I come back in town after being comforted to some extent but there are things you will be missing [in town] because after missing advice from mother or father already is like someone who is neglected* (Interview 7: Pauli, male, age 22.)

Here it is clear that the consistent encouraging and interested relationship with his grandmother is important for helping him to cultivate hope. He equates missing out on advice from parents with neglect. For these young people who have lived on the street for some time, being disappointed and let down leads to a reduction of hope, or a reluctance to entertain hope when new people show an interest or offer help. Conversely, participants in interview 8 explained how they felt happy when the social workers came to the street since they could advise them and help them with their negative thoughts; potentially suggesting that this

was a consistent and significant relationship for them. These children and young people (I8) expressed that not having peace related to experiencing hardships and not having someone to advise them.

> *Iman: Or you have just suddenly got your thoughts there is no one to advise you, so you must not be at peace.* (Interview 8: Iman, male, age 16.)

It is reasonable to suggest, therefore, that those who do not benefit from a consistent and encouraging relationship while living on the street are more likely to succumb to feelings of despair.

Ironically, it is hope that takes many children to the street while the street takes away some people's hope:

> *Asimwe: And what do you think causes him not to study in the school?*
>
> *Eric: Not studying*
>
> *Asimwe: Yes*
>
> *Eric: Have you seen that way*
>
> *Asimwe: Yes*
>
> *Eric: Everyone my sister in life you find desiring [Kiswahili is –tamani which in the dictionary is 'to desire'. Tamaa is hope, ambition, desire. So Tama[ni[79]] is to be in hope, or desiring]. A lot of things, you know*
>
> *Asimwe: Yes*
>
> *Eric: Desire [or hope], in life you desire [hope for] a lot of things. You find there are things while you are at home: when one is at home [he] has his needs which are important. He feels that he misses them [his needs]. He finds it is better he leaves home and go to the street. And in the street with his missing needs, you find that […] he can be accessing them in the street at small amount. So, he becomes satisfied with that small amount and he then completely forgets home.* (Interview 5: Eric, male, age 19.)

Here, Eric is explaining how a person might decide to live on the street rather than studying in school. He explains that someone has his needs that he wants to fulfil and he is hoping that the street will help to satisfy those needs. In this translation, the word used for desire – tamani – is associated with ambition and hope. This description portrays a positive decision and a proactive approach to

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[79] 'ni' is a suffix to denote location or being inside something. It can change a thing into a place, such as nyumba (meaning house) and nyumba*ni* (meaning home).

life where the child has acted to satisfy his own needs. However, he becomes satisfied with the small amount that the street offers and then forgets about home and, potentially, forgets about other alternatives to the street; such as school. As discussed in chapter 5, the rewards that a child can earn living on the street – earning money and eating regular meals – may be satisfying when they are young, but as they grow older they begin to desire a more stable income and enough money to rent a room for themselves. As their aspirations change, so does the potential for disappointment. If it is hope that leads some children to the street and to remain on the street, losing that hope after having forgotten about 'home' may leave children and young people with little else to live for; since the hope was fundamental in driving and sustaining them. For those who have grown older the loss of hope can lead to regret:

> *Jackson: Most of us in street, what challenges us is lacking a place to rest meaning shelter, clothes, sometimes you find you find someone asking 'why is life so difficult? It is better that I was not born in this world because I have come to suffer. […] It is hard, my sister, that is why am telling you that there are many things to the extent you feel that it is better that you were not born you have just come to suffer.'*
> (Interview 1: Jackson, male, age 18.)

The quote above comes from a young person who seemed more hopeful and proactive than other young people (when considering his full interview), and yet he still finds that the challenges he faces on the street can lead him and others to despair; questioning whether it would be better if they had never been born.

The next section will discuss the children and young people's use of drugs for numbing or managing feelings of fatalism, lost hope or lack of peace. The section will draw on the worst-case scenario of drug taking, which is becoming a teja.

7.2   Becoming Teja

Throughout the research, children and young people referred to what happens when people take more serious drugs or allow their drug habits to control them. Those who are afflicted by drug addiction are called mateja. As introduced in chapter 6, mateja are; people who have 'lost their brain senses' (I1), sleep often and cannot walk or talk (I2), use cocaine and whose lives have 'already been destroyed' (Eric, male, age 19), are no longer valued or respected by their families or community (I7), those whose lives are 'lost' already (I9), hopeless people who

are no longer street-involved children and young people but fall into their own category (I10). Mateja are also not respected or feared by some street-involved children and young people, because they are perceived to be too weak to fight back (I9).

As already stated earlier in the thesis, drug use among street-involved children in the two field sites is common and individuals will often use a spectrum of different drugs with their own specific preferences. In one interview with young people in the larger field site, we were told anecdotally that 9 out of 10 children and young people who live on the street will use drugs.

> *Fred: Is it possible for one to live in the street and not use any drug like cigarette, marijuana or even glue*
>
> *Benson: Some of them*
>
> *Fred: He does not use anything, even any drug, alcoholic drink*
>
> *Noel: Some of them*
>
> *Benson. They are there but only some people*
>
> *Fred: Out of ten how many?*
>
> *Noel: Out of ten, all of them [use drugs]*
>
> *Benson: You may find one or two [don't use drugs]*
>
> *Fred: One or two*
>
> *Noel: But with all street-connected children whom you find, the ones who don't take drugs are very few*
>
> *Benson: Are few*
>
> *Salim: You find he spends time at the street but goes home [the one who doesn't use drugs]*
>
> *Noel: Yes, he is just known as a street connected child but he just walk around may be at people's getto, that's possible*
>
> *Fred: Okay*
>
> *Noel: That one, yes, he may not take drug but the one who sleeps outside*
>
> *Fred: Eeh*
>
> *Noel: He cannot sleep outside without taking any kind of drugs* (Interview 10: Benson, Noel and Salim, male, all aged 18.)

Here, Fred is asking the children and young people about their use of any type of drug, including cigarettes and alcohol. In many countries, cigarettes and alcohol would not be considered a drug. In Tanzanian culture, smoking cigarettes and drinking alcohol are less socially-acceptable activities, especially

for children: their engagement in these activities exacerbates the stigmatisation that they receive from the surrounding community (I5, I9). Although we did meet one child who specifically states that he only smokes cigarettes and not marijuana (I16), due to having had a bad reaction to marijuana in the past, most often when the children and young people refer to smoking this is in relation to marijuana and occasionally cocaine and heroin. On this basis, it is rare that cigarette smoking will be the only 'drug' use that the children and young people engage in. When inquiring further about why the children and young people engage in drug use on the street many quote the 'hardships' as being a driving factor (I10). Asimwe is asking the following participants how taking drugs helps them overcome their hardships:

> *Asimwe: Mmh. Sorry I would like to understand. If a day passes without you eating, you don't have work and so forth and instead you take drugs what does it help you with?*
>
> *Noel: It does not help anything you just feel 'let me get a kick', [they say "steam"] for my head and feel lethargic and go to sleep*
>
> *Salim: That you have looked for what you needed, out of your important needs, and you have miss it. You influence yourself into taking drugs because you totally lose hope, you give up on yourself, you say to yourself let me use drugs* (Interview 10: Noel and Salim, both male, aged 18.)

In this excerpt, Noel concedes that taking drugs 'does not help anything' but that when life is hard, food is short, they cannot find work or they lose hope, they use drugs as a means of numbing this pain. They numb the pain by becoming lethargic and sleeping. Noel and Salim also link the decision to take drugs with 'totally' losing hope and giving up on themselves; implying that using drugs may seem like a last resort or something that they 'give in' to when their aspirations are low. The role of numbing themselves from the hardships that they face is a factor that may lead to drug escalation: as the hardships become greater the need to numb increases. Similarly, as some drugs begin to lose effect, children and young people may become tempted into using harder drugs in order to maintain the same numbing effect, as these young people explain:

> *Eric: Teja is someone who sniffs cocaine and his life has already been destroyed*
>
> *Asimwe: Mmmh*
>
> *Eric: Someone who has already started using drugs, has already smoke marijuana a lot, has already smoked everything and he has seen they don't boost, stimulate or*

> *giving him steam, then is when you find he has already started using drugs, using cocaine, you know?* (Interview 5: Eric, male, age 19.)

Here, Eric is explaining how someone becomes a teja. For this young person, a teja is someone who has already used a variety of different drugs and who has found that they no longer give him the 'boost' that they used to. Because of this, someone will then start using stronger drugs such as cocaine. While it cannot be said that all mateja are formally street-involved children and young people, or that all street-involved children who use drugs will escalate their drug use and become mateja, it is the case that some street-involved children and young people can and do become mateja. The following young people explain how a lot of their friends have 'lost their senses' to drugs:

> *Samuel: You know sister life in the street, also life in the street is hard, a problem. There are others, also our friends they are mentally distracted, have become mad already. You find someone who uses marijuana, it causes others to become mentally unfit, mad. Many of our friends…*
>
> *Jackson: are mentally unfit*
>
> *Samuel: they have lost their brain senses* (Interview 1: Jackson and Samuel, both male, age 18 and 17.)

Jackson and Samuel in their interview explained how they have had to leave some of their friends due to their escalating drug use and subsequent inability to 'understand' each other's perspectives. That their friends have 'become' mentally unfit implies that they were not always mentally distracted by their use of marijuana, or other drugs not stated. The state of mental-unfitness is something that has happened to some of their friends, but not them.

The following parts of this section will discuss the defining characteristics of mateja as expressed by the research subjects, such as losing hope and having no direction, it will assess some of the consequences of living as a teja, such as the role of addiction in decision making, and assess the assertion that mateja are killing themselves slowly with drugs.

7.2.1 Mateja are those who have lost hope and whose lives are destroyed

As expressed above, living on the street comes with significant challenges, and as discussed in chapter 5, street-living can become even more difficult for those

who have aged on the street and find their options for work diminishing. Many street-involved children and young people in this study express determination and self-assurance, succeeding in gaining stable work and renting a room away from the street. However, at least some street-involved young people in the field-sites where this study was conducted become addicted to drugs to the extent that, arguably, the drugs detract from the children and young people's perceived agency (Duff, 2012). The idea of young people 'losing direction' in their lives is discussed at length in chapter 5, this section will explore further the idea that someone's life has been destroyed.

For the young people identified in this research as 'mateja', a preoccupation with accessing drugs consumed a significant amount of their time and effort (I9). Their addiction is often suggested as being detrimental to their ability to 'succeed' in life, as indicated by the numerous associations with 'giving up' or a life being 'destroyed'. While trying to understand the difference between all the terms used to describe street-involved populations in the field sites, Asimwe asks the young people what is meant by 'teja':

> *Asimwe: And teja?*
>
> *Juma: Is someone who uses cocaine*
>
> *[…]*
>
> *Eric: Teja is someone who uses cocaine and his life has already been destroyed*
> (Interview 5: Eric and Juma, male, aged 19 and 16.)

Someone's life being 'destroyed' is a phrase used by the young people that is similar to someone having 'given up' on life and someone who has 'no direction'. Someone's life being destroyed is also mostly associated with the use of drugs:

> *Jackson: You know there are certain environment in street life, you know us street-involved children/ youth we are different. With eye contact you won't know who is good or bad but by looking someone's trend you will be able to know someone's behaviour is inappropriate. He may destroy me in future like become a drug user, drugs that are forbidden in the country. I may find myself injecting myself drugs due him, as he is also doing so. This is not a good friend.* (Interview 1: Jackson, male, age 18.)

Here, Jackson explains that someone's life becoming destroyed is when they start injecting drugs. There was a lot of disagreement among the other street-involved children and young people about whether it was possible for someone to destroy

another person's life. Many said this was not possible, since people made up their own mind about what to do with their lives. Regardless, the association with heavy drug use persists:

> *Asimwe: When someone says "destroying your life" it is a sentence, but we fail to understand what is being destroyed?*
>
> *Joseph: It can be yourself you have involve yourself into the use of drugs*
>
> *Eman: Yes*
>
> *Asimwe: mmm*
>
> *Joseph: You find you have already waste your time*
>
> *Eman: Yes*
>
> *Asimwe: You have wasted time*
>
> *Eman: Yes*
>
> *Joseph: You become old before an age of becoming old, you get tired*
>
> *Asimwe: That is what it means?*
>
> *Joseph: Yes*
>
> *Asimwe: So destroying life is that situation of involving yourself into the use of drugs*
>
> *Eman: Yes*
>
> *Joseph: mmm [agreement]* (Interview 17: Eman and Joseph, both male, aged 19 and 23.)

This excerpt differs from the one before since Joseph is placing the responsibility of someone's life being destroyed on the drug user rather than a friend who may have influenced drug use. In general, it was more likely that the respondents placed the responsibility of someone's life being destroyed on the individual and the difficult environment they lived in, rather than on other people as influencers. For someone's life to become 'destroyed' is a definitive statement that appears void of a solution. From the narratives in the interview data, someone 'giving up' or 'destroying' their lives marks a shift from proactivity into passivity, from actively pursuing goals to accepting daily life as it is with a focus on immediate survival. This portrays a desperate situation where young people's agency is significantly compromised. The use of drugs and giving up on oneself, to the extent where children and young people become dependent on drugs, is associated in the interview narratives with the hardships they face on the street and losing hope. It can then be understood from the interview narratives that the loss of hope and dependence on drugs further diminishes some young

people's ability to aspire for a different life, therefore compounding their hopelessness (I10). When feeding back the findings of the research to one of the research assistants, formerly a street worker and global trainer for street work, he added that when someone becomes so desperate, it is easy to 'convince them to do anything' (Feedback interview, Fred). Here, Fred is referring to the exploitation of those who are addicted by organised criminals. Specifically, enticing them to engage in high-risk activities since they seemingly have little to lose. Fred expressed that many lose their lives through injuries sustained by violence from the community following being caught engaging in theft. In such instances, young people are either killed in the moment, or die later from infected wounds. It cannot be assumed that all those who are beaten for stealing are mateja: indeed, many of the children and young people in this study complained about being beaten when they had been caught stealing. However, if mateja are influenced to engage in extremely dangerous work due to a sense of desperation then they are likely to face harsher consequences if caught. This research did not specifically engage the mateja population so it is uncertain what will become of those who have become heavily addicted to drugs. However, the severity with which the research participants considered the fate of becoming mateja suggests that rehabilitation is not common and that their lives may be short.

7.2.2 Mateja are weak and decision-making is skewed by addiction

In my research, the children and young people explain how an addiction to severe drugs such as cocaine or heroin makes a person weak. They recognise these people as sleepy, not able to work and unable to defend themselves. Similarly, they describe a difference in priorities between those who are addicted to serious drugs and those who only use mild drugs in a controlled manner.

The impact of a number of the older youth becoming 'mateja' is that the younger children feel safer, since the older youth are not 'strong' enough to challenge them, threaten them and steal from them. The younger children refer to their victimisation by older youth as 'dictatorship'. It was explained to us in one of the field sites how, compared to in the past, there is no longer 'dictatorship' on

the street since the older youth have involved themselves too heavily in drugs, to the extent that they no longer pose a physical threat.

