

**A SOCIAL PROFILE OF STREET CHILDREN IN THE DURBAN
MUNICIPAL AREA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE
TO THEIR DEVIANT ACTIVITIES**

by

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ABSTRACT

The street child drama being played out on South African streets continues the process of victimisation begun in the families and communities. Deprivation, poverty, and disorganisation are just some of the characteristics evident in the families and communities of street children. The decision to opt for street life in exchange for the grinding poverty and hardships of family and community life, is a stark illustration of children who have no other options, but a life on the streets. The process of becoming a street child ends with the runaway episode and opens new vistas of victimisation for street children on the streets. One process ends therefore, and another one begins. It is argued in this study that street children are doubly victimised. Victimisation in the streets sets in motion the process of engaging in deviant careers, which engenders further victimisation.

Three themes are evident in the present study, these are causation, victimisation and deviance. From the discussion of these themes it is possible to construct a social profile of street children, before and after street life.

Chapter one introduces the subject for study, by discussing the background to the study, rationale behind it, aims, theoretical assumptions and definitions of relevant constructs.

Chapter two reviews the literature on street children with specific reference to the causation, victimisation and deviance themes.

Chapter three provides a methodological account of the research procedure.

Chapters four and five present the findings from the empirical study. The perceptions of street children and service providers are discussed within a symbolic interactionistic perspective and highlight the victimisation and deviance themes in the study.

Chapter six contains the recommendations and conclusions.

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CHAPTER ONE

1.1 INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

This chapter begins by discussing the background, extent and rationale of the street child phenomenon. The aims of the study, theoretical assumptions underlying it and the definition of relevant constructs are also described. Finally, a brief outline of the chapters which follow is given.

A social profile of street children emerges from the three themes which pervade the present study, i.e. causation, victimisation and deviance. Causal factors are crucial in so far as they explain the reasons why some children become street children, while others do not.

Victimisation is equally important as the largely negative attitudes and labelling of street children closes off legitimate opportunities and alternatives and pushes them towards deviant (secondary) activities. Symbolic interactionism, notably labelling, thus emerges as a powerful theoretical framework for explaining the victimisation and deviance of street children.

The presence on our city streets of a growing number of street children, is a blight on the conscience of every responsible and concerned individual. The fact that so many street children are left unprotected and uncared for by their parents, communities and the law itself is a flagrant violation of moral and religious precepts, and is an indication of man's inhumanity to man. The phenomenon of street children is not a new one. For centuries children have lived on and of the streets for a variety of reasons. Swart provides insight into the presence of street children in Europe. In the thirteenth century, following the failure of the Children's Crusade in the Middle Ages, large numbers of children lived in bands and pillaged in order to survive. These children were allegedly sold into slavery in Italy and

Southern France (Swart:November 1988:31-35). The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries saw great numbers of street children in cities like Dublin, Glasgow and Naples. In London in the 1800's, children who were "filthy, roaming, lawless and deserted, were known as 'street arabs'" (Ibid.: 32).

Ireland also has a history of homelessness, due to its "history of repression, poverty, famine, evictions, economic deprivation and political strife"(Kearns:1984:219). Consequently, the Irish have supported and opened their hearts to vagrants of all sorts. Kearns asserts that vagrancy in Europe is related to its turbulent history. He states that prior to the Protestant adoption of the Pauline Doctrine, vagrants and wanderers were common-place, and subsisted on the kindness and alms of the people. Once the doctrine "He who will not work shall not eat" was adopted, attitudes towards the vagrants and wanderers were less sympathetic (Ibid:219).

Street children were also a common sight in both Russia and Japan during famine and civil war. Due to high levels of illegitimacy they were also common in Spain (Swart:Op cit:31-35). The depression of the 1930's in America, saw the extensive cross country migration of individuals, many of whom were youth (Gullotta:1979 112). The 1850's saw a rush of German and Irish immigrants to New York resulting in an increase in the number of street children there. It was estimated that 90 000 children were shipped from the East to the mid-west, where they were placed in foster homes as farm hands (Swart:Op cit.:32). South America has an exceptionally high number of street children, estimated to be between 20-30 million children. Although this figure is debatable, the number nevertheless remains large (Ibid. : 33).

Like other countries in the world, South Africa has not been immune to the presence of street children.Swart (Op cit:94) mentions that "street children appear to have become generally newsworthy in Johannesburg only from

about 1979 onwards."

In Durban, the phenomenon of street children seems to have fired the imagination and sympathy of newspaper reporters in the latter half of 1980, especially from 1987 onwards. The increased newspaper coverage coincided with the opening of the Khayaletu shelter in Durnford Road in 1987. In the same year, the first National Conference on Street Children was held in Cape Town. The growing number of street children on Durban's streets and the public outcry which followed, led to the establishment of the street child unit by the Durban City Police in 1988. Khayaletu shelter, home to many street children, burnt down in June 1988, once again exposing them to an insecure and bleak future until alternative premises could be found. This was duly achieved, and many, but not all street children in the Durban area are currently housed at Bayhead Place of Safety which is run by the Natal Provincial Administration. The widely differing attitudes to street children are reflected in the two extracts quoted below:

"There are no dangers to the value of property or to the permanency of our institutions so great as those from the existence of a class of vagabond, ignorant, ungoverned children. Then let society beware, when the outcast, vicious, reckless multitude of New York boys, swarming now in every foul alley and low street, come to know their power, and use it" (Agnelli:1986:46).

"To most people, they are the tatty, bleary-eyed brats who beg for money. To others they are special individuals, totally displaced in society, the tragic, lost victims of the large scale problems of greater South Africa" (The Daily News:1990:7).

The Society for the Protection of Child Life in its annual report of 1917 stated that one of the functions of the then newly established Place of Safety, was to provide temporary shelter for children wandering in the

streets (Jayes : 1985 : 2).

Marce cited in Schurink describes attitudes towards street children which regarded them as a problem, as a problem for which legal sanctions were enforced and finally as a welfare problem. The solution to the problem was to pack street children off to institutions for rehabilitation and safe keeping (Schurink:1993:2). It appears that for the street child, custody is equated with rehabilitation, and little has changed since the provisions of the Society for the Protection of Child Life in 1917. It is argued in this study that the attitudes of the public and officials towards street children influence policy and management practises and provide the impetus for deviant activities and crime.

1.2 THE EXTENT OF THE STREET CHILD PHENOMENON

It is very difficult to determine the exact number of street children living on the streets in the main cities and towns in South Africa. This is due largely to the 'dark' or 'unknown' figure. Estimates are based on the number of street children in places of safety, shelters and other known abodes and hangouts. Swart in 1987 estimated the number of street children to be approximately 5000 country-wide (Swart cited in Richter:July 1988:2). Richter (Ibid) estimated the presence of over 9000 children in South Africa. This estimate was based on her definition of street children as "those who have abandoned (or have been abandoned by) their families, schools, and immediate communities, before they are 16 years of age, and drifted into a nomadic street life". It is reasonable to suppose that the numbers of street children have risen dramatically since the time of the estimate. Furthermore, if one defines street children, as children under the age of 18 in terms of the Child Care Act, No. 74 of 1983, this number would obviously be far higher.

World-wide, the street child population is estimated to be more than 30 million (Agnelli:1986:15). It is likely that as urban populations increase

and adequate housing decreases, the growing number of squatter settlements and shacks will spawn even larger numbers of homeless people and street children.

1.3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

At the heart of all research undertakings lies what is considered by many researchers to be the opposing philosophies of positivism and anti-positivism. Each assumption is in turn linked to a specific methodology. Positivism utilises the quantitative method, whereas anti-positivism uses the qualitative method.

Positivism is characterised by the search for "facts or causes of social phenomena with little regard for the subjective states of individuals --- "(Deshpande: 1983:3). It concerns itself with behaviour which is determined by internal or external factors, and is quantifiable (Curran and Renzetti: 1994:33)

Giddens refers to this approach as "a philosophical position according to which there are close ties between the social and natural sciences, which share a common logical framework" (Giddens: 1989:747). Standing in opposition to the positivistic philosophy is the anti-positivist, humanist or idealist approach which subscribes to the view that human behaviour cannot be subjected to purely scientific scrutiny and logic. It's focus is subjective rather than objective and seeks to understand human behaviour from the actor's frame of reference (Deshpande: 1983:3).

Anti-positivism adopts a phenomenological, inductive, holistic, subjective, process-oriented and social anthropological world view" (Deshpande: 1983:3).

Although the assumptions underlying these two approaches differ

considerably, Deshpande cautions against regarding them as mutually exclusive and believes that "we are dealing in reality with a philosophical continuum ranging from positivism to idealism" (Deshpande: 1983:2).

The philosophical assumptions guiding the present study contains elements of both positivism and anti-positivism. The anti-positivist approach and the qualitative method adopted by it, is described by Schurink as being "rooted in a number of theoretical perspectives among which symbolic interactionism is highly influential particularly in the study of small-scale interaction, personality and deviance" (Schurink: 1983:168-170).

Apart from symbolic interactionism several other criminological theories can be applied to explain the deviant behaviour of street children and to construct a social profile of them before and after taking to the streets. Two perspectives characterise studies on crime, deviance and juvenile offending, namely the normative and relativistic perspectives. These in turn focus on both large-scale characteristics of the social environment (macro level theories) and small-scale face to face interactions (micro level theories) (Schurink: 1994:2-4).

1.4.1 NORMATIVE THEORIES - MACRO LEVEL

These theories emphasize strain or social disorganisation as the causes of juvenile offending. Strain theories postulate that anticipation of failure, or actual failure itself, can lead to involvement in delinquent behaviour. This is true especially for the Black child and adolescent for whom school is often a frustrating experience. Equally frustrating is obtaining gainful, satisfying employment after having gone through an inferior education system. Included among the strain theories are Cohen's, Miller's and Cloward and Ohlin's theories and anomie theory. Anomie theory will be discussed because of its applicability to the topic under discussion.

1.4.1.1 Anomie Theory

Merton's theory of anomie states that anomie occurs because of the disjunction that exists between socially prescribed goals and the socially acceptable means of achieving them. This is particularly the case for the lower-class youth (in this case street children), who may have internalised the goals (eg. success and money) but lack the institutionalised means of achieving them, that is, hard work, education and deferred gratification. The individual, therefore, resorts to several modes of adaptation in an effort to cope. In the case of street children, they may employ 'innovation' or 'retreatism'. 'Innovation' is the acceptance of the goals but a rejection of the means to obtain them. They may, therefore, resort to deviant means to attain their goals. 'Retreatism' refers to a rejection of both the goals and means. The child's abandonment of home school and community, may be indicative of the flouting of the prescribed goals and the means to achieve them. (Vold: 1979:211-216).

1.4.2 NORMATIVE THEORIES - MICRO LEVEL

1.4.2.1 Theory Of Differential Association

This theory may be used to explain how the street child's association with his peers, criminals and gang members can promote law violating rather than conforming behaviour. Edwin Sutherland's theory of differential association states that the individual's attitudes and dispositions towards law violation or conformity are determined by those with whom he associates. This theory holds that all behaviour is learned through the process of communication and interaction within the primary group which, for the street children, is mainly their fellow street children, criminals and gang members. The attitudes and patterns of behaviour of the primary group are accepted as the norm, and the individual identifies with them. If "the attitude condoning the contravention of legal rules predominates over the opinion that legal rules should be obeyed, an individual becomes a criminal. Therefore, when an individual does become a criminal, his

behaviour is a direct consequence of an excess of associations with patterns of criminal behaviour, and the isolating of patterns of law-abiding behaviour." (Cloete et al: 1980:166)

Since street children include amongst their friends criminals and gang members, and depending on the frequency, duration, priority and intensity of their contacts, it is highly likely that their anti-social attitudes and patterns of behaviour will be adopted.

1.4.2.2 Social Control Theory

This theory examines the alienation or distancing of the juvenile from important primary socializing agents such as the family, school and community, and asserts that the resultant lack of commitment to conventional bonds can lead to deviance. The review of literature in Chapter Two describes the breakdown of traditional, cohesive Black families and communities due to discriminatory legislation, urbanisation, westernisation, poverty, unemployment, political violence inter alia, some or all of which have created the street child problem in this country as we know it.

The question central to social control theory, is not why people deviate, but instead, why people conform. The tendency to gravitate towards deviance and crime is an accepted fact, unless controls and commitment are effective enough to prevent them from occurring. Unlike strain theory, which proposes that failure to realise aspirations leads to delinquency and crime, Hirschi in his control theory asserts that "such aspirations are viewed as constraints on delinquency" because they give the aspirants a 'stake' in conformity, especially if they had invested in the pursuit of such goal (Lilly et al: 1989:110).

1.4.3 RELATIVISTIC THEORIES

In the present study a relativistic approach has been adopted. The

relativistic perspective moves away from traditional notions of trying to explain deviant behaviour and the deviant and focuses instead on trying to explain why it is that certain individuals come to be defined or labelled as deviant/delinquent. Within this perspective, conflict and labelling theories have relevance.

1.4.3.1 Conflict Theory

The influence of Karl Marx underpins the conflict theories, particularly the radical conflict theories. Marx, though not writing specifically on crime but rather on society generally, said that conflict arose over scarce resources between those who owned the means of production (bourgeoisie) and those who worked for it (proletariat). Both classes fought for these scarce resources, with the bourgeoisie striving to keep what they had, while the proletariat fought for what they did not have, but wanted laws were used by those in positions of power to subjugate the powerless.

In similar vein, Schurink, citing Lotter and Ndabandaba, asserts that under the apartheid era, laws were created and enforced to uphold the interests of one or some groups and to label and punish those acts considered threatening to it/them (Schurink: 1994:4-5). In this way Blacks were criminalised for trivial, offences, family and community life were destroyed, untold poverty, unemployment and social, political and economic upheavals ensued so that the powerful could maintain their control over the powerless.

Conflict theory, focuses on the differential power structure in society, and the ability of those who occupy powerful positions to make and enforce laws which are in their interests and which entrench their positions of power. Conflict theory rejects the notion that laws represent or protect the interests of all groups in society. Street children occupy the lowest and lowliest position on the power ladder relative to any other interest group in the South African scenario. The threat they pose to the powerful through their abandonment of family and community, their "public nuisance" value,

the health risks they represent and their involvement in deviance and crime, is reacted to punitively, merely reinforcing their victimisation and deviance.

1.4.3.2 Labelling Theory

According to Goode, "labeling theory grew out a more general perspective in sociology - symbolic interactionism" (Goode: 1984:32). Symbolic interactionists view human behaviour as dynamic, rather than static and occurring within constantly changing social interaction. Inherent in this approach are the meanings and interpretations made by individuals in the course of their interactions with others (Thio: 1988:56-57)

Several theorists have contributed to the labelling perspective, some of whom are Mead, Blumer, Becker, Thomas and Tannenbaum. This theory describes how the labelling of an individual sets in motion certain processes which eventually push him towards deviance and crime. The several propositions underlying labelling theory are briefly discussed.

- (1) Definitions of acceptable and deviant behaviour are subjective and relative, depending on time, place, social status and society. There are therefore great variations in definitions of acceptable and deviant behaviour.
- (2) Negative sanctions do not automatically follow rule breaking, as there are no universally held norms, values, beliefs etcetera. Normative consensus is the exception, rather than the rule, and occurs more commonly in homogenous societies.
- (3) The focal issue in determining deviance, is the labelling of the behaviour and the individual as deviant, by an audience, or others.
- (4) The labelling of an individual as deviant has serious implications for

further deviance. The theory states that on the initial arrest and labelling, provision is made for the deviant to "reform", failure to do so resulting in rejection of the deviant and an intensification of his deviance.

- (5) Once labelled, it is very difficult to escape the label. The arrest, trial, punishment, all serve to dramatise the deviant act, yet when the debt has been repaid, there is no fanfare - hardly any attention is paid to it hence the label, dramatically given, sticks.
- (6) Labels are not randomly conferred, but are dependent on the status and power of the victim (if any), the deviant and the labeller. Obviously the higher the status and power of the labeller, and the lower the status and power of the deviant, the more likely it is that the latter will be labelled.
- (7) The deviant's acceptance of the label carries serious implications for further deviance (Goode: 1984:34-35).

The applicability of labelling theory to street children is abundantly clear. From the time the children abandon or are abandoned by their families and communities, the label "street children" is applied. This label has negative connotations as it emphasises his street status rather than his child status. There does appear to be widespread normative consensus by those in positions of power that street children are deviant, hence the "hard options" adopted in respect of them. These hard options indicate to the street child the negative perceptions held of him by those in power, resulting in him accepting the deviant identity and entering into secondary deviance, and his further victimisation.

For the purposes of this study, symbolic interactionism has been selected as the pertinent theoretical framework for the following reasons:

1. It focuses on the dynamic interaction between individuals and emphasises the interpretations made by them during the course of such interaction. There is thus a reciprocal processing of information which determines how the actors view themselves and each other.
2. It shows how peoples' perceptions result in labelling, the gradual acceptance of the label by the labeller, and how the label provides the push towards secondary deviance. It will be argued in the study that the generally negative perceptions of the public and service providers, particularly the tendency to incarcerate street children in prisons, police cells and places of safety, provide very little, (if any) opportunity for the street child to support himself legitimately and to acquire pro-social values.
3. Although street children have no doubt suffered the negative effects of frustrated goal attainment, social disorganisation, lack of commitment to 'bonding' institutions, and conflict, they are nevertheless active and thinking participants, many of whom have taken the voluntary decision to leave their families and communities.

1.4 RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY

The presence of an estimated thirty million street children world wide is cause for much concern. The 1991 census reveals that South Africa's present population stands at approximately 26.28 million people, including the self-governing territories. It appears that "blacks are continuing a strong reproductive pattern indicated in the fact that 40 percent were under the age of 20 last year" (The Daily News : 11.3.1992). These figures reveal the exceptionally large number of African children under the age of 20 resident in South Africa. Research on street children in this country, estimates a population of over 9 000 such children country wide (Richter : July 1988 : 5). The street children in South Africa are overwhelmingly Black, with the exception of the strollers in the Cape, who are Coloured.

The number of known street children is small by comparison with the general under 20 population. However, the figure is unacceptably high in terms of the suffering, the dangers, exploitation, harassment, illness and criminal involvement experienced by these children.

There are admittedly many street children who have made acquaintance with criminals and gang members, and who refuse to live within their families, preferring to pursue anti-social activities instead. However, the larger number of street children have escaped from intolerable conditions of poverty, overcrowding, family breakdown, and a host of other problems. Conditions such as those just described, create a general atmosphere of neglect, hopelessness and despair. Parents, under such circumstances, have lost the respect of their children, and their control over them. Perhaps, it is a testimony to the courage of these children, that they have decided to abandon these oppressive life-styles, in exchange for what they perceive to be the freedom, excitement and pleasures of city life. Unlike Huckleberry Finn and Dick Whittington, whose adventures captured the imagination of children throughout the world, these youngsters will not sail tranquilly down the river of life, nor will they find the cities' streets paved with gold. For them the road ahead is long and hard. Having faced neglect and rejection in their homes, they now face it on the streets. Their scruffy, unkempt appearance evokes hostility, rather than sympathy. They have alternately been branded as terrorists, criminals, good for nothing children who should be dumped way out of the sight of 'decent' citizens. Their presence has stirred up a hornet's nest of controversy as to what should be done for, and about them. "Helping" strategies range from the custodial (places of safety) to the rehabilitative, with the emphasis falling largely on the former option.

In addition to the differing attitudes and ideologies towards street children, their deviant activities and potential for future criminality is well documented in the literature (refer to chapter two). Media articles similarly

highlight the deviant activities of street children as the following excerpts show:

"In Durban there are between 300 and 500 street-waifs, who eke out an existence by begging and stealing from those who are better off than they are", and "their actions range from minor transgressions like begging to major crimes like housebreaking" (The Daily News:1990:7) "

Street children were going to grow up into the most hardened brand of street criminals this country had ever known if something was not done about them" (Carole Charlewood MP for Umbilo : Daily News: 1.3.1990).

The Daily News (15.6.1988 : 9) reported that "the children, ranging from five years to 19, included hardened glue sniffers and seasoned gamblers, and were on the way to a life of crime." The same article goes on to state that "the street children also became soft targets for homosexuals who roamed the city in flashy cars and enticed the little boys."

Professor Pieter Marcus, Dean of the Education Department at Rand Afrikaans University, speaking at a conference on street children in September 1990 (Daily News : 5.9.1990 : 7), said that although "they were not much inclined towards gangsterism and crime, there was however, a direct link between the length of time spent on the street and the deterioration into delinquency and crime." The Sunday Tribune, May 22, 1988 : 16, in an article headed "The theme is Dickens, the time is now, the place is here", states that street children "as young as nine and ten are trapped in a web of sexual abuse, glue-sniffing and alcohol abuse."

These articles number among the many which have appeared over the last few years. It is obvious from these media reports that the problems presented by the street children have assumed serious proportions in Durban. The involvement of street children in various types of theft, glue

sniffing, prostitution, begging, to name but a few, is cause for increasing concern, especially in a country which has seen escalating rates of crime and violence. It is generally accepted that repeated acts of deviance may well lead to delinquency and even crime later on, if the conditions which give rise to and nurture them, are not forestalled.

1.5 AIMS OF THE STUDY

The aims of the study are in keeping with the three main themes which underpin it. It is believed that cause (victimisation) and effect (deviance) are entwined, and if it is understood why some children assume a street existence, steps can be taken to halt their gravitation to the streets and the deviant activities which invariably follow. This study therefore aims to:

- 1) Study the existing literature on street children to establish causal factors, their victimisation and the deviant activities they engage in. From this discussion a social profile of street children emerges before and after taking to the streets (chapter two).
- 2) Investigate the victimisation of street children. It is argued that the victimisation of street children begins in the family and recurs on the streets (chapters two, four and five).
- 3) Investigate the deviant behaviour of street children in the Durban area (chapters four and five).
- 4) Investigate the attitudes of the service providers to street children. Their interactions with street children will determine the management of the problem, which in turn has implications for the victimisation of street children and their involvement in deviance, particularly secondary deviance (chapter five).
- 5) Make recommendations for the more effective prevention and

management of the street child phenomenon and consequently their victimisation and deviance (primary and secondary : chapter six).

1.6 DEMARCATION OF THE STUDY

The geographical demarcation of the study is as follows:

The researcher initially intended to conduct the study in the three major cities of Durban, Johannesburg and Cape Town. However, due to time constraints, together with the fact that a study of street children was being undertaken in the other two cities, it was decided to confine the study to the Durban area which is easily accessible to the researcher. This area extends from Phoenix in the North to Merewent in the South, and Westwards to Cato Manor. Research indicates that street children tend to gravitate towards the city centre as this area provides ample opportunity for them to engage in both legitimate and illegitimate activities. It was therefore felt that this area would more than adequately enable the researcher to fulfil the aims of the study.

Theoretically, the study is demarcated into three themes within both positivist and anti-positivist frameworks. The first theme relates to causation. It is believed that children do not just become street children, but that a whole process is involved which results in some, not all, becoming street children. This aspect is discussed in chapter two by reviewing local and international studies which isolate certain contributory factors to this process. Causation is again examined in chapters four and five, from the perspectives of the actors (street children) and those with whom they interact (service providers). The second theme emphasizes the victimisation of street children through beatings, ostracism, inadequate or non-existent legal measures to protect them, and institutionalisation, invariably in places of safety. The researcher asserts that the abovementioned forms of victimisation arise from and result in negative interactions which lay the foundation for deviance and crime. This aspect is discussed in chapters two, four and five. Lastly, the study aims to show that street children do

engage in a variety of deviant activities (primary deviance), and that the interactions they experience, particularly labelling, are responsible for them engaging in further deviance (secondary deviance). The conclusions and recommendations reached are presented in chapter six.

1.7 DEFINING RELEVANT CONSTRUCTS

1) Street children

Schurink asserts that there is clearly not a generally accepted definition of street children and related terms, and rather than attempting to define them it seems more fruitful to bear the various dimensions of street children in mind when studying the phenomenon (informal conversation).

Definitions of street children, are many and varied, depending on the orientation of the definer. Agnelli (Ibid : 32) points to the difficulties in defining street children, as the term may be applied to a large number of children, all of whom "spend a significant part of their day in the street, without necessarily sharing any other common characteristics." However, she says that "a street child or street youth is any minor for whom the street (in the widest sense of the word, including unoccupied dwellings, wasteland, etc.) has become his or her habitual abode, and who is without adequate protection."

The term 'street children' has been questioned, as it is seen to over-simplify and gloss over the real tragedy underlying street life. The term conjures up for the uninformed, "images of carefree youth" (Agnelli cited in Swart: Ibid:67).

Baizerman states that the term "street kids simplifies and distorts the complexity of the phenomenon". He says that "these kids have become a shorthand way to talk about a variety of sociological themes" (Baizerman : 1988 : 14). What he says is true, yet at the same time, the phenomenon of street children is inextricably linked with social and political structures

and processes. However, it does become a problem when opposing professionals use the street child issue to merely score points, while the children are forgotten in the verbal mayhem which ensues.

A further argument against the use of the term, is that it detracts from the fact that these are children first and foremost, and children of the streets later.

Despite the debate over the use of the term street children, it is useful in embracing various categories of children under its umbrella. It includes the 'homeless', 'runaways', 'pushouts', and 'throwaways'. The term street children is in common usage in Africa while in Europe, the United Kingdom, America and Australia, they are referred to as 'homeless' children, 'runaways', 'throwaways' and 'pushouts.'

A distinction is also drawn between children "on" the streets and children "of" the streets. Children "on" the streets are those children who work on the streets to earn money, most or all of which goes to their families. Children "of" the streets are homeless children who live on the streets (Ennew cited in Richter : November 1988 : 2).

Richter (July 1988 : 7) states that "street children are those who have abandoned (or have been abandoned by) their families, schools and immediate communities, before they are 16 years of age, and drifted into a nomadic street life." This definition was modified from Annette Cockburn's, who in her definition, omitted "or have been abandoned."

Swart says that "the term street children refers specifically to those children who have made city streets their place of abode and source of livelihood." Her definition excludes those who work to augment their families' incomes, and those who come to the streets every now and then in search of adventure (Swart : July 1989 : 2).

Annette Cockburn gives a definition that encompasses a socio-pathological perspective. She quotes Richter, who says, "In extreme circumstances street children are the neglected, abused and rejected offspring of parents and communities benumbed by the minimal conditions of their lives" (Cockburn: 1990 : 6).

Furthermore, street children can be seen as "a malaise which goes to the heart of societal attitudes and government policy" (Agnelli cited in Swart: November 1988 : 2).

Balanon (1989 : 160) writing on Filipino children, says that the Department of Social Welfare and Development defines street children as "those children who live or spend a significant amount of time in the streets of urban areas to fend for themselves and their families and are inadequately protected, supervised, and cared for by responsible adults." They are classified as those who have continuous family contacts, (working children) occasional family contacts, and no family contacts.

A point of significance at this juncture, is that the term street children may be regarded as the "umbrella" term for runaways (implying volition) and pushouts or throwaways (abandoned or rejected). In the present study, this term is more appropriate as the vast majority were in fact runaways rather than pushouts or throwaways (refer to chapter four).

In this study, street children were defined as children under the age of eighteen, living on the streets and who were forced to or intentionally chose to leave their homes. They live marginally, that is on the fringe of society, independent of the family but dependent on society for a livelihood, and whose physical, emotional, religious, medical, legal and other needs are largely unmet while on the streets by all but themselves. The children in this study are also runaways, since all but two children left of their own volition.

2) 'Runaways'

This term refers to children who leave home of their own free will, without the permission of their parents. The National Centre for Health Statistics defines it as "leaving or staying away on purpose, knowing you would be missed, intending to stay away from home at least for some time" (Gullotta Op cit : 111).

Jayes (Op cit : 4) defines a runaway child as one who is under 17 years of age, and who leaves home for longer than 24 hours, without parental permission knowing that they will be missed. She states that most runaway children become street children, but that not all street children were runaways.

Spillane-Grieco (1984 : 161) employs a definition of runaways similar to that of Jayes. She defines a runaway as "a young person between the ages of 12 and 18 who leaves home with the intention of running away, stays for more than 48 hours without parental permission, and knows that he or she will be missed."

The definition of runaway children implies volition. Such children deliberately decide to leave their homes, to escape unhappy conditions or what they believe to be intolerable situations.

From the definitions given of runaways, it is clear that a great many street children may be regarded as runaways, since they left their homes intentionally and without parental permission. Runaways are classified in various ways:

Kufeldt and Nimmo (1986 : 531) refer to two distinct categories of runaways. The first type are the 'true runners' who leave intentionally with no thought of returning, and secondly, the 'in and outers', who run as a temporary coping mechanism. The 'runs' of the true 'runners' tend to be

extended, whereas those of the 'in and outers' tend to be impulsive and of short duration.

Olson, et al (1980 : 167) refer to first timers and repeaters. For the former group, the runaway response is in reaction to dissatisfaction either at home or school, with no underlying or obvious signs of discord in family, peer or school relationships. The latter group's running away is associated with more severe problems in the personal, familial, scholastic and law enforcement spheres.

Young, et al (1983 : 276) classify runaways as short and long term runaways. Short term runaways have been further classified as:

- * crisis escapist - who run to avoid home problems
- * casual hedonists - adventure and fun seekers
- * unhappy runners - who after contemplating running away, suddenly run away.

The long term runaways have been broken down into:

- * pursued and curtailed escapist - who run after making detailed plans
- * deliberate, independent runners - those who have the potential to survive adequately and happily on their own.

Wilson and Arnold (1986 : 24-25) refer to :

- * adventure seekers - similar to Young et al's casual hedonist type.
- * refugees - who ran to escape pressing family problems. This type coincides with the crisis escapist of Young et al.
- * escapees - who ran from institutions or foster homes and had been in trouble with the law.
- * problem-solvers - who ran as a means of solving personal problems.

It can be seen from the foregoing, that these types can basically be divided

into first time or short-term runaway episodes, and repeaters or long-term runaway episodes.

Libertoff (1980 : 152) distinguishes between rich and poor runaways.

The latter, mainly poor children of Irish, Dutch, Portuguese, English and Scottish extraction, left poor, oppressive conditions in the hope of employment, perhaps even wealth, in the colonies. They became indentured workers to American employers for a specified number of years.

The former, usually high spirited or rebellious youth from well to do families, also availed themselves of the same opportunities in America during this period.

3) 'Pushouts' or 'Throwaways'

Unlike the 'runaways', who made the conscious decision to leave their families, these children would seem to have no choice in the matter, having been unceremoniously kicked out of their families, or having been told to leave. These children have either been abandoned, or orphaned by their parents, relatives and communities, or have been rejected from intact families, often by step-parents (Swart : Africa Insight : 1988).

Nye and Edelbrock, (1980 : 150) like Swart state that these terms apply to children who have been asked to leave their home by their parents, who have been abandoned by them, or who have been subjected to "intolerable levels of abuse and neglect." These views are shared by Gullotta (Op cit : 112) who says that throwaways are "young people who do not willingly choose to leave home but are for whatever reasons placed out of their homes by their parents with the intention that they not return."

4) 'Homelessness'

In its literal definition, homelessness refers to the absence of shelter or

accommodation. This definition fails to reflect the trauma that accompanies homelessness, such as the isolation, alienation, rejection, forced independence and the lack of suitable alternatives. O'Connor (1989 : 19) says that "homelessness is far more than a description of their (homeless) current housing status. It is an experience that impinges on every aspect of their lives."

The National Youth Coalition for Housing says that in order for homelessness to exist, one or more of the following conditions should be present. These are an absence of shelter or the threat of losing one's shelter; high mobility between places of residence; inadequate present accommodation due to physical condition, overcrowding, lack of security; and unreasonable restrictions in obtaining other forms of accommodation (Ibid : 1989 : 1).

From the definitions of runaway, throwaway children and homelessness, it is apparent that street children fit these definitions adequately.

5) Deviance

The theoretical polarisation vis-a-vis positivism\anti-positivism similarly characterises the studies on deviance. Two perspectives prevail, the traditional (positivist) and the modern (anti-positivist). The traditional view held by early criminologists, was that criminals were intrinsically different from non-criminals, both biologically and mentally. The traditional (positivist) view adheres to the "absolutist view that deviant behaviour is intrinsically real, the objectivist view that deviance is observable as an object, and the determinist view that deviance is determined behaviour, a product of causation" (Thio:1988:23). According to this perspective, deviance is an objective fact, not an arbitrary social judgement (Goode:1984:). The modernist (anti-positivist) perspective emerged in the 1960s' and challenged the views held by the traditionalists. It upholds the relativist view that deviance is largely a label given at a time

and place, the subjectivist view that it is a subjective experience, and the voluntarist view that deviance is voluntary, self-willed (Thio:Op cit:23).

Taking the above positions into consideration, it is no simple matter to define deviance as such a definition would relate to a preferred perspective. Deviance, therefore, is a matter of degree "with shades of grey, and not a polarity, not a matter of black or white" (Goode:Op cit:13).

Labelling theorists hold that the situational and historical contexts, the characteristics of the individual and the definer, all determine whether a behaviour is regarded as deviant or not. The power play between labeller and labellee is therefore an important determinant of who is labelled deviant. Labelling theorists view deviance as a dynamic process of symbolic interactionism between deviants (powerless) and non-deviants (powerful) (Thio:Op cit:55). From this discussion it is evident that the police, court officials, social workers and the public are in positions of power relative to the street child, who for historical and situational reasons are powerless. The measures adopted by them in ridding the streets of the presence of street children through institutionalisation and "dumping" are indicative of their negative perceptions of street children as "deviant and unworthy".

The notion of value consensus is important when discussing deviance. Positivists traditionally concerned themselves with the serious types of deviant behaviour such as murder, rape, armed robbery, amongst others. As such, these crimes receive a greater degree of value consensus and may be regarded as higher consensus deviance. Anti-positivists reject the notion of value consensus, believing it to be applicable only to simple, traditional, homogenous societies. They focus on the less serious or harmful types of deviants such as drug addicts, prostitutes, grifters, skidders, inter alia (Ibid:21,23). It is clear from management procedures, that although street children fit more comfortably into the lower consensus deviance category their behaviour receives maximum censure.

Bearing the above discussion in mind, this study will focus on the primary and secondary deviance of street children. Primary deviance "is simply the enactment of deviant behaviour itself-any form of it" (Goode:1984 :33). Secondary deviance, according to Goode "occurs when the individual who enacts deviant behaviour deals with the problems created by social reactions to his primary deviation" (Ibid:33). In this study,deviance is defined "as those activities which bring disapproval from members of society" (Haralambos and Holborn:1990:580-581); and "deviant behaviour--- is any behaviour considered deviant by public census,which may range from the maximum to the minimum (Thio:Op cit:22) and finally as an arbitrary social judgement, a label, given at a certain time and place by those in positions of power.

6) Social profile

For the purpose of this study a social profile is defined as a social history of the street child and his family prior to leaving home, as well as his activities and interactions on the streets.

1.8 OUTLINE OF THE REPORT

The chapter which follows examines the causation, victimisation and deviance themes. Chapter three presents a methodological account of the steps taken in the execution of the study. Chapters four and five contain a presentation of the findings of the empirical study. Chapter four presents the views of street children on a number of aspects relating to their backgrounds, deviant activities, arrest\detention, inter alia.

Chapter five canvasses the views of service providers on street children. Their views are essential in understanding how street children are currently dealt with, and in proposing new measures for the more effective management of the street child phenomenon.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The reasons for children taking to the streets or being forced out of their homes are multiple. No single factor alone is responsible for the homelessness of children. The causes combine in an interlinking chain to produce children 'on' and 'of' the street. Broader global and societal factors filter down to affect communities, families and ultimately children. The immediate familial and community upheavals combine with the inner motivations, culminating in the alienation of children from family and community supports, so much so that running away is viewed as the best or only alternative. The tragedy of home and community life is continued on the streets, with the child being exposed to physical assault, sexual abuse, harassment from the public, danger and intimidation by gang members and criminals, and arrest and detention in prisons, police cells and places of safety by officials. The victimisation which characterised the lives of street children in their families and communities, is re-enacted on the streets, providing the impetus for deviance and crime.

The present chapter aims to examine the causation, victimisation and deviance themes inherent in the present study. It is believed that the causal factors set in motion the process of becoming a street child, the victimisation he experiences and the deviance he engages in. The street child may be regarded as doubly victimised in his family and his community and on the streets, and it is this latter victimisation which may propel him towards deviance. From an examination of causal factors, victimisation and deviance it is possible to construct a social profile of street children and their families, prior to leaving their homes and while on the streets.

This chapter is divided into five sections. Following the introduction is the discussion on causation or aetiological factors which contribute to the street child phenomenon. Attention is paid to the influence of political, social, family and individual factors on the street child phenomenon. Political factors may be regarded as the overarching factors responsible for the widespread destruction of family and community life with severe consequences for the individual. The next two sections focus on the victimisation and deviant activities engaged in by street children and the links between them are discussed. The chapter concludes with a summary of the preceding themes.

2.2 AETIOLOGY OF THE STREET CHILD PHENOMENON

An in-depth study of the literature reveals a host of contributory factors, the most commonly cited being political factors, poverty, urbanisation, unemployment, family disintegration, disruption, violence and conflicts, abuse (physical, sexual and emotional) and alcoholism. The factors which give rise to the street child phenomenon, will now be examined and the reverberating effects of these macro factors on social, educational, economic and family life will be highlighted. What must be remembered though is that the chain of causality does not merely end with children turning to the streets. The many children who are displaced and alienated through factors beyond their control, in turn engage in a host of anti-social and criminal activities. They are children who are catapulted into adulthood before their time, deprived of nurturance, protection and care. Children learn from those around them. If they are denied what to most children is taken for granted and freely given, how will they in turn be able to nurture, protect and care for their own children? The effects of abuse, neglect and deprivation are far reaching. The effects of street life are brutalising. The cost to societies is incalculable. The responsibility to understand and help is ours.

2.2.1 Political Factors

Politics play a fundamental role in all our lives and dictated until recently,

how and where we lived and worked, with whom, where and how we were educated, and the health and welfare services available to us. The lifestyles of South Africans were prescribed by a series of laws and regulations which severely limited the prospects and potential of the majority while bestowing unlimited advantages and favours on the few. These restrictive and destructive laws and legislation are believed by many researchers, to be the root cause of South Africa's isolation from the international community, and the dissatisfaction and upheavals we have been experiencing particularly since the Soweto Riots of 1976. The most well known and damaging pieces of legislation responsible for the break-up of family and community life and perhaps the increasing number of black children taking to the streets, are mentioned below.

2.2.1.1 The Group Areas Act

This Act which was implemented in 1950 saw the creation of separate geographical areas for the various population groups. Apart from separating people geographically, it also stymied competition by non-whites in the business arena. The effects of this Act were devastating, and rent asunder the social and economic fabric of settled communities. The proclamation of District Six (on the slopes of Table Mountain) as a White area brought about the end of extended family support systems, home industries and employment. Women went to work to make ends meet, and children took to the streets, particularly as gang members (McLachlan : 1984 : 9).

McLachlan adds that the Group Areas Act had dire implications particularly for Coloured and Indian people. From the time of its implementation (1950) to the end of 1981, 120 787 families had been moved. Only 2 262 of them were Whites, the rest were Coloured and Indian. The ties binding communities, families and children together were loosened, with the result that without social restraints, the children were free to do as they pleased (Ibid : 9).

Resettled nuclear families were bereft of social, emotional, familial and cultural supports. People who formerly had strong links and sound identities forged from culture, tradition and heritage, now had no identities in the anonymous, matchbox townships in which they involuntarily found themselves.

In terms of the above legislation, Black neighbourhoods were also resettled far from any existing amenities and facilities, and were subjected to frequent bulldozing or burning of dwellings which were considered unfit. Motsisi and Magubane cited in Peacock (1990 : 3) believed "that street children were torn from their families when their parents could not "prove" to the Resettlement Board that they were their children."

The Act also prohibited Black children from living with their parents who worked in White areas. They were consequently left with relatives, friends and even acquaintances. Isolation from parents and nurturance, are seen by Peacock as factors facilitating entry into street life (Ibid : 7).

2.2.1.2 Influx Control

This piece of legislation effectively prohibited large scale settlement of Blacks in urban areas, unless they qualified to live in a white area, or were granted permission to work in South Africa under the migrant labour system. Families were not permitted to accompany migrant workers, thereby leading to disintegration of family life. In the process migrant labourers found themselves 'outsiders' on their annual visits to their families, and lost their authority over their children. This viewpoint is shared by Peacock who says "large scale family disruption was the consequence of this forced migrant labour" (Ibid: 6). The establishment of the independent homelands meant that millions of Blacks were automatically denied citizenship in the country of their birth, and were condemned to severe deprivation in outlying areas which lacked the infrastructure to support such large numbers of people.

2.2.1.3 The Pass Laws

The Pass Laws formed the legal framework for the Group Areas and Influx Control legislation and necessitated the carrying of the pass book at all times, and determined the 'right' of the individual to be in White areas. As a result, millions of people were criminalized for actions which in any other country are regarded as normal and acceptable.

The abovementioned laws are cited by many researchers (Swart : 1988 : 80; Goniwe and Bishop : 1989 : 5; Schafer : 1989 : 21; Keen : 1988 : 12; Peacock : 1990 : 1-6) as having led to the disintegration of family bonds, and by implication to the duties, responsibilities and controls attendant on such ties.

Schafer, writing in the Reader's Digest (Op cit : 21-22) echoes the sentiments mentioned above. He states that the family unit has been destroyed through the apartheid system with its policy of forced removals and dispossession of land.

Furthermore, job reservation and the inferior educational system for Blacks, precluded most Blacks from receiving a solid education, which in turn limited the better job opportunities available to them. The Bantu Education Act of 1953, and the Institute for Christian National Education formed in 1939, were designed to entrench the inferiority of Black education, and to ensure the "trusteeship of the White man ... over the non-white" (Detainee's Parents Support Committee : 1986 : 172-177).

Mac Curtain (1988 : 8) and Agnelli (1986 : 54) cite the eviction of employees' children by their employers as a factor which gives rise to the street child phenomenon.

The passage of these aforementioned laws has led to widespread poverty, unemployment, over-crowding, housing shortages, and discrepancies in

implementing socio-economic policies. These in turn have caused stresses and strain in inter-personal relationships, more especially within the family. Street children are the products of an accumulation of circumstances and events emanating from broader structures and processes. Garman (Op cit : 56) is of the view that job reservation, migrant labour, relocation, educational laws and discrepancies in budgetary allocations, have a cumulative effect on poverty, which in turn "contributed to the negative circumstances which led to running away."

Kearns' (1984 : 217-222) description of homelessness in Ireland bears stark resemblance to conditions which give rise to the phenomenon of street children in South Africa. He ascribes homelessness in Dublin to the "inequitable social, economic, political and legislative system which ordinarily traps them in this deprived state."" He is critical of the Irish Government's indifference towards the plight of the homeless which is expressed through 'archaic' laws. These laws, he believes, penalise homeless people, and serve as a deterrent rather than a remedy. Irish homeless frequently appear in court for breach of the Vagrancy act of 1824, Breach of Peace Act of 1824 and Nuisances in Public Thoroughfares Act of 1851, without legal representation. He says that "though they are Irish citizens in theory, in reality they have virtually no rights under the Irish law." The same may be said of street children in this country who are 'safeguarded' only by the Child Care Act, which is regarded as inadequate. Kearns (Ibid : 222) further states that discrimination against the homeless is evident in "governmental housing policies and procedures." The same situation is true of South Africa where accommodation for mainly Black people has reached crisis proportions. The number of squatter settlements and shacks, lacking in sanitation and water, are growing at an alarming rate. Finally, Kearns refers to the removal of the poor to "sterile state housing developments in the suburbs", a situation akin to the developments of massive townships like Soweto and Kwa Mashu for Blacks, and Chatsworth and Phoenix for Indians.

2.2.1.4 Political Protest

Gordon (1979 : 57) writing on the reasons for running away in America, states that in the 1960's running away was regarded by many young people as a political protest against restrictive families and an oppressive society. Although South Africa has seen mass protest action, particularly since the 1976 Soweto uprising, it is unlikely that running away is undertaken as a means of political protest. If this were the case, there would be much larger numbers of street children than the estimated "0.3% of the relevant reference population groups, which in this case are Black and Coloured males..." (Cockburn : 1990 : 4).

2.2.1.5 Township Conditions

Township life presents two faces. On the one hand it is characterized by its vibrancy, laughter of its peoples, colourfulness and sheer grit and determination of its residents who have fought, mobilising young and old alike for the birth of a new nation. It is characterised by its music and dance and the soulful strains of Kwela music and the penny whistle. It has spawned powerful resistance groups and individuals, who have left indelible marks on the pages of South African history books. On the other hand, the darker side of township life is all too well known. The endless rows of unattractive, anonymous dwellings, set in isolated, barren acres of land. Poorly lit streets, people living one on top of the other in cramped, overcrowded conditions with no jobs, no money, not much hope for the future. The threat of attack by vigilantes, comrades, the police and criminal elements, generate great fear and stress in people already burdened with the day to day problems of survival. These are some of the many conditions which may catapult children into street life. Motsisi and Magubane cited in (Peacock : Op cit : 2), as early as 1957, stated that "the degenerated townships of Pimville, Orlando and Alexandria ... were responsible for the occurrence of street children." They believed that township conditions forced children "to seek psychological and physical survival on the streets of Johannesburg. Swart (June : 1988 : 12) states that the unrest in Black

townships, especially in the schools, was responsible for many youths being driven to the streets. She says that intimidation from older, more politically active youth, fear of police reprisals, and the burning down of schools, caused many youth to flee to Johannesburg in search of alternate schooling. She states further, that faction fighting, clashes between the township residents and the police, and necklacing, have all created tension and insecurity, which finds release in street life (Swart : November 1988 : 87). This viewpoint is supported by Peacock (Op cit : 7). The urban areas must seem very attractive and promising in comparison with the conditions they have left behind back home.

2.2.1.6 Township Violence

Surprisingly little has been written in the South African studies on the impact of township violence on the street child phenomenon. That townships are rent by indiscriminate killings, violence, intimidation and fear, is well known. The Detainee's Parents Support Committee (Op cit : 156-157) reports that it is believed that there is no connection between township violence and street children, as the children seemed to ignore the violence around them. By the same token, the tendency to 'ignore' the violence may take the form of escaping from it physically. Children have been victims of police and armed forces raids, teargassing, attacks by dogs, intimidation by older children, and this may possibly account for "increased numbers of nomadic children recently coming to towns to escape ... and joining the street children's groups." However, workers with these refugees of township violence in Johannesburg are of the view that these children are only 'temporary sojourners', and they soon return to their homes with the help of social workers (Ibid : 157).

Schafer (Op cit : 21) writes that the razing of schools in the townships and fear of comrades and police action, have caused children to flee from their homes to the streets.

Political violence and instability is not peculiar to South Africa alone, and wherever it occurs, children become the victims. Alexander's study of street children in Gautamala views the political violence there as a contributory factor both to the under-development of the country, and the increase in the number of homeless children (Alexander : 1987 : 69).

2.2.1.7 Education

The education of Black school going children in South Africa has been described as being 'at the crossroads', 'in turmoil', 'in crisis', inter alia. J N le Roux, 1945 National Party Politician indicates that :

"We should not give the Natives any academic education. If we do, who is going to do the manual labour in the community?" (Detainee's Parents Support Committee : Op cit : 172).

Education, which should be regarded as a right, not a privilege, has been deliberately designed by the government to suppress Black people and keep them in their place.

Education for Blacks was never meant to be equal, but was designed to frustrate and alienate pupils at every turn. The Bantu Education Act imposed in 1953 was the means by which this ideology could be attained. Resistance to this Act came from teachers, students and communities alike who were well aware of the inferior nature of the education provided. Black education is characterised by the shortage of schools and classrooms, and consequently over-crowding. The teacher-student ratio stands at 115:1 in Kwa Mashu schools (Thembinkosi Ngcobo, information officer of the National Education co-ordinating committee, cited in the Daily News : 29.1.1992 : 4).

Teachers are under-qualified and schools are severely lacking in facilities and textbooks. In addition, children have to pay for school books which they can ill afford to do. Matriculation pass rates are abysmally low, and

in 1991 34.5% passed, and of these only 8.7% students obtained matriculation exemptions (Ibid : 4). The decision to use Afrikaans as the medium of instruction in Black schools resulted in open confrontation between the students and the authorities. The Soweto uprising of 1976 obtained international media coverage and condemnation, and was the culmination of years of dissatisfaction with an educational system that did little or nothing to uplift the masses. The decision to implement Model B, C and D schools, although a step in the right direction, nevertheless is subject to certain criteria. Model B schools limit the intake of Black pupils to 49%, and on condition that the "cultural ethos of the school will not change" (Ibid : 4). In Model C schools, parents must pay for their children's education, which the majority of Blacks are unable to do. Model D refers to those white schools facing closure, but where the local communities wish for them to remain 'open' (Ibid : 4). The various factors discussed above led to the rejection of the Black educational system which they saw as the tool of the State to implement its discriminatory policies.

Children therefore rejected the schools and what they stood for, but did not reject a fair, satisfying education. Peacock (Op cit : 5) citing Burman Reynolds states that the schools do not cater for the cultural sentiments of Blacks, but instead portray them as "obstacles to white interests." Peacock is of the view that the inferior school system entrenches poverty, which in turn makes a street life style inevitable (Ibid : 4).

Apart from, or perhaps because of the many disadvantages which are characteristic of Black schools, children rarely carry good memories of school with them. Schärf et al, state that the 'strollers' (term for Coloured street children in the Cape) were reluctant and evasive when questioned about their school experiences, and attribute this to the punitive character of the schools. The tendency to beat the children "is another reason why they dropped out." One of the teachers interviewed by them said, "imagine coming to school and being beaten up and then going home and being beaten up again. You have to leave one or the other. So you leave school

first. That is less difficult." The above authors also maintain that the strollers in their study had difficulty with the learning process and had failed one or more times at school. Their failure and punishment at school as well as at home caused them to reject or be rejected from "the two primary institutions of conventional socialization". They state that the State of Emergency and the 1985 educational crisis, greatly increased the number of strollers in Cape Town, and that "until the grievances underlying the recurrent educational crisis in African and Coloured schools are resolved, there will be further periodic surges in the number of children living and sleeping on the streets of Cape Town" (Schärf et al cited in Burman and Reynolds : 1986 : 269-271; 281-283).

Swart (November 1988 : 39) states that the poor conditions prevailing in the schools "generate a high drop-out rate" leaving children unsupervised for the better part of the day.

Roberts states that numerous studies cite school difficulties combined with parents who beat them, as reasons for running away (Roberts : 1982 : 16, 19).

Richter conducted a comparative study between urban township children and street children of the same age to determine the performance of Black children on neuropsychological and intellectual ability tests. She found no differences between the two groups, that is the school going children, and illiterate street children. These findings led her to question the ability of the Black school system to develop critical, logical, independent thinking. She asks, " could it be that their education contributes little to the development of these skills, over and above the influence of the day-to-day informal learning and maturation which takes place in all children, and which is enhanced, perhaps, by the rigours of surviving on Hillbrow streets?" (Richter : November 1988 : 11).

Richter's observation may be regarded as somewhat condemnatory since the potential benefits of well staffed, well equipped schools with interesting and varied curricula are denied the majority of children in this country. The school plays a vital role in the lives of children, and apart from the parents, "is one of the principal and constant agents in socialization". It reinforces the "social and cognitive responses" which are learnt from parents, and teaches new responses and behaviour. Ideally, the school should educate the 'whole' child, that is, physically, intellectually, emotionally and psychologically, and should form the bridge between childhood and adulthood. It can either counteract deviant behaviour, or it can encourage and produce it (Cronjé et al : 1976 : 169-174). Clearly this is not the case in so far as schooling for Black children is concerned.

A later comparative study of South African children with their Anglo-American counterparts by Richter, indicates that both groups experienced difficulties with school work or the educational establishment. South African street children reported school failure and embarrassment at not being able to afford books (Richter : June-July 1989 : 6). School failure is also cited by Cockburn as a characteristic of street children (Cockburn : Op cit : 5).

Nye states that literature on runaways emphasize the importance of family, school and peers, and the part they play in the runaway episode. He views the school as being able to extract costs and confer rewards on the students. Long hours at school, many hours of homework, boring curricula and stress, are all seen as part of the costs of school life. The rewards may be immediate, that is good relationships with peers, excellence in studies, sports, etc. They may also be deferred, in the sense that a good education and good grades lead to higher educational aspirations and success in later life. For many students however, the costs outweigh the rewards and "to run away can be expected to eliminate these costs and provide much free time in which to pursue other rewards" (Nye : Op cit : 280-281).

Agnelli, is yet another researcher who points to the failure of the educational system, especially in developing countries. She says, "in many developing countries, however, schools seem to belong to a different world, remote from the everyday existence of those at the street level, for whom they constitute yet another possibility of failure." The large classroom size and mass production methods do not cater for those who have "fallen at the first hurdle." The curricula and the way of teaching is remote from the lifestyles of the children. Those who cannot meet the required standards, "tend to reject the entire system, and seek refuge among those already in the street as disaffected as themselves." She says therefore, that schools have much to answer for (Agnelli : Op cit : 50-51). It is evident from the various factors reviewed above that strenuous efforts were made by the Nationalist Government to halt the development and progress of Black South Africans, the effects of which were keenly felt in the social arena.

2.2.2 Social Factors

2.2.2.1 Urbanisation

Urbanisation is also cited as a contributory factor to the street child phenomenon. Although the Group Areas Act and Influx Control laws effectively limited widespread urbanisation till their repeal recently the tendency exists for people to move to the cities and towns in search of employment, and what they perceive to be better opportunities. Pinnock (1984 : 18) is of the view that "poverty in the city holds out more chances of survival than poverty in the countryside."

Increasing hardship such as unpredictable climatic conditions, pests, unsuitable farming methods and diminishing profits, entice rural dwellers to the city. The city holds out promise for better educational and job opportunities, combined with better facilities and resources. The expectations of newcomers to the city are often unrealised, as they are faced by cities that simply cannot accommodate the burgeoning populations. The result is poverty, unemployment and frustration. Both parents are often

obliged to work long hours for low pay. Children are left unsupervised without vital support systems, and the family unit disintegrates (Agnelli : Op cit : 16-18).

Agnelli states that the present century may well be viewed "as the age of urbanisation, with the world's urban population expected to increase by half." She states that city populations are also becoming younger, and that by the year 2000, there will be "247 million more urban children than today" between the ages of 5-19 (Ibid : 16-17). If urbanisation is a contributory factor to the street child phenomenon, which many researchers believe to be the case, then it follows that we can expect an unprecedented number of street children by the year 2000.

However, Aptekar responding to researchers' claims that rural to urban migration is responsible for family disintegration which in turn produces street children, is of the view that most street children in his study, were not in fact migrants. He quotes the study of Tellez, that Colombian street children (53.7%) were born in large cities and Villota, who asserts that "there is a small percentage of 'Gamines'¹ who come from small cities or from the country, but in general they are urban children from the large populous cities" (Aptekar:1988:175-176). Aptekar further states that the hypotheses pointing to urban poverty and rural to urban migration as causative factors in the street child phenomenon must be viewed cautiously, as they fail to take into account the source of street children and individual differences. These latter factors may be pivotal in explaining why it is that only some children who experience urban poverty and rural to urban migration become street children (Ibid : 182). If it is considered that most street children in South Africa are Black, the fact that most children in Black families stay and go on to lead law abiding and hard working lives,

¹"Gamines" is the term given to all street children in Colombian society

is testimony to the strength and tenacity of Black families which have endured all forms of hardship and discrimination over the years.

In South Africa, additional factors which emanate from the apartheid system contribute to this phenomenon. As has been previously stated that Groups Areas Act and Systems of forced removals have relocated Black people in homelands, on white farms as labourers and in townships on the outskirts of urban areas. In urban areas, they live in areas outside cities, called townships (Richter : May 1986 : 5).

Swart (November 1988 : 85) contends that there is no doubt that urbanisation has led to a weakening of extended family ties which may have negative consequences for children. Richter et al, (May 1986 : 7) states that the government's urbanisation policies, have cruelly separated families, and prevented spouses and spouses, and children from living together. She also says that urbanisation and poverty cause disruptions in family as well as community life (Richter : July 1988 : 10).

Alexander (1987 : 6) concurs with Richter and Swart that urbanisation has led to the increase in the number of street children. She says that rapid urbanisation coupled with unequal distribution of resources leads to 'urban decay.' For the majority who suffer the effects of unemployment, inadequate housing, a lack of basic amenities and facilities, the impetus is provided for children to choose life on the streets and it's accompanying dangers, fears, hunger and disease, rather than face the unbearable conditions in their 'homes' (Ibid : 10).

Jayes (1985 : 14) cites "several researchers who found that unemployment, urbanisation, the break-up of traditional communities and family life and changes in cultural norms and values", are factors which play a part in runaway behaviour.

Balanon (1989 : 160) writing on the reasons for street children in the Philippines, also cites poverty, inadequate distribution of resources and social services, and rapid urban population growth as motivating factors. He believes that it is the children of such families who will become street children.

2.2.2.2 Westernisation

Closely related to urbanisation is westernization. This process refers to the influence of Western culture on indigenous culture when the two cultures meet. "Culture may be regarded as the sum total of a group's habits, customs and life attitudes, and as their material and spiritual possession, developed and transferred in the course of time" Cloete et al : 1980 : 126). Culture exercises a vital influence in the lives of all individuals. Man's personality is the product of his cultural heritage, and without it he becomes a marginal man, neither here nor there, and lost between two cultures. The African family system was bound by a strict code of conduct and ethics, inextricably entwined with culture and tradition. Every man, woman and child had a place and a role to fulfil in family and community life. Out of this knowingness arose stability and security. The African individual in urban society, finds himself in conflict. He is isolated from family and community support systems. He is further confronted by values, norms and laws which are alien to him. Western values, norms and laws are upheld for all to follow and are seen as desirable and by implication, status conferring. To identify with another culture, is seen as identification with an 'inferior' culture. In order to be accepted therefore, there is the tendency to identify with the dominant culture, and to denounce as pagan or primitive their own culture. In the process, important elements of Black culture are denied, and with them the many controls and supports which are an inherent part of the culture. Peacock (Op cit : 4) cites various researchers who are of the view that westernisation of Black families is one of the reasons for the higher incidence of black street children, as it is responsible for the loss of cultural values, and hence "disruptive urban

family life." Swart (November 1988 : 84) states that westernisation has eroded the "traditional way of life of indigenous peoples in Southern Africa."

2.2.2.3 Poverty

Poverty is incongruous amidst the numerous advances and technological developments of the twentieth century. It stands in sharp contrast to the opulence, glamour and sophistication of large cities and individuals. It is a relative concept, and is defined by Gillin "as that condition in which a person, either because of inadequate income or unwise expenditure, does not maintain a scale of living high enough to provide for his physical and mental efficiency and to enable him and his natural dependents to function usefully according to the standards of the society of which he is a member" (Gillin cited in Rip : 1978 : 59).

In many developing countries, population growth supersedes that of economic growth due to natural increases and rural to urban migration. Consequently, large numbers of people are barely able to make ends meet, if at all. Driven by poverty and need, children in developing countries are a common sight living and working on the streets. Agnelli (Op cit : 15) says that street children in developing countries are the products of unemployment, rural to urban migration, poverty and broken families, and are forced to live on the fringe of the adult world.

