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Recognizing Agency of Children: Exploring the Experiences of Street Working Children in Addis Ababa

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List of Acronyms

CPP   Community Policing Program
ILO   International Labor Organization

ISS	Institute of Social Studies
LA	Lottery Azuariwoch
MOLSA	Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
NLA	National Lottery Administration
SPD	Social Policy for Development
SC	Street Children
SWC	Street Working Children
UNCRC	United Nations Convention on Rights of a Child
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund

Abstract

The term 'street children' is a pejorative expression that is applied to all children living and working on the streets. It connotes children as delinquent and innocent victims. Most studies focused more on street status of children than their work experiences and relational fabrics. Hence, this paper aimed at exploring working experiences of street working children in Addis Ababa. Exploring how children construct themselves, what they work and why, and what working relationship do they have is relevant to fully recognize children's agency. Exploring such experiences enables to understand how children's opportunities, challenges and vulnerabilities differ across child works who engaged in different street activities. It also enables to understand what children and their experiences speak out about their street works. I have applied ethnographic qualitative research to explore children experiences from their natural setting. My sample considers shoe shining and lottery vending activities. These activities are the two dominant, but differently structured street occupations. The study has focused on children under 18 years old. However, to create understanding how street career situated generationally, a youth, an adult, and an old man who has been engaged in street activities were incorporated in my sample. In-depth informal interviews, observation, and life stories of past street workers were key data collection instruments of this study. To illuminate children as capable social agents, I have integrated theories from 'child work', 'childhood', and 'street children' studies.

The finding of the paper shows that children engage in street occupations which they assumed affluent. They construct themselves as workers who are different from 'street children'. Streets are constructed as workplaces. Children's dignity and self-worth are situated in their occupation. They consider their ability to pay their daily experiences. Their culture is not different from the mainstream society. They keep their dignity by behaving as workers than supposedly 'street children'. Different occupations have different working relationships and working environment. Hence, opportunities and vulnerabilities are different. Despite the existence of vulnerabilities, children developed resilience and form groups to maximize their benefits. The paper also finds out that exit from the streets is not a direct function of generation. Rather, it is a complex function of success on streets, dignity, education level, and subjective attitude towards the age appropriateness of an occupation.

The findings are very important to reconstruct streets as workplaces. It also enables to reconstruct street working children based on their work. Moreover, it enables to recognize that children lack recognition and respect than ability to work.

Relevance to Development Studies

Throughout the world, children living and working on the streets were understood using the umbrella terminology of 'street children'. They were also labeled as 'homeless'. However, the views of working children were underrepresented. Street working children were considered as originals from the urban poor. Their street careers trajectories were perceived as a simple function of age. Nonetheless, the findings of this study reflect that children are social agents beyond what theories claim. Thus, I hope this study will contribute to

global literatures of 'child work', 'childhood' and 'street children' studies by pointing out how the term 'street children' does not represent street working children. The study explores the view street working children are street traders who constructed their identity from their work than from streets. By exploring how street activities are structured in ethnic, gender, generational aspects, the study will hopefully provide an insight to Children and Youth Studies. The whole contributions of the study would be viable by deconstructing 'street children'. In doing so, it enables to practitioners and policy makers accountable to children's rights by making working environments safe.

Chapter 1 : Setting the Case

1.1. Statement of the Problem

In the context of Addis Ababa, it is common to see children engaged in different activities on the streets of the city (Abebe 2008, Aptekar and Abebe 1997, Heinonen 2000, Aptekar and Heinonen 2003). Compared to children working in private spheres, street and working children are physically visible and have long attracted scholarly attention as well as public concern (Van Blerk 2006, Panter-Brick 2002). It is, thus, evident that not all street working children (SWC) carry out the same activities. To mention a few, the studies in Kampala (Van Blerk 2006), Yogyakarta (Beazley 2003), Jakarta (Gross et al. 1996), and Addis Ababa (Abebe 2008) confirm this assertion.

Despite Heinonen (2000), Nieuwenhuys (2001), Aptekar and Heinonen (2003), and Abebe (2009) have studied about 'street children', hereafter SC. They have used NGO reports and other studies conducted before the mid-1990s, which do not fully represent current realities and dynamics of street workers today. Such studies have greatly emphasized on children of the urban poor and migrant families with little emphasis on independent migrant children who migrate without their parents and siblings. Moreover, these studies tend towards non-working SC. Paradoxically, their findings are generalized to SWC.

In the study of Heinonen (2000), it is indicated that children from different places of origin form surrogate families. However, the influence of different street occupations is not recognized. From a study in Brazil, Veloso (2012) indicated that 'working children' do not want to form relations with 'non-working children'.

In Addis Ababa, lottery selling and shoe shining are the two major occupations of SWC. Lottery selling is a highly itinerant street hawking activity. Shoe shining is another dominant settled street work. However, there are also other street activities of begging, washing cars, providing change for taxi drivers, assisting taxi drivers in facilitating in 'picked up and dropped off' passengers (Aptekar and Abebe 1997:480). Lottery vending and shoes shining operate as an extension of the formal economy. Lottery Vendors (Lottery Azuariwoch), hereafter LA, purchase their merchandise from NLA (National Lottery Administration) and sell it to the public. Shoe shiners, hereafter Listros purchase their inputs from the formal market and sell their services to the public. Moreover, some Listros have close relations with the police. The two occupations are also conducted by the boys.

Despite these similarities, these two occupations have their own characteristics, are organized in unique ways and expose children to different opportunities and threats. Nonetheless, the institutional literatures homogenized such working children as SC. Hence, they are perceived as innocent victims in their early ages who would become delinquents later. Literatures appear to have been more concerned with teasing out the different status that the street plays in SC's lives (i.e. the distinction between 'on the street' and 'of the street') than with understanding how the relational fabric of work affects SWC lives (Ennew and Swart-Kruger 2003, Panter-Brick 2002). These late institutional literatures appear to have been in 'rigid' categorical fashion (Aptekar and Heinonen 2003), adverse association with 'negative connotations' (Owoaje et al. 2009, Evans 2006) which makes poverty at the center of street life (Dewees and Klees 1995, Ferguson 2002).

From her study in Addis Ababa, Heinonen (2000) argues that poverty is a necessary condition for SWC. This generalization suppresses other important factors of children's work on the streets. Moreover, street career trajectories were perceived as a simple function of age. Their exit was associated boredom to street life. The role of work in children's lives was not recognized.

Studies in Tanzania (Evans 2006) and Ethiopia (Heinonen 2000) have reflected the existence of collective identity of SC without considering ethnicity. However, migrant street workers who do not have families in urban areas might close their relations within their ethnic origins to develop a sense of trust and identity.

It is to this end that I focus on two distinct street-based occupations; shoe shining and lottery vending. Both professions have its own features that can be usefully contrasted and compared. It is not easy to identify the occupational status of street works and what shapes this subjectivity. Having different occupations with different social identities can provide its own system in the construction of street career as well as exit from it. This thesis has the major objective of exploring the experiences of SWC in Addis Ababa. Specifically, it intends to discover children the subjective understanding of themselves and their occupations. The study seeks to discover the dignity situated in day to day activities of street career. Moreover, it seeks to identify what factors shape exit from street occupations. In order to achieve these objectives, the following research questions were formulated.

1.2. Research Questions

Overarching Question: How does the structure of street occupations shape, and is shaped by SWC's daily experiences?
Specific Questions:
1. Why Listros and LA are working while they are young?
2. How do work relational fabrics of shoe shining and lottery selling operate? What opportunities and challenges do these occupations have?
3. How do Listros and LA subjectively perceive themselves and their occupations?
4. What shapes agency of Listros and LA to exit from their street occupations?

1.3. Research Methodology

1.3.1. Research Approach and Rationale

This study has applied ethnographic qualitative research. I choose to apply this method in order to explore street work experience of Listros and LA. The approach is helpful to recognize the trends, values, beliefs, (informal) languages, socio-cultural and economic relationships, and describing events in the natural setting.

Scholars like Creswell (2007:39) explained that qualitative research type is relevant to explore a problem from the ground and 'hear silenced voices' rather than relying on literatures that applied predetermined information. It is important to important to study about children by creating trust between the researcher and the child (Conticini and Hulme 2007:206).

Creswell (2007) has identified five types of qualitative designs (narrative, case study, phenomenology, grounded theory and ethnography). My research

relied on ethnographic type of qualitative research which is important to describe a culture, verbal and non-verbal languages and to explore shared meanings and experiences using (non) -participant observation, focusing on the natural setting, and in-depth-interview (LeCompte and Goetz 1982).

This research has been conducted on the streets of Addis Ababa. However, as a big city, it was not possible and not even necessary to cover all streets of the city. The aim of this study is to explore children experiences not seeking for representation and quantification. Hence (O'Leary 2004), understanding comes from fewer samples than many. Selecting few sites is important in order to explore a phenomenon within its milieu using different data sources (Baxter and Jack 2008:544).

Hence, in the first week of the field work, I have gathered preliminary information about time, place of work, ethnic background, and the daily income of LA and Listros. To do this, I have informally asked my friends, LA and Listros through buying lottery tickets and having my shoes polished. After, that, I have selected Piassa Minilik II Square [found in central Addis Ababa] and the street that goes up from 4 kilo to 6 kilo. This study area is located in Arada Sub-city. These sites were selected due to their accommodation of diversified street activities and ethnically varied workers. Hence, it was important to observe their different actions and reactions together as well as with passersby.

1.3.2. Population of the Study and Sampling

The population of the study is children working on the streets of Addis Ababa. My research has focused on Listros and LA. Since these occupations are dominated boys, my plan before the field was to exclude female street workers. However, during my fieldwork, I have got one female Listro and been included in my sample. I did this in order to understand how her experiences as a Listro differ from that of boys.

I have used UNCRC (United Nations Convention on Rights of Children) definition of a child [under 18 years old] to determine my respondents. My sample included boys having different periods of experience and different age groups. This was very helpful to understand how street career trajectory shapes and is shaped by generation. Besides, I have presumed that SWC would practice exit after 18 years old. But during the fieldwork, I have seen young people and adults engaged in shoe shining and lottery vending. Hence, I have incorporated some young people [above 18] in order to understand how age matters in street careers and what shapes their exit. Moreover, I have selected an old man who has been selling lottery tickets, and an adult who has been a Listro. Thereby, I have selected a total of 17 respondents.

Respondents were selected based on the purposive type of non-probability sampling. To select my respondents, I have my shoes polished and bought lottery tickets regularly. I have invited them coffee in cafeterias near their work place. In this process, those who were open to communicate, sociable, committed to their work, and voluntary to participate have been purposefully selected.

I have also collected data from MOLSA (Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs), NLA, Kasanchis Police Station, and immediate customers[1] of Listros and LA.

Some of my respondents respondents were in school while others not. Those who attend schooling came seasonally during summer time after the end of the academic year while others totally out of school and fully engage in the work (Appendix 5). One thing that I want to recommend for further research is the role of Hadya-South Africa migration in the influx of children from Hadya origin in street activities. Some of my respondents replied that they position their occupations temporarily till they finish their chronological childhood, which enables them to get legal passport.

1.3.3. Methods of Data Collection and Procedures

Methods of ethnographic research can roughly be divided into interview and observation in the natural setting (Kusenbach 2003:458). In order to collect the qualitative data, I have applied in-depth interview (mainly informal). Data was also collected from observation (both participant and non-participant) and life stories. I have incorporated a life story of already exited Listro. However, since I couldn't find a previous lottery vendor, I got life story of an old man who has been working as a lottery vendor for the past 30 years.

Interview: Interview has been conducted in Amharic language. In-depth interview with Listros was much more informal. Since, Listros had fixed occupational niches, I have visited them and interviewed in their natural settings. Besides, interview with Listros was also conducted in cafeterias and hotels by drinking coffee together, especially in their off time of work (mostly from 11 AM to 2 pm), and on Sunday when there were few customers.

Inviting coffee which is available by female street workers has created rapport between me and all Listros in my study area. Like any other regular customer, I have provided them tips. After that I spent my many days in their workplaces. Despite our discussion were interrupted while customers coming, discussions have been continued after customers leave. Actively participating in their work places has provided me a rich data from informal discussion with passersby and street workers around.

Interview was also made with 5 immediate customers in order to understand perception of people regarding SWC. When I saw someone who has got his/her shoes polished, I discussed my questions with them, asked them to interview, took them to the cafeteria, invited them drinks and interviewed them.

Getting previous Listros and LA who had another business was a challenging task. Informal discussions revealed that most street workers tend to start businesses back in their origin after exit. Fortunately, while I chatted with Listros, a man came and started to have his shoes shined. One Listro came to me and leaked out that the man was a previous Listro. Then, I paid 5 Birr for this man for polishing of his shoes. Since the man understood that I had good camaraderie with Listros, he agreed to talk his Listro life experiences. His life

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[1] In this study immediate customer refers to anyone whom I found buying lottery tickets and have their shoes shined.

story enabled me to understand the dynamics of events before and today. Data regarding previous Listros on the basis of age, gender, ethnicity, types of work, and factors of exit have been gathered.

Unlike Listros, LA did not have fixed places of work. Hence, my first task was to understand their relative tight and loose times in a day as well as a week. Before the field I felt that finding Listro respondents would be challenging. I assumed that one influenced the other since they work together in small groups. During the fieldwork, the reverse was true. Selecting LA was a challenging task. They did not want to talk to any issue other than their business. In my attempts to introduce myself, they felt uncomfortable and some of them were aggressive. They imagined me as a hoodlum and *yeketema durye* (city vagabond) who wanted to plunder their tickets.

