

**AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY ON CHILDREN
AND CHILDHOOD IN ETHIOPIA**

**SAVE THE CHILDREN SWEDEN
AND
SAVE THE CHILDREN NORWAY**

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INTRODUCTION

The Bibliography presented here is the result of an agreement of cooperation between Save the Children Sweden and Save the Children Norway, Dalarna University, Sweden and Addis Ababa University, Ethiopia. I was assigned to make an inventory of available documents on children and childhood in Ethiopia as part of the agreement. The other part is a presentation of research conducted by five MA students in Anthropology from Addis Ababa University and myself to be published by the two Save the Children organisations. The last chapter of the book is a reflection, based on the bibliography, that deals with what we know about children and childhood in Ethiopia today and what themes and areas that seem to need further investigation and documentation. The major part of the work was carried out during the year 2006.

This bibliography is divided into three parts: Descriptive and Analytical Studies of Children, Consultancy Reports and Government Documents, and the works under each category are presented in alphabetical order according to the writer's first name, for Ethiopians, and family name, for others. Each work gives the name of the author, the year of the publication, the title of the publication and, mostly, a summary of the argument/s and the findings. Initially I attempted to categorize the studies by topic, such as 'vulnerable children', 'children's health', 'socialization of children' etcetera. There were, however, few consultancy reports which, although they focus on these topics, substantially contributed to our knowledge of children and deserved to be included. For this reason I decided to stay with the aforementioned three headings.

I consider the present bibliography as a beginning of an Annotated Bibliography and would like it to be used as such. Hopefully someone will continue the work and collect, read and summarize more books, chapters, articles and reports concerning Ethiopian children to make the bibliography more comprehensive.

Children need to be studied in their own right for adults to learn about how they think, what priorities they make and what they consider important, but they should also be studied because as social beings, their living conditions can teach us about the dominant ideology, norms and economy that prevail in the society in which they live. More studies of children can thus promote knowledge about them, interventions for them and, also, add to the social sciences per se, since information about children will give a new perspective to our understanding of the acts and interactions of human beings and the structures that sometimes limit them and sometimes enable their change.

Addis Abeba March 2007

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DESCRIPTIVE AND ANALYTICAL STUDIES ABOUT CHILDREN

Abbink, Jon. 1996.

“The Challenge of Education in Ethiopian Agro-Pastoral Societies. Surma Childhood in Crisis.” In (ed) Habtamu Wondimu *Research Papers on the situation of children and adolescents in Ethiopia*. Proceedings pp 115-136.

According to Abbink, the objectives of education are the following: 1) to give people basic skills of literacy and numeracy. 2) and to enable them to participate in society as enlightened, able and productive citizens who can make informed decisions and choices.

Education in Ethiopia, however, Abbink argues a) only reaches a limited number of people, b) and must develop a school curriculum more sensitive to the needs of the rural community (relevant, anchored, linked to indigenous knowledge).

In the essay Abbink wants to examine the relation between socialization and cultural values of one Ethiopian ethnic group, the Surma, on the one hand and the challenge of formal and informal education on the other. Today there is a crisis in the socialization and educational patterns among the Surma expressed in a growing disequilibrium between the generations with increased aggression and violence, a disrespect for traditional ritual mechanisms, a growth of internal divisions between young and old, emerging gender and other inequalities, a loss of cultural values, a crumbling of the relationship with neighbouring peoples and societal disintegration.

The Surma have 2 similar subgroups, Chai and Tirma and speak a Nilo-Saharan language. Economy: livestock, gold, cultivation of sorghum, maize and garden crops. A lot of automatic weapons for self-defence, cattle raiding and robbing. It is a close-knit society with a remarkable amount of solidarity and cultural unity with multiple informal learning contexts. The authority structure is based on age-grades. “Junior elders” are most important. “Young men” or “warriors” are responsible for herding stock and defence and are in a respectful relationship to junior elders. Elders should emanate values of unity, truth, righteousness and agreement – they should be the voices of authority.

(Children learning p.121.) Up to 8, boys and girls learn and do similar things, then it differs due to gender. Up to 12 they stay at home, later outside.

(122) Parent – child relations are relaxed, not authoritarian. There is no corporal punishment, only verbal scolding and instructing. Children are encouraged to be verbally articulate – anticipate the actions and plans of others. Surma children thus develop a high ‘social intelligence’. Gender relations are unequal but have their own specifics. Women have the main domestic responsibility, they also cultivate their own fields, and buy and sell in markets.

Marriage is relatively stable due to material interests. Sexual relations before marriage, are not restricted, the idea of virginity unknown. Sexual experimentation before marriage is customary and girls are not submissive. The girl’s say is final in the choice of a husband.

The Surma have no traditional central authority figures. The ritual mediator, **komoru**, was not a political but more of a religious figure, mediating between heaven and earth. He was also a role model standing for compromise, harmony and cooperation. Values learned by Surma youth: reciprocity, respect for elders, cooperation in common tasks and self-confidence, personal independence, experimentation, pride in group culture.

Surma society today is in crisis; occasional famine, cattle disease, demographic pressure, fights over resources and availability of modern automatic weapons.

Elements of crisis:

- a) crisis between generations – young men, especially due to arms, have gained more self-confidence and arrogance. They no longer listen to the advice of elders. They carry out independent robbing and killing expeditions and they also evade ritual obligations.
- b) Ritual deterioration: Proper rule of ritual for crimes are not followed.
- c) Erosion of the role of **komoru**.
- d) Increase in inter-society disagreements and crime.
- e) Interethnic relations have gone from bad to worse.

Children thus witness more disputes, conflict, loss of order, of learning contexts and of cognitive and affective security.

Abbink's question: could education play a corrective role among the Surma? He wants to change formal education, both the forms and the content of the curriculum to make it more relevant to the local situation.

Abraham Husain. 1996.

“Child-rearing practices in Siltigna-speaking community: Impact on the Development of Independence and Social Responsibility.” In (ed) Habtamu Wondimu *Research Papers on the situation of children and adolescents in Ethiopia. Proceedings.*

The study shows that both parents and children in the Silte community agree that relations between them are formal, authoritative, restrictive and do not encourage independence or initiative in the young. Children should not ask questions, express their views or make conversation with adults. Early marriage is common and arranged by parents.

Aptekar, Lewis and Paola Heinonen. 2003.

“Methodological Implications of Contextual Diversity in Research on Street Children”. *Children, Youth and Environments*, Vol. 13, No.1 (Spring 2003) ISSN 1546-2250.

This is a methodological paper on how to study street children and some caveats about previous and present studies. First they state that the expressions “children on” the street and “children of” the street which are attributed to the UNICEF, are too rigid and do not correspond to the realities found in most big cities. Street children, according to them, are not a homogeneous category of children, neither do their life circumstances remain constant. Furthermore, their involvement in street life and family contacts varies. Children from different ethnic groups can also act differently. Thus, in Ethiopia, Gurage children do not beg, and do not act as other, so-called street children. They work hard, send money to their families and keep a close contact with them.

The authors warn about figures used in connection with street children. Sampling is usually not done properly. The figures that come out are often inflated to facilitate getting money for projects. Thus the number of street children in Addis Abeba e.g. varies with hundreds of thousands depending on who did the study.

Getting information from street children is very difficult because they “make a living by manipulating their audiences, of which the data collector and the NGO workers are examples” (Heinonen). The authors suggest long-term data collection and good rapport to reduce data distortion.

Those making the studies also do not gain the children's trust. Much being due to the fact that the studies are planned far away with certain ideas in mind and then carried out elsewhere by people who have no understanding of these ideas. Those doing the studies often go out and work in groups and have very little informal contact with the children.

Heinonen (2000) proposes new categories of street children (based on her 5-year research in Addis Abeba). **Street working children, working children and street children.**

Street working children, are children who live at home, attend school part time and work or trade in the street the rest of the time. They have close ties with their families. **Working children** include children living at home, aged eight and older, who do not beg, do not attend school and work full time in the street.

Street children, aged 5-18, do not attend school and beg full time in the street. Those under 8 alternate between street and home life. Once they reach 10 most join loosely knit social groups of the same-sex or mixed gender groups. These groups in Addis are not very nurturing as has been described for groups in Nairobi and Cali, Colombia. In Addis these street children are collectively called borco (Italian sporco= filthy, dirty), or porco (=pig).

Another aspect of street children that is often forgotten according to the authors is the gender difference. There is a vast difference between being a girl and a boy in the street. The ratio in Addis is about 1 girl to 4 boys. Girls hand over all the proceeds to the mother. Boys give mothers a sum but keep much for themselves. Boys buy food for their money and are much better fed than girls.

Conclusions: 1) All street children regard the way they make an income as some kind of work. 2) At the same time the range of work opportunities in the streets is very limited and shows similarities over the world. 3) Most street children have made a conscious decision to be on the streets.

2 references: Heinonen, Paula 2000. *Anthropology of Street Children in Addis Abeba, Ethiopia*. Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Durham, Durham, U.K. and Aptekar, Lewis and B. Abebe, 1997. "Conflict in the Neighbourhood: Street Children and the Public Space". *Childhood 4 (4): 477-490*.

Awan Abdulwasie 2007. forthcoming, "Conceptualizations of children and childhood, the case of Kolfe and Semen Mazegaja, Addis Abeba. In (ed) Poluha, *Conceptualizations of children and childhood in different parts of Ethiopia*. To be published.

Awan's study deals with Muslim and Christian children in two poor neighbourhoods in Addis Abeba. Awan presents ethnographic information on how child growth, both biologically and socially, is perceived by adults and children, what they consider to be normal, what is thought of as deviant and how various aspects of deviancy should be treated. Apart from child growth Awan discusses name giving and its implications, with whom a child should grow up if parents die and when a child is considered to be an adult. There are no conspicuous differences in the outlooks of Christians and Muslims respectively. Key aspects in the children's lives are gender and age, which determine how they should be treated and what the environment expects from them.

Ayele Tamene. 2007.

“Growing up in town and in the countryside in Amhara society.” In (ed) Poluha, *Conceptualizations of children and childhood in different parts of Ethiopia*. To be published.

Ayele’s study deals with children in the Amhara region, more specifically with girls and boys from one school in Debre Markos and one in the adjacent rural area. The study discusses how gender, age, religion and area of residence affect the ways in which children live and grow up. The comparisons between rural and urban children clearly illustrate rather distinct differences between them, in particular between girls and boys. Ayele comes to this conclusion after having studied the tasks girls and boys have to perform, expectations on their behaviour in school and at home and the chances they have of getting a school education. Ethnographic data show that life is more burdensome for children in the countryside and that even there, girls tend to be given less time to study than boys. The heaviest tasks are carried out by boys in the countryside and the most time-consuming by the rural girls. Despite hard work and strict traditions Ayele shows how the children he has worked with have their own agency and try to change what they consider to be harmful traditions.

Barker, Gary and Christine Ricardo. 2005, June.

Young Men and the Construction of Masculinity in Sub-Saharan Africa: Implications for HIV/AIDS, Conflict and Violence. World Bank: Social Development Papers. Conflict Prevention and Reconstruction. Paper no 26. (Not on Ethiopia)

Gender perspective and gender mainstreaming have often ignored the gender of men and boys. This paper focuses on men and youth to the exclusion of women. The themes are men and conflict, violence and HIV/AIDS. The paper explores the construction of manhoods in Africa. Findings: key requirement to attain manhood in Africa is achieving some level of financial independence, employment or income, and subsequently to start a family. Older men have quite a lot of power over younger ones. Initiation practices or rites of passage are important in the socialization of boys and men. Sexual experience is frequently associated with initiation into adulthood and achieving a socially recognized manhood. Men have a low view of women, consider them inferior to men, they do not need education, can (should) be beaten if not doing what they are told. Lots of violence are important factors that men grow up to learn and embody as part of becoming men. Nothing on Ethiopia. Dangerous generalization of Africa. Interesting and with some good references.

Berre, Kjersti. 2004.

For When the Guests Come. Master’s thesis in social anthropology at the University of Oslo.