Poverty in South Africa is linked to urbanisation, job reservation, the inferior education system for Blacks and the inequitable distribution of resources, inter alia. For most people who experience it, it is a terminal condition. Families find themselves trapped in the web of poverty, from which there is no escape. Gil (cited in Chetty : 1986 : 54) states that poverty is part of wider social problems and that societies implement policies which encourage and perpetuate it. Poverty creates stress and frustration which, apart from weakening the parents' self-control, also weakens their ability to control and discipline their children. The stresses

and strains emanating from poverty, often result in violent and aggressive interchanges between husband and wife, which frequently spill over into violence towards children. Research indicates that poverty and abuse, singly or in combination, are powerful precipitators for the decision by children to flee from their families and communities and live on the streets. Several researchers point to the connection between poverty, runaway and homeless youth and street children.

Jayes (Op cit : 23) states that the children in her study ran away from homes that were poverty stricken and grossly over-crowded, and where they were subjected to material deprivation and physical abuse by drunken fathers and step-fathers.

Garman (Op cit : abstract) is in agreement with Jayes, and cites impoverished homes characterised by insecurity, rejection, alcohol and physical abuse, and violence as factors which lead to solvent abuse in street children.

Richter (November 1988 : 1) states simply that street children are attracted to cities and towns by the need for food and money. Schafer (Op cit : 20) is of the view that poverty caused by migration, may cause parents to neglect their children. Such children often become street children. Swart (November 1988 : 37) says that the widespread unemployment in urban areas necessitates that both parents work. The child is also required to contribute to the household, and this brings him into contact with the "street alternative".

The ability to work and earn money is a powerful boost to the ego, more especially for the deprived street child. The researcher believes that this ability to be financially independent, reinforces the desire to remain on the streets, and once on the streets, it is difficult for the child to remain off the streets for long.

Cockburn (Op cit : 5) states emphatically that the aetiology of street children is "socio-economic in origin". Keen (Op cit : 12; Goniwe and Bishop : 1989 : 19) are three more researchers who cite poverty as a contributory factor to the street child phenomenon in South Africa. Drake (1989 : 14) writing on street children in Botswana, refers to several causative factors mentioned in the South African studies such as unemployment, poverty, alcoholism, the migrant labour system and the educational system, inter alia. Studies conducted in America, the Philippines, Brazil and Dublin on homeless, runaway and street children, all refer to poverty as a contributory factor to these phenomena (Balanon : Op cit : 160; Gordon : Op cit : 59; Pejic : 1988 : 65-66; Liberto : 1980 : 162).

Aptekar (1988 : 45, 181, 182) asserts that while poverty may be a major contributory reason for the phenomenon, poverty alone cannot fully explain the growth of street child phenomenon, but that the child rearing practices of the urban poor may be a pertinent factor. According to him, these child rearing practices are functional, and equip children to become independent at a young age so that they will find a niche in the adult world.

Child labour, arising from poverty in developing countries, is as much in evidence now, as it was a century ago, and facilitates for many children the entry into street life.

For many poor families throughout the world, child labour is a fact of life, and provides for the parents much needed extra income, however small the contribution. In India alone, it is estimated that there are one hundred million child workers in factories, quarries, mines, tea stalls and on farms. Girls, some as young as ten, turn to prostitution for a living, often encouraged or forced by parents to do so (Serrill : 1990 : 43-45).

Children thus thrust into independence and adulthood at such tender ages

will take to street life more naturally than those children who lead sheltered lives within the confines of hearth and home. Many of the money making activities of street children such as begging, parking and washing cars, selling fruit, vegetables and newspapers, occur on the streets. Hence it is a matter of convenience and practicality for children to live close to their areas of 'business'. Edmonds, writing on homeless children in Swaziland, is in agreement with the views stated above, and says that about 80% of the boys in his experience left home in search of work as their families could not afford to send them to school (Edmond : 1988 : 15).

Swart, likewise, says that the widespread poverty in urban areas necessitates that children contribute to the family income, and in many cases, they may be the sole contributors. She says that it is not unusual for children to have to choose between earning money somehow, not bring in money and get beaten, or "stay in the street for good." Sanders cited in Swart, says that child labour is not an indication of family disintegration, but is in fact "an affirmation of family unity and solidarity" (Swart : November 1988 : 37-38).

Richter, citing Ennew, makes the distinction between children of the street and children on the street. The latter refers to children who spend the better part of the day working to earn money, most or all of which is given to the parents. She says, quoting Zelizer, that "history, custom and need determine that the children of the poor should work to help their families." This, she says, is the response of desperately poor people to their circumstances. The children are proud of their ability to earn, by whatever means, and forms part of the family's survival strategy (Richter : November 1988 : 2-3). Furthermore, in agricultural societies, children have always worked for their families and continue this practice in cities. However, to do so in agricultural communities is not considered disruptive to family relationships, while in the cities, work often separates children from their parents, and is therefore considered disruptive (Richter: June-July 1989: 5).

2.2.2.4 Unemployment

Unemployment and poverty go hand in hand, and much of what has been said with regard to poverty, applies to unemployment as well. Unemployment is demeaning to the individual and is to him a negation of his self-worth and value as a provider.

Historically, men have been providers, and women child bearers and child raisers. Although men are no longer the sole contributors to the family income, the perception still exists, albeit covertly, that they are, or should be the major providers.

Economic recession is being experienced in several countries throughout the world. South Africa has been in the grip of recession and rising inflation rates for the past few years. International sanctions and disinvestment have meant the closure of businesses, factories and mines, resulting in widespread unemployment and hardship. The Black worker is hardest hit, and so are his children. According to Swart children are asked to work "to supplement the family income through begging or vending", or told to fend for themselves (Swart : November 1988 : 90).

She states that unemployment for Black people is excessive, and that in Soweto alone, 28% are unemployed (Swart : June 1988 : 11). Children thus turn to the streets for survival, out of sheer desperation or because they are expected to. Other researchers who see unemployment as one of the factors which gives rise to street children are Drake (Op cit : 14; Keen : Op cit : 12; Richter : November 1988 : 1; Agnelli : Op cit : 47); Cockburn : Op cit : 5 and Jayes : Op cit : 14).

2.2.2.5 Overcrowding

Related to poverty and unemployment is overcrowding. The dearth of affordable housing for Black occupation leads to the situation where a dwelling is occupied by several families or tenants in the effort to reduce

payments. Pinnock writing on street gangs in the Cape, poignantly captures living conditions in housing developments in the Cape Flats. He says, "many of the families have broken up, most of the houses and flats are overcrowded, and the schools are packed to bursting-point. Street life is the spill from families, schools, jobs and overcrowding" (Pinnock : 1984 : 4). He says that youth must make the choice between the claustrophobic conditions indoors, or to move out onto the street. They opt for the latter choice. Although Pinnock writes specifically of youth in the Cape Flats, these conditions are experienced similarly by Black youth in their respective townships. He further states that the townships conceived of and developed by the urban planners of the 1940's, were geared towards nuclear families, and completely ignored the social and cultural systems of the non-whites, leading over time to their fragmentation and dislocation. In addition to this, insufficient houses were made available to resettled people, so that those who had homes accommodated friends and relatives in cramped, overcrowded conditions (Ibid : 4 : 52).

Jayes (Op cit : 40, 58) says that overcrowding had an effect on the quality of life in these homes, and "seemed to be more directly related to the drift to the streets." She is also of the view that the lack of physical care and comfort, and the feeling of being unwanted, caused some children to leave their homes.

It can be concluded that overcrowding due to the Group Areas Act, poverty and unemployment, is a decisive factor in the reason for children running away, or being thrown out of their homes.

2.2.2.6 Housing Shortage

Mowbray (1985 : 6) states that there are fewer government subsidies and less money spent on low-cost housing for the homeless in America. It is doubtful whether any such government assistance programmes for the homeless existed in this country under the old government. On the

contrary, the Detainee's Parents Support Committee reports that legislation such as the Group Areas Act and Influx Control, led to evictions, removals and relocations which left people homeless. The valiant attempts of the homeless to set up squatter camps, have been met in the past with bulldozing, raids, burning of shacks, and other forms of harassment by the authorities. Children are often separated from their parents in the confusion which follows (Detainee's Parents Support Committee, Op cit : 117, 147-148).

The lack of adequate accommodation forces people to live in shanty towns characterized by little or no health care facilities, a paucity of clean water, no schools and social services. Children are pushed into the streets and into "hunger, disease, violence and fear" (Alexander : Op cit : 190).

In the townships, preference is given to families or to men. In the event of the death of the husband, or divorce, the wife and children face eviction. The rent boycotts in the townships caused further evictions. The victims inevitably, are the children, who are forced by circumstances onto the streets (Detainee's Parents Support Committee : Op cit : 117).

Jayes (Op cit : 53) states that inadequate accommodation leads indirectly to runaway behaviour. In her study she found that some of the mothers moved frequently, perhaps from one relative or friend to another. Consequently, the task of child care was shared by whoever the children happened to be with at the time.

The critical shortage of housing is indicated in the table below² :

TABLE 2.1 : HOUSING SHORTAGE

RACIAL CATEGORY	SURPLUS	SHORTAGE	NO. OF HOUSES BUILT 1983-85
White	+37 000		172 000
Coloured		52 000	62 000
Asian		44 000	37 000
African		583 000	41 000

"Taking the backlog to the year 2 000 as four million units, approximately 600 units would have to be built each working day for the next 20 years. At present, the building rate is below 20 units per working day. Clearly, no dent can be made in the housing shortage if the current rate of building is maintained (Ibid : 77). The influence of political factors on poverty, unemployment, overcrowding and housing shortages are undeniable, and it is believed, have seriously affected adequate family functioning.

2.2.3 Family Factors

Numerous studies focus on the family when trying to explain the street child phenomenon. The reasons for children running away or being thrown out of their homes are generally ascribed to the disintegration of families, conflicts, violence, abuse, alcoholism and illegitimacy. The search for causes is endless and family factors undoubtedly play a role. The dynamic interplay between political, social, family and individual factors must be considered.

Families wield great power and influence over the children within them, the power to mould and shape, to make or break. The child who is neglected

²Source : Dr Tobie de Vos, Report of the National Building Research Institute, cited by Mathew Kenridge in "A Report for Unicef : 1989 : 77)

and abused by those who should love and care for him, is unable to show love and care for others, and will carry these unfulfilled needs into adulthood. The need for love and security is a powerful motivator for behaviour, even if this behaviour is to others unacceptable or incomprehensible. The foregoing studies have shown that children end up as 'strays' on the street because of socio-political factors over which they have no control. They also end up on the streets because of family factors over which they have no control, as the following studies will show.

2.2.3.1 Family Disintegration

The tendency for families to crumble and disintegrate is a recurrent theme in much of the current literature. Families which once stood as fortresses against all turpitude, are now succumbing to the onslaught of urbanisation, isolation, mobility, impersonality, and a host of other internal and extraneous influences which are shaking their foundations. Societies now recognise that families do fail and desertion, divorce, separation and death are illustrative of these families. More than half of the families of street children studied by Schärf et al, reported "nuclear family upheaval" at some time during their childhood, having lived with either one parent, relative or a parent and step-parent. The relationship between the children and their step-parents was hostile, and provided the impetus for the runaway response (Schärf et al : Op cit : 266-267).

Richter states that "single parenthood or disrupted family life" is characteristic of between one third and one half of all Black families, and therefore does not fully explain the presence of street children in a relatively small number of families. She believes that "psychological and motivational factors" will help to explain why some, and not all children who experience this upheaval run away (Richter :July 1988 : 13, 15).

Jayes cites Jenkins who says that runaways were less likely to be living with both parents, that they frequently lived with other families either at

the time of running away or at some time prior to that, and that they felt rejected and unwanted by their parents (Jayes : Op cit : 62).

Garman believes that broken homes, together with poverty, unemployment, overcrowding and migratory labour, rob people of their dignity, and that street children were running away from these conditions which had become intolerable (Garman : Op cit : 33).

The street child phenomenon in Botswana is relatively new, and as in South Africa, the causes are ascribed to broken homes, and physical and sexual abuse by parents and step-parents (Drake : Op cit : 14).

Cemane makes reference to the structural disruption of the family through death or divorce, as a cause of the street child phenomena. He says that when a divorced parent enters a new relationship, his or her children may be abused by the step-parent, causing great trauma, isolation and alienation of the child from the family. Such children he says may end up on the streets scavenging for food, begging, and engaging in prostitution (Cemane : Op cit : 3).

In many instances, children are abandoned by their remaining parents in urban areas, and are forced by circumstances to fend for themselves (Schafer : Op cit : 21). Family upheaval and disintegration as a causative factor are also cited by Peacock (Op cit : 2) and Cockburn (Op cit : 5).

A study of the overseas literature indicates similar findings linking family breakdown with runaway children (Balanon : Op cit : 159; Konanc : 1989 : 13; Young et al : 1983 : 276; Gordon : Op cit : 59); Agnelli : Op cit : 15 : 36; Kufeldt and Nimmo: 1987 : 540; Wilson and Arnold : 1986 : 20; Gullotta : 1979 : 113).

Gullotta makes the distinction between the family relationships of 'runaway' and 'throwaway' children. The former family relationships he

says, are characterised by communication weaknesses, while the families of 'throwaway' children are characterised by broken bonds between parent and child. Like Cernane, he says that parents who have divorced may abandon their offspring, or else scapegoat and ostracise a child. Abandonment of the home by a child, or abandonment of the child by the parent, is the result of the lack of feeling by the parent towards the child (Ibid: 113-114)

Kufeldt and Nimmo refer to the escalating abuse and neglect of children within reconstituted families; as the reason for youth being on the street. Reconstituted families comprise mother or father and stepfather or stepmother, their respective children from prior marriages, and children of the present marriage. They state that within these families, the "phenomenon of the disposable child is emerging - like other disposable relationships so much a part of the 'throwaway society'" (Kufeldt and Nimmo : Op cit : 540).

Finally, Agnelli states that "all those on the street, everywhere, can be described as victims of the crisis of the family." She believes that the disintegration of family structures, traditions, migrations and economic decline, have narrowed the gaps between streets in different countries (Agnelli : Op cit : 15, 36).

It can be seen therefore, that family disintegration as a cause of children being on the streets, is equally destructive in developing and developed countries. The effects of this disintegration, it would seem, are not minimised in wealthier countries, where statistics indicate that over 1 million children in the United States runaway or are 'thrown away' annually (Report of the Subcommittee on the Constitution of the Committee on the Judiciary : 1980 : 2). The difference between developing and developed countries lies in the various assistance programmes and funding available to 'runaways' and 'throwaways' in the latter countries.

2.2.3.2 Family Violence

Violence towards women and children in families is increasing dramatically and is associated amongst other factors, with the increasing stress which is placed on nuclear, broken and reconstituted families today. Stress arising from the numerous socio-political factors mentioned, together with the changing roles and statuses of women and children, and the emphasis on individual rights, freedom and independence, all combine to produce volatile situations within the family. Men who abuse their wives, are equally likely to abuse their children. Women who are abused by their husbands, may in turn either abuse their children, or be neglectful and indifferent towards them.

"It would also appear that the use of force and violence within family life is socially determined and regarded as a legitimate right which accompanies certain roles either tacitly or overtly" (Laing et al cited in Chetty : 1986 : 4). It is against this backdrop of violence and abuse, that many children run away from their homes. Richter states that the family backgrounds of both street children and runaways is characterized by "violence, abuse, neglect and rejection" (Richter : November 1988 : 2).

Jayes in her study of Coloured runaway boys, links family violence with alcoholism, while Cockburn states that nearly 80% of the street children she has contact with, are victims of physical, sexual and emotional abuse (Jayes : Op cit: 42; Cockburn : Op cit : 5).

Swart citing Ennew, states that street children typically have been subjected to exploitation, rejection and violence, especially by fathers and father figures, making their lives at home unbearable. Physical abuse by parents is a constant feature in the case histories of these children. Step-parents, she says are particularly hated for the abuse they inflict, and the deterioration in care following their arrival into the home (Swart : November 1988 : 40, 91). This view is shared by Drake (Drake : Op cit :

14). Peacock refers to the neglect suffered by street children (Peacock : Op cit : 2). The effects of neglect are corrosive and soul destroying, and reaffirm the child's belief that he is unwanted.

Slingsby writes that alcoholism and physical abuse feature prominently in the lives of street children, and that they opt for anywhere but home when they reach "the point of no return" (Slingsby : 1988 : 6).

A stroller's account of the abuse he suffered prior to running away, may be generalised to a large number of children currently living on our streets, and graphically illustrates the family violence which is so much a part of many families : "We (children) were just hit and kicked without reason, and I don't like that anymore. My ma and pa fight nearly every night, then we also get hiding. ... My dad invites his friends over and they smoke dagga and when they've left he kicks the door open and fights with us" (Schärf et al : Op cit : 267).

A high level of aggression and abuse were found in the homes of Coloured runaway boys by Jayes. The fear and stress generated by such violence, and the fear of further punishment, prompted the runaway episode of some boys in her study (Jayes : Op cit 51, 57).

Garman, in her study into solvent abuse amongst street children in Cape Town, also found alcohol and physical abuse to be the major reasons for running away (Garman : Op cit : 31).

Olson et al found in their study of runaways, that at least one of the parents "had hit or beaten them more than a few times" before they ran away. The runaways cited harsh, rejecting, authoritarian and controlling behaviour by the parents, more than was considered justified or appropriate as reasons for leaving home (Olson et al : Op cit : 177, 178). Throwaways are subjected to more abuse and/or neglect while runaways do so mainly

because of physical abuse (Young et al : Op cit : 277).

Konanc, similarly cites maltreatment of a third of the street children in Turkey as a reason for running away (Konanc : Op cit : 14).

In a comparative study of runaways and non-runaways conducted by Roberts, it was found that certain types of stressful events combined with inadequate coping skills, led many youth to run away. Among the six stress producing events reported only by runaways, was 'being beaten by a parent'. He also found a "high frequency of runaways who had an alcoholic parent and/or a parent who beat them, combined with problems at school" (Roberts : Op cit : 15, 19).

Gutierrez and Reich report on the findings of two interesting studies conducted in America, on the relationship between child abuse and runaway behaviour. The studies were undertaken to determine whether aggressive parent role-modelling resulted in later juvenile delinquent behaviour which included running away. The findings revealed that physically abused children were less likely to engage in assault, fighting, robbery, etcetera, but were more likely to be arrested for escape acts, that is, truancy and running away. The authors believe that resorting to running away rather than resorting to aggressive acts, is an indicator of well-developed coping mechanisms (Gutierrez and Reich : Op cit : 90-93).

This is an indication of strong internal locus of control³, which agrees with the findings of Richter in her psychological study of street children. She says, "compared to American boys of the same age, the street kids perceived themselves to be very much more in control of themselves" (Richter : October 1988 : 59, 60).

³Locus of control refers to the individual's belief regarding his or her power and/or ability to influence events in life and other people

Gordon, like Gutierrez and Reich, believes that running away from physical abuse is for many a desperate attempt to establish independence or selfhood. Self report studies by runaways confirm the view that "running away has been a positive growing experience for them" (Gordon : Op cit : 60, 62).

O'Connor's study in Australia for the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, reveals that violence, especially sexual and physical abuse, were very much a part of the everyday lives of runaway children. He states that the abuse was ongoing, and that the runaway response was the culmination of years of abuse. Moreover, alcohol abuse is significantly associated with physical abuse (O'Connor : 1989 : 28).

2.2.3.3 Family Conflicts¹

A review of the literature indicates the tendency for overseas authors to emphasize the role of family conflicts in runaway behaviour. The South African literature on street children by contrast makes scant reference to such conflicts. No doubt this is due to the cultural tradition of Black people, whereby children are expected to be obedient and respectful to parents and elders at all times. Perhaps it is this very expectation of obedience and respect, which is responsible for children taking to the streets, as to stay and argue and assert one's independence would be totally unacceptable. It is also highly likely that the physical abuse of children is related to the demand for obedience and respect from children, who may be perceived as getting out of hand or spoilt in the cities.

In developed countries, family conflicts over curfews, house rules, appearance, friends, school and future expectations by parents of children,

¹Family Conflict is a broad category which refers to conflicts, rejection and lack of communication in relationships which result in anger and frustration for the child

often provide the impetus for running away. Children view parents' rules, regulations and expectations as rigid, and as attempts to frustrate their independence (Report on the Subcommittee on the Constitution of the Committee on the Judiciary : Op cit : 3, 4).

Olson et al state that in childhood the most serious conflicts between parents and runaway children arise over school performance and household rules and regulations. Children whose grades do not meet their parents' expectations are frequently denied privileges or made to do additional household chores. Runaway children also felt that they had a heavier share of household duties than did their siblings. The demands of the parents, and the restrictions imposed in order to achieve them, were viewed by the runaways as being rejecting and unjust. Runaways felt that their parents would be better off without them, and hence left (Olson et al : Op cit : 177).

Spillane-Grieco points to the lack of communication and the inability of parents and children to show their concern for one another, as a cause of runaway behaviour. Minor incidents over the years and scapegoating, resulted in negative labelling for many of the runaways, who felt their parents did not love them (Spillane-Grieco : 1984 : 165).

The feeling of rejection experienced by runaways is taken up by Gullotta, who says that this feeling arises out of months, possibly even years of failed relationships at home, at school and in the community. He states that runaways are as a result "pathetic individuals, often friendless and emotionally disorganised, grasping for some claim on life" (Gullotta : Op cit : 114).

Young et al citing the work of other researchers, refer to gender differences in running away. Girls, they say, leave home due to restrictive family relationships, parents' insistence on conventional role definitions and their feelings of powerlessness within the family. Boys, on the other hand, run

away because they feel rejected (Young et al : Op cit : 277).

Rejection by parents and not being loved and wanted by them is typically featured in North and South American literature on runaways. Other authors who also refer to these causes are Balanon (Op cit : 162), Pejic (Op cit : 66), Agnelli (Op cit : 30).

Aptekar presents an insightful picture into child rearing practices which increase the likelihood of children assuming a street life. His views are a departure from conventional studies which present information "through the point of view of the patriarchal family structure." In other words, most studies, view the street child phenomenon as something which is abnormal or deviant in terms of family structure and role functioning. He refers firstly, to passive child-rearing, whereby parents play a less active role in their children's upbringing, and where siblings assume a natural role in this regard. The child's wandering away from the home and into the streets is "not considered outside of the protected area called home." Furthermore, "children taking care of younger children (as opposed to solely adult care) promoted the development of prosocial, responsible, and nurturant behaviour." These practices prepared children to cope adequately by themselves while on the streets. In comparison to those children (wealthier) who did not have these experiences they were found to be "well-advanced in terms of their psychosocial development." With regard to passive parenting and sibling care-taking therefore, he is of the belief that "their presence on the streets was part of an orderly process of socialisation" (Aptekar : Op cit : 183-186).

A similar situation may be said to exist in South Africa, where children spend less time with their parents, and are left in the care of numerous caretakers, including their siblings. A tentative observation, which needs further investigation, is that it is perhaps those children who have assumed the caretaking role in their families, who have moved out into street life.

The present study shows that in only some of the families of street children did more than one sibling take to the streets, and that generally it was only the child who was interviewed who did so (See chapter 4).

The second child-rearing practice quoted by Aptekar as a reason for children opting for a street life, is that of rejection by both parents and children. Children rejected the restrictions and demands of their parents, and viewed the streets as more appealing. Parents, because of financial difficulty, apathy or behaviour which by children was considered acceptable, but at a later age considered problematic, tended to reject their children. Aptekar states that street children often cite rejection by parents to elicit a sympathetic response, but that in actual fact, there was far less rejection by parents than was supposed. These children, because of the natural contact they have had with the streets from a young age, envisage street life as an adventure, free from parental restrictions, and full of the promise of independence and kinship with friends.

Lastly, he refers to over-protection of children, as a reason for their running away. Although this aspect was not particularly common in the street children he studied in Latin America, nevertheless the "prevailing patrifocal family, with it's restricted role for women often resulted in many women clinging to their children" (Ibid : 192). The child therefore, becomes the crutch to the parent, and feels smothered by the emotional demands made upon it. This may apply to street children in this country, who perhaps, have a heavy burden of responsibility placed on their shoulders due to the absence of their fathers. Justification for this point of view come from Meer et al, who say that although Black women have assumed the status of head of the household, they are neither recognised as such socially, nor do they themselves accept this status. Consequently, their children are pushed prematurely into positions of authority ((Meer et al : 1990 : 275).

In Australia, O'Connor similarly reports on family conflicts as a reason for

running away. He says that even where other reasons were predominantly responsible, "severe family conflict was a secondary or compounding factor." Conflicts with mothers were related to life-style issues, while those with fathers related to their treatment/abuse of the child. Conflict with step-parents in reconstituted families, was the reason given by 40% of the runaways for leaving home (O'Connor : Op cit : 30-32).

South African studies on family conflict are fewer by comparison and echo the themes evident in the international literature. In South Africa, Swart reports that nearly half the sample of street children spoken to admitted "pain, hurt, anger, rejection or aggression in family, relationships." These feelings were ascribed to parents who drank, didn't care, abandoned and punished their children unfairly (Swart : June 1988 : 9).

Richter says that the runaways in her study fled from "cruelty, neglect, rejection and failure in their family and at school" (Richter : November 1988 : 2). She further cites Swart who says that their relationships with their parents were experienced as unjust and hurtful. Those experiences were generalised to most adults in positions of authority, whom they see as being "hypocritical and punitive" (Ibid : 5).

Jayes cites the slow deterioration in parent-child relationships, resulting in conflict in and the flight from troubled homes. The children in her study experienced "an accumulation of unsatisfactory events and a pervasive feeling of not having their needs met" (Jayes : Op cit : 7, 56).

2.2.3.4 The Role of Women

Very few studies in the literature refer to the role of women and how it affects runaway behaviour. Women and their children are two sides of the same coin. What happens to one, is felt by the other. Their ties to one another extend from birth, through life and through successive generations. When women suffer and are down-trodden, so too are the children. It may be argued that the presence of large numbers of street children is

symptomatic of the social, cultural, familial and economic ills experienced by women. Historically, women and children have always maintained an inferior status in the social hierarchy. "A prime factor in domination is that law, devised to ensure human freedom is manipulated by those wielding power, to withhold rights and privileges from others" (Meer et al : 1990 : 35).

In addition to this, the interpretation of the scriptures of selected passages out of context by male scholars, entrenches the domination of women. One of many such verses in the later Hindu scriptures, the Smritis, aptly describes the way in which Hindu women were regarded. It says, "a woman is not independent, she is dependent on man. The father protects her in childhood, the husband protects her in youth, the son protects her in advanced years; a woman is not fit to depend upon herself" (Vasishtha V1-3, cited in Meer et al : Ibid : 25). Pope Gregory I was of the opinion that, "woman is slow in understanding and her unstable and naive mind renders her by way of natural weakness to the necessity of a strong hand in her husband" (Ibid : 24).

Women's domination likewise occurs in the family patriarchy, where the male head distributes resources, both material and affectional, and presides over her domain.

African family life is patriarchal by tradition, and only in so far as the assertion of male domination is concerned. The right to rule or 'control' the household, carries with it obligations and expectations of emotional and financial support. However, "the 'disappearance' of men in the urban areas, and their consequent 're-appearance', for short durations, has driven the women in the rural areas into penury, and forced them into the job market" (Mandela cited in Meer et al : Ibid : 8).

Meer makes the interesting observation that though Black women have

taken on the mantle of head of the household, they are not recognised as such socially, neither do they accept this status themselves. They do not believe in their ability to exercise authority and do so half-heartedly with the result that children are pushed prematurely into positions of authority, and on the reliance of the authority of their peers (Ibid : 275).

Following on this line of thought, the researcher believes that it is entirely possible that street children are the product of this dilemma of the changing face of African society. The mother's psychological confusion in the changing of her traditional role as homemaker to that of sole supporter, paralyses her ability to assert her authority, an authority which she never had. Male children, on the other hand, having been born and socialised into the patriarchy, may flee from their homes and the dominance of their mother's authority, in imitation of the deserting father. It may be argued then, that the psychological tussle between women and children relating to the patriarchy, is in part responsible for the Black street child phenomenon.

A further factor conducive to street life, is the discrimination faced by women, when competing for jobs, housing and equal pay. Although women in the Western world have lobbied for protective legislation and greater equality in all spheres, their sisters in the Third World are severely handicapped by traditional notions of womanhood. In South Africa, Black women are discriminated against racially, socially and culturally. Employers are hesitant to employ domestic workers with children, and they are generally sent to relatives or other caretakers. The more children a woman has, the less likely she is to obtain employment. Agnelli says that "the higher the number of children single working women must support, the greater the possibility of their ending up in the street" (Agnelli : Op cit : 50). The irony is that Black women must of necessity work to support their children, yet the long hours spent at work and in travelling long distances for meagre pay, leaves children more deprived.

Alexander believes that the position of women is central to the discussion of street children. She says that the breakdown of family and community supports, has robbed single women of their self-esteem and control over their lives. Consequently "because of the close relationship between women and children, the lack of such support not only affects the economic situation but the emotional security of their children as well" (Alexander : Op cit : 11-13).

The foregoing discussion views women and children as victims of the patriarchal family system. A different perspective is provided by Aptekar who views the emergence of large numbers of street children, as a natural consequence of the matrifocal family. He makes the distinction between Spanish, European or patrifocal (wealthier) families on the one hand, and African, indigenous, matrifocal (poorer) families on the other hand in Columbia. The former received its wealth from the King of Spain, and fiercely protected it in patriarchy and with the assistance of the state and church. Children were strictly controlled and the power of the family unit, vigorously upheld. The latter was far more flexible. Husbands or paramours were disposed of more easily if relationships did not work out, and children, especially boys, were socialised to leave home before puberty, and attain independence. They therefore "developed normally in matrifocal homes in a tradition of urban poverty" (Aptekar : Op cit : 164). Because the matrifocal family flouted the conventional rules of child-rearing, it was regarded as a threat to the patriarchal family system, and by extension, to its wealth, power and prestige. It was therefore, regarded as pathological (Ibid : 150-164).

In South Africa, the ideal family is depicted as the patriarchal family, where women and children are subordinate to the father. All other family types are regarded as deviant, including the matricentric family, which according to Meer "predominates in South Africa's working class" (Meer et al : Op cit : 274).

2.2.3.5 Illegitimacy

Illegitimacy among South African Black families, has arisen largely out of the policies of migrant labour and influx control. Men who spend only a few weeks each year with their wives, form liaisons in the city with other women from whom they father children. Women also enter into temporary unions with men for financial and moral support, and bear their children as well. The result is a large number of children who grow up amidst the instability and insecurity of temporary and shifting family relationships. Hellman cited in Swart, estimates that in 1971 there were between 26 to 60 percent of illegitimate births in different towns (Swart : November 1988 : 89). Swart states that although illegitimate births have become endemic in the black population, they are nevertheless in contradiction of traditional indigenous values. Illegitimacy leads to the dumping of babies and children (Swart : November 1988 : 90) and to older children seeking refuge on the streets (Swart : June 1988 : 2).

Apart from the legislation which had an effect on illegitimacy rates, Richter et al attribute illegitimacy to the delay in marriage brought about by the lobola system. Traditionally lobola consisted of the giving of cattle to the bride's parents. Nowadays, the urban groom has to pay a substantial amount of money to the bride's parents and has to negotiate complex wedding arrangements between two sets of parents who may live in different parts of the country. The couple may begin to live together and have children long before the lobola has been paid. This, partly accounts for the single status of women, and the illegitimate status of children (Richter et al : May 1986 : 10-11).

Illegitimate children born under conditions of poverty run the risk of abuse, neglect and abandonment, and may account for a sizeable proportion of children on the streets although this was not found to be the case in the present study (refer to Chapter 4).

2.2.3.6 Alcoholism

Alcohol usage is a potent initiator of family conflicts and violence, and is resorted to alternatively for social, religious, cultural and medicinal purposes. The abuse of alcohol is often related to stress, that is people drink to allay anxieties in the home, work and economic spheres of their lives. Far from allaying stress however, alcoholism in fact exaggerates it, as it releases adrenalin. Ten Bensel found a relationship between alcoholism and physical abuse in 83% of all cases he studied (ten Bensel cited in Chetty : Op cit : 57). Alcoholism disrupts family relationships. It often precedes violence and abusive confrontations with spouses and children. It leads to suspension or dismissal from work, which leads to the impoverishment of families, wives having to go to work, and children left in the 'care' of an alcoholic. It weakens the bonds between the alcoholic parent and children. They do not respect the drinker and resent his/her attempt to assert authority and discipline over them. When the alcoholism of the parent is combined with poor living conditions, overcrowding, lack of food, money and physical and emotional warmth, the tenuous ties between parents and children are finally broken.

Swart says that street children around the world have had their security within the family shaken by "divorce, desertion, suicide, alcoholism and child abuse (Swart : November 1988 : 38).

Jayes found in her study, that runaway boys' parents had a higher incidence of alcoholism than the parents of non-runaway boys. She further states that alcoholism (including drug abuse) and family violence increased in densely populated poor communities through the stresses and strains which accrue from such life-styles, while the political structures limit other alternatives. The abuse of alcohol by mothers of runaways in her study was high, and may have contributed to their inability to adequately care for their children. She concludes that alcohol abuse among mothers may have significantly contributed to their children's runaway behaviour (Jayes : Op

cit : 8, 18, 41).

Garman, like ten Bensel, found that alcohol and physical abuse were major reasons for children leaving home, and occurred in 67% of the households under review (Garman : Op cit : 31).

Slingsby concurs with the studies of Garman and ten Bensel and says decisively, "in every case alcohol abuse has figured prominently in the problem, and in most cases physical abuse of the child" (Slingsby : Op cit : 6). Other researchers who link alcoholism with running away are Drake (Op cit : 14); Richter (June-July 1989 : 6); Schärf et al (Op cit : 267); Cockburn (Op cit : 5) and Roberts (Op cit : 19).

It is generally acknowledged that alcoholism in families of the lower and upper strata, locally and throughout the world, is an ever present reality and yet children remain in unhappy home situations rather than run away. Nevertheless, it must be noted here, that in spite of all the factors mentioned thus far which are cited as causes in the street child phenomenon, it is only a handful of the overwhelmingly large number of children experiencing these problems, who actually run away or are thrown out of their homes. Is it that those who leave are stronger, or those who stay who are stronger? Is it weakness that compels children alternately to both stay and endure, or run and endure? It seems that the decision to stay or leave is determined by the different evaluations children make of their circumstances. This latter view finds support in the theory of W. I. Thomas, who says "if men define situations as real ... they are real in their consequences" (Vetter and Silverman : 1986 : 360). In other words, people's subsequent behaviour is determined by the evaluations they make of their situations "regardless of congruence with reality" (Ibid : 360). This it would seem is particularly true of runaways, which the majority of children in the present study are. The particular meanings and interpretations they develop during the course of their interactions with

others, determines ultimately whether they will remain in unhappy home situations or leave. Although external variables (politics, social factors, family) provide the backdrop, the final trigger arises from factors within the children themselves, that is, individual factors.

2.2.4 Individual Factors

In the search for causality and common factors, an approach that takes into consideration all aspects is essential. Motivation, personality characteristics and temperament, all determine how an individual assesses his life circumstances and how he reacts to them. Coping resources are learned in childhood, as well as habits, behavioural patterns and attitudes. The foundations for the personality are established in childhood and is the product of the parents' attitudes and behaviour towards the child, their interactions with him and their cultural values. "Deprivations experienced during this period, such as separation from the mother, rejection by parents, etcetera, also leave their mark on the developing individual" (Cronjé et al : Op cit : 27-28). In the attempt to understand runaway behaviour, many studies examine the characteristics and needs of the child which may precipitate the runaway event. Earlier studies on runaways depicted them alternately as pathological, deviant or delinquent. The reason for running away therefore lay within the child. The views of various researchers will be presented below.

2.2.4.1 Psychological Factors

"The psychological viewpoint assumes that the child is in some sense psychopathological, has poor impulse control, and is deviant" (Spillane-Grieco : Op cit : 159).

An hereditary predisposition which causes the child to seek greater autonomy and independence is cited by Agnelli as a reason for running away. She says that those who uphold the hereditary position, are surprised by the lack of psychopathology in street children, and the positive

qualities they display (Agnelli : Op cit : 46).

Speck et al found in their study of runaways, that they are "more aggressive than the norm, they possess weaker superego strength and recidivist runaways have lower general intelligence than the norms" (Speck et al : 1988 : 886).

Recidivism has been used by several researchers as the criterion by which healthy characteristics of runaways can be measured. In other words, those that run away once are seen as healthy or normal or reacting to a particular problem in the environment, while those who runaway repeatedly are seen to have more serious problems. Repeated running away is listed as a diagnostic criterion in DSM-III⁵ for Conduct Disorders in children and adolescents (Ibid : 882).

Gordon reports on the earlier studies on runaways, in which parallels were made between runaways, psychopathology and delinquency, and in which runaways were found to be "antagonistic, surly, defiant, somewhat assaultive, destructive young people..." (Gordon : 1979 : 56). The negative reaction which runaway behaviour elicited in America at that time resulted in it being declared a status offence in more than half the States in 1968 as well as it's inclusion as the "Runaway Reaction of Adolescence" in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual (DSM) of the American Psychiatric Association in the same year. The treatment of runaways in detention centres, reform schools and mental hospitals, reinforced the negative light in which their behaviour was held (Ibid : 56-57).

Armstrong cited in Nye (1980 : 276) refers to running away as a "psychoneurotic reaction" by youth with "mental deficiency, subnormal

⁵Diagnostic and Statistical Manual

intelligence, poor impulse control and unstable make-up." This approach is unable to explain why some youths displaying such characteristics fail to run away, while others do. However, the converse is more likely true, in that runaways require to be smart, street-wise, with an eye out for the 'main' chance, in order to survive on the streets.

Jenkins distinguishes between three behaviour disorders, namely, the runaway reaction, unsocialised aggressive reaction and the group delinquent reaction. All these reactions, are to him, technically delinquent. The runaway reaction was included in the DSM-II and included those individuals who escaped from threatening situations for a day or more without parental permission. It refers to the "frustration response of a hurt child to the conviction that he is not wanted in his home," and is a reaction of flight rather than fight (Jenkins : 1971 : 169). Characteristics typical of those who adopt this response are "a bad self-image, a sense of worthlessness, fear, emotional immaturity, apathy and seclusiveness (Ibid : 168-172).

However, as has already been stated above, running away as a diagnostic category was dropped from DSM-III, and repeated running away was included as a diagnostic criteria for conduct disorders in children and adolescents (Speck et al : Op cit : 882).

Research indicates that some of the characteristics of street children conform to the psychiatric classification of conduct disorders included in DSM-III of "non aggressive, undersocialised conduct disorder" (Cockburn : Op cit : 7).

Similarly, Jayes in her study found that many of the boys, if not most, displayed symptoms of "oppositional or conduct disorders, mainly of the undersocialised, non-aggressive type listed in DSM-III. She cites Stierlin who distinguishes between those runaways who are delinquent, those who

run away often but show no signs of delinquency, and those who showed symptoms of psychosis. The runaway group with delinquent characteristics displayed truancy, assaultive behaviour, theft, drug and alcohol abuse and promiscuity, all of which are listed as conduct disorders in DSM-III (Jayes : Op cit : 12, 68).

Richter, though disapproving of a psychopathological approach to street children, nevertheless distinguishes between three types of boys on the street. The first group, approximately one third of the sample, displayed from moderate to severe symptoms of some type of disorder. The second, again approximately one third of the sample, showed no signs of psychological disorder, while the last group fell somewhere between both groups. She found that those boys who had strong internal locus-of-control were less psychopathological especially with regard to depression. Those with a strong external locus of control had spent a larger period on the streets, had "less positive relationships with peers and showed more signs of psychopathology, particularly in the form of depression and psychosomatic symptoms." She believes that the psychopathology evinced by some of the boys should not be ignored, as it is likely to hinder their success in certain areas of their lives. On the other hand, some of the boys displayed tremendous resilience and capabilities beyond what was expected of them, despite the enormous hardships they have been exposed to (Richter : October 1988 : 60, 75, 78).

2.2.4.2 Stress

Several studies focus on stress as a reason for children running away from their homes. Wilson and Arnold state that children are under tremendous pressure to achieve, in stark contrast to the reality of their situations. These expectations are transmitted via parents, school and media and present to children an "increasingly unattainable image" (Wilson and Arnold : Op cit : 6). Although this may be true of runaways in developed countries, such expectations are far less likely to apply to the South African

street child. Children are also subjected nowadays, to far more familial stress, evident in increasing numbers of single parent families whose obligation to support and care for their members, extracts a heavy toll on all. A comparative study of runaways and non-runaways by Roberts (Op cit : 17-19) revealed that runaways experienced a greater number of stressful events than their non-runaway counterparts. These included stressful patterns of living, such as being beaten by parents, being thrown out of their homes, death of a parent, the parent's moving in with them, being placed in a children's shelter, and being caught for drug dealing.

Schärf et al are of the view that concomitant with the various deprivations and inequalities suffered by strollers (Coloured street children in the Cape) some traumatic or stressful event relating to punishment by either the parents or the school, provided the final push into a street life (Schärf et al : Op cit : 281).

Jayes, like Roberts, tabulated the number of stress producing events for the children in her study, and found that each child had a mean of 14.72 stressful events. Some of the most frequently reported stress producing events were residential moves, parents' separation or divorce, mother's boyfriend moves in, overcrowding/inadequate housing, financial difficulties, alcoholism, parents' fighting and being beaten by a parent. She says that the boys in her study "had nothing worth staying at home for, and experiencing little but stress, they eventually simply abandoned their homes" (Jayes : Op cit : 43, 44, 46).

It is apparent that the street children in this country, are subjected to both external and internal stresses which may easily explain their presence on the streets. It does not however, explain why more Black children are not on the streets, as the majority experience the same stresses and pressures. The answer is to be found perhaps in the peculiar interplay of social, and especially personal factors, which makes each individual so unique and

determines the decision to stay or flee.

2.2.4.3 Rebellion

Running away represents to some youths, a rebellion against parental control, fear of domination by parents and the feeling of losing control over their lives (Leventhal cited in Jayes : Ibid : 8).

Richter states that running away in the 1960's in America was symptomatic of the emerging youth culture (or hippie movement) which challenged the established values of the social system (Richter : November 1988 : 2). Elaborating on the same theme, Gordon says that large numbers of runaways in the 1960's allied themselves with 'beatniks', 'hippies', anti-war and civil rights activist, in the highly visible protest against family, polity and society. The civil rights movement which was gathering momentum in America at the time, was a reflection of the runaways' own powerlessness. The atrocities of the Vietnam War alerted them to the hypocrisy of the much cherished ideals of peace, democracy, truthfulness and the 'American way of life.' Seen in this context, running away was an expression of "rebellion against a restrictive family and a dangerously oppressive society" (Gordon : Op cit : 57-58). The same may be said to be occurring for Black youth in South Africa, who through the many struggles from 1976 onwards, are beginning to feel a sense of empowerment, and dissatisfaction with their lives and the lives of those around them.

Running away by youths is also an expression of the powerlessness or alienation they feel in their homes and society. They are alienated from homes characterised by violence, conflicts or indifference, and by society which dismisses them as being insignificant, maybe even inferior. "Their silent scream and inner rage surface as they cut loose and take to the streets. There are few safety nets for them, because they are alienated from our society and because we regard them as 'deviants' and 'social junk'" (Wilson and Arnold : Op cit : 7).

Gutierrez cited in Aptekar (Op cit : 173) asserts that street boys behaved in ways which publicly and unashamedly show their opposition to the adult roles available to them. He says that neither hunger nor family disintegration impelled the boys to act in the ways that they did, but rather "defiance and rebellion against the inevitability of inheriting the lowest places in an economy that forced them into servitude." The battle against their inferior status, and the desire for independence propelled many youth into street life. Aptekar notes that children reported leaving home as they could no longer tolerate the demands of their parents, which to him appeared to be fairly legitimate (Ibid : 188).

In a study on runaways and their parents conducted by Spillane-Grieco, eleven of the thirty boys interviewed cited the main reason for running away as not wanting to listen to authority (Spillane-Grieco : Op cit : 161-163) Her study concurs with the studies cited above.

Kufeldt and Nimmo discuss abuse and neglect as reasons for children leaving home. They say that the spiral of abuse and neglect occasioned by poverty and/or stress, is exacerbated by the "special nature of adolescence, perceived as tumultuous and rebellious." This rebellion they say, is used as a justification by the family and service providers for the rejection of youth and the negation of "their problems as inevitable and something that they will grow out of" (Kufeldt and Nimmo : Op cit : 540).

2.2.4.4 Adventure/Camaraderie

Running away has long been enshrined in myths, legends, books and films, and the runaway portrayed in romantic fashion as brave, strong, fearless and masculine. One of the more notable runaways includes Benjamin Franklin whose desire for travel and independence led him to sail the high seas to New York.

Many other youngsters fired by the search for adventure ran away to the

army and to war. Davy Crockett and Huckleberry Finn have likewise influenced numerous youth by their exploits. Since the earliest days "running away has been synonymous with seeking adventure, romance and one's fortune" (Libertoff : Op cit : 154-155, 162).

Richter says that running away conveys two assumptions one of which is associated with adventure, independence and excitement. It holds out the promise of opportunity, fortune and freedom from parental restraints. These sentiments are illustrated in the following extract from Huckleberry Finn. "... he did not have to go to school or to church, or call any being master, or obey anybody : he could go fishing or swimming when and where he chose ..." (Richter : June-July 1989 :4).

Goniwe and Bishop, in their study of street children in Cradock, believe that the circumstances surrounding street children's gravitation to the town are the need to make a livelihood, and the search for "adventure, camaraderie, support and hope" (Goniwe and Bishop : Op cit : 3).

The belief that street life is a natural outcome of different contacts with the street, is expressed by Tellez in Aptekar (Op cit 190-191). Children he says, view other children living happily on the streets, free to do whatever they please whenever they please, and portrayed as heroes in the newspapers. The image conjured up of street life is one of adventure, one that promises food and money and all the things which are lacking in their lives at home. "Life on the streets has a certain attractiveness for the children : such as the liberty, the freedom, and the pleasure of being a Tom Sawyer, which is common to every ten-year-old child" (Gutierrez cited in Aptekar : Ibid : 197). It seems unlikely that the street children in this country have been inspired by or exposed to the exploits of Huckleberry Finn or Davy Crockett. Their heroes may be more tangible and drawn from colourful township figures and local success stories. Be that as it may, the desire for adventure/camaraderie/independence is universal. The street children in

this country, no less than their counterparts throughout the world, could well have been spurred into running away in the eternal quest for adventure and camaraderie.

2.2.4.5 Satisfaction of needs

Apart from the need all young boys have for excitement, adventure, perhaps even danger, street life for many boys fulfils more deep seated emotional needs. Hope and identity are two such needs. The types of homes from which the children come, and the size of their families, give rise to feelings of anonymity and hopelessness. Aptekar says that for street children, leaving home represents the "quest that necessitated leaving the known family in order to seek an identity in the larger family of humankind" (Ibid : 194). He says that street life enables children to fulfil their destinies and the "myth of the divine child", that is an abandoned child from humble beginnings who reaches great heights in his lifetime.

The friendships street children forge on the streets fulfil their emotional needs, and compensate greatly for the deprivations, abuse and neglect suffered in their homes (Goniwe and Bishop : Op cit : 4).

Jessor and Jessor (cited in Nye : Op cit : 285) state that differences in values will determine the decision to run. In other words, children who place a higher value on independence, instead of on school achievement, will be more likely to run away. Nye states that this theory can be generalised to other circumstances as well, and that it can be used generally to explain 'running' to rather than running from.

Nye is of the view that running away may result from the anticipated rewards which are weighed against current circumstances regardless of whether they enjoy good relationships with family, school and friends or not. The external world, as it appears in the media and advertising is shown to be exciting, full of love, generosity and good fellowship. A place

which is idyllic, where the sun always shines, and nothing ever goes wrong. Those youths who believe the promise are more likely to run (Nye : 1980 : 285).

O'Connor says that the desire for freedom and independence together with family conflict often provide the trigger for running away (O'Connor : Op cit : 38).

The most obvious need for street children especially in the developing countries, is the need for survival. To this end they have developed their begging skills to a fine art, and the younger, frailer, more pathetic looking children are far more likely to elicit sympathy and money, than are the older, more 'delinquent' looking boys.

2.2.4.6 Influence of Peers

Not much has been written on the influence of peers on the runaway child. It is generally accepted that peers are an important reference group to adolescents and provide much needed comfort and support in times of stress. In good and bad times, friends can always be relied upon. The fellowship and comradeship that exist between boys of similar ages, backgrounds and interests, often ease the transition into adulthood, and is an important part of the developmental process. Where family life is riddled with conflict and alienation from parents, school and community "peer group acceptance, support and guidance become a source of solace and emotional support which gives the child terra firma" (Cemane : Op cit : 3).

The need for friends and their acceptance, grows out of the individual's constant need for other people. Children within play groups grow into boys in peer groups. These associations are natural and normal.

Where parent-child relationships are healthy and supportive, the child is free to interact with the peer groups, and return to the family at the end

of the day. Where parent child relationships are faulty, the peer group assumes far more significance and must fulfil the role of parent and friend.

Jayes, in her interviews with the mothers of runaway boys, said they perceived the peer group as having a significant influence on their children. They tended to deny the part played by themselves and the community in their children's selection of undersirable companions, finding the peer group responsible instead (Jayes : Op cit : 49-50).

Nye (Op cit : 284) states that those peer groups which are oriented to delinquency, influence their members to do likewise and to reject their families and communities. One of the ways in which rejection may occur, is through running away.

The significance of the aetiological factors presented here are that they confirm the victimisation of street children before resuming a street existence, while the section which follows confirms their victimisation on the streets.

2.3 VICTIMISATION OF STREET CHILDREN

Street children the world over are the exploited, victimised social reprobates, who together with criminals, delinquents, drunks and perverts, society loves to hate. This hatred, or in a milder form, antagonism, is evident in official policy and public attitudes towards them. They are the disposable children and social junk, who are best locked away or dumped far out of the sight of 'normal' people. They "feel exploited by almost everyone : the media, the pushers, the sex purchasers, the sociologists and the do-gooders" (Wilson and Arnold : Op cit : 8). Few people have bothered to look beyond the labels 'bad, delinquent , ruffian, scavenger, etcetera' to within these children. The outward appearance of raggedness, bravado, perhaps even defiance, masks the deep hurt and the need to receive and give affection, which every individual craves, more so the street child. To

react to children who have been abused, neglected and rejected, with further abuse, neglect and rejection, speaks volumes for the so-called levels of sophistication and civilisation we are supposed to have reached.

The abuse, neglect and rejection which characterised the early lives of street children, is once again enacted on the streets. Their victimisation has been categorised as follows :

2.3.1 Danger/Violence

Street children live under constant threat of violence and danger, and assaults on them are regular occurrences. "Adult street dwellers and gang members may take the children's money forcibly or their pockets may be slit at night with razor blades and their money removed while they are asleep" (Swart : 1989 : 14).

She further states that many members of the public believe that by maltreating the children, they will go elsewhere, the implication being that they will rid their communities of the supposed dangers and threats presented by the street children. She reported the teargassing, beating, kicking and sjambokking of the children by certain Hillbrow shopkeepers, in their attempt to drive the children away from their premises (Ibid : 6).

Street children living as far afield as Turkey and the Philippines, similarly report physical, emotional and sexual abuse, beatings, coercion and extortion on the part of police, drugs offered by adults and other street children, and abuse by adult prisoners in jails and police cells (Balanon : Op cit : 162; Konanc : Op cit : 15).

2.3.2 Police brutality

Police brutality towards street children in the form of beatings, threats and intimidation, is not an uncommon experience for many of them. One child reported being beaten thirty times all over his body (Peacock : Op cit : 8).

The corporal punishment, removals and round-ups of street children by the police and their dumping far out of town, are considered to be excessive measures (Goniwe and Bishop : Op cit : 17). The tendency to extort 'bribe' money from street children in exchange for their release from custody, has also been documented (Swart : July 1989 : 14).

2.3.3 Sexual abuse

Street children are easy targets for sexual abuse, particularly by "white paedophilic clients." Their inferior status as Blacks, children and street children, exposes them to various perverse sexual practices, sometimes for very little financial remuneration (Peacock : Op cit : abstract, 1). However, the view has been expressed that "the only approval given to strollers comes in a very problematic area of their lives - their sexuality" (Schärf et al : Op cit : 280). Schärf et al assert that the boys' rendering of sexual services to their clients is satisfying to them, as it boosts their sense of manhood and their sense of self-worth.

Keen similarly reports the physical and sexual abuse of street children by those who attempt to control them or who regard them as 'common property' (Keen : Op cit : 8).

Peacock refers to a mortality rate of more than 50% of street children, attributable to Aids. Rectal haemorrhaging due to "sexual abuse concomitant with prostitution" is also listed as a major cause of death among street children (Peacock : Op cit : 9). This contention has been hotly refuted by Cockburn, who in her long experience with street children denies this claim. She is of the view that such statements are counter productive to street children and lead to their further ostracism and neglect by society (Informal Conversation with Annette Cockburn).

2.3.4 Illness

Street children also fight constant battles against hunger, cold and illness,

apart from the daily antagonisms and hostilities of passers-by and police. Schafer cites the suffering of street children from disease such as 'TB, bronchitis, venereal disease, and "the withering mental effects of drug abuse ..."' (Schafer : Op cit : 20).

2.3.5 Institutionalisation

The official measures adopted in the handling of street children, indicate a negative, punitive and 'don't care' attitude towards them. The typical response of magistrates and social workers is to regard the children as "deviant and unworthy of approval" (Schärf et al : Op cit : 280). This attitude influences official policy and results in street children being subject to "arrest and detention in harsh circumstances at the hands of law enforcement agencies" (Swart : November 1988 : 2). Street children are frequently remanded in police cells, (also regarded as 'places of safety') prisons and institutions. The decision to lock them away in institutions is influenced by the feeling that the streets must be 'sanitized' of their presence, and is akin to locking away mental patients in asylums in bygone days. However, the shortage of institutions (which in this case are 'places of safety') means that more and more street children are being housed in police cells and prisons, which exposes them to contamination with a wide assortment of gang- hardened and criminally inclined individuals. Institutions, be they prisons, police cells or places of safety, are simply not suitable for children at all. Far from achieving the stated goal of rehabilitation, the institutions isolate children from society, and are regarded as repressive and counterproductive instead.

Alexander confirms the widespread abuse and coercion of street children in Guatemala, by the police. The widely held view of street children as delinquents and pests, is largely responsible for the inhumane treatment meted out to them (Alexander : Op cit : 18). This view in turn may stem from their ragged, unkempt appearance, their defiance of social convention and the threat they pose to the family system. Alexander further states,

that the response of authorities to the 'problem' is to lock them away in either institutions or prisons, which is indicative of a denial of the problem, and a "reflection of the attitude that street children are societal evils" (Ibid:17).

Whilst agreeing that arrests and detention are the lot of street children almost everywhere in the world, Agnelli cautions against generalising from the worst case that such "outright rejection by the public and repression by officialdom were universal" (Agnelli : Op cit : 60). There are wide variations in attitude within and between countries towards street children, ranging from tolerance in Thailand to negativism in sub-Saharan Africa and much of Latin America (Ibid : 61) .

2.3.6 Lack of protective legislation for street children

At the time of writing, there is no specific legislation in respect of street children, apart from the Child Care Act No. 74 of 1983 and the Criminal Procedure Act 51 of 1977. In the researcher's view, these two Acts are totally incapable of meeting the needs of street children, and in fact victimise them.

In South Africa children under the age of 18 , are protected by the Child Care Act. In summary, it imposes the duty of care, maintenance and protection from danger, immoral and harmful influences on the parents, guardians or custodians of the child. It concerns itself with the responsibility of the parent, and whether his/her mental condition is conducive to the physical, mental and social welfare of the child (Chetty : Op cit : 17).

All street children may be regarded as children in need of care, as their lifestyles on the street conform to many of the requirements implicit in the definition of a child in need of care. The children's court decides whether the child is in fact in need of care. If this is found to be the case, the court

may order the child to be sent to either a children's home, a school of industries (child care school) or temporary placement in a place of safety, pending designation to a children's home or school of industries (McLachlan : 1986 : 59). The chronic shortage of children's homes in South Africa (9 for Africans in 1986) necessitates the placement of children in places of safety. Although this placement is supposed to be temporary, "three months is given as the maximum time that a child should be kept in a place of safety ... in practice it appears that many children ... wait for months in these institutions contrary to the intention of the Act ..." (Ibid : 52-53). The children that wait the longest are Coloured and African children.

The Child Care Act therefore fails in its duty towards children in need of care. Although places of safety are supposed to ensure interim placements, they often become long-term placements, with negative consequences for the child in this state of limbo. Institutions for children, far from being progressive and rehabilitative in outlook, are punitive and "practise archaic and dickensian methods of 'caring' for children" (Ibid : 131). Child care practices have been accused of blatant racism and the belief that Black children are not as important as White children. The duplication of facilities, resources and manpower for the different population groups, ensures that Black children receive the smallest slice of the cake. The De Meyer Commission into certain aspects of Child Care, stated the need for a suitably qualified, motivated and professional staff to meet the psychological and emotional needs of institutionalised children (Ibid : 129).

If the Child Care Act is to perform its stated duty towards all children, it must drastically increase the number of children's homes, and improve on the quality of child care offered within them, regardless of race.

The Child Care Act also fails to provide for those street children

accommodated in shelters. The Act provides only for those children who have been removed from their parents' care and have been placed in a residential facility chosen by the social worker. It does not provide for those children who remove themselves from their parents' care and seek accommodation at the shelters (Starke : 1988 : 11-12). The Act provides for the registration of shelters as either children's homes or places of care. Children's homes and places of care refer to any residence, home, building or premises, maintained or used for the reception, protection, care, upbringing, and temporary or partial care of more than six children apart from their parents. The advantages of registering a shelter as a children's home are that they then qualify for a government subsidy and possible recognition and respectability.

A shelter which registers as a place of care becomes a legal operation, as non registration of more than 6 children is a violation of the Child Care Act.

The disadvantages of registration are that the shelters then become too formalised and restrictive, and cannot operate on a walk-in walk-out basis. This defeats the purpose of shelters which initially provide for the basic needs of homeless children on the streets where they are needed most. Shelters were initially established as non-governmental initiatives. Registration would drastically curtail the number of children in shelters and would be subject to bureaucratic red tape counterproductive to children in immediate need. Non registration is a violation of the Child Care and former Group Areas Acts, it denies shelters legal custody of children, and it leaves them open to accusations of harbouring children without their parents' consent (Ibid : 12; Stein : 1990 : 5).

This then is the dilemma faced by shelters. The inference to be drawn, is that the Child Care Act opposes non-governmental initiatives on behalf of the street child. It is clear to the researcher that the placement of street children in places of safety is a totally inadequate way of trying to solve the

'problem'.

The Criminal Procedure Act, has also been severely criticised for failing to adequately protect Black children. Although the Act does provide certain safeguards to children on trial, these are overshadowed by the tendency of law enforcement agents and court officials to dispense with the proceedings as quickly as possible, without availing themselves of the discretionary powers at hand. Awaiting trial children are usually kept in police cells, which in the Children's Act, No 33 of 1960 were defined as places of safety. This Act has since been replaced by the Child Care Act No 74 of 1983 which "provides that a place of safety includes any place suitable for the reception of a child, into which the owner, occupier or person in charge thereof is willing to receive a child" (McLachlan : cited in Burman & Reynolds : 1986 : 347) Bail as an alternative to incarceration is seldom used, neither is the option to leave children in the custody of parents or guardians. Furthermore, the Criminal Procedure Act makes provision for parents to assist children during court proceedings, on condition that they can be traced timeously and they live within the same magisterial district as the court. Hutchinson (cited in Peacock : 1990 : 12) is of the view that magistrates all too readily accept the absence of parents during the trials of children. If a child is sent to prison, he often finds himself incarcerated with individuals up to the age of 21, as the Prison Act, 1959 defines a child as a person under 21 years of age. The child has the right to legal representation, but most Black children cannot afford it. The most severe criticism of the Act (CPA) is its failure to provide free legal counsel for children on trial. The trial proceedings are traumatic. The child is disadvantaged physically, racially, socially, economically and educationally and is unable to effectively defend himself on the charge. Peacock concludes that "the inadequate provision for children in the law, provides little real protection to the street child" (Ibid : 13).