> Omary: Aah others [who used to be young on the street] are still here until today they are becoming old over here.
>
> Asimwe: Mmmh
>
> Daudi: Eeh [done with explanation]
>
> Omary: Others are here until today. But, is just because we have already grown up we are the one who are youth they [older youth/adults] can't tell us anything, we have come to be rude more than them so we see them like… [forgets what he is saying.]
>
> […]
>
> Omary: But their life has changed already, they have changed completely because most of them have involved themselves into the use of drugs. Yes, they have involved themselves already in strong things [strong drugs] which weakens their bodies meaning drugs makes their bodies being tired. To the extent that even a young chalii like this [pointing to one of the younger participants] can stand and fight him. Eeeh [there you have it]. So, there will be no dictatorship anymore, [since the older people are weak already]. His dictatorship that he used to have in past comes to an end. (Interview 9: Omary and Daudi, both male, age 23 and 19.)

It is not possible to verify if youth becoming mateja is a growing trend, since historical accounts, memories and stories of 'how it used to be' are notoriously fallible. Additionally, there are other children who talk about suffering under 'dictatorship' on the street (I8, same field site), so the decline of dictatorship is clearly a matter of perspective. The explanation that a decline in 'dictatorship' is due to an increase in severe drug use among young people is also only a theory presented by these research participants. Perhaps since these participants are older, they do not view threats on the street the same as younger children and so are more likely to sense a decline in dictatorship. However, the association of an increase in drug use and the weakening of the body, to the extent where the older youth can be challenged by a younger child, is indicative of the young people's perception of mateja abilities; this is despite whether the trend and explanation is real or imagined. Other references to mateja's lethargy, found in I2 and I7, elaborate that mateja are those who are no longer valued or respected, even by their families.

For those young people whose friends have become mateja, the young people disagree on whether it is appropriate to abandon them or not. Some say that to continue being their friend is 'useless' (I1) since they are difficult to reason with.

The following young person is contrasting his current friends with those who are mateja:

> *Eman: Since they all smoke those drugs so they are together [in a different group] but with me, I smell glue, but this is not more [worse] than that they are smoking. They fall asleep as you know mateja, even you [they] cannot walk. But am sniffing glue, smoking cigarettes, but with people I am staying with at least they are little better [than mateja] even they have brain to think 'at least let me do this'. As you can see here they have swept just there, is massive sunshine instead they are waiting for it to cool. So, even with cleanness they are clean, you see? Eeh, they are clean, they have a brain, are able to think, even when you talk to them you can have a talk but when you find a teja, [he] cannot even speak, he just sleeps you talk to him but he is just asleep with drugs totally.* (Interview 2: Eman, male, age 19.)

This young person's statement is in part defending the way that he uses drugs compared with mateja. He describes the difference in behaviour between the people he sniffs glue with versus those who are mateja. The people that this respondent uses drugs with have a 'brain to think' about cleaning up their surroundings and they are able to talk. He explains that he sniffs glue but that this is not worse than what mateja are using since it does not make him 'asleep with drugs totally.' Therefore, some children and young people have lost respect for those who become mateja since they are no longer chokoraa but are now in a new category of street dwellers. They have given up trying to control their lives and they have allowed their drugs to control them (I9) (as discussed in chapter 4). Such lack of control implies a weakness on behalf of the mateja and an inability to make decisions that may capitalise on opportunities. This 'weak' behaviour is epitomised by not thinking of working, emphasising the importance that the children and young people place on proactive productivity that generates an income.

7.3   Being given up on

In the latter stages of a young person's life living on the street in my field sites, young people can be excused for giving up on themselves since it seems that many interventions and members of the community have given up on them. This, in part, is due to young people's appearance as no longer vulnerable and therefore no longer worthy of assistance from NGOs or others in the community; as one participant explains about his former life living on the street as a young child:

> *Peter: You live tough life, you can look for money but you don't look for money for yourself you look for money for someone else*
>
> *Charles (research assistant): EEeeh*
>
> *Peter: Right, someone asks you to go and beg for money and bring to him because he has already grown up he cannot ask for money anymore* (Interview 19: Peter, male, former street-involved child and shelter resident.)

Here, Peter is explaining how street-involved children in this field site are often asked to beg for money on behalf of their older street-peers. This makes life more difficult for the children, since they are not able to keep all the money that they earn. However, it also portrays how the older youth are not able to beg for money themselves because they have 'already grown up' and presumably would no longer evoke sympathy from passers-by. I6 also talks about how the younger children are used to earn money on behalf of the older youth, since the younger children attract less suspicion and the older youth are perceived to be less deserving of help from the community.

Hoggett (2001) discusses concepts of agency and rationality in relation to social policy and the welfare subject. He explains that in discussions of the welfare subject it is common to either blame the subject for their situation of poverty, or to blame the system, absolving the subject from any blame. Hoggett argues for a more robust understanding of the welfare subject which recognises "the real experiences of powerlessness and psychic injury which result from injustice and oppression" whilst also "acknowledg[e][ing] human capacities for destructiveness towards self and others" (2001: 37). On the topic of 'dependency', which relates directly to the phenomemon of 'begging', Hoggett explains:

> *"The attack on 'dependency culture'* [in the UK in the 90s] *reveals a hatred of the very idea of dependency (Hoggett, 2000) and a refusal […] to accept that some people need continuing support to cope with their lives. There seems to be a real contempt around for people who cannot or will not be 'empowered' at the moment, especially if they are not obviously physically incapacitated in some way."* (Hoggett, 2001: 44)

As many local and international NGOs receive funding grants on a short-term basis, there is pressure on them to reduce the dependence of project recipients and design interventions that produce a concrete output; such as rehabilitation, being returned home or entered into schooling. This is exemplified in my field-sites where the host NGO had turned their shelter for street-involved children

into a 'transition home'; emphasising that their assistance to the children and young people was to help them transition from street life into a different space. The long-term aim of such interventions is to pass the responsibility for the children onto another person or institution, such as back to the family or into full time schooling, or to empower the child to become responsible for themselves, through skills training (Nieuwenhuys, 2001). However, this ignores the importance of continuity of relationship for vulnerable populations. Providing services for children is justifiable since they are expected to be 'dependent'. As they age, however, any social or moral obligation to assist street-involved young people diminishes. The narrative that street-involved young people are old enough to think for, and look after, themselves emerges several times in this research (I7, I9, I10, I16); implying that the concept that children should become self-dependent by a certain age applies in Tanzanian culture as much as in Western discourses surrounding age of responsibility. I suggest that age is a highly arbitrary measure of a person's ability to take full responsibility for their own welfare, especially for those who have had insufficient or inadequate support during their childhood. Although street-involved children have been found to develop significant skills and coping techniques for surviving on the street, this does not necessarily translate into the life skills sufficient for flourishing, as understood in a broader sense of well-being (Giovanola, 2005). Indeed, research from the UK highlights the need for further support for young people leaving care at the age of 18. The research argues that, for children who have experienced challenging childhoods, 18 years is too young to expect a person to leave care and become fully independent, even when receiving welfare provision (National Audit Office, 2015). Participants in this study who had left the street and grown up under the care of The Centre [before it became a 'transition home'] express how interventions at The Centre helped to prepared them for living life independently, learning skills that they do not believe they would have acquired had they remained on the street (I18, I19, I20 and I21). At a similar age to others in the study who are living on the street, the young people who left the street to participate fully in The Centre's portfolio of programmes appear more self-sufficient, well-connected and positive about their future prospects than those who did not receive this depth of support. Therefore, those

who have 'aged' on the street would arguably benefit from similar extra support, despite their age.

The challenge of working with older youth on the street is recognised in street child literatures, where NGOs focus their resources on new arrivals to the street, since they are perceived as easier to rehabilitate (Beazley, 2003; Huang *et al.*, 2004). A form of programming that prioritises tangible 'results' over 'softer' intervention outcomes, often encouraged by donor reporting requirements, exacerbates a culture of interventions that necessarily exclude those beneficiaries who require the most intense assistance. Within 'the value for money' donor mind-set, it is nonsensical to invest in those beneficiaries who may never 'improve' their situation. Hoggett refers to such reasoning as a devaluation of humanity:

> *"The cultural devaluation of care is of course partly about the wider devaluation of 'women's work' but it is also about the devaluation in humanity of that which doesn't change, or changes very slowly or gets worse (despite all the resources we throw at it)." (Hoggett, 2001: 44)*

In Hoggett's view, society has no patience for the things, or people, that change slowly, or get worse. This is a frustration voiced by street workers who witness children and young people who appear to 'regress' despite continued help (I6), and support interventions require a great level of unconditional care and perseverance to continue assisting children in similar situations; especially if children and young people are viewed as being ungrateful or taking advantage of others' generosity (I12). Indeed, if a street worker gives up on a child or young person, this could further affirm the child or young person's sense of hopelessness. Conticini (2008) argues that a child's quality of social networks on the street is at least partly responsible for strengthening their ability to move from despair towards increased well-being:

> *"Joy and despair are both experienced during this process [the stages of street life]. Some children move from initial despair to progressively increased well-being, a graduation from poverty. But others move from initial despair to increased well-being and back to despair. These processes depend on the nature of the social networks built by the children and the ways in which their aspirations develop." (Conticini, 2008: 432)*

Paradoxically, those who have given up on themselves may be the most difficult to connect with and therefore the most difficult to help. Conticini makes the following observations of those who are in the 'dependence' stage of street life:

> *"These children [the ones in the 'dependency stage'] refuse to accept external help for change. If they do accept help it is for exploiting an immediate benefit without a long-term perspective and the 'survival' idea regresses to physical survival day by day."*
> *(2008: 428)*

For those who do not believe that change is possible and who have lost hope in others' willingness or ability to help them, accepting help beyond the satisfaction of basic needs would seem futile. For those who may be given the choice of ameliorating their situation, their sense of genuine 'choice' is impaired by their sense of the futility of trying that is so embedded in their situation and experiences, thereby hindering their agency (Hoggett, 2001). Here, giving up and being given up on become self-reinforcing and disillusionment is generated on both the side of the young person and the would-be helper.

There is no easy solution to helping those who have given into despair and addiction. Interventions that engage such populations require patience and the willingness to accept that a person may never be fully 'rehabilitated', such as 'managed alcohol programs' for those suffering from alcohol addiction in Canada (Evans, 2015). Although many participants in the 'managed alcohol programs' merely died safely in a caring environment, for some, the environment and social relations that these programs provided gave them a 'reason to care' (Evans, 2015: 121). This reason to care is described as a move from despair to a 're-enchantment with life' (ibid) and the opposite of 'giving up'. By accepting the clients' addiction and helping them to manage and moderate the administration of alcohol while living in the sheltered accommodation, this programme created an enabling environment for some people to begin to imagine and desire a different future for themselves (Evans, 2015). For others, the sheltered accommodation provided respectful palliative care for those who were not able to be rehabilitated (ibid). Such accepting environments could be provided for street-involved young people who have given up on themselves and become mateja. But, to do so would require letting go of a desire to label them as 'deserving' versus 'undeserving', or 'succeeding' versus 'failing'. Such

interventions would need to be driven by an understanding of the inherent value of human life, and that all people are worthy of unconditional positive regard (Rogers, 1961), despite their challenges.

7.4   Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the phenomenon of 'giving up' on life which is experienced by some street-involved young people in this study as they age on the street. The contributing role of fatalism and a loss of hope has been discussed in relation to 'giving up', exploring the role of hardships, stigmatisation and unreliable people who cause disappointments. 'Giving up' on life in this field context is synonymous with becoming 'mateja'. The notion of being 'mateja' has been presented in depth and their condition has been linked to the concept of 'slow suicide'. The processes of 'giving up' on oneself, becoming 'mateja' and engaging in 'slow suicide' contradict the dominant narratives of resilience and agency that characterise street-involved child and youth literature from the early 2000s. As discussed in this chapter, this contradiction may be because mateja are not considered to be street-involved children and therefore their experiences are omitted from such research. Alternatively, as Gigengack (2008) suggests, it could be due to the narrow time perspective that some research takes on children and young people's lives, ignoring the consequences of a negative trajectory of street-life and drug abuse. In addition to taking a longitudinal view of street-involved children's lives, a more nuanced discussion of agency could deepen the discussion beyond 'resilience' and autonomy, taking into consideration the influence of environmental, social and material factors, including drug use, and the way they shape children and young people's agentic capacities (as discussed in chapter 2) (Draus *et al.*, 2010; Duff, 2012; Tisdall and Punch, 2012).

Finally, this chapter critiqued age restrictions that are sometimes placed on interventions with street-involved children. Such age restrictions reveal implicit assumptions regarding what type of person is worthy of assistance; of which older youth and those who are addicted are excluded from. While NGOs often want to do the best for their beneficiaries, their activities can be restricted by unpredictable funding environments and donor, particularly Western neoliberal, agendas. A reluctance to foster 'dependency' in donor discourse can push street-

involved children and young people into risky situations, as Nieuwenhuys (2001) argues in relation to street-involved girls in Addis Ababa who were asked to pay for their shelter food in order to promote their independence. This chapter argues for interventions that attend to the multiple and complex needs of street-involved populations regardless of their age, appreciating the inherent worth of human life rather than an unhelpful focus on subjective definitions of deserving and undeserving.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

This research set out to explore the role of relationships in the lives of street-involved children and young people. The research was co-supervised by StreetInvest, a UK-based NGO, with the expectation that the findings would enrich their understanding of how their street worker intervention could play a complementary role and meet unmet needs in children and young people's lives. Answering Tisdall and Punch's call for more "'bottom-up' theorisations from the Majority World" (2012: 259), this research used a grounded theory methodology (GTM) to explore issues that were important to street-involved children and young people in northern Tanzania; initiated by asking the research participants to 'tell us about your relationships on the street'. Using concurrent sampling and coding strategies instructed by GTM (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) a core concern among research participants was identified and a substantive theory proposed: street-involved children and young people are taking responsibility for meeting their own needs and that this responsibility is a root cause of stress in their lives. Four empirical chapters have been presented that outline four thematic categories from the research, including the core concern; taking responsibility, a glass-ceiling to income opportunities, change points, and giving-up. The study combines concepts of agency and child rights from the new social studies of childhood (Qvortrup *et al.*, 1994) with more recent literature that highlights issues surrounding children's responsibilities, particularly in an African context (Twum-Danso, 2009), and relational approaches to understanding children's agency (Plows, 2012).