A thesis on the concept and discourse of “child participation” as it is used globally, in Norway, in SC Norway in Addis in Ethiopia and in SC Norway in the Gonder region in Ethiopia. The major argument, related to the title, is that children are active, participate in the activities initiated by the SC Norway and perform plays etc, but this they do only for guests (from Addis, Norway etc) but not for the people who live in the area and who are their relatives, friends etc. The argument is that the concept of child participation changes when it moves from the global arena, where it is very abstract, to the local where children

are expected to implement it. Locally, it is not possible for children to 'participate', as the Convention states, because their parents are often too poor.

Berre shows, i.a. that Child Participation (CP) is part of a larger development discourse based on an evolutionary assumption saying that "if you do like us (referring to people in the Western, affluent countries) you will become more "developed" because we are here to develop you." Locally, many people believe in the message because those who transmit it are rich (coming by cars, airplanes, have money to build schools), they are clean (good quality clothes, shoes, suitcases, attaché bags) and they are kind to the children and listen to them with great interest.

The problem with CP is that it creates a lot of expectations in many children. They are told that they have rights and now these rights have to be realized. If parents do not realize the rights some feel that they must leave their parents. Maybe they have to go to Bahar Dar, Gonder or even Addis to have their rights realized. Others understand that their parents are too poor to be able to realize their rights such as school attendance etc, but since the parents are too poor, the Project should assist them and see to it that their rights are realized. Since the Save the Children Norway Project tells them that they have rights then the project must also give them their rights when their parents are unable to.

Emphasis on these child rights can, according to the author, easily create an impossible situation. The parents are too poor to fulfil them and the children are only taught about their rights and not their duties. The whole development discourse is utterly arrogant, Berre argues. It says that you should do the way we (Westerners) do to achieve the good life.

Within the technical discourse there is also a moral discourse – implying that we, who have all this knowledge, this money, this way of living, we also stand above "you" (who are poor, have a low educational standard and no money) as human beings.

Berre draws parallels to the discourse on popular participation, which is most intensive in capital cities in the West, less so at the local development offices and very weak out in the projects. She shows that it is difficult to implement an ideology in practice.

CP emphasizes individualism. It forces children to choose, to make decisions. These decisions often have consequences, which the children cannot grasp. Thus a lot of responsibility is put on the children and makes their lives tough.

Ch. 7 Ambiguous communication: In this chapter factors that filter information when a particular universal concept is put into practice are discussed. Focus is on "indirectness" the forms and causes of it. The argument is that ambiguities and indirectness can create a vacant communicative space, which is necessary for users of the concepts. The communication void exists at the interface between the official discourse of CP and the local use of the term. The void allows open conflict to be concealed.

Child rights could only become a reality for those who can afford them, according to children in Delgi (in the Gonder area in Ethiopia). Ideas were easy to change but to implement child rights was difficult when a family was poor.

Communication about CP and CR was not part of a local process because

- 1) the visitors to the project found what they looked for
- 2) local cultural communication strategies and "filters" further legitimise a communication void between what is said publicly and what is meant privately.

Berre talks of indirect communication strategies – you should not look into people’s “cupboard” because they may have things there which they do not want you to see. They may not want to tell you what is in the cupboard to give you a good image of what is there. Berre talks of wax and gold and compares development speech with wax and the local significance with the gold.

“**Gebbena** (she writes gemmena) all private information and views should be kept a secret. Hosts should never be asked for things (water, awaze) – it would be shameful for them to have forgotten. They should anticipate what the guests want.

Gebbena in a project context means that project workers should protect any project secrets from visitors and serve them with what they want to hear.

Disagreements are not explicitly spelt out because then you would not be able to communicate with that person any more. When you disagree – keep silent.

To convey bad news, the best thing is to use a mediator.

Kalat bemar melewes – to wrap words in honey.

Silences – when disagreeing not understanding.

She finishes the essay saying that she believes in Child Participation but in principle all her writing seems to go against it.

Betlehem Tekola. 2005.

Poverty and the social context of sex work in Addis Abeba, An Anthropological Perspective. Addis Ababa: Forum for Social Studies, Special Monograph Series – No 2.

The study is based on Betlehem’s MA thesis in social anthropology at Addis Abeba University. The author discusses the literature on prostitution and sex work from three perspectives, “the West”, Africa and Ethiopia. She argues that there are different discourses on sex work: the patriarchal discourse stating that female sexual workers are fallen women and dirty whores who pollute their neighbourhood; female discourses, some stating that sexual workers are victims of sexual violence, others talking of sex workers as entrepreneurs. Betlehem concludes that male-centred reflections tend to be critical of the prostitutes and less critical of prostitution while female discourses seem to be more critical of prostitution and less critical of prostitutes. Both, however, tend to see sex workers as an undifferentiated category. They are not studied as a social category in their own right. Neither prostitution nor prostitutes are unpacked and differentiated. Little research tries to understand them from within. What Betlehem talks about is an overgeneralization of prostitutes who actually, according to her, are very different due to background, class, education, living conditions etc.

Ethiopian research on prostitution has mainly focused on causes for prostitution, types of prostitution and consequences of prostitution. But little attempt has been made to integrate the themes and see how they are interrelated. Exceptions are Laketch Derasse and Andargatchew Tesfaye, but even they make little distinction or differentiation between prostitution as a job and those who sell sex, as well as distinctions within the latter category. Betlehem’s major argument: there are many and various kinds of sex work and many and various kinds of sex workers, and each category has its own characteristics as well as internal differences.

Betlehem’s classification of sex work and sex workers in Addis Abeba is primarily based on venue or conditions of work. Venue refers to the place where the woman meets her clients,

while conditions refer to the terms under which the woman stays in the venue to wait for her clients. There are 4 different types of venues: 1) asphalt or work in the streets, 2) drinking houses (small) 3) bonna bet / bars and 4) work out of big hotels and/or night clubs. There are 3 types named after conditions of work: 1) **iqul akafay** meaning work on the basis of 50% share with the owner of the house. 2) **yetewosene akafay** meaning work in which a fixed amount of money per session is handed over to the house owner. 3) **bealga** meaning work on one's bed, in one's own home.

54% of the women lived where they worked. Average age for the 100 women is 23 years. 73% started commercial sex as teenagers out of which 11% were below the age of 15. A majority of the women were never married and most (52%) were born in Addis Abeba. 76% originated from urban settlements. 24% had no schooling, 46% had some kind of elementary education. 18% had some secondary education. 51% said that they came from very poor households. Basic reasons for taking up sex work were running away from economic problems at home (63%) and being lured away from home by a friend (21%). Most (61%) had tried some other job before taking up commercial sex work. 85% said that sex work was better paying than other kinds of work they had been doing. And 90% said that sex work brought them more independence than previous work. 74% maintained some kind of contact with their family.

Sex workers in AA are very young women who began work as children. Most are born and brought up in Addis. These women never married. They are relatively better educated. Most have troubled family backgrounds with economic deprivation. The smaller group from rural areas are less educated to illiterate. Most of these women live where they work under conditions in which living and working quarters are not separated. Most also maintain ties with a wide variety of people ranging from family members to other relatives and kin. Most also have dependents.

Profiles of the different kinds of sex workers:

1)The Akafay: Sex work for a fixed share and the women behind it.

Engages 35% of the women and is the most widespread form in AA. Migrant women are heavily represented in this sample. These women are the youngest, average age is 21. 17% were below 15 at entry. 66% were teenagers between 16 and 20. 43% without schooling. 77% had been previously engaged in another work. 63% reported that commercial sex paid better than other jobs they had engaged in. Most of the money they earned was spent on food. Many of them also spent money on supporting dependents. Payment: short session: 5-10 Birr and 15-20 birr for overnight service (adar)

2)Sex work on equal share

Only 5 % of the sample. Most are migrant women but have been in Addis Abeba for many years. Average age 24. They started work from 16 and up. Little or no schooling. Many previously engaged in domestic work. None of their relatives knows what kind of work they do. Payment: short session: 3-10 Birr and adar 15-20 Birr.

3)Independent home-based sex work (bale alga she owns the bed herself)

The third largest category (after akafay and asphalt). 67% are migrants to Addis but have stayed for a long time. Average age 31 years. Started rather late, 25% between the ages of 16 and 20 and 33% between the ages of 21 and 25 the rest older. 42% without schooling. Majority had done other jobs before sex work, 87% said that commercial sex was better paying. This sex worker is an independent operator, older than most, who has worked in the trade for a long time. Mostly illiterate. Payment; short session: 10-20 and adar 15-30 Birr.

4)Asphalt work

The second largest group. The most rapidly expanding group. Most come from AA. Average age 22. 16% started before they were 15 and 60% were teenagers at the point of entry. They are the most educated in the sample. Few had done any other work before starting sex work. It is the most dangerous kind of work since the women, once they enter a car, are at the mercy of the men. They can be robbed, beaten, raped or otherwise abused. Also more exposed to HIV since they cannot demand condom use. 16% of these women have pimps, who were supposed to protect them in the streets. But they were the ones with whom they also had the most unsafe sex since they were their lovers. An unusually high proportion of the income is spent on clothes, shoes, cosmetics, jewellery as well as drinks, cigarettes, drugs like chat. Payment, short term: 30- 100 and adar: 100-500 Birr.

5)Hotel and night club sex workers

Similar profile to asphalt workers. Same age, about 22, and relatively well educated. Urban background with no previous work experience. Well-dressed, sophisticated looking, relatively more independent with no pimp and no madam.

6)Sex work out of bars

The majority was born and brought up in Addis Abeba. Average age 23 years. The most educated women of all. 57% had tried other jobs but found commercial sex better paid and gave them more freedom. Only 14% said that they had dependents who fully depended on them. Payment: short session: around 50 Birr and long: 75-120 Birr.

7)Sex work out of drinking places

Either residents or migrants, 50-50. Average age 29. 75% had tried other work but commercial sex paid better. All have contact with their families and all supported somebody else.

The change Betlehem notices, since studies by Laketch and Andargatchew, is mainly an expansion of urban poverty and complications created by the housing regime in the city. Today most sex workers come from Addis Abeba and are school drop-outs. There has also been an expansion of control over the incomes of the sex workers and over their freedom of movement by other stakeholders, madams and pimps, especially akafay and asphalt. Those who have direct or indirect control over residential space also expose the women to ever-greater control.

Sex workers and the social context of sex work:

3 points on which all the sex workers agreed:

- 1) sex work is a kind of work a woman undertakes for compelling economic reasons irrespective of how she comes into it. It is not an occupation of choice.
- 2) Sex work is shameful, degrading to the woman herself and to all she is related to
- 3) Sex work is not a lifetime career but a temporary undertaking one should try to get out of as soon as possible.

The major argument forwarded is that the social personality of the sex worker is determined by the way in which they try to reconcile the above 3 points with their own reality. Life as a sex worker is lived everyday by balancing one kind of morality, namely that of economically helping family members and relatives under stress (due to the poverty) against another kind of morality, namely a sexual morality which says that you should not do sex work and by balancing the economic adversity with hope that this kind of life is going to

be short and afterwards you will be able to resume ties with kin and friends, whom you had to let go, for a while, while doing sex work.

The struggle between morality and reality produces 3 distinct forms of relationship between the sex workers and people around them.

- 1) women struggling to maintain their ties with family and kin
- 2) women trying to protect existing ties from disintegrating by avoiding contact with family and kin
- 3) women building new networks both to reduce the pain and agony of life as sex workers and to find ways of getting out of it.

Minor comments:

There is no information on male sexual workers.

Little discussion of more recent literature.

A sociological rather than an anthropological perspective, in the sense that we meet the women as figures more than as persons.

A highly interesting study with important information about girls/women involved in prostitution and the conditions under which they live and work.

Binyam Alemayehu 2007. Forthcoming.

“Children as agents of continuity and change. The case of children in two schools in the SNNPR. In (ed) Poluha, *Conceptualizations of children and childhood in different parts of Ethiopia*. To be published.