It is argued that these various forms of victimisation, isolate, rather than

integrate street children into conventional society, and open the door to primary as well as secondary deviance.

2.4 STREET CHILDREN AND DEVIANCE

Two schools of thought prevail in studies of deviance. The positivists hold the view that deviance is observable, real and determined by internal or external factors beyond the deviant's control. Anti-positivists conversely, believe deviance to be an arbitrary social judgement conferred by the powerful on the powerless.

Positivists are also concerned with the degree of consensus elicited by a particular crime, with crimes such as murder, rape, armed robbery, etc., receiving greater value consensus.

Anti-positivists concentrate on the less serious forms of deviance, such as prostitutes, drug addicts, a category into which street children would fit more comfortably. These crimes consequently elicit lower value consensus. The contradiction is apparent here, for although street children fit the anti-positivist notion of deviance, their behaviour nevertheless, elicits maximum censure, as was indicated by their victimisation in the preceding discussion.

Definitions of deviance are variable depending on the theoretical position taken. In the present study, deviance is defined as "any behaviour considered deviant by public consensus, which may range from the maximum to the minimum" (Thio : 1988 : 22). This definition incorporates elements of positivism and anti-positivism. It is also defined from the anti-positivist perspective as an arbitrary social judgement or label conferred by the powerful on the powerless. This latter definition has significance for secondary deviance, as it is argued throughout the study that the negative perceptions of people with whom street children interact, and the punitive measures they adopt in dealing with them, victimises street children further by closing off legitimate options, such that he comes to accept society's labelling of him as deviant and lives up to the label.

A study of the literature reveals that most studies implicate street children in various acts of deviancy. Weaving a thread through the local and international literature, one sees a definite pattern of deviance associated with street children and runaways. Street children's involvement in begging, prostitution, drug abuse and various types of theft is widely documented. Their exploitation and coercion into deviant activities by older children, gang members or adult criminals, is also a reality. The longer they remain on the streets, the greater the possibility that they will be drawn into the web of illegal activities. When legitimate means of supporting themselves become unavailable, illegitimate activities provide a means of support.

The literature reveals that by society's standards, street children deviate from social, moral and legal norms. Some studies also point to personality deviance on the part of the children.

Swart says that although some people condone the behaviour of street children as that which is to be expected under the circumstances, it is however "considered deviant in terms of childhood and community norms" (Swart : July 1988 : 8). The feeling also exists that street children will not be part of mainstream society when they grow up.

2.4.1 South African Studies

Various studies focusing on the deviant activities of street children are discussed below. They relate to :

2.4.1.1 Delinquency

The debate as to whether street children are delinquent or not is evident in the South African studies.

Richter asserts that street children become involved in criminal activities because of their need to survive, but that there is no evidence to support the

contention that most home leavers have anti-social traits, or that most of them had a history of delinquency before the runaway episode. The results of two studies conducted in South Africa, she says, do not provide concrete evidence that street children are delinquent in terms of psychiatric criteria. (Richter : June/July : 8).

The overall finding in her studies with regard to delinquency, was that delinquency was minimal and featured in only a small group of children. By contrast it was found that anxiety and depression appeared to be far more prevalent amongst street children in general, as well as problems in interpersonal relationships, rather than anti-social behaviour and delinquency (Richter : March 1989 : 8, 11; October 1988 : 58; May 1989 : 17). However, this finding is contradicted in an earlier study where she found that 23% of the boys in her study exhibited behaviour which can be described as delinquent. Richter is uncertain whether the anti-social attitudes and behaviour of street children were a cause or a consequence of their running away from their homes. Nevertheless, their involvement in such activities antagonises the communities in which they occur, and hinders efforts to assist them (Richter : July 1988 : 11-12).

Cemane confirms the delinquency of street children and believes that the lack of commitment to family, schools and communities, and consequently their values, are conducive to the adoption of delinquent behaviour patterns (Cemane : 1990 : 2-4).

2.4.1.2 Drugs/Substance abuse

Richter cites the use of drugs by street children to dull the pangs of hunger, cold and fear and to numb the child into a state of oblivion (Richter : June-July 1989 : 7).

Bothma writing on the 'hunting-gathering' activities of strollers, states that alcohol, sweets and marijuana followed a successful heist. Dagga use by

strollers at feasts and as part of leisure time activities, not only united the group, but also "represented an important cultural link between strollers and gangsters" (Bothma : Nov. 1988 : 5, 40-41, 49-50, 69-70).

A favourite activity of street children, albeit deviant, and one that is well documented, is glue sniffing. Garman in her study of solvent abuse amongst street children in the Cape, notes the progression from smoking and drinking to glue sniffing and finally to dagga, sometimes even mandrax and cocaine. Other substances which are inhaled include plastic cement, drycleaning fluids, nail polish remover, lighter fluid, dyes, hair lacquer, aerosols and petrol. The novice is initiated into glue sniffing by his peers, as this is very much a social activity which promotes understanding of and between peers. It may also be used as rebellion against society and as a means to combat hunger, cold and fear. The boys in her study however, reported a preference for dagga over glue (Garman : Op cit : 6, 51-52, 57-58).

A similar study undertaken on substance abuse in children at the Bayhead Place of Safety, found substance abuse to be prevalent in 55 (45%) of the children in the sample (Pather : 1991 : 28). Worthy of consideration at this point, are the negative effects suffered by glue sniffers. Feelings range from "euphoria, giddiness, light headedness, flying in space, to delusions, hallucinations and extreme aggression followed by violence" (Osler:1986:6).

A document compiled by the Hillbrow 'Traders' Association setting down their grievances in respect of street children, lists glue sniffing as a problem which influences the "unacceptable attitude to members of the public and local traders" It is believed that street children are engaged by white syndicates for mandrax pushing and housebreaking (Swart : June 1988 : 11-13).

2.4.1.3 Gangs

Bothma did find an overlap between street gangs in Cape Town and the strollers in his study (Bothma : Nov. 1988 : 5, 40-41, 49-50, 69-70).

Schärf et al's study indicated that only 7% of the children interviewed belonged to gangs (Richter : June-July 1989 : 8-9).

The link between a few street children and gangs is referred to by Altshuler (cited in Jayes : Op cit : 24). A report by the Detainee's' Parents Support Committee refutes the link between gangs and street children, saying that, although they do engage in petty theft, they are not essentially criminal or gangsters. Their behaviour is seen as "evasive and passive" rather than "aggressive or confrontory" as is the gang (Detainee's Parents Support Committee : Op cit : 156).

Schärf et al in their study of street children in Cape Town, believe that there is very little overlap or similarity between gangs and strollers, and that they tend to frown upon one another. They say that although both gangs and strollers have transferred their economic and emotional dependence from family to peer group, gangs differ in that they maintain contact with their families, "subvert and exploit the mechanisms of capitalist society", demand extreme loyalty and wield extensive control over members, and are obsessed with maintaining and portraying a 'macho' image. The philosophies of gang members and strollers are therefore, far removed, gangs being confrontory while strollers tend to escapism (Schärf et al : Op cit : 265-266).

2.4.1.4 Prostitution

Researchers have contradictory viewpoints concerning street children and prostitution. Some believe that naive newcomers to the city are "grabbed for kinky sex", resulting in lasting damage and trauma when combined with the already destructive conditions from which the children have escaped.

Others see Black children as practising a skill which is positive and satisfying to the child because of his contact with adult whites and as an ego-booster to a poor self-image (Detainee's Parents Support Committee : Op cit : 152-153).

One of the most lucrative activities for strollers, and which is deviant in terms of their upbringing and generally accepted moral values, is prostitution (also referred to as chip-chop). In Schärf's study, twenty four of the twenty eight strollers had contributed to their incomes by means of prostitution; and boasted about their contacts with 'bunnies' (white men) and 'sugar mummies' (white women). However, the Aids scare has had a sobering influence on these activities, and discussions with strollers a year after the twenty four admitted deriving an income from it, revealed that only seven "earned money from prostitution with males while three claimed that female clients were their major source of income" (Schärf et al : Op cit : 279). From this study, it appears that homosexuality is twice as prevalent as prostitution, and in the researcher's view, may be explained by the child's need for the love of his father engendered by separation from him and the lack of an appropriate male role model. These residual feelings are then transferred to other males, and take the form of sexual activity with them.

2.4.1.5 Theft

Bothma distinguishes between the 'hunting-gathering' activities of strollers. 'Hunting' refers to high risk, high return activities such as prostitution and theft, while 'gathering' refers to assisting shoppers, begging and doing odd jobs. His study found that more time was spent and more income generated by the gathering activities. It became clear that, as more restrictions and pressures were placed upon the group's activities, the gathering activities declined and the hunting activities increased. Theft as a hunting activity, required careful planning and great consideration. The strollers in the study were well aware of their insecure position in the community and the

consequences should they be caught. For this reason, theft was often an individual activity, and regarded as a lucrative source of income. A successful 'job' was highly regarded and conferred on the 'doer' a high status (Bothma : Nov. 1988 : 5, 40-41, 49-50).

2.4.1.6 Begging

Begging as a public nuisance offence is the predominant income generating activity of street children, and a good day can earn a child R20. 'Innocent' children exploit their vulnerability and deprived status to stir the consciences of those better off than they are. The stories of 'woe and desolation' are designed to loosen the strings of the tightest of purses, and if there is a girl among them, she is used to do the begging on behalf of the group (Detainee's Parents Support Committee : 151-152; Schärff et al : Op cit : 276).

2.4.1.7 Conduct disorder

In Jayes' discussions with the parents and house-parents of the boys in her study she found that the boys evinced symptoms of oppositional or conduct disorders of the "under-socialised non-aggressive type" as listed in DSM-III. The parents of the runaways complained of their sons' truancy and occasional stealing, thereby indicating a tendency to deviance prior to running away. Shelter staff reported a variety of conduct disorders such as lying, tale carrying, jealousy, manipulative behaviour, defiance, disobedience, inter alia. The boys had also abused substances such as dagga, cigarettes and paint thinners, had committed theft and were sexually precocious and at least half the group had had homosexual encounters. It was found that "their behaviour seemed to regress when frustrated and they seemed to carry over unfulfilled needs from earlier developmental stages." Furthermore the tendency to run away from the shelter in response to difficulties there is indicative of a maladaptive response to frustration (Jayes : Op cit : 64, 68-69). Pringle cited in Jayes, (Ibid : 73) says that the stress of adverse family conditions negatively

affects the development of a healthy personality. This results in "the development of personality disorders and maladaptive patterns of behaviour in order to meet needs or as a means of handling conflict and stress" (Jones, Jenkins, Roberts, Gutierrez and Reich, cited in Jayes : Ibid : 73). From the foregoing discussion it would appear that apart from the social and legal deviance associated with running away, personality deviance may also be considered a forerunner to and consequence of running away.

2.4.1.8 General

McLachlan cited in Swart, says that the commonest offences for which street children are arrested, are begging, petty theft, loitering, housebreaking and being a nuisance (Swart : July 1988 : 8).

The other activities reported by the 'host' community in Hillbrow to be characteristic of street children, are urinating in public, gambling, glue sniffing and worrying people for money. It was also felt that their relationships were marked by violence and inconsideration. The children themselves reported that begging and petty theft were engaged in of necessity, while they dissociated themselves from gang activities (Ibid : 6-7, 11-12).

Street children are reported to be aggressive, belligerent and whining in their attitudes to the public. Fighting, squabbling and the use of children in criminal operations and organised prostitution were also included in the document.

Swart states that the opening of a particular sheltering project (unnamed) which provided food, clothing and shelter, in fact robbed the children of their pride in being able to support themselves and assist their friends while on the street. The result was that since their basic needs were being met, the children had more time on their hands to engage in "theft, housebreaking, and prostitution - all activities which had previously formed

only a small part of their life-style."

Bromley, cited in Swart, says that begging and theft may be functional in that the former enables the donor to feel good about himself, and the latter provides a service to the 'fence' (Swart : July 1989 : 4, 10, 11, 16).

Street children or 'strollers' in the Cape are frequently arrested for common law crimes such as theft and shoplifting and public nuisance offences such as "begging, spitting, being drunk or dirty, swearing, shouting and the like" (Schärf et al : Op cit : 273).

Schafer, in agreement with the previous researchers mentions the involvement of street children in begging, pilfering, pickpocketing and shoplifting. He says that when legitimate income producing activities such as shoe-shining, assisting shoppers with parcels and odd jobbing are unavailable, the children turn to illegitimate activities such as bag-snatching, housebreaking, prostitution, begging, loitering and disturbing the peace (Schafer : Op cit : 20-21).

2.4.1.9 Secondary Deviance

The view that street children will grow up to be vagrants and/or criminals is disproved in the studies of Schärf and Swart cited below. However, the researcher's view that arrest, coercion and contamination by adult offenders and other street dwellers is confirmed, with obvious implications for the entry into deviant careers later on in life.

Schärf et al's study disproved the notion that adult vagrants were once street children. What is known however, is that the longer the child stays on the street, and the more he runs away, the more likely he is to become involved in criminal activity, and the more difficult it will be to adjust socially and occupationally (Schärf et al : Op cit : 8-9).

Swart says the popular belief that "the streets are schools of crime" and that street children will grow up to be criminals, is not true, as can be seen from the number of children who grew up on the streets and are now in respectable employment. However, when street children are arrested, most commonly for petty theft, the tendency is to incarcerate them with adult offenders, who pass on to them the "tricks of the trade." Contamination of children by the more hardened offenders is likely to entrench their criminal careers (Swart : 1988 : Africa Insight).

An interesting perspective was provided by the street children themselves during the 'izindaba' (group discussion) with Jill Swart. They reported being forced to engage in activities they knew to be wrong by adults they encounter, such as Rastas⁶ and street dwellers. These activities include experimenting with drugs, housebreaking and prostitution "by members of all race groups and both sexes" (Ibid : 169). On the other hand, glue addiction and petty theft is learned from other street children (Ibid : 169).

The street children who had been imprisoned, reported learning skills in housebreaking and theft whether they wanted to or not, and being recruited by gang members for breaking and entering. Methods of coercion were often brutal (Swart : Nov. 1988 : 177).

2.4.2 Overseas Studies

The overseas literature also links the runaway (those that made the voluntary decision to run away - this term is in common usage in Western countries) with various types of deviant activities.

Gordon states that running away has historically been seen by adults "as a defection from the family and the social order, a crime against the community, and a sign of mental illness." Furthermore, running away in

⁶Rastas-Rastafarians "Members of a politico-religious movement among elements of the black population of Jamaica, who worship Haile Selassie I, former emperor of Ethiopia ..." (The New Encyclopaedia Britanica : 949)

America was for centuries regarded "as a sign of deviance, a symptom of delinquency, and a reaction against unquestioned and largely unexamined social norms" (Gordon : 1979 : 61, 67). This attitude dominated official policy towards runaways, and resulted alternatively in their confinement in special institutions for youthful offenders, the official categorisation of running away by the American Psychiatric Association in 1970 as a mental disorder, and the criminalisation of running away as a 'status offence' (behaviours like truancy or incorrigibility, which were a punishable offence for people under 18 years of age, but not for adults) (Gordon : Ibid : 56; Libertoﬀ : 1980 : 159, 161).

The criminalisation of runaways and the view that it constituted a mental disorder, placed the responsibility for them in the hands of police and juvenile court officials and mental health professionals. Gordon however, believes that the rights of the runaway have been ignored and that "law-enforcement and mental health agencies have tended to perpetuate, not remedy, this process of isolation and labelling" (Gordon : Op cit : 61). These professionals have adopted a paternalistic attitude towards children which can be traced back to the end of the previous century where the efforts of social reformers led to the establishment of "special judicial and correctional institutions for the labelling, processing and management of troublesome youth." The 'invention' by the child savers, of delinquency and a juvenile court system which would impose the label, "not only reaffirmed old categories of deviant behaviour but they identified and invented new ones (such as running away)" (Platt cited in Libertoﬀ: Op cit :158).

Gullotta (1979 : 112) suggests that runaways "manifest significant psychological disturbances", and that "runaway delinquents seem to have the least well-organised personality ..."

A follow-up study on runaways by Olson et al, conducted twelve years after the run away event, provides several illuminating perspectives on

runaways, not reported in most of the other literature. Their study revealed that repeat runaways experienced far more social, psychological and legal difficulties than one time runaways, who were virtually "indistinguishable from their non-runaway counterparts" (Olson et al : 1980 : 185). Moreover, middle-class runaways experienced more difficulties than their lower-class peers, in that they had further to fall down the social ladder having forsaken educational and family supports (Ibid : 186). They found the differences between runaways and their non-runaway siblings to be striking, so much so that they believe that one cannot only take social structure and forces into account, but also personality and psychological variables and family dynamics (Ibid : 186-187).

2.4.2.1 Delinquency

Kufeldt and Nimmo are of the view that runaways are in danger of being drawn into delinquent activities, depending on the distance from home and the length of time which is spent on the run. They believe that distance from home reduces the network of friends and encourages illegal activities. Some of the youth in their study reported committing offences in cold weather so as to be provided with shelter. Moreover, the youth developed a 'street welfare system' and 'Fagin type existence' whereby the help of friends and illegal activities offered runaways security and protection in the face of diminishing legitimate opportunities (Kufeldt and Nimmo : 1987 :531, 536, 538-539).

In similar vein, Young et al refer to delinquent, alienated runaways who are characterised by a history of delinquent behaviour (Young et al:1983:268-278).

Nye refers to the heavy costs incurred to society through the "robberies, assaults, drug pushing, hustling, prostitution and other criminal activities" committed by runaways. He believes that need as well as opportunity (no supervision, abundance of time) is partially responsible for their behaviour. He asserts that the following statements are true, and supported by

considerable evidence :

"Delinquent behaviour is increased in a society as the result of adolescent runaway behaviour," and "by running away from home, youths are more likely to engage in delinquent behaviour than if they had stayed home" (Nye : 1980 : 293, 296).

The involvement of street children in delinquent activities, is to Agnelli, the natural outcome of having to adjust alone in a hostile environment. From their perspective, and perhaps in their street subculture, such activities ensure a living, and are not regarded as wrong or illegal. However, the most salient point made by Agnelli, and which the researcher concurs with, is that "street children as such are not delinquent, but only immediate candidates for delinquency if their needs are not met" (Agnelli:1986:40, 95, 112).

2.4.2.2 Terrorism

Agnelli on the other hand makes an interesting observation not referred to in any of the other studies. She says that the presence in a city of large numbers of disgruntled young people with nothing to lose may be politically destabilizing (Ibid : 19). Such youngsters may be recruited by certain governments for their paramilitary forces. Their vulnerability and naivety make them prime targets for use by unscrupulous individuals in acts of violence and terrorism. Therefore, "street youths of today can become the guerillas of tomorrow" (Ibid : 92). However, a similar report entitled "Street children are being 'trained as terrorists'" appeared in the Natal Mercury (September 19, 1989) in which a Durban City Councillor was reported as saying that "the people helping the street children were training them to be terrorists." The Councillor in question received telephone calls from individuals who warned that certain groups (unnamed) were "training the children to become revolutionaries."

2.4.2.3 Drug Abuse

Agnelli also cites the use of drugs by street children as an escape from a reality characterised by hardship. In Latin America, the children are used as couriers, agents, and perhaps full-guys. If they survive they turn into full-fledged criminals (Ibid : 36, 40).

Young et al affirm the drug usage of runaways and its use as a means of support prior to and during the runaway period. They also cite several researchers who view prostitution as a means by which runaways "sell sex for favours" (Young et al : Op cit : 276,278).

Gullotta asserts that runaways have a higher incidence of drug abuse and contact with the police than their non-runaway peers. Furthermore, theft and selling of drugs are the most often resorted to means of obtaining money for food and shelter (Gullota : Op cit : 112).

Drug use by Colombian street children, as with street children and runaways elsewhere in the world, is highly prevalent. Aptekar states that the "young children who were less successful at street life," most often became involved, particularly with inhalants. These children, he says progress from alcohol or inhalants, to illegal drugs "and then follow the older children into the delinquent subculture. Those children who were moving toward the delinquent style of life often became involved with drugs" (Aptekar : 1988 : 145-146, 148).

2.4.2.4 Prostitution and Theft

Agnelli and Young et al refer to the involvement of street children in prostitution as a means of attaining favours and an immediate income (Agnelli : Op cit : 40,95; Young et al : Op cit : 276, 278).

Agnelli is also of the view that street children must work to survive, and that they regard themselves as legitimate workers, even when they make

their livelihood through theft (Ibid : 40, 95).

2.4.2.5 General

Writing on street youth in Australia, Wilson and Arnold describe activities which appear to be far more serious, than the others reviewed.

The authors identified "alcoholism, severe criminal activity, drug taking, male prostitution, female prostitution and attempted suicide" as being characteristic of the street youth in their study (Wilson and Arnold : 1986 : 17, 4,58,69,84-89). They present a vivid account of the outwardly and inwardly destructive activities engaged in by the street kids in their study, such as the abuse of "alcohol, heroin,household pills, cough mixture, paint thinners, . correcting fluid", serious criminal and violent activities, intentional suicide acts and self-mutilatory acts (Ibid : 17-18). Their statistics show that 34% of their runaways were charged with serious offences or with committing several offenses, over half had undergone juvenile court procedures, approximately 20% were hard drug users, and approximately 25% had engaged in prostitution (Ibid : 25-26). A surprising finding of theirs, and one not mentioned in the overseas literature reviewed, was that glue sniffing was prevalent, especially among younger children, and that it had replaced other types of drug use (Ibid : 50-51). Deviant activities (acting out) and suicide (self destruction) are the response of the 'kids' to the alienation, powerlessness and rejection they experienced and still are experiencing in their lives (Ibid : 7, 87).

2.4.2.6 Secondary Deviance

One of the main arguments in this study, is that the victimisation of street children through arrest, labelling, blocks the attainment of goals through legitimate means, and in this way pushes them into secondary deviance when they come to accept society's perceptions of them. This view is confirmed by Alexander, O'Connor, Olson et al, and Aptekar.

Alexander views 'the street child problem', as she calls it, as a breeding ground for "many of the gravest social ills", namely violence, prostitution and drug abuse. She believes that as the number of street children increases, so too will the likelihood that they will engage in more hard-core crimes as they become adults. 'The street is an excellent teacher in the art of survival and anti-social attitudes towards a rejecting society. She, like the other researchers already mentioned, cites a high incidence of drug use of various kinds, as well as "begging, robbing, stealing and prostituting themselves, actions which reinforce their low self-opinion." Like Aptekar she believes that society's view of the street children as 'bad' and 'delinquent' forces them to live up to the label, and that "their behaviour is a reflection of this label" (Alexander : 1987 : 15-17).

O'Connor says that the closure of legitimate employment avenues necessitates that the runaway seeks alternate methods of support, and may as a result be forced to beg, prostitute him or herself, resort to stealing, petty offending, robbery with violence and drug dealing (O'Connor : Op cit : 82-84).

One of the most interesting findings in a longitudinal study conducted by Olson et al, and one which would confirm the link between street children and deviance, was that 13 out of the 14 former runaways interviewed had been arrested at some stage, while 9 had appeared before the court on formal charges. These charges ranged from being "drunk and disorderly to burglary, assault and battery", of which theft appeared to have occurred most frequently (Olson et al:Op cit:181). Most of the runaways also suffered some type of psychological symptom or affliction "having been formally referred for professional help..." (Ibid:183). The authors make the point that the runaways' troubles follow them into adulthood, as "psychiatrists, schools for delinquents, counsellors, private schools, halfway houses, or jail - have neither reversed nor even noticeably ameliorated their problems" (Ibid:183).

Aptekar states bluntly that by adolescence, street children "have crossed the boundaries into thuggery" and have been denied the luxury of self-indulgence enjoyed by others of their own age (Aptekar:Op cit:78). Furthermore, he believes that the appearance and behaviour of street children determines whether they will be accepted into the adult world or whether they will be forced into a delinquent life-style. If they appear 'thug-like' or fit the delinquent stereotype, the chances are that they will be forced to fulfil the prophecy (Ibid : 11). In other words, the society's view of the children, their negative expectations of them, and the closing of legitimate avenues and opportunities, pushes them into delinquency, resulting in the self-fulfilling prophecy. The perception of the street child by society at large, is transferred to the child, who internalises it and begins to identify with it. The street children therefore, as they grew older "were compelled by their perceptions of themselves as haughty provocateurs to give up small scale mischief and become either full-scale delinquents or find a way to live outside the mainstream of the larger society" (Ibid : 77).

2.5 SUMMARY

From the causal factors and deviance, a profile emerges of street children from poverty stricken, violence torn and conflict riddled families and communities. Theoretically, the local and overseas studies make a significant contribution to an explication of causal factors and deviance, mainly primary deviance. The runaway episode itself may be regarded as an act of primary deviance as it is a violation of cherished social norms. In most societies and cultures throughout the world, the child is part of the family unit where socialisation to make him a functional member of society occurs. Running away inhibits the process of becoming a functional member of society, jeopardises his contribution, and is experienced as a loss to society as a whole.

Scant attention is paid however, to secondary deviance, which in the researcher's view, correlates positively with a hardening of attitudes,

recidivism and entry into deviant careers. Of particular significance theoretically, is the follow-up study of Olson *et al*, who report on the multiple difficulties and psychological difficulties experienced by middle-class and repeat runaways, and an almost 100% arrest rate twelve years after the runaway event. These findings serve to confirm the views held by the researcher that the brutality of street life, negative interactions, and handling procedures, may well set into motion an irreversible process of primary and secondary deviance. Since the problems posed and experienced by street children are of relatively recent interest and concern in South Africa, no follow-up studies have been undertaken thus far and are urgently needed, especially in relation to deviance.

Theoretically, this study is different in that it traces the victimisation of street children from their families and their communities to their lives on the street and emphasises the important role played by their victimisation on the streets in entrenching deviance, particularly secondary deviance.

The researcher has also wedded positivist notions of value consensus with anti-positivist notions of labelling. Positivists assert that the greater the severity of the act, the higher the value consensus it will elicit and that maximum negative sanctions are elicited in cases of murder, rape, armed robbery, etc. Anti-positivists believe that it is the labelling of the act, rather than the act itself which determines if behaviour is deviant or not. It is therefore, asserted that those street children do engage in deviant behaviour (primary deviance), the degree of value consensus is higher because of their powerlessness in society, the penalties are severer, and this negative labelling catapults them into further acts of deviance (secondary deviance) since legitimate avenues of goals attainment are closed to them.

The insights provided in this chapter with regard to causes of the street child phenomenon, victimisation of street children and their deviant activities, are taken up in Chapter 4 and again in Chapter 5.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In any research project, the researcher is accountable for his "starting point, methods, findings and applications" (van der Walt *et al* : 159). The ultimate value of his/her research is dependent upon the methods, procedures and techniques utilised. This chapter is an elucidation of the steps undertaken in order to achieve the several aims of this study. Due consideration will therefore, be given to the research model used, sampling in respect of street children and service providers, data gathering tools (questionnaires and interview schedules), data analysis and limitations of the study.

3.2 RESEARCH MODEL

In the present study, a combination of methods has been utilised, that is quantitative and qualitative methods. It is believed that a combination of these methods enhances both the reliability and validity of the findings, as shortfalls in one are compensated by the other, and vice-versa. It is generally accepted that the quantitative method is synonymous with the positivist approach, while the qualitative method is preferred by the anti-positivists. Haralambos and Holborn however, make the point that the positivist/anti-positivist impasse is a sixties hangover, and that the relationship between proponents of each method is now that of a truce. They believe also that "practical difficulties have at least as much influence on the choice of research methods as theoretical considerations" (Haralambos & Holborn : 1990 : 718). Quoting Reichardt and Cook, Deshpande asserts that the quantitative paradigm is seen to have a "positivistic, hypothetico-deductive, particularistic, objective, outcome-oriented, and natural science world view," while the qualitative paradigm is said to subscribe to a phenomenological, inductive, holistic, subjective, process-oriented, and social anthropological world view" (Deshpande:1983:3). The quantitative dimension is provided by the use of questionnaires and interview schedules. The inclusion of open and semi-structured

questions in the questionnaires and interview schedules provide the qualitative element by attempting to arrive at an understanding of people's interactions and perceptions.

The researcher agrees that practical difficulties are a major concern and as such have influenced the ways in which the data were gathered in the present study. The questionnaire which is popular with positivists was decided on for the following reasons :

- The children under study originate from severely disadvantaged backgrounds, many have spent a great deal of time on the streets, and may as a result be regarded as functionally illiterate. It was therefore, believed that their ability to articulate and verbalise may have been somewhat impeded, hence the decision to administer interview schedules in which choices were offered to them.
- To ensure uniformity of the data gathered.
- To ensure a wider range of data than might otherwise have been obtained in unstructured interviews. On the other hand, since several "open" questions were included, qualitative data were also obtained, for example:

‘What would make you really happy now?’, and

‘What job would you like to do when you grow up?’

The responses to these questions were varied, revealing practical, realistic, unrealistic, even hedonistic wishes and desires, for example :

‘I would like to study further’

‘I would like to make progress’

‘I would like to own an aeroplane’

‘I would like to buy dagga and cigarettes’

Further to this, several questions asked of the children, focus on the interactions of street children with other street children, criminals, shopkeepers, social workers, the police, inter alia. Symbolic interactionism therefore, has been chosen as the most applicable theoretical approach when dealing with the perceptions of the street children and service providers. This approach considers the meanings and interpretations people make during their interactions with others and how such meanings and interpretations influence the ways they think about themselves and how they react. Schurink asserts that although quantitative methods such as social surveys are regarded as inappropriate by symbolic interactionists, their use in gathering data on people's perceptions should not be negated. In fact the combined use of quantitative and qualitative methods is encouraged (Schurink : 1993 : 136). The tendency to place street children in places of safety, is proof of the negative perceptions that exist towards them. It is believed that street children's largely negative interactions with those with whom they come into contact victimises children who have already been victimised and fosters deviance rather than conforming behaviour.

3.3 STEPS TAKEN DURING THE EXECUTION OF THE STUDY

3.3.1 Sampling

The selection of the sample involved :

- (i) The selection of respondents with regard to the questionnaire, that is, the service providers
- (ii) The selection of respondents with regard to the interview schedule, that is, the street children.

(i) Selection of Service Providers with regard to the Questionnaire

The term 'service providers' refers to those individuals who, through their various organisations or occupations, render services on behalf of street children. As the universe of data was known, a probability sampling technique was used. The

researcher utilised a non-random selection technique, as the universe of data is small. Van der Walt et al state that "this procedure is especially useful in preliminary investigations" (van der Walt et al : 1977 : 193). To the best of the researcher's knowledge, no previous studies in the Durban area have canvassed the attitudes and opinions of service providers towards street children, and it was considered expedient to include all identified service providers in the study.

A total of 119 questionnaires were distributed to service providers at the Bayhead and Umlazi Places of Safety, the Community Social Work Section of the City Health Department, the Street Child Unit of the Durban City Police, Durban City Councillors and Streetwise. These individuals represented a variety of professional and non-professional, business, administrative, clerical and legal occupations. Seventy-one individuals responded to the questionnaire, representing a response rate of 59.7%.

TABLE 2 : DISTRIBUTION OF SERVICE PROVIDERS

DISTRIBUTION	NUMBER DISTRIBUTED	NUMBER RECEIVED	PERCENT
BAYHEAD PLACE OF SAFETY	60	45	75.0
UMLAZI PLACE OF SAFETY	6	4	67.0
CITY HEALTH DEPARTMENT	8	7	88.0
CITY POLICE	5	5	100.0
CITY COUNCILLORS	30	6	20.0
STREETWISE	10	4	40.0

The above table indicates that the highest response to the questionnaire was from the Street Child Unit of the City Police (100%). "Durban became the only city in South Africa to form a police unit to deal with the problems of street children" (The Daily News : 29.8.90). This Unit was established in 1988.

Questionnaires were administered to every member of the Street Child Unit of the City Police, City Council and Streetwise. With regard to Bayhead Place of Safety, 60 questionnaires were distributed to social and child care workers, nursing sisters and house mothers, out of a full staff compliment of 98. The opinions of cleaning staff, maintenance workers and security personnel were not elicited. In the case of Umlazi Place of Safety telephonic communication with the director, Mr Mbonambi, revealed that six staff members dealt mainly with street children.

Likewise, telephonic communication with Jane Hudson of the Community Welfare Section of the City Health Department, revealed that eight staff members handled matters pertaining to street children.

A high response rate was also received from the service providers at Bayhead Place of Safety, 45 (75%). This is in keeping with the co-operation and assistance accorded to the researcher and her assistant while conducting the interviews there. The response from Umlazi Place of Safety, was likewise high, 4 (66.7%).

With the exception of the City Council, the overall response rate from the service providers was heartening, and is indicative of their concern for the street children they serve. On the other hand, the low response rate from the City Councillors is in keeping with the indifference and apathy they have displayed thus far to the street children. As the local decision making body, the Council is in the position to play a far more active role in a problem which is steadily increasing, and which is an indictment on Durban as the "friendly" or "holiday city." The tendency is to deny responsibility for street children on the grounds that the Council does not deal with welfare matters. This being the case, the policy must be reformulated so that the Council can deal with a wider range of matters, particularly those pertaining to street children.

The questionnaires which were administered to the staff at Bayhead Place of Safety, the Community Welfare Section of City Health Department, the City Police, and Streetwise, were all delivered and collected personally by the

researcher. Questionnaires were posted to the Umlazi Place of Safety and contained stamped, self-addressed envelopes for their return.

Those to the city councillors also contained stamped, self-addressed envelopes. All the respondents were given 14 days within which to respond.

(ii) Selection of the Street Children

To determine the precise number of children living on the streets of Durban is very difficult, if not impossible. The reasons for not being able to do so are diverse.

- * Estimates vary due largely to the unknown or 'dark' figure. They are generally based on the number of street children in places of safety, shelters, and other known abodes and 'hangouts.' Swart, in 1987, estimated the number of street children to be approximately 5 000 country-wide, while Richter in 1988 estimated the presence of over 9 000 street children in South Africa (refer to Chapter 1). A report in the Daily News, Saturday, February 3rd 1990, stated that in Durban, the number of street 'waifs' varied between 300-500 children. No doubt this is a conservative estimate, and the number is assuredly far higher now in 1992.
- * The responses indicate that the largest number of street children went to the beachfront immediately after running away from their homes, and to friends, relatives and other areas and haunts in and around the city centre. The majority of children are therefore not accounted for in the statistics, unless they eventually make their way to the places of safety and shelter.
- * It is difficult to distinguish between children 'of' the street and children 'on' the street. Children 'of' the street, are 'true' street children as we know them, while children 'on' the street are those who work on the streets to earn money, most of which goes to their families, and who return home to

their families.

Taking the above factors into consideration, the researcher employed a purposive non-probability sampling technique in respect of the street children at the Place of Safety and Zamani Shelter as the universe of data was known. The researcher made contact with numerous organisations and individuals in an effort to establish the whereabouts of the children. Contact was made with the following organisations :

The City Police

The South African Police

The City Health Department

Natal Provincial Administration

Pinetown, Clermont and Durban Child Welfare Societies

Umlazi Place of Safety

Streetwise

The Children's Foundation

Legal Resource Centre

Through personal communication with individuals in the abovementioned organisations, the researcher ascertained that street children were accommodated at Bayhead, Umlazi and Wentworth Place of Safety, and at Zamani Shelter.

Since the majority of street children were to be found at Bayhead Place of Safety, it was decided to interview only the children who resided there. Umlazi and Wentworth Places of Safety, had fewer than 10 street children at the time of the interviews.

Bayhead Place of Safety falls under the auspices of the Natal Provincial Administration, and was officially opened in November 1988. It was established in terms of the Child Care Act and can accommodate a maximum of 370 children, although the present complement of children is far lower. It makes provision for

children between the ages of twelve and eighteen, who have either been charged with criminal offences, or who have been declared "in need of care." Originally, Bayhead was intended to be a temporary measure, while the NPA negotiated for more suitable premises or land. It has since developed mainly into a place of safety for street children. Since the time of the interviews at Bayhead, (August 1991) the school has been fully established, as well as a literacy training programme. One hundred and forty-three children who were identified as street children, were interviewed there.

The street children were also interviewed at Zamani Shelter, also known as Zamani street children. Zamani Shelter was opened some time in 1988, following the razing of Khayaletu Shelter. The children are accommodated in containers and rondavels in a tranquil, and what appears to be, semi-rural setting. This is a project which is run by the Durban Child Welfare Society, and which is accommodated in the grounds of Lakehaven Children's Home. It has no affiliation to Lakehaven, except that some of the street children attend school there, and others go to schools elsewhere. At the time of the interviews (August 1991) there were 25 children at Zamani. Twenty-one children agreed to participate in the study, two declined, and two had gone to their homes for the week-end. The interviews took two week-ends to complete. Zamani shelter is operating as a second phase project, that is, the basic needs of the children are being fulfilled. An attempt is made to modify behaviour through the point or token systems whereby good behaviour is rewarded by points and vice versa. It is hoped that the project will eventually be a three phase one. The first phase will operate as a walk-in shelter in the city, where children can obtain a meal, but no accommodation. They are taught survival skills and basic hygiene. It is envisaged that the children from phases one and two will be eventually integrated into the third phase, where the aim will be to develop the children's various skills and talents by teaching pottery and other skills. The third phase will also try to reintegrate the children into formal schools and their communities. For those who cannot go back to formal school, the emphasis will be on skills training.

The interviews were conducted in August 1991 with the help of a research assistant who is Zulu and proficient in the language. He was recommended by a colleague for whom he had undertaken similar research projects. He also worked at Khayaalethu Shelter when it was in operation. The interview schedules were translated into Zulu with the assistance of the Zulu Department at the University of Durban-Westville.

They were conducted informally, mainly outdoors, and took three weeks to complete.

Interviews with street children were also conducted on the streets. The children were interviewed at the Workshop, Minitown and in the Grey Street complex. A snowball sampling technique was used to obtain respondents. "Snowballing is a very specialised type of sampling and is usually only used when other methods are not practical. It involves using personal contacts to build up a sample of the group to be studied" (Haralambos & Holborn : 1992 : 725). The researcher and her assistant encountered two boys who had been living on the streets for a lengthy period of time, and it was through their enthusiastic co-operation and unfailing interest, that their friends were recruited. Contrary to other researchers' findings which found that their respondents' attention span was short and that they were easily distracted, the researcher and her assistant found the children to be extremely interested in the proceedings, and they appeared promptly at the appointed hour. It is the researcher's view that had the interviews gone on for longer than the appointed time period, there would have been no shortage of respondents or co-operation.

The street interviews occurred over a 3-day period, that is, Friday, Saturday and Sunday. In that time 29 children were interviewed. A total of 193 street children were therefore interviewed for the present study, all of whom were Black.

3.3.2 Choice of Methods for Gathering Data

The data in the present study were gathered by means of :

- (1) Interview schedules administered to street children
- (2) Questionnaires administered to service providers, that is, those individuals who through their various occupations, render services on behalf of street children.

(i) The Questionnaire

In order to uncover the feelings, perceptions and attitudes of service providers to the street children whom they serve, the researcher made use of the questionnaire. "... the questionnaire is the most usual technique for collecting information ... and it is currently used in the collection of data on beliefs, values, behavioural patterns, customs, etc." (van der Walt et al : Op cit : 203). The many advantages of the questionnaire are that they allow for a mass of information to be collected quickly and uniformly, they provide scientific evidence from which generalisations and comparisons can be made, they can be reviewed and controlled by other researchers, and they do not allow for the 'coercion' of the respondent (Ibid : 209).

The questionnaire was constructed with due consideration to the local and international literature on the subject, local studies as well as local media reports. Several of the questions were direct quotes taken from local articles, and were included to determine whether service providers shared similar or opposing views. Examples are:

"Shelters will attract street children away from unfavourable home environments"
(See Appendix A)

"Shelters for street children trap them in a system of inequality" (See Appendix A)

"The people helping street children are training them to be terrorists/revolutionaries" (See Appendix A).

The questionnaire was standardised so that the same questionnaire was

distributed to all service providers. It contained a total of 20 questions, many with sub sections. Questions progressed from the simple to the more difficult type of question in keeping with the requirements of a questionnaire, as stated by van der Walt et al (Ibid : 208). The questionnaire included both open ended and closed questions.

Van der Walt et al (Ibid : 204) state that the former type of questions "are usually in definitive categories". An example of the closed type of question is as follows:

Age :

20-30	31-40	41-50	Over 50

Open questions on the other hand, allow the respondent the freedom to elaborate more fully, and are "usual in intensive studies where a limited number of cases are used or where a preliminary study of a problem or solution is being made" (Ibid : 204). An example of this type of question is as follows :

"What facilities/resources/services are you aware of for street children in Durban?"

The purpose in asking this question was twofold. Firstly, the researcher wished to ascertain whether the service providers are aware of other facilities/services, over and above the ones in which they worked, and secondly, to enumerate existing facilities/services with a view to making recommendations in this regard.

All questions, except for the open ended, merely required placing a cross in the appropriate space.

- (ii) The Interview Schedule : Administered to street children (self-reporting study)

Part of the data in the present study were also gathered by means of an interview schedule, or formally structured interview. Anastasi asserts that this method may be regarded as an oral questionnaire (Anastasi cited in van der Walt et al : Ibid : 198). The interview schedules were structured so as to allow for uniformity in questioning. They contained a total of 40 questions, with both closed and open-ended questions. The latter type of question allowed the respondents greater freedom in replying.

The interview schedule contained several questions which were included in the questionnaire to service providers. The reason for doing so was to compare the responses of the street children and service providers to questions such as :

"Why did you leave home?" (Appendix B)

"Why do you think street children leave home?" (Appendix A)

"Which of the following activities have you engaged in? " (Appendix B)

"In your experience, which of the following activities are street children engaged in?" (Appendix A)

The interviews at the place of Safety were conducted by the research assistant in an informal, non-threatening manner, and care was taken to establish rapport with each child, and to make him feel a valued part of the research project. As the weather was warm, most of the interviews were conducted outdoors. It was felt that the respondents would feel freer to respond outdoors rather than in the confines of a clinical office. Interviews which were conducted at the shelter and on the streets were naturally more relaxed, and the respondents talked freely and openly. The research assistant explained the purpose of the study to each boy, some of whom he was familiar with at Khayaletu Shelter.

In order to avoid duplicating any of the interviews (as the rate of absconcion from Bayhead is high) the names of respondents were recorded on the interview schedules. They have not been used in order to respect the children's confidentiality and the ethical considerations involved in research of a sensitive

nature.

3.3.3 Data Analysis

In view of the large number of interview schedules and questionnaires, it was decided that manual processing of the data would be impractical. As the interview schedules and questionnaires were not precoded, each question had to be coded. The closed type of questions were easily coded. The open-ended questions were grouped according to similarity of response, and then coded. The numerical codes were transferred manually by the researcher onto data processing sheets. The data was processed statistically with the use of a computer, thereby fulfilling the requirements of a descriptive study, namely, verbal-scientific description, typological description and statistical description. The services of an experienced systems analysis programmer was invaluable in the completion of the final stages of the numerical analysis of the data. The "Data Base" programme was used, and all data were checked by means of an automatic verifier.

3.4 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Overall, the response to the study was heartening, and service providers and the street children alike were willing participants. In any intensive study, particularly with regard to sensitive or controversial issues, difficulties are encountered. These few difficulties are elaborated upon below :

In order to determine the extent and nature of the deviant behaviour of street children in the Durban area, the researcher sought, and obtained, permission to study the files from both the Children's Court and Juvenile Court. The intention was to substantiate the involvement of street children in deviant activities gleaned through the interviews, with the court records.

At the Children's Court, all files relating to cases heard before it in 1989 and 1990 were thoroughly examined and transcribed. However, it was difficult to determine from the files whether the children were street children or not, as no reference was made to this fact at all. In order to avoid making assumptions on the status

of the children, it was decided not to use the Children's Court records.

The researcher observed the same procedure at the Juvenile Court. However, the records at this court far outnumbered those at the Children's Court, and for the years 1989 and 1990, there were a total of 2 600 files. The researcher made a thorough study of boxes 1-222 (each box contained 10 files) and once again came across no cases which pointed to the fact that they were street children. In boxes 98-129, the researcher came across 3 cases where the offenders may have been street children, as their addresses were unknown. Once again, in order to avoid making assumptions, the researcher decided not to continue with the examination of the files. The reasons for reaching this decision, were that firstly, it would have taken far too much time to go through 2 600 files. Secondly, the files were scanty as the majority of trial proceedings were mechanically recorded and had cassettes included, and lastly, there was no indication that the children were in fact, street children.

A further obstacle related to the delay in obtaining permission to interview the street children at Bayhead Place of Safety and Zamani Shelter. However, within 3 months of writing to the Natal Provincial Administration, an affirmative reply was received from the Director of Social Services in the Community Services Branch of the NPA. No effort was spared in assisting the researcher and her assistant whilst conducting the interviews at Bayhead Place of Safety.

Although no written confirmation was received from Durban Child Welfare Society in respect of interviewing the children at Zamani Shelter, permission to proceed with the interviews was granted by the individual in charge of the project, and she in turn proved to be most helpful to the researcher.

The researcher wishes to point out that there are no doubt other formal/informal organisations which render services to street children. The responses to the question on what facilities/resources/services exist for street children in Chapter 5 indicate that the large majority of service providers themselves are unaware of

the other facilities/resources/services which exist for street children, apart from their own. It was therefore difficult to ascertain the other formal/informal organisations which serve street children in the study area. However, through informal communication with many informed individuals, she was able to identify the service providers included in the present study as important service providers in the specified area.

It should also be borne in mind that the respondents included in the present study, are largely drawn from formal, bureaucratic structures, and that consequently their views may not be shared by individuals who provide services to street children at "grass roots" level. Be that as it may, their views and opinions which may reflect official policy, are important, and form the basis of the recommendations discussed in Chapter 6.

The City Police were most co-operative to the researcher, though they did display an initial reluctance to complete the questionnaires, perhaps owing to the criticisms levelled at them in the past. In view of the fact that they are in the forefront in so far as the initial contact with street children is concerned, their participation in the study was considered imperative. The outcome of discussions with them was that they agreed to participate in the study provided the researcher personally administered the questionnaires to them. This was duly accomplished.

The interview schedule was not strictly adhered to in the course of interviewing the children, but was modified slightly as the interviews proceeded. The interview was lengthy and designed to include all relevant details pertaining to the children's background and circumstances. In order not to tire the children, the questions were modified slightly, whilst adhering to the basic structure and format of the interview schedules. Examples of this are as follows :

"Which of the following activities were you engaged in/are still engaged in ?"
(Appendix B)

This question was rephrased as follows with :

"Which of the following activities have you engaged in ?"

"Which of the following activities bring you the most money and where?"

(Appendix B)

This question was replaced as follows with :

"Which of the following activities bring you the most money?"

The children had, to a lesser or greater extent, all engaged in some deviant activity at some time in their street careers and may have understated their involvement in them for fear of reprisal. The intention is not to make moral judgements, but to emphasise that street children do engage in deviant acts when all legitimate avenues for earning money are closed to them, and that the longer they live on the streets, the more likely it is that they will engage in deviant activities to support themselves. The intention is also not to get the street children into trouble with the police, or to 'rid' the streets of them, but instead, to jog public and official conscience to the benefit of street children and the public alike.

Despite the abovementioned difficulties, the researcher believes that the interviews and questionnaires have provided a wealth of information which will provide insights and serve as a basis for further research in the area.

3.5 STRATEGIES USED TO CURB THE EFFECT OF NUISANCE VARIABLES

The reliability of observations or data is influenced by at least four major variables: the researcher, the respondent, the measuring instruments and the research context under which the research is conducted. In order to curb the effects of these nuisance variables, thereby increasing the validity of the findings, certain procedural safeguards were adopted.

3.5.1 The researcher

A problem often confronted by researchers in the behavioural sciences, is that of bias. It may be argued that a particular subject for study, the tool chosen and the expectations of the researcher, all point to or presuppose a certain bias. Be that as it may, bias on the part of the researcher was negated by the use of a trained research assistant, who was asked to adhere to the questions and not lead or prompt the respondents in any way and neither to evince any reaction to the responses. Any bias or prejudice he may have had was controlled in that information relating to the aims of the study were not revealed to him - he therefore, could not "look" for something, as he did not know what he was "looking" for. A further problem confronting the researcher, is the choice of a "tool", which in this study was the questionnaire to service providers and interview schedule to street children. Although there are several limitations in the use of the questionnaire, its advantage is that it allows for uniformity in the collection of a mass of data. It was also considered appropriate as many of the respondents have spent long periods on the streets, and may have lost or not had the ability to communicate satisfactorily. Rather than leaving them to talk freely, it was decided to offer them choices to questions which probed various aspects of their lives, before and after taking to the streets. In order to ensure the reliability of the questionnaire/interview schedules, they were revised and referred for comment to colleagues several times before a pretest was conducted on a limited number of respondents.

3.5.2 The Respondents

With regard to the respondents, the researcher had to be mindful of the ages of the children, language barriers and the inability or unwillingness to articulate feelings/perceptions. These limitations were overcome by utilising the services of a trained Black research assistant with whom they could identify. The interview schedules were translated into Zulu and alternatives offered to overcome age and communication difficulties. Swart reports that street children have had bad experiences with officialdom and tend to be very suspicious when confronted with formal questioning (Swart : 1986 : 12).

In view of the fact that the majority of children were detained in an institution, care was taken to remain neutral and objective, yet empathetic, so as not to be seen as 'taking sides' with either the staff or the children.

The interviews were all conducted informally, even in a formal institution such as Bayhead Place of Safety. The children were able to accept the research assistant, many of whom had known him previously at Khayaletu Shelter.

Ethical considerations also had to be taken cognizance of. The researcher and her assistant were extremely sensitive to the circumstances and feelings of the respondents. Care was taken not to coerce or lead the respondents in any way. Children are also very protective of their parents, and even under duress, will not let them down easily. Any questions which caused even the slightest discomfort or hesitance, were passed over and the respondent was allowed to proceed with the following question.

It is a well known fact by those who work with or research street children, that they are highly adept at manipulation, and in telling "exaggerated or patently untrue tales designed to provoke sympathy and elicit donations" (Schärf *et al* : 1986 : 273). It is also generally accepted that street children have "had bad experiences with officialdom and tend to be very suspicious when confronted with formal questioning" (Swart : 1986 : 12). However, Swart attests to the essential importance of the interview method in order to obtain an all round perspective on the lives of street children. It is difficult to state categorically that the answers obtained, truthfully reflect the circumstances of the children prior to and after leaving their homes. However, the researcher believes that the responses are an adequate reflection of home circumstances prior to assuming a street existence and once on the streets because :

The findings correlate largely with others in the field.

At no stage during the interviews at Bayhead, Zamani and on the streets, did the

children display boredom or lack of interest. On the contrary, they evinced a great deal of interest and wanted to be included in the study and to put across their points of view.

Body language and non-verbal cues can be seen as indications of veracity, and did not suggest malingering on the part of the respondents.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE PROCESS OF BECOMING A STREET CHILD AND GETTING INVOLVED IN DEVIANT ACTIVITIES

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The review of literature in chapter two presents a range of political, social, family and individual factors which contribute to the street child phenomena. From these factors there emerges a social profile of the lives of street children before leaving their homes which, due to apartheid policies, are characterised by family disorganisation and disruption, poverty, unemployment, chronic housing shortages, alcohol abuse, physical and emotional abuse, dissatisfaction with school, etcetera. All these factors point to the victimisation of street children before leaving home. Chapter two also examined the victimisation of street children after leaving home, which forms an important link in the chain of causality and deviance, and paints a further profile of the street life of street children. This chapter is a shift from the theoretical, and presents the findings of the empirical study based on interview schedules administered to 193 street children :143 from Bayhead Place of Safety, 21 from Zamani Shelter and 29 who were interviewed on the streets.

This chapter pursues the causation, victimisation and deviance themes through an analysis of sociodemographic characteristics and other background information on the sample, becoming a street child, involvement in and nature of deviant activities, the social world of street children, and their perceptions and attitudes.

A quantitative method has been utilised (interview schedules). Schurink asserts that although this method is disapproved of by symbolic interactionists and others, "it has increasingly been propagated that quantitative methods can and should be used in combination with qualitative methods" (Schurink:1993:136). Symbolic

interactionism, particularly labelling, has been used as a broad framework to discuss the victimisation and deviance (primary and secondary) of street children, thereby providing an anti-positivist/qualitative dimension.

This chapter is divided into three sections, two of which comprise the introduction and summary. In the forthcoming section the findings from the empirical study are presented.

4.2.1 SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF AND OTHER BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON THE SAMPLE.

TABLE 3 : AGE OF RESPONDENTS

AGE	NUMBER	PERCENT
1 - 5 YEARS	1	.5
6 - 10 YEARS	15	7.8
11 - 15 YEARS	142	73.6
16 - 18 YEARS	35	18.1
TOTAL	193	100

From the above table, it appears that the majority of the respondents were between 11 and 15 years of age.

The findings in the present study agree largely with those of other South African researchers on the subject of age. In her several studies, Richter found street children to range in age from seven to sixteen years (Richter : July 1988 : 4). In the present study, children ranged in age from 5 to 18 years of age, being two years younger and older than the children in her study. The majority of children in her study were between 13 and 16 years of age (Richter : July 1989 :3). In the present study, the majority, 142 (73.6%) were between 11 and 15 years of age. In earlier studies Richter notes that 75% of the street children were between 12 and 16 years of age

(Richter : March 1989 : 5), with a median age of 13.5 years (Richter : Oct. 1988 : 9). The average age of children in the present study is 13 years. A study of children on the streets in Cradock revealed that the boys ranged in age from 8 to 17 years, with an average age of 13 years (Goniwe and Bishop : 1989: 9).

Swart reports that between November 1985 and November 1987, there were 272 street children living on the streets of Hillbrow, who ranged in age from 4 to 19 years. However, she points to the difficulty in establishing exact ages, as children tended to calculate ages according to the number of 'Christmases' spent on the streets and at home. This proved more difficult for the older boys, whose memories seemed unclear or hazy (Swart : Nov. 1988 : 97).

Matilda Smith's conversations with street girls on the streets of Cape Town, revealed that the majority were between 13 and 17 years of age, indicating that they started 'strolling' later than boys (Smith cited in Keen : 1989 : 8).

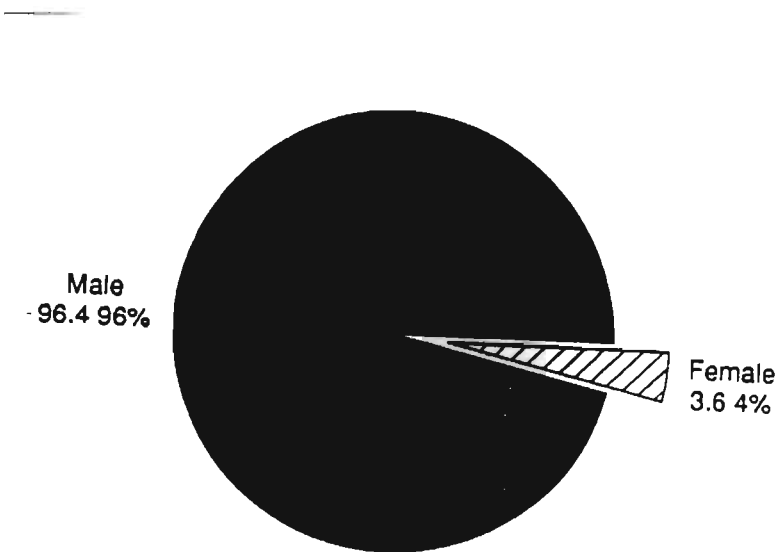
In America, the average age of runaways is 16 years of age (Kufeldt and Nimmo: 1987 : 537; Young et al : 1983 : 275; Nye : 19880 : 275; Zingaro : 1988 : 9). South African street children therefore, leave home earlier than their American and European counterparts. Possible reasons for their earlier departure from their homes maybe attributable to the poverty stricken homes and townships from which they come, and the neglect which often goes hand in hand with it. It is generally known that parents commute long distances to and from work, leaving early in the morning and arriving back in the early evening. The long working hours and the frustrations inherent in lowly paid occupations and the constant battle to make ends meet, will it is believed, erode the best intentions of parents, and their ability to cope with such pressures. Under such conditions, children are left to their own devices daily, and the situation becomes worse if they are not at school. It may, therefore, be natural for them to spend their days

on township streets. It may be argued that one street is very much like another, and the children are merely exchanging life on township streets for the excitement and perceived material advantages of the city's streets. Hence the younger age at which South African street children leave home.

South American studies reveal that street children in those countries, like the South African street children, leave home at a far earlier age. Pejic (1988 : 66) reports that most street children "are between ten and eighteen years old, but children of five or six years old are no exception." Agnelli says that children commonly start their street existence around the age of 8 years (in Latin America), and "reach a peak around 15" (Agnelli : 1986 : 34).

FIGURE 1 : GENDER OF RESPONDENTS.

The respondents in the sample were predominantly male, 186 (96.4%), while only 7 (3.6%) were female.



The literature reveals that the overwhelming majority of street children are male (Swart : Nov. 1988 : 97; Richter : Oct. 1988 : 1; Richter : Nov. 1988 : 1; Pejic : 1988 : 66; Agnelli : 1986 : 34). However, the exception is runaways in America, where there is a more or less even number of males and females (Kufeldt and Nimmo : 1987 : 537; Young et al (1983 : 275); Nye (1980 : 275). Spillane-Grieco on the other hand, found that the largest number of runaways in her study were "female, middle-class, and age 15" (Spillane-Grieco : 1984 : 163).

Richter is of the view that street girls comprise approximately 10% of the street child population (Richter : July 1988 : 4). Schärf et al similarly report on the presence of 300 strollers in Cape Town in 1985, 30 (10%) of whom were girls (Schärf et al cited in Burman and Reynolds : 1986 : 262).

Bothma's study of 9 street children in Cape Town revealed that only 2 were females. They were expected to carry out 'women's work', such as cooking and washing, and to remain subservient to their respective boyfriends (Bothma : 1988 : 35-36). The predominance of male street children in developing countries may be attributed to the patriarchy and the sex-role discrimination inherent in it. Males are socialized to be tough and aggressive, and are expected to spend more time out of the house (either at school, work, with friends). Females on the other hand are taught to be subservient, and are expected to spend most or all of their time at home in the pursuit of household chores and womanly duties.

TABLE 4 : HIGHEST EDUCATIONAL LEVEL

HIGHEST EDUCATIONAL LEVEL	NUMBER	PERCENT
JUNIOR PRIMARY : CLASS 1, 2 AND STD 1	66	34.2
SENIOR PRIMARY : STDS 2, 3 AND 4	86	44.6
JUNIOR SECONDARY : STDS 5, 6 AND 7	18	9.3
SENIOR SECONDARY : STDS 8, 9 AND 10	-	-
NO FORMAL SCHOOLING	21	10.09
NO RESPONSE	2	1.0
TOTAL	193	100

The above table indicates that the majority of respondents in the sample, namely 86 (44.6%) proceeded as far as the senior primary level. Therefore, the 86 children had from 4-6 years of schooling behind them. According to Richter "a pass in Standard 2 is considered the minimum educational level to qualify as 'literate' (Richter : October 1988 : 14-15). Therefore, the majority of children in the present study, 86 + 18 (104) are literate.