This research proposes that, although street-living children and young people have taken responsibility for meeting their own needs by moving to the street, they desire, and benefit from, supportive relationships and structures. These relationships and structures can help them access opportunities and allow them to consider their futures by increasing elements of reliability and stability in their lives; enabling children and young people to have greater assurance of the future outcomes of their present activities. Street-living children and young people who have been excluded from relationships of intergenerational reciprocity among their natal families, either preceding or following their move to the street, are

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missing a crucial support network which, for many other African children, provides life-long support alongside a mutual duty of care for others in their wider family. The Tanzanian government has appeared unable, or unwilling, to fill the support void for those who find themselves outside of familial systems of care. . Providing children and young people on the street with supportive relationships and opportunities allows them to maintain hope and navigate specific life transitions. In addition, relationships with those in the wider community can enhance children and young people's reputations and offer opportunities for work and employment; reducing the need to depend on illegal and risky income-generating activities.

8.1   Theoretical contribution: a substantive theory

This thesis developed four thematic categories, that resonated with the children and young people being interviewed, and a substantive theory: street-involved children and young people are taking responsibility for their needs and that, for them, this is a source of anxiety, or, put colloquially, street-involved children and young people are 'struggling for life by themselves'. This represents a substantive theory since it is socially applicable to a specific population in a particular location; street-involved children and young people in Tanzania. This is in contrast to a formal grounded theory which normally argues a broader level applicability (Glaser, 2007), i.e. that all street-involved children experience anxiety through taking responsibility for themselves, or that all those who are disconnected from family networks experience extra hardships and therefore require additional networks of support; this could apply to care-leavers in the UK, for example. In order to adapt this substantive theory into a formal grounded theory more data collection would need to take place in additional geographical location and populations with characteristics that are applicable to the substantive theory would need to be theoretically sampled.

The four thematic categories introduced at the beginning of this chapter will be briefly summarised. Firstly, children and young people's experiences were framed by their transition from living at home and being in a relationship of co-responsibility with their families, to living on the street and becoming solely responsible for meeting their own basic needs and wellbeing. This transition held

both opportunities and risks for the children and young people. Many adapted to this new reality, recognising that life was hard, while others lamented the loss of support of a family environment. Secondly, challenges that children and young people experience accessing income generating opportunities, particularly as they age on the street, has been discussed. The limitations of their income generating opportunities are influenced by children and young people's age, the stigmatisation and social exclusion they experience, their (in)ability to plan for the future and the regret older street-involved young people experience when reflecting on their decision-making on the street. Thirdly, this research identified the existence of 'change points'; points in children and young people's lives where significant transitions occurred that are difficult to reverse. This third concept was supported by literature from varying disciplines and country contexts which identify similar moments in children and young people's lives that influence their life trajectories (Cid and Martí, 2012; Thomson *et al.*, 2002). Finally, drawing on literature dealing with addiction (Gigengack, 2014b), enabling relationships (Evans, 2012) and the agentic role of drugs (Duff, 2012), the thesis introduced the notion of 'giving up'. An exploration of this concept identified that street-involved children and young people populations overlap with populations of those with drug addictions and highlighted the worst-case outcome that children and young people face if they do not find a way to circumvent the 'glass-ceiling' of legitimate working opportunities. Figure 1 shows how the key themes relate to the core concern and substantive theory of children and young people taking responsibility for themselves. The relationships between the themes and the core concern are progressive: the more a child or young person is required to take responsibility for themselves the more likely they will be hindered by a 'glass-ceiling' in their work opportunities, they will be pushed into forced decision-making scenarios, and they risk 'giving up'.

CH 4: Taking responsibility for their needs

- No employment
- Lost contact with family
- Heavy drug use and stigmatised
- Strain of responsibility and lack of options

CH 7: Giving up

- Having someone or something to change for
- Limited options lead to forced decisions
- Familiar people and environments encourage or prevent change

CH 6: Change point

- Must find own work
- Need to find a referee
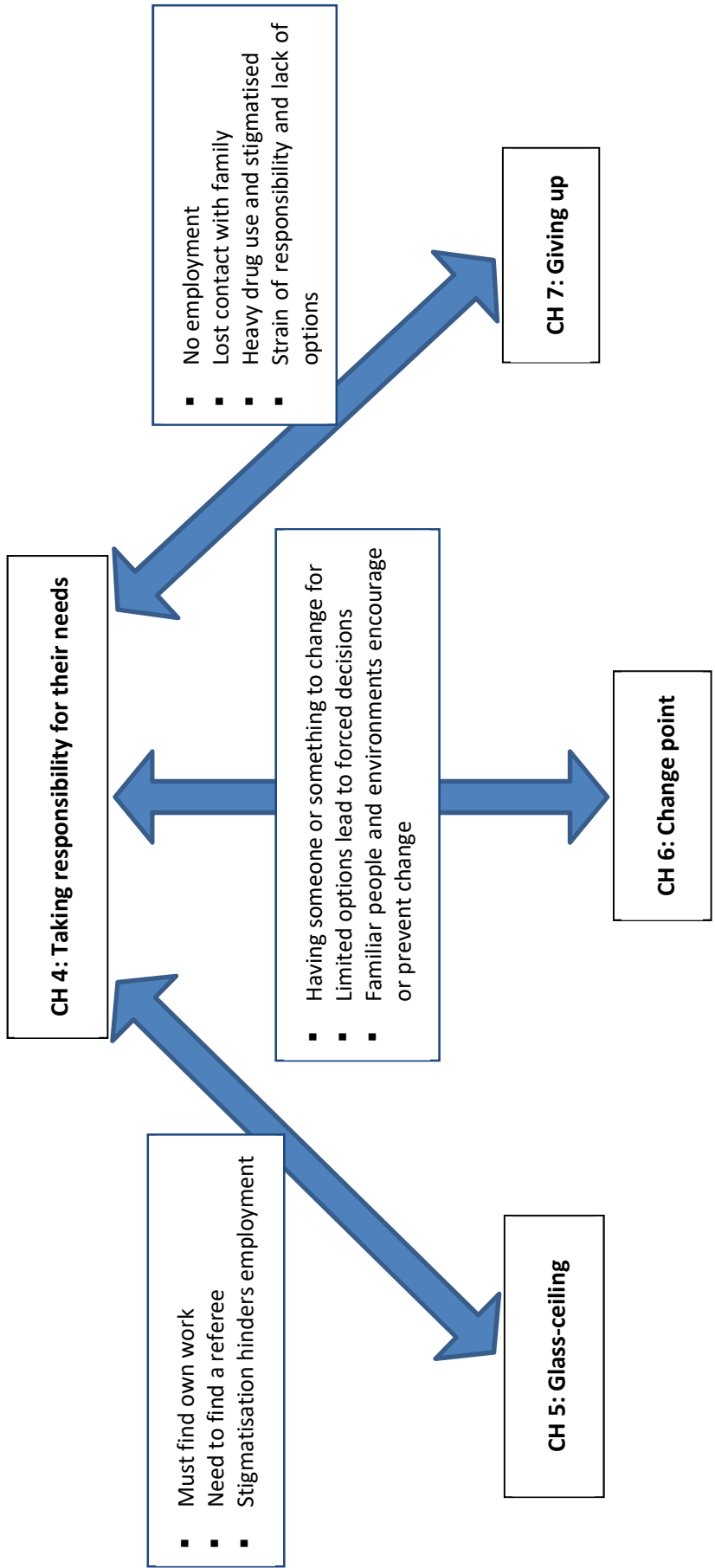- Stigmatisation hinders employment

CH 5: Glass-ceiling

Figure 6: Diagram showing how the substantive theory, that street-involved children and young people are taking responsibility for themselves, integrates with and relates to the key thematic categories.

This study extends discussions relating to children's agency by exploring relational aspects of children's opportunities, decisions and ability to meet their needs as well as the ways in which stressful environments and narcotic substances impact children and young people's ability to exercise their agency. In a sub-Saharan African setting, the issue of children's rights and children's responsibilities has been discussed in relation to families' intergenerational contracts; specifically, the break-down of this intergenerational contract by a child's move to the street, or a parent's neglect (as discussed by Twum-Danso, 2009). Following the breakdown of arrangements of reciprocity between children and their families, street-involved children are left to meet their own needs. The findings from this study frame this within the concept of 'responsibility'. Unlike studies which discuss the myriad of relationships (Anich et al., 2011; Evans, 2006; Mizen, 2018), some supportive and others not, that street-living children and young people have on the street, this research identifies the burden that children and young people feel from being ultimately *responsible* for satisfying all of their own needs and desires; a sentiment which arises from the transient and temporary nature of relationships on the street and a disillusionment with the trustworthiness of those who offer to help them. The anxiety induced by this responsibility is as much of an issue for the children and young people as the state of responsibility itself; as children and young people articulate that it is difficult to rest and find peace until they have earnt enough money for the day. This finding is not intended to return to a paternalistic view of engagement with street-involved children and young people, but to recognise that having access to reliable, supportive relationships with the assurance of a long-term commitment and access to a share in resources necessary for enhancing livelihoods and living conditions is something that is essential to all people. Indeed, street-involved children are likely to share some of the same disadvantages with other poor populations across geographical and social divides.

Unsurprisingly, without the support of family, children and young people are capable of meeting their basic needs but struggle to take care of the needs of their futures. This research has identified that children and young people's perspective on their daily street lives, and their tendency to contemplate their

futures, is dependent on their age; with younger children being more preoccupied with daily activities and older children and young people feeling anxious about their futures and regretful about their past. This can contribute to a greater sense of unease among older street-involved populations that can lead them to engage in more risky livelihood activities or a greater dependence on drug-use. This research argues that, although street-involved children and young people can show remarkable resilience and resourcefulness in their means to survive on the street, without a supportive network of relationships (familial or institutional) children and young people find it difficult to thrive and build a life for themselves beyond the street through breaking the glass-ceiling to acquire more reliable employment or acquiring resources, such as land, that would offer a young person stability.

8.2 Methodological contributions: using GTM with street-involved populations

The use of GTM in this research enabled me to identify key issues of concern for the research participants, during concurrent data collection and analysis, and guided me through the process of integrating my data with relevant literature across academic disciplines. The interdisciplinary nature of the theory building allowed me to test my data and conceptual ideas against a wide spectrum of applicable literature relating to children and youth, homeless populations, at-risk young people, drug and alcohol addiction and ways of conceptualising agency, child rights and relationships: this allowed me the freedom to explore unique conceptualisations of street-involved children and young people's lives in relation to their responsibilities, careers, decisions and ability to maintain hope.

During my research I found that GTM was ideal for engaging street-involved children and young people, identified in this study as an over-researched and marginalised population, since it allowed for questioning that showed respect for all information that the participants wished to share. I argue that, for over-researched populations who are likely to hear similar lines of questioning from multiple researchers, GTM offers a refreshing opportunity for participants to talk with researchers about issues that are of concern to them by using their own phrasing and perspectives.

However, while producing rich and interesting insights, GTM requires time, dedication and patience to do well and therefore is not necessary or appropriate for all forms of research inquiry. GTM for theory building presents a list of new hypotheses for investigation. Further research using different methodologies may more usefully identify causal relationships in the data or examine the extent to which particular theories inform viable interventions.

8.3   Policy contribution: practical recommendations

Throughout the thesis, I have drawn on the importance of relationships and support structures for assisting children and young people in broadening their opportunities. If children taking responsibility for their own needs is the core concern raised by this thesis then the question that remains is: what is to be done about this? What this study indicates is that street-involved children and young people would benefit from higher integration into society which is generated by material assistance, employment and development opportunities, and the provision of concerned and compassionate relationships from family members and members of the community. In return, children and young people can begin to develop an appropriate sense of responsibility for their behaviours towards themselves and others.

I would suggest that societal integration, supportive relationships and hope (that is enabled by good physical and mental health) hold the key to; alleviating the burden of 'survival' inherent with being wholly responsible for themselves; broadening options and opportunities to prevent dead-ends in their income generating opportunities; guiding and assisting in children and young people's change points and decision making; and, ensuring that no young person reaches the point where they decide to give up on life. In practice, I argue that these recommendations make a compelling case for reinstating long-term supported accommodation for children and young people which does not exclude individuals by age. There are fears that such provision may foster dependency on services among children and young people (Nieuwenhuys, 2001) or encourage more children to move to the streets (Anich et al., 2011). However, what this research has shown is that street-involved children and young people need something to depend on and that this need extends beyond their sixteenth

birthday[80]. Supported living for those with addictions has shown to facilitate rehabilitation among some individuals (Evans *et al.*, 2015). Regardless of this, support for those with addictions also provides compassionate palliative care for people who are likely to die as a result of their addictions; as well as reducing the need for individuals to engage in crime to support their addiction needs. Early intervention is known to be most effective at 'rehabilitating' street-involved children and young people. However, the way early interventions are initiated is important if they are not to further alienate a potentially fearful population (Conticini, 2008). Early interventions that demand less of a significant change for children may increase initial engagement. For example, it is common for agencies to pick-up children who are new to the street and offer them assistance in a shelter or drop-in centre. As chapter 6 suggests, taking children to a centre may be intimidating for some, especially those who are running away from something; consequently, many children run back to the street. Early interventions that seek to build regular and sustained contact with children and young people may help to generate the trust necessary for children to access additional services: this is an obvious strength of StreetInvest's street worker intervention and adds weight to the importance of such outreach work.

8.4   Further research

Further research would be beneficial for testing the hypotheses presented by the integrated substantive theory developed in this study, particularly in a sub-Saharan African context. Areas of specific interest include the development of extra-familial supportive networks in collectivist societies; those which rely on relationships of reciprocity. Such research may provide clues to the long-term implications of child estrangement and whether individuals can develop adequate substitute support structures. This research would complement investigations of former street-involved populations and an identification of the factors that lead individuals to build a life for themselves beyond the street. In order to extend the substantive theory into a formal grounded theory, more

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[80] The age at which some interventions stop recruiting street-involved children.

research could be carried out with other populations that find themselves within a series of non-dependable relationships, such as children in the care system in the UK or unaccompanied asylum-seeking young people, to understand if a similar sense of a burden of 'responsibility' for themselves is theoretically resonant for them.

Additionally, while there is much research on drug rehabilitation of homeless populations in the Global North, engagement with the rehabilitation of addicted street-involved populations in the Global South remains scarce. Since drug and alcohol addictions influence street-involved children and young people's agentic capacities, and their allocation of resources, an investigation of projects that address addiction in sub-Saharan Africa could highlight best practice and provide recommendations for NGOs that provide more generalist services: particularly if these interventions indicate a role for supportive relationships in drug rehabilitation. Finally, while this research has indicated the importance of diverse relational networks for connecting street-involved populations to opportunities and new ways of thinking, further research could investigate the ways that places and environments can enhance children and young people's agentic capacities and ability to aspire.