Binyam’s study deals with and compares urban and rural children in the Southern Nations, Nationalities and People’s Region in the south of Ethiopia. Binyam’s overarching argument is that hierarchical relations in the two areas are strong and are expressed in many and varied ways, like how obedience and respect are shown and rewards and punishments distributed. The study also illustrates how children are actively questioning hierarchies, despite having embodied many ideas of hierarchical behaviour. Binyam depicts children’s ideas of their rights and duties as children, and as pupils, and how they perceive and reflect on their experiences of gender, ethnicity and religion. Binyam also shows how particularly civic education and media have encouraged children to interpret what kind of rights they have, like not to be beaten in school or at home, despite what adults close to them seem to think. Some of the youngsters also act both individually and in groups to change, what they consider, encroachments on their rights. Binyam ethnographically illustrates the pervasiveness of gender in plays, duties, expected behaviour, tone of voice and words of address, even from teachers. Thus girls are expected to be withdrawn, shy, even when very intelligent, while boys are expected to be forward. Although many expressed an ideal of equality between boys and girls, their practice was gender biased, in favour of the boys. Only one girl questioned the conceptualization of gender. Boys questioned many aspects of their lives like punishments they received and to whom to show respect and how, but not gender aspects. An important difference that Binyam found refers to differences between the rural and the urban children. Thus, there seems to be less questioning of traditional norms in the countryside. Rural children also seem to be both beaten and cursed more often than urban children. In general, adults, including teachers appear to be less influenced by ideas about ‘children’s rights’ and more of their duties while, especially urban children, see it from the perspective of their rights. From his observations Binyam shows how institutions like schools can both enable change and constrain the initiatives of children. The power the institutions have to constrain children’s activities is very much due to the knowledge

children, youngsters and adults have of these institutions and of how “things ought to be”, factors which, without the persons being aware of them, tend to implicitly regulate their behaviour.

Getnet Tadele. 2006.

Bleak Prospects. Young men, sexuality and HIV/AIDS in an Ethiopian town.
Leiden: African Studies Centre. Research Report 80/2006

This is a doctoral dissertation in anthropology based on interviews. Objective: To explore sexuality and HIV/AIDS among young men in Dessie. Previously such studies have mainly been conducted by medical scientists and very few by sociologists and anthropologists. The health approaches to the study of sexuality and HIV/AIDS have mainly been limited to sexual behaviour in relation to HIV/AIDS. Although 50% of HIV infections occur among young people (15-24 years) these youngsters have not been focussed by the KAP studies, and the studies have not included those who do not attend school.

Getnet argues that previous studies did not pay attention to the macro social and economic circumstances. Too much weight were instead given to human agency and too little to structural factors.

Getnet argues against Caldwell’s view about a special “African” sexuality and means that HIV/AIDS is mainly tied to poverty (structural factor), and therefore research should be directed to the social and economic context, rather than to biology and culture. Globalisation and the market economy have increased economic and social inequalities among urban residents in Africa, he says, therefore these must be included in the studies.

Getnet’s research questions and objectives:

- 1) How do young people understand and express sexuality and HIV/AIDS in their daily lives?
- 2) How is poverty and other structural factors related to HIV/AIDS and other factors that may influence the sexuality of young people.
- 3) How do young people and key informants receive, interpret and value on-going interventions?
- 4) What can be done with regard to these issues?

Getnet also wants to look at religion and what religious leaders can do, but also to find out what their ideas of different kinds of sexual acts are.

Chapter 2: gives the background and context of the study: Ethiopia and Dessie.

Chapter 3: The Scarcity of love and money: a rhetoric complaint.

From the first pages it appears as if women are strong in the sense that they do not fall in love, instead they look for rich men whom they can enthrall and make them lose sense. This comment is not made by the author but comes out from his interviews. The picture of women is similar to the one Moroccan men have, as depicted by Eva Evers-Rosander, women are dangerous and lure men to believe that they love them.

Quotes: “Love is perceived as a commodity and women are seen as objects that a man with money can buy.”

“Women are only interested in money – they are manipulative – men are the true lovers.”

Dating usually starts in late primary school, in grade 7. Boys 14-15 and girls 13-14. The relationships were usually mediated through a peer.

Sex was perceived of as a war, a battle between the opposite sexes. Girls refused young men at their first attempt, men thought this was part of a courting ritual. If a girl says she is in love with and wants to go out with a boy, he is not interested, because if she takes the initiative he will feel inferior. Money was the major attraction for girls, other means to get a girl was to use force or threats.

According to the young men, girls were not able to feel romantic love but were calculating and rational, to get as many assets as possible. Men understood most women to enter a relationship either because they were forced to (by the men) or because they were bought, or cheated through gifts, pleasures or threats of violence.

Connection between micro and macro: Getnet links what happens to the youngsters in Dessie with what happens at the macro-level in Africa and Ethiopia. Poverty he argues makes money important in all transactions between men and women. The poverty make youngsters see sex and marriage as economic transactions which in turn promotes the fast spread of AIDS. Even women who earn more than their male partners expect to be invited out and paid for.

Getnet's discussion about the women's or girls' perspective is not built on ethnographic observations or interviews but hearsay, especially from the boys. Men continue to occupy the major economic resources in Ethiopia. Fewer women are educated. He also says that women's choices of men might be based on emotional feelings. The relationships are a complex mix of economic dependence, love, physical attraction and social norms.

According to the gender discourse in Ethiopia men need sex and love but not women. Therefore men must pay for it and it is part of a male hegemony.

The youngsters' view, that there is a close connection between love, sex and money, goes together with the public discourse on how difficult it is to trust somebody and how hard it is to find a marriage partner whom you can really trust since women only look for money and men are only out for sex. Getnet also points to a difference between how street boys and school boys view sex. Boys going to school are more romantic while street boys are more materialistic.

4. Sexuality, marriage and religion: moralistic views and double standards.

Major questions in this chapter:

What opinions do young people have about sex before marriage and how is it related to marriage?

How do they view marriage and what problems do they encounter when they want to get married?

What change is there with regard to traditional, sexual practices?

How do HIV/AIDS discourses and behaviour influence the young people's views on sex before marriage and marriage itself.

What is the connection between religion and premarital sex?

The youngsters dream of marriage but marriage is very far away for them because of all their economic insecurity. It is even further away because it is so expensive to marry, especially if you want to follow the new traditions.

Furthermore, for a man to keep his manliness he has to earn more than the woman otherwise it will be said that she married him (and not he married her).

The boys/youngsters thought that men are culturally, economically and socially superior to women.

Getnet explains the lack of trust between people as something that has been caused by the Derg and their police- and security system. The information system resulted in parents and children not trusting each other. Today this continues and has led to men and women all the time checking on each other's trustworthiness.

The boys thought that their future wives ought to be virgins, not to have experienced sex when they get married. The same men, argued that it was necessary to have sex before marriage in order to be good at it, thus meant that the woman they wanted to marry should not have had any sexual experience.

(86) Migration and globalization promote a further erosion of social relations.

These youngsters lived with very strong feelings of hopelessness. They saw many men (30-35) who had no job, lived at home without any kind of resources.

(90) To demand that the youngsters abstain from sex was of no use in this context, even with the knowledge of HIV/AIDS

The belief in God is very strong. There is, however, no reference in the study to any possible differences between Christians and Muslims. Most of the youngsters in the sample are Christian (63%) while 28.5% are Muslim.

The boys complained that many of the girls who wore the hijab still had boyfriends.

The men of the Church (Orthodox?) were very far from the children's reality.

Almost all the school girls involved in the study argued that pre-marital sex was not necessary. Furthermore, it was risky and they might become pregnant.

5. Normal and Abnormal.

Neither school nor street boys look on gang rape as something wrong. It was an expression of power, hostility, aggression and dominance – a way of disciplining and asserting dominance over women. Also gang rape was a means of revenge on a girl who had said no to a boy. Many of the young men watched pornographic films in small clubs.

6. Fire and shoes: surviving in a world with HIV/AIDS and condoms.

4 narratives about the origins of HIV/AIDS:

1) sent by ferenjjs who also have the medicine but won't give it to Africans. The ferenj is afraid that Africans will be too many (uneven relations south-north) The scientific explanation is that it is mainly transmitted through sex – intercourse.

2) it is the "fruits of compounded sin". Both categories see HIV/AIDS as God's punishment for an immoral way of living.

3) *amenmin* – a slimming disease – not anything new, it has existed since long back. A disease that made people lose their hair and become thin. In relation to this some people believe

that you can have safe sex with those who are fat, since it takes such a long time for HIV to become AIDS.

4) Primate origin: it started when white people had sex with apes.

Metaphors for HIV/AIDS : cobra, wild animal, also those with the disease become wild, uncontrollable, joker bomb. Most metaphors are derogatory. People express their despair, anxiety, frustration about something. No association to poverty as in many other African countries, where for example AIDS is translated as Acquired Income Deficiency Syndrome.

The level of awareness of HIV/AIDS is very low, especially among poor, like boys in the streets. Why do young people not use condoms, Getnet asks? The answers are: a lack of skill, there is no feeling without condom, the use of it is an expression of mistrust or lack of trust in the partner. Most do not know how to use it. Most distrust American condoms since Americans have no good will towards Africans.

Conclusion: young people (=men) in Dessie are not a homogeneous group with regard to HIV/AIDS, condom use etc. Religious groups do not support condom use because it would imply a support of sex outside marriage. A better argument, to make young people use condoms would be to say that it is the best means to prevent pregnancy.

Ch. 7 'We are overwhelmed by worry'. HIV/AIDS and other plights.

Street youths worried most about obtaining food, money and improving their living conditions. School youths worried about HIV/AIDS and what to do after school, if they would get a job or not.

In the early 80s HIV/AIDS research assumed that people needed more information to protect themselves properly. Later, in the 90s, it was shown that the issue was much more complex and that political and economic factors had a great impact on who was contaminated. Poor and uninfluential youth and adults are the ones who are most struck by the disease. Still, biomedical and behavioural understandings of sexuality have dominated many HIV/AIDS programs.

Concluding, Getnet argues that he has illustrated the mechanisms by which poverty puts young people (men mostly) at risk from HIV infection and how poverty can shape young people's lives, their future and their sexuality. Girls work as prostitutes without condoms, even when they know that they have the disease because they need to get enough money to support themselves and their families. Poor boys/ young men use alcohol, chat etc and then they also have sex without condoms.

Kjörholt, Ane Hagen. 2006.

The Emperor's New Clothes? 'Child participation in the Ethiopian school context

Master Thesis, Department of Political Science, University of Oslo, Spring 2006.

Focus of the research: how domestic discourses provide the context within which international norms are interpreted and the meaning the norms take when implemented.

The UNCRC has 54 articles and 3 pillars (Protection, Provision and Participation), Kjørholt deals with the third. Her focus is on how 'child participation' according to the Convention is constructed in the Ethiopian school system. She also wants to examine and discuss the domestic and international political role and function of 'child participation' in Ethiopia.

Kjorholt asks 4 specific questions that she wants to investigate:

- 1) How is 'child participation' perceived and defined in the Ethiopian school system?
- 2) How can this construction be related to broader perceptions and constructions of 'children' and 'childhood' in Ethiopia.
- 3) What drives 'child participation' as an international norm in Ethiopian society?
- 4) What is the role of 'child participation' and children's rights in Ethiopia's domestic and international relations.

Briefly the answers are as follows:

- 1) Kjorholt shows that child participation is understood theoretically as liberal democratic principles, the way these are used in the West and in the Convention; when asked how it can be used practically teachers state that it is by making children help and assist in cleaning the environment etc. (The approach becomes a bit limited since Kjorholt mainly sees it from how it is understood in the West, and thereby connects child participation and her research to the teaching of civics, where the Western understanding of it is taught. She does not connect it to personal observations of interactions in the school. Observations as a whole are few. The study is mainly based on interviews framed by the Western conception of participation.)
- 2) The argument is that child participation as understood in the West has been imported to Ethiopia because the government needs to show its good will to become democratic in order to get assistance. Kjorholt also points to the fact that the local conceptions of children may differ a bit. She does not go into any detail about what these conceptions might be. We actually know very little about the ideas of Ethiopian children and parents and about what they mean by children, childhood, child participation and such like.
- 3) What drives an implementation of the norm (child participation) in Ethiopia is both the need for international recognition and the power of the West to enforce its own understanding on poorer states.
- 4) Kjorholt concludes that teachers and civil servants believe that if children are properly taught about democracy the children might change the present hierarchical society once they are adults, that is in the future. The idea is that adults are not prone to change, they have already been moulded. Internationally, power relations are unequal, because capital is unequally distributed over the world. Kjorholt sees the Convention on the rights of the child as an imposition of 'child participation' on Ethiopia (and maybe other Southern countries as well) and therefore as an act of imperialism. The way it is constructed is not fit for the Ethiopian context, she argues.