After that I decided to first develop rapport through buying more tickets repeatedly. To do so, woke up in the morning to hang up them was necessary. Doing that regularly has created relatively better rapport between us. After that I started to collect my data in many different contacts. Furthermore, I purposefully selected 5 immediate customers (one female and four males) whom I met while buying tickets. Like the case of getting previous Listros, getting previous LA was challenging task. Hence, I took a story of a vendor who planned to exit after early September 2014. To enrich my data, I collected data from an old man who has been selling tickets for the past 30 consecutive years. Moreover, I made informal discussions in order to understand children's perceptions about their work compared to others.

I had originally planned to use both tape recorder and notebook to collect my data. Using a tape recorder proved more complex than I thought. It created suspicion to my respondents. Street workers and passersby came together and surround me when I talked to my respondents. Hence, I used my notebook to record discussions, interviews and events. I took notes of Listros in their place of work. But in the case of LA, I sat down and wrote out the full account to the best I can remember after the end of each interview. For some voluntary respondents, I have used mobile recording after I got a good rapport with them. Using mobile phone recording has reduced attention of onlookers (See: Heinonen 2000).

Observation: The work situation of respondents, the strategy to attract customers, the action and reaction with passersby, and housing conditions has been intensively observed. I did interviews and observations simultaneously as well as independently. I spent many days to observe them and to ask questions for clarification of events. Events have been recorded using note taking and photographs.

In order to understand the working relationship of LA, their actions, reactions with buyers, I walked on the streets that I have selected.

Besides to primary data, I have used secondary sources: academic literatures from 'children and work', 'childhood', and SC studies.

1.3.4. Data Processing and Analysis

As indicated in Figure 1 below, firstly, data collected from interviews, informal discussions, observation, and life stories which were recorded in notebooks and mobile record were processed during data collection process. In this early stage, I have re-written my notes on my laptop every day. It was from this recorded data that final analysis has been followed. By repeatedly reading the record, I thematically coded the data. I translated Amharic Language into English. During translation, ambiguous expressions have been put in Amharic Lan-

guage alongside to English Language to make the analysis as close as possible to the original expression and material.

After thematic classification of data, interpretation has been made in relation to theoretical and empirical literatures. Analysis has been made by taking a combination of quotations and summarized notes of interviews and observation. Quotations were cited by taking the pseudo name of the interviewee and full date of first interview regarding a certain issue. Through repeated back and forth processes, the final processed data have been produced.

Figure1. 1: Data Analysis Process
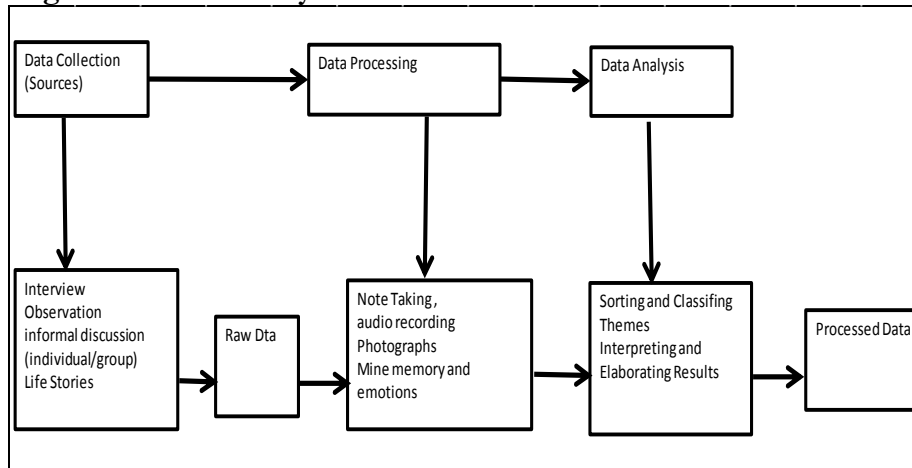
Source: Fieldwork 2014

1.3.5. Ethical Considerations

According to Orb et al. (2001:93), ethics is about avoiding harm and performing good. Orb and colleagues further stated that ethical principles include autonomy, beneficial, and justice. It contains at least 'procedural' (getting approval to conduct a research that involves humans) and 'practical' (every issue of ethics in conducting the research) ethics (Guillemin and Gillam 2004). Similarly, Morrow and Richards (1996) have identified ethical guidelines when conducting research with children. Firstly, when the knowledge required can't be acquired from adults; secondly, approval from a legitimate body; thirdly, getting consent from children or their parents; and fourthly, benefits overshadow probable risks. ALL these ethical issues have been considered in this study. Procedurally, I have gotten approval of my methodology from my supervisor and second reader before the fieldwork. I have honestly requested the full consent of my respondents. Besides, I have seriously considered how to speak, how to question and how to handle when there were emotions during interview and informal discussions.

I have kept my moral obligation to use pseudonyms not to reveal the identity of my respondents without their consent. Moreover, I didn't suck the working time of my respondents. I have collected the data on the job condition. Besides, I repeatedly bought tickets and had my shoes shined to give tips to them. The interview has been made in Amharic Language in which all respondents can speak and listen. Taking photographs and recording their voices was made by their full consent.

1.3.6. Researcher's Positionality

As a person grown up in rural part of Ethiopia, I know that child work is an integral element of children's lives. Having continuous contact with my origin, I have understood how the sociology of children has become changed; particularly their interaction with cities. From a long stay in Addis Ababa, I have observed year to year influx of children who have been working on the streets. I have been surprised when NGOs report such SWC as SC. From the standing point of Ethiopia, I knew how the terminology was abusive. This has triggered me to study about SWC experiences from their won subjective understandings. In doing so, I bring together theories of 'children and work', 'childhood', and SC.

Streets as an open space, having the same gender and being young enabled me to create rapport easily with my respondents particularly with Listros. Introducing each other and exchange greetings is a common culture in Ethiopia, which facilitates my social interaction, but within the framework of a researcher. I have repeatedly bought lottery tickets and have my shoes shined to develop rapport with Listros and LA. I have provided tips and invited coffee repeatedly. This has created a good rapport which helps me to explore their experiences.

1.4. Limitation of the Study

The study did not include SC who did not have jobs. Hence, the findings might not represent the experiences of what Aptekar (1994) call 'real SC'. Furthermore, the study might not be generalized to other cities and street works. Furthermore, the study would have been better if it has included the views of parents and teachers regarding children and their works on the streets. Such ethnographic qualitative interview is difficult to determine the appropriate sample size unlike quantitative research. But, 'our inability to access every element of a population does little to suppress our desire to understand and speak for it' (O'Leary 2004:102).

1.5. Structure of the Thesis

The paper is organized in 6 chapters. Chapter one contains the research problem, research questions, and the research methodology. In chapter two, I reviewed literatures from 'children and work' 'childhood', SC studies. It discusses the debates of *universal* and *relative* view of child work, examines how the term SC is problematic and unrepresentative to working children. It also contains issues of agency and vulnerability, and career of SC. Chapter three situates Listros and LA in Addis Ababa thereby contains a general overview of street vending in Addis Ababa, explores factors that drive child migration, and analyses notions of *sira* and *shikkela*. Chapter four interprets work relation of street works in Addis Ababa. It presents social fabrics of shoe shining and lottery vending. Chapter five explores dignity in the street career. Finally, chapter 6 presents the conclusion drawn from the findings of this paper.

1.6. Conclusion

This chapter serves as an introductory chapter by setting a problem to be researched. Children have been engaged in any street activity were constructed in a rigid categorical fashion. They have been given a jacket term, 'SC'. Their

street work is constructed as insignificant. Moreover, they are constructed as they would transit from being innocent victims to deviants as they grow older. Children are constructed as victims and deviants when they appeared on the streets. The research questions aimed at exploring SWC experiences from their own perspective. Thereby, I have applied ethnographic qualitative research. In order to situate relationality of opportunities and vulnerabilities, I have chosen two distinct street-based occupations.

Chapter 2 : Children and Their Works

2.1. Introduction
This theoretical chapter draws concepts from studies of childhood, child work, and 'street children' (SC). Having the new sociology of childhood means recognition of children's agency. That means they have ability to work and contribute to their lives. Lack of employment opportunities in the formal sector, makes streets as rational places of work at least from their own perspective. This needs reposition the role of streets in children's lives.

2.2 Positioning Children's Role in a Valuable Way
Children have diverse types of work across the world (White 1999, Bourdillon et al. 2010). Working places, terms of conditions, forms of employment relationships are also varied (Bequele and Boyden 1988). The reasons why children do work is different across individuals, families, societies, and situations (Bourdillon et al. 2010:22).

Children for long have been the objectives of the research. *Universalists* positioned children as vulnerable, incomplete, dependent, incompetent and 'becoming' to adulthood (Nimmo 2008, Bourdillon 2006, Huijsmans 2006). They were also constructed as powerless and irresponsible (Morrow and Richards 1996:96). In this view, childhood is reserved for schooling, fun and play. However, it is difficult to draw the boundary between play and work (Bourdillon et al. 2010). Buchman (2000) in Kenya revealed that child work has an insignificant influence on school attendance. Rather, failure to pay school fees has a great impact on schooling (Ibid 1359). They [Universalists] aimed at abolishing child work, especially 'of an economic nature' (Myers 1999:22), using 'universal standards' (White 1999).

Over the last three decades new theoretical perspective emerged by children geographers. Children are recognized as 'social actors' who can interpret their lives (Närvänen and Näsman 2004, Bourdillon 2004, Woodhead 1999). Under this perspective, childhood is perceived as *relatively* which can be socially constructed (White 1999, Matthews et al. 2000). Children are socialized to participate in social and economic activities (Abebe and Bessell 2011). This perspective combined with 'children's right to participation' which is enshrined by United Nations Children Rights Convention (UNCRC) has made the 'paradigm shift' in the study of children (Ennew and Swart-Kruger 2003).

In fact, children themselves resist the application of universal standards that seeks sweep child work (Bourdillon 2006, Bourdillon et al. 2010, Huijsmans 2004). In order to understand children's subjective perspective regarding minimum age to work, I asked my respondents them whether they were aware of the Ethiopian minimum age requirement to work [15 years]. Particularly one Listro who was 10 years old has replied as follows:

> The law is void! Working to earning income is helpful to you and your parents. What can you get from sitting [to mean without working]? Nothing! (Belayneh 10, 22 August 2014)

Many of my respondents felt that being without work is stress full. Hence, they considered their work as leisure beyond its economic benefits. Huijsmans

et al. (2014) argued that children's age is beyond chronology; it is relational. Belayneh was vibrant to differentiate 'child labor' from 'child work'. He described child labor (*yehitsanat gulbet bizbeza*) as '*a situation when a child is forced to work beyond his/her physical capacity*'. Belayneh further explained that age and hours of work do not matter as long as the work is simple. He perceived shoe shining as a simple activity which is apt for children. 'Belayneh as well as other respondents felt that shoe shining is not appropriate for an adult. This story of Belayneh confirms the statements of Ennew (2003) and Bourdilon et al (2010) that childhood provides freedom and also preferred for certain types of activities. For example, in urban Bangladesh, collecting firewood is appropriate work for children, but shame for adults (Bourdillon et al. 2010:26).

Therefore, it is argued that considering children's voices is crucial for successful implementation of the UNCRC (Myers and Boyden 1998, Woodhead 1999, Bourdillon 2006, Neale and Smart 1998). According to these scholars, what harmful work does not have consensus among children. This is because; risks are specific, contextual, and relational (Clark 2007, Woodhead 1999). Unable to recognize children's voices is counterproductive (Cigno and Rosati 2000, Arnett 2000, Baker and Hinton 2001, Kjørholt 2004, Salem and Abd-el-Latif 2002, Woodhead 1999).

Children work for various reasons: earning income, cultural value, and educational value (Bourdillon et al. 2010:35). This makes child work beyond mere survival. Hence, a child-centered approach that can consider the diverse meaning of work in the lives of children is essential (Myers and Boyden 1998). As stated in Roche (1999:486), listen to children will produce substantial changes in social and institutional practices.

2.3. Rethinking Streets and Repositioning 'Street Children'

> Deceptively simple, the term street child has proved
> problematic' (Panter-Brick 2002:148)
> Given the circumstances, and from their [street children]
> perspectives, the street was a solution, not the problem
> (Bordonaro 2012:418).

The above quotes reflect two important changes in the relationship between children and streets. The first quote exemplifies that applying the term SC, is problematic. The second quote shows that streets are solutions for other problems of children.

The label SC is political since streets contain the interests of the government and the public (Recio and Gomez 2013). This makes the role of their work on the streets is underestimated (Bonnet 1993). SC are treated by questions of 'right places' of children, the use of 'public spaces' and need for 'adult supervision'. When these are broken, children are labeled as SC and perceived as innocent victims, deviants, and delinquents (Aptekar and Abebe 1997, Beazley 2003, Bordonaro 2012, Ennew and Swart-Kruger 2003, De Moura 2002). They are given derogatory names like 'rats', 'Arabs', 'gamins', 'guttersnipes', and 'urchins' (Gilfoyle 2004:853). The negative connotation of SC steams from correlation of streets with crime (Bibars 1998). However, as stated in Apterkar (1994), existing stereotypes towards SC as delinquency and drug abuse has more to do with blaming them than describing in the actual sense.

The term also disregards heterogeneity of children on the streets (Panter-Brick 2002:149-152).