8.5   Final word on the UNCRC General Comment no. 21

The UNCRC General Comment no. 21 (2017) on children in street situations provides a comprehensive outline of the measures that should be put in place to ensure that street-involved children and young people rights are met. The importance of trustworthy adults for helping children to access their rights is stipulated throughout the General Comment, as is the obligation of the state to support families and community members in their role as care-givers; stepping-in to become caregiver as much as resources will allow when other means of support fail. The General Comment also advises that follow-on support is needed for young people as they turn 18 and transition into adulthood. However, as already argued in this thesis, the UNCRC has not translated well in a sub-Saharan African setting due to the conflict between Western notions of childhood as a time of 'play, innocence and learning' (Wells, 2015: 16) and that of an African childhood based on ideas of intergenerational reciprocity and

responsibility (Twum-Danso, 2008). Similarly, the Tanzanian government appears to have struggled to assume responsibility for street-involved children beyond law enforcement in public places enacted by the police. Therefore, there is no guarantee that the General Comment will result in any observable difference in the lives of the children and young people involved in this study or subsequent cohorts in the near future.

The General Comment omits certain elements of street-involved children's experiences that this thesis has found to be important for those in Tanzania. Specifically, the General Comment mentions children's responsibilities only fleetingly, despite this being a key component of the ACRWC and a concept which underpins children's relationships with others. There does not appear to be an emphasis on work and income nor the extent to which this consumes much of children and young people's physical and emotional energy. Furthermore, the General Comment is presupposed by the notion of children and young people's resilience and their right to be on the street. While this emphasis is important for legitimising children and young people's presence on the street, to overshadow many children and young people's aspirations to move away from the street at some point frames children's lives in the immediate present, without due regard for the best interest and desires of their future selves (Gigengack, 2008). Children and young people taking responsibility for themselves on the street should be recognised as an imperfect last resort. The danger with the General Comment is that an emphasis on children and young people's resilience and right to be on the street normalises their hardships and potentially stifles interventions that aspire for children's futures away from the street. This thesis, and the voices of children and young people therein, provides a bottom-up, grounded theory with which to counterpoise documents such as the General Comment and hone its applicability and merit in local settings.

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Appendix 1: Participant details

Interview	Date	Code	Age	Sex	Situation	Pseudonym	Field site
1	09.03.15	I1.1	18	M	living on	Jackson	1
1	09.03.15	I1.2	17	M	living on	Samuel	1
2	19.03.15	I2[81]	19	M	living on	Eman	2
3	31.03.15	I3.1	16	M	former/visiting	James	1
3	31.03.15	I3.2[82]	15	M	living on	Ricard	1
3	31.03.15	I3.3	13	M	living on	Taye	1
4	23.04.15	I4.1[83]	17	M	living on	Rey	1
4	23.04.15	I4.2[84]	16	M	living on	Iman	1
4	23.04.15	I4.3[85]	16	M	living on	Stevie	1
4	23.04.15	I4.4[86]	16	M	living on	William	1
5	05.05.15	I5.1[87]	19	M	living on	Eric	1
5	05.05.15	I5.2	17	M	living on	Jamil	1
5	05.05.15	I5.3	16	M	living on	Juma	1
5	05.05.15	I5.4	14	M	living on	Kelvin	1
5	05.05.15	I5.5[88]	13	M	living on	Thadei	1
6	13.05.15	I6	30	M	Social Worker	Robert	1
7	14.05.15	I7.1	22	M	living on	Pauli	1
7	14.05.15	I7.2	22	M	living on	Michael	1

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[81] Participant is also coded as I10.5 and I17.4

[82] Participant is also coded as I16

[83] Participant is also coded as I13.7

[84] Participant is also coded as I8.3, I13.5 and I14.1

[85] Participant is also coded as I22.3

[86] Participant is also coded as I8.2, I9.4 and I13.1

[87] Participant is also coded as I13.4

[88] Participant is also coded as I22.2

7	14.05.15	I7.3[89]	24	M	living on	Musa	1
7	14.05.15	I7.4	23	M	living on		1
7	14.05.15	I7.5	20	M	living on		1
7a	15.05.15	I7a	26	F	Research Assistant		1
8	21.05.15	I8.1[90]	19	M	living on	Daudi	1
8	21.05.15	I8.2	16	M	living on	See I4.4	1
8	21.05.15	I8.3	16	M	living on	See I4.2	1
8	21.05.15	I8.4	17	M	living on	Benji	1
9	27.05.15	I9.1[91]	19	M	living on	James	1
9	27.05.15	I9.2[92]	23	M	Visiting/former	Omary	1
9	27.05.15	I9.3	19	M	living on	See I8.1	1
9	27.05.15	I9.4	16	M	living on	See I4.4	1
9	27.05.15	I9.5	16	M	living on		1
10	02.06.15	I10.1	18	M	living on		2
10	02.06.15	I10.2	18	M	living on	Benson	2
10	02.06.15	I10.3	18	M	Former/visiting	Noel	2
10	02.06.15	I10.4	18	M	living on	Salim	2
10	02.06.15	I10.5	19	M	living on		2
11	08.06.15	I11	40	F	Practitioner - CCR		1 and 2
12	09.06.15	I12.1	26	F	Community member	Irene	1
12	09.06.15	I12.2	26	F	Community member	Neema	1
13	10.06.15	I13.1	16	M	living on	See I4.4	1
13	10.06.15	I13.2	24	M	Rent a room	See I7.3	1
13	10.06.15	I13.3	23	M	Rent a room	Edwin	1
13	10.06.15	I13.4	19	M	Rent a room/maybe	See I5.1	1

[89] Participant is also coded as I13.2

[90] Participant is also coded as I9.3, I13.6 and I22.4

[91] Participant is also coded as I13.9

[92] Participant is also coded as I22.1

13	10.06.15	I13.5	16	M	living on	See I4.2	1
13	10.06.15	I13.6	19	M	living on	See I8.1	1
13	10.06.15	I13.7	17	M	living on	See I4.1	1
13	10.06.15	I13.8	23	M	Rent a room		1
13	10.06.15	I13.9	19	M	living on	See I9.1	1
14	16.06.15	I14.1	16	M	Rent a room/living on	See I4.2	1
14	16.06.15	I14.2	19	M	living on		1
15	17.06.15	I15	70	F	Community member		1
16	19.06.15	I16	15	M	living on	See I3.2	1
17	15.06.15	I17.1	16	M	living on	Dennis	2
17	15.06.15	I17.2	15	M	living on	Ringo	2
17	15.06.15	I17.3	15	M	living on		2
17	15.06.15	I17.4	19	M	living on	See I2	2
17	15.06.15	I17.5	15	M	living on	Ahmed	2
17	15.06.15	I17.6 [93]	23	M	living on		2
17	15.06.15	I17.7	15	M	living on	Oscar	2
17	15.06.15	I17.8	15	M	living on		2
17	15.06.15	I17.9	15	M	living on		2
17	15.06.15	I17.10	15	M	living on		2
17	15.06.15	I17.11	11	F	Sleeps at home		2
18	21.07.15	I18	25	M	Former, now adults	Francis	1
19	21.07.15	I19	25	M	Former, now adults	Peter	1
20	21.07.15	I20	25	M	Former, now adults	Julius	1
21	21.07.15	I21	25	M	Former, now adults	Simon	1
22	24.07.15	I22.1	23	M	lives in room with others	See I9.2	1
22	24.07.15	I22.2	13	M	living on	See I5.5	1

[93] Participant is also coded as I24.4

22	24.07.15	I22.3	16	M	living on		1
22	24.07.15	I22.4	19	M	living on	See I8.1	1
22	24.07.15	I22.5	17	M	living on		1
22	24.07.15	I22.6	22	M	living on	Sami	1
22	24.07.15	I22.7	13	M	living on		1
23	30.07.15	I23	40	M	Street worker		2
24	30.07.15	I24.1	23	M	living on	Stephen	2
24	30.07.15	I24.2	23	M	living on	Abdul	2
24	30.07.15	I24.3	23	M	living on	Baraka	2
24	30.07.15	I24.4	23	M	living on		2

Appendix 2: Categories established from interview 1 through open coding (5, April, 2015)

Taking Drugs[94]

I1.2 Also our friends they are [mentally distracted/mad already]. You find someone who uses [marijuana], it causes other being [mentally unfit/mad]. [95]

I1.2 They [lose their brain senses].

I1.1 Maybe you find father is very [drunk] [the word for drunk and high is the same in Swahili "kulewa") person […] you know when someone gets drunk he [loses his senses].

I1.2 And you find someone is your friend but suddenly he start to change. I1.1 […] like today you met me this way then when you meet me again day after tomorrow am [out of my sense] […] so you will know am not a good person [Relationship with "Monitoring others"]

I1.1 I know exactly this person is smoking [marijuana], but [with plans] not just [smelling glue] [randomly]. I know he uses drugs but at a particular time [he is ok and have senses].

I1.1 For the person who is using drug must have a friend who uses drugs too. [Relationship with "Mutual Assistance"]

I1.1 You may find it's true that someone smokes [marijuana] but he does nothing wrong or smoking [cigarettes] or [drinking alcohol] but [he does nothing wrong].

Loyalty

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[94] Bold italics represent category. Categories are fluid and subject to change through constant comparison with new excerpts of data.

[95] Each excerpt of an interviews is an 'incident' which relates to a category.

I1.1 You can't leave him. He will get lost so you will be advising that he's not doing the right thing. Because you will also be using drugs since both of you, you are drug users, you won't separate. [Relationship with "Taking Drugs"]

I1.2 Maybe you are smoking marijuana together then he starts to use cocaine. I1.1 You can't just leave him so suddenly, you must ask a friend why […] trying to advise him. [Relationship with "Taking Drugs"]

I1.1 If he does not understand you […] you fell it is useless to have him as friend.

Institutional Gatekeeper

I1.2 You [go with] one of the teachers for [medications].

I1.2 [They] also provide medicines like antibiotics to all street involved children, they come to street each month.

I1.1 When you steal you may be brought to police, your relatives are far away […] so you find people to bail you are the ones [know you].

I1.1 I know with my presence there they will know that I have a problem and help.

I1.1 NGO helps you to get out of police [custody].

Forced Decision

I1.1 Is not that we like but sometimes due to challenges facing us causes us running to street that's the situation.

I1.2 When you look at them you feel that they are supposed to be in school but are collecting scrappers.

I1.2. You find it feeling that it is better that I was not born because looking at his age he is still young. [Perhaps under "Depressive" instead]

I1.1. I may find myself injecting myself drugs due him, as he also doing so.

I.1.1. You know sometimes someone steals not because he wants to do so but due to hardships he faces.

I.1.1 We lived at NGO for long time but due to life it reached a moment where the government said children who are 15 years and below are only supposed to live there.

I1.1. You know who chases you away he does not necessary tell you to leave, that's how it is with relatives. [He repeats this same sentiment just a few sentences later]

I1.1 So one does not like to stay home, we like so much being very close to our families but that the way things are.

I1.1. You know no one liked to be chokoraa/street involved child or become a thief, it's just problems/hardships.

I1.1. Environment is the one causing children to run to street.

I1.1. You know us youth sometimes we are supposed to be at school […] but sometimes you find economic status makes you unable.

Copying/following other's example

I1.1. There is a certain image you continue developing and sometimes you find yourself copying that kind of life.

I1.1. You feel it is better to leave home avoiding to copy that kind of life that my father had.

I1.1. I should be away from him because we are told to follow good friends who will be suitable/helpful.

Monitoring others

I1.1 With eye contact you won't know who is good or bad but by looking someone's trend you will be able to know someone's behaviour is inappropriate.

I1.1. That is why when you sense maybe your friend trend is not good like he is using drugs I reduce the friendship bond because I know he is not a good person.

I1.1 With his behaviour you'll be able to know [if this is a good person].

I1.1 A friend like this you will tolerate him because you are familiar to his behaviour you can't just leave him. [Relationship with "Loyalty"]

Risky people

I1.2 [Dictatorship] in the street you know dada, that the way things are. [Relationship with "Taking drugs"]

I1.1 When someone gets [drunk] he loses his senses you find he abuses verbally. [Relationship with "Taking drugs"]

I1.1 I see my father continuing to [drink] much and when he returns back home he [beats mother].

I1.1 Others may cause a problem/[do something wrong] but during [arrestment] you are [arrested] together like chicken and you find all of you at police.

I1.2 [Young children] they meet [dictate/stubborn kids] in the street [oppress] them. I1.1 [take away their money].

I1.1. Is when sometimes you find someone gives up, you feel it is useless to have him as friend because […] at the end he puts his life in bad situation. [Relationship with "Depressive"]

I1.1 For example you find your friend is [thief] and you are not aware […]

I1.1&1.2 You find sometimes us friends making trouble for each other leading you into trouble.

I1.1 you find a friend has [done something wrong] but you are [arrested] together while you did not involve yourself.

I1.1. Even policemen are challenging, threatening because [they know they can arrest at any time] so [you become unconfident].

Feeling valued

I1.1. I know money and whatever are just there my sister and are not very necessary but you should come to know how am doing.

I.1.1. I feel good because I know am cared until we have come here together and I feel that am a person who I can do something the day I stand in front of people. It makes me confident. ["stand in front of people", <u>Relationship</u> with "Being labelled"]

I1.1. You just tell them [children] you are capable of doing something.

I1.1. Sometimes giving ideas is enough help open someone's mind to achieve a better life.

I1.1. People who are willing should come out to help these children who are in vulnerable environment so that we may feel that we are under the world surface.

I1.1. Personally I was asking if we may continue being visited and you should not forget us.

I1.1. When you remember us we also get encouraged that we are important people in this world.

I1.1. We are also supposed to do something different so that we should be recognised in this world. [Relationships with "Being labelled"]

Being labelled

I1.2 You are given a case for loafing around.

I1.2 Because even if a friend has done something wrong somewhere when I also pass there I will be chased away from that place so even me I will not be at people and I may be beaten if I show up there or even being called a thief.

I1.1. Sometimes with gathering groups are judged like created groups to do wrong things. So with situation like that makes us feels they think we are people who commit something wrong.

I1.1. But we meet and make groups anywhere though we are perceived as wrong doing people, perceived as thieves whenever we are seen.

I1.1. One of the challenges is when while walking around people began to speak/pointing on you that you are chokoraa/street involved children/mad/are thieves.

I1.1.&1.2. You tend to lose peace and feeling bad. (in relation to above statement)

I1.1. You listen at people saying street involved children are thieves, are mad/chokoraa, marijuana smokers.

I1.1. You may wonder with small issue you are soaked into a case of stealing, called thief people gather and beats you and you are seen as a thief when you are not.

I1.1. We should not be seen as people who do not have life anymore.

Families

I1.1. You find yourself in the family where father and mother are not in good term. Maybe you find father is a very drunk person when he returns back at home he hits children.

I1.1. An act of seeing mother being beaten by father makes you lack self-peace.

I1.1. One is orphan you go to relatives and they reject you.

I1.1. I don't know about Jabir if he communicates his family or not but personally when am at street sometimes I don't communicate with family and it reaches a moment when I feel I should go and say hi.

I1.1. I know if I stay longer [then 2-3 days] it's a problem.

I1.2. Not close communication.