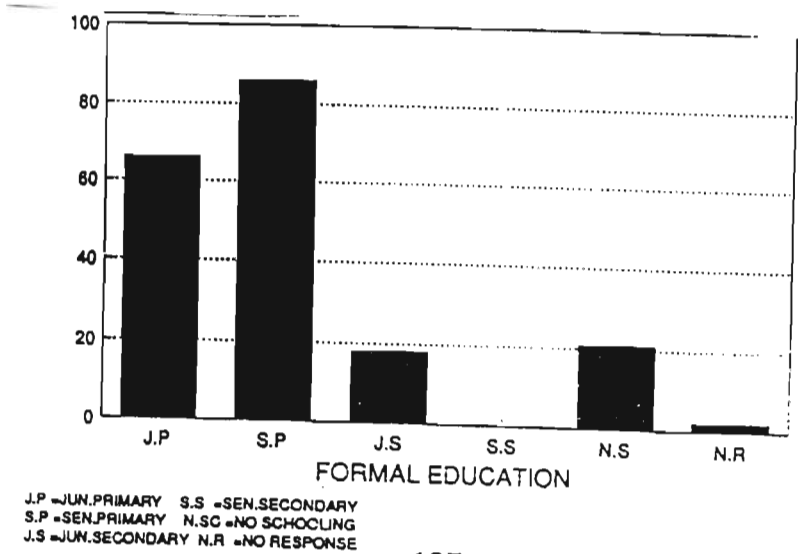
Sixty six (34.2%) went up to junior primary level.

Eighteen (9.3%) attained junior secondary level.

None of the children proceeded to senior secondary level.

Twenty one (10.9%) had never been to school.

FIGURE 2 : EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF STREET CHILDREN



However, given the inferior quality of education in Black schools together with the high teacher-pupil ratios, unqualified staff, lack of facilities, low teacher and student morale, inter alia, "it is likely that even those children who had passed Standard 2, were functionally illiterate" (Ibid : 15). An interesting finding in support of the above statement, was made by Richter. In a comparative study between "same-aged school children from urban township environments and the street children", no differences in performance were found between the two groups of children, even though the former were drawn from standard 1 to 5 pupils. The tentative question posed is whether the Black educational system fosters critical, independent and logical thinking, over and above that which occurs from the informal day-to-day learning and maturation process (Richter : Nov. 1988 : 10-11). It may well be that the street children's abilities are sharpened by the rigours of having to fend for themselves on the street, while their school-going counterparts are by contrast dulled by the unstimulating and uninteresting class room environment.

Richter further found that despite 'poor physical development,' 'moderate to severe cognitive difficulties' (in approximately one third of the sample) and 'moderate to severe psychological disturbance', approximately one fifth of the street children exhibited intellectual abilities far beyond what was expected considering the backgrounds from which they came (Richter : March 1989 : 3). Furthermore, their ability to survive on the streets is testimony to the effectiveness of their problem-solving skills, and is once more indicative of their "cognitive abilities based on tacit knowledge" (Richter : Nov. 1988 : 7).

In their study of children on the streets in Cradock, Goniwe and Bishop found that the majority of children, 7 (50%) had only completed Sub A. The average school attendance for the 14 boys in their study, was 20 months (Goniwe and Bishop : Op cit : 15). Schärf et al found that only 4 out of the 31 children in their study claimed to have enjoyed school, and yet had not

proceeded beyond standards two and three (Schärf et al : op cit : 269). Swart similarly concludes that approximately 49 percent of street children are virtually illiterate. Nevertheless, they demonstrate "considerable persistence and endurance", and "few are demotivated by failure" (Swart : November 1988 : 102-103). A further observation with regard to street children, is the belief they have in the value of education, and the hankering they have for it (Swart : Nov. 1988 : 103; Agnelli : 1986 : 30; Jayes : 1985 : 60; MacCurtain : 1988 : 10; Swart : 1987 : 7; Kramer : 1986 : 1,2; Kufeldt and Nimmo : 1987 : 541).

Kramer on the other hand refers to the street children's lack of basic knowledge in things which most of us take for granted, and attributes this to the deprived homes and environments from which they came, and the lack of stimulation therein (Kramer : Op cit : 1).

A different perspective is provided by Olson et al (1980 : 172) who say that social class affects the length of time spent in school. Street children in this country come from the lowest socio-economic class, and the value of education as the pathway to better opportunities, although valued, is unobtainable and unaffordable when more pressing survival needs must be met.

Furthermore, the majority of Black youth who have become politicized through the constant struggles for freedom and equality, do not identify or value the Bantu Education System which they see as inferior and as the tool which entrenches their oppression.

Although the children in the present study are young, the Soweto uprising of 1976 has highlighted the role of township youth in shaping political events. In addition, the widespread presence of the police and defence force in the townships and schools, and the imprisonment of children under the state of emergency, have all forged a common bond of comradeship, and

nevertheless be considered functionally illiterate in terms of the quality of schooling received and the length of time spent on the streets. This lack of an all-round education will drastically limit the chances of the children in becoming legitimately productive members of society.

OTHER TRAINING

The findings indicate that 192 (99.5%) of the 193 respondents interviewed, have had no other training. This fact, together with the discontinued or interrupted schooling of these children, does not augur well for their futures.

AREAS OF ORIGIN

The respondents in the study came from a great many areas, as the table below indicates. Some of these areas have been the scenes of fierce clashes and much violence.

TABLE 5 : AREAS OF ORIGIN

AREA	NO.	AREA	NO
Inanda	29	Inchanga	1
Kwa Mashu	19	Mapumulo	1
Umlazi	16	Phoenix	1
Hammarsdale	14	Tongaat	1
Ashdown	8	Lindelani	1
Clermont	5	Mandini	1
Port Shepstone	5	Lamontville	1
Ntuzuma	5	Ndwedwe	1
Umtshwalumi	4	Thornwood	1
Kwa Ndengezi	4	Chesterville	1
Umkomaas	4	Umzimkulu	1
Adams Mission	4	Shallcross	1
Kwa Makhuta	4	Intshangwe	1
Newcastle	3	Ulundi	1
Bizana	3	Mawoti	1
Harding	3	Nongoma	1
Umtata	3	Stanger	1
St Wendolins	3	Malagazi	1
Marianhill	3	Welbedacht	1
Mount Frere	2	Eshowe	1
Ixopo	2	Howick	1
Richmond	2	Malvern	1
Hillcrest	2	Umbumbulu	1
Verulam	2	Umbogintwini	1
Bothas Hill	2	Holy Cross	1
Ohlange	2	Bergville	1
Folweni	2	Groutville	1
Table Mountain	2	Inchanga	1
Empangeni	2	Edendale	1
No Response	2	Georgedale	1
Lusikisi	1	Ngonyameni	1

The above table shows that the highest number of respondents were from Inanda, 29 (15%); Kwa Mashu, 19 (9.8%); Umlazi, 16 (8.3%); Hammarsdale, 14 (7.3%); Ashdown, 8 (4.1%); 5 (2.6%) each from Clermont, Port Shepstone and Ntuzuma; 4 (2.1%) each from Umtshwalumi, Kwa Ndengezi, Umkomaas, Adams Mission and Kwa Makhuta; 3 (1.6%) each from Newcastle, Bizana, Harding, Umtata, St Wendolins and Marianhill; 2 (1%) each from Mt Frere, Ixopo, Richmond, Hillcrest, Verulam, Bothas

Hill, Ohlange, Folweni, Table Mountain and Empangeni. The remaining 34 (17%) children each came from the other areas mentioned in the table above.

The findings reveal that the children in the sample came from a variety of townships, small towns, peri urban, peri rural, informal settlements and rural areas to the North, South and West of Durban. Several came from areas in and around Pietermaritzburg, and from as far afield as the Transkei. The majority came from the Northern townships such as Inanda, Kwa Mashu and Ntuzuma. The data further reveal that the children in the present study came from the Durban Functional Region, which includes townships and settlements; Pietermaritzburg townships and settlements; small towns such as Newcastle, Empangeni, Port Shepstone, Richmond and Mandini; and lastly, from the Transkei. The Durban Functional Region can further be categorised as those townships which are closer to Durban such as Clermont, Chesterville, Lamontville, etcetera; those that are further away such as Kwa Mashu, Umlazi, Kwa Ndengezi, Ntuzuma, Kwa Makhuta, etcetera; and the peri urban/squatter/peri rural areas such as Inanda, Malukazi, Umbumbulu and Umbogintweni (Informal conversation with Mark Byerley, Institute for Social and Economic Research (ISER), University of Durban-Westville).

The last few decades have seen a massive influx of migrants to the Durban area. Several factors were responsible for this. The First World War saw the establishment of light industry in the Durban-Pinetown area which required largely unskilled labour. Further to this, the great drought resulting in crop and stock losses, swelled the number of rural to urban migrants (Minnaar : 1992 : 9).

The Durban local authorities at that time realised that Africans in urban areas could no longer be regarded as "temporary sojourners but that they had become permanent town-dwellers who needed to be provided with

better facilities in terms of accommodation and housing" (Ibid : 10). The government's attempts to keep at bay the migration of Blacks to urban areas, was given teeth by numerous pieces of legislation, some of which were the Natives (Urban Areas) Act in 1923, the Native Laws Amendment Act in 1937, and the Natives (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act in 1954. Once again in the 1980's, severe drought in parts of Zululand and Northern Natal saw a flood of refugees into Durban, "and by 1985 the total number of people living in the informal settlements on the outskirts of Durban had reached approximately one million" (Ibid : 21). These settlements in hilly terrain, were devoid of sanitation, water, electricity, refuse removal and schooling. According to Minnaar, these settlements became the focal points for conflicts between the central government and Kwa Zulu Governments on the one hand, and the liberation organisations such as Cosatu, ANC and UDF on the other hand, in the 1980's. Violence escalated in the townships and informal settlements of Umlazi, Umbumbulu, Kwa Mashu, Lamontville, Chesterville, Clermont, inter alia (Ibid : 27-29).

The township of Umlazi (Durban's largest) and the informal settlement of Inanda, had up until 1985, remained uninvolved. However, the murder of Victoria Mxenge in 1985 provided the trigger which caused Durban's townships to erupt in large scale violence, where "vigilante violence against UDF supporters emanated from the informal settlements like Lindelani and Inanda" (Ibid : 30).

It is against this backdrop of conflict and violence that many of the street children in the present study, have emerged.

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

The respondents in the sample were predominantly Christian, 169 (87.6%), while 22 (11.4%) stated that they had no religious affiliation; 2 (1.0%) did not respond. None of the children were of the Hindu or Muslim faiths.

None of the literature reviewed made any reference to the religious

affiliations of street children and runaways. Swart in her thesis however, discusses the impact of religion on the moral values of the street children in her study. She found that nearly 50% of the children she interviewed had attended church, and "were exposed to some degree, before their street existence, to biblical precepts" (Swart : Nov. 1988 : 176). Moreover, respondents to her community questionnaire reported the voluntary attendance of some street children at churches in the Hillbrow area. The general feelings of the children towards church were favourable, and they believed "that it was right to attend church" (Ibid : 176). Swart is of the view that exposure to religious precepts in childhood may have been instrumental in laying down "their personal moral precepts." The researcher shares this viewpoint, and believes that the basic principles espoused by all religions are goodness, kindness, honesty, love and responsibility towards one's fellow beings. Religions teach truthfulness, and right from wrong, and are important in controlling and directing the individual's behaviour. The fear of punishment in the hereafter or the anger of departed ancestors, goes a long way towards ensuring acceptable behaviour.

"Religious influence, while ... not strongly revealed, may, of course, be deep-rooted in the upbringing and therefore influential in the shaping of attitudes; and consequently, ... be an intrinsic part of a familial pattern of living, rather than an isolated and recognisable influence per se" (Bull cited in Swart : Ibid : 176).

ATTENDANCE AT PLACE OF WORSHIP

The majority of respondents in the sample, 169 (87.6%) were church goers; 22 (11.4%) did not attend church, mosque, temple or any other place of worship, while 2 (1.0%) failed to respond to the question.

TABLE 6 : ATTENDANCE AT PLACE OF WORSHIP WITH FAMILY MEMBERS

RESPONSE	NUMBER	PERCENT
MOTHER	29	15.0
FATHER	7	3.6
BOTH	52	27.0
OTHER (SPECIFY)	12	6.2
NO RESPONSE	93	48.2
TOTAL	193	100

The table reveals that the majority of respondents, that is, 100 (51.8%) attended church with either their mothers, fathers, both parents or other relatives. The churches which they attended were Anglican, Methodist, Roman Catholic and Zionist Churches respectively. It may be presumed that church attendance did play an important part in the lives of the children prior to running away, if regularity of attendance is indicative of this. It may also be that such attendance provided social as well as spiritual solace to people living in grossly deprived areas, and may have been responsible for the inculcation of several conventional values in the street children, as later findings will reveal.

FREQUENCY OF CHURCH ATTENDANCE

The findings reveal that the majority of respondents attended church regularly, that is once a week. Regularity of church attendance implies a measure of discipline and commitment to higher ideals and values. It is believed that such regular attendance would have left an impression, no matter how small, and may have been influential in forming many conventional values in the children despite their involvement in deviant activities.

Therefore, 155 (91.7%) of the 169 respondents who were Christians

attended church regularly, while 1 (0.6%) did not. Thirteen (7.7%) of the children who were Christians did not respond.

PRESENT CHURCH ATTENDANCE

The responses to this question revealed that 135 (69.9%) of the total number of respondents in the study still attended church although they were no longer living at home. The previous question reveals that 169 (87.6%) children were Christian. Therefore 135 (79.9%) of the 169 still attend church, and 32 (18.9%) no longer attend church. Two (1.2%) who said they were Christian, did not respond.

The majority of the respondents who are Christians, therefore still go to church, even though they no longer live at home. The interview schedules revealed that the 135 church-going children reside at the place of safety and shelter, which explains why they still attend church, as such attendance is a requirement at such places. None of the children living on the streets attend church any longer.

The point worth making here is that their early religious convictions may cushion them for a time from deviance as a survival strategy, but how long morality can withstand deprivation is open to debate.

TABLE 7 : PERSONS WITH WHOM STREET CHILDREN LIVED PRIOR TO LEAVING HOME

PERSON	NUMBER	PERCENT
MOTHER	46	23.8
FATHER	12	6.2
BOTH PARENTS	90	46.6
OTHER	26	13.5
NO RESPONSE	19	9.8
TOTAL	193	100

Slightly more of the respondents, namely 90 (46.6%) lived with both parents thereby indicating physically intact families, while slightly fewer, 84 (43.5%) came from physically broken homes. The difference is however, negligible, indicating an almost equal number of physically broken and physically intact families. The table further reveals that more children, 46 (23.83%) lived with their mothers and 'others', 26 (13.47%) than with their fathers, 12 (6.2%).

'Others' here refers to grandparents, uncles, aunts, cousins, brothers and sisters.

Several studies confirm the present findings. Richter states that "street children in the Transvaal are significantly more likely to have grown up with both their parents present in the household (44%) than are boys in the Cape Province (27%)." She says also that 83% of the boys had spent most of their childhood with at least one parent, more frequently their mothers (Richter : September 1989 : 3).

In her study of substance abuse of children at the Bayhead Place of Safety, Pather likewise found that the majority of substance abusers, 31 (56%) originated from the nuclear family unit, that is, comprising mother, father and siblings. (Pather : 1991 : 16)

Garman similarly found that the majority of street children in her study, 6 (40%) stayed with both parents prior to leaving home. She also states that 4 (26%) lived with their natural mothers, while only 1 (6.6%) lived with his natural father prior to running away (Garman : op cit : 33).

Jayes, on the other hand, found a much higher incidence 13 (72.2%) of reconstituted families in her study. As a result, the children had spent periods of time ranging from a few months to a few years with other - caretakers frequently more than one - indicating tremendous upheaval and insecurity in their lives. Only 3 (20%) lived with both parents before the

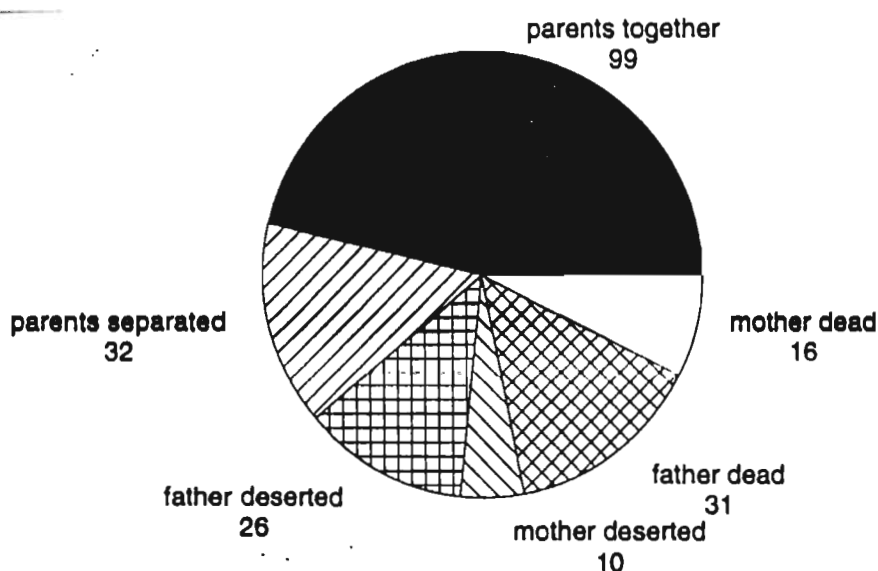
runaway episode (Jayes : Op cit : 31-32).

A greater degree of family disintegration due to death of a parent or physical separation, was found by Goniwe and Bishop in their study. Their findings led them to conclude that the absence of fathers tends to lend support to the idea that menfolk are weak. The predominance of women however, supports the idea that women can be relied upon "to hold things together" (Goniwe and Bishop : op cit : 13).

The above findings, although pointing to a slightly higher number of nuclear family types, need not necessarily indicate a greater degree of stability in these families. Though the families are physically intact, they may be psychologically broken, as the studies in chapter two indicate. The remainder of the families, 84 (43.5%) were physically broken or single parent families. The financial resources and ability to cope are often stretched to the limit in such families, and may engender various forms of neglect and deprivation, resulting in running away from home. It appears that the street children in this study are products of both intact and broken homes, the former characterised by conflict and the latter by neglect.

It may also be argued that large family size correlates positively with neglect. Support for this point of view comes from the criminological literature, which indicates that larger families engender higher levels of child neglect, which in turn leads to juvenile delinquency (Cronjé et al : 1976 : 82-83).

FIGURE 3 : DETAILS OF PARENTS/GUARDIANS



The above figure indicates the following :

Ninety nine (53.3%) respondents said that their parents were still living together.

Thirty two (16.6%) said that their parents had separated.

Twenty six (13.4%) said that their fathers had deserted their families.

Ten (5.2%) said that their mothers had deserted their families.

Thirty one (16.1%) said that their fathers had died.

Sixteen (8.3%) said that their mothers had died.

The data further indicate that, of the 193 respondents in the study, only 5 (2.6%) were orphans. Similarly Richter in her study found only 4% to be orphans (Richter : September 1989 : 3). The Transvaal therefore, appears to have a slightly higher number of orphaned street children than Durban, despite the violent clashes and conflict which occurred in many of the areas from which the children originated. Schärf *et al* found that 2 (6.5%) of the 31 children they studied were orphans, while Goniwe and Bishop found only 1 (7.1%) of the 14 children in their study, to be an orphan (Schärf *et al* : op cit : 266-267; Goniwe and Bishop : op cit : 13). There appears to be hardly any relationship between being orphaned and taking to the streets, as there were many more runaways from physically intact homes than from single

parent families (refer to previous question).

In the present study, 21 (10.9%) respondents reported being illegitimate. Swart states that, in this country, illegitimacy has been "fostered by, amongst other things, the national policy of Influx Control." She cites a 1986 study of 92 adolescents in Kwa Mashu, where as many as 36% were unable to provide any information on their fathers.. (Swart : Nov. 1988 : 89-90).

The researcher believes that the association between illegitimacy and street children, though tenuous, should not be ignored. The social and financial burden of raising children unassisted, places strain on the woman's or man's coping resources, resulting in the neglect and/or abuse of the child, and his ultimate decision to run away from his home.

TABLE 8 : SIBLING SIZE

The table below indicates the number of siblings in the families of the respondents studied.

STREET CHILDREN		SIBLINGS
NUMBER	PERCENT	NUMBER
9	4.7	0
12	6.2	1
30	15.5	2
45	23.3	3
31	16.1	4
28	14.5	5
22	11.4	6
5	2.6	7
5	2.6	8
2	1.0	9
2	1.0	10
1	.0	11
1	.5	13
193	100	

The foregoing table indicates the following :

Nine children (4.7%) had no siblings.

Twelve children (6.2%) had 1 sibling each.

Thirty children (15.5%) had 2 siblings each.

Forty five children (23.3%) had 3 siblings each.

Thirty one children (16.1%) had 4 siblings each.

Twenty eight children (14.5%) had 5 siblings each.

Twenty two children (11.4%) had 6 siblings each.

Five children (2.6%) had 7 siblings each.

Five children (2.6%) had 8 siblings each.

Two children (1.0%) had 9 siblings each.

Two children (1.0%) had 10 siblings each

One child (.5%) had 11 siblings, and
One child (.5%) had 13 siblings.

It is evident that the majority, that is 45 (23.3%) had 3 siblings each respectively. It is also clear that 96 (49.7%) of the total number of children came from average size families of 3 siblings and less, while 97 (50.3%) came from larger families of from 4 to 13 siblings. It would seem therefore, that slightly more children came from larger families.

The findings regarding family size are ambivalent. They indicate that 96 (49.7%) children came from families of three siblings and less, while 97 (50.3%) came from families with four to thirteen siblings. These findings suggest several tentative possibilities.

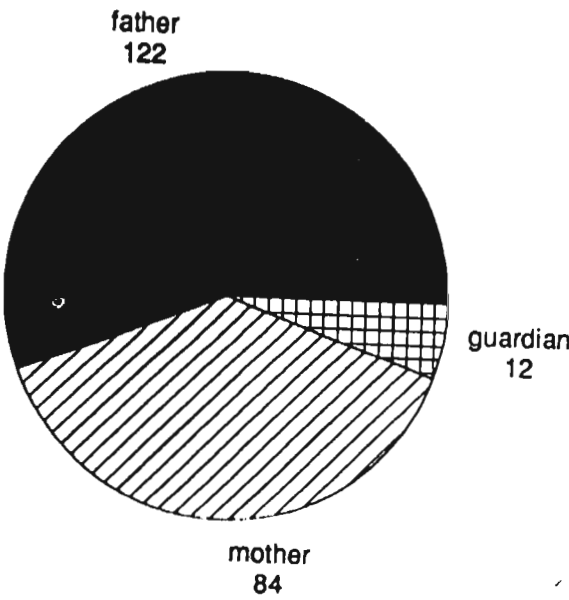
Firstly, it contradicts the belief that all street children come from families with large numbers of children, indicating perhaps a subtle, structural change in African families, over and above that which occurred due to urbanisation, mass migration, inter alia. It may well be that males and females are not entering into relationships lightly, as is commonly believed, and if they do, are curtailing the size of their families. Furthermore, traditionally in developing communities, older siblings were responsible for the care and protection of younger siblings. However, it is entirely possible that the diminishing sibling size, and therefore, lack of care while parent/s are away at work, has left many children anchorless. Under such conditions, the call to the streets is often irresistible.

On the other hand, it confirms the association between poor socio-economic conditions and larger family size. It will be recalled from the previous question that a large number of children came from informal settlements, notably Inanda. These makeshift shelters which provide scant protection from the elements, and in which disease, malnutrition and poverty prevail, create an atmosphere of neglect and apathy. These disorganised conditions

often take their toll on family life, especially when there are large numbers of children to support. Children are left to their own devices, and are deprived of the individual attention and nurturance which every child needs for emotional and personal growth. One can presume therefore, that children from large families and disorganised living conditions do suffer far more the effects of neglect, which when combined with the unique character of the child, provide the impetus to run away.

The present study agrees in part with the findings of Jayes, who says, "the families were not as large as perhaps expected." In her study, the number of children ranged from 1 to 9 with an average of 4.3 children per family (Jayes : Op cit : 36).

FIGURE 4 : EMPLOYMENT OF PARENTS/GUARDIANS



The figure indicates that 122 (75.3%) fathers (of the total number of 162 fathers, excluding the 31 who are deceased) were employed, while 84 (47.5%) mothers (of the total number of 177 mothers, excluding the 16 who were deceased) were employed. Twelve (6.2%) guardians were employed. A previous question revealed that 26 children lived with 'others', therefore 12 (46.2%) of the 26 'others' were in employment. The responses to this question further revealed that of the 90 physically intact families (refer to previous question) both parents were in employment in 43 (47.7%) of them.

The picture presented here shows a significant number of parents and 'others' in employment, thereby indicating relative economic stability, if employment is an indicator of stability. This being the case, it may explain the greater number of years spent at school by the majority of respondents in this study as compared with the other studies in this regard. The facts seem to indicate that it is not unemployment which is related to the street child phenomenon, but rather employment. In the families where both parents work, or the remaining parent (after desertion, divorce, death) works, children are largely responsible for bringing themselves up and are free to do as they please. Their early independence fostered at a young age out of necessity, may cause them to resent the authority and discipline of their parents when they are at home. The child is therefore caught up in the double bind situation of being independent and self-nurturant during the working day, and subservient and child-like around the parent/s. Furthermore, the politicisation and increasing empowerment of township youth have caused them to reject poverty and mediocrity and imbued them with a sense of greater expectations. The findings in this study disagree with those of other researchers.

Goniwe and Bishop found that the majority of families in their study were reliant on state grants and pensions for support, and were resident in Cradock's Lingelihle community. Being a predominantly farming area, subject to the vagaries of climate, and without factories and industries to provide employment, Lingelihle had an estimated unemployment rate of

between 60% and 70%. These factors contributed to unemployment in the families of children on the streets in their study (Goniwe and Bishop : op cit : 6, 14).

Garman, in similar vein, states that nearly half the children in her study came from homes where only one parent worked, while more of the children had both parents working. She concludes that "unemployment rates were thus very high" (Garman : op cit : 35).

Jayes found the families of runaway boys in her study to be severely deprived economically, with earnings seldom exceeding R150 per month (Jayes : op cit : 29).

It is not the intention of the researcher to assert that the families of street children in this study are well-off. It would be more appropriate to say however, that they are better off than the families of street children cited in the studies of Goniwe and Bishop, Jayes and Garman. Therefore, they come from various socio-economic backgrounds.

SUPPORT OF STREET CHILDREN FROM FAMILIES WITHOUT EMPLOYMENT

The responses to this question were varied, and indicated that although several parents\caretakers were not in formal employment, they were nevertheless engaged in various activities in the informal sector, such as the buying and selling of old clothes, running shebeens and odd jobbing.

Eleven (5.7%) were supported by their grandmothers.

Ten (5.2%) were supported by their mothers.

Seven (3.6%) by their aunts.

Five (2.6%) by their fathers.

Two (1.0%) by their brothers.

Two (1.0%) by his cousins.

One (.5%) by their uncle.

One (.5%) by his sister.

One (.5%) by his brother and sister.

One (.5%) by his grandfather.

One (.5%) by an Indian family.

One hundred and fifty one (78.2%) did not respond, as they were supported by either or both parents or some other individual whilst living at home.

Of the 42 (21.8%) who responded, 11 (26.2%) were dependent on their grandmothers' pensions for support. The rest were reliant to varying degrees on other family members for support, with the exception of 1 child who was supported by an Indian family with whom he stayed.

The data suggests that the wider network of relationships did play a supportive role in the lives of many of these respondents, 42(21.8) when the parents were unable to do so. This may perhaps explain why so few sought help from the church prior to running away. These findings also attest to the importance of family relationships even in urban settings. They may also prove the point made earlier on with regard to the church that cultural and traditional practices may discourage outside 'interference' in domestic affairs.

TABLE 9 : PRESENT CONTACT OF STREET CHILDREN WITH THEIR FAMILIES

FAMILY MEMBER	FREQUENTLY		SOMETIMES		NEVER	
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
MOTHER	22	11.4	21	10.9	137	71
FATHER	20	10.4	14	7.2	130	67.4
BOTH	17	8.8	9	4.7	123	63.7
BROTHERS	5	2.6	5	2.6	179	92.7
SISTERS	4	2.1	3	1.5	181	93.8
OTHER (SPECIFY)	1	.5	6	3.1	-	-

The table above shows that contact with parents and siblings is minimal once the respondents leave their homes. The majority , 181 (93.8%) reported never having seen their sisters; 179 (92.7%) never saw their brothers; 137 (71%) never saw their mothers; 130 (67.4%) never saw their fathers, while 123 (63.7%) never saw both parents.

However, a more in-depth analysis of the table reveals that :

With regard to mothers, there were 180 responses. Of these 21 (12%) saw their mothers sometimes; 22 (12%) saw them all the time, while the majority, 137 (76%) never saw their mothers.

With regard to fathers, there were 164 responses. Of these 14 (8.5%) saw their fathers sometimes; 20 (12.2%) saw them all the time, and 130 (79.3%) never saw their fathers.

With regard to both parents, there were 149 responses. Of these 9 (6%) saw both parents sometimes, 17 (11.4%) saw them all the time, and 123 (82.6%) never saw them.

With regard to brothers, there were 189 responses. Of these 5 (2.6%) saw their brothers sometimes, 5 (2.6%) saw them all the time, and 179 (94.7%) never saw them.

With regard to sisters, there were 188 responses. Of these 3 (1.6%) had seen their sisters sometimes, 4 (2.1%) had seen them all the time, and 181 (96.3%) had never seen them.

With regard to 'others', there were 7 responses. Of these 6 (85.7%) had seen either the grandparent/s, uncles, aunts and cousins sometimes, while 1 (14.3%) had seen the 'other' all the time.

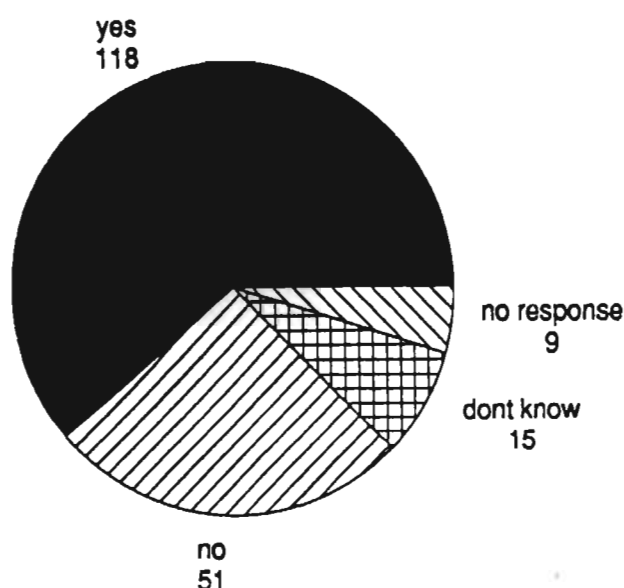
We can conclude from the responses received, that slightly more children never saw their mothers than did their fathers, while 123 (82.6%) of the 149 who responded, never saw both parents.

For the majority of street children, severance of ties with parents and siblings becomes a fait accompli once they leave their homes. Although a few report occasional and frequent contact with mothers and fathers, the majority remain isolated from familial contacts of any kind. It appears that though the children love their parents (previous question 4), neither the children nor their parents make the effort to keep in touch. The present findings agree with those of Swart, who reports either occasional to regular contact with family members, or complete severance of family ties (Swart : November 1988 : 42). Zingaro's work with street children in Canada revealed minimal or non-existent contact with the children and their families, similar to the present findings (Zingaro : Op cit : 9).

On the other hand, Richter, Goniwe and Bishop and Aptekar, all report regular contact of street children with their families. Richter states that 74% of the children studied "reported having contact with their families, and 40% reported seeing members of their immediate family at least once every two weeks" (Richter : March 1989 : 5). Of the 14 children in Goniwe and Bishop's study, 11 went home daily, 2 went home often, and 1 occasionally (Goniwe and Bishop : op cit : 15). This suggests that the

children in their study are mainly 'children on the street', rather than 'children of the street.'

FIGURE 5 : **INTENTION OF STREET CHILDREN TO RETURN TO FAMILY**



Of the 184 who responded to the question, 118 (64.1%) said they would return to live with their families; 51 (27.7%) said they would not, and 15 (8.2%) did not know whether they would return to their families or not. The findings suggest that for the majority of street children, street life is not a permanent option but rather an interim solution to difficult circumstances. It appears that they would like to return home, take their place as males in the household, and settle down to jobs and family life, as later questions indicate. The children, though deviant by society's norms and values at present, have no intention of continuing as they are, and show surprisingly conventional attitudes towards their future prospects. Swart says that because the street child phenomenon is of relatively recent interest in South Africa, it is still too early to undertake longitudinal studies to determine what becomes of street children when they grow up. However, studies of adult street dwellers in the Cape indicate that "few adult street dwellers appear to have spent their childhood years on the

streets (Bromley cited in Swart : Nov. 1988 : 138). She further says that the street children of Hillbrow often fantasize that they will return home to "undergo traditional initiation into manhood." This fantasy is unlikely to become a reality as this practice has largely "fallen away in urban areas and amongst the Zulu in general." This dream, she says, is perpetuated by those of Sotho origin among whom such practices are still in effect (Ibid : 138-139).

Richter states that 40% of the boys in her study "made implicit or explicit statements indicating a desire to return to their families or to find a substitute family or home" (Richter : October 1988 : 65).

The researcher is of the view that for many of the respondents, returning home is held as an ideal, and not an immediate reality. Many of the respondents in the study have been on the streets for a number of years, and would have returned to their families by now if that was really what they had wanted to do. This is true if one considers the multiple placements many have endured in places of safety, prisons and police cells. Furthermore, whenever the boys absconded from Bayhead Place of Safety, they made their way back into the city, rather than back to their homes. For these reasons, it is felt that the children will perhaps return home as young adults, and not till they have spent a good few years on the street. On the other hand, the literature has shown that street life is merely a temporary sojourn, and that very few adult vagrants were street children.

An analysis of the sociodemographic variables presents a profile of street children and their families which seem to be no different from millions of other Black families in South Africa..

A profile emerges of male adolescents(primarily between 11-15 years of age),with 4-6 years of formal but unsatisfactory schooling,from violence ravaged areas.These factors are indicative of victimisation. The large

number of siblings and the employment of parents/guardians, may indicate neglect of these children. It may be argued that the inner reality more than the external reality of these children led them to run away. This point of view is substantiated later on in the chapter where the respondents display a strong internal locus of control (where they view events and conditions as being determined by themselves rather than by others).

It could also be that their strong internal locus of control made them rebel against an external reality over which they had no control, thus triggering the runaway response.

4.2.2 BECOMING A STREET CHILD

HELP SOUGHT FROM CHURCH ORGANISATIONS

The findings indicate that only 7 (3.6%) of the total number of respondents in the sample sought help from the church prior to running away from their homes. Several tentative reasons may be posited for this. It may be that in terms of cultural upbringing and traditions, seeking help from 'outside' organisation may not be the norm. This seems likely if one considers the strong extended and family kinship systems which existed in the rural areas. Furthermore, the churches in the Black townships and informal settlements may be viewed by the children as being beyond their reach, with the tendency to focus on the spiritual needs of the parents rather than the emotional needs of the child. In addition, Black children are inculcated with a strong sense of reverence for their parents and elders, more so perhaps in the case of the clergy. The tendency not to seek assistance from the church may also be indicative of the children's perceptions of the church as remote or 'abstract'. However, the role played by churches in disorganised townships and informal settlements, and in respect of the youth, is unclear, and can possibly be the focus of future research.

This calls into question the role played by the church in stemming the number of children who run away from their homes. In view of the

children's earlier religious exposure, the researcher believes that this influence can be harnessed to channel frustrations and hurts into less destructive coping mechanisms. The point put forward by one of the service providers was that the church cannot espouse purely abstract doctrines and philosophies, but that it must offer more practical assistance to those in need, particularly street children.

NATURE OF HELP/ADVICE GIVEN

The findings show that 169 (87.6%) of the total number of respondents (193) received no help from their respective churches prior to running away.

The findings are significant especially in view of the fact that the large majority of respondents interviewed, 169 (87.6%) were Christians, and of these, 155 (91.7%) attended church regularly. It is not known why only 7 (4.1%) of the 169 children sought help from their respective churches, or why more did not do so. Whatever the reasons for their failure to obtain help or seek help from the church of their respective persuasions, it seems clear that the church can and must play a more constructive and active role in dissuading children from the ultimate option, that is, their desire to flee from their homes.

TABLE 10 : REASONS FOR LEAVING SCHOOL

REASONS FOR LEAVING SCHOOL	NUMBER	PERCENT
LOST INTEREST	52	26.94
INFLUENCED BY FRIENDS	38	19.69
MOTHER ILL	1	.52
MOTHER DIED	1	.52
ILL HEALTH	2	1.04
STOLE MONEY	1	.52
ILL TREATED BY SCHOOL FRIENDS/RELATIVES	3	1.55
DISLIKE SCHOOL	2	1.04
FATHER TOLD HIM TO LEAVE SCHOOL	1	.52
MISUNDERSTANDING WITH FATHER	1	.52
PARENTS NOT INTERESTED	6	3.10
PARENTS UNABLE TO AFFORD SCHOOLING	17	8.80
VIOLENCE IN DISTRICT	10	5.18
WITCHCRAFT	1	.52
LOST REPORT	2	1.04
UNABLE TO GAIN ADMISSION	2	1.04
OF OWN ACCORD	5	2.59
NO RESPONSE	48	24.87
TOTAL	193	100

The responses to this question were diverse, and indicated some of the various factors which mitigated against school attendance for the street children interviewed. Although the responses are specific for the respondents in the sample, the researcher is of the belief that they may also apply to thousands of other Black children of school-going age who have abandoned the pursuit of the three 'Rs'. The responses indicate that the most frequently recorded reason for leaving school was a loss of interest, 52

(26.94%); 38 (19.69%) stated that they left school because friends influenced them to do so; 17 (8.80%) because their parents/guardians could not afford to send them to school, and 10 (5.18%) left because of violence in the districts from which they came. The other reasons given are shown in the table below. It would appear that the loss of interest in school as a reason for leaving, is a telling indictment of an educational system which is unstimulating at best, and proving to be very destructive to many who would otherwise have the potential to reach greater heights. Informal conversations with the street children on the street revealed them to be an enthusiastic, co-operative group of boys, who took an enormous interest in the interviews, and who said they would like to return to school, if the conditions which prompted them to leave could be addressed.

The loss of interest in school may be related to failure, abstract curricula or curricula which do not meet the needs of the pupils, or which are totally divorced from cultural and socio-economic conditions, the unstimulating school environment and the punitive atmosphere prevalent in the classroom and school generally. Schärf et al found that the majority of children studied had failed at least once and as many as four times, before dropping out of school. The authors cite 'disciplinary transgressions', beatings, insufficient schools, facilities and overcrowding, teachers overloaded with double shifts who in frustration resort to punitive methods, as some of the reasons for children dropping out of school. These factors may all have fostered the loss of interest in schooling. The same authors say, "children are ... educationally disadvantaged throughout their schooling, and for many of them school becomes a frightening and alienating experience" (Schärf et al : Op cit : 269-272).

Bothma, who cites Schärf et al, says that formal schooling as experienced by strollers "is one of the major contributing factors in their decision to turn to strolling as an alternative way of life" (Bothma : 1988 : 29).

Jayes likewise reports that problems with teachers, difficulties with school work and unfair punishments, were factors which led to truancy and in turn to strolling (Jayes : Op cit : 59).

Garman's study revealed that five of the fifteen children she interviewed, cited 'not wanting to go to school' as a reason for leaving home. In addition, fear of intimidation due to the unrest was a reason given for leaving school and home (Garman : 1987 : 31-32). Fear of violence and intimidation was also cited by 10 (5.18%) respondents in the present study, as a reason for leaving school.

Goniwe and Bishop report "inability of families to pay for clothing to enable the children to attend school," as a major reason for 8 out of the 14 children in their study leaving school (Goniwe and Bishop : Op cit : 15-16). In the present study, the inability of parents to pay for books, tuition and uniforms, was the third most commonly give reason for leaving school.

Swart, like Schärf et al, believes that "poorly staffed and equipped schools with limited daily sessions," "the content and the form of education" which is seen as unsuitable "to the children of the most deprived", are all factors which lead to a high drop-out rate, and which "leave children unsupervised and to their own devices for the greater part of the day." She quotes Baizerman who says, "the ... street children phenomenon is embedded within other social institutions and these in interaction sustain the many processes which constitute the street child phenomenon ... poor housing, poverty, lack of regular work, poor schools, and the like" (Swart : Nov. 1988 : 39).

TABLE 11 : REASONS FOR LEAVING HOME

REASONS FOR LEAVING HOME	NUMBER	PERCENT
FOR A BETTER LIFE	4	2.1
FOR EXCITEMENT AND ADVENTURE	14	7.3
TO EARN MONEY FOR THE FAMILY	4	2.1
DID NOT LIKE SCHOOL	71	36.8
ASKED TO LEAVE BY PARENTS	2	1.0
PARENTS FIGHT WITH EACH OTHER CONTINUALLY	1	.5
PARENTS FIGHT WITH CHILD CONTINUALLY	2	1.0
UNHAPPY AT HOME	9	4.7
TO ESCAPE POVERTY/OVERCROWDING	27	14.0
TO ESCAPE CONDITIONS IN THE TOWNSHIP	4	2.1
TO ESCAPE VIOLENCE IN THE TOWNSHIP	19	9.8
NOTHING TO DO IN THE TOWNSHIP	1	.5
HEARD ABOUT SHELTERS IN DURBAN	2	1.0
OTHER (SPECIFY)	29	15.0

The findings show that the respondents in the present study left their homes for a variety of reasons, and sometimes for a combination of reasons. However, the foregoing table shows that the major reason given for leaving home was dislike of school, 71 (36.8%). Twenty nine (15%) cited 'other' reasons for leaving home. These 'other' reasons fell into 2 categories. The one most often given was that friends influenced them to do so. The other was that they went to town with either a friend, uncle, or aunt, got lost and could not return home.

Twenty seven respondents (14%) cited poverty as a reason for leaving home. Nineteen (9.8%) said they left home due to violence in the townships in which they lived. Poverty and overcrowding as the prevailing condition in the lives of street children is well documented (refer to chapter two). Poverty, in fact, is characteristic of the lives of the majority of Black people in South Africa who are exposed to the daily grind of hardship and deprivation. For many adults poverty is a dead-end street with absolutely no hope of attaining a better standard of living. The 27 children in this study who cited poverty as a reason for leaving home, no doubt felt that there was nothing to lose but rather something to be gained by running away.

Poverty alone cannot explain the street child phenomenon. If it did, thousands more children would be living on the streets of South Africa. The responses with regard to employment of parents/guardians show a significant number of parents and 'others' in employment, indicating relative economic stability in times of widespread unemployment.

The findings support the views of Libertoff, that street children "leave home out of despair with current circumstance" (dislike of school, poverty, township violence, etc.), "and with a youthful hope for a better life" (Libertoff cited in Richter : March 1989 : 1) This is confirmed by the fact that nearly all are runaways not throwaways.

Fourteen (7.3%) said they left for excitement and adventure. Nine (4.7%) left home because they were unhappy. Four children (2.1%) each said they left for a better life, to earn money for the family and to escape conditions in the township. Two children (1.0%) each cited parents who fight with them continuously, parents asking them to leave, and hearing about shelters in Durban, as reasons for leaving home.

One (.5%) child said he left as his parents fight with each other continually,

While the other child (.5%) left as there was nothing to do in the township. Much has been written on the quality of schooling for Black children under the Bantu education system which alienates thousands of children, resulting in high truancy and drop-out rates (refer to 2.3.1). Several reasons have been posited for the loss of interest in school such as abstract curricula, school failure, overcrowded classrooms, the lack of facilities in schools, underqualified or unqualified teachers, punitive teachers and the generally unstimulating classroom environment, inter alia. These factors were responsible for fostering a dislike of school in most of the strollers in Schärf et al's study (refer to chapter two). Research reveals that although street children have spent fewer years at school and may be regarded as functionally illiterate, they are nevertheless on a par with same-aged school going children. This calls into question the quality of Black education. It is also evident that street children are not averse to education per se and that they express a keen desire to return to school and further their education.

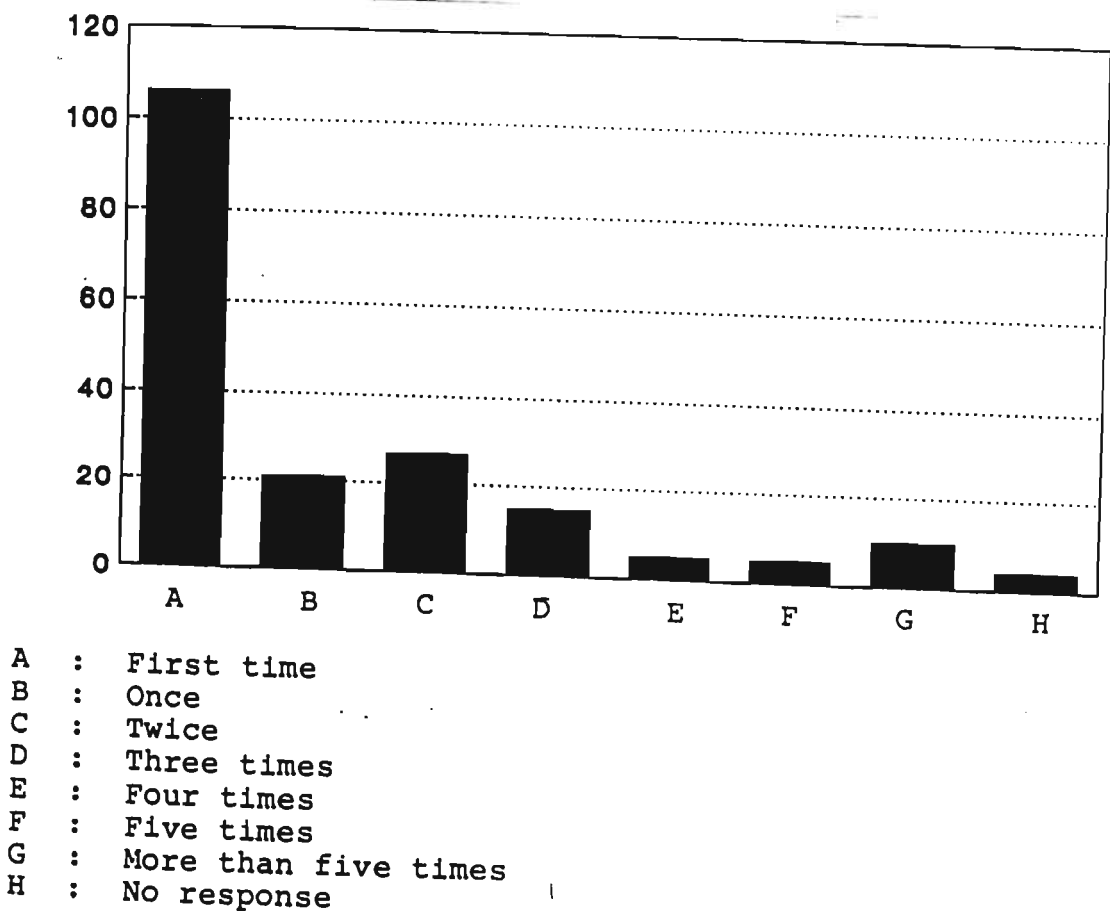
The researcher is of the view that drastic changes will have to be made in the educational system designed for Black children. It is significant that 71 (36.8%) street children cited dislike of school as a reason for leaving home. Although the figure cited refers specifically to the children in the sample, it is widely known that thousands more Black children are forsaking what is a fundamental right, and what could be an invaluable formative influence in their lives. Schooling is the path to knowledge and a means of achieving a coveted niche in society. An equal, free, education system for all, one that takes into account the needs and disadvantages of the majority of Black children, with well trained teachers, good schools and facilities, will go a long way to stem the tide of trancies and abandonment of the skills and knowledge needed to achieve their full potential.

It is also significant that the majority who cited 'other' reasons for leaving home, were influenced by their friends to do so. The influence of peer

groups on adolescents is well documented, and is very important. Children who drop out of school because they are bored, or unstimulated, perhaps even victimized, are extremely vulnerable to suggestions by equally frustrated friends. The freedom of the streets, perhaps even the dangers attendant on such a life, draws dissatisfied youngsters like a magnet. The possibility that they will engage in crime as a necessity in order to survive, is one that is very real.

An interesting finding which emerges from the foregoing data, is that only 2 (1%) of the 193 street children in the study, were 'throwaways' or 'pushouts.' In other words, only 2 were rejected by their families. The overwhelming majority are 'runaways', having taken the voluntary decision to leave their homes, schools and communities.

FIGURE 6 : FREQUENCY OF RUNAWAY EPISODES



The responses indicate firstly that the majority of respondents in the sample, 106 (54.9%) said they had run away for the first time. Twenty one (10.9%) ran away once previously. Twenty seven (14%) ran away twice before. Fifteen (7.8%) ran away 3 times. Five (2.6%) boys each ran away 4 and 5 times respectively. Ten (5.1%) boys ran away from home more than 5 times. Four (2.1%) did not respond to the question. Secondly, the fact that many had run away several times gives further credence to the view that the phenomenon may in fact be irreversible.

Although the majority, 106 (54.9%) said they had run away for the first time, 35 (18.1%) of the boys have run away 3 and more times. These boys would seem to have developed what is referred to in the literature as "the runaway reaction", that is the tendency to flee repeatedly from the family, school, stress and what they perceive as problem situations.

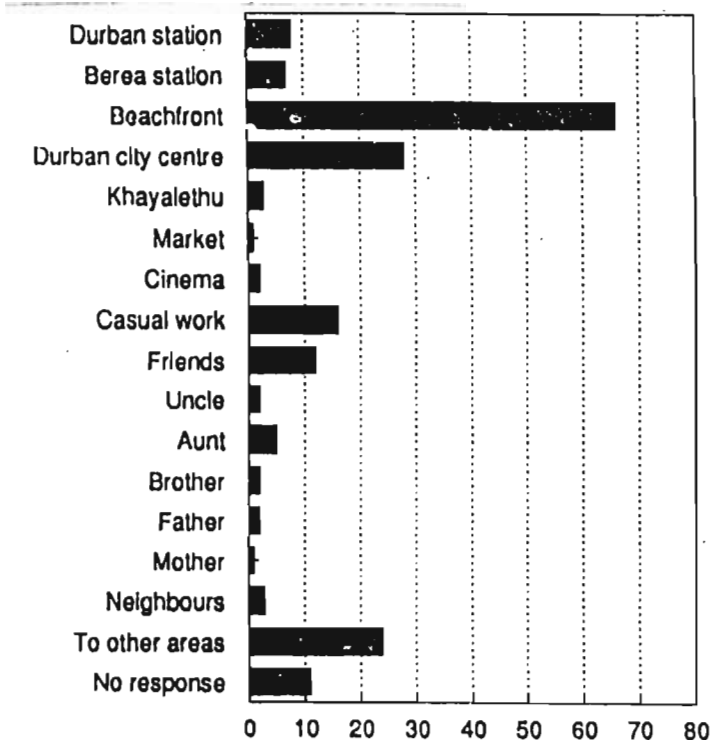
None of the literature reviewed, with the exception of Jayes, made reference to the number of times street children had run away from home. Her study revealed that the majority of boys, 10 (55.6%) had run away from 2 to 4 times, 6 (33.3%) had run away 5 or more times, while only 2 (11.1%) ran away once (Jayes : op cit : 62).

The fact that the majority of street children in this study are first time runaways has implications in so far as their involvement in deviant behaviour is concerned. Richter states that "the longer runaways stay on the street, and the more they repeat running away, the greater becomes their criminal involvement, and the less likely it is that they will make an adequate social or occupational adjustment" (Richter : June-July 1989 : 9).

The researcher believes that because the majority are first-time runaways their attitudes and patterns of behaviour are less likely (though not unlikely) to have been contaminated by the harshness of street life. Even though they

engage in deviant activities (often of necessity) to survive, and even though prolonged participation can reinforce later delinquency, the researcher believes that positive interaction and management of the problem at this stage can forestall future delinquent and criminal careers.

FIGURE 7 : DESTINATION AFTER LEAVING HOME



A variety of responses were received to this question. However, the most popular destination appears to have been the beachfront, 66 (34.2%). Durban city centre also attracted a fair number of runaways in the study, 28 (14.6%). Twenty four (12.4%) children made their way to a number of other areas or suburbs away from their homes. Sixteen (8.3%) left home to do casual work. Twelve (6.2%) went to friends. Eleven (5.7%) did not respond to the question. Eight (4.2%) went to Durban Station and 7 (3.6%) to Berea Station. Five (2.6%) went to their aunts. Three children each (1.6%) went to Khayaletu Shelter and to their neighbours respectively. Two (1%) each went to the cinema, to uncles, to brothers, and to fathers respectively. One (0.5%) child went to the market, and 1 (0.5%) to his mother who was employed as a domestic servant.

The attraction of the majority of respondents children to the beachfront area is hardly surprising in terms of the variety of outdoor and indoor sleeping places available there. The many attractions and the carefree atmosphere which prevail are in sharp contrast to the drabness of township life, and draw street children like moths to a flame. The beachfront area which is a mecca for tourists both locally and from abroad, provides many children with their most frequently pursued income generating activity, begging. Tourists, perhaps from guilt or as part of their good deed for the day, can easily be persuaded to part with some money to a pathetic, hungry looking waif.

City centres likewise provide ample opportunities for begging, theft and a variety of other informal services by street children. Richter cites 'attraction to the city' together with other factors as salient factors in the children's backgrounds (Richter : September 1989: 3).

Swart citing Sanders, says that street children are most often to be found in commercial centres, at railway stations, and in prosperous residential zones, as these areas typically allow children to generate an income without which they cannot survive alone on the streets (Swart : November 1988 : 42). Similar trends are evident in the present study.

Schärf et al report that the largest concentration of street children in Cape Town are to be found "in the central city area, occasionally moving around the mountain some four kilometres to the nearby seafront suburbs of Sea Point and further to Camps Bay" (Schärf et al : Op cit : 274).

Goniwe and Bishop confirm the noticeable presence of street children in the central business district of Cradock, comprising "major supermarkets, clothing shops, cafes, and other commercial institutions" (Goniwe and Bishop : op cit. : 3). Street children in Colombia are similarly found in prosperous shopping areas. (Agnelli : op cit : 37) In this study some

children went to other areas in search of relatives, with whom they stayed for a while before making their way to Durban.

These findings possibly indicate that not all children who leave their homes become street children, as they may continue to live with their relatives rather than returning home. Therefore, if it were not for the safety net provided by relatives, there may be far more street children than there are at present. A number of children reported doing casual work on leaving home, but these jobs proved to be of a temporary nature, and these children also found their way to Durban.

LENGTH OF STAY AT ORIGINAL DESTINATION

The length of time spent at the various places to which the respondents went varied from 1 day to 2 years. Informal conversations with the children indicated that those who had spent long periods of time away from their homes did not stay long at the places to which they originally went. They tended to be itinerant, and went wherever the prospects of survival were better. The responses indicated that 26 (15.1%) were 'arrested' by the City Police on the day of their arrival in the city. They are generally 'arrested,' or picked up for three reasons :

Either because they have absconded from the place of safety; their appearance is such that they appear to be "in need of care" in terms of the Child Care Act No. 74 of 1983, and for involvement in illegal activities.

It must be added that although 2 years appears to have been the longest time spent on the streets by 2 boys, many of the children in the sample, especially those who have run away several times, have perhaps spent altogether far longer than 2 years on the streets. The reason for saying this is the fact that twelve children said they had slept at Khayaletu shelter. This shelter is no longer in existence as it was gutted by fire in June 1988. The findings reveal that for the 172 who responded to the question, the

majority, 56 (32.6%) had spent between 1 and 8 months on the streets; 39 (22.7%) spent between 1 and 7 weeks on the streets; 26 (15.1%) were 'arrested' or picked up on the day of their arrival, while 12 (6.9%) spent from 1-2 years on the street. Two (1.2%) children were taken from the streets to the place of safety by a white man. The length of time spent on the streets has definite implications for delinquency and later criminal activity as chapter two indicates.

TABLE 12 : PLACE WHERE STREET CHILDREN SLEPT AFTER LEAVING HOME

PLACE	NUMBER	PERCENT
NO FIXED ABODE	21	10.9
BAYHEAD PLACE OF SAFETY	30	15.5
BUSHES	34	17.6
KHAYALETHU	12	6.2
EMPLOYER'S PLACE	16	8.3
WITH FRIENDS	17	8.8
DURBAN STATION	9	4.7
BEREA STATION	6	3.1
WITH RELATIVES	13	6.7
POLICE CELL	2	1.0
INANDA/PHOENIX	2	1.0
INDIAN MARKET	3	1.6
NO RESPONSE	28	14.5
TOTAL	193	100

The above table indicates that one hundred and sixty five respondents responded to the question. Of these, the majority, 34 (20.6%) slept in bushes. Thirty (18.2%) slept at Bayhead place of safety. Twenty one (12.7%) had no fixed abode. Seventeen (10.3%) slept at friends' places.

Sixteen (9.7) slept at their employers' places. Thirteen (7.9%) slept with relatives. Twelve (7.3%) slept at Khayaletu shelter. Nine (5.5%) slept at Durban Station, and 6 (3.6%) at Berea Station. Three (1.8%) children slept at the Indian market. Two (1.2%) slept in police cells, and 2 (1.2%) slept in Inanda and Phoenix respectively.

Those children who stayed at the Bayhead Place of Safety included the 26 who were picked up on the day of their arrival by the City Police, the 2 who were taken there by a concerned individual, and 2 who did not respond. The reasons for their arrest and committal to the place of safety were because they appeared to be in need of care, or for absconding from the place of safety, or because of their involvement in illegal activities.

Jayes reports that the children in her study alternatively slept with friends/relatives, in shop entrances, in Cape Town station or in trains, in bushes, vacant plots, derelict buildings, a shelter for street children, in construction pipes, old cars and a parking garage. The children did not stay in one particular spot, but tended to be itinerant in order to avoid police harassment. The present findings are not dissimilar to those of Jayes, who says : "the places where they slept are similar to those used by street children world wide" (Inter-NGO Project Profile No 1 : 7, 43, 81, cited in Jayes : op cit : 63).

LENGTH OF TIME SPENT ON THE STREETS OR IN INSTITUTIONS

On the Streets

Eighty four (43.5%) respondents did not respond to the question. The remaining 109 (56.5%) spent varying lengths of time on the streets, ranging from 1 day to 1 642 days (4 and a half years). The total number of days spent on the streets by the 109 children who responded, was 3 776 days. The mean (\bar{x}) length of time spent on the streets by the children = 34,6 days.

Furthermore, even though the maximum length of time spent on the streets is four and a half years, question 18 indicates that 83 boys have run away more than once, and 8 have run away as many as 5 times previously. The total length of time spent on the streets, although interrupted, may far exceed the most recent length of time on the streets. It has already been stated that the children are often hazy with regard to the concept of time and may have spent longer or shorter periods on the streets. Richter calculated the length of time spent on the streets by street children before entering a shelter. She found that they could be divided into 3 groups, that is, those who spent 6 months and less on the streets (36%), those who spent between 9 and 18 months on the streets (44%), and the 'more chronic' children who spent upwards of 2 years on the streets (20%) (Richter:Oct. 1988 : 15).