Poverty, family situation, and modernization in the form of rural-urban migration are perceived as causes of SC (Aptekar 1994, Bordonaro 2012). According to Van Beers (1996:195), the visibility of SC is caused by the increasing gap between the poor and the rich. Moreover, scholars like Bibars (1998) reflected that SC are caused by poor standards of education. The finding of Bromley and Mackie (2009) in Peru also revealed that children work on streets voluntarily without coercion. Whatever, the reason that children live and work on the streets; streets are solutions for many other problems of children (Bourdillon 1994, Bordonaro 2012, Aptekar 1994). Hence, streets are 'potentially effective strategy' to find solutions (Bordonaro 2012:416).

Small extreme criminal activities few numbers of SC are exaggerated by public media (Van Beers 1996, Bromley and Mackie 2009). This exaggeration serves the interests of welfare agencies (Abbasi 2013, Panter-Brick 2002). When institutions construct children as victims as well as delinquents, they adopt intervention programs intending to reunite children with their families (Bordonaro 2012). However, without considering children's voices, interventions can't be proper and effective (Aptekar 1988).

Moreover, 'on'/ 'of' rigid categorization of SC in Latin America does not represent SC in the context of Africa (Ennew 2003). In this category, the need for *'adults' supervision'* and *streets* ply a great role. 'On street' children were perceived to be from the city while 'of the streets' as migrants (Campos et al. 1994). Such unrepresentative rigid categorizations do not represent concurrent independent child migrants.

New sociology of childhood combined with UNCR brought a 'paradigm shift' in the study of SC (Ennew and Swart-Kruger 2003). This shift gets away from *dysfunctional family* to *street*. Ennew and Swart-Kruger further indicated that the shift has provided three important elements in the study of SC: 'time', 'space', and 'social construction of meanings'. However, despite their agency has got recognition, children do not have appropriate labeling in both academical and institutional levels. Ennew (2003) argued that children are individual who practice their lives differently. Hence, in the new paradigm, focus should move beyond sole focus on *streets* to explore experiences, vulnerabilities, copying mechanism of children (Panter-Brick 2002).

Despite SWC seen by the state and society as 'a defilement of the city landscape' (Beazley 2002:1666), they are heterogeneous and engaged in a variety of activities (Bromley and Mackie 2009:143). Hence, recognizing the role of street activities enable to fully understand child workers on the streets.

2.4. Re-conceptualizing the Role of Street Vending

2.4.1. Debates For and Against Street Vending
The expansion of street trading has become attracted scholarly attention (Holness et al. 1999). Different scholars, including Holness et al. (1999), Donovan (2008), Bromley (2000), Austin(1994) have discussed that there are two opposing views on street trading.

Proponents of street trading argue that street vending is an 'entrepreneurial innovation' and 'social safety net' in the absence of a developing welfare system. It is acknowledged as a source of income. Moreover, street trading is preferable by the community due to its mobility and easy availability. Propo-

nents argue that the growth of street trading is due to failure of the formal sector to create employment opportunities. The formal economy is expanded by street vendors that purchase goods for sale from a regulated business (Holness et al. 1999, Donovan 2008).

Scholars like Holness et al. (1999) argued that street trading contributes to economic growth in general and as a survival strategy for the marginal people in particular. Hence, criminalizing street informal activities of children might end up with the involvement of children in the drug economy (Veloso 2012). The role and place of the informal sector need to be re-conceptualized (Holness et al. 1999:286). Bromley (2000) argued that the government should adopt a policy that mixes regulation with promotion.

On the other hand, opponents argue that street vendors create congestion, unfair competition, and provision of counterfeit products. This view also assumed vulnerabilities of young people without contextualizing what makes them vulnerable. Street traders are also accused of the underground economy. This side of the view resists agency of street traders. Bromley (2000:10) stated that authorities in Africa, Latin America and Asia describe street vendors as 'doves' 'plagues', and 'deluges'. Hence, the police abuse vendors and confiscate their merchandize (Bromley 2000, Veloso 2012). As stated in Campos et al. (1994) engaging in different street activities shapes and is shaped by different socio-economic factors.

2.4.2. Licit/illicit and Legal/illegal Activities of Street Vendors

According to Bromley (2000) and Austin (1994), arguments against street vending are more about political and ideological. The degree of social and legal acceptance of street activities shapes the degree of responses of the government (Holness et al. 1999).

Table2. 1: Children Informal Activities on Streets

Street Activities		
Less valued by the less society	Valued by the society and treated as a work	
	Merchandising-based: Selling	Service-based
Begging	Watches	Shoe shining
Stealing	Sunglasses	Assisting taxi drivers
Scavenging	Newspapers	Sweeping sidewalks
Exchange money for sex	Flowers	Hauling bags
Drug trafficking	Magazines	Washing cars
Collecting alms	Lottery tickets	Playing guitars
	Ground nuts	

Source: Adapted from Literatures by Author 2014

Children are among the agents of street vending. For a variety of reasons, they engage in different street activities. Different studies in different places i.e. in Brazil (Campos et al. 1994, Veloso 2012), Addis Ababa (Aptekar and Abebe 1997), New York (Gilfoyle 2004), Yogyakarta (Beazley 2003), to list a few, re-

vealed that children engage in a variety of street activities (See Table 2.1). However, as stated earlier, they are perceived in a categorical fashion.

Table 2.1 shows that children engage in different activities having different social values. This shapes their recognition and dignity of children from the public as well as the government. Different actives shape earnings differently, which itself shapes self-esteem and self-respect to workers (Van Beers 1996, Bordonaro 2012, Bourdillon 1994). As shown in Table 2.1, some activities are accepted by the society despite not licensed the government (Veloso 2012). By taking the story of Marcelo, 12-years-old-boy in Brazil, Veloso stated that Marcelo has provided counterfeit sunglasses and watches. But, the society has accepted his work as licit though providing counterfeit products made Marcelo's action illicit. Hence, Veloso argues that the boundary of legal/illegal and licit/illicit is fluid (ibid. 665).

Some activities like begging and stealing are less accepted by the society.

> People think we are only street kids, but we are just trying to
> work and make money like everybody else (Veloso 2012:671)

This quote is taken from 11-years-old child in Brazil. The boy has combined different activities of begging, guarding cars, and showing tricks in traffic lights. He conceptualized his activities as licit despite passersby perceived it as illicit. Moreover, combining different activities means illicitness of the child is contextual and relational. While begging is illicit, guarding cars might be licit.

Beyond the types of activities, 'trade structure' of street vending is also different. Some have fixed places while others are mobiles (Veloso 2012, Holness et al. 1999). Holness et al. (1999:292) further stated that occupational niches have hierarchies which can be controlled by informal networks. Hence, new entrants move on the streets or settle in low demand places. Itinerant activities might expose vendors to car accidents (Bromley and Mackie 2009). In fact, vendors might reject places fixed by the state when places are unprofitable (Austin 1994:2127). These all differences create different opportunities and vulnerabilities to child workers.

2.5. Examining Children's Agency and Vulnerability

Gender, age, identity formation, and vulnerability issues of SC in different studies. Girls working on the streets are few in number due to gender socialization (Aptekar 1994, Heinonen 2000, Van Beers 1996, Beazley 2003). Moreover, girls' agency to access streets is also constrained due to sexual violence (Van Beers 1996). In Indonesia, girls have a separate space from boys' space (Beazley 2002). In Brazil, girls feel protected, wear and haircut like boys to cope vulnerabilities (Rizzini and Butler 2003). The majority boys range from 7 to 18 years old (Beazley 2003).

SC exercise their dignity in different ways. In Indonesia (Beazley 2003) and Brazil (Rizzini and Butler 2003), they have their own separate 'street culture'. Beazley further stated that boys have a subculture, *Tikyan*, to refer 'street kid'. Under this subculture, children are socialized to be tough and showing boy acts that deliberately reject the mainstream norms (Beazley 2003:189). In doing so, they express they are not victims, but able part of society. In Colombia, SC also forms large groups during the daytime to create a threat to the society as well as to maximize their benefits (Aptekar 1991). They form small groups [4-6] (Rizzini and Butler 2003). Taking drugs and theft are stated as group culture. Rizzini and Butler further stated that SC reflect their self-esteem

and dignity by paying for bed to have sex or for vacation from the streets. Studies in Addis Ababa (Heinonen 2000), Indonesia (Beazley 2003) and Brazil (Rizzini and Butler 2003) revealed that children spent their money on consumer goods to reflect their self-esteem. Moreover, as stated in Rizzini and Butler (2003) SC ate leftover foods from restaurants.

The form of resistance and way of reflecting self-worth is not always against the mainstream norm. SC in Addis Ababa, respect the mainstream norms (Heinonen 2000, Ennew 2003). The study of Ennew (2003) revealed that children felt ashamed of eating bad food. Hence, they wear hats to hide themselves while eating bad food. By citing Peter Tacon, International Consultant on SC, Lalor (1999:766) described SC of Addis Ababa as 'innocent lambs compared with those in South America'.

What matters in group formation? In Tanzania, SC have a collective identity without considering ethnicity (Evans 2006). Rizzini and Butler (2003) described categorically that similar precarious circumstances create affection between children. However, In Brazil, 'working children' do not want to form relations with 'non-working children'(Veloso 2012). Moreover, SC's social relations with each other and the community are shaped by children's and socioeconomic backgrounds (Campos et al. 1994, Gaetz and O'Grady 2002). Hence Vulnerabilities are specific, contextual and relational (Clark 2007).

Children's vulnerabilities are situated within and outside their activities. They are psychologically and physically abused by the police and the public (Abbasi 2013, Aptekar 1994, Aptekar 1991). Working relationships also expose them to different vulnerabilities. Hence, young person's vulnerability is not necessarily inherent (Huijsmans 2012). Clark (2007:287) argued that vulnerabilities are specific, contextual and relational. Clark further stated that vulnerability varies across time and circumstances (Clark 2007:285).

Street vendors are marginalized segments of the society who do not have political support (Abbasi 2013, Holness et al. 1999). They lack citizenship rights of birth registration, documentation, unstable residence, and proper social services like health and education (Panter-Brick 2002). They are also exploited by linkages from the formal sector (Holness et al. 1999) . In *exploitative* linkages, the formal sector acquire surplus at the expense of vendors. Linkages can also be *parasitic* when the formal sector is benefiting from the linkage without contributing in the system of street vending. A *mutual* is the one which benefits both parties fairly.

Children as street workers' experience problems of accessing productive occupational niches, law wage of commission business, lack of storage facilities, and lack of support from urban authorities (Holness et al. 1999).

Despite vulnerable, children have agency (Beazley 2003), and do not lack ability (Panter-Brick 2002). They develop resilience to get success in their business (Holness et al. 1999). Therefore, the problem is the environment that makes children naïve not children themselves (Clark 2007).

2.6. Street Career Trajectory

Exploring street engagement provides important context to street disengagement (Karabanow 2008:774).

The quote from Karabanow (2008) shows that exit is shaped by contexts of entry into the streets. Gwadz et al. (2009) have discussed comprehensively by listing five elements that shape entry into street economy. 'Social control', 'benefits' acquired from streets, 'access to the formal sector', 'immediate

needs', and 'active recruitment' by 'predatory' peers. These factors shape street career. Social relations, level of attachment to institutions and individuals are among 'social control' in the street career. For example Aptekar (1991) stated that children who leave their parents' home voluntarily perform well compared to children who leave forcefully.

Children might also be excluded from the formal economy due to education level, age, gender and social identities. Street career is also shaped by perceived economic benefits. Need for independence and risks on streets influence street career.

Figure2. 1: Influences to Participate in Street Economy
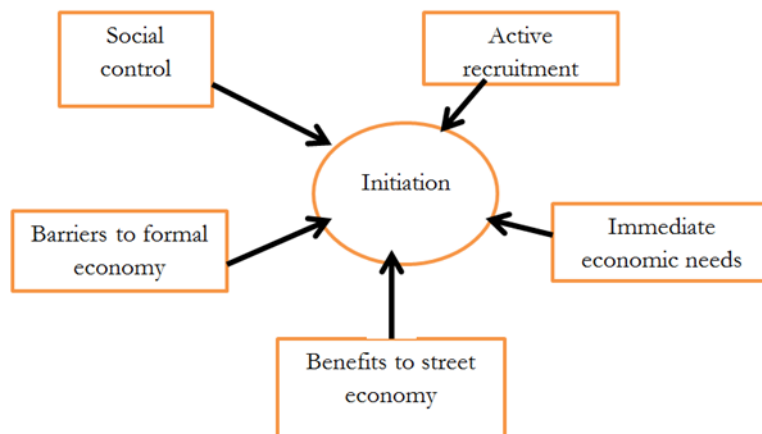
Source: (Gwadz et al. 2009)

When immediate needs are not fulfilled, children might to have a choice to do whatever they get including illegal activities (Austin 1994). In this circumstance, children could involve in activities which they perceive immoral. But they do it since they do not have the option. Moreover, Figure 2.1 shows that having pre-information and awareness about the street economy shapes entry and choice to a certain activity. This again shapes children's agency and vulnerability.

Different street activities might have hierarchies which provide workers to different dignity and self-worth. For example, in Brazil (Veloso 2012) and Yogyakarta (Beazley 2003), begging is at the lowest hierarchy. In Yogyakarta, playing with guitars is at the top of hierarchy of street occupations (Beazley 2003).

As explained by Gwadz et al. (2009), commitment to conventional society facilitates success on the streets. Veloso (2012) revealed that 'working children' in Brazil act just as professionals. They were optimistic and did not feel as impoverished and exploited. Contrarily, the finding of Karabanow (2008) in Canada revealed that SC felt bad experience on the streets. Hence, time, space, and the working environment shapes success of street career. By citing Lucchini (1998), Rizzini and Butler (2003) have described three forms of exit from the streets: actively exist (to take alternative choices), depletion of resources from the streets, and pushed exit.