I1.1. Sometimes you go to a relative but does not value as a relative, he may take you just for the sake […] he is the only one available. [Relationship with "Being valued"]

I1.1 Personally the relationship is very bad/small [between him and his family]

I1.1. I fail to understand my relatives, because even my relatives themselves don't understand each other, don't love each other.

I1.1. They don't love each other so if they don't love each other do you think they will love me?

I1.1. Even if am going to live with relatives it is still a problem.

I1.2. I feel even if I go home I will create more problems.

I1.2. So whenever I go home there is nothing very important that's why I don't go and even if I go I can't sleep.

I1.1. You know good upbringings to a child is when you are raised with both parents and be with them at home and not living apart. Today father is there then comes tomorrow mother is here it becomes hard and makes you create an image I1.2. of fighting. I1.1. That makes you see home as a bad place.

I1.1. You find young children at town asleep while they are supposed to be under mother care.

I1.1. Always us youth living street life we admire so much to be closer to our families. I1.2. So much.

I1.1. Father and mother may be thy are not in good terms and this is what causes that you feel someone else is better though is not my blood relative but I take him as my relative because may be he helps me with ideas, food though I will be missing the close relationship with my family.

I.1.1. But with relative because he has already get used to you he just do anything he wants [i.e. get angry] because he knows that you are young.

I1.1. We really admire staying closer to our families but due to problems no way we just have to stay with others because are the ones who can help us.

Resources

I1.2. If you lack then you are nothing, also you know with street life you sleep at someone's veranda and if he finds you at night he/she minds [i.e. doesn't like it].

I1.1. You find home are poor and you tend to think about that. Sometimes you like to study but at home they lack money to support.

I1.1. Sometimes you run to the street because at home there is nothing.

I1.1. So with your life in the street hassling to collect scrappers you will find yourself with new lifestyle and other friends.

I1.1. Telling some of teachers who comes to visit us in street that there are someone owes you [you owe?] and you are not at peace and afraid to pass nearby them teachers encourage you not to be afraid and helps you pay the debt and you become at peace again continuing your life.

I1.1. When I get very serious with hunger […] I can go to NGO at particular time when they are eating […] greet them and welcomed to eat.

I1.1. Organisations have supported us so much, that's a bit point.

I1.2. Someone can just see a small thing and admires it simply because of hardships/problems and once he looks inside his pocket there is nothing. So something like that may be the reason for you even going to police station. [Link to "Risky people"]

I1.2. Our obstacle is like shelter because a place to sleep is the best need, because it is better you miss food but you get a place to sleep.

I1.1. The biggest problem that I see is shelter during night. Because you find sometimes sleeping in cold which is very dangerous.

I1.2. Also food because even we don't have work it is just mission town but what you get you get satisfied with.

I1.2. Clothes, you know you are even supposed to access education […] When you get something like that at least you may settle.

I1.2. Even with water you are going to streams to take bath.

I.1.1. Some days as day work conductor I find myself wondering that I have make only two thousand.

I1.1. Someday also I may be lucky, collecting scrappers with friend and get enough money.

I1.1. Even with food sometimes is an obstacle you may struggle since morning at bus station the whole day and you only get two thousand. Imagine with two thousand for the whole day budget.

I1.1. If you come and ask us we can sit somewhere and you educate us. You may change something.

Movement

I1.1. Yes, you won't have one friend because in life you don't live in one place.

I1.1. When you go to _____ you are new/guest to people you find in _____.

I1.1. Some among them are bad friends so even when you return back to _____ you find you are no longer familiar to them and find yourself with new friends.

Being moved on

I1.1. Maybe he gets temporary place at friends business site that he can use for small business it is still a problem since you are going to be chased away told you should move.

I1.1. Happens the same situation when you decide to work as machinga because policemen chases people away.

I1.1. Whenever you see a policeman you get afraid ready to run away.

Mutual assistance

I1.1. You know when we are two we think/reason much more [than] when one is alone.

I1.1. When you are two there is interaction, Jabir's ideas can help me and I can help Jabir with my ideas.

I1.1. If is matter of money we are looking together and get it.

I1.2. So when he does not have money to buy the drugs a friend can share what he has.

I1.1. The person who is ready to take your problems no matter what

I1.1. I can't tolerate seeing him suffering with hunger while I have money.

I1.1. We in the street should support each other.

I1.1. When we are gathered together we continue to know each other and continue to cooperate and helping each other as street involved children so that we don't fall apart. [Taking about if activities are arranged to bring the children together such as sport.

Depressive

I1.1. You find someone asking why is life so difficult it is better that I was not born is this world because I have come to suffer.

I1.1. It is hard my sister [finances] that is why am telling you that there are many things to the extent you feel that it is better that you were not born you have just come to suffer.

I1.1. So that we may feel our presence and valued under the world's surface. [Relationship with "Feeling valued"]

Friends

I1.1. According to life you are not supposed to have so many friends others will be the ones to destroy your life.

I1.1. So meeting different people and we become familiar to each other.

I1.1. You can't tell, there are bad people among us.

I1.1. he may destroy me in future like become drugs user.

I1.1. This is not a good friend.

I1.1. When I see my firend here whom am very close to I can tell him and h understands well and he became in a position where he has understood my thing that am thinking in my life.

I1.1. But am very close to my friend because he is the one I am familiar to.

I1.2. When you get someone (this friend of mine) to help little you get satisfied.

I1.1. Like when I met Jabir here, am very happy because I know he is one of my support, he helps me a lot sitting with him even when we are walking around because I know when am in trouble he will help me.

I1.1. Human beings are very different because there are people who have commitments with street involved children.

I1.1. Brother Respick sometimes he leaves his works at night and ocmes to spend time with street involved children. I1.2. We have chitchat with him.

I1.1. You know when we spend time with him he comforts us and we feel good. We feel that people are caring and we are not dumped.

I1.1. Respick supports us the time he come to spend time with us.

I1.1 &1.2. He [Respick] shares ideas with us.

I1.1. He teaches us how to life while at street […] people like him are giving us motivation.

I1.1. When someone comes to comfort you even if you are not living with him […] to know how you are doing he encourages you and you feel you are beneficial in the world.

I1.1. Even if my parents have passed away already but there are people committed and care, come visit me, that is way things are.

I1.1. He will test me and become a reason for me starting to use drugs.

I1.1. If he [other friend] hates you there is someone I must come along with and he will love me and value me as brother though all we are hassling at the street.

Asimwe: A friend in street is someone who helps? I1.1 & 1.2.: Yes

I1.1. What am looking from my friends is that I stay with them and are my relatives because when am in trouble in the street are the first ones to know. Because are the ones that am living with in the street.

I.1.1 The most thing that I need [from a relationship] while at street there are should be people in this world […] to volunteer comforting street involved children.

I1.1. People should come out who have a heart to help. [Relationship with "Feeling valued"]

Making one's own way

I1.1. Go hassling for life by myself […] which I know will help me and I will come to help others.

I1.2. This is the reason contributing children to run away. [Relationship with "Family"]

I1.1. It contributes, but also poverty.

I1.1. you find the work that parent is doing is not paying enough to the extent you tend to think on your own what should I do, I should go.

I1.1. They go to relatives, they are rejected or teased and decide to leave to hassle for life independently.

I1.1. That is why sometimes you reject groups, you feel it is better to be two alone, we know what to do with life.

I1.2. He is walking all the day sun on him hassling for life when you ask about his parents he tells you he does not have father [… or] his parents separated.

I1.2. Parent's fighting contributed a lot [to running away].

I1.1. You can't convince me that you find your fellow using drugs and then you follow him, because you have a brain to think.

I1.1. If I advises a friend and see that he does not seem to change how I want him to be I leave him and look for other friends I will live with.

I1.2. And it is not your behaviour.

I1.1. If he doesn't understand you have to leave him because it is not necessary him to be a friend.

I1.1. So you have to leave him [uncle] as soon as he recover so that he struggle on his own and me hassling with life on my own.

I1.1. Sometimes even if you are hungry it is better to be quiet because you won't die just starving in one day.

I1.1. The thing I am admiring even when I will fight and God helps me is going to college.

I1.2. Give them education because they are very young, they may not know how to read and write when they will be adults.

Gemma Pearson: Royal Holloway, University of London. Thesis submission 2019.

Key[96]

Red – property (specify a concept)

Blue – dimension (shape of the incident)

Green – degree (size)

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[96] Annotating for property, dimension and degree are ways of setting the parameters of a category.

Appendix 3: Questions derived from analysis of first few interviews (21, April 2015)

Family

- Is it possible for parents to understand what children have gone through after they've lived on the street?

- Once children leave home, who takes responsibility for maintaining the relationship - the children or the family?

- Why does one sibling run away and not another?

Feeling valued

- What kinds of people are concerned about children in the street? Any others? What about family?

Making one's own way

- At what point do they lack control so much that they are forced to do something that they don't want to do, or they feel compromises their values?

- Children travel a lot to find work etc. Do they ever decide to travel together? Is it necessary for them to be separated?

Future thinking

- What are their plans for future finances? What would they do if they had a stable job?

- What are their hopes for the future?

Friends

- How do you decide when you can trust someone? Who can you trust the most?

- Where is the limit of free help where you must say "no"?

Ask former street-connected children:

- Are you still friends with people you used to spend time with on the streets? If yes, with who? Were these relationships deep or out of necessity?

Taking drugs

- What kind of drugs to "teja" people use?

- Which drugs are acceptable and which aren't? Why?

- Are some people allowed to use drugs and some people not?

- What would you think if you saw teacher taking drugs?

- Why would someone take drugs? What purpose do they serve?

- Do children try drugs before they come to the street?

- Why would a street connected child decide to stop using drugs? Is it possible?

Resources

- What is the "something else" that they spend their money on?

- Do they ever save?

- Why not buy a coat?

- What is the price of glue/alcohol/marijuana etc?

- What is the difference between day workers who return home to their families and children who stay on the street?

- What would make you settle? When would you feel you can settle?

Being labelled

Ask police:

- How do they decide which group to arrest? Who is allowed to loaf around and who isn't?

Appendix 4: Messages children have chosen to share with the community

These messages are the children's preferred messages to communicate to the community (Kiswahili):

1. Hakuna anaekimbia nyumbani kwa kupenda, kuna ugomvi ndani ya familia na mwingine hukosa upendo katika familia.

2. Katika kituo cha polisi huna mtu ambae anaweza akakuletea chai, kukutetea na wa kukuangalia

3. Kumpeleka mtoto polisi si kwamba unamsaidia ila unamuaharibu

4. Tunataka kufanya kazi jamii inapaswa kutoogopa kutupa kazi

5. Tupo tu kama watoto wengine majumbani lakini tunaishi katika mazingira magumu

Heading: Tusikilize watoto na vijana (Listen to children and youth)

Footer: Ujumbe huu umetoka kwa watoto na vijana ambao wanaishi mtaani wako (These messages are from children and young people who live on your streets)

English:

1. No-one runs away from home because he likes to, there are difficulties in families and others miss out on love from their families.

2. In prison there is no-one who brings us tea, advocates for us or who looks out for us.

3. To send a child to the police isn't helping him, it is ruining him.

4. We want to work, the community shouldn't be scared to give us work.

5. We are just like children at home, only we live in a difficult environment.

See next page for example flyer.

Example flyer:

Appendix 5: Memo dates and titles

Date	Title
2015	
30th March	Field-notes I1 and I2
3rd April	Coding first interview
13th April	First interview memo
14th April	Second interview memo
15th April	Third interview memo
20th April	Making one's own way vs. friends
21st April	Family (category)
21st April	Questions
21st April	Making one's own way (category – core)
22nd April	Future thinking (category)
22nd April	Risky people (category)
22nd April	Being labelled (category)
22nd April	Resources (category)
22nd April	Feeling valued (category)
22nd April	Friends (category)
22nd April	First reduction
22nd April	Taking drugs (category)
23rd April	Family – I3.2
23rd April	Risky people are the problems – I3
24th April	Risky people – SWA
28th April	Institutional gatekeepers – SWA
28th April	Movement – SWA
28th April	Trusted people/friends – SWA
28th April	Monitoring other's behaviour – SWA
28th April	Growing pains – SWA
28th April	Being valued – SWA
28th April	Making one's/returning – SWA
28th April	Resources/work and finances – SWA
28th April	Taking drugs/teja – SWA
28th April	Asimwe's observations – SWA

29th April	Making one's/movement – SWM
29th April	Resources/work and finances – SWM
30th April	Memoing behaviours
30th April	Memo on category names
4th May	Being labelled – I4
4th May	Lack of empathy – I4
5th May	Family/being caught – I4
5th May	Making one's/returning – I4
5th May	Data collection – I5
6th May	Data collection – I5
6th May	Being reflexive – answer these questions
7th May	Analysis so far
7th May	Hassling for life by myself
7th May	Theoretical sampling – former street-connected people
8th May	Relationships between categories
8th May	Making one's own/future thinking – I4
8th May	Making one's own/returning – I4
8th May	Families/kutesa – I4
11th May	New category: calculating outcomes
11th May	Does age impact what the children are seeking?
11th May	Motivation/making one's own – reflections
11th May	Teja and alcoholism – reflections
11th May	Risky people – victims of non-existent judgment system
12th May	Feeling valued – reflections
12th May	Being labelled – reflections
12th May	Re-jigging 'family'
13th May	I6 – question structure
13th May	Interview with Respick – initial reflections
16th May	Memo on theoretical sampling – those who have left the street
16th May	Memo on how the street doesn't take children places
16th May	Memo on attitudes of younger and older children/participants to being on the street
16th May	Memo on child's right to be on the street
16th May	Methodology memo

18th May	Being called 'brother' – SWM
18th May	Having plans and not having plans – SWM2
18th May	Memo on well-being
20th May	KM – meeting
25th May	Questions on checking for resonance – making one's own way
25th May	Teja – I5
26th May	Called names – I5
26th May	Societal expectations – I5
26th May	Different worlds/lives/rules
26th May	Being labelled – 'they are strange names'
26th May	We are chokoraa, but we don't call each other that – I5
26th May	Re-labelling 'family' and 'friends'
27th May	Stubborn – I8
1st June	Societal expectations – I5
1st June	Short-term gratification – I5
1st June	Satisfying own needs – I5
1st June	Hassling for life – I5
1st June	Building relationships – I6
1st June	Self-esteem – I6
3rd June	No jobs so returning home – I10
3rd June	Moving around categories!
4th June	The cognitive burden of poverty
5th June	Interview with KM
8th June	Time – rearranging codes
8th June	Pride and shame – rearranging codes
8th June	Fear and stress – rearranging categories
8th June	Findings ballooning!
8th June	Community perceptions of children
9th June	Interviewing X and Y
9th June	Mental health – reflecting on I10 with KM
10th June	Being forgiven
12th June	Are drug users 'risky' to children – category discussion with Asimwe
12th June	Children versus adults lying
17th June	Asking Mama J about why there are street-connected children

17th June	Asking about future
18th June	Reading I9 – jobs and 'being committed'
22nd June	Discussing interview 9 with Asimwe
23rd June	Looking through I9, I10 – half-way feedback
25th June	Dinner with Clive, Bodil and Josephine
27th June	Meeting with Jonnathan
29th June	I7 – analysis in Nvivo
30th June	I7 – age differences
30th June	Code: being labelled/marginalised – I7
30th June	Independence/non-dependent – I7
1st July	Ignorant of own needs – I7
3rd July	Returning home – I7
21st July	Stealing scrappers – I7
21st July	Making plans/goals/future thinking – I7
21st July	Sedentary/no work – I7
30th July	Calculating outcomes/stealing – I7
30th July	Self-esteem – I7
30th July	Fatalism and coping – I7
3rd August	Transcribing Fred interview – I23
1st September	'Hassling' for life and 'work'
10th September	Uncertainty – coding memos
18th September	Tag frequencies and well-being groupings
18th September	Summarising relationships
6th October	Feeling happy – I8
6th October	Feeling unhappy – I8
6th October	Feeling at peace/free – I8
6th October	Not feeling at peace – I8
6th October	Feeling courageous – I8
13th October	Stealing – I8
13th October	Police interjection – I8
13th October	Best life – I8
2016	
14th January	Interview 9
25th January	I9 Making one's own way masking things?