In the Shelter: One hundred and seventy eight (92.2%) failed to respond to this question. The remaining 15 (7.8%) spent from 8 days to 1 185 days at either Khayaletu or Zamani Shelters. The total number of days spent at the shelter by the 15 boys who responded, was 2 528 days. The mean (x) length of time spent at the shelter was 168.5 days.

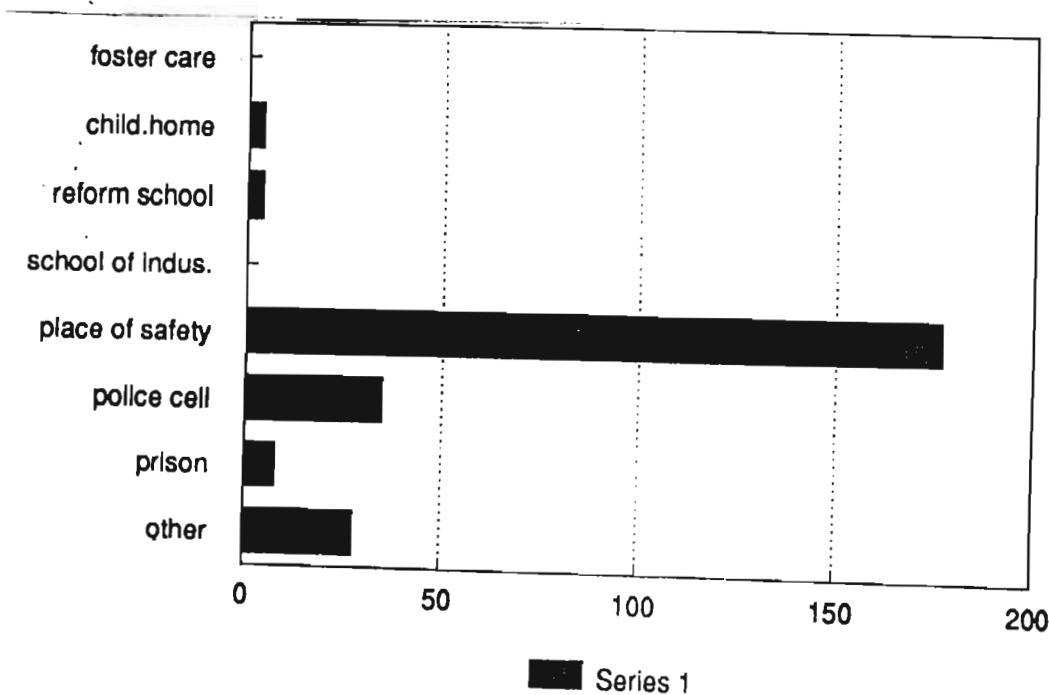
At the Places of Safety: One hundred and fifty nine (82.4%) did not respond to this question. The remaining 34 (17.6%) spent from 7 days to 1 460 days at the places of safety. The total number of days spent at the places of safety by the 34 boys who responded, was 4 664 days. The mean (x) length of time spent at the places of safety by the children = 137.2 days.

Other (specify): Twenty seven (14%) responded to this question, and spent from 4 days to 2 years either in casual employment, staying with friends and/or relatives, or in search of employment. The total number of days spent in this way, was 1 469 days. The mean (x) length of time = 54.4 days. It is apparent that the longest period of time was spent at the shelter.

The findings indicate that the respondents have spent unduly long periods of time at the places of safety to which they were committed. In effect,

places of safety are supposed to offer temporary and not long-term refuge, while alternative placements are being found for them. However, due to the chronic lack of children's homes, children are left to languish in such institutions, thereby being exposed to negative sub-cultures and influences, in addition to various types of abuse. The length of time spent at the shelters indicates that they are not short-term solutions to long range problems, and that rehabilitation is a task which may take years to accomplish. The fact that the children who responded to this question stayed as long as they did at the shelters, voluntarily, is indicative perhaps of their liking for the shelters, rather than Bayhead Place of Safety, from which the absconsion rate is very high. The large number of 'no responses' to this question may be attributed to the children's haziness regarding the concept of time, or perhaps to the attempt to block out the period of time spent there. If the children do have unique characters and special qualities that motivate them to run 'to', rather than 'from', then their detention in institutions must be very frustrating, and contradictory to the life they envisaged on the streets.

FIGURE 8 : PLACEMENT OF STREET CHILDREN



The foregoing figure indicates that none of the respondents in the study had been in foster care or a school of industries. Four (2.1%) had been in children's homes, and a further 4 (2.1%) in reform schools.

The majority, 177 (91.7%) had been at either Bayhead, Umlazi or Pata Places of Safety. Some had been in more than one place of safety. Thirty five (18.1%) had been in police cells, while 8 (4.1%) had been detained in a prison. Twenty eight (14.5%) children stated that they had been in some 'other' place. 'Other' here refers to both Khayaletu and Zamani Shelters.

If detention in reform schools, prisons and police cells is an indicator of deviance and delinquency, then at least 47 (24.1%) children in the study engaged in deviant behaviour. The number of those who committed acts of deviance, but were not apprehended, is not known.

A close inspection of the interview schedules revealed that several children have had more than one placement or detention in the abovementioned places. It seems that several of the boys interviewed have run the gamut of running away, being detained at a place of safety, absconding from there, being redetained at either the same place of safety or another and running away again. Some reported eventually finding a measure of solace at the shelter. A few examples are given below :

One child was detained at Bayhead Place of Safety for a month. He had also stayed at Khayaletu Shelter when it was in operation.

Two children went first to Khayaletu. Subsequently they were detained at the Pata Place of Safety, Umlazi Place of Safety and Bayhead Place of Safety.

This child has been at Bayhead Place of Safety, Khayaletu Shelter and was also detained at CR Swart Square for 1 month.

The tendency to place children - not only street children - in institutions such as children's homes, reform schools, schools of industry, places of safety (including police cells), has been severely criticized by several researchers. Cockburn is of the opinion that the breakdown in alternative care placements is responsible for swelling the number of children living 'on' and 'of' the streets (Cockburn : 1990 : 5).

Swart believes that taking a child off the streets and putting him into an institution is no solution to the problem, as they "tend to become streamlined materially." She says that although the children's physical needs are catered for, the burn-out suffered by staff is high and the "street children are very unhappy in them" (Swart : 1987 : 8). In addition to this, institutions which range in philosophy from the "benign to the punitive", do little or nothing to address the causes of the street child phenomenon (Schärf et al cited in Swart : November 1988 : 52). The researcher believes that children's experiences in institutions are negative and unhappy and their physical separation from the outside world hinders any feeble attempts at rehabilitation. It is also felt that in South Africa, "children are 'forced to fit' treatment programmes instead of the other way round" (Swart : Ibid : 53).

According to Agnelli, the ability of institutions to rehabilitate children and keep them out of trouble once they leave, is poor. Street children are shunted around from one institution to another, becoming more and more difficult to handle, and no one seems to care (Agnelli : Op cit : 63-64). Institutions have been severely criticised for practising "archaic and dickensian methods of 'caring' for children, the lengthy periods of time spent by children in them, unqualified staff, discrepancies in funding for the different racial groups, the tendency to isolate rather than integrate and the punitive measures resorted to by them" (McLachlan : 1986 : 131-137).

Richter states that "45% of the boys had been in some form of previous care

or containment - another shelter, a reform school, a place of safety, etc." (Richter : Sept. 1989 : 3). Similar findings to the present study were made by Zingaro (1988 : 9) and Agnelli (Agnelli:1986:63).

The factors reviewed here are highly significant and relate to the themes of causation, victimisation and deviance inherent in the study. The "runaway episode" provides the final link in the chain of causality thereby completing the process of becoming a street child. It is evident that the major institutions in the lives of the respondents, family, school and church, have failed in providing a supportive, nurturing and disciplined milieu, and through omission and commission, victimised these youth precipitating the runaway episode. Viewed from the interactionist perspective, the negative interactions between the respondents and these institutions helped shape the meanings and interpretations they attached to their situations, no doubt heightened by a strong internal locus of control. Those who made the decision to run away must have evaluated the rewards and costs of staying against the rewards and costs of leaving. Therefore one process ends and another begins. It is believed that negative interactions between family, school and church are replaced by negative interactions between the street child and the public, police, social workers and others, and through labelling, the street child turns to deviance which engenders further victimisation. This does not suggest that the street child is a passive pawn in the victimisation\deviance cycle. It is generally known that street children are street-wise and have their wits about them. The decision to engage in primary deviance, whether through coercion or volition, would have entailed a similar evaluation to that made prior to running away. However, it is argued that secondary deviance is foisted upon these children, since negative reactions and labelling limit their legitimate options.

4.2.3 INVOLVEMENT IN AND NATURE OF DEVIANT BEHAVIOUR

TABLE 13 : FREQUENCY OF ARREST BY THE POLICE

NUMBER OF TIMES ARRESTED	NUMBER	PERCENT
NEVER	102	52.8
ONCE	76	39.4
TWICE	10	5.2
THREE TIMES	-	-
FOUR TIMES	-	-
FIVE TIMES	1	.5
MORE THAN FIVE TIMES	3	1.6
NO RESPONSE	1	.5
TOTAL	193	100

The table above shows that 102 respondents were never arrested, while 91 had been arrested. In effect there were 93 who were arrested, as the following findings indicate. It would appear that 2 children who were arrested did not, for some reason, disclose their arrests here, but did so later on.

It must also be stated that the term 'arrest' has been used in a broad sense in this study. Children who were picked up by the City Police for absconding from the place of safety, or because they appeared to be "in need of care", were regarded as having been 'arrested'. Therefore, although 93 said they were arrested, 65 of these were picked up by the City Police for the reasons already mentioned. Only 20 were arrested for actual crimes, while 8 stated that they had been arrested, but did not specify the reasons for their arrests. (Refer to the following questions).

Therefore, nearly half of the total number (193) had had contact with the

agents of the State. Such contact would have necessitated labelling the child as either delinquent or a street child. Labelling theory states that labelling has negative consequences for the individual concerned, and that once labelled, he/she finds it very difficult to become part of mainstream society as people tend to socially isolate them. They are thus forced to live up to the label given them (the self-fulfilling prophecy) (Vetter and Silverman : 1986 : 365). According to exponents of this perspective, contact with law officials is important in understanding deviant behaviour. A child who is regarded as a delinquent or a street child, and who has not yet attained the age of 18, may be referred to a place of safety. However, the child in such an institution has little chance of learning sound, acceptable morals and values, if he does nothing but kick a ball around day after day. Constructive programmes need to be developed, and enlightened legislation needs to be enacted to meet the varied physical, psychological, social, intellectual and other needs of the children so labelled. Such children need to be diverted from their deviant tendencies and runaway responses, before these take hold and become an integral part of their being.

It was also disconcerting to note that the street children interviewed on the streets had higher rates of arrest than those at both the place of safety and shelter (except for those arrested once), which fact does not augur well for their futures. This confirms the findings of researchers that the longer the children remain on the streets, the greater the likelihood of involvement in delinquent and future criminal activities (refer to chapter two).

A review of the literature indicates that street children and the police have frequent contact as many of their activities are illegal. The encounters between them occur periodically as part of police efforts to round them up, which may result in their 'redistribution' to other areas of the city, to other cities, or to their homes. The sight of the police evokes tremendous fear in the children, as many have been intimidated and brutalised by them whilst in their custody (Swart : Nov. 1988 : 45, 124).

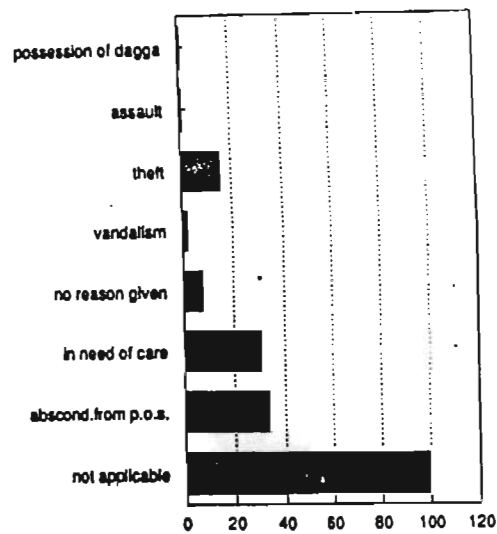
By the same token, some children have experienced great kindness from the police, as was witnessed by the researcher during the course of the interviews. The street children in Durban had developed a great liking and rapport with a particular sergeant who had worked with them for a number of years. Generally, however, street children are fearful of the police. Swart's study revealed that allegations against the police included being kicked, teargassed, being set upon by police dogs, being thrown into lakes even though they cannot swim, being forced to drink or smoke glue then being beaten for drunkenness (Ibid : 124-125).

Bothma reports that the street children he studied claimed being arrested for petty crimes such as "loitering or begging in public places" and had also been subjected to assaults and maltreatment by the police. These children had developed a strategy of 'submission and acceptance' while in custody. They further had an unspoken agreement with the police that they would not report them for maltreatment providing the police did not drive them away from their abode (Bothma op cit : 72-73). Similar accounts of abuse of street children by the police were reported by Schärf et al. (Schärf et al : Op cit : 286).

Police corruption, exploitation and victimisation of street children is not peculiar to South Africa alone, and has been reported in respect of Colombian street children as well. It is not unheard of for the police to help themselves to the street children's earnings on the grounds that they were earned illegally (Agnelli : Op cit : 65).

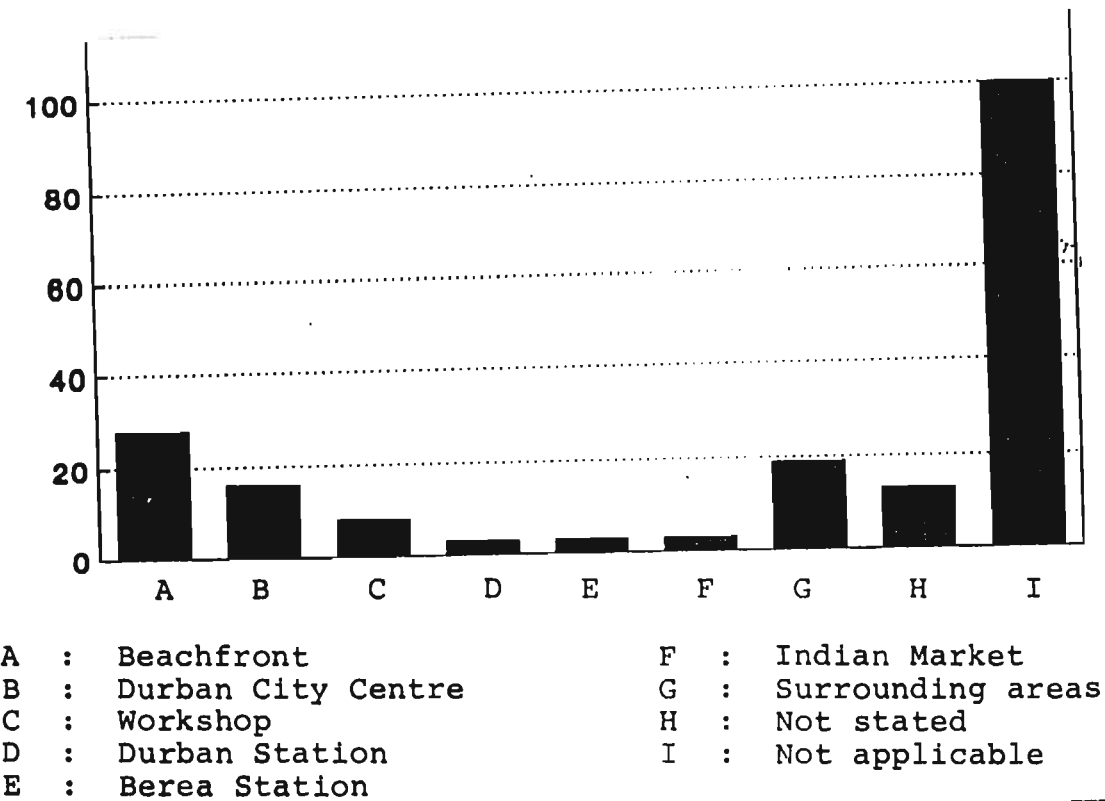
Richter found that 43% of the children in her sample had been arrested or 'picked up' by the police, compared with 47.2% in the present study (Richter : Sept. 1989 : 3).

FIGURE 9 : REASONS FOR ARREST



The above figure indicates that 100 (51.9%) respondents had never been arrested. Thirty four (17.6%) were arrested for absconding from a place of safety. Thirty one (16.1%) were arrested as children in need of care. Eight (4.1%) did not specify the reasons for their arrests. Two (1.0%) were arrested for vandalism. Sixteen (8.3%) were arrested for theft which included shop-lifting, theft of cars, theft from cars, burglary and bicycle theft. One (.5%) was arrested for assault, and 1 (.5%) for possession of dagga.

FIGURE 10 : PLACE OF ARREST



The responses to this open-ended question indicate that the arrests took place in the heart of Durban, the surrounding areas, and even further away.

Of the 93 who were arrested, 13 (14%) did not state where they were arrested. The highest number of arrests (of 93) took place at the beachfront, 28 (30.1%), which is a very popular venue for the street children and the place which attracted the most number of children after they left home (refer to Figure 4.8). Nineteen (20.4%) of the 93 arrested, were arrested in areas surrounding Durban such as Clairwood, Pinetown, Inanda, Mayville, Isipingo Beach, Brighton Beach, Tongaat, Verulam and Montclair. Four were arrested in areas further away such as Inchanga, Thornville, Amanzimtoti and Pietermaritzburg. Sixteen (17.2%) of the 93 arrested were arrested in the city's streets, such as West, Smith, Victoria, Alice and Grey Streets, inter alia.

Eight (8.6%) of the 93 were arrested in the vicinity of the Workshop, also a very popular haunt of street children. Three children each (3.2%) of the 93 were arrested at Durban Station, Berea Station and the Indian Market respectively.

These findings indicate that the majority of respondents were arrested in the city centre as opposed to the suburbs. Later findings reveal that the majority of street children committed crime while living on the streets, while only five were arrested while living at home. One can conclude from these findings that street children are more deviant in the city than they are in the suburbs or their homes. The ecological theory suggests that the city is more productive of crime and delinquency because of its vastness, impersonality, the anonymity and opportunities which it affords for the commission of crime, inter alia.

On the other hand, the greater number of arrests of respondents may be attributed to the greater police presence and more efficient policing in the city. This being the case, the problems experienced and presented by the street children, need urgent attention. The most obvious solution would be to forestall the influx of growing numbers of children from their homes to the streets. However, this is easier said than done as a massive reconstruction of South Africa's social, political and economic fabric will have to be embarked upon. In the interim, patience, caring, tried and tested enlightened programmes, funding and services must be the rule rather than the exception, if street children are to be deterred from the limited survival techniques available to them, that is, deviance and crime.

ARREST IN AREAS OF ORIGIN

The responses to this question indicate that only 5 (2.6%) of the 193 respondents were arrested while still living at home. This may be attributed to a greater degree of conformity to family, community and legal norms, and also indicates that street existence is more likely to lead to delinquency.

ARREST ON THE STREETS

The responses indicate that 88 (45.6%) of the 193 respondents were arrested while living on the streets. However, of the 93 arrested, arrests on the streets number 88 (94.6%). Three questions need to be asked here :

Why were so many more children arrested in the city as compared to their areas of origin?

If arrests are an indicator of deviance, can we conclude that street children are in fact deviant?

Are street children more deviant in the city, than they were in their areas of origin?

In response to the first question, one may postulate that there is greater and more effective policing in the city, that there is greater concern for the plight of these children and the risks they present, that they are especially visible amidst the relative affluence of city dwellers, and that it is need which leads to crime which leads to arrest.

In response to the second question, one may state that in all civilised countries arrests are equated with the violation of legal norms. One assumes that the same truth holds good for South Africa. This being the case, together with the fact that 93 (48.1%) were arrested, one may conclude that street children have violated both legal and social norms, and are in fact deviant. This fact is borne out in question 27 which shows the range of deviant activities engaged in by the children in the sample. With regard to the third question, and based on the logic in question 2, lower arrest rates in their areas of origin are indicative of less deviance while living at home. It appears that street children are more deviant in the city than they were at home, due no doubt to the possibilities and opportunities afforded

by the city to pursue such activities. The appearance and untamed behaviour of the children increasingly closes the door to legitimate jobs, necessitating their participation in illegal activities as an alternative form of support.

TABLE 14 : PLACE OF DETENTION

PLACE OF DETENTION	NUMBER	PERCENT
BAYHEAD PLACE OF SAFETY	51	25.9
CR SWART POLICE CELL	25	12.7
WESTVILLE PRISON	5	2.5
BRIGHTON BEACH POLICE CELL	1	.5
EMPANGENI POLICE CELL	1	.5
PINETOWN POLICE CELL	2	1.0
THORNVILLE POLICE CELL	2	1.0
PHOENIX POLICE CELL	1	.5
PIETERMARITZBURG PRISON	1	.5
VERULAM POLICE CELL	1	.5
ISIPINGO POLICE CELL	1	.5
IN DURBAN AND JOHANNESBURG	1	.5
NOT STATED	5	2.5
NOT APPLICABLE	100	50.8
TOTAL	197	100

The above table indicates that excluding the 100 who were not arrested, there were 97 detentions for the 93 arrested. The reason for this is that 3 of the children who were interviewed, had more than 1 detention. One boy had been detained 3 times, while the other two had 2 detentions each.

The above table indicates that 51 (25.9%) of the total number of respondents in the study were detained at Bayhead Place of Safety, either because they had absconded from a place of safety, appeared to be in need

of care, or while awaiting trial if arrested for criminal acts.

Twenty five (12.7%) respondents were detained at CR Swart Square, perhaps due to its proximity to the City Centre, beachfront area and City Police headquarters.

Five (2.5%) were detained at Westville prison; 2 each (1.0%) at Pinetown and Thornville Police cells. Five (2.5%) did not specify where they had been detained. The remaining 7 boys went to the 7 police cells and prison shown in the table above. These findings are significant in that they illustrate the tendency to incarcerate street children predominantly in a place of safety or police cells. The children are therefore, repeatedly victimised in a chain of events over which they have no control. The detention of children in what may best be described as "holding pens" has severe negative consequences. Some of these are labelling, ostracism, conformity to delinquent sub-cultural norms, an isolation from conventional norms, gang membership and homosexuality. In addition to this, incarceration reinforces the official view that the children are no good, and probably will amount to no good in the future.

The questions which need to be posed here are, how can a so-called civilised society confine children who have been emotionally, physically and politically battered in such places, and what purpose does this serve?

TABLE 15 : DURATION OF DETENTION

NUMBER OF DAYS IN DETENTION	NUMBER	PERCENT
1	1	.5
2	3	1.6
5	2	1.0
7	5	2.6
14	3	1.6
30	6	3.1
60	1	.5
90	3	1.6
120	1	.5
125	1	.5
240	1	.5
547	1	.5
1 095	1	.5
NO RESPONSE	164	85.0
2 336	193	100

The above table shows that 164 (85%) did not respond to the question. The 29 (15%) who responded to the question spent varying lengths of time in detention. The total number of days spent in detention by them, was 2 336 days. The average mean (x) length of time spent in detention = 80.1 days.

The above table indicates that 1 (.5%) child each spent 1, 60, 120, 125, 240, 547 and 1 095 days in detention respectively. Two children (1.0%) each spent 5 days in detention. Three children (1.6%) each spent 2, 14 and 90 days in detention respectively. Five children (2.6%) each spent 7 days in detention. Six children (3.1%) each spent 30 days in detention.

It is of concern to note that the majority of those detained, (15), have spent

from, 30 days to 1 095 days in detention, while 14, spent between 1 to 14 days in detention.

The detention of children in places of safety, prisons and police cells for excessively lengthy periods, is unacceptable, and defeats the stated goal of rehabilitation for several reasons. To begin, with incarceration of juveniles with older and hardened criminals exposes them to physical and sexual abuse at their hands, and also at the hands of prison guards (Agnelli : Op cit : 65).

If the children were not delinquent at the time of entry, they most certainly will have learned to be on release. It is believed that change does occur in prison; negative change that is, and that, on release the juvenile will pose a greater threat than he did on entry to the institution. Furthermore, constant punishment of juveniles in institutions renders punishment ineffective as youths become immune to it. The anxiety evoked by punishment and fear of punishment, hinders the learning of new, acceptable forms of behaviour. It is said that punishment is effective only as long as it lasts, and that the person soon reverts to prior behaviour. The incarceration of juveniles during adolescence hinders the formation of satisfactory heterosexual relationships, and normal urges are often channelled into homosexual activities. Recidivism rates which are the indicators of the success or failure of 'treatment methods' in institutions have remained high in follow-up studies, pointing to the futility of incarceration for all but the most incorrigible.

The argument has long been put forward by the labelling perspective that the juveniles involvement with the criminal justice system, that is, the arrest, trial and incarceration, "in fact contributes to an increase in his delinquency." The fundamental point made "is that the system adds to criminalisation in direct proportion to the degree of involvement with it" (Küpper-Wedepohl : 1980 : 1-11).

The police have several discretionary measures at their disposal, provided by the Criminal Procedure Act 51 of 1977, to ensure a child's attendance in court. The alternatives such as bail, providing a written notice to appear in court, or placement in the custody of parents/guardians, are seldom utilised, and incarceration in police cells (the easiest and most convenient option) has become the rule rather than the exception (McLachlan : 1984 : 23).

For all the reasons mentioned above, detention of children in police cells, prisons and places of safety is counterproductive to the rehabilitation and integration of children into society, and should be used sparingly.

ASSESSMENT BY STREET CHILDREN OF THEIR PLACE OF DETENTION

Prison

Nine respondents answered the question. Five (55.6%) said that the accommodation in prison was good, while 4 (44.4%) said that it was bad. Two (22.2%) of the 9 said that the food in prison was good, while the majority, 7 (77.8%) said that it was bad. Four children (44.4%) said the medical treatment in prison was good, while 5 (55.6%) said it was bad.

Police Cell

Thirty one children responded to the question. Three (9.7%) said the accommodation was good; the majority 25 (80.6%) said it was bad; and 3 (9.7%) said it was satisfactory. With regard to the food, 2 (6.5%) said that it was good; 26 (83.8%) said it was bad, and 3 (9.7%) said it was satisfactory. Five (16.1%) said that the medical treatment was good; 22 (71%) said it was bad, and 4 (12.9%) said it was satisfactory.

Children's Home

All four children who had been in children's homes responded to this

question. Of the 4 - 2 (50%) said the accommodation was good; 1 (25%) said it was bad, and 1 (25%) said it was satisfactory. With regard to food, 2 (50%) said it was good; 1 (25%) said it was bad, and 1 (25%) did not respond. One (25%) child said that the medical treatment was good, and 1 (25%) said it was bad. The other 2 (50%) did not respond.

Reform School

Of the 4 children who were at reform schools, only 1 (25%) responded to the question. He reported that the accommodation, food and medical treatment were all satisfactory.

Place of Safety

One hundred and fifty seven children responded to the question. All the children (100%) said that the accommodation, food and medical treatment were good at the place of safety.

Other

'Other' refers to Khayaletu and Zamani Shelters. Thirteen children responded to the question. Ten (76.9%) said the accommodation at the shelter was good, while 3 (23.1%) said it was bad. All 13 (100%) said that the food was good at the shelter, as well as the medical treatment.

From the responses received, it appears that the place of safety and shelter offered adequate care in terms of the accommodation, food and medical treatment offered. It was also stated by the respondents that prison accommodation was good, but that the food and medical treatment were bad.

The majority of respondents found police cells to be bad in respect of accommodation, food and medical treatment. Accommodation, food and medical treatment at children's homes were reported to be good, and satisfactory at the reform school.

The researcher believes that the responses to the above question may not be an entirely truthful reflection of the boys' feelings and experiences of detention. Though their physical needs are met at the place of safety, it is unlikely that their emotional needs are, in view of what has already been said with regard to institutions generally. The children's educational needs are definitely not being met. Boredom may account for the large number who continually abscond. Informal conversations with the boys on the streets who had been at the place of safety at some stage of their street existence, revealed that they were averse to being recommitted. No specific reasons were given for the way they felt, nor were any stories of gross maltreatment recounted. The impression gained was that the physical isolation of the institution and the unstimulating environment, contributed to the boys' unhappiness and spurred their desire to abscond.

Furthermore, the fact that 143 were resident at the place of safety, may have elicited a favourable response perhaps for fear of victimisation there.

PUNISHMENT DURING DETENTION

The responses indicate that with the exception of 23 (12%) who said they were punished, the large majority, 170 (88%) were not punished either in prison, a police cell, children's home, reform school, place of safety or 'other'. 'Other' refers to Khayaletu and Zamani Shelters. None of the children in the sample had been in foster care or a school of industries.

Of the 23 who said they were punished, 3 (13%) were punished while in prison, 12 (52.2%) while in police custody and 8 (34.8%) while at a place of safety. Therefore more children in police custody were punished, than were those at a place of safety or in prison.

These findings reveal that only a small number of respondents were punished in the various institutions to which they had been confined. On the other hand, it is likely that the children's fear of victimisation and

harassment by the police and institutional staff prevented more from responding affirmatively.

Over the years, the South African public have read of the inhumane treatment of children by the police whilst in detention. Similarly, the Detainee's Parents Support Committee (1986 : 71-72) graphically illustrate the abuses perpetrated against children in detention. This study does find the police to be the main perpetrators of punishment, but not to the degree that one would have expected after having read such adverse reports.

Media reports have over the years, likewise focused on the abuse of children in institutional settings, mainly children's homes and places of safety. Findings relating to punishment in the present study are negligible.

NATURE OF PUNISHMENT

Only twenty three (12%) of the total number of children in the study said they had been punished. However, only 5 (21.8%) of the 23 responded by saying that they had been assaulted. Some children mentioned ill-treatment by colleagues while in police custody and at the place of safety. These responses were excluded, as they were not applicable.

TABLE 16 : NATURE OF DEVIANT ACTIVITIES

DEVIANT ACTIVITY	NUMBER	PERCENT
GLUE SNIFFING	44	22.8
PETROL SNIFFING	31	16.1
BENZINE SNIFFING	32	16.6
INHALING PAINT THINNERS	15	7.8
SMOKING DAGGA	45	23.3
DRINKING ALCOHOL	32	16.6
PROSTITUTION	2	1.0
HOMOSEXUALITY	3	1.6
THEFT FROM HOUSES	7	3.6
THEFT FROM CARS	10	5.2
THEFT FROM SHOPS	11	5.7
THEFT FROM SHOPPERS	6	3.1
BAG SNATCHING	8	4.1
ASSAULT	8	4.1
GAMBLING	82	42.5
BEGGING	124	64.2
OTHER (SPECIFY)	32	16.6

An analysis of the table above shows that by far the most frequently engaged in activity is begging, 124 (64.2%). It is usually the smallest, most pitiful looking children who are used for this purpose, and if there is a girl among them, "she may do the begging on behalf of the group." (Schärf et al : Op cit : 276-277) Schärf et al state that after dark, begging on the streets is replaced by door to door begging which includes asking for food and clothing in addition to money. (Ibid : 277) Swart says that older boys are resented for begging as the public feel that they should render some service rather than begging. (Swart : November 1988 : 135) The other activities are listed in order of decreasing frequency. They are :

Gambling - 82 (42.5%) children were engaged in this activity. Swart reports that amongst other illegal activities, street children are at risk of arrest for gambling. "Tiekie-dice" is regarded by the children as just a game (Swart : Ibid : 137-138). Bothma's study revealed that playing a game with dice was engaged in enthusiastically by the children. In-between parking cars, this game provided a great deal of enjoyment, although some boys would slate the players for "throwing their money away" (Bothma : Op cit : 67).

Smoking dagga - 45 (23.3%) children smoked dagga. Other research findings confirm the use of dagga by street children. Garman reports that of the 15 subjects in her study "all of them used at least two types of other drugs (other than glue), and in most cases they used three other drugs" (Garman : Op cit : 49). Fourteen of the 15 children smoked dagga, and of these 4 started while still at home. The tendency was to progress from glue sniffing to dagga for all but the 4 who started smoking dagga first while still at home. When asked which substance they preferred most, 6 said dagga. When asked which substance they used most, 8 replied dagga (Ibid : 49-53).

Pather found that of the 55 substance abusers in her study, 13 (11%) abused dagga and drugs (Pather : Op cit : 11). Bothma reports that the smoking of dagga was a popular leisure time activity among the street children he studied, and was not restricted only to feasts. He says that because it is more expensive and difficult to obtain, it is more desirable. He is of the view that it's main attraction as a leisure time activity "was the ritual procedure involved in the preparation and smoking of the 'neck'" (Bothma : op cit : 69). He says that the smoking of dagga "was a powerful way of uniting individuals" and "represented an important cultural link between strollers and gangsters" (Ibid : 70).

Swart says that "many malunde (person of the street) smoke dagga or

isigada (a mixture of marijuana and tobacco)" the effects of which are regarded as 'cool'. She says that the boys are influenced to experiment with drugs and are introduced to dagga by street dwellers and Rastas, who tell them that it is the 'manly' thing to do (Swart : November 1988 : 132, 169).

Glue sniffing - 44 (22.8%) children sniffed glue. Through observation and informal conversation with the children interviewed on the streets, it was found that glue sniffing is a very much favoured activity and is used to lessen sensitivity to hunger, cold, pain, fear and the many dangers faced by children on the streets daily.

Glue sniffing as a predominant activity engaged in by street children is widely referred to in the literature. Osler states that "in South Africa it has been acknowledged that the extent of inhalant abuse has reached alarming proportions amongst the deprived population groups", and that shoemakers glue is preferred as it is easily available and less expensive to obtain. She identifies four major groups of inhalants. The first is the adolescent experimenter, in the 12 to 17 year age group, who comes from both sexes and all age groups. They experiment with inhalants as part of their general drug experimentation. The second group are the younger, socio-economically deprived children, in the 6 to 11 age category. These children she says are endemic in South Africa "amongst Black urban and rural communities as well as amongst some of the more deprived Coloured and Indian communities." The third group encompasses primary school children from affluent homes, in the 9 to 12 year age group. Lastly, the young adult inhalant abuser, the majority of whom are exposed to inhalants in their work environment. These include medical students, anaesthetists, secretaries and typists (exposed to eraser fluid), panel beaters and laboratory researchers, inter alia (Osler : 1986 : 7-11).

Garman's study found that glue was sniffed daily, and on and off throughout the day. The children tended to sniff more glue during the day

than at night, and more over the week-end than during the week. "Most of the subjects saw solvent abuse as a definite means of helping them to deal with their problems", and was thus a major coping mechanism or survival strategy (Garman : Op cit : 42, 44).

Pather found that 33 (27%) of the children sniffed glue or benzine. Most of them offered no reasons for doing so, other than their friends did so (and so did they) (Pather : op cit : 29).

Swart says that "smoking glue is the commonest form of addiction among the Malunde", and that it was "directly related to the triggering of aggression and fighting." She says that the street child's addiction to glue is out of step with street children abroad, "many of whom have turned to hard drugs" (Swart : November 1988 : 129, 168, 198). Schärf also states that street children's "favourite highs are derived from sniffing glue, paint thinners and sometimes benzine" (Schärf et al : Op cit : 276). The street children's abuse of benzine, petrol, cigarettes and alcohol, have likewise been reported by Pather and Swart (Pather : op cit : 11; Swart : November 1988 : 132).

Benzine sniffing, drinking alcohol and 'other'- 32 children each (16.6%) engaged in these activities respectively. The 'other' here refers to smoking cigarettes.

Petrol sniffing - 31 (16.1%) children sniffed petrol.

Inhaling paint thinners - 15 (7.8%) children engaged in this activity.

Theft from shops - 11 (5.7%) engaged in shop-lifting.

Theft from cars - 10 (5.2%) children said they had stolen from parked cars.

Bag snatching, assault - 8 (4.1%) children each engaged in bag snatching and assault respectively.

Theft from houses - 7 (3.6%) children engaged in this activity.

Theft from shoppers - 6 (3.1%) children engaged in pickpocketing

A survey among respondents in the Hillbrow area (host community) revealed that the 3 most common illegal activities engaged in by street children there, were theft, drug addiction and prostitution (Ibid : 197). Although the present study found significant rates of drug abuse and theft, prostitution ranked amongst the least frequently committed offences. McLachlan cited in Swart, estimated almost 2 000 juveniles in South African prisons in mid-1983 for economic offences, mainly petty theft and housebreaking (McLachlan cited in Swart : Ibid : 137). Had she included children in prisons, this figure would no doubt have been higher. Informal discussions held with street children by Swart revealed their views towards theft. They believed that anyone caught for housebreaking deserved to be punished, but regarded petty theft as a necessary survival strategy. The theft of food and clothing was considered "regrettable but not reprehensible." Likewise shop-lifting and theft from unlocked cars was considered necessary. "Those who stole frequently, bag-snatched, and broke in admitted to stealing beyond what was necessary." Of the 15 street children she interviewed, 9 admitted to stealing frequently, 5 stole occasionally, 2 admitted to bag-snatching, 11 admitted breaking into cars and homes to steal and 13 resorted to shop-lifting. None of the 15 said they had never stolen. The children were further approached by adults, including members of the Hillbrow host community, to help them in housebreaking (Swart : November 1988 : 137-138; 165-166; 169).

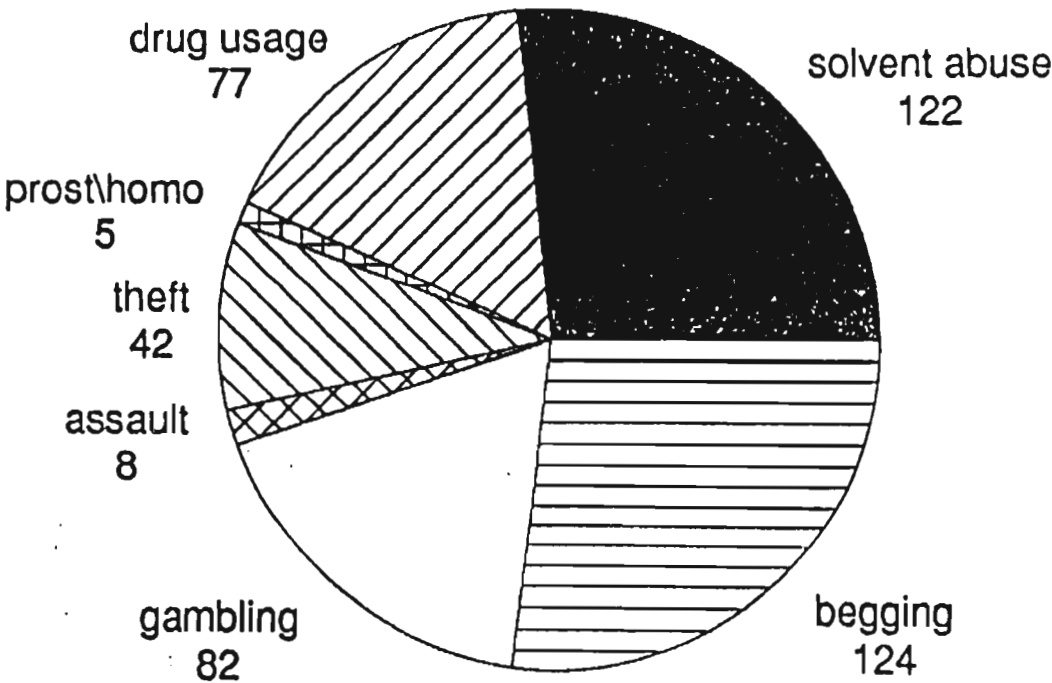
Homosexuality - 3 (1.6%) boys said they engaged in this activity.

Prostitution - 2 (1.0%) boys admitted being involved in prostitution.

The children's involvement in sexually deviant activities occurred far less frequently than it did among the strollers in the study of Schärf *et al* (Op cit : 279). Of the 15 children interviewed by Swart, 8 reported no involvement, 4 engaged in prostitution frequently, and 3 did so occasionally. The lower incidence of these activities may be related to the children's views that they are "bad' and (prostitution) 'wrong' therefore punishable" (Swart : November 1988 : 138, 165).

The figure below shows therefore, that the most frequently engaged in activity was begging, while the least engaged in activity was prostitution. The figure also indicates that the children were involved in all types of deviant activities to a greater or lesser degree. Many were also involved in more than one such activity.

FIGURE 11 : DEVIANT ACTIVITIES



One hundred and twenty four (64.2%) engaged in begging which is regarded by the public as offensive and which is categorised as a public nuisance offence.

A closer look at the figure indicates that 122 (63.2%) respondents were engaged in solvent abuse (glue, petrol and benzine sniffing, and inhaling paint thinners).

Eighty two (42.5%) were engaged in gambling, which is seen as a violation of legal and moral norms.

Seventy seven (39.9%) were engaged in drug usage (smoking dagga and drinking alcohol).

Forty two (21.8%) were engaged in theft (theft from cars, shops, shoppers, houses and bag snatching).

Eight (4.1%) were engaged in person to person crimes (assault).

Five (2.6%) children were engaged in sexually deviant activities (prostitution and homosexuality).

The findings presented here are significant because they confirm the involvement of street children in this study in a wide range of deviant activities. They therefore, lend credibility to the focus of this thesis.

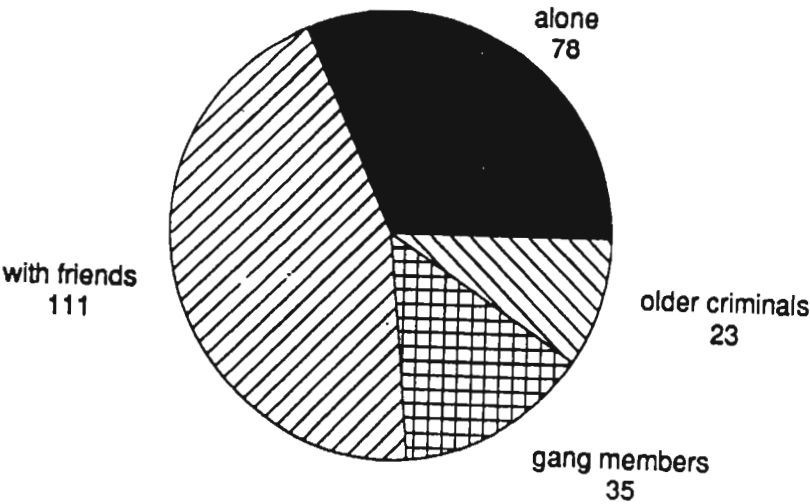
It would appear that the children in this study are no different to street children elsewhere in this country, as the various studies cited above prove. They do tend however, to be less involved in what many regard as sexually deviant activities, that is, homosexuality and prostitution. The reasons for this are unknown, but may be linked perhaps to the greater number of years spent in school by a large number of the children or to the many

conventional values which they hold.

There appears to be a certain pattern in so far as their deviant activities are concerned, with the majority resorting to begging, which is a relatively innocuous offence, then progressing to solvent abuse, gambling, drug abuse, theft, assault and sexually deviant activities. It may be presumed that the turning point in their deviant activities occurs with the use of drugs and the turning to theft as a means of support.

Later findings indicate that the respondents are largely engaged in legitimate activities to earn a living. It can be safely assumed that when street children begin their street careers, they resort to legitimate activities to earn a living. The reason for saying so is that only 5 (2.6%) were arrested while living at home. The overwhelming majority were therefore law abiding upon leaving home. By the same token it is clear that as time on the street passes, they begin to engage in deviant activities. The implications of street life for deviance, delinquency and crime are therefore, obvious and far-reaching.

FIGURE 12 : INVOLVEMENT IN DEVIANT ACTIVITIES
ALONE/WITH FRIENDS



The figure indicates that the majority of respondents, 111 (57.5%) said they engaged in the activities listed in the foregoing question, with friends. Seventy eight (40.4%) said they engaged in the activities alone. Thirty five (18.1%) engaged in the activities with gang members, while 23 (11.9%) said they did so with older criminals.

It is not surprising that the majority of respondents engaged in the activities listed in the previous question with friends, as most of the activities listed can best be enjoyed with friends. The spirit of friendship and camaraderie among street children is well documented in the literature and explains the tendency to want to do things and share activities with friends.

It is interesting to note that although the majority of children left their homes alone (prior question) they have since teamed up with a network of friends. This fact illustrates the strong need adolescents have to be part of, and accepted by, a group.

A significant feature which emerges from the findings, is the children's involvement in the deviant activities mentioned with older criminals and gang members, in total, 58 (30%) children. Association with older delinquents and criminals holds definite implications for their future involvement in delinquent and criminal activities. Whether they do so out of fear or in the attempt to appear brave or 'macho', the implications are the same. The young, vulnerable, lonely street child may hero worship such types because of their perceived prowess in the commission of illegal activities. If they are successful at what they do, the children may want to imitate their exploits in the hope of attaining money, power and prestige. Furthermore, criminals, gang members and the street children may all share the brotherhood of street life, and a few crumbs thrown at the children may procure limitless devotion and loyalty. The exposure of vulnerable youngsters to law violating and anti-social patterns of behaviour

especially over long periods of time, will ensure similar attitudes and behaviour, as they will come to be seen as the norm (theory of differential association).

This tendency can be theoretically explained in terms of Sutherland's theory of differential association. This theory states that the individual becomes criminal when through the process of association, the attitudes favourable to the violation of the law, predominate over the view that the law should be obeyed. The individual therefore, identifies with the norms and values of the group and behaves accordingly. "Therefore, when an individual does become a criminal, his behaviour is a direct consequence of an excess of associations with patterns of criminal behaviour, and the isolating of patterns of law-abiding behaviour" (Cloete et al : 1980 : 66).

This is especially true when legitimate means of securing a livelihood are closed to them, which does happen the longer the children remain on the streets (Merton's theory of anomie)

Although the respondents in the present study do not appear to be members of gangs (not revealed in informal conversations) the following question reveals that 22 (11.4%) children were forced to engage in deviant activities by gang members and older criminals). It is contended that their exposure to the more powerful delinquent and criminal types is more likely to set them on the path to delinquency and crime.

Bothma found that although a number of the street children in his study had belonged to gangs while in the reformatories of the Cape, no affiliation or identification existed at the time of his study. Reference was sometimes made to gang membership in an attempt to assert authority though prior gang membership was seen to have "more symbolic than practical significance." (Bothma : op cit : 78-80) Like Bothma, Swart states that the "malunde do not equate themselves with gangsters." The term is used

loosely by the children to denote a collection of their members, but does not, she says, refer to any "anti-social gangster ethic." Gang members were unanimously regarded as 'bad' and as 'tsotsis'. In the words of one street child, "malunde are not bad like tsotsi. Is naughty but no 'sleg" (Swart : November 1988 : 127-128).

From the empirical study, it is evident that the arrest and detention of street children in places of safety, prisons and police cells, as well as the duration of detention, are clear indications of the negative perceptions and measures adopted towards them, hence reinforcing their victimisation and thrust towards deviance. Institutions are widely condemned because they are artificial and serve to isolate from rather than acquaint juveniles with pro-social behaviour. Contamination with hardened offenders is likely to occur in such places. The detention of children in prisons has become a focal concern for the Government of National Unity so much so that President Mandela, in his state of the nation address to Parliament, called for the release from detention of 14,000 juveniles from jail (Natal Mercury: 25:5:94).

It is further apparent from the findings that street children are engaged in many deviant activities. The issue of major concern here is that the labelling and stigmatisation of street children will 'push' them into secondary deviance and deviant careers. The process involved in assuming a deviant career is aptly described by Champion et al. The first stage involves the perception people have that some norms have been violated, which in this instance, is running away. The second stage involves labelling the person as a deviant, who is then because of the label, expected to engage in deviance. The third stage occurs when because of the label, he becomes the focus of police, social workers, etcetera. The fourth stage ensures the deviant's isolation from non-deviants and association with deviants in prisons and detention facilities. The last stage occurs when the deviant accepts the label and lives up to it (Champion et al: 1984: 102-104). From all that has been said it is clear that the street children in this study have experienced the first

four stages, and the point constantly being made is that it is only a matter of time before they enter the fourth stage, if they have not done so already.

4.2.4 THE SOCIAL WORLD OF STREET CHILDREN

TABLE 17 : INCOME GENERATING ACTIVITIES

ACTIVITIES	NUMBER	PERCENT
PARKING CARS	114	59.1
WASHING CARS	75	38.9
PUSHING TROLLEYS	52	26.9
SELLING NEWSPAPERS	14	7.3
SELLING FRUIT AND VEGETABLES	54	28.0
THEFT FROM HOUSES	11	5.7
THEFT FROM CARS	13	6.7
THEFT FROM SHOPS	9	4.7
THEFT FROM SHOPPERS	6	3.1
BAG SNATCHING	6	3.1
PROSTITUTION	-	-
BEGGING	129	66.8
GAMBLING	97	50.3
OTHER (SPECIFY)	-	-

The totals do not add up to 193 (100.0%) as several boys engaged in more than one activity.

The table above indicates many of the varied legitimate and illegitimate activities engaged in by the respondents in this study in order to earn some money. The activities are listed in order of frequency.

Begging - 129 (66.8%). This activity is very much favoured by street children, and for the younger, more pathetic looking children, can prove to

be a relatively lucrative source of income.

Parking cars - 114 (59.1%). Street children are frequently seen directing cars into vacant spaces at parking lots. It appears that this activity does have its pecuniary rewards.

Gambling - 97 (50.3%). Street children are often to be seen crouched on the pavement or grass, busily engaged in some game of chance. It would appear that gambling fulfils the two-fold purpose of bringing in some money, and also providing entertainment and a chance to socialise with one's friends.

Washing cars - 75 (38.9%) boys were engaged in this activity.

Selling fruit and vegetables - 54 (28%) boys sold fruit and vegetables to bring in some money. These children are often to be seen around the Indian market area engaged in this activity.

Pushing trolleys - 52 (26.9%) pushed trolleys for customers in supermarkets in order to earn some money.

Selling newspapers - 14 (7.3%). Only a small number of the children interviewed sold newspapers to earn some money.

Theft from cars - 13 (6.7%) boys said they obtained money through thieving from cars. It is probable that these boys were used by older criminals and gang members to steal from cars, in return for a small fee.

Theft from houses - 11 (5.7%) boys were engaged in this activity. It is likely that they too were recruited by older criminals and gang members for this activity. Their agility and strength would stand them in good stead for this type of activity, and if caught, the penalties will be greatly reduced in view

of their ages.

Theft from shops - 9 (4.7%). A comparatively small number of the children 'earned' money in this way, due perhaps to the greater precautions taken by shops nowadays to deter shop-lifters.

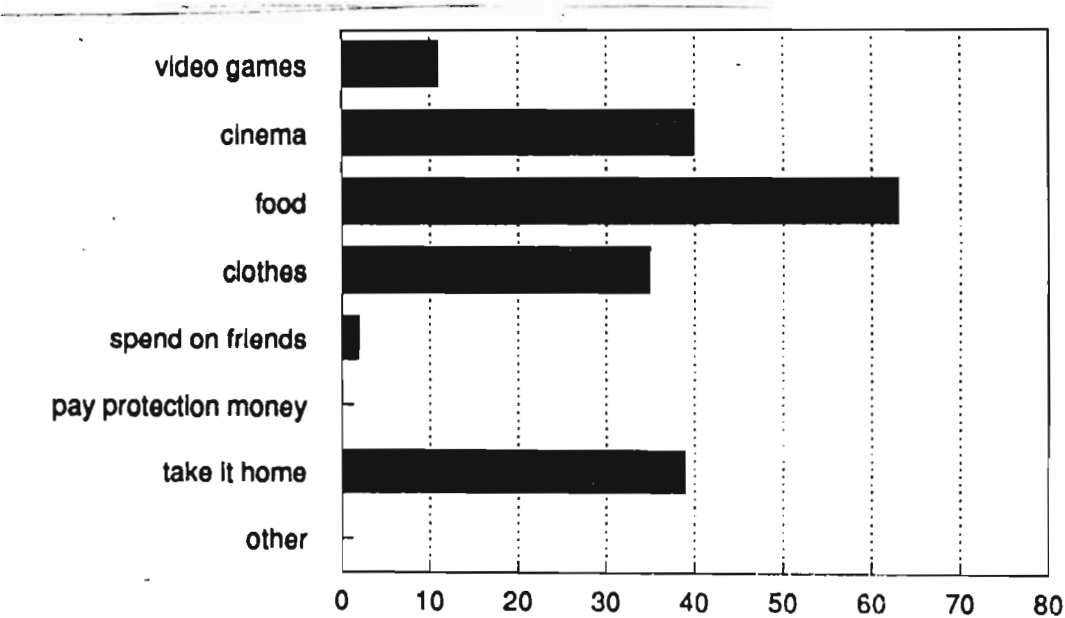
Theft from shoppers and bag snatching - 6 (3.1%) children engaged in these activities, which do not appear to be as lucrative as the other activities.

The literature indicates that street children undertake a great many legitimate and illegitimate activities in order to generate an income. Richter says that money is earned through "informal services" such as ushering cars into parking spaces. In the present study 112 (59.1%) boys were engaged in this activity. She found that a smaller number earned money from "gambling, sexual activities or selling newspapers." With the exception of gambling which involved a significant proportion of the boys, 97 (50.3%) the present findings otherwise are in agreement with hers (Richter : Oct. 1988 : 18).

Swart categorises the working activities of street children into 4 main groups, which are begging, theft, scavenging and odd-jobbing. The latter involves payment for services rendered such as shoe-shining, washing and parking cars, helping shoppers with their parcels and pushing trolleys, sweeping shop frontages for shopkeepers, prostitution and selling newspapers, fruit and flowers. The income of the children ranges from fifty cents to five or ten rands from Mondays to Thursdays, and from two to twenty five rands on Fridays and Saturdays, with Sundays bringing in far less money. Children who are recruited by adults for housebreaking 'earn' considerably more which may be anything from one hundred to three hundred rands per job "depending on their age and expertise" (Swart : November 1988 : 42, 135, 248).

The children in Bothma’s study resorted increasingly to ‘aanklop’ (door to door begging) as parking of cars, as a source of livelihood became scarce. This frequently resulted in the children being paid in kind (old clothes and food) rather than cash. They also relied upon donations from various charitable organisations and meals from soup kitchens as a "source of income in kind." Other income generating jobs included "car washing, temporary domestic service, and assisting shop owners or street hawkers in various ways." However, for the children in his study, theft proved to be a very lucrative source of income with concomitant status and prestige if undertaken successfully. A relevant observation which emanated from his study was that as legitimate income generating activities became closed to them, the children had to rely more heavily upon illegitimate activities (mainly theft) to survive (Bothma : op cit : 45-54).

FIGURE 13 : SPENDING OF MONEY



The figure above indicates what the respondents in the sample do with the money they obtain.

It can be seen that the majority of respondents, 63 (32.64%) listed buying food as their main priority. This was followed by 40 (20.7%) who said they

went to the cinema. Thirty nine (20.2%) said they took the money home to their families. Thirty five (18.13%) bought clothes. Eleven (5.7%) played video games, and 2 (1%) spent it on their friends. The children's priorities were therefore, buying food, going to the cinema, sending it home, buying clothes, playing video games and lastly, spending it on their friends.

It appears that the priorities of children on the streets centre round food, cinema, clothes, taking it home, spending it on friends, playing video games, and paying protection money to gang members/older criminals.

The ways in which the children spend their money reflect an ambivalence of adult-like responsibility and child-like abandonment. The need to buy food, clothes and to take their money home is indicative of their maturity and responsibility towards themselves and their families. On the other hand, going to the cinema, playing video games and spending money on friends, brings home the reality that they are still children with the need for enjoyment and fun like any other carefree child. The children are therefore, young at heart, yet old beyond their years, burdened with responsibilities that other children of similar ages take for granted. The children thus combine a mixture of hedonism and practicality in their lifestyle.

TABLE 18 : FREQUENCY OF PARTICIPATION IN RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

ACTIVITIES	SOMETIMES		FREQUENTLY		NEVER	
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
PAINTING	23	11.9	84	43.5	84	43.5
DRAWING	16	8.3	116	60.1	59	30.6
ACTING	5	2.6	75	38.9	111	57.5
PLAYING MUSIC	21	10.9	104	53.9	65	33.7
LISTENING TO MUSIC	17	8.8	114	59.1	60	31.1
SINGING	16	8.3	109	56.5	66	34.2
DANCING	18	9.3	94	48.7	79	40.9
CARPENTRY	15	7.8	95	49.2	81	42.0
FIXING CARS/MACHINERY	16	8.3	106	54.9	68	35.2
PLAYING SOCCER	19	9.8	118	61.1	53	27.5
GOING TO SHEBEENS	5	2.6	17	8.8	166	86.0
DOING NOTHING	4	2.1	4	2.1	180	93.3
OTHER (SPECIFY)	-	-	-	-	-	-

The responses indicate that the activity most frequently engaged in is playing soccer, 118 (61.1%). This is followed by drawing, 116 (60.1%); listening to music, 114 (59.1%); singing, 109 (56.5%); fixing cars and machinery, 106 (54.9%); playing music, 104 (53,9%); carpentry, 95 (49,2%); dancing, 94 (48.7%); painting, 84 (43,5%) and acting, 75 (38.9%).

The majority of respondents were never idle, 180 (93.3%); never went to shebeens, 166 (86%) or acted, 111 (57.5%).

The data reveals that the respondents in the study are interested in a great many activities. It is felt that if they are encouraged and taught the finer points (as in drawing, music, mechanics, carpentry), their latent interest and potential will be stimulated, and the deviant activities will be inhibited and channelled into constructive, perhaps even lucrative pursuits.

The findings reveal that the majority of respondents are engaged in bogging(public nuisance offence) and gambling to generate an income,as well as various types of theft.These deviant income-generating activities of the respondents may have taken place because of the victimisation/labelling experienced in their interactions with others and may herald entry into the fifth stage in the process towards a deviant career.Although the money generated is spent on food,clothes,cinema etcetera,earlier findings reveal that drug abuse(dagga) and abuse of solvents is prevalent,indicating that money is also spent in this way although not mentioned here.Once again these activities have implications for the victimisation of street children and their involvement in deviant activities while on a "high".

4.2.5 PERCEPTIONS AND ATTITUDES OF THE RESPONDENTS

PERSONS WHOM STREET CHILDREN REGARD AS THEIR FRIENDS

The findings above indicate that the majority of respondents in the study, 164 (85%), stated that their friends were other street children. The spirit of friendship and camaraderie that prevails among street children is well documented in the literature. These children are able to identify with others who are just like them and who are able to share their hardships, sorrows, fears and joys unconditionally. This friendship and bond among street children was witnessed by the researcher while conducting the interviews on the streets. They all knew one another, chatted, laughed and teased, seemingly without a care in the world. It would seem that if street life has done little else for them, at least it has forged strong bonds of

caring and sharing. If they never knew friendship or acceptance before, they surely know it now.

Fifty two children (26.9%) said that their friends were gang members, while 50 (25.91%) cited older criminals as their friends. It may well be that these children look up to these older criminals and gang members for what they perceive to be bravery and daring. It is also very possible that these older criminals and gang members protect and guide the children. This would perhaps explain why so many children (refer to table 4.22) like them. A small number of children, 8 (4.1%) cited shop keepers and shoppers as their friends.

These findings serve to confirm what is universally known and accepted of street children, that is that they are part of and supported by an extensive network of peer group relationships. The supportive, caring network to which street children belong has been extensively written about by Aptekar who found that the older children took responsibility for the younger ones "in spite of their own obvious problems" (Aptekar : Op cit : 85).

Aptekar found that the peer relationships on the streets led to the development of many coping mechanisms which accounted for Bender scores¹ which were quite good. The older children undertook teaching the younger ones the skills, poses and attitudes necessary for survival on the streets, and like substitute parents, doled out "affection, concern and attention." "Much of a street child's life is spent not alone but with other street children, and their group characteristics and behaviour are just as important as individual behaviour in determining how they live and the

¹The Bender-Gestalt test "has proved to be a valuable tool in cross-cultural personality research." Golden cited in Aptekar says that "it provides information otherwise difficult to obtain from uneducated or culturally deprived individuals." (Aptekar : 1988 : 19)

quality of their lives" (Ibid : 33, 88, 115).