2.7. Conclusion

This theoretical chapter is about children and their activities on the streets. Opponents do not want to see street vendors. Prohibiting children to have

jobs in the formal sector might make them larger in number compared to adults. Prohibiting child work by using the label of 'SC' is political. Because, child workers re heterogeneous, having heterogeneous street-based jobs. That means opportunities and vulnerabilities are also more relational than being inherent. This calls for repositioning children who work on the streets. Exploring their respective experiences through their voices is vital to strengthen their agency.

Chapter 3 : Situating Child Workers in the Informal Street Economy of Contemporary Addis Ababa

3.1. Introduction: Overview of Street Vending

Addis Ababa is the capital city of Ethiopia. Its population is currently increasing due to in-migration and natural growth. Its streets are jammed with different people engaged different informal activities. Condition of street vending in Addis Ababa was similar to street vending in South Africa, which was described by (Holness et al. 1999). Some were mobile vendors; hold their merchandise using plastic and set of clothes. Like the finding of Bromley and Mackie (2009) in the context of Peru, mobile marketing in Addis Ababa exposed venders to confiscation and abuse by the police as well as car accidents. Some other activities had settled places of work (Picture 3.1).

Moreover, street activities had different patterns. Gender, generation, and restriction of police were important elements in the structure of street economy. Most street workers were children and young people. Some of them worked as individuals while others operated as a crowd. Girl street workers were visible but less in number than boys. They were engaged in different activities from the boys. Unlike the finding of Beazley (2002) in Indonesia, girls and boys did not have separate spaces. The public interact with these workers regularly. Some vendors were running away when they saw the police to evade abuse and confiscation of their merchandise.

Table3. 1: Children and Street works in Addis Ababa

Street occupations	Engagement				
	Boys	**Girls**	**Both**	**Boys domination**	**Girls domination**
Selling books	✓				
Shoe shining	✓				
Lottery Selling	✓				
Selling Magazines and News Papers	✓				
Washing Cars	✓				
Selling soft tissues			✓		
Selling bread and other snacks					✓
Selling coffee		✓			
Selling Cloths				✓	
Selling chewing gums			✓		
Selling wooden toothbrush	✓				
Assisting Taxi Driving	✓				

Source: Fieldwork 2014

Table 3.1 shows the level of engagement in street activities by gender. Some activities, i.e. shoe shining were entirely operated by boys while others, i.e. selling coffee were entirely operated by girls. In some other activities, both males and females were participatory despite the varying degree of engagement. For example, males and females were engaged in selling clothes and

foodstuffs. However, females in selling clothes were few in number. Similarly, boys few were found in selling foodstuffs. As reflected in Beazley (2003), Campos et al. (1994) and Heinonen (2000), gendered division of labor and the few number of girls on the streets is the reflection of the larger process of gender socialization. While girls are socialized to be away from streets and to remain at home, boys are socialized to be tough and financially independent.

Picture3. 1: **Informal Trading on Streets of Addis Ababa**

Source: Fieldwork 2014

Picture 3.1 was taken from a street around St. George Church at Piassa. It was like a small market, though unlicensed. Most workers who engaged in such trading were adults. They provided low quality, counterfeit, and secondhand products in cheap price. As stated in Donovan (2008) and Bromley (2000), people preferred such products due to affordable prices and easy accessibility. Long line arrangements like the above picture are mostly found around churches, and away from main roads. Hence, unlike peddlers who move on main roads, such markets were less exposed to confiscation and car accident.

Interview with Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs (MOLSA) revealed that the government has attempted to regulate street vending particularly selling clothes by providing a fixed public space to sell their properties on weekends. For these fixed spaces, vendors are requested to pay taxes. Hence, as stated in Austin (1994:2127), vendors refused to accept the regulation since it could not support them to maximize profit.

Shoe shining and lottery vending were among street-based occupations which did not restrict by the police. Shoe shiners, hereafter, 'Listros' and lottery vendors, hereafter, 'Lottery Azuariwoch' (LA) purchase their inputs from the formal market and conduct their business. Hence, as indicated by Donovan (2008) and Holness et al. (1999), Listros and LA are expanding the formal market. Despite the activities were licit in social relations, Listros and LA did not have legal permission and formal structure of the economy.

3.2 Exploring Children's Drives to Migrate to Addis Ababa

The above quote reflects a time of change, generational issue, gender, and notion of SC. Young migrants have become dominant recently. As stated in Bromley (2000:10), this can reflect 'some structural change or defect in the economy as a whole'. The quote also reflects how the notion of SC has become problematic. Migrants challenged the old notion and categorical fashion of SC posed by scholars like Campos et al. (1994). Moreover, the quote has an insight of the changing nature of streets from the assumed '*home*' of marginalized groups to '*vending place*'.

3.2.1. Migration of Young People to Addis Ababa

Independent child migrants have increased in Addis Ababa. Independent migrants refer to children who migrate alone without their parents or siblings (UNDP 2009:59). Most of such migrants were boys. Females independent migration is unusual. Even though there might be migrant females, my respondents replied that females mostly work as a domestic worker and waitress. However, for boys the migration appears less organized.

Among a total of 17 respondents, 15 of them were migrants while 2 of them born in Addis Ababa. *Shikkela* [making money] was the major motivating factor for children to work on the streets.

Figure3. 1: Factors for Children Migration to Work
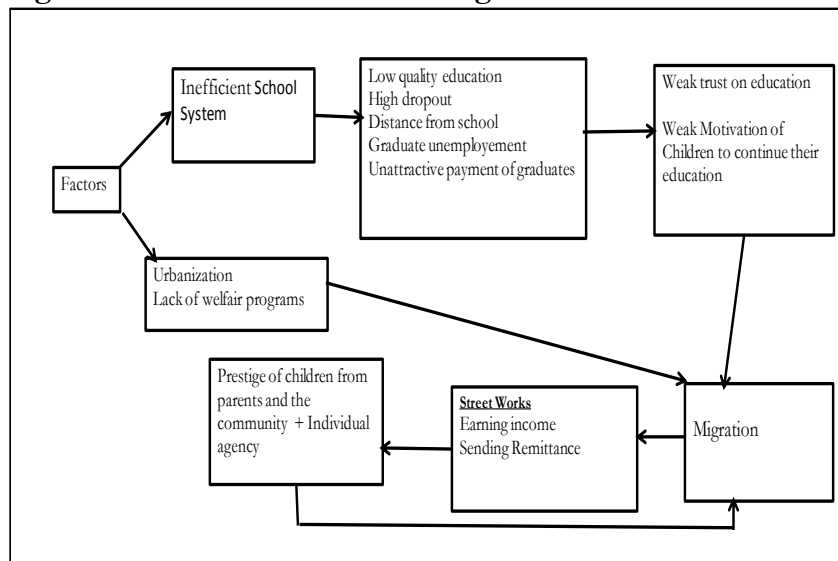
Source: Fieldwork 2014

Figure 3.1 depicts that migration to Addis Ababa was a function of push and pull factors. Most migrants replied that poor image of schooling was a major push factor which was fueled by motive to *shikkela*. Despite schooling is constructed as an avenue to get better jobs (Dewees and Klees 1995, Ferguson 2002), Listros and LA replied that far distance from school, dropouts, dismissal from universities, and graduate unemployment have reduced their motive to. However, some of the respondents have combined *sira* [work] and schooling.

Like the finding of Bibars (1998) in Egypt, deteriorating standard of education has pushed children to work on the streets.

> Education is not profitable; graduates whom I know in our village do not have jobs. The hope to get jobs is doomed…. They also start to chew *khat* [stimulant drug] since they become hopeless. So what will be my fate? (Mengistu 14, 08 July 2014).

> I want to sell lottery tickets. I do not want to continue my schooling, because the school is 2 hours away from home [to mean on foot] (Alehegn 14, 12 August 2014).

The first quote shows that *sira* saves children from unwanted behave like chewing *khat* and smoking cigarettes. Mengistu has got trauma of his future unemployment and took decision to fully engage in *sira*. Like the finding of Buchmann (2000) in Kenya, inefficient education system affects schooling than parents demand to child work. '*I came in April before classes end and I went back in June to take the final exam and then I came back to my sira* [work]' *(*Tewodros 12, 09 July 2014).

As indicated by Aptekar (1994) and Bordonaro (2012), children also migrate to cities due to urbanization. '… *We come also to ketema Mayet* [to mean enjoying the city]. *As a rural children, we always miss cities, especially Addis Ababa that everybody talks about it'*, (Dereje 17, 16 August 2014). AS indicated in Bourdillon et al. (2010), the story of Dereje tells that children entertain while they are working.

Figure 3.1 also shows how 'active recruitment' facilitates entry into street economy. Former migrants visited their parents by having new clothes and money to be given to parents. This provides them dignity and self-worth within the family and the community. However, it is evident that some children migrated without the consent of their parents.

Box3. 1: Children's Agency to Migrate without Consent of Parents

> Dereje was 17 years old LA. He had one year experience. He has stopped his schooling from grade 4 due to the influence of venders who had been migrated to Addis Ababa. His friends had been visiting their parents by having cloths, soap, sugar, coffee, and money for their parents. He was impressed by the boys who bought new cloths for the Ethiopian New year. '… Then I have decided to migrate to Addis Ababa without consulting my parents. I have stolen 200 Birr from my father's pocket. After I had arrived to the bus station, I have been called to one of my friends using private phones by paying 4 Birr. He came immediately and took me. On the next day, one of my friends has gone to my parents to tell them where I was. Soon he met my parents, my friend gave a call to me and I have met my parents. My mother cried when she heard my voice. After five months, I have gone to my parents by having new clothes for me, my parents, and siblings. I gave my father 2,000 Birr. My parents kindly requested me to stop my **sira** continue my education. I have understood that my parents were not volunteered to send me back to Addis Ababa. Hence, I came again without telling them. …. After four months, I sent 2,000 Birr. Then my father buys an ox with 4,000 Birr that I sent ' (Dereje 17, 16 Augut 2014).

Source: Fieldwork 2014

As described in box 3.1, children have agency to decide their own destinies. But, such agency did not break parent-child relation. Mobile phones and sending remittance were important to keep the relation. Six of my respondents had mobile phones. Buying mobile phones have created a self-esteem to children. Others who did not have mobiles, they did use their friends' phones to call to parents.

Moreover, children visited their parents depending on their engagement to street works. Children who combined *sira* [work] and schooling, migrate seasonally at the end of academic years, early July. Listros and LA who did not combine work and schooling have been visiting parents occasionally. Respondents replied that phone contact and visiting their parents are relevant to avoid bad behavior like alcoholism. Both LA and Listros replied that they come back to their *sira* after they enjoyed 1 or 2 months.

As indicated by scholars like Bromley (2000) and Aptekar (1991), poor family background and lack of social welfare also influenced children to migrate for work. Gizachew was a 15-years-old Listro. He has started his work while he was 10-years-old due to the death of his father. When I met Gizachew, he was a humble and dedicated worker. Due to this, Gizachew was respected by his peers, including older ones. This story of Gizachew confirms Aptekar's (1991) statement that poor children might functioning well since they can adapt street life in their early ages.

Moreover, child work serves as an old age security. Wogenie had older parents who were unable to work. He felt responsible to help them and decided to migrate.

> Mom and dad are old and they are unable to work.
> Hence, it is me who helps them by sending money
> (Wogenie 14, 25 July 2014).

Beyond its economic benefit, child work provides pleasure to children. As indicated by Bourdillon et al. (2010), earning income creates pleasure and self-esteem. Children apply subjective equality to colleagues who support their parents.

> I get pleasure like my friends who work and help their parents.
> I was always motivated when I saw my friends who bought
> new clothes for their families and themselves (Wogenie14, 25
> July 2014).

3.2.2. The Notion of Sira and Shikkela

Listros and LA replied that *shikkela* [making money] enables to *rasin mechal* (self- independence), *beteseb magez* (supporting family), and *rasin melewot* (future development). They defined *sira* [work] as any socially valued activity except that requires mental and physical effort to produce a good and/or deliver services. *Shikkela* refers to making money from the informal and entrepreneurial *sira*. That means all kinds of *sira* do not enable *shikkela*. *Sira* can be paid/unpaid, formal/informal, and inside and/or outside home.

Admassie and Bedi (2003) found that Ethiopian children start to engage in to household and agricultural *sira* as early as 4-years-old. However, such child *sira* is unpaid which do not make income (*shikkela).*

> While we were together with our parents, activities were
> routine… All are unpaid. Such activities have fewer bene-
> fits for both children and parents. But now, we work and
> get income (Wogenie14, 25 July 2014).

The above quote shows that migration changed the routine and unpaid household activities *sira* of children into a street work for income. As indicated by Holness et al. (1999), Bromley (2000), and Donovan (2008) lack of employment opportunities in the formal sector influenced children to work on the streets.

Shekel shapes daily lives of street workers, i.e. happiness, saving, frequency of eating, buying clothes, and sending remittance. Unlike the findings in Brazil

(Rizzini and Butler 2003), Indonesia (Beazley 2003), and Addis Ababa (Hei-nonen 2000), my respondents saved a significant amount of their daily income (Section 4.4). Respondents felt happy and blessed when they got more income. When they did not get the money they expect, it was common to hear from them; '*zare alishekelkum, zare shikkela yellem*', which means '*I did not make money today, today there is no shikkela*'. In some occasions, absence of *shikkela* enforces children to overcharge on their customers. '*In a day when there is no shikkela, we increase the price of shoe shining as compensation*', (Mengistu 14, 08 July 2014). This shows that sometimes children did illicit actions despite their occupations were perceived as licit by the public. As Veloso (2012) argued, this binary of licit/illicit very fluid.