25th January	Midway crisis memo
26th January	Re-coding to focus on behaviours
27th January	Re-coding reflections
9th February	Recoding – seeking versus hoping
9th February	Recoding reflections – teja
29th February	Collating new codes
2nd March	Am I losing sight of the 'main concern'
3rd March	Attempts at building relationships at home
4th March	I've whittled 31 categories down to 15
9th March	Placing importance on the use of drugs
10th March	Starting to selective code
10th March	Marijuana isn't meant to control you
10th March	Taking responsibility for themselves
10th March	Building up trust with Mama Ntilie
10th March	Balancing risky work with investing in long-term opportunities
11th March	Link between investing in long-term versus making one's own way
11th March	Negotiating freedoms is related to making own way and building relationships
11th March	The 18++ Theoretical coding families of Grounded Theory
14th March	The 6 C's: applying theoretical coding
14th March	Process: applying theoretical coding
14th March	The degree family: applying theoretical codes
16th March	Making one's own way – changed to 'taking responsibility for themselves'
30th March	Narrowing down to the core categories
30th March	I am only going to code new things
30th March	Asimwe's interview, a good counterbalance
31st March	I10 – Bringing back 'giving up and being spoiled'

4th April	Avoiding threats and danger
4th April	Asking L&M about 'bad groups'
9th April	I13 – Building support network on the street
9th April	I13 – Methodology
9th April	I13 – Safe and unsafe spaces
9th April	I13 – Being polite versus being forward
9th April	I13 – There are people who are like Respick
9th April	I13 – Children confirming the popular notion that parents beat them because they love them
9th April	I13 – How a street worker differs from a parent
9th April	I13 – Despite relationship with SW being easier, parent still carries more weight
11th April	I14 – Negotiating freedoms – doesn't want to stay home just for chores
11th April	I14 – Difficult to plan for the future
11th April	I14 – Balancing risky with long-term work
11th April	I15 – Perception of theft
11th April	I15 – Living in the space of exclusion, there is no love
12th April	I16 – My brain has not yet been able to reason
12th April	I16 – Not knowing age
12th April	I16 – Balancing subsistence with long-term
12th April	I17 – Potentially invalid
12th April	I18 – Can't think about future when making decisions on the margins of survival
12th April	I18 – Responding positively to encouragement
12th April	I18 – Taking responsibility for themselves can also be choosing to be irresponsible
12th April	I18 – Negotiating freedom with adults
12th April	I18 – Searching for purpose and something to do
12th April	I18 – Avoiding threats and danger
13th April	I18 – Living in the space of exclusion
13th April	I18 – Is this a child 'knowing himself'?
13th April	I19 – Being directed by older youth
13th April	I19 – Avoiding threats and danger
13th April	I20 – There is a difference between taking responsibility for basic needs and taking responsibility for one's future
14th April	I21 – Fear, missed his things, realised Mkm had purpose for him
14th April	I21 – Negotiating freedoms – protecting their 'rights'

14th April	I21 – 'After being aware' I had to settle
14th April	I21 – Searching for purpose
14th April	I21 – Living in exclusion – learning to live with people
14th April	I23 – Fred talks about how all children on streets take drugs
14th April	I23 – The most important thing to offer a child is ears
14th April	I23 – Research fatigue – Fred is asking the same questions as the young people
14th April	I23 – Receiving encouragement
21st April	Giving up and becoming spoiled? Drugs and the role they have
9th May	Theoretical coding
10th May	Theoretical hooks
12th October	Feedback with Fred
18th October	Meeting with Asimwe

Appendix 6: Interview summary sheet

CASE NAME: I4.1, I4.2, I4.3, I4.4

Identify the data set (what is it about?):

Family have contempt for street-connected children, being labelled/stigmatised as thieves, drug users. Parents find it easy, child has already decided for his life. Not being understood/taken seriously by family. Parents don't come to greet, cannot without taking a child home. Children also leave home because they've done something wrong? Home as place to run to when there are problems on the street. Kutesa – one child being liked less than others. Feeling different/rejected from family. Everyone "making their own way". Wanting to go home having "proved oneself" [i.e. taking money] that it was a good thing to do, otherwise will "be stupid". Beaten at school as reason to leave, as well as being worked too hard at time and not being allowed to rest. Family separation. Step-mothers.

Who is this interview/observation with, of?

Four children aged 17, 16, 16 and 14.

When and where was it conducted

Babu's place, evening, field-site 1.

For how long?:

23 minutes.

What special circumstances or contextual issues might have impacted on the data?

None of note.

Examine what is going on in this text.

What are the major issues emerging?

Family stigmatise the children. Family are something to be feared and escaped from, they work children too hard. "The one that is disliked." Although, some like to run back to family when they face problems in the street and return to the street when things have died down. Needing to "prove oneself" after having lived on the street and not to go home empty-handed. Street as one livelihood strategy – each person knows what s/he is doing. Parents reject/disown child – linked to alcohol.

Evidence to back this up from the data

I4.1: Because people who lives at home meaning who are living with families have much contempt on street connected children. Asimwe: Mhhhh. Do your families do the same thing to you or is just with people who lives at home?

I4.1: Also with family and even with the ones who lives home.

I4.4: When I go home they say there comes marijuana smoker look at his red eyes

I4.2: He has his own problems so those problems are the ones that causes him running to home. You see.

I4.2 And because there is no one knows where his home is, he goes home and pretends there first he stays for some times and if may be he hears the mistake he did here is almost getting over he comes back.

I4.4: He knows exactly here I have done something wrong if I come here I will be beaten so he says I don't stay [at home]

Asimwe: Does he [parent] speak harshly only to only one child who has decided to leave or all of them?

I4.2: It depends if he is the one, he is the one who is disliked in the family

I4.2: I feel if I go without money I will be stupid.

I4.3: What do you expect if father drinks much alcohol, he just finds it easy "let me leave this Kapuru/ someone who is nothing there"

Int 4.1: My brothers, the first born, he is driver he has his own work, the other one has bodaboda motorcycle, my sister has her own work, my one young sibling is studying. I was living there at home, and I saw (came into decision after observing) then I left

Asimwe: So   that   is   how   thoughts   comes   to   be   different?
Int 4.1: Yes, everyone knows what he is doing.

What issues need to be followed up?

Children being rejected by family, children making their own way on the street – what future do they hope to realise with this – who can help them get there? Impact of stigmatisation on what children are able to do, where they're able to go. Also pride stopping them from going home? Do they feel they have nothing to offer?

Key categories:

Stigma shaping actions, child "knowing" what he is doing, parents have rejected them

The main concern:

Wanting to make something of themselves.

Appendix 7: Sorting and organising emerging categories and their properties – 24th April 2015

Dropbox link to original PDF:
https://www.dropbox.com/s/p4q404mffbuwwrr/150421%20Properties.pdf?dl=0

PROPERTY Family — Lack of love

PROPERTY Family — Cultural expectation of mothers responsibility for children

PROPERTY Family — At home there is nothing

PROPERTY Family — step-mother witch-craft

PROPERTY Family — Rejection

FAMILIES/ RELATIVES

PROPERTY FAMILY — CONFLICT ↳ between parents & parents & relatives

PROPERTY Family — Maintaining contact ↳ obligation ↳ infrequent ↳ how much effort do parents make?

PROPERTY Family — Irresponsibility

PROPERTY Family — Not being fair (exploiting?)

PROPERTY FAMILY — Teasing ↳ before & after going to street, treated as children ↳ teased by parents, relatives, step-mother

PROPERTY Family — lack of understanding

PROPERTY Family — Bad relationship

PROPERTY Family — Feel like a burden

PROPERTY Family — Kutesa - suffering / teasing ↳ make someone suffer ↳ like Cinderella ↳ like Jane Eyre

RELATIONSHIP — Family → Tesa ↓ Making one's own way

RISKY PEOPLE FRIENDS & FAMILY

UNACCEPTABLE PEOPLE PROPERTY (FRIENDS & FAMILY(?)) RISKY PEOPLE

PROPERTY Risky PP — RISKS ↳ small business being destroyed / being bewitched ↳ copying behaviour ↳ being put in custody ↳ being raped ↳ victim of theft ↳ abuses verbally / physical ↳ beaten by police

PROPERTIES + risky people — Types + verbal abusive ↳ dictator/bully kids ↳ thief ↳ trouble maker - drugs ↳ police ↳ drunk people } out of senses ↳ teja ↳ rapist ↳ step-mother (witch craft)

IDEA
- Meet children in juvenile detention

QUESTIONS

DRUGS
Why would someone take drugs? (Why would street-involved children take drugs?
Do children start taking drugs before they come to street?

TAKING DRUGS
Are some drugs ok, which? Are some drugs safer than others? What drugs do tejas use? Are some drugs ok if you just use them a little? What drugs are ok for Asmir, Lejek, Fred to...?

DRUGS
Is it ok to call someone "TEJA"?

When & Why of drugs
Did children only start taking drugs when they came to the street? Why do they take drugs? Do street children ever stop taking drugs, is it possible. TAKING DRUGS

FINANCES   MAKING OWN WAY
What is the "something else" they spend their money on? Do they ever save? Why not buy coat? How much do drugs cost.

INDEPENDENCE & RESOURCES
Children lack at home, come to street to find resources earn money etc. MAKING OWN WAY What is the difference between day workers who return home & share money & children who decide to stay on street?

RESOURCES
What would make you settle? (When would you feel you can settle?

POLICE ARRESTING GROUPS
How do they decide which group to arrest? Who is allowed to loot around, who isn't?

BEING LABELLED

FAMILY
Once children leave home, who takes responsibility for maintaining the relationship? The children or the family?

Family
Why does one sibling run & not another?

Feeling valued
What kinds of ppl are concerned about ppl in the street? Any others? What about family?

FRIENDS
- What is the limit of free help?
- Where do you work?
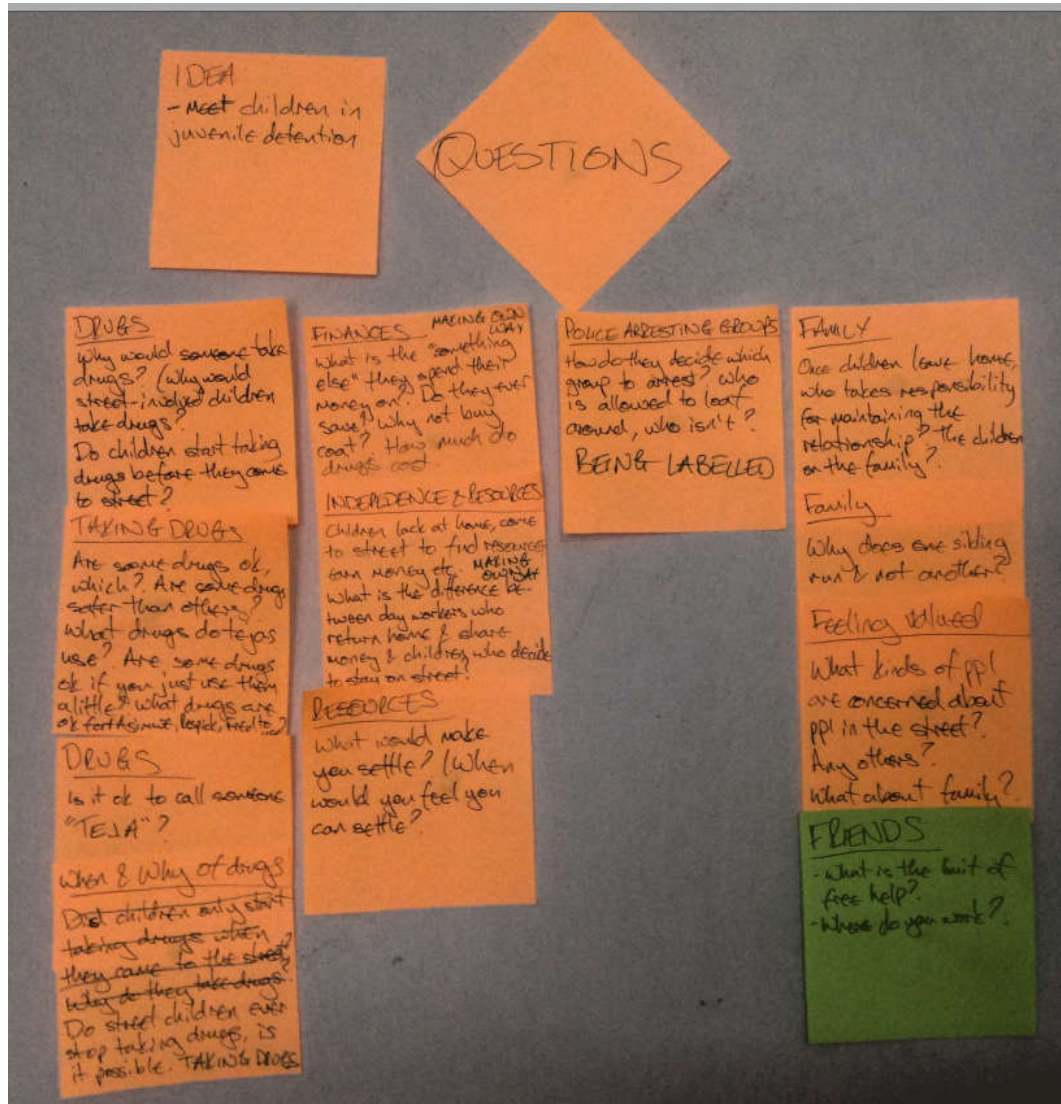
Appendix 8: Two-weekly field-reports to supervisors

07/03/2015 - Report One (two weeks)
Tuesday: Arrive, set-up, get sim cards, food, credit etc.
Wednesday: Meet Asimwe and brief, get Asimwe learning to touch-type, Swahili lesson
Thursday: Spent day sorting out connection and sim card issues
Friday: Went to meet Francis, also met Andrea (American intern)
Saturday: Swahili lesson, helped Swahili teacher set up WordPress site
Sunday: Kili Marathon!
Monday: Travel to Dar
Tuesday: Get research clearance, return to X
Wednesday: Swahili, prepare for Asimwe Thurs and Fri, shopping, photocopy research clearance docs
Thursday: Update Asimwe, meet William to brief, teach Asimwe about transcribing and translating, check out new home
Friday: Look at two new homes, Asimwe translating consent form and more training"

General:
Time has passed really quickly since I arrived and I have been happy with the progress so far, namely getting my research clearance. There have been some teething problems with the internet and my usual sim card doesn't have such good signal in the new B&B. However, the B&B has WiFi, which has been amazing for allowing me and Asimwe to work. It was a pleasure to meet William, he seemed interested in the research and I feel like we hit it off well. We negotiated a day rate for him in Tanzanian shillings which is approx. 70p per day cheaper than what I pay Asimwe. I prefer to pay Asimwe more, since she has more responsibility for the research.