The tendency to supplant the family support system with the supportive companionship system, is referred to by Schärf et al. They say that strollers generally "move around in groups of between four and six children," and that "the supportive framework extends from illness, economic requirements and shelter to the realm of enjoyment" (Schärf et al : Op cit : 275).

Richter states that relationships with peers were expressed by the boys as being "supportive, co-operative and pleasurable", and that very few referred to negative interactions with their friends (Richter : October 1988 : 64). Agnelli likewise agrees that "street children do organise themselves spontaneously on co-operative lines which recognizably draw on the same deep-felt needs and aspirations" (Agnelli : 1986 : 95).

Swart says that there are few lone street children as they tend to live in groups. Their concern for one another is manifested by nursing back to health any friend that is ill or hurt by the provision of food, companionship and medicine from a pharmacist, and in times of need street children frequently assist one another (Swart : November 1988 : 105-110; 158).

VIEWS AND BEHAVIOUR OF STREET CHILDREN TOWARDS THEIR FRIENDS

The results show overwhelmingly the regard and concern the children have for their friends.

One hundred and ninety one (99%) respondents said they liked their friends. One hundred and sixty nine (87.6%) said they depend on their friends. One hundred and eight (93.3%) said they help their friends when they are sick. One hundred and seventy nine (92.7%) said they help their friends when they are in trouble. A small number, 12 (6.2%) said they fight

with their friends.

The picture presented of the street children here, is of caring and concerned youngsters with a great deal of love towards their mates. The researcher is of the opinion that children who are capable of these finer feelings are not a totally 'lost cause'. The feelings they express for one another indicate that they are not completely anti-social. Therefore, when they engage in deviant activities, as previous findings indicate, it is either because legitimate avenues for earning a living are closed to them, or because they are coerced into such activities by older criminals and gang members. It is for these reasons that these children must be helped, and helped immediately, before it is too late and they become completely anti-social and deviant.

STREET CHILDREN'S PERCEPTIONS OF THE VIEWS AND BEHAVIOUR OF THEIR FRIENDS TOWARDS THEM

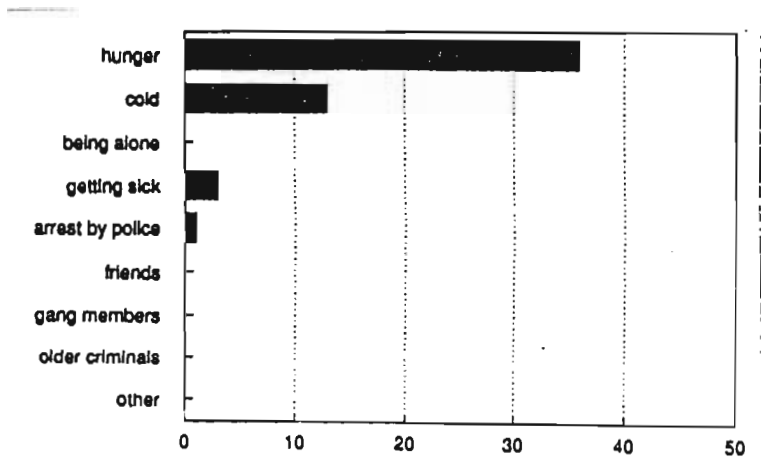
The responses to this question are very similar to the responses received to the previous question. It appears that according to the perceptions of the respondents children, their friends like them as much as they like their friends. The findings reveal that 185 (95.9%) said their friends like them. One hundred and seventy five (90.7%) said their friends depend on them, as opposed to 169 (87.6%) who said they depended on their friends.

One hundred and eight one (93.8%) said their friends help them when they are sick, as opposed to 180 (93.3%) who help their friends when they are sick. One hundred and seventy nine (94.3%) said their friends help them when they are in trouble.

Slightly more respondents, 20 (14%) said their friends fight with them, as opposed to 12 (6.2) who fight with their friends. These findings once again confirm the reciprocal network which exists between street children. It may be argued that without this vital support group, life on the streets would be

very difficult, if not impossible. The peer group becomes the primary reference group, and fulfils for the children functions which normally would be undertaken by the family. Under such circumstances, strong bonds of loyalty and allegiance can be forged. This loyalty can be seen as both good and bad. If the children's friends are prone to deviance, delinquency, the non-deviant child will be obligated to engage in similar conduct because of the loyalty he feels towards his friends. On the other hand, loyalty is a commendable characteristic, and is once again indicative of the depth of feeling the street children are capable of. These feelings must be reinforced and can be generalised to various situations (work, school, family and community.)

FIGURE 14 : **THE FOREMOST EXPERIENCES AND FEARS OF STREET CHILDREN**



Thirty six respondents (18.7%) said they experienced hunger the most in their lives on the streets, while 8 (4.1%) said they feared hunger the most. Thirteen (6.7%) experienced cold the most and 7 (3.6%) feared getting sick the most.

One (.5%) respondent said he experienced arrest by the police most as a street child, while 12 (6.2%) said they feared arrest most. Two (1.0%)

respondents said they feared their friends the most in their lives on the streets.

Hunger appears to be the foremost experience, while arrest is the foremost fear for those who responded to the question.

Hunger as a constant theme in the lives of street children is echoed in the responses to an earlier question which shows that the majority of respondents buy food with the money they earn. The children's fear of arrest is to be expected in view of the maltreatment a large number of street children receive at the hands of the South African Police (refer to chapter two). However, since the majority of children in this study are favourably disposed towards the City Police, it seems that they have been less victimised than their counterparts in Johannesburg and Cape Town. Their fear of arrest indicates that they have not yet become hardened by street life. If they were they would be more nonchalant about arrest, perhaps even brazen, as arrest and imprisonment are seen by gang members and delinquents as status conferring.

TABLE 19 : ASPIRATIONS OF STREET CHILDREN

ASPIRATIONS OF STREET CHILDREN	NUMBER	PERCENT
TO BE FEARED	11	5.7
TO BE HATED	16	8.3
TO BE RESPECTED	180	93.3
TO BE LOVED	184	95.3
TO BE SUCCESSFUL	180	93.3
TO BE FAMOUS	176	91.2
OTHER (SPECIFY)	-	-

Totals do not add up to 193 (100.0%) as only yes responses were tabulated.

The responses to this question indicate identification with conventional values, as the overwhelming majority want to be respected, 180 (93.3%); loved, 184 (95.3%); successful, 180 (93.3%) and famous, 176 (91.2%). The predominant need of the children, is for love. The data in the preceding tables indicate that many of the children came from physically intact families, lived with both parents, came from average sized families, had a senior primary educational level, that apart from physical and verbal abuse there were no other major pathologies in the families from which they came, and yet they still ran away from their homes. The researcher believes that this need to love and to be loved may be an important factor in motivating these children to run from unsatisfactory family and township conditions, and run 'to' what they perceive as happiness, excitement, independence and success. Deteriorating family and township conditions provide the backdrop against which the drama is enacted. The over-riding motivation, is in the researcher's view, the children's personalities and their expectations, which current circumstances are unable to provide.

The responses to this question indicate two things. Firstly, the children's need for love supercedes their need for respect, success and fame, although these too are highly valued by the children. The children's need for love is apparent in other studies of street children. Swart says that one of the children's greatest fears is "that they will end up alone and unloved." This fear she says, has "been echoed by many other street children" (Swart : 1987 : 6). She also says that the street children "want very much to belong and to be care for, but not at any price." (Swart : July 1989 : 10) The findings also show that the children in this study adhere to values which are esteemed by society at large, and are therefore "astonishingly conventional in their outlook" (Agnelli cited in Swart : November 1988 : 55). Swart similarly found that the children in her study held "aspirations for the future" consistent with middle-class aspirations "whether they are

capable of achieving these or not" (Ibid : 209). Schärf et al are of the view that the stroller's expectations for the future are in accordance with "conventional class expectations." These expectations derive from values and norms acquired during earlier socialisation, and according to the authors, can be revived (Schärf et al : Op cit : 280-281).

The table above also shows that 11 (5.7%) would like to be feared, and 16 (8.3%) would like to be hated. Perhaps they equate fear and hatred with power, and therefore find them desirable.

SELF-CONCEPT OF STREET CHILDREN

Although the responses to this question maybe regarded as being of limited value in determining the children's self-concept accurately, they nevertheless do point to positive rather than negative self-concepts.

The majority, 184 (95.3%) said that they are self confident. One hundred and eighty one (93.8%) said that people liked them, and 180 (93.3%) said that they are independent. Only 20 (10.4%) believed that people disliked them, and 16 (8.3%) felt that they are failures, both of which responses indicate negative self-concepts. One hundred and sixty two (83.9%) said that they will make progress in life.

The extreme confidence and independence of the majority of these children may also have been precipitating factors in their decision to leave their homes. It seems unlikely that these children would have left their homes, no matter how bad conditions were, if they didn't think they would be able to survive on the streets. A tentative conclusion is that it was internal more than external factors, which caused the children in this study to leave their homes.

By internal factors, the researcher refers to the children's personalities, that is, the unique combination of attitudes and feelings which motivate the

individual to action. The external factors relate to the physical and social conditions in which the child finds himself.

The responses to the present question indicate that the boys have an intact and good sense of self-esteem or self-regard, and therefore show higher levels of internal locus-of-control,² rather than external locus-of-control. These findings appear to agree with those of Richter, (Richter : October 1988 : 65) who says that internal locus-of-control correlates with less psychopathology and positive peer relationships. External locus-of-control tends to be exhibited by those who have spent longer periods of time on the street, and is correlated with more psychopathology. (Ibid : 60)

The findings also reveal that the negative attitudes of society towards street children have not influenced their perceptions of themselves (as yet). This in turn suggests that though the children have spent varying lengths of time on the streets they have not internalised society's negative attitudes towards them.

On the other hand, the children expressed liking the various individuals with whom they are in contact indicating that these individuals are favourably disposed towards the children and are less negative towards them. Hence the children's sense of self remains positive and intact, at the present time. However, as Richter points out above, the children's internal locus-of-control will give way to an external locus-of-control the longer they remain on the streets. When this occurs, they will view events over which they have no control as being determined by others and will enter the final

²Locus of control is a psychological construct referring to an individual's belief regarding his or her power and/or ability to influence events in life and other people. Individuals who perceive themselves as the passive victims of uncontrollable events, and as passive recipients of the acts of other people, are regarded as having an extreme externally situated sense of locus-of-control. (Ibid : 59)

stage in embarking on a deviant career.

FEELINGS OF STREET CHILDREN WITH REGARD TO THEIR CURRENT CIRCUMSTANCES

The above responses reflect a curious mix of pathos, underlying sadness and altruism, which are in contrast to the self-confidence, optimism and bravado exhibited in the previous responses. It is not surprising to see that the majority 180 (93.3%) said they feel sympathetic to others in similar circumstances, as this feeling for others is also reflected in their previous responses. One hundred and seventy three (89.6%) said they were envious of people who had more than them; 164 (85%) expressed sadness that they were street children; and 152 (78.8%) said they did feel bitter. Nearly one third of the children interviewed, 63 (32.6%) said they were angry, while only 26 (13.5%) said they were happy.

It is disconcerting to note the number of respondents who are bitter, angry and envious, all of which feelings may precipitate their involvement in further acts of deviance and delinquency. Deviance and delinquency are often the acts of frustrated youngsters for whom such activities are functional. They provide the vehicles whereby rage and rebellion towards an indifferent society can be expressed, and are often a plea for help and attention. It is generally accepted that adolescents are angry and rebellious. Envy and bitterness however, are corrosive in children so young and may well lay the foundations for anti-social behaviour in the future.

**TABLE 20 : VIEWS OF STREET CHILDREN WITH REGARD TO
HOW THEIR CURRENT CIRCUMSTANCES CAN BE
IMPROVED**

WAYS TO IMPROVE CURRENT CIRCUMSTANCES	NUMBER	PERCENT
LAWS TO PROTECT STREET CHILDREN	189	97.9
FREE LEGAL ADVICE FOR STREET CHILDREN	189	97.9
PROVIDE EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES	186	96.4
PROVIDE JOB OPPORTUNITIES	184	95.3
DEVISE PROGRAMMES FOR STREET CHILDREN	180	93.3
HAVE MORE SAY IN RUNNING OF SHELTER/PLACE OF SAFETY	184	95.3
BETTER LIVING CONDITIONS IN SHELTER/PLACE OF SAFETY	185	95.9
BETTER RECREATIONAL FACILITIES IN SHELTER/PLACE OF SAFETY	188	97.4
PROVIDE FINANCIAL HELP TO PARENTS	185	95.9
PROVIDE ACCOMMODATION TO PARENTS	186	96.4

Totals do not add up to 193 (100.0%) as only yes responses were included.

The above table shows overwhelmingly that virtually all the respondents interviewed felt that all the proposals listed in the table above should be implemented.

The above proposals relate to some of the problems and difficulties faced by street children once on their own on the streets. The responses indicate that street children hold many conventional values, and look forward to having good jobs, stability and normality. They realise that education is an important means of achieving their goals, and as previous responses have shown, are not averse to education as such, but with unsatisfactory and unrelated curricula, punitive teachers and unstimulating classroom environments.

The Child Care and Criminal Procedure Acts do not offer sufficient protection to children in general. This is particularly true in the case of street children who have no one to fall back on. Their age, language and comprehension abilities and ignorance of the law all weigh heavily against them in appearances before either the Children's Court or Juvenile Court. In a Children's Court inquiry, social workers ask that their 'charges' be declared "in need of care", and the document on which this decision hinges is the social worker's report. If the street child is declared to be so, he invariably finds himself in a place of safety because of the unavailability of children's homes. The point which needs emphasis, is that the child's future is dependent on the social worker's report which should be "a thorough investigation of the child's physical, emotional, social and spiritual needs." In effect though, this is not always the case. The professional standards of these reports are often questionable. In addition to this "there is no obligation on the court to request a social worker's report. This is an alarming omission, particularly since no provision is made for the child's independent legal representation (McLachlan : Op cit : 46). Furthermore, social workers are frequently young, inexperienced and often have an inadequate knowledge of legal provisions and court procedure. They often find themselves intimidated by the atmosphere in the Children's Court (Graser cited in Child Abuse : A Southern African Problem : 1984 : 62). Child Commissioners are magistrates who have no training other than the legal which prepares them to make complex decisions on children appearing

before them. They therefore rely heavily on the social worker's reports, which often appear to be scanty (Ibid : 47).

Street children appearing before the Juvenile Court are similarly disadvantaged by the handicaps already mentioned with regard to Children's Court inquiries.

It is for all the above mentioned reasons that numerous calls have been made for free legal representation for children in order to redress the imbalances that exist (Ibid : 42-46; McLachlan : 1984 : 23-25; Bindon cited in Child Abuse - A Southern African Problem : 1984 : 124). McLachlan speculates on "the chances of a fair trial for a young child alone in court conducting his/her own defence within the complex technical principles of the criminal procedure." Although an accused may apply for legal aid, it is not automatic even if the applicant does satisfy the means test. "The State Legal Aid Board has been criticised for its failure to make its services more accessible to those in need" (McLachlan : 1984 : 23-24). It is envisaged that the proposed family courts will provide for the legal representation of children.

STREET CHILDREN'S VIEWS ON THE OCCUPATIONS THEY WOULD LIKE TO PURSUE AS ADULTS

A great many different responses were received to this question, indicating the respondent's preferences and their dreams and aspirations for the future. The researcher categorised them broadly into the following categories, that is, skilled, semi skilled, unskilled, professional, sporting, clerical and other.

The findings reveal that 41 (21.2%) respondents chose to do jobs which were classified as skilled. They included mechanics, 12 (6.2%); drivers, 15 (7.8%); 1 (.5%) child each who wanted to do welding, plumbing and panel beating; 5 (2.6%) wanted to be builders and 6 (3.1%) carpenters. In this

category, the majority wanted to be drivers.

There were 4 (2.1%) boys whose choice of occupations were regarded as semi-skilled. These included 1 (.5%) who wanted to be a traffic inspector and 3 (1.6%) who wanted to be security guards.

Under the unskilled category, there were 6 (3%) responses. They said they would like to be a sweeper, hawker, car washer, gardener, herdsman and farmer each respectively. These boys, unlike the majority do not seem to be very optimistic about their futures.

Sixty (31.1%) respondents said they would like to do jobs which were categorized as professional. These jobs included social workers, 4 (2.1%); doctors, 14 (7.3%); nurses, 2 (1%); being in the army, 4 (2.1%); engineer, 1 (.5%); attorneys, 6 (3.1%); musician, 1 (.5%); teachers, 13 (6.7%) and policemen, 15 (7.8%).

Twenty (10.4%) boys wanted to be sportsmen. Sixteen (8.3%) wanted to be famous soccer players; 3 (1.6%) boxers and 1 (.5%) wanted to be just a sportsman.

Ten (5.1%) wanted to do clerical jobs. These included 8 (4.1%) who wanted to be clerks; 1 (.5%) who wanted to be a typist and 1 (.5%) who wanted to be a bank teller.

Under the 'other' category, there were 52 (27%) responses. These included 1 (.5%) who wanted to be a ballroom dancer; 3 (1.6%) who said they would like to be artists; 1 (.5%) who wanted to be a film star; 3 (1.6%) indicated that they would do any jobs; 10 (5.2%) who said they did not want to do anything special; 24 (12.4%) who did not respond, and 10 (5.2%) who did not know what they would like to do when they grow up.

From the responses received it is clear that the majority do have goals and objectives in life and want to pursue legitimate careers and jobs. The majority 60 (31.1%) chose occupations which were regarded as being 'professional'. In view of their current circumstances, these goals would seem to be unrealistic, yet at the same time they reflect a good deal of optimism and confidence in their abilities.

Their future employment expectations provide further evidence of the conventional values held by street children. Schärf et al say that the types of jobs the strollers expect to hold as adults are unrealistic, and out of reach, considering their low educational attainments. Of the 31 strollers in their study, only 8 chose unskilled jobs. The rest wanted to be traffic police, bricklayers, signwriters, drivers, and most often, policemen, not unlike the children in this study (Schärf et al : Op cit : 280).

The children in Swart's study expressed the desire to be taxi and heavy vehicle drivers, clerks, builders, electricians, signwriters, doctors, photographers and policemen (Swart : Op cit : 139). The children in the present study cited a greater variety of employment preferences and have higher expectations as is shown by the majority, 60 (30.1%) who chose professional occupations.

From the findings, a social profile emerges of resilient, likeable, sociable street children with good self-concepts indicating strong internal locus of control, engaged in a variety of associations, criminal and non-criminal. This appears to be contradictory to the victimisation\deviance themes which pervade the study. The arguments persist however, and to the researcher are still relevant and significant. It is perhaps more true to say that it is these very characteristics which led them to choose street life over family life, knowing that they had the inner resources to cope. This in no way negates the fact that street children have been victimised in their families and communities and still are on the streets. It is argued that the allure and

thrill of street life persists, and being part of a support network of peers cushions to an extent the realisation of their victimisation. However, the fact that they do engage in deviant activities confirms their victimisation, if deviance (primary and secondary) occurs because legitimate options are unavailable or closed to them. The respondents' admission to liking the various people with whom they are in contact, may be regarded as reactivity, which in observational studies is the giving of expected answers. Of significance is the number of respondents who admit to having criminals and gang members as friends. The implications for deviance and their further victimisation are obvious.

4.3 : SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The majority of children were between 11 and 15 years of age. This age group comprises preadolescent and adolescent youth and has important criminological and victimological implications. Cronjé et al state that this period in a child's life is associated with many adjustment problems relating to rapid physical and psychological changes which cause "confusion, insecurity and very often bad behaviour" (Cronjé et al : 1976 : 35). Cronjé et al cite du Plessis who says that "bad tendencies, maladjustment and deviant behaviour can develop more fully in this period" (Ibid : 35). This is especially true if one considers that street children are entirely self supporting, and that this support often comes from involvement in a wide range of deviant activities. Ahlstrom and Havighurst cited in Cronjé et al (Ibid : 36) state that boys who are maladjusted during this period, also have problems at school related to discipline, study habits and self-control (Ibid : 36). This no doubt explains the tendency of the children in this study to leave school due to "loss of interest."

All the children in the study were Black and predominantly male indicating that they had no other alternatives other than resorting to a street life. The deprivation and victimisation in their pre-street lives is clear.

The children were predominantly Christian and had attended church regularly that is, once a week, while living at home. The majority stated that they still attend church even though they no longer live at home. Very few children sought help from their respective churches prior to running away, while the majority received no help from their respective churches prior to running away.

The majority of children obtained a senior primary and junior secondary level of education and may therefore be regarded as literate. However, if one considers the low standard of Black education, and the length of time many of the children have spent on the streets, they may instead be regarded as functionally illiterate.

Although several reasons were given for leaving school, the most frequently cited reason was "loss of interest", followed by "being influenced by friends" to do so.

The children came from a very wide area which included Durban and its surrounding areas, Pietermaritzburg and surrounding areas, Zululand and Transkei. They came from a variety of townships, small towns, informal settlements and rural areas, to the North, South and West of Durban, most of which have been racked by internecine conflict and violence over the last few years.

Slightly more children, 97 (50.3%) came from larger families of from between 4 to 13 siblings, while 87 (45.1%) came from averaged size families of 3 siblings and less.

The majority of children, 90 (46.6%) came from physically intact nuclear families, that is, they lived with both parents prior to running away, while 84 (43.5%) came from physically broken homes. It may be argued however, that although the families were physically intact, they may have been

psychologically broken. It was further found that more fathers than mothers had deserted their families, and that more fathers than mothers had died.

The data indicated that only 5 (2.6%) of the total number of children in the study (193) were orphans, while 21 (10.9%) reported being illegitimate. It may be added though, that in terms of Western norms, this number is probably higher.

A significant number of parents and 'others' were employed, pointing to relative economic stability - if employment is an indicator of economic stability. These findings are not in agreement with the South African studies reviewed. However, the fact that both parents were employed, may be indicative of neglect of the children, who may have been left unsupervised during the day.

Contact with parents and siblings is minimal once street children leave their homes.

Several reasons were posited for leaving home. The major reason was 'dislike of school.' An interesting finding which emerged from the data, is that only 2 (1%) were 'throwaways' or 'pushouts'. The overwhelming majority were 'runaways', having made the conscious decision to leave their homes, schools and communities.

One hundred and six (54.9%) children stated that they had run away for the first time.

The most popular destination for children who have run away from their homes was the beachfront. They slept in a variety of places, although 'bushes' appeared to be the most common sleeping place.

The children spent varying lengths of time on the streets, ranging from one day to two years. However, it may be added that since 62 children ran away two and more times, the maximum length of time on the streets may refer to the present stay, and not previous times spent on the streets. In total, the length of time may far exceed two years. This is highly probable if one considers that several children reported staying at Khayaletu Shelter which was burned down in 1988.

A further point to be made in this regard, is that the length of time spent on the streets has definite implications for deviant behaviour (see chapter two).

The majority of children had stayed at either Bayhead, Pata or Umlazi places of safety, or in more than one of them. Several children had also had more than one placement and had been detained at a place of safety, police cell and shelter, or shelter and place of safety, or place of safety, prison and shelter.

Ninety three (48.2%) children had been 'arrested' by the police. Of these, 20 (10.4%) were arrested for actual crimes committed, such as possession of dagga, assault, theft and vandalism. It is possible that many more children had engaged in criminal activities, but that only 20 had the misfortune to be arrested, or reported being arrested. The average length of time spent in detention by the 20 who responded to the relevant question was 80.1 days.

The majority were detained in police cells. Twelve said they had been punished while in detention. Of these, 5 said they had been assaulted, while the remaining 7 did not specify the nature of the punishment meted out to them.

More children were arrested while living on the streets than while living at

home, thereby indicating that street life has of necessity, definite implications for deviant behaviour.

The children were involved in all types of deviant activities to a greater or lesser extent, while many were involved in more than one such activity. The majority were involved in begging 124 (64.2%), followed by solvent abuse 122 (63.2%), gambling 82 (42.5%), drug use 77 (39.9%), theft 42 (21.8%) and sexually deviant activities 5 (2.6%).

Begging appears to be the most commonly resorted to deviant activity to generate an income, while parking cars is the foremost legitimate income-generating activity. Slightly more children were engaged in legitimate than illegitimate activities to generate an income.

The predominant concerns of children on the streets centre around food, the cinema and sending money home to their families.

Hunger is the foremost experience of children living on the streets, while fear of arrest predominates other fears.

The children mainly reported liking the various individuals with whom they come into contact, including gang members and older criminals. They also reported helping their friends in times of sickness and trouble, indicating a generosity of spirit, which must be reinforced.

The street children in the present study had other street children as their friends, though they also cited older criminals and gang members as friends.

Most of the children want to be loved, respected and successful, once again indicating conventional values.

The response to the questions "do you feel that people like you"; "you are self-confident"; "you are very independent"; and "you will make progress in life", evinced very positive replies. It appears that the street children in this study have a high degree of self-confidence and self-esteem, correlating with Richter's internal locus of control. These qualities may in fact have been motivating factors in the children's decision to run away.

With regard to future jobs, sixty (31.1%) children wanted to do jobs which were categorised as professional. These aspirations are indicative of conventional values and unrealistic expectations, in view of their past and present circumstances.

The overwhelming majority of children agreed that there should be laws to protect them, that they should have access to free legal advice, that they should be provided with better educational, job and recreational facilities, inter alia.

Most of the children expressed sympathy to others in similar predicaments as theirs, as well as envy, sadness and bitterness. Only a small number purported to be happy. Under the bravado therefore, lies a sadness which points to their vulnerability and child status.

Apart from the significance of the findings themselves, it is believed by the researcher that the study makes a theoretical contribution by illustrating the two-way victimisation of the respondents, that is, before resuming a street life and while on the streets. It is believed that victimisation through labelling, while on the streets sets in motion the process of primary and secondary deviance which may well set them on the path to a deviant career, and their further victimisation. Escape from the cycle of victimisation, deviance, victimisation is impossible once begun.

It is also believed that the present study contributes to a psycho-social

understanding of street children. As important as political, social and family factors are in leading to the disengagement of the street child from significant others, it is argued that his voluntary, personal disengagement is a more pertinent factor, especially in relation to runaways, which is what the majority of respondents are, in this study. It is the factors within the child himself, which reassure him that he is running to something better, which sets him apart from the millions of other Black children in similar circumstances.

CHAPTER FIVE

MANAGING STREET CHILDREN: AN ANALYSIS OF APPROACHES AND SERVICES TO STREET CHILDREN IN DURBAN

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In chapter four, data obtained from street children in Durban on their background, victimisation, their involvement in deviant activities, as well as their views on a number of aspects were presented. While it is important to examine street children's responses to a number of important issues relevant to them, it is equally important in any attempt to reach some understanding of the street child phenomenon to study the perceptions of people involved with them. This is especially important since it is argued throughout the study that the perceptions of service providers will influence the ways in which they interact with the street children, and the measures they adopt to handle the phenomenon.

This chapter aims to study the views of service providers in order to reach an understanding of how they perceive street children, and how they are currently being dealt with. These views will be used to propose new suggestions for the more effective management of the street child phenomenon, and the minimisation of their victimisation and deviance, in the following chapter.

The same methodology which was utilised in the previous chapter is used here. A quantitative method (questionnaire) has been used to elicit the views of service providers on a number of aspects relating to street children. Open and semi structured questions were included. These are often used in symbolic interactionist studies to arrive at an understanding of people's perceptions, and therefore provide the qualitative dimension.

This chapter is divided into three sections. Following the introduction is the presentation of the empirical findings, which include the sociodemographic characteristics of the sample; their views on street children and their deviant activities; management of the problem and alternative future methods to handle the problem. The final section presents the summary of the findings.

5.2.1 SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE

TABLE 21 : AGE AND OCCUPATION OF SERVICE PROVIDERS

OCCUPATION	20-30		31-40		41-50		OVER 50		TOTAL	
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
SOCIAL WORKER	2	2.8	6	8.5	1	1.4	2	2.8	11	15.7
CHILD CARE WORKER	11	15.5	9	12.6	3	4.2	1	1.4	24	34.3
NURSING SISTER	-	-	-	-	3	4.2	1	1.4	4	5.7
CLERK	2	2.8	3	4.2	-	-	-	-	5	7.1
HOUSEMOTHER	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2.8	2	2.8
GENERAL ASSISTANT	1	1.4	1	1.4	5	7.0	-	-	7	10.0
FIELD ASSISTANT	-	-	-	-	2	2.8	-	-	2	2.8
CITY COUNCILLOR/BUSINESSMAN	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2.8	2	2.8
CITY COUNCILLOR	1	1.4	-	-	1	1.4	2	2.8	4	5.7
POLICEMAN	3	4.2	2	2.8	-	-	-	-	5	7.1
TEACHER	2	2.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2.8
CO-ORDINATOR	-	-	1	1.4	-	-	-	-	1	1.4
ADMINISTRATOR	-	-	1	1.4	-	-	-	-	1	1.4
TOTAL	22	31.0	23	32.4	15	21.0	10	14.0	70	100.0

No Response = 1 (1.4%)

Social Worker = A professionally qualified person registered as a social worker with the South African Council for Social Work.

Child Care Worker = Promotes optimum development of children, youth and their families. Child and youth care work involves professional people providing direct care to children and youth.

It is generally known that age amongst other factors, is an indicator of attitude and that caution or conservatism increase with age. The age of respondents therefore, will have implications for the rendering of services, as it may be assumed that younger service providers will display more enthusiasm and/or idealism in their work, whilst the older respondents, jaded by the system, will suffer from considerably higher levels of burn-out.

The above table indicates that the majority of respondents, 23 (32.4%) were between 31 and 40 years of age, followed closely by 22 (31%) who were in the 20 to 30 year age category. Fifteen (21.1%) were between 41 and 50 years of age, while 10 (14.1%) were over the age of 50, an age which is nowadays considered to be relatively young owing to better living standards and conditions, and longer life expectancy. Viewed conversely however, it is likely that the majority, 23 (32.4%) have had at least a 10 to 15 year working life, in which case the burn-out rate may be considered to be high. Justification for this point of view comes from McLachlan (1986 : 126) who points to the stressful conditions faced by child-care and institutional workers who have to deal with socially and psychologically scarred children on a daily basis. There is, she says, "a high burn out rate amongst institutional and child care workers. Although she refers specifically to child care and institutional workers, this view no doubt may be extended to the other respondents who deal with similar problems in their respective work situations.

Of the 22 respondents in the 20 to 30 year age category, 2 each respectively were social workers, clerks and teachers; 11 were child care workers, 3 were policemen and 1 each respectively was a general assistant and city councillor.

Of the 23 respondents in the 31 to 40 year age category, 6 were social workers; 9 child care workers; 3 clerks; 1 each respectively was a general assistant, co-ordinator and administrator, and 2 were policemen.

In the 41 to 50 year age group, 3 each respectively were child care workers and nursing sisters; 5 were general assistants; 2 field assistants; and 1 each respectively was a social worker and City Councillor.

Of the 10 respondents in the over 50 age category, 2 each respectively were social workers, housemothers, businessmen/women and city councillors.

The table further reveals that the majority of respondents, 24 (33.8%) were child care workers; 11 (15.5%) were social workers; 8 (11.3%) were general assistants; 5 (7.0%) each were clerks and policemen, 4 (5.6%) each were nursing sisters and city councillors, 2 (2.%) each were housemothers, field assistants, businessmen/women and teachers; and 1 (1.4%) each was an administrator and co-ordinator.

The findings reveal therefore, that in this study, child care workers are primarily responsible for rendering services to street children at the places of safety and are faced with the problems of dealing with 'problem' children on a day to day basis, as well as suffering from 'burn-out'. McLachlan refers to the unsuitability of child care workers, who she says are not suitably qualified to deal with those children who experience severe problems (Ibid : 128).

TABLE 22 : AGE AND GENDER OF SERVICE PROVIDERS

Thirty (42.3%) of the respondents were male, and 41 (57.7%) were female.

AGE	MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL	
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
20-30	13	18.3	9	12.7	22	31.0
31-40	11	15.5	12	16.9	23	32.4
41-50	1	1.4	14	19.7	15	21.1
OVER 50	5	7.0	5	7.0	10	14.1
NO RESPONSE	-	-	1	1.4	1	1.4
TOTAL	30	42.2	41	57.7	71	100.0

The foregoing table indicates that the majority of females, 14 (19.7%), were in the 41-50 year age group, followed by 12 (16.9%) who were in the 31-40 year age group; 9 (12.7%) who were between 20-30 years of age; 5 (7%) who were over 50, and 1 (1.4%) who did not indicate her age. The majority of females therefore, 21 (29.6%) were under 40 years of age.

The majority of males, 13 (18.3%) were between 20-30 years of age; 11 (15.5%) were between 31-40 years of age; 5 (7%) were over 50 years of age, and 1 (1.4%) was between 41-50 years of age.

It appears from the data that more females render services to street children than males, and that slightly more males (24) were under the age of 40, than females (21).

Padayachee in her study of wife abuse among South African Indian women "is of the opinion that the sex of the professionals may have implications for the type and quality of services they offer" (Padayachee : 1988 : 390). Since South African society still leans heavily towards the patriarchy, one might expect that male service providers may not be as sympathetic towards unschooled street children, many of whom will not be able to provide adequately as head of the household, for their dependents.

Justification for this point of view comes from the differential socialisation of males and females. Males are brought up to be strong and assertive, to deny any evidence of weakness which is regarded as 'sissy', in the belief that they will one day take their place at the helm of the family, as providers. Females, conversely, were by tradition, expected to be passive, feminine, and largely dependent on their fathers, brothers and eventually husbands. Despite the trend towards feminism, males are, it is believed, still strongly rooted in these beliefs.

TABLE 23 : OCCUPATION AND GENDER OF SERVICE PROVIDERS

OCCUPATIONS	MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL	
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
SOCIAL WORKER	1	1.4	10	14.1	11	15.5
CHILD CARE WORKER	17	24.0	7	9.9	24	33.8
NURSING SISTER	-	-	4	5.6	4	5.6
CLERK	1	1.4	4	5.6	5	7.0
HOUSEMOTHER	-	-	2	2.8	2	2.8
GENERAL ASSISTANT	1	1.4	7	9.9	8	11.3
FIELD ASSISTANT	-	-	2	2.8	2	2.8
CITY COUNCILLOR/ BUSINESSMAN	2	2.8	-	-	2	2.8
CITY COUNCILLOR	2	2.8	2	2.8	4	5.6
POLICEMAN	5	7.0	-	-	5	7.0
TEACHER	-	-	2	2.8	2	2.8
CO-ORDINATOR	1	1.4	-	-	1	1.4
ADMINISTRATOR	-	-	1	1.4	1	1.4
TOTAL	30	42.2	41	57.7	71	100.0

The service providers in the present study represent a variety of occupations all of whom are attached to the Bayhead and Umlazi Places of Safety, the City Health Department, City Police, Streetwise and the City Council.

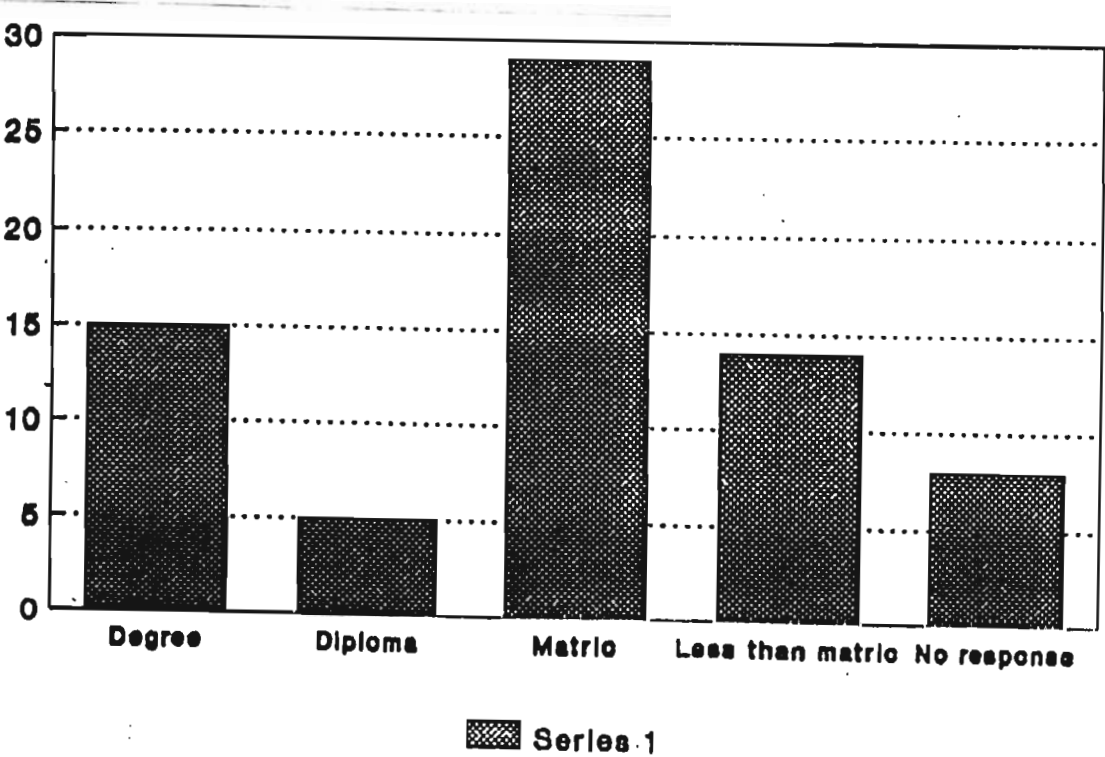
The table above indicates that the majority of females 10 (14.1%) are social workers; 7 (9.9%) each are child care workers and general assistants; 4 (5.6%) each are nursing sisters and clerks; 2 (2.8%) each are housemothers, field assistants, city councillors and teachers, and 1 is an administrator.

The majority of males 17 (24%) are child care workers; 5 (7%) are from the City Police; 4 (5.6%) are City councillors, and 1 (1.4%) each is a social

worker, clerk, general assistant and co-ordinator.

The data further reveal that female service providers outnumber males in all occupations, with the exception of child care workers, city councillors, the city police and the co-ordinator (attached to Streetwise). An interesting feature is the predominance of male child care workers in a field hitherto dominated by females.

FIGURE 15 : HIGHEST EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATION OF SERVICE PROVIDERS



The responses indicate that the majority of respondents, 29 (40.9%) had proceeded scholastically as far as matric; 15 (21.1%) obtained degrees; 14 (19.7%) had achieved scholastic levels which ranged between standards two and eight. Eight (11.3%) service providers failed to respond to the question.

It may be argued that respondents with higher educational qualifications have a broader world view which will be reflected in their attitudes and responses to street children. The opposite may also hold true in that higher educational qualifications may in turn foster superior attitudes which preclude identification with street children and the ability to empathise with their problems.

It is further evident from the figure that the majority of respondents, 43 (60.6%) have an educational level equivalent to, and lower than matric, with no further training to equip them to handle the special problems of street children.

Stein (Op cit : 33) emphasises the need for street child projects (by implication service providers) to "supply regular, structured and relevant in-service training for their staff, in addition to BQCC¹ training, staff supervision, etc."

The lack of higher education and further training for many of the respondents in this study raises severe doubts about the quality of care provided for street children in Durban.

¹BQCC : Basic Qualification in Child Care

5.2.2 VIEWS AND OPINIONS OF SERVICE PROVIDERS ON STREET CHILDREN

TABLE 24 : VIEWS OF SERVICE PROVIDERS REGARDING THE REASONS FOR STREET CHILDREN LEAVING HOME

REASONS	NUMBER	PERCENT
FOR A BETTER LIFE	38	53.6
FOR EXCITEMENT AND ADVENTURE	44	62.0
TO EARN MONEY FOR THE FAMILY	24	33.8
DID NOT LIKE SCHOOL	49	69.0
PARENTS TOLD THEM TO LEAVE	15	21.1
PARENTS FIGHT WITH EACH OTHER CONTINUALLY	40	56.3
PARENTS FIGHT WITH CHILD CONTINUALLY	31	43.7
UNHAPPY AT HOME	54	76.0
TO ESCAPE CONDITIONS AT HOME	61	85.9
TO ESCAPE CONDITIONS IN TOWNSHIP	48	67.6
TO ESCAPE VIOLENCE IN TOWNSHIP	56	78.9
NOTHING TO DO IN TOWNSHIP	39	54.9
HEARD ABOUT SHELTERS FOR STREET CHILDREN	42	59.2
OTHER	12	16.9

The responses to this question were varied, and indicate that in the view of service providers, no single factor alone is responsible for street children leaving their homes. They feel that in most cases several of these factors combine to provide the ultimate impetus to abandon family, school and community. This points to the complexity of the situation and the difficulties in providing short-term solutions.

It can be seen from the responses that most respondents felt that adverse conditions at home, violent township conditions, and dislike of school contribute largely to street children running away.

The majority of respondents, 61 (85.9%) saw escape from home conditions (poverty, overcrowding) as the main reason for running away; 56 (78.9%) cited township violence as a cause; 54 (76%) cited unhappiness at home as a factor; an almost even number cited dislike of school, 49 (69%) and to escape conditions in the township, 48 (67.6%); 44 (62%) said the children left home for adventure and excitement. Other reasons given were that the children heard about shelters for street children in Durban, 42 (59.2%); parents fight with each other continually, 40 (56.3%); nothing to do in the townships, 39 (54.9%); for a better life, 38 (53.6%); parents fight with them (children) continually, 31 (43.7%). Less importance was placed on earning money for the family, 24 (33.8%), parents telling them to leave, 15 (21.1%) and 'other' reasons, as reasons for leaving home. The 'other' reasons given for children leaving their homes focused on the children's search for an identity, as an act of rebellion against existing social values, the influence of the peer group, the generation gap between parents and children, feeling the pain of rejection and isolation, being promised employment in an urban area, dislike of being disciplined, because they do not receive enough care and love from their parents, and disagreements with step-parents. Finally, one respondent stated that all the factors listed may apply to some of the children, and that it should be borne in mind that they are individuals, and not merely a social phenomenon.

It is of interest to note that the responses of the children to the same question varied considerably from those of the service providers. The reason given most often by the street children was the dislike of school, followed to a significantly lesser extent by the need to escape from poverty, overcrowding (refer to Chapter 4).

The tendency of the service providers to emphasise township and home conditions to explain the large number of street children on our streets,

indicates two facts. Firstly, that they perhaps do not understand the children as well as they ought to, and secondly, that the severity of township violence and poverty stricken living conditions may be used as an excuse for not doing enough or doing nothing at all.

Township violence and appalling home conditions are a feature of life for the majority of Black South Africans. The effects of such violence and disorganisation have had a rippling effect on every aspect of their lives.

Researchers are divided in their views regarding the impact of township violence on street children. The Detainee's Parents Support Committee reports that it was believed that there was no connection between township violence and street children (Detainee's Parents Support Committee : 1986 : 156-157). Workers who assist the refugees of township violence in Johannesburg are of the view that these children are only temporary sojourners, and that they soon return to their homes with the help of social workers. However, Schafer (1989 : 21) writes that the razing of schools in the townships and fear of comrades and police action, have caused children to flee from their homes to the streets.

However, according to Richter (cited in Cockburn : 1990 : 4) "street children comprise about 0,3% of the relevant reference population groups, which in this case are Black and Coloured males ..." The question which one may ask, is why then are there not far more street children than there are at present, if township and home conditions are so undesirable?

The researcher believes that although all the abovementioned factors either singly or in combination, were reasons for the street children running away from their homes, nevertheless inner motivation (the desire for independence, excitement, adventure) would appear to have been an equally potent initiator of flight. Justification for this statement comes from the fact that all the children in the study, except for 2 (1%), were runaways, not throwaways. They deliberately chose to leave, and must have been sure of their ability to survive the hardships and rigours of street life. This is confirmed by Richter who says that some of the boys in her study displayed

tremendous resilience despite the enormous hardships they faced on the streets (Richter : October 1988 : 78).

ATTITUDES OF SERVICE PROVIDERS TOWARDS STREET CHILDREN

In the following questions, the researcher will analyse the responses of the different organisations included in the study, as well as the responses of the various categories of service providers attached to the different organisations.

The researcher considered it important to probe the attitudes of service providers to street children for the following reasons :

It is felt that their attitudes will influence their interactions with and provision of services to street children.

It is also believed that their attitudes may be a reflection of the organisations for which they work.

There appears to be opposing or differing ideological approaches on the part of service providers as to how street children should be managed. There are those who adopt a punitive approach to street children, believing them to be a nuisance and a danger to the public. On the other hand, there are those who prefer a rehabilitative approach, believing that street children are victims of their circumstances, and that every effort should be made to prepare them for reintegration into society and school, if possible.

The following extracts from the local papers highlight the rehabilitative/punitive attitudes and philosophies to street children.

Richter of the Institute of Behavioural Studies at UNISA, who has made extensive studies of street children, says, "street children have become an emotive issue which has evoked strong feelings among those committed to help them and among those determined to get rid of them" (Richter cited in The Natal Mercury : 15.6.1988).

Swart, founder of Streetwise, says "don't lock them away in a place of safety. It will do untold damage to rehabilitation programmes already under way." Swart cited in The Sunday Tribune (27.11.1988 : 3) reports that "a group of street children who were released from CR Swart Police Cells by order of the Children's Court, were detained again and placed back in the cells. The average period of detention was six weeks, the longest period four months and the shortest two days."

Sister Helena, a Dominican sister who was involved in helping street children at Khayaletu Shelter (now at Streetwise) said after the razing by fire of the shelter, "there are still those prepared to support the project, but there are those who remain adamant that it is a waste of time and money; that the solution is to send the children back to the places from which they came" (Sunday Tribune : 10.7.1988).

Liz Clarke, writing on Khayaletu Shelter, former home to Durban's street children, says, "in certain quarters this 'freedom' method of dealing with the children has been strongly criticised by people who feel that more control is needed" (Sunday Tribune : 22.5.1988 : 16).

The findings indicate that the overwhelming majority of respondents were sympathetic to street children, with staff at Umlazi Place of Safety being most sympathetic, 4 (100%); followed by Bayhead Place of Safety, 39 (86.7%); City Councillors, 5 (83.3%); Streetwise, 3 (75%); City Police, 3 (60%) and the staff of the City Health Department being the least sympathetic to street children, 4 (57.1%).

With regard to the 'other' responses, two respondents expressed ambivalence towards street children, another said that street children are being denied the fundamental rights of children and that they need action, not sympathy. However, it is hoped that sympathy will form the basis of constructive efforts on behalf of street children. One respondent expressed sadness rather than sympathy. The last two respondents said they felt both sympathetic and unsympathetic, depending on the child.

An analysis of the responses of the various categories of service providers, reveals similar results. Of the 11 social workers in the study, 9 (81.8%) were sympathetic to street children; 23 (95.8%) of the 24 child care workers were sympathetic towards them, as well as 5 (83.3%) of the 6 City Councillors and 3 (60%) of the 5 members of the City Police.

It would appear that of the various categories of service providers, the City Police are the least sympathetic towards the children. This may be explained by the fact that they have initial and frequent contact with street children, many of whom continually abscond from Bayhead Place of Safety, and who in turn are continually returned there. This no doubt engenders a great deal of frustration on the part of the City Police.

TABLE 25 : VIEWS OF SERVICE PROVIDERS TOWARDS STREET CHILDREN

VIEWS ON STREET CHILDREN	YES	
	NUMBER	PERCENT
ARE VICTIMS OF THEIR CIRCUMSTANCES	52	73.2
POSE A HEALTH RISK	55	77.4
ARE A THREAT TO CONVENTIONAL SOCIETY	42	59.2
EXACERBATE THE PROBLEMS OF CONVENTIONAL SOCIETY	35	49.3
ARE A PUBLIC NUISANCE	46	64.8
SHOULD BE PROTECTED FROM THE PUBLIC	57	80.2
OTHER (SPECIFY)	9	12.7

The questions asked here of the respondents are an elaboration of some of the concerns expressed in the local media and form the basis of the two opposing ideologies in respect of street children. As has already been stated in the above question, street children have become an emotive issue. Councillor Hotz (cited in the Natal Mercury : 15.7.1988) says that "the programmes for street children had become politicised ... and the whole

issue had the effect of making many people feel "threatened". An analysis of the table indicates that the majority of respondents, 57 (80.2%) felt that street children should be protected from the public. It may be added that while only some members of the public are openly abusive to street children, the scruffy, unkempt appearance of the children, may be said to antagonise the public at large, and make them wary. This is especially true if one considers past media reports which detail the deviant activities engaged in by the children. Of these (not reflected in table) 40 (88.9%) were from Bayhead Place of Safety; 2 (50%) from Umlazi Place of Safety; 4 (57.1%) from the City Health Department; 3 (50%) from the City Council; 5 (100%) from the City Police; and 3 (75%) from Streetwise.

The concerns of the respondents that street children should be protected from the public, are legitimate ones. Street children fall prey to adult street dwellers and gang members (Swart : July 1989 : 14); and are victims of police brutality (Peacock : 1990 : 8; Goniwe and Bishop : 1989 : 17); Balanon : 1989 : 162; Konanc : 1989 : 15).

Swart reports on the beatings, sjambokking and teargassing of street children in Hillbrow in an attempt by the shopkeepers to drive them away from their premises (Swart : July 1986 : 6). Schärf *et al* (cited in Burman and Reynolds : 1986 :280) state that magistrates and social workers regard street children as deviant and untrustworthy, and that these attitudes are translated into official policy which is harsh and punitive.

The table indicates also that 55 (77.4%) respondents felt that street children pose a health risk. Of these, 41 (91.9%) were from Bayhead Place of Safety; 2 (50%) from Umlazi Place of Safety; 2 (28.6%) from the City Health Department; 3 (50%) from the City Council; 5 (100%) from the City Police, and 2 (50%) from Streetwise.

The conditions under which street children live on the streets are appalling, to say the least. Newspaper reports indicate that they sleep in doorways, on pavements, in stormwater drains, with only cardboard and paper as

protection from the elements (Daily News : 1.3.1990; Daily News, Saturday : 11.7.1987). Maureen Stacey, of the then Durban African Child and Family Welfare Society, quoted in the Sunday Tribune (25.6.1989), said "there will be an epidemic of disease if something isn't done shortly."

Peacock (Op cit : 9) refers to a mortality rate of more than 50% of street children attributable to Aids, and rectal haemorrhaging due to "sexual abuse concomitant with prostitution.". It seems clear that street children are at risk of ill-health and they may in turn be unwitting carriers of disease through the various services they render and activities they engage in with the public. This contention has been hotly denied by Cockburn, who believes that sensational statements such as these hinder, not help, street children.

Fifty two (73.2%) respondents stated that street children are victims of their circumstances. Of these 30 (66.7%) were from Bayhead Place of Safety; 3 (75%) from Umlazi Place of Safety; 5 (71.4%) from the City Health department; 6 (100%) from the City Council; 5 (100%) from the City Police and 3 (75%) from Streetwise. A review of the literature indicates that street children are victims of tragic circumstances.

Wilson and Arnold (1986 : 6-7) poignantly capture the circumstances of most street children globally, when they say, "they leave homes that range from vicious and violent to unconcerned and suffocating. Their silent scream and inner rage surface as they cut loose and take to the streets." Schärf et al (Op cit : 1986 : 266-269) cite broken homes, hostility with step-parents, drinking by parents, abuse, no extended family support system due to family disintegration, as some of the factors characteristic of the families of street children.

On a broader level, Richter cites "poverty, unemployment and family upheaval caused by migrant labour and housing shortage." These in turn result in "high household densities, malnutrition and the high school failure rate among black children" (Natal Mercury : 15.6.1988). It would appear

that broader social issues impact on the most basic and fundamental of social institutions, the family. It is ironic that the weakest, least powerful member, suffers the most.

Forty six (64.8%) respondents believed that street children are a public nuisance. Of these 31 (68.9%) were from Bayhead Place of Safety; 1 (25%) from Umlazi Place of Safety; 1 (14.3%) from the City Health Department; 6 (100%) from the City Council; 5 (100%) from the City Police and 2 (50%) from Streetwise.

It is of interest to note that all the City Councillors and City Police in the sample, believe street children to be a public nuisance. These views are indicative of a harsh, punitive attitude towards street children, which is reflected in official policy.

Forty two (59.2%) respondents believed that street children are a threat to conventional society. Of these, 32 (71.1%) were from Bayhead Place of Safety; 2 (50%) were from Umlazi Place of Safety; 1 (14.3%) was from the City Health Department; 5 (100%) were from the City Police, and 2 (50%) were from Streetwise.

Once again, it is of interest to note that all members of the City Police Street Child Unit believed street children to be a threat to conventional society. This view is confirmed by a senior member of the City Police quoted in the Daily News (Saturday : 3.2.1990 : 7) when he says "they are a menace to the community." He does however, admit to understanding "their inevitable plight."

The researcher believes that one can, to an extent, understand the sentiments expressed by the City Police. They are 'mopping up' the casualties of social, political and economic upheavals. Their only recourse is Bayhead Place of Safety, from which the children inevitably abscond. They are constantly rearrested by the City Police and returned to Bayhead. In addition to this, the children are engaged in activities which "range from

minor transgressions like begging to major crimes like housebreaking" (Ibid :7). These actions are hardly likely to endear them to the police. This impasse calls attention to the urgent need for more shelters, enlightened programmes, government funding, improved legislation and co-ordinated services on behalf of street children.

Thirty five respondents (49.3%) believed that street children do exacerbate the problems of conventional society. It would seem that the fears of the public and officials alike are mirrored in the responses to this question. These fears, if arising out of the fears for present and future involvement of street children in deviance, appear to be justified. The literature and the present study reveal widespread involvement of street children in prostitution, homosexuality, glue sniffing, petty theft, housebreaking, and numerous public nuisance offences such as begging, spitting, shouting, swearing and being drunk or dirty (refer to chapter two for a detailed discussion).

If, on the other hand, these concerns are the result of bias or prejudice, they are unjustified and call for a thorough re-examination of attitudes towards street children.

TABLE 26 : VIEWS OF SERVICE PROVIDERS ON ACTION TO BE TAKEN WITH REGARD TO STREET CHILDREN

ACTION TO BE TAKEN	YES	
	NUMBER	PERCENT
SEND BACK TO AREAS FROM WHICH THEY CAME	33	46.5
IMPRISON	-	-
DETAIN IN POLICE CELLS	1	1.4
SEND TO A PLACE OF SAFETY	53	74.6
SEND TO A CHILDREN'S HOME	50	70.4
SEND TO A SCHOOL OF INDUSTRY	55	77.5
SEND TO SHELTER FOR STREET CHILDREN	35	49.3
PLACE IN FOSTER CARE	30	42.3
OTHER (SPECIFY)	10	14.1

The questions posed in this section once again highlight the several approaches to street children. The responses which follow confirm the punitive rather than the rehabilitative approach by all the City Police, most of the staff at Bayhead, all but one of the Councillors, nearly all the child care workers and half the respondents from Streetwise.

The preceding table shows that the majority of respondents, 55 (77.5%) stated that street children should be sent to a school of industries. Of these 55, 41 (91.1%) were from Bayhead Place of Safety; 1 (25%) was from Umlazi Place of Safety; 1 (14.3%) was from the City Health Department; 5 (83.3%) from the City Council; 5 (100%) from the City Police; 2 (50%) were from Streetwise; 22 (91.7%) of the child care workers, and 3 (27.3%) of the social workers. Therefore, the majority of staff from Bayhead, all the City Police in the study, all but one of the Councillors and half the respondents of Streetwise felt that institutionalisation in a school of industries is necessary.

A scathing attack on State institutions is made by Pinnock (1984 ; 64-75) who believes that they are responsible for brutalising and gang hardening most of the youth who pass through them. He believes that it is a fallacy to think that one can lock men and women up in cages, and expect them to be good citizens on their release. He says that such institutions introduce the inmates "to the compensating devices of violence, gang activity, homosexuality and criminal refinement." He concludes that such institutions (reformatories and schools of industry) "are institutions of social revenge."

As at 1986, there were no schools of industry for African children in South Africa. However, those that exist for the other race groups are reported to resort widely to the use of corporal punishment, while lock-up cells are common to schools of industry, reformatories and places of safety. It is ludicrous to expect a child who has been brutalised by life, and then again in an institution, to emerge unscathed physically and psychologically. In the researcher's view, commitment to a school of industries is definitely not the answer and should by no means be resorted to. Placing street children in places of safety and schools of industry is tantamount to keeping them well out of sight, and out of mind! It certainly does not solve the problems of street children but rather compounds their victimisation.

A large number of respondents, 53 (74.6%) also favoured commitment to a place of safety. Of these, 40 (88.9%) and 3 (75%) were from Bayhead and Umlazi Places of Safety respectively; 1 (14.3%) was from the City Health Department; 4 (66.7%) were City Councillors; 5 (100%) were from the City Police; 2 (50%) were from Streetwise; 21 (87.5%) were child care workers and 4 (36.4%) were social workers. The same argument with regard to schools of industry, pertains here. One of the major criticisms against Bayhead Place of Safety gleaned from numerous conversations with the street children, is that there is nothing to do there. At the time of the interviews, the children were receiving no schooling whatsoever, and the only form of observed recreation, was soccer. It is no small wonder that the rate of absconsion is therefore so high. Data made available to the

researcher by a member of the City Police, indicated that from 1990 to 1991, there were a total of 936 absconders from Bayhead Place of Safety.

An almost equally high number of respondents, 50 (70.4%) felt that street children should be sent to children's homes. It will be recalled that there were only nine children's homes for African children in 1986, and according to McLachlan, they "have the worst facilities, living conditions, least qualified staff and highest staff-pupil ratios" (McLachlan : Op cit : 61).

To a lesser extent, the respondents favoured the return of street children to the areas from which they came, 33 (46.5%); their placement in foster care, 30 (42.3%) and shelters, 35 (49.3%). It is interesting to note that the service providers who were in favour of street children being accommodated at shelters, were the majority of respondents from the City Health Department, 4 (57.1%) City Council, 5 (83.3%) all the City Police in the sample, all the respondents from Streetwise, only 5 (20.8%) child care workers and 4 (36.4%) social workers.

The responses of the City Police and City Councillors are contradictory, since they also advocated that street children be committed to schools of industry and places of safety (indicative of a punitive approach). The responses of the social workers are also surprising, as one would have presumed that they would be more in favour of shelters for street children (indicative of a rehabilitative approach).

'Other' responses received said alternately that holiday programmes should be created for the children; that they should receive 'Christian care', that children should be dealt with according to their individual needs as each child is unique; that shelters should be provided and that the children should decide whether to go to them or not; that a shelter is only one aspect in the whole process of rehabilitation and that the children should be integrated into the community.

These findings differ from those of Swart, where "just over half the

respondents recommended 'soft' options such as placing the children in 'homes', foster homes or educational and training institutions ..." (Swart : November 1988 : 189).

TABLE 27 :VIEWS OF SERVICE PROVIDERS TOWARDS WHO SHOULD TAKE RESPONSIBILITY FOR STREET CHILDREN

RESPONSIBILITY FOR STREET CHILDREN	YES	
	NUMBER	PERCENT
THEIR COMMUNITIES OF ORIGIN	45	63.4
DURBAN CITY COUNCIL	46	64.8
CITY HEALTH DEPARTMENT	47	66.2
THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE	39	54.9
CITY POLICE	43	60.6
CHILD WELFARE SOCIETY	53	74.6
THE STATE	62.	87.3
THE CHURCH	42	59.2
ALL SOUTH AFRICANS	51	71.8
DURBAN'S CITIZENS	40	56.3
OTHER (SPECIFY)	6	8.5

The majority of respondents, 62 (87.3%) believe street children to be the state's responsibility, while the least number of respondents, 39 (54.9%) believe them to be the South African Police's responsibility. Of those who believe that the State must bear major responsibility for street children, 41 (91.9%) were from Bayhead Place of Safety; 4 (100%) from Umlazi Place of Safety; 5 (71.4%) from the City Health Department; 4 (66.7%) from the City Council; 5 (100%) from the City Police, and 3 (75%) from Streetwise.