Moreover, *shikkela* has become a discourse among the children of Ethiopia. Youth unemployment and unattractive salary of the formal sector has become influencing school age children to resemble towards *shikkela*. They *shikkela* during childhood as a strategy to escape their future adulthood employment. '*I can get their [government employees] monthly income in two weeks. But the challenge is we do not have dignity from passersby…in future I want to be a doctor… I will be a rich man*', [Belayneh 10, 22 August 2014]. Belayneh constructed the role of his entrepreneurial *sira* and schooling differently. His *sira* makes him a rich man and his schooling provides dignity.

3.3. Conclusion

Males and females engaged in different street activities. The phenomena of child migrant workers is a combined effect of modernization, inefficient school system, and lack of social welfare programs. children have changed their routine and unpaid *sira* into *shikkela* through migration. This reflects that being out of the streets does not mean that children are in schools. Roaming onto the streets is a reflection of employment opportunity in the formal sector.

Chapter 4 : Work Relationships of Street Working Children in Addis Ababa

4.1. Introduction: Shoe Shining and Lottery Vending as Extension of the Formal Sector

As pointed in the previous chapter, there were diverse street activities in Addis Ababa. Different work relationships make occupations to be compared and contrasted. Shoe shining and Lottery vending were among street occupations engaged by boys mostly. Both occupations have different working relationships. Lottery vending is a commission business, hence LA did not set their own prices. LA purchase their tickets from National Lottery Administration (NLA) and sell it to the public in 15% commission. Lottery vending is a highly itinerant business. On the other hand, Listros set their own shoe shining prices. They purchase their inputs from the formal market. Accessing settled and productive place of shoes shining was shaped by informal networks. Moreover, Listors who had settled place of work had linked with the police via Community Policing Program (CPP). As pointed out by Holness et al. (1999) and Donovan (2008), such linkage expands the formal economy.

4.2. The Relational Fabric in Lottery Vending

4.2.1. Structural Relations in Lottery Selling

NLA has established in 1961 as an autonomous organ. It has responsibilities of printing, issuing, and regulating lottery activities. The general objective of the NLA is financing the country's socio-economic development programs through lottery activities (Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia 2009).

Figure4. 1: Agents in the Organizational Structure of NLA

Main Office (in Addis Ababa)

3 Coordination Office (In Addis Ababa)

57 Branches
(12 in Addis Ababa and 35 outside Addis Ababa)

102 Agents (all located outside Addis Ababa)

10,000 LA (*Meto-shach* and other LA)
(Rough estimation by NLA)

The General Public
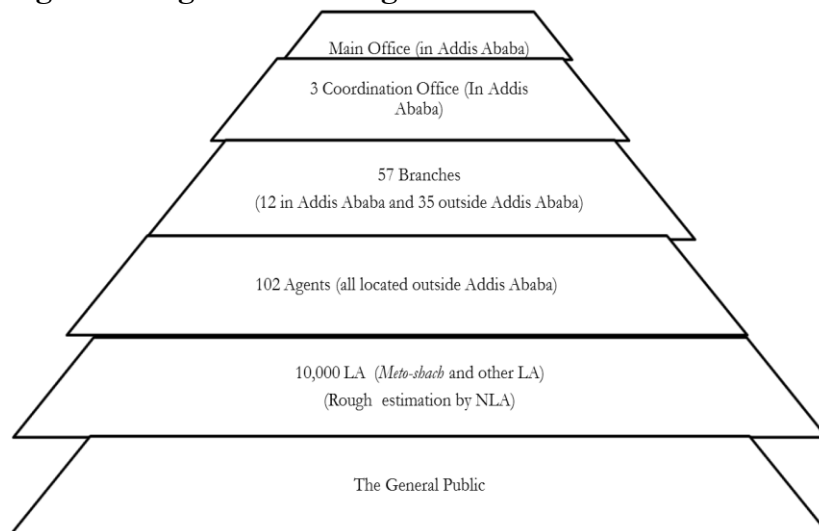
Source: **Fieldwork 2014**

The NLA does not sell single tickets. Hence, the public does not have direct relation with NLA. NLA sells tickets to its agents and LA who can buy bundles of lottery tickets. With regard to lottery vending, NLA had different regulation in different periods. Before 1974, LA were allowed to buy tickets

worth a maximum of 100 Birr. Moreover, they were allowed to bring unsold tickets back in each day and had been receiving their money. Hence it was NLA which bore the risk of unsold tickets. After 1974, the risk of unsold tickets began to fall on vendors.

Figure 4.1 shows that the NLA has one main office and three coordinating offices in Addis Ababa, 57 branches, and 102 agents. Agents are found in rural areas where branches are unable to reach in the deliver process of tickets. LA purchasing lottery tickets from NLA (main office) and 12 branches found in Addis Ababa. The also purchasing it informally from *Meto-shach.*[2] As shown in Figure 4.1, *Meto-shach* is not a formal agent in itself. They are vendors like any other LA but differ in two elements: (i) they purchase large quantity of tickets; (ii) they sell tickets to other LA as well as to the public.

LA purchase tickets from *Meto-shots* in favor of services that they have gotten. *Meto-such* offer services of selling tickets on credit, give ticket stapling, and change old paper money of LA. Moreover, they provide an informal security guarantee by receiving sold tickets back and giving an equivalent amount of money for customized LA in case of emergency like sick leave, family death and related issues. In doing so, *Meto-shach* serves as an informal financial institution to LA. Patron-client-relations between *Meto-shach* and other LA created trust between each other.

Profit generated from lottery vending is normally divided between NLA (80%), Agents (5%), and LA (15%). In actual practices, the share is different. Since agents are not found in Addis Ababa, the share of the NLA is 85%, and 15% goes to LA. However, when LA informally purchase tickets from *Meto-shach*, their share is 14%; 1% goes to the *Meto-shach*. Interview with NLA revealed that, its annual revenue was 700 to 800 million Birr.

Interview with NLA and LA revealed that institutionally 'underage' children can purchase tickets for sale. '*NLA is like a profit making organization; …though national laws ban child work below age 15, we can not prohibit them not to buy tickets for sale*' (NLA, 21 July 2014). Moreover, particularly one vendor replied my question, 'can anyone purchase tickets directly from NLA?' as follows:

> Why not a dog as long as it brings money? It is business!
> As far as we pay the price, we can purchase tickets (Tewodros 12, 09 July 2014).

4.2.2. What Makes Boys Better in Lottery Selling?
During my fieldwork, adult LA were rarely found. Most of them were children roughly estimated from 12 to 20 years of age. As stated in Bourdillon et al. (2010:26), 'some tasks are considered as apt for children'. Influx of children in lottery vending raises a question of what makes them special in lottery vending. Nature of lottery vending in Addis Ababa is a hurry up activity which needs speedily moving on the street, and interacting with buyers swiftly. In the culture of Ethiopia, such behaviors are considered as childhood behaviors which

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[2] *Meto-shach* is a combination of two Amharic Terms; '*Meto*' which means hundred, and '*Shach*' which means seller. The name is informally given in relation to the largest money bill of Ethiopia; 100 Birr.

cherish children acclamation but contempt to adults. Hence, children and young people have cultural freedom to sell tickets.

In Ethiopia, girls are socialized in such a way that their behavior is constantly soft throughout their lives. Moreover, working on the streets is considered as sexually exploitative for girls (Evans 2006, Van Beers 1996). Hence, girls' agency to engage in lottery vending was constrained.

4.2.3. Lottery Vending on Streets of Addis Ababa

After purchasing lottery tickets, LA sells tickets by moving on the streets since morning around 7:00 a.m. up to the midnight. They work long hours (more than 15 hours a day). Moreover, they work the whole week. Bromley and Mackie (2009) in Peru suggested that child workers from rural areas did not have time to play compared to urban origin street vendors due to long distances they traveled. However, this suggestion does not work for LA in Addis Ababa. Despite they were migrants, they did not travel back to their parents every day. The reason to work long hours was a motive to maximize profits that makes them a good worker. Besides, they work long hours to sell tickets before the drawing date, thereby they can reduce risk of losing profits.

In order to sell their tickets, LA walked fast, entered into hotels and cafeterias, reduced their speed when they got potential buyers, and invited them to buy tickets. When divers stopped at traffic light signals, LA requested drivers via the car side-windows and invited them to buy tickets. They repeatedly announced the amount/kinds of lottery prizes to attract customers.

Different actions and reactions during lottery selling shapes benefits as well as vulnerabilities of LA. Unlucky buyers perceived them as thieves, liars, fraudsters who sell mock lottery tickets. Hence, such people cheated, taunted, insulted, and even beat LA. My respondents called such abusers as *Tigabegnoch* [bully guys].

Selling tickets during the daytime was relatively secured than at night. Hence, LA moved alone to reduce competition. But at night, the issue of competition gave up its place for security. Hence, they form small groups, especially with their roommates. Though they felt insecure at night, they preferred to sell their tickets in bars. This shows their strong preference for trading (Bromley and Mackie 2009:148). Bromley and Mackie further stated that such resilience behavior is optimism than what Beazley (2002:1679) call survival strategy in the context of Yogyakarta.

Bars were places of advantage and disadvantage. LA were plundered their tickets by Drunkards and *Tigabegnoch*. Bars were also opportunistic because '*sometimes drunkards become fuddled and provide extra money when they pay for the tickets*' (Belachew 17, 30 July 2014). This shows that LA has made illicit actions, though their work is perceived as licit.

Picture4. 1: LA on Streets of Addis Ababa

Source: Fieldwork 2014

As shown in Picture 4.1, the boy had E*nqutatash* Lottery which would be drawn at the eve of the Ethiopian New Year; September 10. In his left hand, the boy had scratch lotteries and a yellow paper that is a drawing table. After the drawing date of regular and long-term lotteries, customers can check whether they are lucky or not from this table.

Picture4. 2: Illuminating Games of Scratch Lotteries
A: Front layout after scratched

Source: Fieldwork 2014

Unlike regular and long-term lotteries, scratch lotteries are instant lotteries and do not have fixed drawing dates. Buyers can check their luck immediately after scratching the ticket. Picture 4.2A above was the front layout of already scratched lottery ticket. The game on the left side of the ticket was to reveal number '8' and win the amount displaced (2 Birr). Fortunately, the game had 2 Birr since '8' has been displayed within the game area. The game on the right side of the ticket was to find three numbers of '7' within the game area and win

the amount displayed (50 Birr). But the second game was unlucky of displaying three numbers of '7'.

Looking at Picture 4.2B below, lucky people must claim 2 to 20 Birr prizes either from LA or the nearby branch by bringing back the winning ticket. However, winners preferred to claim the money from LA since they were easily available. Looking back to the game above, the buyer would not pay the price of the ticket (2 Birr) since s/he has won an equal amount to the price. Therefore, the vendor should keep this winning ticket of 2 Birr and bring it to NLA/branch; hence he can receive his cash (2 Birr) or receive another ticket of price 2 Birr.

B: Back layout
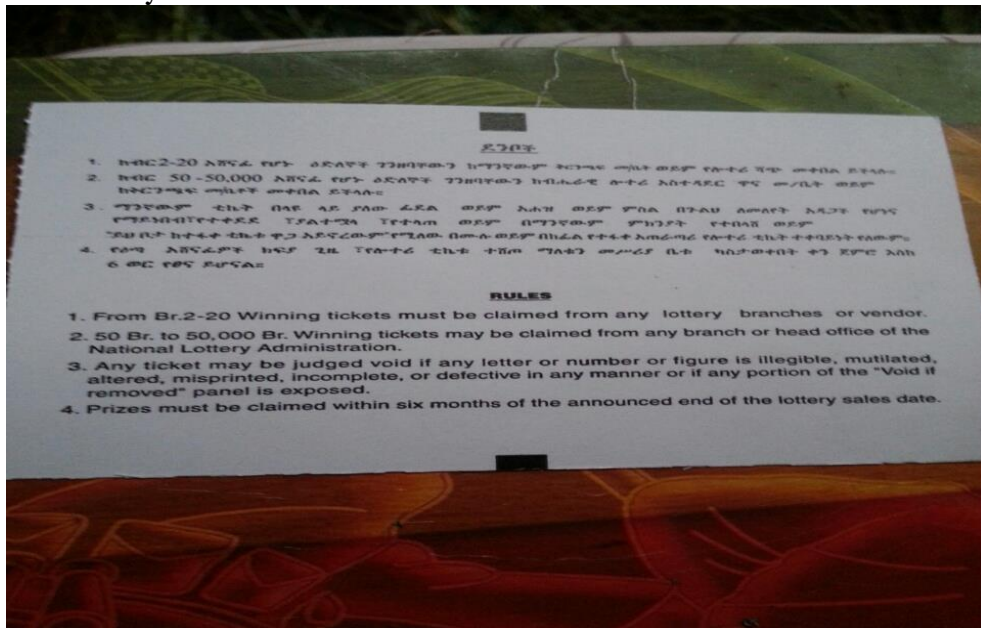
Source: Fieldwork 2014

If LA loses the scratched winning ticket, they bear the risk. Hence, it is possible to say that making winners to claim the prize from LA make vendors to be structurally vulnerable; to lose their profits in case of losing such scratched winning tickets.