Kjorholt explains norms according to the Oxford Dictionary as a standard or pattern, especially of social behaviour, that is typical of a group. Then she adds that it is found in social practice at a given time and place. It is a norm if most members consider it so and act upon it. Kjorholt means that 'child participation' according to the UNCRC is a norm.

Child participation in the UNCRC is based on the premise that children are actors in their own right, not passive recipients of knowledge. Kjorholt argues that this understanding is based on Western ideas of how children should be seen, treated and respected. According to the UNCRC and Western norms, she argues, children should be allowed a say in school and in society. Western liberal democratic principles are today taught in Ethiopian schools in civics.

According to civil servants, schools teach civics because the government is democratic. Children say that according to what they have learned in civics the government is undemocratic. According to teachers, schools teach civics, the theoretical underpinnings of democracy, so that today's children will learn about democracy and so that they may become democratic tomorrow. It is too late to reform adults, they argue, the culture is too strong and patriarchal. This is also what civil servants believe. In this sense both categories look upon children as 'adults-to-be' and not really as agents or actors acting today and on their own behalf. Still, the three categories, civil servants, teachers and children, agreed that the government wants to promote a democratic culture and a strong civil society. Adults have much faith in the children's chances of changing but do not think it is possible for adults to become democratic since they have been caught in the patriarchal relations.

Kjorholt suggests that it is not because the government is democratic, that civics is taught the way it is, because all evidence suggests that it is not, but it is because of the power that the West, western norms and ideas have globally, that makes it possible for Western powers to impose their own ideas. It is a power based on money which makes Western norms into global norms. She argues that what we see is a new kind of imperialism. Governments have to adopt the Western norm, especially if they want aid money.

Teachers and civil servants define 'participation' as 'to form and put forward ideas and opinions' and 'to take part in practical matters like for example cleaning and tidying up the environment'. The problem with its implementation, according to civil servants, is due to the hierarchical Ethiopian culture. Teachers put emphasis on the local patriarchal traditions as hindering the growth of democratic habits. Pupils are dissatisfied with their own regime and find the USA the most democratic country in the world.

While arguing that the Child Convention is imperialist Kjorholt shows that in itself The Convention is ambiguous. According to the Convention children are actors and individual agents and Kjorholt points to the fact that children in Ethiopia indeed are, and are seen as active producers in the economy and therefore considered as assets to their families and to society (referring to a study by Tatek Abebe and Aase). According to the Convention, however, children should not work, they should not be active in the economy, but should be taken care of economically when they are children because they are vulnerable. Therefore, the fact that children in Ethiopia work actively is, according to the Convention, another sign of underdevelopment rather than a sign that the children are actors on their own. Kjorholt calls it imperialism because a Western norm is used to evaluate a Southern country, saying that Ethiopia, or the parents in Ethiopia, cannot take proper care of their children, since they do not give them the economic security they are supposed to have as children. Because of this inability to fulfil the Western norm, Kjorholt argues, Ethiopia is depicted as underdeveloped.

Kjorholt further argues that promoting child participation in Ethiopia can be counterproductive because the Western norm might provide an alien framework for child – adult relations in Ethiopia, similarly to the enforced implementation of Western state structures onto African colonies. The latter did not work because the structures and the relations did not fit each other. Similarly implementing 'child participation' onto Ethiopia might also be counterproductive and the distance between youth and adults might become even greater.

Kjorholt wonders if the 'child participation' introduced into Ethiopia is not similar to the "Emperor's new clothes" as the title alludes to, (implying Andersen's story where everybody

was confused when they saw the emperor walking in the street, actually without clothes although it was said that he had his new clothes on. Then, only a child naively said that the emperor was naked). In the convention, it is very confusing what is meant by child participation and in the story everybody was confused because it had been said that the emperor had got new clothes and yet they could not see any. This is not made explicit in the thesis but seems to be the implication.

Kjørholt deals with several theoretical arguments relating to the advantages of using a constructivist approach combined with discourse analysis and realism. Her argument is that this makes it easier to study norms in international relations in political science.

Knutsson, Anneka. 2004.

“To the best of your knowledge and for the good of your neighbor” A study of traditional birth attendants in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Göteborg: Göteborg Studies in educational sciences 222.

This is a doctoral dissertation of traditional birth attendants in Shiro Meda in Addis Abeba. It has three purposes:

- 1) to describe the role, function, knowledge and practice of urban TBAs in AA,
- 2) to describe how knowledge is constituted, transmitted and established within this group, and
- 3) to describe the informal health system that constitutes the working reality of the TBAs.

p.34 Denzin (1992:26) on the complexity of people’s identity (personality) talks of six selves:

- 1) the phenomenological self – the inner stream of consciousness of the person in a social situation;
- 2) The interactional self – the self that is presented and displayed to another in a concrete sequence of action;
- 3) The linguistic self – the person filling in the empty pronouns (I, me) with personal, biographical and emotional meaning
- 4) The material self – all the person calls hers/his in a particular moment in time
- 5) The ideological self – the broader cultural and historical meanings that surround the definition of the individual in a particular group or social situation (tourist, husband, wife)
- 6) The self as desire – the mode of self experience which desires its own fulfilment through the flesh and bodily presence of the other.

These forms of the self are enacted in the interactional situation and become part of the biography of the person.

43-56 **The concept of knowledge:** theoretical and practical:

Theoretical knowledge derived from science, often seen as predominant.

Practical knowledge often seen as preceding theoretical, less important, subordinate.

Theoretical knowledge – defined by science as a body of knowledge that can be objectified, rational. According to the natural sciences it is defined as observational truth, impersonal, generated only from logic. Kuhn opposed this view of theoretical knowledge and argued that every theory is dependent on the scientist’s basic assumptions about reality, following a paradigm, a model of thought that guides the scientific discussion and conclusion until by a “scientific revolution” a new paradigm is agreed upon.

Tacit or practical knowledge – non-verbal, intuition, applied knowledge. A dimension, quality, that separates the skilful from someone merely negating an activity. Tacit or practical knowledge is experience-based, asserted by participating in a certain activity where repeated practice contributes to the specialized skilfulness of the individual. Found within and expressed through action.

Theoretical knowledge seen as separate from the individual. No personal experience required. **Tacit or practical knowledge** presuppose the interaction and experience of the individual. Practical knowledge literally becomes embodied.

Conflicting positions of belief and knowledge. Belief often used to suggest uncertainty or error. People themselves seldom make such a distinction – they think of it simply as what they know. E.g. attempts by Ethiopian authorities to eradicate harmful beliefs (e.g. traditional practices) by Good labelled as the urge of science to install “correct belief”. (Compare children’s rights, participation etc.)

“If we unwarily label a representation of their (other societies) realities as belief when it is part of their worldview and part of what they know, we may not only use the term incorrectly but diminish the importance of that knowledge (Good 1994)

Authoritative knowledge is the knowledge or knowledge system that out of a number of systems ascends to the one that counts – and as such is perceived as natural, reasonable. Why a particular system comes to carry more weight and becomes dominant is explained by its efficacy and/or structural superiority – even though it may not necessarily be the “correct” knowledge.

Scientific knowledge is often the one that takes precedence e.g. medical sciences. In the West, the scientific definition of childbirth and childrearing has almost taken a century to gain general acceptance and become part of traditions and culture. Still, it is expected that other societies should accept these traditions almost instantly.

Authoritative knowledge often scientific that only experts know, mostly men, educated. Generally theoretical rather than practical.

Induction – deduction – abduction.

An inductive phase of analysis means you generate inductive hypotheses, themes, hunches about important meanings of your data. And you start coding them.

The deductive phase is when you try your data against already existing data (books, references) or new data that you have generated.

Abduction is to arrive at a theoretical explanation – a general statement of events which explain variations in data and which can be reflectively checked.

Perceptions of pregnancy: (mainly Amhara and Christians)

From the moment a woman realizes that she is expecting a child she starts worrying. She worries about two things: about dying in labour and about the health of the child.

Pregnancy is a period of preparation for labour. The pregnant mother and foetus are perceived as one unit, one body. Therefore the preparation includes to prepare for the separation of the mother from the child, for two lives. Preparations are divided into 4 areas: spiritual, nutritional, bodily and biomedical.

Spiritual preparations of pregnant women include: praying primarily to Maryam but also to God. Prayers show the woman’s fear of the unknown. She asks for protection and for

detachment from her child. The preparation also involves emotional control. A pregnant woman should avoid strong feelings, not be sad or worry or get angry because that may harm her child.

Nutritional preparations: the primary problem for these women is poverty – they cannot eat what they need. To be avoided are oranges, milk, water and sugar cane because they increase the growth of the foetus and should be avoided as they may cause obstructed labour. They also try to minimize the risk of passing stools during delivery. It is taboo in Amhara culture to let anyone see your faeces and intestinal parasites. This is considered shameful and should be avoided. Important that a mother does not gain too much weight since that may make delivery more difficult.

Bodily preparations and precautions: Dress – loose clothes to feel comfortable and slippers to avoid stumbling or falling. Rest but not avoid work altogether. Avoid lifting heavy things.

Birth: first priority to save the life of the mother then of the child.

A woman should not cry or scream during labour – it is bad manners.

Maryam is invoked at all stages of the birthing process.

Childbirth takes place in an almost dark room to protect child and mother from wind, cold, sunlight and evil spirits.

Inger, colostrum is considered good for the child.

A woman is seen to be impure after childbirth. She has been opened up and is also susceptible to evil spirits. She will be purified through a church ritual 40 days after the birth of a boy and 80 after the birth of a girl. During this period she should be restored with good food **genfo**, e.g.

Twins are perceived by most as unfortunate because you will have two to feed.

Today TBAs use razor blades that either are new or that they boil. They also try to wash their hands before examination. They are also worried about sores on their hands when delivering, worried that they will catch the 'new' disease.

Muluembeat Kiar. 2007.

“Children in Ethiopian Media and School Textbooks.”

In (ed) Poluha, *Conceptualizations of children and childhood in different parts of Ethiopia*. To be published.

Muluembeat has studied children's programmes in electronic and printed media both to find out how children were depicted in them, and how children and youngsters used the media, what they liked or disliked and why. She has also studied children's school textbooks used in Addis Abeba from grades 1 to 8, in different subjects, all written in Amharic. In the studies Muluembeat looked at how gender, ethnicity, religion, disability, age and economic status were represented. In her interviews with children Muluembeat found that although for example gender was rather evenly treated in the newspapers and there was information directed to children in some of them, neither parents nor children had any habit of reading newspapers. Among the many interesting observations from school textbooks was that they strongly encouraged the pupils to cooperate and respect children and adults of another gender, ethnicity or creed. This, in itself, seems to support the arguments by Binyam Alemayehu and Ayele Tamene who state that civic education helped children fight for their rights. In general, Muluembeat's study argues that the gender, and other traditional,

stereotypes forwarded by media, seemed to be reiterated by the children in their views of society.

Nardos Chuta. 2007.

“Conceptualizations of children and childhood in Oromia, East Shewa, Bishoftu”.

In (ed) Poluha, *Conceptualizations of children and childhood in different parts of Ethiopia*. To be published.

Nardos conducted the study in one rural and one urban school in and outside of Bishoftu in the Oromo region in Ethiopia. Focus is on conceptualizations of children and childhood. Nardos gives us an outline of the important aspects of child growth and what adults tend to identify as normal and what they see as deviant, especially during the first year or years of the child. In her discussion of a child's love for and by a grandmother Nardos illustrates how the relationship between parents and children sometimes can be quite ambiguous, in the mix of love and responsibility. In the ethnography from the two schools Nardos shows the importance of gender for how girls and boys play different games, but also how group work in class can allow girls as well as boys to play an active role in a gender mixed setting. Similarly to Ayele Tamene's study from the Amhara region and Binyam Alemayehu's from the region of the Southern Peoples, the children in Nardos study point to many important differences that exist between children who live in the rural as compared to the urban areas. The children themselves argue that rural children have more work to do at home after school which gives them less time to study; that urban parents are often more informed about new ideas; that rural children are more shy and withdrawn than urban children, that the latter express themselves better; and that rural children do not argue for their rights to the same degree.