Admin:
- Next pressing action is for Hugo to confirm if he wants me to go ahead with applying for my work permit, I will need a letter from StreetInvest for this.
- Although I have my COSTECH research clearance, the X Municipal office still want a letter in Swahili about my research. This has been drafted and signed by Francis (Mkom. Director) but he is elusive about when he will be around for me to pick the letters up! Asimwe and William will carry a copy of our research clearance with them when they are researching so if they face any trouble, they are able to show that the research is permitted by Dar.
- I have decided to look for a new place to stay. The B&B is now a lot bigger and there are a lot more people coming in and out. I have had a pair of my shoes stolen from outside so I feel less comfortable with my belongings here. I have advertised for a room on the X google group and there are several replies which I am exploring.

Research:

- We will begin gathering data on Monday. My first interviewee will be William who is now 33 but was formerly a street child and one of the first beneficiaries of The Centre's work. After this, Asimwe and William will go into the street to build relationships with the children and potentially collect one interview/discussion with several children. This may not be possible in the first day since there is some trust building that needs to be done, but William said he will make an effort to drive by some places where the children are (he is a motorbike/pikipiki driver) to start building relationships. William and Asimwe are also talking to someone called Morgan (I don't know who this it) to make introductions with children. When Asimwe and William return, we will discuss the interview, how it went, where the children were, how they were feeling/behaving etc to write a fieldwork diary together. I will give Asimwe and William a budget for ""bites"" for the children.
- I am not comfortable going onto the street until we have news about my work permit. Also, I hope that once Asimwe and William are more familiar with the children, then can make introductions for us.
- I discussed with Asimwe and William different methods of collecting data, and we agreed that pictures and network mapping would also be good. I need to buy supplies for this - paper, pencils etc.

Swahili:
- As predicted, I've forgotten a lot of my Swahili vocab! I have agreed with my Swahili teacher to have 45 hours of Swahili for half of the previous price (she has gone private now) I am having approx. 4 lessons per week. Although I have less time to practice Swahili now, I hope that I will be able to pick it up again in time!"

20/03/2015 - Report Two
Saturday: Printing documents in town, meet Andrea (Mkm intern), budgeting
Sunday: Viewing new place to live, watching Swahili TV series
Monday: Interview with 2 youth, reading GT methodology
Tuesday: Swahili lesson, wrote blog
Wednesday: Swahili lesson, reading GT methodology
Thursday: Go to Y to meet Fred, errands in town
Friday: Swahili lesson, GT reading
Saturday: Swahili lesson, rest, start data analysis
Sunday: Rest, data analysis
Monday: Swahili lesson, data analysis
Tuesday: Swahili lesson, data analysis
Wednesday: Swahili lesson, data analysis
Thursday: Go to Y, see immigration, collect data, meet KM
Friday: Write weekly/fortnightly report, data analysis"

Data collection:
We are now in the midst of data collection! We collected our first bit of data at the beginning of the fortnight. This was an interview in X with two older youth who were very comfortable with Asimwe and me and who had a lot to say on things. These young people are street involved - living and working on the street. This was a 40 minute interview which produced 12 pages of data. It took Asimwe 4 days to transcribe and translate the data. The second interview was in Y. We

were introduced to another youth who I remembered from my previous trip last summer. Because the first interviewees talked a lot about the difference between friends who take drugs and those who don't - them being people who don't take drugs (which tend to mean "serious" drugs like cocaine, but not including marijuana) and therefore avoid those who do, I wanted to theoretically sample a young person who does use drugs, to see if their perspective on friendships are different. I am not sure if the Y interviewee fits this criteria, but he certainly used to take drugs in the summer when I met him, and seems to spend time with other children who may use drugs (many of the children around him were sleeping in the open in the afternoon sun). I will know more when I have read the transcript of the interview. Asimwe is transcribing and translating this now, and we anticipate this will take less time due to the second interviewee being less comfortable talking at length. Asimwe reflected that it seems better to interview in pairs rather than one child alone. After the third interview, I plan to diversify data collection techniques to involve more group activities in an action research style. How this is done depends on what categories and themes emerge from the first three interveiws.

Data analysis:
I have begun by doing analysis word-by-word, sentence-by-sentence and para-by-para. This has been slow going and at times tedious, but I feel like it is a beneficial exercise. The purpose of this type of analysis is to consider all the possible meanings that the data is producing, to open the researcher's mind to what the data is saying and to enable the researcher to challenge any bias they have. After this analysis has been carried out, the next thing is to step back and see which categories and themes are emerging from the data. Once categories and themes emerge, both data collection and analysis can be honed in on these identified categories. By the end of next week/beginning of the following, I hope to have done this indepth analysis on both interview and have identified some categories to inform the third interview.

Immigration:
I went into Y immigration with Fred yesterday and they tell me that the work permit/residency visa is $550 for researchers - $200 for volunteers. They seem to think that researchers write lots of papers and make lots of money from doing research, which may be true if you're a consultant, but doesn't seem true for a PhD student. Since it takes so long for work permits to come through, Y issue an interim permit so that you can pay in Y and have the paperwork to start work immediately. The only paper work I'm missing is a letter from The Centre which I am assured has been drafted, but I haven't been to pick it up yet, since it's hard to tell when/if anyone will be in the office and it is a long way from anywhere else, so not so easy to pop by! I emailed Francis today to ask if he can scan and email me the letter, like he did with my letter for COSTECH. If not, then I will go in next week, since I am moving to a new place which is near the offices.

Alternative to getting my work permit in Y is to apply in X, which the lady in Y recommended since The Centre are based in X. From what I know from staff who have worked for The Centre, they apply for their permit, they start work, the permit never comes through and they don't end up paying. It seems this may

be the best option since I don't immediately have $550 at my disposal and won't have more cash until Andy comes to visit in April.

The Centre:
There appears to be no visible progress here in the organisation. They still are not providing any visible services to children. However, the children we interviewed in X spoke very highly of one particular The Centre street/social worker who still visits them on his own time. Then explaining their relationship with him, it seems that it has different qualities to the relationships they have with anyone else. They said that this social worker gives them motivation and makes them feel beneficial in the world.

KM:
KM founded The Centre 20 years ago and now has a new organisation based in Y focusing on child rights. She has just finished a PhD from a university in California and used Grounded Theory methodology. I met her yesterday to discuss research. She gave me lots of good advice including; after the first three interviews, you want to have defined your categories that emerge from the data to avoid collecting further superfluous data; definitely learn how to use, and start using, Nvivo from as early as possible. Kate gave me some tips for reading, some forums that I can use and said that I'm welcome to borrow any of her books. She also sent me a copy of her dissertation so that I can see how she did her methodology. Kate's topic was on why some people take responsibility for helping children and some don't, and from this she created a theory of change which she then converted into a set of recommendations and tools for programming which she uses for her organisation.

Asimwe:
Asimwe and I spent a day going through the first interview data together and discussing what it might be saying. We also clarified the misunderstandings in translation. Her perspective was really helpful and she picked up the analysis technique very easily.

Living situation:
I am moving to a new place on Monday. I decided that I needed somewhere where I had proper use of a kitchen and somewhere to store my food - I've had some mice stealing my food and making a mess in my room, and I decided the B&B couldn't be a long term solution!

06/04/2015 - Report Three
Saturday: Learn how to use Nvivo
Sunday: Rest
Monday: Swahili, coding line by line
Tuesday: Move house
Wednesday: Buy necessities for new house, coding line by line
Thursday: Swahili, coding line by line
Friday: Swahili, work with Asimwe on asking questions and interview skills, coding line by line
Saturday: Swahili, reading GT (Glaser)
Sunday: Reading GT (Glaser)

Gemma Pearson: Royal Holloway, University of London. Thesis submission 2019.

Monday: Reading GT (Glaser)
Tuesday: Meet Respick, collect 3rd piece of data
Wednesday: Coding in a different way (like Glaser)
Thursday: Submit work permit, Coding like Glaser
Friday: Meet Grounded Theorist on Skype, code again following advice from meeting
Saturday: Coding in the new way
Sunday: Finish coding first interview & produce categories

Work permit
I submitted my work permit supported by The Centre and they told me that they would contact me when the application has been processed.

Data Collection
We have now collected 3 pieces of data with 6 children overall. Two older youths (c. 18) in X, one older youth (c. 19) in Y and three younger children (c. 11) in X. The first interview was dense and the young people were happy to talk at length. The second interview was less "successful" and after reading the transcript I did further training with Asimwe on asking questions, active listening and not leading the participant. After this she went through the interview transcript and wrote down different ways that she could have asked questions. I was relieved that she picked up on a lot of my concerns, i.e. leading questions, not listening to what the participant was saying and changing topic too quickly, clarifying questions being phrased a little adversarial. We practiced interviewing each other several times after this training. As a consequence, it felt like the third interview went well. This is currently being translated and I will have it when I am back from holiday. I also met Respick last week and paid him to accompany and assist Asimwe since William decided that he no longer wanted to be part of the research.

Analysis
The Grounded Theory method requires analysis throughout data collection to lead questioning and theoretical sampling. I began analysing as per Strauss and Corbin recommendations. I found this to be interesting and useful for helping me to ask questions about the data, but it was time consuming and didn't create any categories to work with. After this I read a Glaser book and tried coding in a Glasian style. This was more focused on identifying categories/themes in the data and comparing these categories to find differences. This was quicker and more targeted than the Strauss and Corbin approach. However, I still felt that I needed more input, so I used an online forum recommended by KM and set up a Skype appointment with and Grounded Theory mentor who uses the Glasian approach. We met on Friday and she showed me the methods and techniques that she uses to analyse data. I also shared some of my data with her and she coded this as an example. After this, I re-coded my first interview and came up with 17 categories with c. 5 incidents per category. The next step is to compare these incidents and write a memo asking questions about these categories to take into the next bit of data collection. The approach advocated by the GT Mentor is that it is important to analyse quickly to keep momentum in the research on the understanding that if you miss something important, then it will re-emerge. It is also common for researchers to need to take a break from data collection

to take a step back and scruitinise your analysis process. September might be a good opportunity for this, although it's difficult to predict how the collection and analysis will progress over time! The GT mentor also said that it is possible to research with a population across different nations, so the GT method is able to accommodate data collection from Tanzania and the UK.

Categories/Themes identified from the first interview
The initial categories identified are: making one's own way; families; being labelled; being moved on; friends; movement; resources; feeling valued; monitoring others; risky people; loyalty; taking drugs; institutional gatekeepers; forced decisions; copying/following others; mutual assistance; depressive. The aim now is to begin to ask more questions to begin finding relationships between themes, identifying new themes and saturating themes. Themes can also be changed/reconstituted as necessary, but they provide a platform for the next steps.

24/04/2015 - Report Four
Monday: Swahili, Writing up memos for I1
Tuesday: Swahili, Coding/memoing I2
Wednesday: Swahili, Coding/memoing I2, I3
Thursday: Go to market, Coding/memoing I3
Friday: Discussing properties of codes and categories with Asimwe
Saturday: Evening streetwork in X
Sunday: Rest
Monday: Discussing properties of codes and categories with Asimwe
Tuesday: Go to immigration, typing memos for new codes and properties
Wednesday: Typing memos for new codes and properties
Thursday: Coding street work observation notes and organising data/filing, conduct interview 4
Friday: Writing weekly report, finishing coding streetwork observations, continue memoing"

Immigration
I was told this week by The Centre that my work permit was ready for collection but after I arrived I was told that it wasn't ready yet. I'm still waiting!

Data Collection
I feel like we have a good rhythm and steady flow of data. Asimwe is speeding up her transcribing and translating. While I was on holiday Asimwe did evening street work with Fred in Y and she is becoming known to the children and being greeted with respect and enthusiasm. Both Asimwe and I accompanied Respick last Saturday to conduct street work in X and the children are beginning to trust us more. This is especially down to the large amount of trust they have for Respick. I hope that soon it will be possible for Asimwe and I to go to the market during the day without Respick to greet the children and continue building their trust. I am still a foreigner to them, which is signified by my receiving a more casual greeting than the Tanzanian "teachers." I believe this will change as I become more confident speaking Swahili with them. Yesterday, Asimwe and Respick went into the street in the evening and collected a fourth interview.

Similar to last Saturday, we bought the children dinner (the ones interviewed and their friends back at the market), which is very cheap at about 35p each. It is common for the children to share their money amongst each other so no one goes hungry, so I feel that us buying dinner for them is matching this code of conduct of ensuring no one goes hungry while another has money. Asimwe is now translating this interview with 4 children present and writing fieldnotes from last night which I expect will be ready for analysis early next week. We will also be going to Y on Monday to conduct night street work with Fred and collect another interview.

Coding, themes and theoretical sampling
Asimwe and I spent a very useful and indepth two days taking stock of all the codes that we had come up with separately after reading the first 3 interviews. During this time we discussed theories, appropriate categories and their properties. We ensured that the properties were grounded in the data - i.e. not speculative, but exampled by things the children had said or done. As we worked with our codes, we found overlaps and that some former categories were better coded as properties of larger categories. From approx. 40 categories we distilled down to 9 wider categories with 7 not yet assimilated into the wider picture. Each property is defined by it's own list of properties identified through incidents in the data. While discussing we also proposed relationships between categories and came up with clarifying questions to help us further understand the categories and start to try to saturate them. We have agreed that it seems that the "core" category (the category that seems to be able to explain behaviour in the other categories) is "making one's own way." This can be in relation to "forced decisions" or "conscious choices", although the line between these two concepts can be blurry and requires more thought. The other 8 categories are: families/relatives, being labeled, risky people, future thinking, feeling valued, taking drugs and friends. It feels like the coding, data analysis and theoretical sampling is coming together.