It is clear that the policies of the State over the past forty years have caused untold deprivation, disorganisation and misery in the lives of millions of Black people in South Africa. Today we are faced with the problems of mass unemployment, poverty of unfathomable proportions and

crucial housing shortages and a host of other problems whose effects have been felt most keenly in the family. The street child is an indirect result of forces and policies at a much higher level, which have filtered down to the weakest, most vulnerable of South Africa's citizens. (refer to chapter two for a detailed discussion). Having caused the problem, the previous Government refused to acknowledge its responsibility, and its predominant response is denial and indifference. The few shelters and children's homes that exist are the result of the endeavours of welfare and private agencies. If the homes and shelters are not registered, they do not qualify for State subsidies. However, registration places great restrictions on their functioning, thereby limiting their effectiveness (McLachlan : Op cit : 60-61; Stein : Op cit : 25-26). There are also conditions for registration that create stumbling blocks in this regard.

It is ironic that the shelters and children's homes are non-government funded, when the State in the attempt to uphold the apartheid structure wasted money on the "multiplication of facilities, resources and manpower. The shortage of funds for 'children in need of care' reflects the State's sense of priorities compounded by an unnecessary waste of finances" (McLachlan : Op cit : 127).

The table indicates that after the State, most respondents, 53 (74.6%) believe that the welfare agencies should be responsible for street children. Of these 38 (84.4%) were from Bayhead Place of Safety; 3 (75%) from Umlazi Place of Safety; 2 (28.6%) from the City Health Department; 4 (66,7%) from the City Council; 5 (100%) from the City Police; and 1 (25%) from Streetwise. These responses reveal that all the members of the Street Child Unit of the City Police, the majority of City councillors and the majority of staff from the places of safety, believed street children to be the responsibility of the welfare agencies. On the other hand, only two ((28.6%) members from the City Health Department of welfare services and one (25%) from Streetwise and four ((36.4%) social workers believed this to be the case. The tendency to shift responsibility to the welfare services is blatantly apparent in the responses. It is also apparent that the social

workers themselves deny responsibility for street children.

A significant proportion of respondents, 51 (71.8%), believe that all South Africans should be responsible for street children. The researcher agrees with this point of view. However, it is difficult to sensitise individuals who have been made insensitive and uncaring to others who are 'different' to them. Unfortunately, the scruffy, unkempt appearance of the street child does little to endear him to the general public, and this may largely explain their indifference.

An almost even number of respondents felt that the City Health Department, 47 (66.2%), Durban City Council, 46 (64.8%); their communities of origin, 45 (63.4%); the City Police, 43 (60.6%) and the church, 42 (59.2%) should be responsible for street children. With regard to the 'other' responses, 4 of the 6 respondents stated that the parents themselves must be held responsible. One respondent said that the reasons for the phenomenon must be addressed, regardless of who should be responsible. The fathers who beget children and then leave them must be held responsible according to another respondent.

The foregoing responses reflect the view that the State should primarily be responsible for street children, followed by the welfare agencies and all South Africans. That the State has neglected its responsibility towards Black South Africans in general, and street children in particular, is undeniable. Major changes will have to be addressed by the RDP if the imbalances are to be redressed, and if the growing number of children running away to the streets is to be curbed. Such changes can only be brought about if the right of every individual is respected, and if he is allowed to maximise his potential unconditionally. A further probing of service providers to determine whether non-governmental or governmental organisations should bear more responsibility for street children, revealed that both should bear equal responsibility for them.

The findings indicated that all the social workers, 11 (100%) and the service

providers from Umlazi Place of Safety, the City Police, 5 (100%) and Streetwise, 4 (100%) believed the street child phenomenon to be the responsibility of governmental and non-governmental organisations, while only 3 (50%) of the City Councillors believed this to be the case.

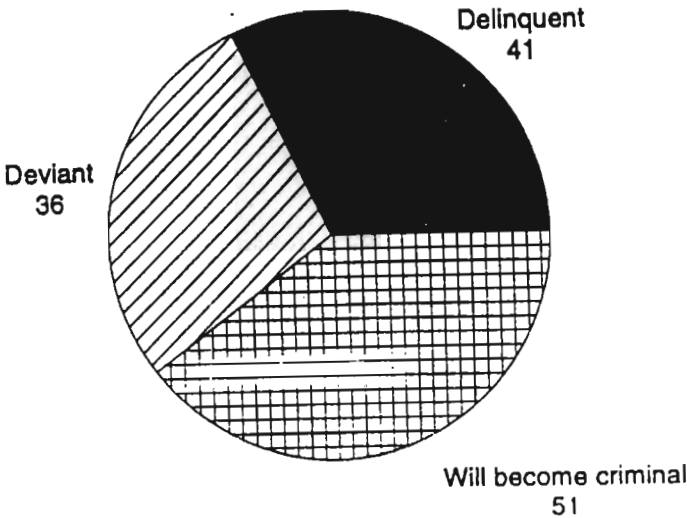
Some respondents indicated 'other' individuals who should be more responsible for street children. They included the parents of the children; the community as a whole; you and me, and the church. With regard to the latter, the respondent expressed the view that since the church/religious organisations profess the oneness of all, they should teach their believers to practise it. If they do not, spirituality he says, is too abstract in the real world.

From the previous responses, it is clear that the state must play a more decisive and constructive role in the management of the street child phenomenon. The time for inaction is long past, and if the Government of National Unity is to ensure a measure of credibility, genuine social and economic upliftment programmes must be embarked on.

An overall analysis of the views and opinions of service providers to these questions reveals sympathetic feelings towards the street children. Despite these feelings it is disconcerting to note the large number of respondents who agree that street children are a public nuisance, as such views undoubtedly influence the ways in which the children are dealt with. It is therefore not surprising that arrest and detention in police cells and places of safety are commonly resorted to since all the City Police and City Councillors in this study believe this to be the case.

5.2.3 VIEWS WITH REGARD TO THE DEVIANCE OF STREET CHILDREN

FIGURE 16 : VIEWS OF SERVICE PROVIDERS ON STREET CHILDREN AND THEIR DEVIANCE



The review of the literature in chapter two confirms the involvement of street children in a wide range of deviant activities, ranging from spitting and being a nuisance, to minor theft and housebreaking, to name but a few. In addition to this, children who forsake hearth, home, school and community, are considered deviant in terms of the norms regulating family life and community relations in general. Informal conversation with Sister Helena from Streetwise affirmed this view. She pointed out that initially their own communities denied their existence, and referred to them as ‘skebengus’ or ‘delinquents.’ They realise now however, that there are reasons why the children leave home, and are being more sympathetic and supportive of them.

Research shows that street children do, of necessity, engage in deviant activities. The longer they remain on the streets, the more likely it is that they will be forced to engage in deviant activities as legitimate opportunities become increasingly closed to them because of the labelling and victimisation they experience on the streets. The implications of minor deviance at present, is that it may well lay the foundations for deviant careers with all the negative consequences for society that such acts generate. The deviant and delinquent of today, may easily become the criminal of tomorrow, if situations are favourable for him to do so.

The majority of respondents, 51 (71.8%) believe that street children will become hardened criminals. Of these, 33 (73.3%) were from Bayhead Place of Safety; All 4 (100%) service providers from Umlazi Place of safety; 2 (28.6%) from the City Health Department; all 6 (100%) City Councillors; 4 (80%) from the City Police, and 2 (50%) from Streetwise. Similar views were expressed by 21 (83.3%) child care workers and 7 (63.6%) social workers. These views correspond with Swart's findings, in which the majority of respondents expected street children to be criminals or drop-outs in adulthood (Swart : Nov 1988 : 185).

Two respondents qualified their response to this question by saying that, depending on the child, it is possible that he will become a hardened criminal, and that gravitation to delinquency and crime may be used as survival strategies by some children.

A factor worthy of consideration and referred to by Swart (1988 : Africa Insight) is that, when street children are arrested, they are incarcerated with adult offenders who groom them in the tricks of the trade, as it were. This association with hardened offenders is likely to entrench their criminal careers.

A follow-up study by Olson et al, taken 12 years after the runaway event, revealed that 13 out of the 14 former runaways interviewed, had been arrested at some stage, while 9 had appeared in court on formal charges.

They make the point that the runaways' troubles follow them into adulthood, and that the best efforts of psychiatrists, half-way houses, private schools or jails, "have neither reversed nor even noticeably ameliorated their problems" (Olson et al : 1980 : 181-183).

Forty one (57.7%) respondents were of the view that street children are delinquent. This view of street children is a consistent theme in the literature. Nye (1980 : 293, 296) refers to the various delinquent activities engaged in by street children and says "by running away from home, youths are more likely to engage in delinquent behaviour than if they had stayed home."

Gullotta (1979 :112) is of the view that "runaway delinquents seem to have the least well-organised personality", while Young et al refer to delinquent, alienated runaways who are characterised by a history of delinquent behaviour (Young et al : 1983 : 276, 278). For the sake of clarity, delinquent behaviour is defined as behaviour which "covers a wide range of activity." It refers to a whole range of illegal acts which can be committed only by juveniles. (Sanders : 1976 : 3) Haskell and Yablonsky (1978 : 7) say that "a youth is defined as a juvenile delinquent when that status is conferred upon him by a court."

Thirty six (50.7%) respondents believed that street children are deviant. These findings once again correlate with other research findings, and have been fully discussed in chapter two.

REASONS PROVIDED BY SERVICE PROVIDERS FOR REGARDING STREET CHILDREN AS DEVIANT

The respondents were required to justify why they had said that street children are deviant, delinquent or likely to become hardened criminals. The following responses were received from the service providers from :

Bayhead Place of Safety

They do not want to listen or co-operate, and are stubborn.

They isolate themselves from the community.

It is their way of surviving on the street.

Life on the street exposes them to criminals. They therefore steal and pickpocket for money to buy food.

The lack of parental care and discipline has made them become anti-social, deviant, delinquent and likely to become hardened criminals.

They are insufficiently disciplined due to the Child Care Act which prohibits abuse.

One respondent who disagreed that street children were anti-social and deviant stated that they are victims of circumstances, and therefore cannot be called deviant.

Umlazi Place of Safety

They are delinquents to begin with, and whilst roaming the streets turn to crime out of need.

They are exposed to all types of criminal elements on the streets.

City Health Department

It depends on the individual child. Street life could be so brutalising as to make crime attractive. Society's attitude towards them does not encourage conformity.

It is difficult to answer without knowing what causes these behavioural disorders.

City Police

The children are influenced by their peers and are contaminated through contact with them. They use Bayhead as a place of rest!

Whether street children are any of the abovementioned, depends on that

particular child.

Streetwise

Their sense of integrity and truth is unmatched, however, they choose to do otherwise for convenience or survival, and because they don't fit in.

They become anti-social because society rejects them.

City Councillors

They become contaminated by association with criminal elements into whose company they gravitate while on the streets.

The longer they remain unloved, unwanted, uncared for, the more likely they are to become unreachable.

Generally, they are very bright children, but if not handled correctly, could end up criminals.

A summary of the responses to this question reveals that the main reasons propounded by the service providers for street children being anti-social, deviant, delinquent or likely to become hardened criminals are :

They tend to become contaminated by their peers and criminal elements while on the streets.

Their need to survive makes them deviant.

Rejection by their families and society is responsible for fostering such behaviour, and whether the child is deviant depends on the particular child.

TABLE 28: VIEWS OF SERVICE PROVIDERS WITH REGARD TO THE DEVIANT ACTIVITIES ENGAGED IN BY STREET CHILDREN

DEVIANT ACTIVITIES	YES	
	NUMBER	PERCENT
GLUE SNIFFING	67	94.4
PETROL SNIFFING	45	63.4
BENZINE SNIFFING	54	76.1
INHALING PAINT THINNERS	43	60.6
SMOKING DAGGA	64	90.1
DRINKING ALCOHOL	63	88.7
PROSTITUTION	57	80.3
HOMOSEXUALITY	56	78.9
THEFT FROM HOUSES	55	77.5
THEFT FROM CARS	60	84.5
THEFT FROM SHOPS	57	80.3
PICKPOCKETING	52	73.2
BAG SNATCHING	56	78.9
ASSAULT	38	53.5
GAMBLING	48	67.6
BEGGING	66	93.0
OTHER (SPECIFY)	7	9.9

The above mentioned deviant activities are commonly engaged in by street children and are consistently referred to in the literature (refer to chapter two). In Chapter 4, the same question was asked of the street children, and their responses confirm their widespread involvement in one or more of the undermentioned activities. The researcher considered it necessary to compare the responses of the street children with those of the service providers as a means of cross-checking them. It was felt that the service providers' ongoing contact with street children would place them in an ideal position to either confirm or deny the involvement of street children in

these activities, and also to show how well they know and understand street children, and how they feel about them. The responses to this question are presented in the table above.

The deviant activities engaged in by street children as reported by the service providers are presented in order of priority below. The majority of respondents, 67 (94.4%) reported glue sniffing as the predominant deviant activity engaged in by street children. The preference street children have for glue relates to its relatively low cost, easy availability and the 'cushioning' effect it provides from hunger, cold, fear and illness. These findings concur with those of Garman (1987 : 6, 51-58); Pather (1990 : 28); Osler (1986 : 6); Swart (Nov 1988 : 198), inter alia. Swart (Ibid : 198) says that their escapist use of glue reflects a feature of South African life where escapism is widely practised by young and old alike and mood changing drugs have become part of that society.

Sixty six (93%) respondents cited begging as the next important deviant activity engaged in by the children. Begging as a public nuisance offence is widely referred to in the literature, and according to Schärff et al, has been developed to a fine art (Schärff et al : Op cit : 276 -277). The younger, more pathetic looking children are far more successful at begging, while the public is antagonistic to older boys engaging in it as it is felt that they should render some service instead (Swart : Nov 1988 : 135).

Sixty four (90.1%) respondents cited the use of dagga by street children as a popular activity. Informal conversation with some of the street children at Bayhead confirmed their fondness for dagga, one of their commonest complaints being that they were not allowed to smoke it at Bayhead. De Miranda, cited in Swart (Nov 1988 : 198) says that dagga is the drug most commonly used by youth in South Africa. Swart says that the effects of this drug are regarded as 'cool', and that the street children are encouraged by Rastas and street dwellers to experiment with it, as it is regarded as 'manly' (Ibid : 169). In his study, Bothma found that the use of dagga during feasts and leisure time, not only united the group, " but also

represented an important cultural link between strollers and gangsters" (Bothma : 1988 : 69-70).

Sixty three (88.7%) cited the drinking of alcohol by street children. Not much reference is made in the literature to the use of alcohol by street children, perhaps because it is considered less offensive than the other types of activities engaged in by street children, and also because it's use is overshadowed by the use of glue, dagga, benzine, etcetera. In her study, Swart (Nov 1988 : 132) observed that "no extensive addiction to alcohol was noted." Garman found in her study that "all of the subjects drank alcohol and smoked cigarettes ..." (Garman : Op cit : 49).

Fifty seven (80.3%) respondents cited the involvement of street children in prostitution and theft from shops respectively. With regard to the former, Swart says that "prostitution should be seen in terms of a wider spectrum of domination, in which rich exploit poor, males, females, whites other ethnic groups, and adults children" (Swart : Nov 1988 : 197). Schärf et al's study revealed that prostitution was a very common activity engaged in by the strollers, most of whom boasted of their contacts with bunnies (white men) and sugar mummies (white women). However, this activity appears to be declining they say, largely due to the Aids scare (Schärf et al : Op cit : 279).

Fifty six (78.9%) respondents cited the involvement of street children in homosexuality. The views of the service providers do not agree with those of the street children, only 3 (1.6%) of whom admitted involvement in it. Perhaps what was said with regard to prostitution applies here as well. The children may have been embarrassed to discuss this aspect of their lives in view of the perceived negative public reaction towards it.

It is of interest to note that although a large number of service providers said the children engage in prostitution, only 2 (1%) children admitted to this activity. If this is in fact so, the children are engaged in prostitution far less frequently than the service providers believe to be the case. On the

other hand, it is "not generally considered acceptable to speak of such things, since selling sexual favours was a criminal offence and looked down with reprehension by many members of the community (Swart : November 1988 : 167). The children may also be embarrassed to admit their involvement in prostitution.

An equally large number of respondents cited the involvement of street children in various types of theft. They include 60 (84.5%) who said street children engaged in theft from cars; 57 (80.3%) who cited shop-lifting, 56 (78.9%) who cited bag snatching; 5 (77.5%) who cited theft from houses, and 52 (73.2%) who cited pickpocketing. Once again, these various forms of theft engaged in by street children, have received widespread attention in the literature (refer to 2.4). It is indisputable that these activities do form a large part of many street children's activities. Bothma refers to the 'hunting-gathering' activities of street children. The former relates to high risk, high return activities which include theft. He says that as legitimate opportunities for generating an income become closed to street children, they begin to rely increasingly on the hunting activities (Bothma : Op cit : 40-41). Swart's study on street children in Hillbrow, found that theft, while common-place, tended to be rationalised. The theft of food and clothing, though regretted, was considered necessary. Likewise shop-lifting and theft of parcels from cars, was also considered necessary. Theft from other street children was not acceptable, while "those who stole frequently, bag-snatched and broke in admitted to stealing beyond what was necessary (Swart : Nov 1988 : 166).

Forty eight (67.6%) respondents cited gambling as an activity engaged in by street children. However, the street children interviewed cited gambling as the second most important activity they engaged in. Gambling is an activity engaged in enthusiastically by the children, and provides considerable diversion from the serious business of making a living and providing for themselves in largely hostile surroundings. Forty five (63.4%) and 43 (60.6%) referred to the petrol sniffing and inhaling of paint thinners by street children respectively. The street children themselves reported far

less involvement in these activities, that is, 31 (16.1%) and 15 (7.8%) respectively. Swart confirms that these are sporadic activities which tend to precede glue addiction. She says that because benzine sniffing was so rife in the 1950's among street children, they were called the 'Benzine Road Kids' (Swart : Nov 1988 : 132).

Thirty eight (53.5%) respondent cited assault as the least commonly engaged in activity by street children. The street children similarly reported this to be one of their least frequently engaged in activities.

The researcher posits several reasons for this. To begin with, research indicates that it is the street child who is assaulted, rejected and marginalised by those people with whom he comes into contact. (refer to 2.6) He is therefore the passive victim of aggression directed against him, rather than the initiator of aggression. Secondly, research points out the tremendous bond and camaraderie that exists between street children, with the older boys assuming responsibility for the younger ones. Street children abide by their own code of conduct and assault of a fellow street child is not acceptable. They must of necessity stick together to survive. Lastly, the tendency to flee suggests a passive response to problem solving rather than an aggressive one characteristic of assault. For all these reasons, the researcher believes street children seldom resort to assault.

It can be presumed from the responses, that the views of the service providers on the deviant activities engaged in by street children, are gleaned through prolonged interaction with, and knowledge of the children. In view of the particular services offered by child care workers, social workers and the City Police, their responses specifically will be analysed as follows:

With regard to glue sniffing, all the City Police (100%), 23 (95.8%) child care workers and 10 (90.9%) social workers, cited the involvement of street children in this activity.

With regard to petrol sniffing, all the City Police (100%), 17 (70.8%) child care workers and 7 (63.6%) social workers, said that street children engage in this activity.

With regard to inhaling paint thinners, only 1 (20%) City Policeman, 20 (83.3%) child care workers and 6 (54.5%) social workers, said street children engage in this activity.

One (20%) City Policeman, 22 (91.7%) child care workers and 8 (72.7%) social workers said that the children sniff benzine.

All the City Police (100%), 23 (95.8%) child care workers and 10 (90.9%) social workers, said that the street children smoke dagga.

Only 1 (20%) City Policeman, 23 (95.8%) child care workers and 10 (90.9%) social workers said that street children drink alcohol.

With regard to prostitution and homosexuality all the City Police (100%), 22 (91.7%) child care workers and 9 (81.8%) social workers, said that the street children engaged in these activities.

One (20%) City Policeman, 22 (91.7%) child care workers and 7 (63.6%) social workers, said street children engaged in theft from houses.

With regard to theft from cars and shops, all the City Police (100%), 23 (95.8%) child care workers and 6 (54.5%) social workers, reported the involvement of street children in these activities.

With regard to pickpocketing, only 1 (20%) City Policeman, 19 (79.2%) child care workers and 6 (54.5%) social workers said that the children engaged in this activity.

All the City Police (100%), 22 (91.7%) child care workers and 6 (54.5%) social workers said that street children bag snatched.

Only 1 (20%) City Policeman, 19 (79.2%) child care workers and 2 (18.2%) social workers, said street children engaged in assault.

Two (40%) City Policemen, 19 (79.2%) child care workers and 4 (36.4%) social workers, said that street children engage in gambling.

With regard to begging, all the City Police (100%) and social workers (100%), and 21 (87.5%) child care workers, cited the involvement of street children in this activity.

On the whole, the responses of the service providers do confirm the involvement of street children in a wide range of deviant activities, and are in agreement with the present and other research findings (refer to chapter two).

The view that street children will become hardened criminals and that they are deviant and delinquent, is important and is the second stage on the path to a deviant career as described by Champion et al (refer to chapter four). The perceptions of the respondents, especially the City Councillors, are pessimistic to say the least, and may account for their refusal in the past to take responsibility for the street children in Durban. The fact that the respondents expect no good from street children will influence the children's perceptions of themselves, and it is only a matter of time before they accept the labels and fulfill the promise of deviance.

5.2.4 MANAGEMENT OF THE STREET CHILD PHENOMENON

TABLE 29 : SERVICE PROVIDERS VIEWS ON EXISTING FACILITIES/RESOURCES/SERVICES FOR STREET CHILDREN

FACILITIES/RESOURCES/SERVICES	NUMBER
PLACE OF SAFETY	28
SHELTER : ZAMANI	12
STREETWISE	7
NONE	5
WELFARE SERVICES	4
CHILDREN'S HOMES	2
FOOD/MONEY/CLOTHING	2
ARK MINISTRIES	2
SKILLS TRAINING	1
FEEDING SCHEME	1
SCHOOLS OF INDUSTRY	1
FOSTER PARENTS	1
LIVING WORLD MINISTRIES	1
SHELTER : KHAYALETHU	1
VERY FEW	1
NO RESPONSE	25

Totals do not equal 71, as some respondents cited more than one facility/resource/service.

In this question the service providers were asked to list the facilities/resources/services they were aware of for street children.

The above table indicates that the majority of respondents, 28 (39.4%), cited places of safety; 12 (16.9%) cited Zamani Shelter, which was referred to either as the shelter in Newlands East or Lakehaven; 7 (9.9%) cited Streetwise, sometimes referred to as the shelter in Clermont; 5 (7%) said there were none of the abovementioned facilities/resource/services; 4 (5.6%) referred to welfare services; 2 (2.8%) respondents each cited children's

homes, Ark Ministries and the provision of food, money and clothes to street children by volunteer organisations. Other responses related to a feeding scheme; skills training (presumably the one run by Streetwise); foster parents; Living World Ministries and Khayaletu.

Several conclusions can be drawn from the above responses. To begin with, it is clear that the majority of respondents do not know what other services exist for street children, besides their own (some did not even cite their own organisations). They appear to be vaguely aware of other facilities/resources/services and do not know them by name. The respondent who cited Khayaletu Shelter is unaware that it was burned down in the late 1980's. It would seem that places of safety are (or are regarded as) the foremost facilities for street children in Durban by the majority of respondents. This would indicate perhaps an acceptance of the places of safety as a 'refuge' for street children. A great deal of criticism has been levelled against the institutionalisation of children (refer to Chapter 1). McLachlan (Op cit : 131) states that children "are placed in institutions that practise archaic and dickensian methods of 'caring' for children. The staff of such institutions and the relevant government departments appear to have little knowledge of modern child care practices and theories." The same holds true for schools of industry, now called child care schools. They are officially described as being for pedagogically neglected children, with 18 for Whites, 3 for Coloureds and 2 for Indians. "There is not one school of industries for African children (Ibid : 70).

Children's homes are established and managed by welfare associations and/or churches. McLachlan says there are 119 of such homes throughout the country, with 76 for Whites, 26 for Coloureds, 6 for Indians and 9 for Africans, including one in both Ciskei and Bophuthatswana (Ibid : 61). It is clear that there is a desperate shortage of children's homes, and hence the reliance of the authorities on places of safety. It would appear that the respondents who referred to children's homes as resources for street children, are unaware of their virtual non-existence.

It may be concluded that the tendency to disregard the welfare services (only 4 respondents referred to them) indicates that not much faith is placed on their 'contribution' to street children. Perhaps it is also an indication of rivalry between differing service providers or a lack of concern for the welfare of street children. The large number of 'no responses' (25) were interpreted by the researcher as "don't know"; once again pointing to the ignorance of service providers of other services/resources/facilities for street children other than their own. This ignorance emphasizes the need for an inter-disciplinary, co-ordinated, national strategy for programmes and action on behalf of street children.

VIEWS OF SERVICE PROVIDERS REGARDING THE ADEQUACY OF SERVICES FOR STREET CHILDREN

Following from the previous question the overwhelming view that not enough is being done for street children in Durban. This opinion was expressed by 58 (81.7%) of the respondents, regardless of the organisations they serve. Five (7%) respondents from Bayhead Place of Safety felt that enough is being done for street children; 2 (2.8%) did not know and 6 (8.5%) did not respond, indicating perhaps that they did not know. The respondents belonging to the City Health Department and City Police were unanimous in their responses (100%), all of whom believe that not enough is being done for street children in Durban. Seventeen (70.8%) child care workers and 9 (81.8%) social workers stated that not enough was being done for street children in Durban. It is of interest to note that all but one of the City Councillors, that is, 5 (83.3%) felt that not enough was being done for street children. As far as the researcher is aware, the role of the City Council with regard to the provision of services/facilities for street children has thus far been minimal and indifferent. The fact that only 6 (20%) of the 30 City Councillors responded to the questionnaire is an indication of their apathy and indifference to a growing social problem.

A letter handed to the then mayor of Durban, Henry Klotz, by the Street Children Action Committee, emphasized the urgent need for available premises following the burning down of Khayaletu Shelter (Sunday

Tribune : 2.10.1989). It is doubtful whether any action was taken on receipt of the letter, as the only available 'homes' to street children in Durban are the places of safety and shelters. It would appear that the City Council has failed in its duty towards its most needy citizens.

REASONS PROVIDED BY SERVICE PROVIDERS FOR THE INADEQUATE PROVISION OF SERVICES TO STREET CHILDREN

In response to this open-ended question, various points of view were expressed. The respondents stated that not enough was being done for street children for the following reasons :

Bayhead Place of Safety

Nobody has shown any interest in the plight of the street children.

Places of safety do not provide recreational facilities, compulsory education and job training.

There is not sufficient information on street children available to us.

Institutions are not aiding in the rehabilitation of the street child.

There are insufficient children's homes, reform schools and places of safety.

The City Council is not doing anything about street children.

There is a shortage of schools and recreational facilities, which results in the children not being properly disciplined.

The responses indicate neglect of the child before he takes to the streets and after he becomes a 'street child'.

Umlazi Place of Safety

There are not enough shelters for them.

There are limited resources and no educational activities. Staff cannot cope

with all the problems and needs of the children.

The State does not recognise the efforts of the welfare services, City Health Department social workers and the National Association of Child Care Workers (NACCW), and the fact that the children are citizens of the country.

The above responses are once again perceived to be indicative of the apathy of the state towards street children and the individuals who render services to them.

City Health Department

Neither Durban Child Welfare, Zamani, Streetwise, nor Ark Ministries have an effective outreach programme for children who are on the street.

There is a lack of funds.

There are insufficient schools and shelters.

People/organisations are abdicating their responsibilities and/or being prevented by State/Council from responding with community initiatives.

The service provided does not meet the need.

City Council

A shelter closer to the city with rehabilitation services rendered by a registered welfare organisation is what is needed. Bayhead is not conducive to rehabilitation, therefore the high number of abscondments.

The root cause is not being addressed, viz. breakdown of family life and endemic violence/lack of facilities in townships, rural areas and shacks. Job creation and regional economic recovery on a massive scale is required.

The Council and Durban's citizens are not aware of the problem or even care.

Street children should be kept in proper institutions where they can be properly looked after (this response was edited by the researcher).

The first three responses indicate a greater awareness of the problem. The second is commendable in that it identified the root causes and the solutions to these causes, and is not an attempt to 'bolt the stable door after the horse has bolted.' However, this solution is presumably a long-term one, and the street children need immediate action on their behalf.

City Police

There are too many street children and not enough places of safety for them.

They are bored at the shelters.

There is a need for more centrally situated places of safety.

The responses here are in favour of places of safety, thereby indicating a custodial and punitive rather than a rehabilitative approach.

Streetwise

Bayhead is punitive and there are no educational programmes. The Council abdicates responsibility. Police and public are uneducated in respect of street children.

The large number of varied responses indicate several shortcomings in the provision of services to street children. Respondents emphasized the need for more schools and proper recreational facilities in the areas from which the children come. The need for more information on street children, and parent and community involvement was also stressed. Criticisms were levelled at the places of safety for being too punitive, and for not aiding in the rehabilitation of street children. Some respondents expressed the need for more shelters, children's homes and places of safety. Many respondents referred to the apathy of community, state and local government alike, and

the shortage of funds and facilities. The need for centrally situated places of safety was also expressed by one of the respondents.

TABLE 30 : VIEWS OF SERVICE PROVIDERS REGARDING SHELTERS FOR STREET CHILDREN

VIEWS	YES	
	NUMBER	PERCENT
SHELTERS WILL ATTRACT STREET CHILDREN AWAY FROM UNFAVOURABLE HOME ENVIRONMENTS	47	66.2
SHELTERS FOR STREET CHILDREN ARE A WASTE OF TIME AND MONEY	14	19.7
SHELTERS FOR STREET CHILDREN TRAP THEM IN A SYSTEM OF INEQUALITY	25	35.2
SHELTERS ARE ABLE TO REINTEGRATE STREET CHILDREN INTO SOCIETY	41	57.9
BY SPONSORING A SHELTER WE WILL BE HARBOURING SODOMISTS AND CRIMINALS	22	31.0
THE PEOPLE HELPING STREET CHILDREN ARE TRAINING THEM TO BE TERRORISTS/REVOLUTIONARIES	9	12.7
SHELTER STAFF SHOULD HAVE REGULAR IN-SERVICE TRAINING	61	85.9
STREET CHILDREN SHOULD BE TREATED IN CONTEXT OR ELSE THEY LEARN TO ADAPT TO THE FACILITY AND NOT TO THEIR REAL WORLD ENVIRONMENTS	49	69.0

This question focuses on the views and attitudes of service providers to shelter projects for street children. The statements were extracted from the literature and local media reports and highlight the generally negative views regarding shelters. The provision of services for street children is scanty to say the least. In Durban, there were only two shelters which catered for the growing number of street children at the time the study was undertaken. One such shelter, is Zamani, a project which was run by Durban Child Welfare Society, while the other is the Streetwise shelter in Clermont. Streetwise commenced its operation in 1987 as an education

project in Hillbrow. Since then it has grown and developed branches in Johannesburg, Soweto, Pretoria and Durban, and accommodates more than four hundred children in its schools, homes and shelters (Streetwise pamphlet). Streetwise have now acquired the 'Old Mill' in Mariannhill, which will provide accommodation, schooling and a new way of life for about one hundred boys from the streets and broken homes. It is in the process of phasing out its operation from Clermont and is trying to move those boys under the age of sixteen to the Mill in order to streamline teaching (The Daily News : 12.2.1992). Apart from these two shelters and the government's 'institutional' facilities, funding and services are grossly inadequate, despite the best efforts of many dedicated workers.

The initial response to the emerging street child phenomenon was the establishment of soup kitchens and feeding schemes, run once or twice weekly in church or community centres. However, the growing demand for something more tangible than these irregular feeding schemes, resulted in the establishment of shelters providing for the children's basic needs. The phased approach is now being adopted in the shelter projects. Phase one operates on a walk-in, walk-out basis in an area which is easily accessible to the children. Phase two caters for those children who cannot return home and who are more amenable to committing themselves to school attendance, abstention from solvent abuse and who do not present with any serious behavioural problems. The third or final phase may be regarded as the after-care or bridging phase, which attempts to link the children's present shelter experiences with the real world (Stein : Op cit : 3-4).

Although shelters may not be the 'ideal' solution to the street child's problems, they are nonetheless far more effective and acceptable than the government's institutional response. In support of this viewpoint, Cockburn says, "it has been shown over the years that street children do not benefit from traditional facilities, so alternative ways of addressing the problem have had to be sought" (Cockburn : Op cit : 8). To this end, the Homestead, the first shelter for street children in Cape Town, was opened in 1982.

Schärf describes the initial suspicion of the South African Police to shelters. They now realise that they are a far more effective and desirable alternative than the official processing of street children for petty matters (Schärf : 1988 : 13).

The view that shelters attract street children away from their homes is unfounded, as the number who may have been attracted to them, is minimal (Swart : June 1988 : 12).

It is the researcher's contention that shelters offer immediate refuge to children in distress. In the absence of permanent solutions, they offer an ideal safety net for street children before damage accrues from contamination with street and institutional life. Street children cannot be kept in a physical, emotional and intellectual deep-freeze while government and non-government organisations hotly debate their future. The value of shelters therefore, cannot be discounted.

The table above indicates both a favourable and unfavourable response to shelters. The majority of respondents, 61 (85.9%) felt that shelter staff should have regular in-service training. Of these 39 (86.7%) were from Bayhead Place of Safety; all 4 (100%) respondents from Umlazi Place of Safety; 6 (85.7%) of the 7 respondents from the City Health Department; 4 (66.7%) from the City Council; all 5 (100%) members of the City Police, and 3 (75%) from Streetwise.

The responses are in keeping with current trends, whereby regular in-service training is considered to be a necessity in service-oriented occupations. However, the researcher believes that in-service training should apply to all the categories of professionals in this study, and not only to shelter staff. Children in institutions frequently have severe problems, that is, socially and personally. Often these problems are compounded by unqualified staff. The researcher's prior study on child abuse revealed that none of the service providers interviewed, (doctors, lawyers, social workers, teachers, magistrates) had had any training which enabled them specifically

to handle the problems of the abused child.

Regular in-service training for all these individuals dealing with street children, is therefore, considered by the researcher to be a prerequisite.

Stein describes in-service training as "staff meetings, supervision, courses with outside bodies, etc. ..." In her study of 21 street children organisations she found that only a few (28%) offered regular training sessions, and of the 85 child care workers only 14 (16.5%) attended the BQCC (Basic Qualification in Child Care) offered by the NACCW (National Association of Child Care Workers) (Stein : Op cit : 32). She emphasises the need for regular, structured and relevant in-service training for staff in these organisations (Ibid : 33).

Forty nine (69%) respondents said that street children should be treated in context in order to be able to relate to their real world environments. They included 29 (64.4%) from Bayhead Place of Safety; all the respondents (100%) from Umlazi Place of Safety; 6 (85.7%) from the City Health Department; 2 (33.3%) City Councillors; all the City Police (100%) and 1 (25%) from Streetwise. In addition, 17 (70.8%) child care workers and 7 (63.6%) social workers expressed this point of view.

Forty seven (66.2%) respondents agreed that shelters will attract street children away from unfavourable home environments. Of these, 33 (73.3%) were from Bayhead Place of Safety, 2 (50%) from Umlazi Place of Safety; 2 (28.6%) from the City Health Department; 4 (66.7%) from the City Council; 4 (80%) from the City Police and 1 (25%) from Streetwise. Eighteen (75%) child care workers and only 4 (36.4%) social workers agreed with this statement. This latter point of view has been disputed by Swart, who say that the number who may have been attracted to them is minimal (Swart : June 1988 : 12).

Richter acknowledges the dangers of creating shelters which are more comfortable and stimulating than the home environments from which street

children come. She therefore advocates outreach programmes to assist Black families in crisis, and the development of social policies and mechanisms "before parents and children lose their capacities for nurturance and affection towards each other" (Natal Mercury : 15.6.1988).

It is acknowledged that street children do need to be treated in context, hence the emphasis on strengthening community solidarity, community initiatives and programmes and community projects (Agnelli : 1986 : 64, 73-75; Alexander : 1987: 19-21).

In support of community initiatives, Agnelli says, "rather than imposing solutions on the poor, experience shows it is more constructive to encourage voluntary and self-help groups to tackle their problems themselves, with inputs of technical know-how, materials and finance" (Ibid : 18). She says furthermore, that "those with nowhere to go must nevertheless find 'accommodation' not only under a roof but first and foremost in the heart of a caring person" (Ibid : 73).

Forty one (57.7%) respondents felt that shelters are able to integrate street children into society. It is interesting to note that only 4 (36.4%) social workers believe this to be the case, as compared with 17 (70.8%) child care workers, 28 (62.2%) respondents from Bayhead Place of Safety; 2 (50%) from Umlazi Place of Safety; 2 (28.6%) from the City Health Department; 3 (50%) City Councillors; 2 (40%) City Policemen and all 4 (100%) respondents from Streetwise. Support for this point of view comes from Unicef which recognises South Africa's Streetwise programme as one of the best in the world (Swart cited in Sunday Tribune : 25.6.1989).

In similar vein, Schärf applauds the numerous groups, organisations and shelters for street children in the Cape which have seen the increasing professionalism of the staff. There is also, he says, a growing body of educational material which has been tailored to suit the needs of the strollers (Schärf : Op cit : 13).

Other responses received were that shelters trap street children in a system of inequality, 25 (35.2%); that by sponsoring a shelter we will be harbouring sodomists and criminals, 22 (31%). Fourteen (19.7%) respondents stated that shelters for street children are a waste of time and money, while 9 (12.7%) stated that the people helping street children are training them to be terrorists/revolutionaries.

It is of interest to note that the fourteen respondents who said that shelters for street children are a waste of time and money, were mainly from Bayhead Place of Safety, 12 (26.7%); 1 (25%) from Umlazi Place of Safety and 1 (16.7%) from the City Council.

With regard to the question "by sponsoring a shelter we will be harbouring sodomists and criminals," 19 (42.2%) were from Bayhead Place of Safety, 2 (50%) from Umlazi Place of Safety, and 1 (14.3%) from the City Health Department.

With regard to the question, "the people helping street children are training them to be terrorists/revolutionaries", 8 (17.8%) were from Bayhead Place of Safety, and 1 (16.7%) from the City Council. It can be added, that if one considers the official response to handling the street child phenomenon, that is confinement in places of safety, shelters, though not ideal, are a far more humane and effective option. The two shelters reviewed in the present study, offer a wide range of educational, remedial and job training skills designed to maximise and stimulate potential and facilitate transition into community life. In the absence of children's homes, foster care, central and local government initiatives and funding, the importance of shelters in offering immediate relief to needy children, must be appreciated.

The findings generally in respect of shelters are positive, with many respondents disagreeing that shelters are a waste of time and money, 47 (66.2%) that they will be harbouring sodomists and criminals, 38 (53.5%) and that people helping them are training them to be terrorists/revolutionaries, 42 (59.2%).

The 'other' responses received with regard to shelters were:

Bayhead Place of Safety

They should be destroyed.

They appear to be breeding places for future criminals, and the State should appoint a commission of inquiry into them.

They promote rather than decrease the problems of street children.

There should be different shelters for different types of street children, that is, homosexuals, to minimise sodomy.

They should be designed in consultation with street children and social workers.

The shelters are alright in that they provide recreation and school projects to combat illiteracy, and they enable the social workers to get to know the problems of each child.

There is a need for more shelters.

The comments from 2 service providers at Umlazi Place of Safety were that the shelters act as an end in themselves providing no future for the young citizens of tomorrow; and that they should be 'controlled' by people who understand the 'tricks and behaviour' of street children.

The responses from the City Health Department were more positive. Respondents expressed the need for 3 phase shelters, that is :

Street outreach phase, intermediate phase and a permanent home for street children.

Another respondent indicated that shelters are a positive response to the huge inequalities that exist in our society, but that they must have trained

personnel and progressive management.

The responses from two City Councillors were that though they are not the ideal solution, they are still better than the places of safety; and that shelters should be like a second home where practical skills for the real world are taught.

It is clear that the responses from service providers from the two places of safety are far less complimentary to shelters, once again pointing to the opposing punitive/rehabilitative philosophies of service providers.

These findings reflect the dearth of alternative placement facilities for street children in Durban and the ignorance of service providers as to what actually exists. Since the time that the study was undertaken, two more shelters have been established. These are Sinetemba shelter in the central business district run by Durban Child Welfare Society, and the other Found City in Cliffdale. Further to this, the Durban Street Children Network was established to aid communication between the different street children organisations on an informal basis, and is linked with eighteen such organisations.

Any programme for street children must be evaluated in terms of its success in educating and rehabilitating. If one considers the numerous disadvantages of institutionalisation, it is clear that they are not geared to meeting these goals and must be completely disregarded as an option.

If one were to draw a comparison between Bayhead place of safety and Streetwise, the latter far outstrips the former in terms of the wide range of activities offered such as street outreach, education, assessment and graduate programmes, and their relative success (Schurink: 1993: 214). Obviously, every effort is being made to salvage the street children at Streetwise and to minimise their further victimisation. Unfortunately the same cannot be said for places of safety, which by their very design, appearance and functioning, physically and emotionally isolate boisterous adolescents and

reinforce their victimisation and labelling.

5.2.5 ALTERNATIVE FUTURE METHODS TO DEAL WITH THE STREET CHILD PHENOMENON

TABLE 31 : VIEWS OF SERVICE PROVIDERS WITH REGARD TO THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE SITUATION FOR STREET CHILDREN

VIEWS	YES	
	NUMBER	PERCENT
LAWS TO PROTECT STREET CHILDREN	60	84.5
PROVISION OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES	66	93.0
PROVISION OF JOB OPPORTUNITIES	56	78.9
LAWS TO ALLOW DISADVANTAGED MINORS TO WORK	37	52.1
EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMMES FOR STREET CHILDREN	61	85.9
IMPROVEMENT OF LIVING CONDITIONS IN THE SHELTER	55	77.5
IMPROVEMENT OF RECREATIONAL FACILITIES IN THE SHELTER	57	80.3
PROVISION OF FINANCIAL HELP TO PARENTS SO THAT THEY CAN RETURN HOME	39	54.9
PROVISION OF ADEQUATE ACCOMMODATION TO PARENTS SO THAT THEY CAN RETURN HOME	42	59.2
OTHER (SPECIFY)	7	9.9

The majority of respondents, 66 (93.3%) agreed that street children should be provided with educational opportunities, while 61 (85.9%) said that educational programmes should be devised for street children. Of the 61 respondents who stated the need for educational programmes to be devised for street children, 37 (82.3%) were from Bayhead Place of Safety; all 4 (100%) respondents from Umlazi Place of Safety; all 7 (100%) respondents

from the City Health Department; 4 (66.7%) were city councillors; all 5 (100%) City Policemen and all 4 (100%) respondents from Streetwise. In addition, 17 (70.8%) of the child care workers and all 11 (100%) social workers expressed this point of view. Similar views were expressed with regard to the provision of educational opportunities for street children by all the respondents from Umlazi Place of Safety, the City Health Department, City Police and Streetwise. Twenty one (87.5%) child care workers and all 11 (100%) social workers concurred with this recommendation.

Respondents have consistently stressed the importance of education in the open-ended questions. It was felt that education, not only for street children, but for the majority of Black school-aged children who have been denied the right to a free and equal education, must be a priority. Severe criticisms have been levelled at the Black educational system, which is seen as encouraging a high drop-out rate and alienating children from the formative influence of education. (refer to 2.3.1).

Compulsory and stimulating schooling can provide a safety net which will prevent many children from resorting to the runaway response. However, a broad based education must also be available to children who are currently on the streets, to equip them to cope with street life and life after the streets. To this end, various educational programmes have been designed and implemented by Streetwise and the Homestead .

Sixty (84.5%) respondents stated the need for laws to protect street children. All the respondents from Umlazi Place of Safety and the City Police expressed this viewpoint, as well as 39 (86.7%) from Bayhead Place of Safety; 6 (85.7%) from the City Health Department; half the number of city councillors, 3 (50%) and 3 (75%) from Streetwise. Likewise, 21 (87.5%) child care workers and 10 (90.9%) social workers felt that there should be laws to protect street children. As has already been stated above the Child Care Act does not sufficiently protect children in general and the street child in particular. Neither does the Criminal Procedure Act . New laws

must be enacted which take into cognizance the needs of street children, which offer more humane and effective protection, and which consider individual and cultural needs and differences.

Fifty seven (80.3%) respondents felt that recreational facilities in shelters should be improved. It is of interest to note that all the respondents from Streetwise which is a shelter for street children, believed that recreational facilities in them should be improved, as well as all the City Police. Nearly all the respondents from the City Health Department, 6 (85.7%) agreed with this recommendation.

Fifty five (77.5%) respondents felt that living conditions must be improved. Identical responses from the same categories of service providers were received to this recommendation. It appears that although shelters provide a far more valuable service in the rehabilitation of street children than places of safety, living and recreational facilities in them must be improved. For this to occur, funds must be made available by the State. Apart from the improvement of recreational facilities in shelters, the more pressing need is for such facilities at the places of safety where the majority of children are presently being accommodated. The distinct lack of facilities observed at Bayhead by the researcher, does not allow for children and adolescents to expend their energies in constructive ways. This may account for their boredom and the tendency to run away again and again.

Fifty six (78.9%) respondents stated that street children should be provided with job opportunities. Of these, all the City Police (100%); 3 (75%) from Streetwise; 3 (50%) City Councillors; 5 (71.4%) from the City Health Department; 3 (75%) from Umlazi Place of Safety; 37 (82.2%) from Bayhead Place of Safety; 22 (91.7%) child care workers and 8 (72.7%) social workers agreed with this recommendation.

Thirty seven (52.1%) felt that the law should allow disadvantaged minors to work. Given the fact that the large number of children currently on the streets will not be reintegrated into formal schooling, they must be equipped

with skills which will enable them to support themselves and their dependents. The findings indicate that all the respondents from the City Police and Streetwise agreed with this recommendation, and to a lesser extent those from Bayhead Place of Safety, 25 (55.6%); Umlazi Place of Safety, 1 (25%); City Health Department, 2 (28.6%) and 1 (16.7%) City Councillor. Only 3 (27.3%) social workers and 14 (58.3%) child care workers believed that the law should allow disadvantaged minors to work.

Agnelli is of the view that governments can extend greater legality to the informal sector which absorbs many street children in their jobs as car washers, shoe-shine boys, etcetera. She says that their working conditions can be combined with nutritional, informal and recreational programmes.

The children can be organised into cooperatives and recognition be given to the positive contributions made by individuals who employ street children (Agnelli : Op cit : 112-113).

In similar vein, Cockburn says that the entrepreneurial skills of street children must be encouraged, and that we should not impose our middle class values which denigrate working children or child labour. According to her, we should be equipping our children to enter the labour market with marketable skills. "Ideally, they must take their place, even if it is within the informal sector with knowledge and dignity" (Cockburn: Op cit : 8).

To a lesser extent, the respondents agreed that adequate accommodation should be provided to parents so that the children can return home, 42 (59.2%). Of the 42 respondents, 29 (64.4%) were from Bayhead Place of Safety; 2 (50%) from Umlazi Place of Safety; 2 (28.6%) from the City Health Department; 2 (33.3%) were City Councillors; 4 (80%) were from the City Police; 3 (75%) were from Streetwise; 17 (70.8%) were child care workers and 3 (27.3%) were social workers.

Thirty nine (54.9%) respondents said that financial assistance should be

provided to parents so that the children can return home. Of these, 30 (66.7%) were from Bayhead Place of Safety; 1 (25%) from Umlazi Place of Safety; 1 (14.3%) from the City Health Department; 3 (50%) from the City Council; 1 (20%) from the City Police; 3 (75%) from Streetwise; 17 (70.8%) were child care workers and 1 (9.1%) was a social worker.

Pather states that repair of the damage must be effected at both central and local government levels, and that attention will have to be paid to "land-ownership rights, education, housing and health needs..." (Pather : Op cit : 42). Bothma says that prevention of the street child phenomenon must be concentrated on the political and economic level, with the improvement of such basic facilities as housing and education concomitant with a significant change in political structures (Bothma : op cit : 91).

Agnelli states that containment of the problem must operate "against a backdrop of community development" with increased budgetary provisions for national health, regional development projects, slum and squatter clearance, housing schemes, inter alia (Agnelli : Op cit : 86).

The 'other' responses received were from Bayhead Place of Safety, the City Council and Streetwise. They are :

Where it is not possible to return the children to their homes, they should be cared for in proper children's homes.

Selection of suitable staff in places of safety to facilitate integration.

Police should be discouraged from apprehending children at random since many school children are brought to institutions.

People must be paid sufficiently for the work they do to enable them to take care of their children.

Street children must be integrated with 'normal' children.

TABLE 32 : RECOMMENDATIONS OF SERVICE PROVIDERS

RECOMMENDATIONS	YES	
	NUMBER	PERCENT
LEGISLATION SHOULD PROHIBIT THE SELLING OF GLUE TO MINORS	47	66.2
THE CHILD CARE ACT OFFERS SUFFICIENT PROTECTION TO STREET CHILDREN	36	50.7
STREET CHILDREN SHOULD BE TAUGHT BASIC LITERACY AND NUMERACY SKILLS	66	93.0
STREET CHILDREN SHOULD BE EQUIPPED TO ENTER THE JOB MARKET WITH MARKETABLE SKILLS	63	88.7
STREET CHILDREN SHOULD BE REINTEGRATED INTO THEIR COMMUNITIES OF ORIGIN	52	73.2
STREET CHILDREN SHOULD HAVE ACCESS TO FREE LEGAL COUNSEL	55	77.5

The majority of respondents, 66 (93%) agreed that street children should be taught basic literacy and numeracy skills. Of these 41 (91.9%) were from Bayhead Place of Safety; 4 (100%) were from Umlazi Place of Safety; 7 (100%) were from the City Health Department; 5 (100%) were from the City Police; 4 (100%) were from Streetwise; 21 (87.5%) were child care workers; and 11 (100%) were social workers. The findings reveal unanimous agreement among service providers that street children should be taught basic literacy and numeracy skills.

Sixty three (88.7%) agreed that street children should be equipped to enter the job market with marketable skills. Of these, 41 (91.1%) were from Bayhead Place of Safety; 3 (75%) from Umlazi Place of Safety; 5 (71.4%) were from the City Health Department; 5 (83.3%) were from the City Council; 5 (100%) were from the City Police; 4 (100%) were from Streetwise; 22 (91.7%) were child care workers and 8 (72.7%) were social workers.

A review of the literature reaffirms the value of literacy and numeracy skills programmes for street children as well as the teaching or developing of marketable skills. Such programmes are essential to equip them in finding their niche in society, as well as to give them confidence and the belief in themselves and their capabilities.

Agnelli is of the view that educational programmes for street children must be flexible and beneficial, and must appreciate that for the poor child, high school may be a luxury he can ill afford. Education for prospective working children she says, must be practical and should focus on basic numeracy and literacy (Agnelli : Op cit : 113).

In a survey of national street children organisations, it was found that 90% had the stated goals of basic literacy and numeracy skills, the reintegration into formal schooling, and if this was not possible, preparation for training or employment (Stein : Op cit : 56). Cemane says that education in shelters "should be geared towards academic, social and psychological progress and vocational skills" (Cemane : 1990 : 4).

Mac Curtain is of the view that a training project for street children requires well qualified and experienced teachers, flexible methods, and a knowledge of African languages. This task he says, is not for the inexperienced enthusiast, and needs ongoing dialogue between the teachers, helpers and children regarding their interests and aspirations (Mac Curtain : 1988 : 8-9).

Baizerman expresses the need to prepare youths for life on the streets or after the streets, central to which is the orientation to work, mastery of specific work skills together with the teaching of arithmetic and other relevant skills (Baizerman : 1988 : 15).

Streetwise, regarded by Unicef as one of the most successful projects for street children, "is geared specifically to realising the potential of each child in the project through education, remediation and job skills training in

accordance with the child's interests and abilities (Swart : June 1988 : 13).

An equally successful project, the 'Learn to Live' venture, was started by the Homestead in Cape Town. It comprises six components which concentrate on :

The remedial programme, which prepares selected boys for re-entry into schools.

Vocational training, which, like a cottage industry, teaches candle making, how to make wire toys, screen printing, bicycle repairs and weaving.

The vocational training mentioned above, is linked to a small business venture as it is realised that not all the boys are school material, and will find their way into the informal sector.

Functional literacy and numeracy.

Life skills.

Enrichment programmes which use art, music, drama and dance to encourage non-verbal expression, as many of the boys have under-developed verbal skills (Cockburn : Op cit : 9-10).

The need to equip street children for their future roles in society is therefore paramount. Unfortunately, at the time of the interviews (August 1991) at Bayhead, nothing was being provided for the children in respect of educational, vocational , remedial programmes or life skills education. The researcher's observation is confirmed by Pather (Op cit : 43) who calls for awareness programmes on substance abuse and sex education. This once again is indicative of the apathy and indifference of the authorities towards street children.

Fifty five respondents (77.5%) agreed that street children should have

access to free legal counsel. Of these, 33 (73.3%) were from Bayhead Place of Safety; 4 (100%) were from Umlazi Place of Safety; 7 (100%) were from the City Health Department; 3 (50%) were City Councillors; 4 (80%) were from the City Police; 4 (100%) were from Streetwise; 18 (75%) were child care workers and 11 (100%) were social workers. The findings indicate that all the service providers from the City Health Department, City Police, Streetwise, and all the social workers, are in favour of street children being provided with free legal counsel.

The question of free legal counsel or advocacy is intrinsically linked to the position of the child in the criminal justice system, which in the case of the Black child, is seen as unjust.

McLachlan argues that "the most fundamental flaw in the legislation is the lack of automatic legal representation for children" (McLachlan : Op cit : 351). Although an accused has the right to a lawyer from the time of his arrest, he is seldom informed of this right. Children are often unaware of legal aid services, which in any case are limited. Despite the fact that the Criminal Procedure Act, No 51 of 1977, has certain provisions which safeguard the child, there are nevertheless several loopholes, which in fact leave the child unprotected. These discrepancies are briefly referred to below :

A child can be released into his parent's custody pending a court appearance. The tendency however, is to detain in a police cell, which is regarded as a place of safety.

The court is obliged to secure the presence of the child in court only if they live in the same magisterial district as the court. As this is seldom the case, the child appears in court alone, unaided and intimidated by the formal legal machinery.

Although the court has the choice of several welfare dispositions, they are seldom utilised due to the chronic shortage of probation officers, children's

homes, places of safety and reformatories.

A magistrate is not obliged to request a probation officers report (pre-sentence report.) He therefore makes a decision on the child's future without an adequate knowledge of the child's background and circumstances which may have led him into trouble in the first place. Added to this is the fact that the magistrate's background and training is purely legal and is based on rules of evidence and procedure. The 'human element' is often omitted in the process of establishing concrete evidence, intention, and culpability.

The law allows for a child who appears before the juvenile court, to appear before the children's court if it appears to the magistrate that the "child is in need of care." This is referred to as the conversion procedure and negates the harmful effects of stigmatisation and convictions inherent in the juvenile court. This alternative however, is seldom utilised, and many Black children who should rather appear in the children's court, find themselves in the juvenile court, which follows the same rules of procedure and evidence as the adult courts (Ibid : 350-352).

Fifty two (73.2%) respondents stated that street children should be reintegrated into their communities of origin. Of these, 37 (82.2%) were from Bayhead Place of Safety; 3 (75%) from Umlazi Place of Safety; 1 (14.3%) was from the City Health Department; 4 (66.7%) were from the City Council; 3 (60%) from the City Police; 4 (100%) from Streetwise; 19 (79.2) were child care workers and 3 (27.3%) were social workers. From the findings it appears that social workers do not place much value on the reintegration of street children into their communities of origin. The integration of street children into their communities of origin, is a debatable question. Not all street children want to return to the intolerable conditions from which they escaped. They have fled domestic violence, township violence, poverty, neglect, and fractured home and community life-styles.

Goniwe and Bishop (Op cit : 2) cite the lack of family love, community

support networks which are fragile and their position of marginality (in their own communities and the wider society). Under such circumstances, integration is indeed difficult.

Agnelli states pointedly that "the perplexity of the official who would like to integrate street children into the community inspires sympathy" (Agnelli : Op cit : 85).

MacCurtain refers to the near impossibility of returning street children to their homes for more than short periods of time (MacCurtain : Op cit : 10).

Swart is of the view that the ideal held in working with street children is to reunite them with their families. She cautions programme planners however, against pursuing one common goal for all street children (Swart : July 1988 : 13). She believes furthermore, that a great deal of time and effort is wasted in pursuing this dead-end goal, which cannot be seen as the only solution to the street child's problems (Swart : Oct 1987 : 8). The societies that give rise to these children are frequently hostile to them, as Swart's questionnaires to Black respondents revealed. The respondents expressed their concern that the presence and behaviour of street children would reinforce the view that 'Blacks are primitive.' The street children therefore were constantly scolded for letting the side down (Ibid : 7).

The researcher is of the view that in order for integration to occur, the child must be a willing participant, and likewise his family and community. The society which spawned the street children must open their hearts and minds to them. It is not sufficient to provide food and accommodation. Mutual acceptance and caring is a prerequisite for integration. Elaborating on this point of view, Agnelli states that "care is indeed the heart of the problem, and the genuine integration of street children into the core culture can only take place in a society which gives greater recognition and a more central place to the caring ethic" (Agnelli : op cit: 93).

Forty seven (66.2%) respondents said that legislation should prohibit the

selling of glue to minors. Of these, 29 (64.4%) were from Bayhead Place of Safety; 4 (100%) were from Umlazi Place of Safety; 6 (85.7%) were from the City Health Department; 1 (16.7%) was from the City Council; 5 (100%) were from the City Police; 2 (50%) were from Streetwise; 14 (58.3%) were child care workers and 11 (100%) were social workers. The street child's addiction to glue is widely referred to in the literature (Swart :July 1988 :11; Nov : 1988 : 129; June 1988 : 11; Bothma : 1988 : 9-10; Osler : 1986 : 6-11; Pather :1990 : 29).

The consequences of addiction are many and varied. They include giddiness, lack of motor co-ordination, slurred speech, impaired judgement, double vision, and in some cases brain damage, brain marrow deterioration, and death due to asphyxiation. Aggression followed by violence may also occur. These substances lead to psychological dependence and a progression to dagga and mandrax, both common drugs in South Africa (Osler : Op cit : 8-9). If one considers these side effects together with the poor diets, lack of medical care, exposure to the elements and other physical dangers on the streets, the consequences for the child are even more dangerous.

These factors led Cockburn to call for legislation which would control the sale of solvents to minors (Cockburn : Paper delivered at the South African National Council for Child and Family Welfare Symposium : Pretoria : September 1990).