Nieuwenhuys, Olga. 2001.

“By the sweat of their brow? ‘Street Children’, NGOs and Children's Rights in Addis Ababa.” *Africa* 71 (4), 539-557. 2001.

According to Nieuwenhuys the UNCRC has forced NGOs in Addis to change their approach to children from giving them food, clothes etc, labelled as a charity approach to enforce children's rights which has implied that they indirectly require children to work in the streets. To substantiate this argument, Nieuwenhuys provides the following ethnographic evidence and arguments:

Catchwords like ‘empowerment’ and ‘autonomy’ used in the Convention, imply that children should no longer be seen as passive instruments but as individuals capable of making their own decisions.

The problem according to the author is that the implementation of the Convention is done in a context of economic liberalization and the retreat of the state from social services. What she argues is that so called ‘street children’ (who are taken by the NGOs to be similar to ‘street children’ as these historically emerged in the West together with the industrialization, but actually have no similarities with these historical children) in Addis Ababa are very active socially, maintaining contacts with a lot of people, and economically, buying and selling different items. Nieuwenhuys implies that what the Ethiopian children do, does not correspond to what ‘normal’ i.e. Western children do. The latter spend their time in school and at home. The imperative for the NGOs is to try to make Ethiopian children

adapt to the Western normative mode. It is not specified how this is related to the 'rights' approach.

A Western 19th century idea was that the poor should not be helped unless they worked, otherwise they would become lazy and lack morals. These ideas today influence the work of NGOs.

The Ethiopian government demands that NGOs work in such a way that they make themselves un-necessary – meaning that NGOs should have a developmental type of approach in their activities. This has been implemented according to the author since today's NGOs do not work so much with orphaned children as with poor children with families. NGOs also promote micro-credit programmes for poor women to enable them to earn a living. She says

'micro-credit schemes are believed to offer children (!) legitimate ways to work yet remain in their families (546)'. On one hand, she says, that children no more get any free lunch, on the other, that NGOs work with an 'unimaginative formula... free lunches, second-hand clothes, medical care and recreation opportunities' (ibid). The selection of children to get the benefits is done by kebele authorities and is based on age, and family situation. All this, it is implied, is bad. Furthermore, since only 1 child per family is helped the relations between them and their families become strained, the children get worried, cannot eat, cannot study. The study on which the generalizations are based is small and it would be interesting to know whether this is really a general experience. In my own research I have encountered girls being helped to attend school while the parents themselves pay for the boys. I have heard girls and boys from very poor families talking of how they will help their families once they finish their studies and get a job. These are also extremely poor families some of whose parents are beggars.

Generalizations like the following abound:

p. 550 'The kind of assistance NGOs provide to the children of the poor, in sum, is the source of tensions that tear their families apart and eventually lead children to work on the streets, a process precipitated by the phasing out of the programmes'.

These generalizations are not substantiated by sufficient ethnography to make it possible to believe them, thus the whole argument becomes very confusing.

Poluha, Eva. 2004.

The Power of Continuity. Ethiopia Through the Eyes of Its Children. Uppsala: Nordic Africa Institute.

Poluha had had thirty years of personal experiences and observations of events in Ethiopia when she made the fieldwork for this book. According to her, relations between state and people, adults and children, men and women in Ethiopia were visibly authoritarian and surprisingly durable. Despite radical government changes from a 'feudal', to a 'socialist', to a 'democratic' regime, the hierarchical relations continued to be reproduced. On its way to power each new government was open, flexible and tolerant and people were optimistic, eager to find out what kind of 'development' the new government was going to bring them. Within a couple of years, however, similar changes occurred and each government's need to control people and curb local and individual initiatives gradually but quickly increased. Citizens who initially were allowed their own opinions and encouraged to express criticism were made to choose sides, a process reinforced with intimidations, threats, imprisonments and even killings.

Poluha's personal experiences from these three governments resulted in the following research question, which, in the book is investigated from different perspectives: *how can it be that authoritarian relations seem to be so tenacious and that they time and again tend to reassert themselves? How do such relations relate to cultural schemas or dominant discourses in an Ethiopian context?*

The research question is approached through a study of how children acquire cultural competence. In accordance with Strauss and Quinn (1997:6), cultural schemas or meanings are understood as 'the interpretation evoked in a person by an object or event at a given time' where a person's interpretation of it 'includes an identification of it and expectations regarding it, and, often, a feeling about it and a motivation to respond to it'. With this conceptualisation of cultural schemas in mind Poluha has studied the processes of cultural cognition among young school children focussing on their understanding of rank and its implications in different contexts. In the book the children's daily practices, their expectations and emotions and how they think they ought to relate to specific others, whether in an egalitarian or a hierarchical way, are described. Norms, values and ideals that guide children in their interactions including how they expect to be treated by others are presented. The analysis provides a pattern of rights and duties that individual children express, including their motivations for following this pattern. Poluha also describes what the children seemed to be aware of regarding super and subordination, their emotions about such hierarchical relations, what they questioned, as well as what they seemed to take for granted because it appeared 'natural'. The book tries to uncover the gross patterns of communication between children and children and adults, to identify the major actors safeguarding the patterns and to describe how they do it. Not only dominant discourses but also counter-discourses are identified, together with the individuals and groups of children who questioned or even contested the dominant patterns.

The ethnographic data were obtained through participant observation from January 2000 to January 2001 in a grade four in a school in Addis Abeba. The population was mixed; there were Coptic Christians and Muslims, some small shop-owners and many beggars. All communication in and outside the classroom, in interviews and essays, was in Amharic. After about three months of participant observation the children in class were asked to write essays on different topics and some twenty girls and boys were also asked to write diaries.

The ethnography from the school is discussed and compared with other anthropological, political, child- and gender-focussed books and articles dealing with the key concepts that emerged from the discussions with the children, namely obedience, control, participation, gender, collective and individual, hierarchy and equality, and continuity and change. The ethnography illustrates how complex, sometimes even contradictory, the meanings of these seemingly homogeneous concepts can be.

The argument emanating from the ethnography and pursued throughout the book revolves around the strength of cultural schemas as expressed in norms, values, embodied behaviour and modes of speech. Time and again children individually re-interpret but at the same time also often re-establish patterns of behaviour according to what they see others do and say. The descriptions of the children show that they are all different. They are individuals and as such unique. At the same time, there is very little that the children question, even unintentionally, of established patterns for interaction and of doing their tasks.

The children's everyday lives thus show little sign of critical examination, of questioning, contestation or change. Change is, by Poluha, discussed in the sense of a fundamental transformation of cultural schemas in human beings or in modes of decision-making within institutions, that is a complete break with the past. Such radical transformation is not something that comes suddenly, but requires much time. Yet, when looking at the children in school, at the characteristics of the last 150 years of Ethiopian history and at present-day politics Poluha finds few traces of large-scale change. There are very few counter-discourses among the children, either about their lives or relationships; there is also very little serious questioning from adults about the governing of the state, the role of the economy, or the use and need for new technology. As of today, Poluha concludes, there seems to be no sign of any strong contesting counter-discourse in any of the areas where established hierarchical relations prevail.

On the other hand, she argues, there are many reasons why cultural schemas or patterns for doing things are perpetuated. One such cause is that what individuals learn when young, tends to become deeply buried in them and through repetition slowly taken for granted. The fact that the process is gradual makes it more difficult to question. Furthermore, she argues, cultural patterns tend to be reconfirmed and reinforced by repetition in similar and different contexts, thereby making them even harder to contest.

She also makes reference to institutions, where, it is argued, it is even more difficult to promote change since it would require more people, greater efforts and more energy as compared to the limited efforts and people that seem to be required to promote continuity. In concluding the book, Poluha argues that the fact that the Ethiopian mode of governance is so well and deeply established and that individuals early in life grow up with and become part of hierarchical patterns of communication seems to make the possibility of an imminent break with these patterns negligible.

Preface

A 30-year personal commentary on Ethiopian politics highlighting meetings between representatives of the state and peasants, between teachers and students and observations of the fluctuating demand for newspapers. The flashback results in the question: Why is it that authoritarian relations between state and people are perpetually reproduced; and why do they seem to be so durable despite radical shifts in government. The chapters that follow try to answer the question through an ethnography of school children.

1. The Research Context

Children have been omitted from studies of politics although their modes of communication give as much as, if not more information about the ideology, cultural schemas and 'realpolitik' of a society, than any research about adults. The study is viewed in the context of other research on children, culture and politics and it is emphasized that children must be seen as actors in their own right and that one way of doing so is to allow their voices to be heard. Theories of cultural cognition are discussed in relation to how such processes can be studied through participant observation. A brief overview of education in Ethiopia and how the Addis Abeba school children fit into the picture is presented. The content of the fieldwork from January 2000 to January 2001 in a grade 4 in Addis, with three extended visits to a rural area, is described and advantages and drawbacks with the methods used are discussed in relation to other texts on fieldwork and methodology.

2. The World of School Children

Chapter two is an introduction to the social life of children outside the school. A description of their daily activities, discussions and work, based on diaries and interviews provides the context and content of the children's lives and illustrate how they through practice and reflections on their experiences, develop their cultural schemas or 'habitus' in interaction with their surrounding.

3. In the Classroom

Chapter three describes what life is like in the classroom, how different teachers use time, space and school materials in their lectures and how children respond to the teaching. Despite individual variations between both teachers and students the overall hierarchical pattern in class is similar. This is due to an interplay of a number of complex overarching factors like norms and values, controlling structures, patterns of relations and a specific culture for rendering accounts. A counter discourse, which suddenly erupts during one lesson, emphasizes the distinctive characteristics of the pattern given by passive students.

4. Growing up into Hierarchy – Learning Obedience, Respect and Control

Chapter four depicts and discusses the complexities of super- and subordination at home and in school and how hierarchy is taught and learned. Obedience, respect and control were three key concepts used by the girls and boys to illustrate their relations with adults. To obtain 'good' children adults used various rewards and punishments. These are described and discussed in relation to the children's opinions of them. Interactions between children, and between children and adults, are regulated by criteria like age, gender, adult- and childhood as well as position in society. Although the rules are strict, children also take initiatives to protect their elders, parents and teachers, and there are situations when an inversion of expected roles takes place.

5. Gender, a Distinguishing and Stratifying Principle

Chapter five discusses the characteristics and reproduction of gender relations. The children's concern with being 'good' and 'bad' is often expressed in their evaluations of their own and each other's behaviour. Although many do not reflect upon gender as a differentiating factor for children, direct questions show their awareness of the implications of being either a girl or a boy. The most active in continuing the process of female subordination are women and their daughters, while men and boys are little involved. These phenomena are discussed with reference to recent debates in feminism and gender studies.

6. Us and Them – Categories of Belonging

In chapter six three different existential categories of belonging, the group of friends, the religious group and being an Ethiopian are discussed historically and from the children's perception of them. Although all the categories are part and parcel of the children's conceptualisation of their own identity, and appear to be stable and fixed, their content and meaning are at the same time in a process of change, being negotiated and altered due to context, participants and national and global events, and partly contradicting the official ethnic politics of the government.

7. Development of the Ethiopian State – Dominant Cultural Schemas

In chapter seven the children's experiences, presented in chapters two to six, are viewed and related to the dominant cultural schemas that can be discerned in the growth of the Ethiopian state since around 1850. A summary of the last 150 years focusing on the Derg and the EPRDF regimes provides material for the argument that the country's potential for development still is at a very low level. This is mainly due to the authoritarian rule of the state and people's lack of trust in both rulers and institutions.