Low price of scratch lotteries (1 to 3 Birr) encouraged buyers to scratch more lotteries in one purchase. Buyers were offering prices of tickers at the end. As presented in Box 4.1, such arrangement exposed LA to fraud and violence. With the absence of trust between LA and customers, LA couldn't inspect how many tickets were scratched. This is because; they provided different ticketing services simultaneously, i.e. selling as well as checking winning tickets to many buyers. Hence, unfaithful customers tricked LA by denying and or hiding the quantity of tickets they scratched.

The reaction of LA to *Tigabegnoch* was subject to their physical strengths which itself is subject to age. Very young children (mostly under 14) had resilience when *Tigabegnoch* became aggressive. They recognized that lack of resilience could expose them to moral and physical violence. On such occasions, LA lost their income. LA exercise illicit activities as counteract by cheating any other buyer when they had the opportunity (See Appendix 5). Mostly, inexperienced, and illiterate buyers suffered from LA's fraud. As I understood from interviews, the primary intention of this cheating was a counter to their ill-

treatments. '*We consider fraud as luck being smart, and counteract for what other trick and abuse us*' (Habtamu 13, 24 August 2014).

Box4. 1: Physical Violence against LA

> The day was 09 July 2014 aground 10 am. I was chatting with listros. In the opposite corner of the street, there were street gangs. One of them was washing cars and others were chewing k*hat*. They have called a child who was vending tickets. Gangs have started scratching tickets. After a few minutes, gangs have created dispute with the boy. One of the gangs has beaten him. I went to the place and asked cause of the dispute. One of the gangs replied, '*vendors are generally gamblers; they collect their income at the expense of unlucky people. I scratched 20 tickets but I got nothing. I got angry*'. The child was criying and replied: '*it is NLA that printed lottery tickets*'. The child requested gangs to pay for the scratched lotteries. Gangs replied as if they would give him prices latter after scratching more tickets. The child recalled them the quanitity of already scratched tickets and gave them additional. But they did not agree on the number of tickets scratched. Some gangs were hiding tickets under their shoes. The child became cool down and requested gangs to give him the prices of tickets that they have admitted. Gangs gave prices that have admitted.

Source: Fieldwork 2014

4.3. The Relational Fabric of Shoe Shining

4.3 1. How to Start Shoe Shining Business

Shoe shining is mostly unskilled business which requires little training. Shoe shiners locally termed as 'Listro'. Listros provide shoe shining and shoes repairing services to customers. Capital needed to start a shoe shining is small: a chair, shoe shine box, soap, water, and set of brushes. Listros fulfill inputs step by step when they started to generate revenue. Having all the necessary inputs and accessing lucrative workplace shape profitability of shoe shining business.

Some Listros have borrowed some equipment from their friends to start their business. They purchased their merchandise mostly from the formal market. Sometimes, they purchased used chairs and shoe shining box through informal means. They acquired the money from parents, and loans from friends. The water needed for shoe shining was purchased from the nearby cafeterias/hotels by 0.25 Ethiopian Birr. Migrant Listros conducted business since early in the morning around 7:00 a.m. up to 6:00 p.m. They worked the whole week and the whole day. When they finished work, they put their equipment in the nearby shops by paying 3 Birr.

Listros set their own prices based on the prices of inputs. When the formal market charges them high prices, they reset their prices accordingly. Moreover, the price of shoe shining varies based on the kind of the polish. For example, while 'cream polishing' was 7 Birr, 'KIWI polishing' was 3 to 4 Birr.

4.3.2. Barriers to Entry into Shoe shining

Age, gender, and patron-client relationships were important elements that constrained agency to enter the shoe shining business. Most Listros were children and young people. My respondents felt that shoe shining is the simplest task, apt for children but stigmatized for adults. Besides generation, gender is an important element. Culturally, it is males who are considered as apt to be Listro (See Appendix 3).

Like the finding of Holness et al. (1999) in South Africa, patron-client relations shape agency to acquire productive occupational niches. Already occupied places were not easily accessed by new entrants. Despite most Listros were migrants, there were also Listros from Addis Ababa origin (non-migrants) who lived together with parents. While migrants accessed productive work places through their informal networks, non-migrants did not have such a network. Hence, becoming itinerant Listro was the fate of non-migrant Listros.

Picture4. 3: Itinerant 10-Years-Old Listro in Addis Ababa

Source: Fieldwork 2014

As shown in the above picture, non-migrants moved on streets by carrying their working materials. As pointed out by Holness et al. (1999), Listros who did not access productive places occupied very low demand places of work. Itinerant Listros got difficulty to carry their shoe shining materials. These Listros replied that passersby harass them looking at masteries that they have carried. "*When we request people to shine their shoes, they abnegate us by saying 'the shoe-shine box that you carried is much bigger than you'*" (Bereket 12, 24 July 2014).

Looking at ethnicity, most street vendors before 10 years ago were from Gurage ethnic group (Aptekar and Abebe 1997, Aptekar and Heinonen 2003, Heinonen 2000). However, this research finds that most Gurage street vendors have finished their street career and started better business. Currently, Listros migrate from Hadya ethnic group followed by Wolayta.

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Picture4. 4: Settled Shoe Shining Niche

Umbrella to protect rain during summer and sun light during Winter season of Ethiopia

Stone which serve as a chair

Bankol (Listro)= used to sit leg of sutomers. It also serve as a box to put money and KIWI/LUDI in the work place. Hence, Listros informally call it 'our bank'

Plastics to carry Water

Cahir for Listros

Sponge

Brush

White Creams

Plastic bottles containing fluid
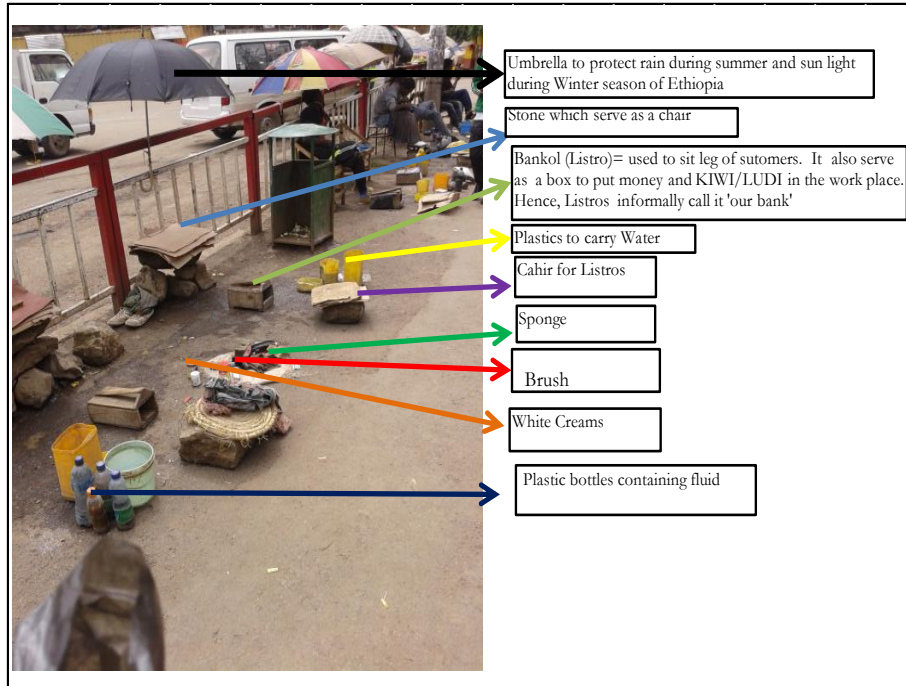
Source: Fieldwork 2014

Figure 4.4 shows settled place of shoe shining. Listros having such settled occupational niches had better economic, social, political opportunities than itinerants. Listros in settled places have earned 70 Birr per day while itinerants earned 30 to 40 Birr. Moreover, looking at picture 4.4, Listros arranged stones which served as a stool which can reduce the cost of chairs. Settled work places helped new Listros to train easily by observing another. Moreover, such places were relevant for better social relations; attract regular customers and mad Listros have fun and chat each other.

Listros working in settled places had a connection with the police via CPP. The program had insignificant benefits to Listros. Interview with Kasanchis Police Station revealed that the purpose of participating Listros in CPP is to reduce the burden of the police in keeping peace and security of Addis Ababa. Listros had imagined benefit from CPP. The police told them as if the police and passersby would not abuse. CPP looked like an intimidation that non-members would be abused both by the police and passersby. Once Listros occupy a certain place, the police did not allow them to change it. CPP is a barrier to entry. A new entrant is suspected of being a secret agent. Hence, unless the entrant had patron-client relation with Listros in CPP, entry was not allowed. Listros within CPP were supposed to report any odds to the police. Listros in this program were forced to pay 50 Birr for a uniform (Picture 4.5). The uniform has displayed a campaign of 'Fighting against Crime'. Lustrous felt unhappy with this program. The linkage between the police and Listros under CPP looks like what Holness et al. (1999) call parasitic linkage. Police benefit from Listros without real contribution in the system of shoe shining.

Picture4. 5: Uniform of Listros Participating in CPP

Source: Fieldwork 2014

As displaced in the picture, the uniform had the name of the sub-city and the phone number of the police station. Hence, Listros and other people were supposed to report to the police in case of any security problems. This shows that the formal activity of the police depends on the informal activity of Listros and other people.

Hence, the structure of shoe shining as itinerant and settled business provided different challenges and opportunities that can be compared and contrasted. In all the structures, agency and vulnerabilities also vary.

4.4. Group Formation as an Expression of Agency

4.4.1. Group Formation as a Copying Mechanism to Vulnerabilities

Like SC in Colombia (Aptekar 1991), Indonesia (Beazley 2003), and Brazil (Rizzini and Butler 2003), and Tanzania (Evans 2006), Listros and LA in Addis Ababa had groups. Group formation was a coping mechanism to daily challenges. The group provided socio-economic services for members. Unlike the findings in Tanzania (Evans 2006) and Ethiopia (Heinonen 2000), this study revealed that Listros and LA form groups within their ethnic groups. They did not have a separate 'street culture' which is different from the culture of the wider community. Unlike the statement of Campos et al. (1994) in Brazil that migrant SC were 'street-based', my respondents did not wait for adult supervision. They did not live on the streets. Rather, they had small groups (4-6 members) and rented rooms together.

LA and Listros had two important groups: primary and secondary. The primary group was formed by children migrating from the same village. They perceived like *zemed* [kin]. They trusted each other; hence they were secured to keep their money safe. The group helped them share renting costs of rooms, reduce loneliness, and provide health services. However, in the absence of friends from the same village, the children formed groups with other children migrating from different villages but still from the same ethnic group. My respondents call such groups *tirkimkim* [collection from different villages]. Respondents replied that *tirkimkim* was unsecured to keep their money safe.

The group provided orientation and training to new entrants about what, how, when and where to work. The training to LA was provided within rented rooms at night when they get a rest from work. New LA made a training by scratch lotteries for themselves. As indicated in Rizzini and Butler (2003), ex-

perience was important to provide training. In case of listros, training was conducted on-the-job. New entrants routinely make an observation when seniors make shining. Moreover, new entrants also trained though shining their friends' shoe.

The secondary group was broader than the primary. It was a fluid network formed by children within a wider ethnic group than mere villagers. Members did not necessarily know each other. Dialects and wearing styles were important elements to understand someone belongs to an ethnic group. This group network shared information about where to find lucrative work places and affordable rented rooms. The group also defended *Tigabegnoch*. Listros and LA communicated in their ethnic group languages. But when customers came, they communicate using Amharic Language which is a national language of Ethiopia.

4.4.2. Group Savings as an Expression of Planning Ahead

Listros and LA were futuristic. They did not want to drink alcohols and chew *khat* [stimulant drug]. They did not entertain in expensive hotels. These all behaviors make them different from SC studied by Rizzini and Butler (2003). As shown in Table 5.1, my respondents had a good habit of saving. The table also reflects that saving capacity depends on the type of occupation and place of work. Saving more money was like a competition among children competed.

Table4. 1 Daily Average Income and Expenditure on Food

Street Worker		Daily average Income (Birr)	Daily average expenses (Birr)				Daily Average Saving (Birr)
			Break fast	Lunch	Dinner	Total	
LA		100	5	12	12	29	71
Listros	Migrants	70	5	12	12	29	41
	Non-Migrants	40	0*	10	0*	10	30

Source: Fieldwork 2014

Table 4.1 shows that LA had better income and save more compared to Listros. Migrant Listros who had settled place of work saved more income compared to itinerant Listros. Listros with Addis Ababa origin have eaten their breakfast and dinner in their family home.

Strategies to save money were different. LA reinvested their income on buying lotteries. Listros from Addis Ababa origin [itinerants] saved their money with their parents. Migrant Listros had an informal rotating credit scheme called *Ikub*. They have formed a small group for *Ikub* which had 1 secretary and 1 casher. From their total savings of the day, 20 to 30 Birr was kept for their *ikub*. *Ikub* had its own rules and regulations. Someone who got turn to take the drawn *ikub* money must provide a warranty for all unfulfilled responsibilities. The saved money had different purposes based on the interest of workers. They afford for school fees, buy clothes to their parents and siblings,

and buy livestock. Moreover, some very successful workers started better business

4.5. Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the working relationships of shoes shining and lottery vending. In presenting various work relationships, the chapter has shown that LA had hierarchical relationships while Listros had flat working relationships. That means different relationships would provide different challenges and opportunities. Both occupations purchase their inputs from the regulated business and hence expand the formal market. It also discusses the subjective understanding of children how shoe shining and lottery vending are constructed as childhood occupations. Like any other worker, LA and Listros had a habit of saving money daily.