10/05/2015 - Report Five
Monday: Swahili, reading about GT
Tuesday: Analyse SWA1
Wednesday: Analyse SWM1
Thursday: Memoing
Friday: Memoing, speak with Cathy Urquhart
Saturday: Rest
Sunday: Rest
Monday: Streetwork/observation/greeting (SWM2) Analyse I4
Tuesday: Go to health clinic, analyse I4, collect I5
Wednesday: Go to health clinic, reading Cathy Urquhart
Thursday: Reading Cathy Urquhart, finish analysing I4
Friday: Analysing SWM2
Saturday: Rest
Sunday: Write report

Data collection

We collected two pieces of data, one was an interview (I4 - 3 children) and the other was from observations during a street walk in X. The interview last week was to expand our understanding of the different names the children are called. From earlier interviews, it seems there are people in the community who treat them with respect and listen to them, and there are others that walk by and shout things at them. I wanted to understand more clearly the meaning of the names they are called and the stigmatisation that children face on the street. By understanding this more, I hope that it will illuminate the value of those in the community who treat them with respect. This interview will be ready for me to read on Monday.

Asimwe and I plan to go to Y next week during the day to do a street walk and greet the children. If possible we will collect another interview during the day while we are there, although we have found that the children are more relaxed and happy to speak in the evenings. Fred returns in the last week of May after which we can collect another evening interview.

Next week Asimwe and I will identify some former street-involved adults for interviews. I am interested in how adults understand the impact of the relationships they had on the street when they were children in retrospect - are they still in touch with friends/contacts they made on the street, were they ever able to resolve relationships with their families, are there people who were important in defining how their lives progressed beyond the street street etc.

Data analysis
I feel like I'm at a point where I can move from "open coding" to "selective coding." This is where my open coding has identified the key areas within my research area for pursuing further questions. I have to make some decisions about what categories to start "saturating." The selective coding stage also requires abstraction of codes from descriptive to analytic. Because of this move I have been reading Cathy Urquhart's book on GTM for qualitative research for guidance. This stage has been a bit challenging since my categories "friends" and "families" are purely descriptive, so I need to go back to the data to identify what is going on here and seeing if I can abstract out what is happening in these different relationship spheres. It seems that the link is that children are trying to make their own way by drawing on the best and escaping the worst of what they experience with friends, family and community members. So far we haven't identified any other adult relationship that offer advice to the children other than the street/social workers, although they do get visited by other adults who give them money or engage them in conversation, and it seems that some children earn the protection of adults by doing odd jobs for them. One child in particular seems to be an anomaly since he doesn't collect scrappers like the other children and is often found on his own hanging out with different groups of adults. He is also the only child we have found who talks about begging as a means to earning money.

Reflections regarding our impact
This week after Asimwe had finished the interview with the children, she suggested talking them back to the Mama Ntilie (local street food) and buying food for them and the others. The children said that they would rather Asimwe

didn't come because when Asimwe pays for the food they feel like people look at them like they are chokoraa (a derrogative word for street-connected children). This is interesting in relation to an earlier insight we gained during observation SWM1, and things we had heard through interviews, where the children seemed very comfortable with the vendors. We reflected that the relationship here was one of vendor and client, and an instance where children weren't chokoraa but instead paying customers. By paying for the children's food directly, we (the researcher and social workers) are getting in the way of that relationship and changing the children's role in the transaction. Rather than paying customers, they become beneficiaries. They said of course the Mama Ntilie know that they are chokoraa, but that they are treated differently when they pay for the food themselves to when it is paid for directly by us. This made me wonder about how my presence affects the way the children are treated. Whenever I am speaking to the children or Asimwe takes out a tape recorder, people watch and listen. Does our presence impact the way the wider community treat the children? If so, how?

25/05/2015 - Report Six
Monday: Joint analysis with Asimwe
Tuesday: Joint analysis with Asimwe
Wednesday: Go to clinic, interview 6 with social worker
Thursday: Transcribe I6, come down with flu, Asimwe does I7
Friday: Recover from flu, finish transcribing I6
Saturday: Recover from flu
Sunday: Rest
Monday: Check over I6 transcript, analyse SWM2
Tuesday: Start analysing I5
Wednesday: Street work in Y, meet with KM
Thursday: Data management - interview summary sheets, planning with Asimwe, collect I8
Friday: Discuss I7 (record discussions)
Saturday: Rest, transcribe discussions on I7
Sunday: Rest

Methodology & resources
Now that I have a foundational knowledge of the core issues that street-connected children present on our subject area of social networks and relationships and wellbeing, I have spent less time coding and instead reading transcripts and writing memos to generate ideas for later theoretical sampling. This is an approach recommended in Cathy Urquhart's book on GT methodology for PhD students who have limited time in the field. This should help the research to progress with momentum but still utilising GT methodology. This decision is also made in light of Asimwe finding a permanent job which she will start in July. This leaves us with 5 more weeks together. I have employed Asimwe full-time for these 5 weeks and we have planned for gathering 1-2 interviews per week, depending on the length of interview and time needed for subsequent transcribing and translating. After Asimwe starts her new job she will still be available to conduct interviews in the evening, but will have less time for transcribing and translating, so progress will be slower and I will need to find

another translator. However, there is another former The Centre social worker, who used to be a The Centre beneficiary, who is currently studying in Dar es Salaam and will be back in X in July for his summer break. Asimwe has already spoken to him (Charles) and we hope that he will be able to join us for collecting data.

Since the last report we have collected 3 more interviews. This is a total of 8 interviews with 24 children and young people (mean age 17.5) and 1 social worker. Interview 7 was with young adults in their early 20s. Interview 6 was with a social worker asking him about relationships on the street and running past him some of our findings. Interview 7 was asking young people about how relationships and social networks impact their access to work and interview 8 involved talking to children about aspects of their well-being in relation to their life on the street. For the next interview we are going to share our thoughts about their lives and the core issue we have identified about how children seem to be trying to "make their own way", and ask them to share their thoughts on this and correct us where we are wrong.

Meeting with KM
We met with Kate last week and we talked to her about our current findings and our methodology. She gave us advice about recording our discussions when going through interview transcripts together. She also said that since we are now halfway through, it is possible to start thinking about theoretical memoing. She encouraged us to look at our categories and see which ones are saturated and look into saturating the core ones where there are still gaps. She said that from her experience working with street-connected children, our findings resonated with her.

Data
The data can easily become unruly, so I have started writing summary sheets for each interview, borrowing a format which KM used in her thesis. However, I found recording mine and Asimwe's discussion of the transcript for I7 useful, since through transcribing these discussions I can feel myself understanding the data more. For Asimwe, she has heard it first hand, listened to it repeatedly for transcription and also translated it word for word, so she has a lot of useful insights that it is well worth spending the time talking through with her to ensure I am getting as good an understanding of the data as possible.

Latest insights
We have been noticing a lot of references to "direction", "lacking direction" and a contrast between the way younger children and older children/young adults talk about their lives on the street. It seems that once a child has come to the street, society's perception of them changes and they can never shake the label of "chokoraa" - an insulting name for street-connected child. It seems that this lack of trust causes them problems with getting employment and even if they return home, their families and communities are cautious of them. As the children are younger their stealing can be overlooked and they are not seen as threatening, but as they grow older they are unable to get away with quite so much and are in genuine danger of being beaten to death for being assumed a thief. It seems as they get older they feel that they have wasted time on the street

and they don't see any options for a future. I wrote a short blog on this about "hitting the glass ceiling", explaining some of my findings. It seems that without a "referee" or someone to vouch for their reliability, it is very difficult for street-connected young people to be trusted and given work. However, not many people would be willing to be a referee for a street-connected young person since there are few people who are able to trust them 100% and therefore people are fearful that a young person may tarnish the referee's reputation. Drugs continue to be a main cross-cutting issue which comes up in most interviews. Someone who has started to take cocaine or heroin becomes a "teja" and then ceases becoming a street-connected person. A "teja" is so intoxicated they are unable to walk or talk which is the opposite of how street-connected children/young people see themselves. They give another contrast of becoming a beggar - a beggar cannot be a street-connected person because he is not active, not working, not "struggling for life." It seems like having a plan is an important thing, and being respected in society is important as children grow older and become more future orientated. I think there could be interesting themes here with how children perceive time and how this influences their behaviour. Older children specifically talk about the importance of someone who will listen to them, encourage them and give them hope. It seems that the value of the Street Worker intervention is really important to children where the rest of society and even their families scorn them.

07/06/2015 - Report Seven
Tues: Analyse I5
Wed: Discuss questions for interview 9, conduct interview 9
Thurs: Write blog, transcribe interview 8 discussion
Fri: Transcribe I8 discussion
Sat: Finish transcribing I8 discussion
Sun: Rest
Mon: Finish analysing I5, start analysing I6
Tues: Analysing I6, collect I10
Wed: Finish analysing I6, rearranging codes, go to clinic
Thurs: Rearranging codes
Fri: Go for biopsy, rest.
Sat: Rest.
Sun: Rest, write report.

Data Collection
Since finding out about Asimwe's new job we have tried to plan in as many interviews as possible before July, allowing time for transcription, translation and theoretical sampling. In most grounded theory where the researcher is conducting interviews in the first language they take notes rather than recording, transcribing and translating. That is a limitation of using GTM in this context, since although Asimwe is well integrated into the analytical process, it would seem like handing her a lot of responsibility if she were expected to make notes on the relevant information she gathers in interviews.

Tomorrow I will be interviewing KM on the community's perception of street-connected children and how she thinks this impacts the children. I also plan to interview Fred when I have identified some of the current research gaps. Our

two most recent interviews (I9 and I10), one in X and one in Y, involved explaining to the children our findings and allowing them to comment on what they considered correct, incorrect or partial information. We felt like this was a really beneficial process and I'm keen to analyse I9 and I10 before our next interview with the children on Wednesday.

24/06/2015 - Report Eight
Mon: Analysis - rearranging codes, I11 (KM)
Tues: I12 (community perceptions), gives children social network assignment
Wed: Transcribe I12, discuss analysis with Asimwe, I13
Thurs: Finish transcribing I12, pay for work permit, get tax number
Fri: Transcribe discussions with Asimwe, NGO workshop with community members
Sat: Rest
Sun: Rest
Mon: Clinic to remove stitches, transcribe discussions with Asimwe
Tues: Finish transcribing discussions, collect I14 on view of "future"
Wed: Collect I15 (community perceptions), analysis - categories and memos
Thurs: Analysis - categories and memos
Fri: Collect I16, analysis - categories and memos
Sat: Rest
Sun: Rest
Mon: Discussing I9
Tues: Discussing I10, collect I17

Data collection
Over the past few weeks we have been collecting data on community's perceptions of street-connected children as well as children's perceptions of the future. We focused on communities' perceptions because we had found that being stigmatised had an impact on children's daily lives and also the way they thought about themselves. We decided to ask children about their futures because we noticed in our data that despite discussing the importance of "direction" and having "a plan" for life, many children found it very difficult to talk about the future at all. We wanted to collect more data on this to understand the differences in children's perceptions of the future and why some children think differently to others. We wondered if having no plan for the future affected children's wellbeing. Additionally, having a plan or a direction seemed to be linked to their relationships with families, since children and youth considered that those who remained home with families had plans and directions. We wanted to understand the extent to which relationships influenced children's vision of the future, and how thinking about the future impacted their present behaviour and outlook.

Analysis
We have been spending time picking out the new findings from the "feed-back" interviews we did (I9 and I10), and from this we have been considering our categories and seeing where the gaps are, where concepts may relate and how data relates to the research question. There is still a lot of work to be done here

and I can't say that I really have my head around it all. While it is always a rewarding process in terms of analytical insights, it can be a little painstaking.

Work Permit
Amazingly, I was called in to pay for my work permit a couple of weeks ago, so I now have the official "receipt" which I'm told is as good as the real thing.

NGO workshop
We found out from a child on the street that NGO (the other street-connected child organisation) was holding a workshop with all of the children's connections in the street - mama ntilie (who serve street food), market security guard, people who buy scrap metal, police, social workers and adult former-street-connected children. These being the people who we have identified as forming the children's networks in the street, this seemed like a golden opportunity to go and listen to how the community as a whole interact with street-connected children. The workshop was largely concerned with educating the community on the appropriate ways to help children in the street - i.e. in a sustained manner which helped link children up to the relevant authorities who can help them rebuild relationships with families and return home. But additionally, there was a lot of discussion about how to interact with the children and a lot of accusation against the children for being "liars". It seemed that those who knew the children best and who were the biggest sympathisers with the children were the social workers and the special wing of the police which deals with child protection - a X and Y initiative which I'm told comes from The Centre /KM legacy. When Asimwe raised the question of police beating children, the police reacted fairly strongly and even the NGO facilitator said that this was a lie and that police never beat children. This shows the challenges children face being believed and protected while living on the street.

Future plans
I am planning to ask Charles if we can use his networks to speak to some former street-connected children about what happened as they were preparing to leave the street, what has happened subsequently and what relationships and networks were involved in this process. Since the majority of the children/youth we have spoken to so far seem a little "stuck" in a cycle on the street, I feel it is necessary to understand how young people and adults have broken that cycle and gone onto something different and if there were key relationships in their lives who helped them do this.

29/07/2015 - Report Nine
Research Assistants
Asimwe now has a full-time job but has agreed to help me end the fieldwork with feeding back to children and asking them what messages they would like to be communicated to the community. We will distil some messages, present them to the children for clarification and then get them printed on postcards for the children to circulate as they wish. I started working with Charles to tap into the former street-connected adult population and it was very easy for him to collect 3 interviews asking others "how it came to be that you left the street." I also interviewed Charles to understand a bit more about the people involved in helping him to leave the street and the kinds of networks and relationships he

keeps now. I now have 23 individual and group interviews with 50-60 children and adults, 4 of which are pending translation (which Asimwe is doing in her spare time, so there'll be a lag on these). I am meeting Fred tomorrow and intend to interview him too.

Other things
Since I am close to leaving, and since my travel wallet was stolen, the past couple of weeks I have spent time reporting the theft and arranging to go to Dar to get new document. I've also spent time trying to sell my car (which I bought in April) and also saying goodbye to my Swahili teacher who is moving to the south of Tanzania this weekend. I have published three blogs since my last report (one written by Asimwe). I have 106 theoretical memos in total. Although Asimwe and I have been discussing each interview before conducting the next and recording our discussions, I am still on interview 7 with more thorough analysis. A few reports back I explained that I decided to do briefer analysis through discussion with Asimwe inbetween interviews as recommended by Cathy Urquhart to increase the speed of data collection while remaining true to the GTM. It is difficult to theoretically sample again before reading and considering the latest three transcripts. However, re-reading Charles' interview can help me to consider what gaps may be remaining.

Director from NGO was in a severe car accident and so was not able to reply to my request to meet until last week. I gave him my availability and will hopefully have the chance to speak to him before I leave if he is also available. I also had an informal conversation over Skype with someone who researched street-connected children in Zambia (he himself is Zambian) and we shared insights and experiences.