8. Continuity and Change

With reference to recent theoretical debates in anthropology, political sociology and political philosophy on mechanisms promoting continuity and mechanisms that seem to be required for change, the future of Ethiopia is speculated upon. Although minor changes can be observed at the level of the children and might be introduced at higher institutional levels the prospects for major change in the way the country is governed appear dim. For this to happen new, large-scale institutional arrangements and a radical break with how the state has been traditionally run would have to be introduced. At present no such sight is in view.

Poluha, Eva. 2007.

“Research with and about children – theoretical, methodological and ethical aspects.” In (ed) Poluha, *Conceptualizations of children and childhood in different parts of Ethiopia*. To be published.

In this chapter, Poluha gives an introduction to the study of children and childhood. The first part deals with the theoretical background to child studies and its linkage to general theoretical debates in social anthropology. The second part discusses the research process, focusing on methods that can be used to study children and links the methods to the dominant theories. The last part deals with ethical aspects which are relevant both for anthropological studies in general and studies with children in particular.

Poluha, Eva. 2007.

"Research on Ethiopian Children: subjects covered and possible new themes". In (ed) Poluha, *Conceptualizations of children and childhood in different parts of Ethiopia*. To be published.

The chapter is based on the present preliminary “Annotated bibliography on children and childhood in Ethiopia”. The discussion focuses on what topics and themes that have been covered in writing, what ethnic, religious and age groups that have been depicted, how gender and class issues have been treated, and what methods and theories that have been used. The purpose is to take stock of what has already been documented and initiate a discussion about possible future directions for children and childhood studies in Ethiopia.

Save the Children Finland and PADET.2005.

Professional Alliance for Development in Ethiopia., September.
Assessment Report on the Situation of Children in Konso Special Woreda, SNNPR.

The economic situation in Konso is difficult. Several years with poor rains has made food production both low and irregular. Both children and adults seem to suffer from malnutrition as a result. 1/3 of the area is in Woyna Dega, and 2/3 in Kolla. 3% population increase/year. Marriage between clans is possible but not in-clan marriage.

Average landholding size /household is 1.4 ha. The Konso grow sorghum, maize, haricot beans, pigeon peas. They intercrop with barley, wheat, millet, chick peas, cotton, coffee, pepper and fruits. They have built stone terraces since 300 years. They also have cattle, sheep, goats and weave cloth. Poverty has lead to a move to lower altitudes with tse tse flies

and malaria. Women do most of the work in and off the fields but have little say in the disposition of produce. Men's strength is understood to be drained from sexual encounters so they often stay in men's houses. Women are not allowed to participate in public meetings – *mora*. Land is divided according to family size but women have no rights. They are in-married and do not belong to the clan. People are protestants and polygamists.

Circumcision is not practiced. Abduction and early marriage are unusual. Marriage is not arranged by parents, the parties have to agree. The head of the administrative structure is a *king*, called *Koffa*. There are male age grade systems.

Regarding education, school attendance rate in general is very low, and for girls almost none attends.

A child is defined by most adults and children as somebody under the age of 7. Some said under 10. Because the under 7 cannot distinguish between right and wrong. Parents want sons who will stay with them while daughters leave upon marriage. But many mothers want daughters who can help them with the tough work at home. Girls work longer hours and at tougher work than men. Blacksmiths and potters are discriminated against.

Tatek Abebe 2006.

under review for Geografiska annaler.

Earning a living on the margins: begging, work and the socio-spatial experiences of street children in Addis Ababa. Norwegian Centre for Child Research, NTNU.

The aim of the paper is to explore the livelihood strategies and begging experiences of street children in Addis Ababa.

The general socio-economic characteristics of begging children are as follows: many had parents who were widows, disabled or themselves beggars. According to MOLSA (1994) a significant number of begging children are themselves disabled, orphaned or abandoned. They are also often the 1st or 2nd generation migrants. 53% of Tatek's informants (totally 60) came from outside Addis Abeba. 1/3 were girls while in a study by Aptekar and Heinonen 2003, only ¼ were girls. 84% of the informants lived with one parent, 46% with a step-parent. All but 3 were Orthodox Christians. Only 14% did not sleep in their homes, but somewhere outside. The housing conditions were very poor.

History and social context: Begging is related to alms-giving in both Orthodox and Muslim traditions. The number of beggars has increased enormously. Tatek distinguishes 3 waves of destitution which added to the number of children as beggars:

- 1) 1974-75 the famine in the north which killed more than a million people and made many children into orphans.
- 2) The socialist regime created a number of orphans through wars.
- 3) The HIV-AIDS epidemic further added to the number of orphans.

According to the Government of Ethiopia 2006, out of 70 million people there are 5 million orphans.

Begging and livelihood strategy: poverty is often what triggers children to come out and start begging. They beg in order to help their families for which they feel responsible. Beggars tend to earn more than daily labourers. As beggars, the children have their own networks, groups and hierarchies. In the networks they often help each other (this contradicts Aptekar

and Heinonen' statement that groups in Addis are not nurturing as in Nairobi or Cali in Colombia, see above). The hierarchical relationship can be due to their experience as beggars, where elder children tutor the young. Some are also better at begging than others. There are many variations regarding the time they beg: while some beg full-time, others go to school half day and beg half and some only beg now and then.

Some grow up begging with their parents and then continue on their own. For those with long experiences in begging it seems to be more difficult to leave and start something else, as compared to those who have done it for a shorter time. As the children grow older they also earn less and have to find other means of survival. More boys than girls beg. There is a traditional view that girls should not be out in the streets and this norm makes it more difficult for girls to beg. Begging demands great social mobility because police and guards, among others, push children away from the places where they work while religious and other celebrations pull the children to certain places to get alms, food etc.

The public seems to be divided on the issue of beggars. Many strongly dislike them while others also feel compassion with them.

Children's strategies towards begging differ from *defensive* to sit and beg or to talk but never meet people's eyes; to *resistance* not accepting to be placed at the margin of society; to *resilience* when they learn to cope and adapt. Some also consider begging as work in its own right. For other children begging is like a taboo, thus Gurage children do not beg but work.

Conclusion: Beggars are not one category of people. They are diverse with regard to how they look upon it, time spent on it and in it, and how they started begging. Tatek concludes that child beggars question the local and global normative assumption that childhood should be a playful, work-free and care-receiving phase in life.

Tatek Abebe 2007.

'Changing Livelihoods, Changing Childhoods: Patterns of Children's Work in Rural Southern Ethiopia'. In *Children's Geographies*, Vol.5, No 1-2, 77-93, February to May 2007.

Argument: a shift in adult livelihood strategies, related to a focus on cash production, unfair trade relations, the spread of HIV-AIDS and neo-liberal policies has deeply affected the lives and survival strategies of rural Gedeo children. The study thus deals with how the lives of rural children in an African country are affected by a number of global phenomena interacting with each other and local people in southern Ethiopia.

Gedeo is situated in the Southern Regional State. It has a rural density exceeding 400 persons per square kilometre. People used to subsist on ensete, or false banana. For the last decades, ensete has been replaced by coffee in the interest of both the farmers and the Ethiopian state. Chat is another cash crop produced. Between 1990 and 2002 the price of coffee has fallen drastically and the adult population in particular has migrated to town to search for alternative livelihoods. People's problems are compounded by a rapid population growth and a shortage of land.

The low coffee prices are due to an imbalance in international terms of trade. Northern countries restrict their market to products from the South by setting up trade barriers and tariffs, they also give subsidies to producers in their own countries and can thereby dictate commodity prices. The low prices are also a question of more producers of coffee, like

Vietnam, and no disease hitting the crops. The Ethiopian coffee income has decreased by more than half, despite an increase in export of more than 2/3 since the mid-1990s. Added to this, the SAP programme has implied a rise in land tax and the removal of subsidies from agricultural inputs.

Gedeo children's lives and work load has changed as a result of all the above. Because of earlier subsistence agriculture they had a varied nutrition intake and with the adults at home they could go to school even though they always contributed their work to that of the family. With the change in the production system their life style changed. With adults away on work more fell on to the children at home. Many girls had to take over the full responsibility for the domestic tasks, like cooking, cleaning, washing and taking care of younger siblings. Boys and those girls who were free also picked the coffee that was produced, but at much lower wages than adults, and boys helped with planting coffee seedlings. Boys also spent time in the public sphere selling what had been produced at home or buying in some place what they thought could find a better price in a bigger/ or smaller market. The gender division of work has become even more conspicuous making boys more exposed to public arenas and girls restricted to the home area. Economic problems in the families also make them keep more of their daughters home from school since they find it better to invest in a boy.

The tough situation that children face has been exacerbated by the spread of HIV/AIDS which has made many, especially among the very poor, into orphans. Not only do children become the economic providers of siblings and sometimes sick parents but they also provide emotional security to all at a very early age. In this way children are considered as both economic and emotional assets to their families and society at large.

However, alongside growing global wealth, there is a widening inequality in children's living conditions, both within and between countries (page 91). This is also due to globalization.

Tatek Abebe and Anne, T. Kjörholt.

Work in progress for Childhood.

“Entrepreneur children in rural Ethiopia: work, agency and social competence.”

The article discusses socialization of rural children in Gedeo, Ethiopia. The main objectives are 1) to see how children's livelihood strategies have changed due to market oriented policies. 2) to investigate into how these children are socialized and the impact of work and education on their socialization. 3) to study the economic role of children in a market oriented economy.

Theoretically the study deals with 1) the agency of children, 2) recognition of children's competence to act economically and socially. Studies of Ethiopian children have to a large degree dealt with children in the public sphere, such as 'street children', and urban children's work and socialization and how it is mediated through intergenerational bargain, gender-based hierarchies, and unequal relations of power and reciprocity. In general, the authors argue that there is a paucity of studies on rural children in Africa at present.

Gedeo children are since long socialized to work. Their work has been seen as both a contribution to the family and to society. Work is both an economic contribution for today but also an education, a means to learn, to be able to work and make a living tomorrow. The

work is strictly gender-divided. Boys work with agriculture and with selling agricultural products while girls are responsible for the domestic tasks and the household economy. Important cash crops for the Gedeo are coffee and chat. Children (boys? and/or girls?) are more adept at picking coffee than adult men.

Among the Gedeo, children are considered as economic assets, and large families have been highly valued and, it is argued, have been a structural necessity. There has, however, been a change in the work of especially poor Gedeo children due to the affliction of HIV/AIDS. There are many more orphans today and the deepening poverty and social inequality have made children into social burdens rather than resources. The authors argue that two dichotomous approaches to children have developed:

- 1) children as dependent, vulnerable, needing care from adults, children as socially developing, this idea seems to be more prevalent among the middle classes;
- 2) children as competent actors with agency and social capabilities, among the poor.

In the market children work as sellers and buyers of various articles, as middlemen and as transporters of goods. Deteriorating economic conditions have made it necessary for children to migrate to ever more far-away areas – there has thus been a change in their spatial mobility – which has reduced their chances to study. This is especially the case for older boys. While girls are more often into retail sale, boys tend to carry out heavy work. Young girls also tend to take the responsibility for domestic and caring work. The ethnography also illustrates the responsibility (caring and economy) children take for parents, siblings and their close family.

The discussion is based on the concepts *consuming* and *contributing* children. Structural aspects are emphasized, especially the global influences within which children's livelihoods are carried out. These structures need, according to the authors, to be studied and understood contextually for us to be able to promote, rather than make, the Gedeo children's childhood more difficult.

Tayetch Beyene and Eva Poluha. 1978.

Life and play of Ethiopian children. Stockholm: the Swedish International Development Authority.

The booklet describes how children are viewed in different Ethiopian societies. Babies, for example, are described through some lullabies translated from different languages. There are also some examples of stories for children and descriptions of the lives of shoeshine boys.

Tirusew Teferra 2005.

Disability in Ethiopia: Issues, Insights and Implications. Addis Abeba University Printing Press.

The book is presented as a generalized description for Ethiopia, but mainly discusses Christians and has an Addis Abeba focus.

1. Contextualizing Disability.

Prevalence of disability: in a study conducted in 1995 it was found that 2.95% of the Ethiopian population were disabled. 40% of these had motor disorders, 30% had visual impairment, 15% had hearing impairment. The definition of disability is based on the context in which persons live. E.g. there is a wide variation in estimated rates between developed

and developing countries. Thus a survey in Australia in 1993 found 18% with disability, China 1987 and Pakistan 1984/85 had 4.9% disability and India in 1991 had 1.9%.