Chapter 5 Chapter Five: Exploring Dignity in the Street Career

5.1. Introduction

This chapter analyzes the subjective understanding of LA and Listros for themselves and how others perceive them. For example, Beazley (2002, 2003) stated that SC had a subculture called *Tikyan* which means 'street kid'. This means, SC in Indonesia have accepted streets as parts of their identities. This chapter provides interpretation how children reconstruct streets as work places.

Exit from the streets is not a simple function of age. Staying long on the streets did not make SWC deviants. Their exit is a complex function of dignity, education status, age apportions of jobs (economically as well as socially), success on the streets, and availability of jobs in the formal market.

5.2. Dignity of SCW

5.2.1. Self-Construction of SWC in Addis Ababa

Listros and LA had self-esteem on their occupations. They call themselves workers, not street children. They construct their identity based on their *sira* not the *street*. Streets are seen places of their *sira*. Despite this is the case, academic literatures and reports of government and Non Governmental Organizations (NGO) categorized them as SC.

Lustrous and LA gave a clear description to a street person (see box 5.1). They strongly argued that a working child is not a street child. My responded used the local term *Borko* to refer street people. Aptekar and Heinonen (2003) interpreted the term *borko* as 'pig' by suggesting its root term is '*sporco*', from Italy. From this inference they call SC *borko*. However, my ethnographic study revealed that *borko* is an insulting term to anyone who exhibit features listed in box 5.1.

Box5. 1: Characteristics of Street Person from SWC Perspective

Live on the street
Begging
Don't want to work
Deliquents
Pesimist
Don't keep their hygiene
Eat leftover food
Named ***'Borko'***

Source: Fieldwork 2014

Listros and LA kept the self-worth by making themselves away from what they perceived as characteristics of SC. They did not have a different culture of from general society. Unlike the finding of Rizzini and Butler (2003), Listros and LA did not eat leftover foods. Rather, they considered their ability to afford for their meals. They bought their food from foodstuffs sold on the

streets as well as from *migib bet* [houses selling food]. Hence, they differ from other street dwellers that eat *bulle* (leftover food). Moreover, unlike SC studied by Rizzini and Butler (2003) and Beazley (2003), Listros and LA did not want to have premature sex; they perceived it as sin.

Picture5. 1: *Bonbolino* and Tea Available on Streets

Source: Fieldwork 2014

On 20 July 2014, I ate my lunch in the *migib bet* together with two of my Listro respondents. The *migib bet* was 15 minutes' walk away from their work place. It was shanty and did not have a title / name, unlike other cafeterias and restaurants. There were other adults eating their lunch while we were arriving. We ate spaghetti and potato stew with *Enjera* (domestic staple food).

Picture5. 2: Listros Affording for Their Lunch

Source: Fieldwork 2014

While we were enjoying our meal, three LA came in the *migib bet* and ate their lunch. My respondents honestly offered to pay for the meal. I got amazed! This is a nice implication of morality and gentleness in the culture of Ethiopia. Unlike the finding of Beazley (2003) in Yogyakarta, my respondents had respect for their culture. I gave a great thanks to them and I paid for the meal. Later, we had exchanged our mobile phone numbers and they returned back to their workplace.

My respondents did not want to pee on the margin of streets. They felt shameful and amoral to defecate on the margin of streets. Hence, they paid 1 to 2 *Birr* to get toilet services in hotels and restaurants. Surprisingly, I repeated-

ly observed that non-SWC with the same age did use toilets of restaurants without pay. The public did not pay for toilet services at all. SWC were discriminated due to a stereotype that they were not capable customers. Other children and the public were perceived as ideal customers unlike SWC.

5.2.2. How Others Treat SWC?

As stated in Sayer (2007) one's self-respect depends on treatment from others. Despite LA and Listros had self-worth, they did not have political support from the government. They were undocumented and do not legal right to have identity car since they are institutionally perceived as under age [under 18]. This makes them structurally marginalized from health and education services.

They suffered from exploitation and abuse. They were psychologically and physically abused by passersby and *Tigabegnoch*. They were exploited by the public as well as the government in their work relations. Unlike the finding of Beazley (2003) that SC are abused since they are seen as deviants, the life experience of LA and Listros revealed that their exploitation is situated in their working relationships. LA had an exploitative linkage with NLA. The police had also what Holness et al. (1999) call 'parasitic' linkage through CPP. Listros were forced to participate in CPP, which did not benefit Listros practically.

Beyond such institutional exploitations, they also lack respect from the public.

> Some people demoralize us by saying: '*yesew chama tashetalachihu*' [to mean you always smell others shoes] (Bereket 12, 24 August 2014)

> *Sidib* [insult] is our major challenge, nothing else! Some people do not respect us (Belayneh 10, 22 August 2014)

> People call us '*shebelaw*', and *Komiche* which refers to *fara* [illiterate], ignorant rural people (Minilik 14, 05 July 2014)

While the first and the second quotes were from Listros, the third one was from LA. All the quotes show that Ltros and LA are exploited and oppressed. They did not have a legal procedure to present their cases. They lack the convention on the rights of workers in the informal economy proclaimed by ILO (2002).

The cumulative effect of oppression, abuse and exploitation might reduce 'success of street workers'. However, this should not be taken as lack of ability of SWC. Rather, it is a reflection of a hostile working environment caused by the public and the government. Following Clark (2007), I argue that their exploitations are contextual. It is the environment that makes them naïve than being young people, Clark argued.

5.3. Street Career and Exit

Exploring street engagement provides important context to street disengagement (Karabanow 2008:774).

The above quote from Karabanow clearly expresses how the means justify the end. Street careers and trajectories are shaped by backgrounds and daily experiences of SWC (Campos et al. 1994). Failure to recognize children as competent workers ends up with constructing their exit merely from generational aspect. As discussed in section 2.2, studies on SC considered the period between entry and exit as a time of innocence, victim, deviance, abandoned and abandoning. In Indonesia, it is indicated that child workers exit from streets when they become 'big' (Beazley 2003). In Brazil, exit has described using alternative choices, depletion of resources, and coercion (Rizzini and Butler 2003). Evans (2006) has stated in a more general way that 'life on streets' becomes difficult as they grow. The findings of these scholars do not fully represent SWC in Addis Ababa.

Street workers engage in a street occupation which they perceived as good. As discussed in chapter four, LA and Listros have different working environments and job characteristics that make workers feel good or bad. Goodness of jobs was subjectively constructed and job satisfaction was subjectively defined to decide what to do, how doing it, and how long.

As shown in Table 5.1 below, Listros and LA compare their occupation with each other.

Table5. 1 Comparison of Shoe Shining and LTS from workers' perspective

Listro	LA
Perception to Shoe shining	**Perception for lottery vending**
Needs less starting capital	Do not need many working materials, unlike shoe shining
Destined place of work	Moving on the streets is better to enjoy
Easy to train	
There is a tip	
Possible to have regular customers	
Earns better income	*Earns Better income*
Perception to Lottery vnding	**Perception to shoe shining**
A 15 % commission is insignificant	Can not generate more profit
It is tiresome specially for physically weaker workers	Listros have long street career
It is gambling and open to fraud by both sellers and buyers	Listros are exposed to addiction due to group influence because they spent the day in groups
Hence, shoe shining is best	***Hence, lottery vending is best***

Source: Fieldwork 2014

Both of them felt that their respective occupation is better than other street works. Looking at feelings of both LA and Listros, they appraised their own respective occupations. One of the LA stated that:

I personally respect other street works. However, for me lottery vending is the best street work, because I assume that this occupation generates more money. Nevertheless, I do not have the perfect information to say this; but it is my assumption (Tewodros 12, 09 July 2014).

As shown in Table 5.1, Listros and LA had their own reasons to perceive their occupation as better than other street-based occupations.

Looking at the above table, workers of each occupation described the good things of their won job and bad things on the other. Both workers perceived that their occupation earns better income. As indicated in Woodhead (1999:33), working children's positive evaluation of their work can be seen as 'an indicator of personal and cultural investment in coping with familiar situations, even when it is hazardous and exploitative. Hence, despite the findings of Beazley (2003) in Yogyakarta that street works have hierarchies; this hierarchy was not plausible in Addis Ababa within street occupations listed in Table 3.1. Of course, hierarchies were found between 'on street' and 'off-street' occupations. Successful street work, generational perspective of works, and social status (dignity) shape agency of children to shift from street works to other off-street-occupations.

Hence, exit from street work was not just a generational issue. Better job opportunities in the formal market, success in street career, social status, and education level have a complex influence on exit.

Box5. 2: Discourses shaping Street Career from Children's Perspective

'When I become above 18, I will be physically strong. So, I will join construction activities' (Wogenie 14, 25 July 2014)

'Being a child is good in shoe shining, because above 18, children should find better jobs that can earn better income' (Bereket 12, 24 July 2014).

'It is ok! Both [children and adults] can sell lotteries. But adults are physically strong. So, I prefer *yeken sira* (daily labor) which earns better income (Tewodros 12, 09 July 2014)

'Children are good at lottery vending. They are vigilant enough to move on the streets and sell tickets (Desta 23, 16 August 2014).

Age 10 – 15 is better for SS since this is a period of no shame. Education also creates shame to be Listro. ---- I feel ashamed because educated Listro is not culturally accepted. If I were illiterate, I could work as a Listro at any age above 18 (Zelalem 19, 24 July 2014).

I have exited from Listro because I got married (Abebaw 39, 16 August 2014)

Being small is good in shoe shining. The big one [to mean adult] is hopeless to change his future. But when you are a kid, you have hope because you have much time to change yourself (Belayneh 10, 22 August 2014).

Source: Fieldwork 2014

Looking at the box above, the first four quotes exemplify how being young is appropriate for shoe shining and lottery selling. The quotes reflected less about stigma, but economic choice of exit. On the other hand, the last three quotes illuminated stigma associated with jobs in relation to marriage, adulthood, and education level. The quote from Belayneh was about starting shoe shining during the period of adulthood. Belayneh felt that a person would not start shoe shining during his adulthood unless the worst comes. Regarding this, Mains (2007) stated that Ethiopian youth prefer to be unemployed than to

engage in shoe shining. But, child workers who transited in street occasions did not have the same feeling.

Beyond age appropriateness and stigma, the exit was shaped by transition to a better business. Desta was among LA who I met during my fieldwork. He vend lotteries for the past 6 years. He accumulated an asset. When I met him, he has planned to exit.

> Now I do not want to continue to sell lotteries. I have started a better business back home. I have a grinding mill and *yeketema bet* (house in rural town) bought in 150,000 Birr. I have got 300 Birr per month by renting my house (Desta 23, 16 August 2014). Desta has started a better business using the money earned from lottery selling for the past 6 years.

Moreover, SWC who did combine work and schooling did not want to continue their street job after they enter to Colleges or Universities. Respondents replied that such works are culturally seen as lower status jobs. Hence such jobs are seen as the work of the uneducated. Moreover, the marriage which requires high social status, makes street jobs less appropriate for adults.

Box5. 3: Stigma and Exist From Shoe Shining

Story of Zelalem

Zelalem was 19 years old Listro. I met him around Amist Kilo. He had three years of experience. He started to work as Listro as an entertainment and vacation from his schooling every summer. He felt that spending a day without work is painful. At the time I met him, he has completed grade 12 and have scored nice grade. He has chosen engineering field of study and wanted to specialize in civil engineering. He stated his plan to exit from shoe shining as: '… I am left with one month to exit my work. It is shameful to be Listro onwards. Shoe shing is seen as lower status job; hence educated Listros suffer from stigma, they are seen as poor who do not deserve dignity. I know I can get a good income from shoe shining but lacks prestige. When you become educated and employed in a certain organization, you may earn lower incomes compared to listros but you have respect. After all, who can see your pocket? No one! But people see your clothes and place of work. It is not you who are respected, but your position. …. Moreover, once you join universities, you have to read more; no time to work. So, since next year [Ethiopia New Year is on September 11], I decided to stop my work. . … If I were illiterate, I could work as a lustrous at any age above 18. But I don't want to be an educated Listro (Zelalem 19, 24 July 2014)

Source: Fieldwork 2014

5.4. Conclusion

This chapter clearly as described that Listros and LA have self-worth and dignity. They respect the norms of the wider society. Their existence on the streets has nothing to do with their identity. These workers have (re) - constructed streets as workplaces. They also (re) - positioned themselves workers.

Chapter 6 Conclusion

6.1. Recapping the Study

This thesis has studied the experience of children working on the streets of Addis Ababa. I have done so by focusing on two occupations carried out by boys mostly: shoe-shining and lottery vending. The two occupations are structured differently, which can expose them to different opportunities and vulnerabilities. Hence, it is possible to recognize how experiences of child workers in the two occupations relational and contextual beyond the homogeneous categorical fashion of street status.

Independent migrant boys exercise their agency by changing their routine and unpaid household *sire* [work] in into *shikkela* [making money] through migration. Inefficient education system, urbanization, and lack of social welfare programs are the push factors of migrants driven by *shikkela* as a major pull factor. SCW have respect to the mainstream culture, and they keep their dignity. They perform their street-based occupations by purchasing inputs from regulated businesses. They work on the streets and go back to their group rented rooms at night. Child workers (re) -construct themselves as workers not as street children. Streets are (re) -constructed as places of their *sire*. Hence, coming on the streets did not make them deviant and abandoned. However, as Clark (2007) argued, the environment makes them vulnerable. Exit from street activities is not a simple function of age. But a complex intersection of age, dignity, education level, and social responsibilities like marriage

6.2. Concluding the Findings

This study has one overarching question of how does the structure of street occupations shapes, and is shaped by SWC's daily experiences in the context of Addis Ababa. The study finds out that children come onto the streets for a variety of reasons. They engaged in different street activities. These differences shape their opportunities and vulnerabilities throughout the street career. This study has been addressed by the following constructs of child workers, including SWC by taking the two street-based occupations: shoe shining and lottery vending.