Thirty six (50.7%) respondents stated that the Child Care Act does offer sufficient protection to street children. Of these, 30 (66.7%) were from Bayhead Place of Safety; 1 (25%) was from Umlazi Place of Safety; 1 (16.7%) was from the City Council; 3 (60%) were from the City Police; 1 (25%) was from Streetwise; 16 (66.7%) were child care workers and 3 (27.3%) were social workers. From the responses received, it is clear that the City Police and the child care workers are largely in support of the Child Care Act and feel that it does offer the street child sufficient protection. The literature does not lend support to this point of view. The Child Care Act, No 74 of 1983 imposes the duty of care and support on any

person legally liable to maintain the child. This duty may be extended to prison and police officials. 'The Act provides that a place of safety includes any place suitable for the reception of a child, into which the owner, occupier, or person in charge thereof is willing to receive a child' (McLachlan : Op cit : 347). Although the Child Care Act does not specifically include a police cell in its definition of a place of safety, it may qualify as such if "the owner, occupier, or person in charge thereof is willing to receive a child."

The widespread detention of children in both prisons and police cells, as reported by the Detainee's Parents Support Committee, is a flagrant violation of human rights and contrary to the stated duty of 'care and support' imposed by the Act (Detainee's Parents Support Committee : Op cit : 50-58). The Child Care Act clearly fails to protect children in this regard, including street children.

Moreover, although the placement of street children in places of safety is supposed to be temporary, children spend months in limbo in these institutions contrary to the intention of the Act. Starke is of the view that the Child Care Act does not provide for those children accommodated at shelters. The shelters are therefore disqualified from subsidies and recognition, unless registered. Registration of shelters imposes constraints and formality which ultimately defeat the purpose of shelters, especially in the intake phase (Starke : 1988 : 11).

At the first National Workshop on Street Children in Cape Town in 1987, it was reported that "no legal designation in the Child Care Act existed which allowed for child shelters at which street children could be rehabilitated." The children therefore "fall through the system and end up on the streets" (Natal Mercury : 24.9.87). Carole Charlewood, MP (Umbilo) stated that the Child Care Act is not in the interests of street children (Daily News : 1.3.1990).

FURTHER RECOMMENDATIONS OF SERVICE PROVIDERS

The responses to this question were varied and important as they highlight a broad range of concerns, which, if included in a national policy on street children, will result in more effective and streamlined management procedures.

The following responses were received from service providers at :

Bayhead Place of Safety

There must be a unification of values and practices in child and youth care, and a uniform policy on street children.

A national study must be conducted on unmet needs in residential care settings

Places of safety must be phased out.

The State must provide homes to all to prevent an increase in the street child population.

More social workers are needed in the areas from which the street children come.

Improved incentives for child care staff are needed.

Street children cannot be helped in isolation. Their families and communities must be involved in the treatment process.

Street children cannot be helped in isolation. Their families and communities must be involved in the treatment process.

Shelters must be available in town where the street children congregate.

The State must provide free and compulsory education with qualified

teachers.

City Council

Legislation must ensure rehabilitation, rather than punishment of street children.

The welfare agencies must give street children the opportunity to uplift themselves with self-help schemes.

Streetwise

Teach the children independence, morals and ethics.

No additional recommendations were made by respondents from the Umlazi Place of Safety, City Police and the City Health Department. It is clear that these recommendations focus on prevention at both the macro and micro levels, and emphasise the involvement of street children, their parents, communities and the State in a joint management endeavour.

OTHER COMMENTS OF SERVICE PROVIDERS WITH REGARD TO STREET CHILDREN

A variety of comments were received from the service providers in the study, some of which have been expressed in previous questions. The following responses were received from :

Bayhead Place of Safety

Street children do not want to stay in a decent place, but prefer to live under the bridge where they can do as they please.

More dissemination of knowledge to the public on street children.

We must be supportive of street children and not neglect them.

The Government must legislate on loitering by 8-12 year old children.

The law must prohibit businessmen from exploiting street children.

The parents are to blame regardless of their circumstances. They must respect each other and teach their children respect as well.

Street children should not be over-protected and molly coddled. They must realise that being on the streets is not an answer to their problems.

Umlazi Place of Safety

Shelters attract street children and must be done away with. There is a need instead for more schools of industry.

Parents are not responsible enough to raise a family. There are too many unmarried couples bringing unwanted children in to the world.

City Council

More research is urgently required before embarking on any programmes to assist street children.

City Health Department

A co-ordinated, multidisciplinary approach to children on the streets, is needed.

Good shelters, recreational facilities and job opportunities are what is required.

City Police

A multi-disciplinary approach involving all concerned individuals and organisations is what is needed.

The problem begins at home, with illegitimacy being a big problem.

Streetwise

One respondent stated that street children are very perceptive, with a

strong sense of truth and reasoning.

From these responses, it is clear that parents have been criticised for failing to behave more responsibly, and that a co-ordinated, multi-disciplinary approach to the problem is emphasized, inter alia.

The responses to this questionnaire indicate that everyone must to some extent, bear the blame for the increasing number of children living on the streets of South Africa. Their parents and communities, the State, welfare organisations and society, all have a role to play in the alleviation of the plight of street children.

The foregoing recommendations have focused on both short and long-term solutions to the phenomenon. However, if prevention is to be any good at all, attitudes towards street children will have to change. It is believed that even the most humane and far-sighted legislation will be to no avail if individuals remain indifferent or unsympathetic. In the words of the popular song we must "heal the world, make it a better place, for you and for me and the entire human race."

Cockburn believes that in seeking to find solutions to the phenomenon, we must be wary of imposing our middle-class values and life-styles on the children. She says, "... in attempting to 'mainstream' these children, we may be infantilizing them, blunting their survival skills and holding up to them a middle class notion of the values and life-styles, which we believe to be appropriate for children" (Cockburn : Op cit : 2).

5.3 SUMMARY

Most of the service providers were in the 31 to 40 year age category, followed closely by those in the 20 to 30 year age category. There were more female than male service providers.

The majority of service providers had not proceeded beyond matriculation level, and were employed at Bayhead and Umlazi Places of Safety mainly

as child care workers, clerks, general assistants and a housemother.

Many of the respondents cited escape from home and township conditions (violence, boredom) as the main reasons for the children running away from their homes. The responses of the children to the same question differed greatly, indicating that the service providers do not understand the children as well as they ought to. The most common reason they gave for running away was 'dislike of school.'

Most of the service providers expressed sympathy for street children although this is not reflected in official policy towards them.

In response to the question about the existing facilities/resources/services for street children in Durban, the majority cited the places of safety as the predominant existing facilities for street children.

The service providers stated virtually unanimously that not enough is being done for street children in Durban. In addition to this point of view, they were critical of the indifference of the children's parents, communities, the city council and the state to the children's problems. The public's lack of knowledge about street children and Bayhead's punitive stance, was also criticised.

Most of the respondents felt that the state should be responsible for street children. To a lesser extent, it was felt that the child welfare societies and all South Africans should bear responsibility for them. The respondents also said that governmental and non-governmental organisations should have more responsibility for street children.

The respondents advocated largely punitive measures in respect of street children, stating that they should be placed in schools of industry and places of safety.

Most agreed that street children are likely to become hardened criminals.

Some of the reasons given in support of this statement were that they refuse to listen, isolate themselves from the community (and the controls inherent in them), crime is a means by which they can survive on the streets, they are influenced by their peers and criminals, and that rejection by their families and society forces them into a deviant adaptation.

The service providers confirmed the involvement of street children in a wide range of deviant activities (as did the children themselves in response to the same question). Priority was given to glue sniffing, begging, smoking dagga, drinking alcohol and theft from cars.

The children's main legitimate income generating activity was reported to be the parking of cars, while begging was cited as the main deviant income generating activity. These responses correlate with those of the street children to the same question.

Favourable responses were received with regard to shelters, with the majority of respondents disagreeing that shelters are a waste of time and money; that they will be harbouring sodomists and criminals, and that the people helping street children are training them to be terrorists and revolutionaries. However, some respondents provided alternative viewpoints, stating that shelters should be destroyed; they appear to be the breeding ground for future criminals; that the state should appoint a commission of inquiry into them, and finally, that they promote rather than decrease the problems of street children.

With regard to recommendations in respect of street children, the majority of respondents agreed that they should be taught basic literacy and numeracy skills; that they should be equipped to enter the job market with marketable skills, and that they should have access to free legal counsel. It was also felt that the children should be provided with educational opportunities and programmes to help them, as well as protective legislation.

Further recommendations related to both short and long-term strategies concentrated on micro and macro levels, and the joint involvement of parents, community and the state.

The findings reflect a leaning towards 'hard' options (commitment to schools of industry and places of safety) rather than soft options (children's homes, shelters and foster care), and are contradictory to the sympathy which was expressed for street children. This indicates that the respondent's personal views are overshadowed by the organisations for which they work, which in turn are dictated to by the Child Care Act and the Criminal Procedure Act. Both these Acts are incapable of protecting street children, and according to the researcher, entrench the victimisation and deviance of street children.

CHAPTER SIX

RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Street children are victims of social injustice and are symptomatic of the many social problems evident in South African society today. Any attempt to ameliorate their initial victimisation must address the causes, not merely the symptoms. The first line of attack must be primary and secondary prevention programmes and policies, aimed at the comprehensive, holistic management of the street child phenomenon. The situation at present is the implementation of tertiary preventive measures (after the fact) which are largely punitive and counterproductive to the acquisition of pro-social norms, values and behaviour. Indeed the converse is true, in that exposure to the criminal justice system, and the labelling which is a part of it, leads to negative self-concepts and identification and lays the foundation for secondary deviance.

It is believed that the Reconstruction and Development Programme must occur together with a human reconstruction and development programme. People whose lives, families and communities have been deliberately torn asunder, must now actively receive support and help to rebuild their lives and their families, only then will the street child phenomenon be eased.

Primary and secondary prevention entail the early identification and intervention using a multi-pronged approach. The goals are the fostering of a sense of community, belonging, identification, empowerment and responsibility, thereby minimising the negative factors which contribute to "distancing" of individuals, and the alienation, marginalisation and victimisation of youth. If street children are to be saved from embarking on self-destructive and socially destructive behaviour, family and community life must offer far more than it does at present. It is believed that the

following macro primary prevention programmes and micro tertiary prevention programmes, will go a long way in stemming the flow of disgruntled youth to the streets, the double victimisation they experience, and the deviant activities they engage in.

6.2 Major Findings

Several pertinent findings emerge from the study, the most important of which will be reviewed here.

- 1) The political dispensation of the Nationalist Government was responsible for bringing about massive social disorganisation, poverty, unemployment, gross disparities in distribution of resources, amongst other factors, which have impacted significantly on Black family life. The failure of fractured families to provide a stabilising and supportive milieu is echoed by the failure of the school to stimulate and "bond" pupils to discipline, a work ethic and an appreciation of education. Black children have thus been victimised and abandoned by the two most important socialising institutions in their lives, the family and the school. The dislike of school is cited by many respondents as the reason for leaving home, and any preventive strategy aimed at stemming the flow of children to the streets must take cognisance of this.
- 2) Because of the relatively recent interest in street children in South Africa, and the disinterest of the previous government, no specific legislation designed to protect street children exists, although the Government of National Unity has vowed to urgently attend to the plight of street children. However in view of the long overdue socio-economic upliftment and development needed, one wonders whether women and children will receive the attention that has so long been denied them and whether election promises will be fulfilled. What does emerge from the findings, is that the Child Care Act and Child

Protection Act do not afford street children any safeguards but in fact condemn them to detention in prisons, police cells and places of safety.

- 3) According to the labelling perspective, contact with law officials can be used to explain deviant behaviour. By the same token, non-contact with law officials will negate the deviant behaviour of street children. One of the solutions to the victimisation and deviance of street children, is the minimisation of penetration into the criminal justice system, rather than the maximisation, which appears to be the trend at present. The detention of street children in prisons, police cells and places of safety, brutalises children who have already been brutalised by an unjust system and their families. Detention in such places exposes them to contamination with hardened offenders and provides the push towards deviance. It is also an illustration of their victimisation and labelling by those in positions of authority and can catapult them towards secondary deviance and more victimisation. Escape from the victimisation-deviance-victimisation cycle would appear to be ongoing and near impossible once a deviant career is embarked upon.
- 4) Apart from the deviant activities engaged in through contamination, labelling and victimisation while in detention, the street child's association with and liking for gang members and criminals, can also foster deviance especially if they admire them and want to belong to the "in" group.
- 5) Although being a street child as compared to being a robber, rapist or murderer, fits into the lower consensus deviance category, it nevertheless carries maximum censure which is evident from the labelling and management practices adopted in respect of them.

- 6) The social profile of the families of street children presented here would appear to be peculiar to Black families in general. The answer as to why some children become street children while others do not, can therefore not be explained simply by external factors. The researcher believes that the inner motivations, expectations, and evaluation of costs and rewards made by the children, coupled with their strong internal locus of control, propels them into street life in the belief that they can survive and that they are running "to" a better life, more than they are running from adverse conditions. A socio-psychological explanation therefore would seem to be far more relevant in explaining the street child phenomenon.
- 7) Service providers, though expressing sympathy for street children, nevertheless by regarding them as "deviants, delinquents, future criminals, public nuisances" etcetera, have already labelled them, and as has already been pointed out, this has implications for their victimisation and secondary deviance. It also appears, that despite professing sympathy for the street child, service providers still advocate "hard" options (places of safety\schools of industry) for them, once again reinforcing the negative perceptions they have of street children, which again has implications for their victimisation and deviance.
- 8) Responses to shelters were both favourable and unfavourable. If one weighs the negative, destructive conditions prevailing in institutions, against the informal, flexible initiatives undertaken in shelters, the latter, though not ideal, have a far better chance of effecting the rehabilitation of the street child, than do institutions.

6.3 PREVENTION PROGRAMMES ON THE MACRO LEVEL

The street child phenomenon is one that necessitates a partnership between government and non-government organisations to provide for policy and

legislation, funding and resources, and to translate programmes into concrete plans of action. The previous government has abdicated responsibility for a problem it created, and the new government must now address it. The implementation of primary prevention programmes on a macro level require a great deal of planning and forethought and are long-term, rather than immediate remedies to the problem.

6.3.1 The State

The Government of National Unity has a major role to play in the reconstruction and development of South African society and the prevention of the street child phenomenon. Drastic improvements will have to be undertaken on both micro and macro levels encompassing short and long-term goals. One of the many legacies of apartheid has been the destruction of Black family life and morale, and an increasing flow of children from unhealthy family and community relationships into the city.

Townships need drastic improvements such as wide streets, pavements, good street lighting, electrification, sanitation and regular refuse removal. Hospitals, schools, creches, clinics, parks, libraries and community centres, welfare services, inter alia, must be sufficient to provide for the large populations resident in the townships. That is, the quality of life in Black townships needs to be drastically improved and basic needs must be met.

The State must also consider the introduction of national health schemes and primary health care which is geared towards reducing the high infant mortality rates.

A report for Unicef (1989 : 116) notes that pollution levels in Black townships resulting from the inefficient combustion of coal, are extremely high. "In Soweto, the largest Black township, the concentration of suspended particles frequently exceeds safety limits, and may be related to respiratory infections."

Given that the basic needs of Black people in South Africa have been denied, the Government of National Unity is embarking on a Reconstruction and Development Programme, which for the first time in South Africa presents a "coherent socio-economic programme which holistically attempts to redress the imbalances caused by apartheid whilst simultaneously contributing to economic growth"(Implementing the RDP in Kwazulu\Natal:1994:Preface).

Plans to address the critical shortage of housing were announced in December 1994. The White Paper on housing recognises a 1.5 million housing backlog and intends building 150,000 homes over the next ten years, to introduce subsidies of R15,000 for individuals who earn less than R800 a month, to make more land available for housing and to develop strategies which encourage loan schemes and lending facilities for low-cost housing (TV1 news:8:12:94).

In addition to the fundamental structural, political and economic changes which the State must address, the question of confinement of children in institutions, needs reconsideration. Institutions (police cells, prisons, reformatories, schools of industry and places of safety) are counter-productive to the stated goal of rehabilitation. The punitive atmosphere inherent in them, the under-qualification and lack of concern of staff, and the exposure to delinquent subcultures within them, reinforce the negative, anti-social attitudes of children confined in them. Places of safety as a management procedure in respect of street children, are definitely not the solution to the children's problems, in fact they exacerbate and compound them.

It is interesting to note that although President Mandela has pledged to empty South African prisons of children in his State of the Nation address to Parliament (Natal Mercury:May:1994), the parliamentary select committee on Correctional Services nevertheless declined to pass legislation

that would accomplish this goal (Natal Mercury:August:1994). However, even the Correctional Services Amendment Bill is inadequate as it advocates detention in places of safety rather than prison, which as has continuously been pointed out in this study, are equally inhuman. It appears that the new Government is pursuing the containment, punitive ethos of the old Government, believing places of safety to be the lesser of the two evils. It is therefore crucial that the present Government liaises with non-governmental organisations which are in a far better position to assess the difficulties and needs of street children, and to tailor any policy, legislation or guidelines they may make in terms of a combined input. The Government must give recognition to grass-roots organisations, provide financial, technical aid and support, so that street children will be equipped to re-enter and contribute to society, rather than be a burden and a social problem now and in the future.

Immediate attention must also be given to education which has been fragmented along racial lines, was inaccessible and undemocratic. Education for Black children can no longer be regarded as a privilege but a right which provides the matrix within which potential and talent can be developed.

It will be recalled from Chapter 4, that the school system was directly responsible for the majority of children running away from their homes. The facts speak for themselves. If schooling for Black children caused them to run away, then by the same token, it can be used to keep them at home and at school, where they belong. Drastic improvements must occur with regard to the relevance of the syllabus, equal funding, provision of free books, improved facilities, smaller classes, well qualified teachers, a feeding scheme and a non-punitive approach to pupils.

Traditionally, schools have been geared to developing only the academic abilities of their pupils, and by so doing, neglecting their social and personal

development. Nowadays, the emphasis is falling increasingly on dramatically altered school structures and processes wherein freedom to choose and express oneself, democratic decision making, constructive communication and liaison between pupils, staff, parents and community, allow for a more effective learning environment and a decrease in those factors which impede the learning process. The researcher believes that the individuals concerned with the restructuring and integration of a unitary education system must strive to ensure a congenial atmosphere in the schools. This can be attained by boosting staff morale, improving teacher qualification, regular in-service training, workshops and seminars, providing psychological and social support services to teachers, opening lines of communication between teachers, principals and the hierarchy, and improving conditions of service. It is believed that teachers who are happy will better serve the needs of their pupils than those who are disgruntled.

The whole culture within schools must change. At present the goal of secondary school education is to obtain as many matriculation exemptions as possible, the pass or failure rate being a reflection on the value of the teachers and the school. There are countless numbers of children for whom school is a totally frustrating experience, who begin to truant and eventually drop out preferring delinquency, gang membership and street life instead.

Taking the above factors into consideration, it is clear that the RDP must address these issues urgently. Schools have a major role to play in the primary and secondary prevention of the street child phenomenon and delinquency and must therefore admit ownership of the problem.

An examination of the booklet "implementing the RDP in Kwazulu\Natal," leads the researcher to believe that in the attempt to correct the educational imbalances of the past, schools will still be largely academically oriented and bureaucratically administered. The proposals include "democratic

governance, with the establishment of Provincial Education and Training Forum, modelled on the National Education and Training Forum, establish a statutory governance council which would comprise all significant stakeholders -----." Further to this, there is to be a Provincial Department of Education to assist in establishing a National Institute for Curriculum Development and a Provincial Curriculum Council (Implementing the RDP in Kwazulu\Natal:1994:20-22). The proposed establishment of so many bureaucratic councils is mind-boggling, and leads one to wonder whether the child will be forgotten in the process.

New legislation must be enacted which adequately protects the rights of all children under the law and which prohibits the detention of juveniles in prisons, police cells and places of safety. It will be recalled from chapter two that the Child Care Act, and the Criminal Procedure Act, fail in their duty towards children, especially Black children. The street child phenomenon is a sharp reminder of the inequalities that exist in South Africa since they are overwhelmingly Black children, and in the Cape, Coloured. The law must guarantee the right of every child to grow and develop healthily and to his fullest potential.

People\organisations who wage a constant battle to help street children and who are frustrated by the Act, must be consulted in formulating amendments to it, or in drafting new policies\legislation which accommodate the needs of street children.

Although legislation\policies are an urgent consideration, the researcher believes that the new government should go a step further and create Ministry of Juvenile Affairs or Youth Services, with the express aim of handling all matters pertaining to juveniles. Statistics reveal that:

"1746 children, 18 years and younger are awaiting trial in prisons and police cells, 823 children, 18 years and younger are in prisons,

4056 juveniles between 18 and 21 years are awaiting trial in prisons, 8940 sentenced juveniles between 18 and 21 years are in prisons" (Stumpf: Workshop on Preventing Juvenile Offending: HSRC: 1994: 2).

It is clear that the present criminal justice system has no idea of the negative consequences of institutionalisation, disregards the special needs of juveniles and treats them in exactly the same way they do adult offenders. Moreover, the researcher suggests that the juvenile courts and the due process approach adopted by them be done away with and that all juveniles appear only in children's courts. Courts and the legal system must be more child-centred and "user-friendly" and make provision for child advocacy or court companions as they are referred to in Australia.

6.3.2 The City Council

The structure and processes underlying local government are soon to change to include RDP units which will maximise community participation, and serve the interests of all its citizens in consultation with them. Be that as it may, the Durban City Council has stood accused of "buck passing" and dragging its feet on the issue of street children.

A denial of its responsibility for welfare services has been used as an excuse for abdicating responsibility for street children, hence its non-involvement in preventive programmes and management practices.

The policy which dictates the functioning of the Council is seen as being too restrictive, and by implication, is not flexible enough to meet changing community needs and problems (Informal conversation with Councillor Yvonne Hart, Durban City Councillor).

The Council must embark on a needs assessment in deprived communities, to identify needs, problems and resources (human and material) inherent in them. Existing facilities should be given moral and financial support,

while those that are lacking should be provided.

In this way local government will be playing a constructive role in community affairs and will not function in isolation from the people they serve.

6.3.3 Community Awareness and Development Programmes

The two bastions in the forefront of primary prevention are the community and the family. The aim must be the empowering of disempowered people. Just as the State has abdicated responsibility for street children, so too have their families and communities.

The family is situated within a particular community and is not impervious to its influence. The community is an extension of the home, and cannot be overlooked in any preventive efforts. The spotlight nowadays falls increasingly on the community, with emphasis on community social work, community medicine, community schools and community based programmes for delinquents and adult offenders. Community based programmes are aimed at mobilizing community resources and getting members of the community to take pride in and responsibility for themselves.

The cohesion that is forged under such conditions enhances and promotes a sense of 'oneness' or belonging, social responsibility and a greater degree of informal social control.

In order to strengthen community ties attempts must be made to draw on the resources existing in them.

Agnelli writes widely on the need for community involvement and solidarity in any efforts designed to help street children. To this end she makes several recommendations which can be utilised in this country equally well.

She expresses the need to make use of voluntary and self-help groups to tackle their own problems, and believes that the issue must be spread among the various actors in the community, and that government and non-governmental initiatives should be mutually reinforcing (Agnelli : Op cit : 18,68,73).

In the townships youth have emerged as a powerful source, and have been successful in mobilizing "communities which lacked organisation, helping to set up civic bodies and women's groups" (Detainee's Parents Support Committee : 1986 : 48). The youth have been credited for the establishment of 'people's power' in 1985, which entailed establishing different types of organisation. This gave people power over their own lives and a denial of state control over their communities (Ibid : 49). The researcher believes that these youth, together with those street children who have made a successful adjustment to community life, can put their organisational skills and abundance of energy to use in preventing more youth from running away. This can be done by organising clean-up campaigns, youth theatre, big brother programmes information workshops, etcetera.

The researcher believes that businessmen and their organisations, politicians and professionals in the Black community, all have an essential role to play in the social upliftment of their people, particularly the youth. Businessmen can be approached for tax deductible financial contributions and sponsorships for shelters, grass roots organisations and sport and recreation programmes. Politicians can use their influence to acquire land and premises for sheltering projects and outreach programmes. Doctors, nurses, teachers, and lawyers can also give of their time on a once weekly basis where possible.

Social workers have an essential role to play in this regard by identifying community needs, problems, resources and networking.

The family is the primary social unit and is fundamental in the provision of physical and emotional care and nurturance to its individual members.

Systems theory holds that all parts contribute to the smooth, efficient functioning of the system as a whole. The analogy can be extended to the family. If one or more members are functioning inharmoniously, the equilibrium and smooth functioning of the family is in jeopardy. The stresses and strains which beset most families, particularly Black families, can lead to family dysfunction. Street children may be regarded as the outcome of such dysfunction.

In any preventive effort, the parents must be the logical starting point. Their faith in themselves and their parenting abilities must be restored. If the parents are strong, this strength will be communicated to their children, providing them with a sense of security and stability and negating the need to run away in search of them.

The importance of the family and the need to reach out, support and strengthen it, has received much attention from Agnelli and Richter, inter alia. Agnelli is of the view that the best 'project' for street children would be a real family, comprising a real mother and father (Agnelli : 1986 : 71). She believes that intervention should ideally be aimed at the child, his family and community (Ibid : 87). She refers to a United Nations study on youth maladjustment which found that it was not poverty and rapid industrialisation which resulted in juvenile delinquency, but "..... the strength of adult-child relationships, most notably family relationships" (Ibid : 89).

Richter emphasises the pivotal role played by the family and believes that strategies must be devised which provide "solidarity with and support for their children" (Richter : March 1989 : 14). She states that outreach programmes should be designed "before parents and children lose their capacities for nurturance and affection towards each other" (Richter : July

1988 : 16).

Education is a powerful tool and must reach all segments of the population. Health educators must intensify their efforts to spread the message of responsible parenting and sexuality. Due consideration must be given to the number of children parents can provide for, both physically and emotionally. Family planning can no longer be regarded with suspicion, but with realism.

The decision to have children must be a conscious one, and should not be linked to an assertion of masculinity, femininity and cultural identity. Parents must be able to take greater responsibility and control over their lives and those of their children.

Temporary liaisons which beget unwanted children must, at all costs, be avoided. More family planning clinics, free contraception, the education and empowerment of women, will go a long way, it is believed, in alleviating the plight of families labouring to support their offspring. Related to this perhaps, is the need for enlightened legislation with regard to abortion. The taking of life cannot be condoned, but can society look the other way when so many children are being beaten, starved, neglected, are dying of malnutrition and preventable diseases daily?

In addition to these measures, pre and post natal health care, psychological services to individuals suffering the effects of prolonged violence, literacy and informal educational programmes, skills training, child minding facilities and after school \ holiday programmes will alleviate the pressures upon parents to meet basic needs.

6.4 TERTIARY PREVENTION PROGRAMMES ON THE MICRO LEVEL

These recommendations are aimed at those children who have begun a

street life and may be regarded as "rescue" operations.

6.4.1 Shelters

The State must place more reliance on the establishment of shelters as refuges for street children instead of places of safety. Subsidies should be allocated to each child in the shelter, regardless of registration under the Child Care Act. It is futile to apply first-world standards to a third-world problem and to expect institutions to conform to unrealistic standards, before state subsidies are granted.

This dogmatic adherence to registration is indicative of the disregard for street children and a denial of their self-worth. It has already been noted that registration places severe limitations on the running of the shelter, and the number of children accommodated in them. Shelters should be allowed to function informally, free from bureaucratic restraints but with financial assistance from the State. They should be centrally situated, with first phase shelters operating on a walk-in, walk-out basis. Although shelters are not the only or ideal solution to the street child's problems, they nevertheless have an essential role to play in 'catching' the runaways and in meeting their need for accommodation and food.

6.4.2 Other Informal initiatives

Reliance on shelters alone to effect the rehabilitation of street children is not feasible for the simple reason that there are not enough of them to accommodate all street children. In addition, there are many street children who prefer to live on the streets, and programmes must be designed to reach this target group as well.

Outreach programmes are advocated by Schurink (Schurink:1993:244). Use is made of street workers who locate street children in parking areas, shopping arcades, business areas, and offer on-going support and various programmes run by appropriately trained staff.

Other measures can include mobile clinics at known abodes. Examination and administering of medication would ensure their physical well-being and detection of cholera, sexually transmitted diseases, inter alia. Health cards can be kept which apart from providing health details, will also be useful in monitoring their migratory habits.

Soup kitchens where food vouchers or stamps are issued entitling the child meals for a specified period of time.

Theatre workshops aimed at developing personal and social skills and behaviour.

For the older children whose needs are different, programmes should focus on job and skills training, networking with organisations which will absorb them into the work sphere. Nicro can also be approached to devise delinquency prevention programmes for them.

The thrust of primary and tertiary prevention programmes aimed at macro and micro levels must be multi-dimensional and seriously applied if street children are to be deterred from running away and engaging in deviant activities on the streets.

6.5 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE STUDY

- 1) Norms, values and ideals of Western culture are deemed to be universal and as such amount to cultural hegemony. Programmes and services for street children must be designed which incorporate the needs and talents of street children and must guard against unrealistic expectations.
- 2) Comparative studies on government and non-government institutions must be undertaken to determine the success or failure of their programmes.

- 3) Comparative follow-up studies on institutionalised and non-institutionalised street children to determine whether they pursue deviant careers and the extent of their deviance.

6.6 CONCLUSION

The street child can be seen as both 'offender' and 'offended' against. With regard to the former, his presence offends societies' susceptibilities, and so too do the varied deviant activities in which he engages. He is also offended against, as many children take to the streets rather than endure unbearable conflict and abuse in their homes.

They are also offended against, whilst on the streets. Whatever the reason/s for the child being on the streets, the negative consequences of prolonged street life to the child and society are undeniable.

It is hoped that this study and the recommendations contained herein will change the hearts and minds of all those who read it and that street children are guaranteed the place in the sun they deserve.

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APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE : SERVICE PROVIDERS

A. BACK GROUND INFORMATION

(1) AGE :

20-30	31-40	41-50	OVER 50

(2) SEX :

Male	Female

(3) OCCUPATION : _____

(4) HIGHEST EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATION : _____

B. CAUSES

(5) WHY DO YOU THINK STREET CHILDREN LEAVE HOME?

- (a) For a better life
- (b) For excitement and adventure
- (c) To earn money for the family
- (d) Did not like school
- (e) Parents told them to leave
- (f) Parents fight with each other continually
- (g) Parents fight with them continually

Yes	No

	Yes	No
(h) Unhappy at home		
(i) To escape conditions at home (poverty, overcrowding)		
(j) To escape conditions in the township eg. (lack of recreational facilities, amenities etc.)		
(k) To escape violence in the township		
(l) Nothing to do in the township (boredom)		
(m) Heard about shelters for street children in Durban.		
(n) Other(specify)		

C. ATTITUDES TO STREET CHILDREN

(6) HOW DO YOU FEEL TOWARDS STREET CHILDREN :

Sympathetic	Unsympathetic	Don't Know	Other(Specify)

(7) DO YOU BELIEVE THAT STREET CHILDREN :

	Yes	No
(a) Are victims of their circumstances.		
(b) Pose a health risk.		
(c) Are a threat to conventional society.		
(d) Exacerbate the problems of conventional society.		
(e) Are a public nuisance.		
(f) Should be protected from the public.		
(g) Other (specify)		

D. MANAGEMENT

(8) WHAT FACILITIES/RESOURCES/SERVICES ARE YOU AWARE OF FOR STREET CHILDREN IN DURBAN?

(9) (a) IS ENOUGH BEING DONE FOR STREET CHILDREN IN DURBAN?

Yes	No	Don't Know

(b) Give reasons for your answer :

(10) WHO SHOULD BE RESPONSIBLE FOR STREET CHILDREN?

	Yes	No	Don't Know
(a) Their communities of origin			
(b) Durban City Council			
(c) City Health Department			
(d) The South African Police			
(e) The City Police			
(f) Child Welfare Society			
(g) The State			
(h) The Church			
(i) All South Africans			
(j) Durban's citizens			
(k) Other (specify)			

11. WHO SHOULD HAVE MORE RESPONSIBILITY FOR STREET CHILDREN?

	YES	NO	D/KNOW
(a) Government organisations			
(b) Non-government organisations			
(c) Both of the above			
(d) Neither of the above			
(e) Other (specify)			

(12) WHAT IN YOUR VIEW SHOULD BE DONE WITH STREET CHILDREN?

	Yes	No	Don't Know
(a) Sent back to the areas from which they came			
(b) Imprisoned			
(c) Detained in police cells			
(d) Sent to a place of safety			
(e) Sent to a children's home			
(f) Sent to a school of industries			
(g) Sent to a shelter for street children			
(h) Placed in foster care			
(i) Other(Specify)			

E. DEVIANCE

(13) (a) DO YOU THINK STREET CHILDREN ARE :

	Yes	No	Don't Know
(a) Anti-social			
(b) Deviant			
(c) Delinquent			
(d) Likely to become hardened criminals			

(b) GIVE REASONS FOR YOUR ANSWER/S :

(14) IN YOUR EXPERIENCE, WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING ACTIVITIES ARE STREET CHILDREN ENGAGED IN ?

	Yes	No	Don't Know
(a) Glue sniffing			
(b) Petrol sniffing			
(c) Benzine sniffing			
(d) Inhaling paint thinners			
(e) Smoking dagga			
(f) Drinking alcohol			
(g) Prostitution			
(h) Homosexuality			
(i) Theft from houses			
(j) Theft from cars			
(k) Theft from shops			
(l) Pickpocketing			
(m) Bag snatching			
(n) Assault			
(o) Gambling			
(p) Begging			
(q) Other(Specify)			

(15) IN YOUR EXPERIENCE, WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING ACTIVITIES EARN STREET CHILDREN THE MOST MONEY?

	YES	NO	D/KNOW
(a) Parking cars			
(b) Washing cars			
(c) Pushing trolleys			
(d) Selling newspapers			
(e) Selling fruit & vegetable			
(f) Theft from houses			
(g) Theft from cars			
(h) Theft from shops			
(i) Pickpocketing			
(j) Bag snatching			
(k) Prostitution			
(l) Homosexuality			
(m) Begging			
(n) Gambling			
(o) Other (specify)			

F. SHELTERS

(16) DO YOU THINK THAT :

	Yes	No	Don't Know
(a) Shelters will attract street children away from unfavourable home environments			
(b) Shelters for street children are a waste of time and money			
(c) Shelters for street children trap them in a system of inequality			
(d) Shelters are able to reintegrate street children into society			
(e) By sponsoring a shelter we will be harbouring sodomists and criminals			
(f) The people helping street children are training them to be terrorists/ revolutionaries			
(g) Shelter staff should have regular in-service training			
(h) Street children should be treated in context or else they learn to adapt to the facility and not to their <i>real world</i> environments			
(i) Other views on shelters:			

G. RECOMMENDATIONS

(17) DO YOU THINK THAT :

	Yes	No	Don't Know
(a) Legislation should prohibit the selling of glue to minors			
(b) The Child Care Act offers sufficient protection to street children			
(c) Street children should be taught basic literacy and numeracy skills			
(d) Street children should be equipped to enter the job market with marketable skills			
(e) Street children should be reintegrated into their communities of origin			
(f) Street children should have access to free legal counsel			

(18) OTHER RECOMMENDATIONS WITH REGARD TO STREET CHILDREN

(19) WHAT CAN BE DONE TO IMPROVE THE SITUATION OF STREET CHILD-
REN :

	Yes	No	Don't Know
(a) Laws to protect street children			
(b) Provide them with educational opportunities			
(c) Provide them with job opportunities			
(d) Laws to allow disadvantaged minors to work			
(e) Devise educational programmes for street children			
(f) Improve living conditions in the shelter			
(g) Improve recreational facilities in the shelter			
(h) Provide financial help to parents so that they can return home			
(i) Provide adequate accommodation to parents so that they can return home			
(j) Other (Specify)			

(20) ANY OTHER COMMENTS ON STREET CHILDREN :

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR STREET CHILDREN

1. AGE

1 - 5 yrs.	6 - 10 yrs.	11 - 15 yrs.	16 - 18 yrs.
-----	-----	-----	-----

2. GENDER

MALE	FEMALE
-----	-----

3.a RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

CHRISTIAN	MUSLIM	HINDU	RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS	OTHER(SPECIFY)
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

3.b While living at home did you go to:

Church	Mosque	Temple	Other (specify)
-----	-----	-----	-----

3.c Who did you go with?

MOTHER	FATHER	BOTH	OTHER(SPECIFY)
-----	-----	-----	-----

3.d How often did you go? _____

YES	NO
-----	-----

3.e Do you still go now?

3.f Did you seek help from any of these organisations before running away?

YES	NO
-----	-----

3.g Specify nature of help/advice given.

4.a HIGHEST EDUCATIONAL LEVEL

JUN. PRIM.	SEN. PRIM.	JUN. SEC.	SEN. SEC.	NO FORM. SCHL
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

4.b Other training? _____

5. WHY DID YOU LEAVE SCHOOL? _____

6. WHICH AREA DO YOU COME FROM? _____

7. HOW MANY CHILDREN ARE THERE IN YOUR FAMILY? _____

8. WITH WHOM DID YOU LIVE BEFORE LEAVING HOME:

MOTHER	FATHER	MOTHER	&	FATHER	OTHER
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

9. DETAILS OF PARENTS/GUARDIANS

- a. Are your parents still living together?
- e. Have your parents separated?
- c. Has your father deserted your family?
- d. Has your mother deserted the family?
- e. Is your father dead?
- f. Is your mother dead?
- g. Other(specify)

Y	N	D/KNOW	N/SURE
-----	-----	-----	-----

- 10. Was your father employed?
- Was your mother employed?
- Was your guardian employed?

YES	NO	SPECIFY

11. If neither was employed, who supported you while you were living at home? _____

12. WHILE AT HOME DID YOUR? MOTHER FATHER BOTH OTHER

- a. Drink alcohol
- b. Take drugs
- c. Hit you
- d. Shout at you
- e. Neglect you
- f. Sexually abuse you
- g. Go to Prison
- h. Other(specify)

13. WHO DO YOU LOVE MOST IN YOUR FAMILY?

MOTHER	FATHER	BOTH	OTHER(SPECIFY)

14. DO YOU HAVE CONTACT WITH YOUR FAMILY AT PRESENT?

	SOMETIMES	ALL THE TIME	NEVER
a. Mother			
b. Father			
c. Both			
d. Brothers			
e. Sisters			
f. Other/specify			

15. DO YOU MISS YOUR FAMILY?

SOMETIMES	ALL THE TIME	NEVER

16. WILL YOU GO BACK TO LIVE WITH YOUR FAMILY?

YES-UNDER WHICH CIRCUMSTANCES	NO	DON'T KNOW

17. WHY DID YOU LEAVE HOME?

- a. For a better life.
- b. For excitement and adventure.
- c. To earn money for the family.
- d. Did not like school.
- e. Parents told you to leave.
- f. Parents fight with each other continually.
- g. Parents fight with you continually.
- h. Unhappy at home.
- i. To escape conditions at home
(poverty, overcrowding)
- j. To escape conditions in the township.
- k. To escape violence in the township.
- l. Nothing to do in the township.
- m. Heard about shelters for street children in
Durban.
- n. Other(specify)

YES	NO	D/N

18. HOW MANY TIMES BEFORE HAVE YOU RUN AWAY FROM HOME?

19.a HOW MANY OF YOUR BROTHERS/SISTERS HAVE ALSO RUN AWAY FROM HOME?

NONE	1	2	3	4	5	MORE/5

19.b Where are they now?

20. DID YOU LEAVE HOME:

ALONE	WITH FRIENDS	WITH MEMBERS OF FAMILY	OTHER(SPECIFY)

21.a. WHERE DID YOU GO TO IMMEDIATELY AFTER LEAVING HOME?

b. HOW LONG DID YOU STAY THERE?

c. WHERE DID YOU SLEEP?

22. HAVE YOU EVER BEEN IN

- a. foster care
- b. children's homes
- c. reform school
- d. school of industries
- e. place of safety
- f. police cell
- g. prison
- h. other(specify)

YES	NO	(SPECIFY TIME)

23. HOW LONG HAVE YOU BEEN

- a. On the streets
- b. In the shelter
- c. At the place of safety
- d. Other(specify)

YEARS	MONTHS	WEEKS	DAYS

24.a HOW MANY TIMES HAVE YOU BEEN ARRESTED BY THE POLICE?

NEVER ONCE TWICE THRICE 4 TIMES 5 TIMES MORE/5 TIMES

SPECIFY

b. Why were you arrested?

c. How long were you in detention?

YRS.	MNTHS.	WKS.	DYS.

- d. Where were you when you were arrested? _____
- e. Where were you detained? _____
- f. Were you arrested while you were living at home? _____
- g. Were you arrested while living on the streets? _____

25. HOW WOULD YOU RATE THE PLACE OF DETENTION WITH REGARD TO:

	PRISON	P/CELL	F/CARE	CHILD. HOME	R/SCHL.	P.O.S	SC.	OF IND.	OTH.
ACC- G									
OMM. B									
S									
FOOD G									
B									
S									
MED. G									
TRT. B									
S									
OTH. G									
SPEC B									
S									

26.a Were you ever punished in:

- a. Prison
- b. Police Cell
- c. Foster care
- d.
- e. Reform school
- f. School of industries
- g. Place of safety
- h. Other(specify)

YES	NO	DON'T KNOW

b. If yes, how were you punished?

27. WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING ACTIVITIES HAVE YOU ENGAGED IN

	YES	NO
a. Glue sniffing		
b. Petrol sniffing		
c. Benzine sniffing		
d. Inhaling paint thinners		
e. Smoking dagga		
f. Drinking alcohol		
g. Prostitution		
h. Homosexuality		
i. Theft from houses		
j. Theft from cars		
k. Theft from shops		
l. Theft from shoppers		
m. Bag snatching		
n. Assault		
o. Gambling		
p. Begging		
q. Other(specify)		

28. DID YOU ENGAGE IN THE ABOVE ACTIVITIES?

	Yes	No
a. Alone		
b. With friends		
c. Gang members		
d. Older criminals		
e. Other(specify)		

29. HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT BEING INVOLVED IN THE ABOVE ACTIVITIES?

	YES	NO
a. Nothing at all		
b. Guilty		
c. Sorry		
d. Afraid		
e. Will do it/them again		
f. Will not do it/them again		
g. Enjoy it/them		
h. Don't want to but am forced to by adult criminals/gang members.		
i. Other(specify)		

30. WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING ACTIVITIES BRING YOU THE MOST MONEY
AND WHERE?

- a. Parking cars
- b. Washing cars
- c. Pushing trolleys
- d. Selling newspapers
- e. Selling fruit and veg.
- f. Theft from houses
- g. Theft from cars
- h. Theft from shops
- i. Theft from shoppers
- j. Bag snatching
- k. Prostitution
- l. Homosexuality
- m. Begging
- n. Gambling
- o. Other(specify)

[illegible]

31. WHAT DO YOU DO WITH YOUR MONEY?

- a. Play video games _____
- b. Go to the cinema _____
- c. Buy food _____
- d. Buy clothes _____
- e. Spend it on my friends _____
- f. Pay protection money to gang members/older criminals _____
- g. Take it home _____
- h. Other(specify) _____

32. WHAT IS YOUR OPINION OF:

	LIKE THEM	DISLIKE THEM	SCARED OF THEM	OTHER
a. The City Police				
b. The S.A.P				
c. Social Workers				
d. Shopkeepers				
e. Shoppers				
f. Gang members				
g. Older criminals				
h. your friends				
i. Other(specify)				

33. WHAT DO YOU EXPERIENCE AND FEAR MOST AS A STREET CHILD?
(LIST ONE ITEM FOR FEAR AND ONE FOR EXPERIENCE)

- a. Hunger
- b. The cold
- c. Being alone
- d. Getting sick
- e. Being arrested by the police
- f. Your friends
- g. Gang members
- h. Older criminals
- i. Other(specify)

EXPERIENCE	FEAR

34. ARE YOUR FRIENDS

- a. Other street children
- b. Shopkeepers
- c. Older criminals
- d. Gang members
- e. Shoppers
- f. Other(specify)

YES	NO

35. DO YOU:

- a. Like your friends.
- b. Depend on your friends.
- c. Help your friends when they are sick.
- d. Help your friends when they are in trouble.
- e. Fight with your friends.

YES	NO	DON'T KNOW	N/A

36. DO YOUR FRIENDS:

- a. Like you
- b. Depend on you
- c. Help you when you are sick
- d. Help you when you are in trouble
- e. Fight with you.
- f. Other(specify)

YES	NO	D/KNOW	N/A

37. WHEN YOU GROW UP WOULD YOU LIKE TO BE?

- a. Feared
- b. Hated
- c. Respected
- d. Loved
- e. Successful
- f. Famous
- g. Other(specify)

YES	NO	D/KNOW

38. DO YOU FEEL THAT :

- a. You are a failure
- b. People dislike you
- c. People like you
- d. You are very independent
- e. You are self confident
- f. You will make progress in life

YES	NO	DON'T KNOW

39. ANY OTHER COMMENTS ON YOURSELF?

40. WHAT JOB WOULD YOU LIKE TO DO WHEN YOU GROW UP?

41. HOW OFTEN DO YOU PARTICIPATE IN THE FOLLOWING ACTIVITIES

S A N

- a. Painting
- b. Drawing
- c. Acting
- d. Playing music
- e. Listening to music
- f. Singing
- g. Dancing
- h. Carpentry
- i. Fixing motor cars, machinery
- j. Playing soccer
- k. Going to shebeens
- l. Doing nothing
- m. Other(specify)

42. WHAT CAN BE DONE TO IMPROVE YOUR SITUATION AS A STREET CHILD?

- a. Laws to protect street children
- b. Free legal advice for street children
- c. Provide educational opportunities
- d. Provide job opportunities
- e. Allow you to help devise programmes for street children
- f. Allow you to have more say in the running of the shelter
- g. Better living conditions in the shelter
- h. Better recreational facilities in the shelter
- i. Provide financial help to parents, so that you can return home
- j. Provide adequate accommodation to parents so that you can return home.
- k. Other(specify)

YES	NO

43. HAS YOUR EXPERIENCE AS A STREET CHILD MADE YOU:

- a. Bitter
- b. Angry
- c. Envious of people who have more than you
- d. Sad
- e. Happy
- f. Sympath. to others in similar circumstances
- g. Other(specify)

YES	NO

44. WHAT WOULD MAKE YOU REALLY HAPPY NOW?

45. ANY OTHER COMMENTS?

APPENDIX C

INKULUMO MPENDULWANO EHLELELWE ABANTWANA ABASEMIGWAQWENI

1. UNYAKA

1-5 iminyaka	6-10 iminyaka	11-15 iminyaka	16-18 iminyaka

2. UBULILI

ISILISA	ISIFAZANE

3.a INKOLO OYILUNGA LAYO

UYIKHOLWA	UYIMUSLIM	UYIHINDU	AWUKHOLWA	ENYE (CACISA)

b. Ngalesisikhathi usahlala ekhaya wawuya e:

SONTWENI	KWIMOSQUE	ETEMPELENI	KWENYE INDAWO (CACISA)

c. Ubukade uhamba nobani?

NOMAMA	NOBABA	NABOBOBABILI	NOMUNYE UMUNTU (CACISA)

d. Ubuvame kangakanani ukuya khona? _____

e. Usaya namanje?

YEBO	CHA

f. Wake wafuna uncedo kwenye yalezinhlangano ngaphambi kokuba ubaleke?

YEBO	CHA

g. Chaza ngokucacile isimo soncedo/usizo owalunikwa.

4.a Ibanga eliphakeme lemfundo

b. Okunye ukuzilolonga?

5. Kungani wayeka isikole?

6. Uphuma kuyiphi indawo? _____
7. Kunabantwana abangakhi ekhaya? _____
8. Wawuhlala nobani ngaphambi kokuba uhambe ekhaya? _____

9. IMINININGWANE YABAZALI/NABAKUPHETHE

10. Ingabe ubaba ubesebenza?
Ingabe umama ubesebenza?
Ingabe lomuntu okukhulisayo
ubesebenza?

11. Umangabe bekungekho osebenzayo, ubani obekondla ngalesisikhathi usahlala ekhaya?

12. Ngalesisikhathi usahlala ekhaya kungabe:

13. Ubani omthanda kakhulu kumndeni wakini?

UMAMA	UBABA	BOBABILI	OMUNYE UMUNTU (CACISA)

14. Unakho ukuxhumana nomndeni wakho okwamanje?

	NGESINYE ISIKHATHI	NJALO	NEZE
a. Umama			
b. Ubaba			
c. Bobabili			
d. Abafowethu			
e. Odadewethu			
f. Abanye abantu/cacisa			

15. Uke wabakhumbula ekhaya?

NGESINYE ISIKHATHI	NJALO	NEZE

16. Ungabuyela ekhaya uyohlala nomndeni wakho?

YEBO-UMA ISIMO SINJANI	CHA	ANGAZI

17. Kungani wahamba ekhaya? .

	YEBO	CHA	ANGAZI
a. Ukuze uthole impilo engcono			
b. Ukuze ukwazi ukwesasa futhi wazi nokunye.			
c. Ukuze uthole imali ezobangeyomndeni			
d. Ubukade ungathandi isikole.			
e. Abazali bakutshela ukuthi uhambe.			
f. Abazali babelwa njalo.			
g. Abazali babelwa nawe njalo.			
h. Ubukade ungeneme ekhaya.			
i. Ubukade ubalekela isimo senhlalo sasekhaya (inhlupheko, ukubabaningi).			
j. Ubukade ubalekela isimo sendawo yangasekhaya.			
k. Ubukade ubalekela udlame endaweni yangasekhaya.			
l. Akukho okumayelana nendawo yangakini.			
m. Ubukade usuzwile ngezindawo zokukhosela abantwana abahlala emigwaqweni eThekwini.			
n. Okunye (cacisa).			

18. Usuke wabaleka kangakhi ekhaya?

19.a Bangakhi abafowenu nodadewenu ababaleke ekhaya?

ABEKHO	1	2	3	4	5	NGAPHEZU/5

b. Bakuphi njengamanje? _____

20. Wahamba ekhaya:

WEDWA	NABANGANI	NABANYE BOMNDENI	NABANYE ABANTU (CACISA)

21.a Waya kuphi mhlazane usuka ekhaya? _____

b. Wahlala isikhathi esingakanani lapho? _____

c. Wawukade ulala kuphi? _____

22. Usuke waya

- a. Lapho kondliwa khona izingane
- b. Ekhaya lokunakekela izingane
- c. Esikolweni sokuguguka
- d. Esikolweni somsebenzi
- e. Endaweni yokuphepha
- f. Kwikamelwana lephoyisa
- g. Ejele
- h. Kwenye indawo (cacisa)

YEBO	CHA	(CACISA NGESIKHATHI)

23. Wahlala isikhathi esingakanani?

- a. Emigwaqweni
- b. Endaweni yokukhosela
- c. Endaweni yokuphepha
- d. Kwenye indawo (cacisa)

IMINAKA	IZINYANGA	AMAVIKI	AMALANGA

24.a Usuboshwe kangakhi ngamaphoyisa?

ANGIKAZE	KANYE	KABILI	KATHATHU	KANE KAHLANU	NGAPHEZU KUKA 5 (CACISA)

b. Kunganiwawuboshiwe?_____

c. Wahlala isikhathi esingakanani ubanjiwe?

MNYK.	ZNYG.	MVK.	ZNSK.

d. Ubuhlala kuphi ngenkathi uboshiwe?_____

e. Wabanjwa ukuphi?_____

f. Waboshwa ngenkathi usahlala ekhaya?_____

g. Waboshwa ngenkathi uhlala emigwaqweni?_____

25. Ungayiqhathanisa kanjani indawo owawuboshwe kuyo? Ungathi ifana ejele / njengekamelwana lephoyisa / njengesilonda zingane / njengendawo / yezenhlahlakahle / njengesikole sokuguquka / njengendawo yokuphepha / njengesikole somsebenzi / nenye nje ekwenye indawo (cacisa).

INDAWO YOKUHLALA	EMBI	
	ENHLE	
	ENCANE	
UKUDLA	KWAKUKUBI	
	KWAKUKUHLE	
	KWAKUKUCANE	
UKWELASHWA	KWAKUKUBI	
	KWAKUKUHLE	
	KWAKUNCANE	
OKUNYE (CACISA)	KWAKUKUBI	
	KWAKUKUHLE	
	KWAKUKUNCANE	

26.a Uke wajeziswa e:

- a. Ejele
- b. Kukamelwana lephoyisa
- c. Lapho kondliwa khona izingane
- d. Lapho kunakekelwa khona izingane
- e. Esikoleni sokuguquka
- f. Esikoleni somsebenzi
- g. Endaweni yokuphepha
- h. Kwenye indawo (cacisa)

YEBO	CHA	ANGAZI

b. Uma kunjalo, wajeziswa kanjani? _____

27. Yiziphi izinto owawuzenza/osazenza kulezi:

- a. Ukubhema iglu
- b. Ukubhema uphethiloli
- c. Ukubhema ubhenzini
- d. Ukuhogela izithambisa
pende njenge tinazi
- e. Ukubhema insangu
- f. Ukuphuza utshwala
- g. Ukuba ngunondindwa
- h. Ukuhlangana nomuntu
onobulili obufana nobakho
- i. Ukuntshontha ezindlini
- j. Ukuntshontsha ezimotweni
- k. Ukuntshontsha ezitolo
- l. Ukuntshotsha
kubaninizitolo
- m. Ukuhlwitha izikhwama
- n. Ukuhlasela
- o. Ukugembula
- p. Ukucela
- q. Okunye (cacisa)

OWAWUZENZA	OSAZENZA

28. Ngabe lokhu okungenhla wawukwenzea?

- a. Wedwa
- b. Nabangani
- c. Namalungu eviyo
- d. Nezigebengu ezindala
- e. Nabanye (cacisa)

NGESINYE ISIKHATHI	NJALO	NEZE

29. Uzizwa unjani uma uzimbandakanya nalezinto ezingenhla?

- a. Angizwa lutho
- b. Nginecala
- c. Ngibalisa
- d. Ngesaba
- e. Ngizokwenza futhi/ngizozenza futhi
- f. Angisoze ngazenza/ngiyophinde ngizenze
- g. Ngiyakuthakasela engikwenzayo
- h. Angizifuni kodwa ngiphogwa izigebengu ezindala/amalungu eviyo
- i. Okunye (cacisa)

YEBO	CHA

30. Yini yalezinto ekulethela imali kakhulu futhi kuphi?

- a. Ukupaka izimoto
- b. Izimoto ezigezwayo
- c. Ukuphusha izingodlana
- d. Ukudayisa amaphepha
- e. Ukudayisa izithelo nemifino
- f. Ukweba ezindlini
- g. Ukweba ezimotweni
- h. Ukweba ezitolo
- i. Ukwebela abaninizitolo
- j. Ukuhlwitha izikhwama
- k. Ukuhlangana nesinye isilili
- l. Ukucela
- m. Ukugembula
- n. Okunye (cacisa)

e THE WHEEL	eWORK. SHOP	eBEACH FRONT	ENYE (CACISA)

31. Wenzani ngemali? (Hlela ngendlela yokubaluleka)

- a. Udlala imidlalo yamavidiyo _____
- b. Uya esithombeni _____
- c. Uthenga ukudla _____
- d. Uthenga izimpahla _____
- e. Ngiyisebenzisa kubangani bami _____
- f. Ukhokha imali yokuzivikela kumalungu eviyo kuzigebengu ezindala _____
- g. Uyisa ekhaya _____
- h. Okunye (cacisa) _____

32. Uyini umbono wakho mayelana:

	UYAWA/BA/ ZI/THANDA	AWUWA/BA/ ZI/THANDI	UYAWE/BE/ ZE/SABA
a. Namaphoyisa asedolobheni			
b. Namaphoyisa onke eNingizimu Afrika			
c. Nabazenhlahlahle			
d. Nabanini zitolo			
e. Nabathengi			
f. Namalungu eviyo			
g. Nezigebengu ezindala			
h. Nabangani bakho			
i. Nabanye (cacisa)			

33. Kuyini okufundayo nokwesabayo njengomntwana wasemgwaqeni? (Nikeza into oyesabayo neyodwa oyifundile)

	OKUFUNDILE	OKWESABAYO
a. Indlala		
b. Amakhaza		
c. Ukuba wedwa		
d. Ukugula		
e. Ukuboshwa amaphoyisa		
f. Abangani bakho		
g. Amalungu eviyo		
h. Izigebengu ezindala		
i. Okunye (cacisa)		

34. Ingabe abangani bakho:

	YEBO	CHA
a. Bangabanye babantwana basemigwaqweni		
b. Bangabanini zitolo		
c. Bayizigebengu ezindala		
d. Bangamalungu eviyo		
e. Bangabathengi		
f. Bangabanye abantu nje (cacisa)		

35. Ingabe:

	YEBO	CHA	ANGAZI	AKWENZEKI
a. Uyabathanda abangani bakho				
b. Wethembele kubangani bakho				
c. Uyabanceda abangani bakho uma begula				
d. Uyabanceda abangani bakho uma besenkingeni				
e. Uyalwa nabangani bakho				

36. Ingabe abangani bakho:

- a. Bayakuthanda
- b. Bethembele kuwena
- c. Bayakunceda uma ugula
- d. Bayakunceda uma usenkingeni
- e. Bayalwa nawe
- f. Benza okunye (cacisa)

YEBO	CHA	ANGAZI	AKWENZEKI

37. Uma ukhula ungathanda ukuba?

- a. Wesatshwe
- b. Uzondwe
- c. Uhlonishwe
- d. Uthandwe
- e. Uphumelele
- f. Waziwe
- g. Okunye (cacisa)

YEBO	CHA	ANGAZI

38. Ingabe Uzizwa:

- a. Uyisahluleki
- b. Ungathandwa abantu
- c. Uthandwa abantu
- d. Ukhululeke kakhulu
- e. Unokuzethemba
- f. Uzoba nenqubekela phambili

YEBO	CHA	ANGAZI

39. Okunye ongakusho ngawe? _____

40. Yimuphi umsebenzi ongathanda ukuwenza uma ukhula? _____

41. Uzigaxa kangakanani kulezinto ezilandelayo:

- a. Ukupenda
- b. Ukudweba
- c. Ukulingisa
- d. Ukudlala umculo
- e. Ukulalela umculo
- f. Ukucula
- g. Ukudansa
- h. Ukwakha ngezinkuni
- i. Ukulungisa izimoto, umishini
- j. Ukudlala ibhola likanobhutshuzwayo
- k. Ukuya ezindaweni zokuphuza
- l. Ukuhlala ungezilutho
- m. Okunye (cacisa)

[illegible]

42. Yini engenziwa ukuthuthukisa isimo sakho njengomntwana ohlala emigwaqweni?

- a. Imithetho yokuvikela abantwana abahlala emigwaqeni
- b. Izeluleko ezisemthethweni zabantwana basemigwaqeni
- c. Kunikezwe amathuba emfundo
- d. Kunikezwe amathuba emisebenzi
- e. Uvunyelwe ukunceda ekwenzeni izinhlelo zabantwana basemigwaqeni ukuba nongakusho
- f. Uvunyelwe ukuba nongakusho kabanzi ngokuphatha izindawo zokukhosela
- g. Ukwenza ngcono isimo senhlalo ezindaweni zokukhosela
- h. Ukwenza ngcono izinto zokungcebeleka ezindaweni zokukhosela
- i. Kunikezwe uncedo lwemali kubazali ukuze ubuyele ekhaya.
- j. Kunikezwe indawo yokulala eyanele kubazali ukuze ubuyele ekhaya
- k. Okunye (cacisa)

[illegible]

43. Ingabe okufundile njengomntwana ohlala emgweni kukwenza:

- a. Uzwe ubuhlungu
- b. Uthukuthele
- c. Ufise abantu abanokungaphezu kwalokho anakho
- d. Ujabhe
- e. Ujabule
- f. Uzwele abanye abakusimo esifana nesakho
- g. Okunye (cacisa)

[illegible]