The cause for children being born disabled in Ethiopia is usually attributed to Satan. Disability is associated with sin, shame and feelings of guilt, resulting in a rejection and ostracism of the children. Thus, the causes of disability are often perceived as a curse, a consequence of wrong-doing or evil deed by parents, ancestors or the person her- himself or some other supernatural presence.

Treatment: (Parents in the countryside often become aware of the children's disabilities very late, especially when they do not go to school.)

Traditional treatment: **Herbal** cures of many kinds exist (not clear for what). **Debteras** and **metsehaf gelach** (educated within the church) can provide amulets (a written scroll, leaves, roots, plants) packed in cloth or leather which will hang around the neck of the child for protection against evil eyes, evil spirits, injury, disease and bad luck.

Indigenous Psychotherapy: **Bale zar** and **Qalecha** can be possessed by spirits when they become mediators between the supernatural and the patient/or relative of a patient. When possessed they inquire into the history of the patient and suggest a remedy.

Physiotherapeutic Treatment: Wogesha treat problems related to body co-ordination, locomotion etc.

Parents having children with disabilities:

Either take their children to religious or secular traditional healers for a couple of months, sometimes for years, this costs both time and money. The health centre or hospital is a last resort.

Disabled children are discriminated against and female disabled are doubly discriminated against. E.g. gang rape common of blind girls. Such acts are mostly hushed up (182). Discrimination often related to social exclusion, lack of opportunities for education and employment, acts of violence (physical, sexual, psychological) and stereotyped societal perception.

2. CONSULTANCY REPORTS

Ankesu Biazen et altera. 2002, September.

Learning for Life. Save the Children's Experience in Alternative Basic Education in Ethiopia. Save the Children.

A booklet evaluating the experiences of SC Denmark, Norway, Sweden, UK, USA with alternative basic education in different parts of Ethiopia. The study focuses on

1. Access

a) Policy and Practice according to MoE and practices in the ABE centers

b) Location, buildings, size and cost of centers

c) Trends in enrolment. More and more children are enrolled, especially in formal schools.

2. Equity – gender

Despite a lot of advocacy there are still more boys than girls enrolled.

3. Quality.

- a) Curriculum development. The 4-year cycle condensed to 3 subjects: mother tongue, English, mathematics, environmental science and aesthetics. (5?) Special curricula adapted to local environment and needs have been developed.
- b) Recruitment and Training of Facilitators. Most facilitators have passed grade 12, where such could not be found students having finished grade 8 have been recruited. Other criteria: living in the community, good behaviour. Training has been given as pre- and in-service training.
- c) Changes in academic performance and behaviour: Researchers evaluated students' behavioural performance and facilitators evaluated students' behavioural performance.

4. Relevance of Curricular Materials

Facilitators evaluated the relevance of the curriculum materials in relation to hygiene, disease, nutrition, farming, culture, environment, protection, income generation and development.

5. Efficiency indicators evaluated were: a) dropout, b) retention rate, c) repetition rate, d) absenteeism, e) class size and student-teacher ratio, f) the academic calendar and schedule flexibility. Result: more efficient than formal schools.

6. Administration and management. Locally viable because of a school management committee, SMC, consisting of people from local community and educational offices. Lacks institutionalised contacts with formal educational bureaus.

Conclusions: ABEs are a low-cost (wood, mud, iron sheets; the cost was less than 1 10th of a first cycle primary school) alternative basic education programs for out-of-school children mainly in rural areas, but also in urban. At the time there were 130 ABE centres catering to 19 500 school aged children. Still, a majority of the children have no access to schooling. The ABE schools correspond to the first cycle primary school (1-4) and graduates can start in grade 5. The 1-4 year curriculum has been condensed into 3 years. Despite efforts to the contrary there are more boys than girls enrolled, since parents prefer their sons to study rather than their daughters. Teachers or facilitators are grade 12 complete if available but in some areas there are only grade 8 completes. These facilitators get pre- and in-service training. Pre-service lasted from 2 – 45 days, provided periodically. Facilitators encouraged to use a variety of teaching methods: lecture, discussion, question and answer, discovery learning, demonstration, simulation, peer teaching and use of teaching aids. Drop-out rates were used to rate efficiency of teaching. In one area it was 15%, while in Addis Abeba it was 3.5%. The national average for grades 1 – 3 was 20%. Absenteeism was not a serious problem in ABE centres. Class size smaller than in formal schools, ranging from 20 – 67 with an average of 46. Formal school average was 65. ABE centres are run by local School Management Committees, SMCs. Facilitators are paid by the NGOs from ETB 50 to 250 per month with different increments. Formal teachers get from 520 – 900 ETB

An interesting evaluation.

Aregga Hailemichael Tewra. 1996.

“The Argots of definable street children in Addis Abeba: Socio linguistic implications for the ‘survival of the fittest’”. In (ed) *Wondimu, Habtamu. Proceedings: Research Papers on the situation of children and adolescents in Ethiopia.*

Argot is a kind of anti-language for confidential in-group-communication among street children themselves and not with outsiders. The study looks into the use of argot among

thieves in some places in Addis. They substitute new words for old. No ambiguity – no time for that. No redundancy – economy of language.

Erulkar, Annabel, S. Tekle-Ab Mekbib, e.a. 2006.

“Differential use of adolescent reproductive health programs in Addis Abeba, Ethiopia.”
Journal of Adolescent Health 38 (2006) 253-260.

The study examines the coverage of youth programs on reproductive health in Addis Abeba. Rather than focusing on the quality and functioning of the programs the authors ask whether and how subsets of adolescents are differentially reached by existing youth programmes. The research sought to understand the characteristics of users and nonusers of youth programmes. The dependent variable was having had contact with peer educators in the last year.

The study covered 1044 young people aged 10-19, a greater number of girls than boys. 43% of the girls had migrated into Addis compared with 29% of boys. Boys were more likely to be in school and had higher levels of education compared with girls. Boys were significantly more likely than girls to live with one or two parents. 51% of girls were living with no parents. Girls in the sample appeared to be poorer than boys. 8% of girls and 9% of boys were sexually experienced. Girls seem to be less connected with the community, less mobile and more regulated by parents and guardians than boys. More boys report having many friends in the community, they are more mobile and fewer boys need permission before leaving the household.

Youth centres appear to have limited coverage with only 12% of adolescents having visited one in the previous year, while peer education had reached 20% of adolescents. 20% of boys had visited a youth centre and only 7% of the girls. 27% of the boys had contact with a peer education and only 15% of girls. Older boys were more likely than their younger counterparts to access youth centres and peer education. Programs thus reach boys to a far greater extent than girls. 12% of the female sample were domestic workers, often subject to very long work hours and confined to the household. The most popular paid job for boys was daily manual labourer or working in the trades.

Peer education and youth centres appear to be most efficient in reaching older boys, with nearly 1/3 of the boys aged 15-19 reached by programs. Patterns of work, mobility and social networks are gendered and these patterns may be related to whether or not a young person participates in a program.

Habtamu Wondimu. 1996.

“Early Childhood Education in Ethiopia: A major area of concern and resource mobilization.”
In (editor) Habtamu Wondimu, *Research Papers on the situation of children and adolescents in Ethiopia. Proceedings*. Addis Abeba University.

Refers to psychological studies stating that early stimulation promotes acquisition of language, expansion of cognitive abilities, better social skills, stable personality development and better adjustment to life. Argues for more Kindergarten enrolment.

Lulit Gebre-Michael. 2003.

Reporting on Children's Rights. Save the Children Sweden.

Presents general information about children in Ethiopia in relation to the ICRC. Contains interesting information about media and children's rights.

Melaku Eshetu. 1996.

"Correlates of Children's Nutritional Status in North Omo Region, Southern Ethiopia." In (editor) Habtamu Wondimu, *Research Papers on the situation of children and adolescents in Ethiopia.* Proceedings.

Infant mortality in developing countries (1991) 103 deaths per 1000 live births; in developed countries 10/1000. Infant mortality correlated with level of maternal education, sanitation, nutritional deficiency, child care practices, water supply, family income. In North Omo there is widespread malnutrition and 55.8% of the children are stunted. This is closely related to their means of subsistence.

Mosko, Sophie, Joy. 2002, December.

Village Learning through Children's Schooling. Save the Children Norway.

A historical description of how SCN has worked with ABE in north Gonder zone. Easy read, a lot of information on the area, the problems encountered and SC Norway's goals regarding education.

Population Council. 2004.

The experience of adolescence in rural Amhara region Ethiopia.

A study with 1,800 young people aged 10-19 in the Amhara Region. Just over half had never been to school, mostly due to poverty, early marriage for girls and many work responsibilities for boys. Those who had been to school had started late and educational attainment was low. Nearly 1/3 started after age 10 and school-going adolescents only attended for an average of 3 years.

Few rural young people worked for pay, their work was unpaid on their parents farms or in the homes of the families.

Boys had more friends and better social support than girls. More boys than girls also said that they had a place to meet their same sex friends, a place to stay if they needed it and someone from whom they could borrow money. Those with the fewest friends and the most limited exposure to media and the least likely to be reached with HIV information were married adolescent girls.

Young people had a high awareness of family planning methods such as pills and injectables. Only 44% of boys and 27 % of girls knew of condoms. Many perceived HIV as a disease transmitted in towns.

14% of the girls were married by the age of 10 and 39% by the age of 15. While 4% of the boys were married by age 15. 8% of married girls had sex by age 10, 26% had sex by age 12 and 70% had sex by age 15.

Save the Children Denmark. 2003, December.

Child Labor in Ethiopia with Special Focus on Child Prostitution.

Important references particularly to ILO Convention 182 (1994) regarding the worst forms of child labor: all forms of slavery, sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom, forced or compulsory labor including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict, the use of or procuring of children for prostitution, production of pornography, for trafficking of drugs and harmful work.

Also important references to Ethiopian laws, civil code and different proclamations that subscribe to children's rights. The study contains a limited literature review. The history of child prostitution completely lacks references.

The findings are lacking with regard to proper information re informants in relation to the various responses. Findings are presented question by question making it impossible to know how the same respondent answered to the different questions.

Case stories give a bit more personal background to some of the girls but lack depth and proper follow-up.

Save the Children, Denmark and PADET, Ethiopia. 2002, June.

Hiv/Aids and its Effects on the Rights of Children.

(Study undertaken in North Wollo in Sept/Oct 2001)

The purpose of the study is to identify the magnitude of HIV/AIDS in North Wollo and its effects on children and their rights.

According to MoH in 2000 7.3% of the Ethiopian population was infected by HIV/AIDS. The primary mode of transmission is unprotected sex. For children primary source is vertical transmission, mother to child. Other sources are, the use of non-sterile instruments (uvulectomy, circumcision), rape, early marriage (because of poverty), wife sharing (*warsa*) and exposing young virgin girls to Moslem religious students to enhance the sexual potency of the students (*deressa*).

Most respondents, young and old, had heard about HIV/AIDS. For children most had heard about it in the schools. HIV/AIDS was surrounded by silence, stigma, shame and denial. People talked of it as TB or other diseases rather than as HIV/AIDS.

Children whose parents suffered and then died from HIV/AIDS experienced similar negative change processes: economic problems at home due to expensive medicines for parents – lack of food, no money for school books/uniforms etc – drop out of school, attempts to earn money – too little money and girls often misused or raped. When parents in town died children were kicked out of Kebebele houses. When in the countryside, children often lived with the extended family. Boys often made to work hard at relatives' as a result they often left for urban areas. Girls worked hard with household chores and were made to marry early.

Major recommendations: Break the silence and fear surrounding HIV/AIDS and ensure education, health and shelter rights of children.

Save the Children, Sweden. 2003.

The Child-Friendly Kebebele. A Child Rights Analysis at the Local Level.

Booklet of 46 pages. Contains very much information on: Children's Rights in Ethiopia. The rights are related to the various laws of the country and the local practices as these are experienced in the Kebebele. Relevant paragraphs: Best interest of the child (art.3) definition of the child (art. 1), awareness of the convention (art. 42), Perceptions of Children and Their Rights (art. 5) discrimination (art.2), life, survival, development (art. 6, 24, 28-31), child participation (art. 12).