6.2.1. The Question of Discourse

The first sub-question why Listros and LA are working while they are young gives an insight to recognize the constructed nature of their childhood. What advantages do child workers get and what makes them special in certain occupations. In Ethiopia, children are socialized to participate in work-activities that are regarded compatible to their age. This means as stated by Bourdillon et al (2010), the world of work is structured along lines of generation: what is regarded appropriate work for children and important for being a 'good' child may be considered shameful for adults. Children perceive shoe shining and lottery selling as appropriate child jobs compatible to their physical and moral ability. In Ethiopia, hurry up activities such as lottery selling, are constructed as childhood activities. When adults engage in such activities, they lose their dignity. This makes children to be preferred in lottery vending. Likewise shoe shining is constructed as a business which requires less physical ability. In this business, adults might not perform better than children. That means, adults and children earn the same income. This makes adults to be considered as un-

productive since they did not use their optimal physical capacity. Hence, different jobs have different meaning across generation.

Unlike 'work free childhood' discourse, age appropriate *sira* is perceived as leisure. My respondents described lack of *sira*, as painful. Particularly, they are interested in *sira* which enables them *shikkela*. Listros and LA constructed themselves as real workers who engaged in *shikkela* which is helpful in their lives. This makes children real 'social actor' who can interpret their lives. In the mind of Listros and LA, a good child is a good worker who is committed to his/her occupation to support parents, to be self-independent, and future development. Being a good earner and having futurist mindset makes a child good. This makes children really competent social agents as described by children geographers.

6.2.2. The question of Vulnerability

In the first sub question, it is discussed that lottery selling and shoe shining are childhood activities. The second question addresses how different work relationships mean different challenges and opportunities for child workers. Answering this question assures children's agency is constrained by the working environment than their age [because of being a child].

Both occupations have linkages with the regulated businesses. LA purchase their tickets from NLA which is a government organization. They have 15% commission while the large 85% goes to NLA. Despite the share is unfair, children earn profit from this business. But they also suffer from violence. Children lose their profits if tickets are not sold before the drawing date. Moreover, winners are allowed to take their prizes [1-20 Birr] from vendors by providing the winning tickets back to venders. Venders lose their profits if they miss winning tickets. Beyond these structural challenges, the working environment sets different vulnerabilities. Lottery vending as a game has a winner- loser binary. Hence, losers abuse venders. Children are insulted as fraudsters who sell false tickets. They are perceived as profit maximizes at the expense of losers. *Tigabegnoch* beat them and sometimes plunder their tickets.

Similarly, Listros purchase their merchandise from the formal market, setting their prices and operate their business. The majority, particularly migrants have settled occupational niches through patron-client relations. But, Listros from Addis Ababa origin are marginalized by migrant Listros hence they do not have settled places. Like LA, they move on the street to make their business. Shoe shining in settled places makes Listros to maximize profits and interact with regular customers. Beyond this, settled and itinerant milieu of shoe shining makes a difference socially, and politically. Settled Listros forced to participate in the CPP, which intends to benefit the police than Listos. In this program, Listros have some imagined benefits, but their challenges are many.

At the national level, street workers, including Listros and LA lack political support. They do not have a legal procedure to follow when their rights are violated in their workplaces. This shows that young person's vulnerability is not inherent (Huijsmans 2012), rather vulnerabilities are specific, contextual and relational (Clark 2007).

6.2.3. Question of dignity and subjectivity

This question addresses how children subjectively construct themselves and how they compare their occupations in relation to other street-based activities. Unlike institutional and academic discourses that construct children who live

and /or work on the streets as SC, child workers perceive themselves as real workers not as SC. They differentiate themselves from what they call SC by having rented rooms, affording for their food, passionately engage in work than collecting alms and begging, developing optimism, and respecting the mainstream culture. These behaviors of workers constructed by children are cemented by saving more income acquired through *shikkela*. They develop resilience using these constructs. They (re) -construct their identity from *sira*. Streets are (re) -constructed as places of appropriate child-work. Hence, these working children do not view themselves as out-of-place

Listros and LA make their occupations at the front. Workers in both occupations conclude that their occupations are best which has better opportunity for *shikkela*. They positively evaluate their respective occupations. As stated in Woodhead (1999), this positive evaluation of occupations enables child workers to familiarize with adversities and cope exploitative relations. Listros and LA make their *shikkela* at front despite there are violence posed by the environment. As stated in Bromley and Mackie (2009), such resilience is a behavior of optimism, not survival.

6.2.4. Question of Agency to Exit

Unlike discourse that constructed SC's exit from simple function of age, LA and Listros (re) -construct their exit from the complex intersection of profitability of a job in relation to age, education level, and social status like marriage, and success on the streets. As discussed in first sub-question, children recognize what occupations to be done generationally which shapes their choices as they become grow. Moreover, attending higher education makes street-based occupations lower status jobs without regard to age. Moreover, in the context of Ethiopia, forming family is constructed as a social activity of adulthood. Workers exit from such child activities when they seek to marry. The streets as working places also provide success shapes the street career. Availability of jobs in the formal sector has its own influence on the career. What is obvious in exit is that long stay on street occupations did not make Listros and LA deviants and deliquesnts.

6.3. Rapping up the Study

Experience of Listros and LA is a clear indication that children are competent social agents in their lives. Their visibility on streets in itself has nothing to do with their deviant behavior. As argued by Anne (2003), children are individual who practice their lives differently. Unable to recognize their ability to work might fit the political interest of governments and welfare agencies. However, if institutions really have an interest in children, listening to their voices is crucial.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Story of Female Listro (Mulu)

Mulu was a female listro. During my stay in Addis Ababa, I have never seen another female listro in the city. On 30 July 2014, I have met Mulu at her workplace. I gave her warm greeting and introduce myself and then honestly requested her to tell me her stories. She was so happy and invited me to sit in order to have my shoes polished. I accepted her request. While she was shining my shoes, she started to think back. Then she started to talk: 'when I was 7 years old, I left my parents' home and employed in domestic work in Addis Ababa. After some weeks, I am burdened with many activities. I did not have freedom to chat with family members. I work for the morning 6 am up to the midnight. I didn't get my food appropriately'. Mulu's eyes become full of tears. She has resisted her feeling and continued. 'In such conditions, I have worked for 6 years. I did not resist the burden anymore and requested my employer to give me my wages and told him my plan to go back to my parents. However, he didn't give me my wage. I was compelled to leave their home. I didn't know anyone in the city and I didn't have money to go back to my parents. Then I have joined street children. It was on the street that I knew my daughters father'. I stopped Mulu from her memory and asked who he was, and where is her daughter. She pointed to a young man working as a listro next to her. 'This is he. My daughter is there across the road. Look at her, she is playing. She is 1 year and half old.' Mulu go back to her previous memory and told me how she has started to work as a listro. 'Later I have started friendship with *listros*. When listros left for lunch, I started shoe shining using their materials. Through process, I become well-trained and decided to be a listro. I have borrowed some money from listros and I have started my work.

Me: Could you tell me about the condition of your pregnancy?

Mulu: I have got pregnant on the streets and I gave birth there. Nothing else! I took rent only for a week. Then I started my work. I was so tedious to bring a child while you are working, especially on the streets. I have suffered a lot.

Me: How do you get SS compared to domestic work?

Mulu: If you are lucky to get employers who think like humans, if you get food freely, if you have the freedom to play and take a rest, In general, if you join a family who cares you like your parents, domestic work is better; at least you can eat and you have home to take a rest. But, compared to the condition that I have passed as a domestic worker, listro is better.

Me: How customers treat you compared to male listros?

Mulu: I get more money compared to male Listros around this place. Unless I have occupied, no one has his/her shoes shined with boys. People have empathy for me since I am female and working as a Listro which is not common.

Me: what is your greatest challenge while you are working on the streets?

Mulu: House! Prices in Addis Ababa are expensive. As I told you, I have a husband and a daughter. We have rented a room together. We pay 700 Birr per month. Most house owners in the city are not voluntary to rent their rooms for couples, especially to those having children to reduce the cost of water. We are forced to pay an advance payment of the half year. We did not have an option. We have paid 4,200 Birr. Nothing else is challenging more than affording for a house.

Appendix 2: Summary of System of Shoe Shining and Lottery Selling

Elements in the system	Listros	LA
Origin	South	North
Ethnicity	Hadya + Wolayta	Amhara, *Merawi* district
Gender	Male	Male
Housing condition	Group rented	Group rented
Dominant reason to work on streets	Need for personal development	Need for personal development
Price setting	Relatively free to set prices	No freedom to set prices
Employment condition	Self- employed	Commission business
Tendency to stay on the same occupation	Relatively long	Short
Preferred Working Season	Summer	Winter
Nature of work	Settled niches	Itinerant
Risk associated with occupation	Low risk	High risk of losing invested money
Condition of Customer	Have regular customers	No regular customers
Customer preference based on gender	Females	Females
Prefered Generation	Children	Children
Saving Mechanism	*Ikub*	Buying lottery tickets

Source: Fieldwork 2014

Appendix 3: Explanation of *Borko* People by SWC

Gizachew's View on Borkos: While I and Gizachew have discussed about violence on streets,Gezahegn said 'Borkos create conflicts, they are thieves and they steal properties of street workers'. He was my first respondnet to use this term; *Borko*. I have asked him to further explain what Borko means. He replied, 'they are dirty, wear dirty cloths and don't keep their hygiene'. I have asked Gezahegn whether this term can be applied for Listros or not. He has replied: '*Be'yesus Sim!* [Jusus]! No! We are not Borko; how workers are borko?' During our discussion, pointed out his fingures towards one person crosses the street:'Look at that person, he is *Borko!* Look at him, he is smoking cigarrtaes, he don't keep his hygiene, his hairs are not washed, he collected dirty cloths and plastic bottles like a mad, he chews *khat[*stimulant drug*]*, spent his day and night sleeping on streets. They eat leftover foods. You understand? This is whatt Borko mean! (Gzachew 15, 05 July 2014).

Source: Filed work 2014

Appendix 4: Factual Story of Fraud Committed by LA

One day a man has suffered from fraud by LA has come to our office and presented his story. The man has bought Tombola lottery. After the drawing date, he has asked one of LA to check whether his ticket was a lucky ticket. The vendor requested to the man as if the ticket is a lucky ticket of the 2 Birr prize. The vender repeatedly requested the man to take his prize. The unusual approach of the vender made the man to become suspicious gone away. In the early morning of the next day, the man has attempted to check his prize from NLA. Before reaching to NLA, he has got 5 LA who were around NLA. The man has asked 5 of LA to check the prize of his winning ticket. All of them replied the same prize [2 Birr]. Getting the same answer from different LA made him to trust them. The man received 2 Birr and gave the ticket to one vendor. The man has registered the code number of his winning ticket and hence in another occasion, he cross checked his number with another vendor. The vendor told him, the ticket had won 200,000 Birr. The man has come to our office [NLA]. We checked the code number that it had 200,000 Birr. Unfortu-

Source: Fieldwork 2014

Appendix 5: Sample Respondents and Their Year(s) of Experience

Types of Occupation	Respondents Pseudo name	Age (in Year)	Experienc	Educational Status	Origin	Timing of work
	Tewordos	12	5 Months	Pushed out from G -4	Merawi	Seasonal
	Habitamu	13	3 months	Grade 6	Merawi	Seasonal
	Minilik	14	2 years	Grade 8	Merawi	Seasonal
	Alehegn	14	one week	Grade 5	Merawi	had intention to fully work
	Dereje	17	2 years	Pushed out from G -5	Merawi	Full time
	Belachew	17	2 months	Grade 8	Merawi	Seasonal
	Desta	23	6 years	Pushed out from G -6	Merawi	Full time
Lottery Veding	Aregawi	80	30 Years	illiterate	Gonder	Full time
	Belayneh	10	1 year	Grade 5	Addis Ababa	Seasonal
	Bereket	12	2 years	Grade 6	Addis Ababa	Seasonal
	Ahmed	14	3 years	Pushed out from G- 3	Hadya	Full time
	Wogenie	14	1 year	Pushed out from G-4	Hadya	Full time
	Gizachew	15	5 years	Pushed out from G -2	Hadya	Full time
	Mengistu	16	1 year	Drop out from G -8	Hadya	Full time
	Zelalem	19	3 years	Successfully complete G -12	Wolayta	Seasonal
	Mulu (Felame listro)	20	7 years	illiterate	Oromia	Full time
Shoe Shining	Abebaw	39	7 years	illiterate	Hadya	Full time (exitd in1999)

N.B. **Drop out:** Refers to dismissal of students from school due to incompetency

Pushed out: Refers to abandonment of schooling by children's agency due to inefficient education system

Seasonal Time of work: Refers to the condition where children engage in working activities when schools are closed including weekends

Full Time of Work: Refers to the situation in which children don't combine work and schooling. For the case of lottery venders, it doesn't refer to working the full year. Because, unlike listros they visit their parents at least once in 3 or 4 months.

Illiterate: Refers to those who didn't attend formal education (Schooling)

Source: Fieldwork 2014