There is also one chapter detailing the Duty-bearers and the work of the Kebebele. Very informative reading.

Save the Children, Sweden. 2003, March.

Children's Rights in Ethiopia. A Situation Analysis.

A booklet of 67 pages. Contains very general background information on children's rights and Ethiopia, pp 2-21. Then a comparison between the Convention and the situation in Ethiopia, 22-55. A discussion of Actors and Duty bearers including lists of national and international NGOs in Ethiopia pp 56-62. And finally Reflections, trends and ways forward, 62-64. The legal comparisons are interesting, especially due to their detail.

Save the Children Sweden and Norway. 2003, December.

Children's Budget: Are Children Getting their Adequate Share of the Budget?

A study of 26 pages. Very interesting information about the budgetary process at different levels, federal, regional, zonal, woreda. Describes the budgetary sources: for preschool and primary education no money from the federal body, only the regional. Still the region first makes a general budget and then the Regional Bureau of Education can prepare its own budget and submit their budget proposals. The zone similarly makes requests to the region and when they get the budget they redistribute it over the woredas. Woreda educational offices ask schools to present their budget requests and they use these as a basis for their own requests. Sometimes woredas do not give money to schools but buy what they need and give it to them. With regard to budget allocation and influences on the education of children, comparisons are made between the national level, Amhara region, Addis, Tigray and Oromiya. Interesting figures, especially re quality of education pp 18-21.

The government is still the major source for the primary education budget. In 2000/01 95.4% of the children enrolled in primary education were in government schools. NGO contributions to education are not registered anywhere. Neither are community contributions registered. The average spending on non-salary expenditures (books, educational materials) per pupil at the national level was less than Birr 14 per annum for four years, and it was falling. In the Amhara Region in 2000/2001 it was 1.90 Birr per year.

Quality of education input is taken as a proxy measure for quality of education, translated into availability of textbooks and educational materials and the supply and quality of teachers and class size. In Addis Abeba textbooks were 1:1 (which is a surprisingly high figure), in the Amhara region it was 6:1. Pupil-teacher ratio in Amhara region was 47:1 in 1997/8 and 70:1 in 2001/02 thus showing rising figures. Most teachers at primary level were qualified to teach. However, for the second cycle primary only 25.5% at national level (57.3% in Addis Abeba and 34.4% in the Amhara region) were qualified.

Efficiency of primary education: Drop-out and repetition most pronounced in grade I. At national level 11.1% repeated the same grade in 2001/02. According to teachers the major reasons were 1) lack of interest in schooling (it doesn't say whether it regards children or parents) and 2) curriculum irrelevance. Drop-out rate at national level for grade I was 27.5% and for Amhara Region 18.6% and for Addis Abeba 9.7%.

Tassew Woldehanna e.a. 2005.

Education Choices in Ethiopia: What determines whether poor households send their children to school? Young Lives. Working Paper no. 15.

Determinants of child school enrolment according to available literature are economic factors, both direct and indirect costs involved for the household. Accessibility of schools. Demands for education is influenced by the distance between the household and the school. A strong predictor of children's education is parents' educational achievement. A mother's education seems to exert the strongest effect on the children's enrolment. More children at home (who will share the work) tends to increase enrolment. The quality of the schooling and children's later possibilities of getting a job with an income, increased school enrolment.

Results of the Ethiopian study: the household's wealth level was the most important factor, followed by the cognitive social capital (levels of trust and reciprocity) the maximum level of education attained by female adults in the household etc (22).

Distance is one of the major factors especially for rural children, more for girls than for boys. The case for investing in formal female education is further strengthened by the positive association between maternal education and child health and nutritional well-being. Regarding social capital the findings give the researchers a hypothesis that social capital in the sense of membership in the local traditional organisations like funeral societies, religious associations etc have a negative impact on schooling as they are most likely to reinforce conservative social ties, beliefs and values.

Tibebu Bogale and Amakelew Cherkosie. 2002.

Coping Mechanisms of Orphans and Vulnerable Children. Save the Children, Sweden and Forum on Street Children, Ethiopia.

A booklet of 28 pages. Based on a) a questionnaire to 136 children (but mostly fewer than that number responded) and b) focus group discussions with 48 "people".

Contains much interesting information on the situation of "orphaned" children regarding their status, income, food access, responsibilities, access to shelter, health care, school and their coping strategies.

Major problems the children face are 1) access to food, 2) to shelter, 3) to medical care, 4) to education, 5) to caretakers.

Coping strategies: 1) reduce food intake, 2) generate income through manual and menial work. Assistance through NGOs, idir, church, mosque etc. The children try to stay together in the family.

UNICEF. 2005. November.

"We have a dream". Children's visions, vulnerabilities and rights in Ethiopia.

Methodology: Via media children were invited to participate in answering to 4 questions:

- What are your dreams in life for yourself, your community, and your country?

- What are the risks you face in your daily life and how can these risks constitute obstacles to achieving your dreams?
- Who can help you to face and overcome these risks and obstacles? And how?
- What could be done to make your dreams real and your country a better place for you?

700 responses (26% girls and 74% boys) from ages 5 to 17.

The presentation is divided into the following chapters:

Forward by the UNICEF Ethiopia country representative.

Introduction

Summary

Ch. 1 What is a child?

Ch. 2. My dreams, my future

- a) the dreams I have for myself
- b) the dreams I have for my community
- c) The dreams I have for my country
- d) The obstacles that prevent me from achieving my dreams
- e) Who can help me; what could be done to make my dreams real and my country a better place for me?

Ch. 3 My main concerns: education, adults should listen more, I am an orphan, I am too poor, I live on the streets, I am discriminated against, justice does not work for me, I have to follow my traditions.

Ch. 4, What are my rights?

Our Conclusions

Methodology.

Under all the chapters and sub-chapters there are very brief sayings/phrases by different children that clearly illustrate the problems they face in their daily lives. It is like flashes from different life situations.

Yared Mekonnen and Ayele Emeru. 2003, December.

A Knowledge Attitude Practice/ Kap Survey in Woldiya, Kobo and Mersa Towns of North Wollo, Ethiopia. Save the Children Denmark.

The study provides background information (statistical references) on the HIV/AIDS epidemic in Ethiopia. Then goes on to provide answers to questions in the study area.

Questions concern: Knowledge and source of information about HIV/AIDS, attitudes and misconceptions about HIV/AIDS, Knowledge of prevention methods, communication and discussions about HIV/AIDS, peers or families. Attitudes towards people living with HIV/AIDS (70% willing to care for a patient, 47% prepared to buy goods from a patient/shopkeeper, 55% prepared to play with a child).

Sexual debut and networking. Total who had made a debut were 18%. 11% of these were 10-14, 25% were 15 -18). No gender figures, only % but more girls than boys. Casual sex not so frequent but no condom use and often connected with violence for girls. Low perception of HIV risk.

General: The better informed were older, aged (15-18), going to school and Christian. Less informed: young, out of school, Muslim.

Comments: The study is informative but statistical information not cross-referred (like age in relation to gender, to education, and to religion). No information on how people reason and act.

Young Lives Policy Brief 2. 2006.

Educational Choices in Ethiopia: What determines whether poor children go to school?

Ethiopia has one of the lowest literacy rates in the world. Adult literacy in 2002 was 41.5%. One of the lowest primary school enrolment rates in the world, but improving. A bad quality education which is steadily deteriorating (teacher/student ratio, book/student ratio, curriculum reform. Completion rates in primary school remain much lower than enrolment rates. Regional, urban, rural and gender disparities. The government allocates officially 13.4% of its total expenditure on education but has only been able to cover 64% for the period 2002-05. This is due to a heavy dependence on donors for education, when donors do not pay, there is no money.

Young Lives 2006, January.

An International Study of Childhood Poverty. Quarterly Newsletter 1st Quarter.

Findings Education:

- Children with older siblings are less likely to drop out as labour burdens are shared among more family members and older siblings can act as role models encouraging younger children to persevere with schooling.
- Boys perform better and are less likely to drop out than girls.
- Indebtedness continues to block children's schooling: not only are parents compelled to provide labour and materials for school construction, but they also often have to pay for books and uniforms.
- Children from poor families still face significant constraints because they have to contribute to household survival through paid and unpaid work.
- Higher levels of parental education facilitate child educational completion.
- Children's most common complaint about school is about beatings inflicted by teachers.
- One key finding is that about 25% of all children are involved in labour and on average work for almost six hours per day.

Young Lives. 2006, January. Quarterly Newsletter.

An International Study of Childhood Poverty.

Findings Health:

- Ethiopia has one of the world's worst rates of under-5 mortality. Of the estimated 170 deaths per 1000 live births in 2001, 57% were linked to severe and mild to moderate malnutrition..
- Boys are more likely to be malnourished than girls; genetic factors are probably the cause.

As a result of growing urban poverty, children in urban areas are more likely to be wasted and underweight than those in rural areas.

Zenebe Mamo. 1996, August.

"Street Children: Nature and Magnitude of the Problem and Methods of Intervention". In (ed) Wondimu, Habtamu. *Proceedings: Research Papers on the situation of children and adolescents in Ethiopia.*

In 1991, 100 000 children living a street life.

In 1991, 500 000 children high risk of becoming involved in street life.

In 1974, 5004 street children.

Talks of children on and of the street.

74% of children on the street have parents or guardians. Major cause for streetism is bad family economy (76%)

GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS

The Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, Addis Ababa 21 August 1995. Federal Negarit Gazeta of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia.

Art. 36. Rights of Children: to life, to a name and nationality; to know and be cared for by his or her parents or legal guardians; not to be subject to exploitative practices, neither to be required nor permitted to perform work which may be hazardous or harmful to his or her education, health or well-being; to be free of corporal punishment or cruel and inhuman treatment in schools, and other institutions responsible for the care of children. In all actions concerning children undertaken by public and private.....the primary consideration shall be the best interest of the child. Juvenile offenders.....shall be kept separately from adults. Children born out of wedlock shall have the same rights as children born of wedlock.

The Revised Family Code. Proclamation of 2000.

Federal Negarit Gazeta of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia.

Art. 7. Marriage requirements: Consent, 18 years of age for both, dispensation possible of maximum 2 years.

Art. 8, 9, 11. Marriage with consanguine relations (sister, aunt, brother/uncle) or between man and sister of wife or woman and brother of husband as well as bigamy not allowed.

Presence of both spouses is necessary at the ceremony.

Art. 16. A woman may not remarry unless 180 days (6 months) have elapsed since the dissolution of the previous marriage. Exception if she gives birth before that or it is medically proved that she is not pregnant.

Art. 49, 50. The spouses owe each other respect, support and assistance. The spouses shall have equal rights in the management of the family.

.....bring up and ensure the good behaviour and education of their children in order to make them responsible citizens.

Art. 56. Husband and wife owe fidelity to each other.

Art. 261. A guardian shall receive the income of the minor and use it in the interest of the latter. He shall not be bound to render an account of such use.

Article 263. Where the minor is above fourteen years of age, he shall receive the income deriving from his work. He shall freely dispose of such income in accordance with this law, after making contribution to his own maintenance.

Art. 312. Where a minor has attained the age of fourteen years, his guardian or his tutor or any interested person may apply to the court for his emancipation.

The Criminal Code of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. 9th of May, 2005.

Infants and Juvenile Delinquents: Art. 52. Infants who have not attained the age of nine years shall not be deemed to be criminally responsible. ...appropriate steps to be taken by the family, school or guardianship authority.

Art. 53. A crime committed by a young person between the ages of 9 and 15, penalties and measures shall only be those referred to in the Art. 157-168.

Art. 54 Expert witnesses will advise on the young person. Only scientific evidence will prevail.

Art. 56. Above 15 but under 18 shall be tried under ordinary provisions.

Art. 158. Penalties applicable to a young person = 9 – 15. If feeble minded admission to a curative institution or supervised education. Other penalties: reprimand, school or home arrest – up to the age of 18. If more serious, admission to a corrective institution from 1-5 years but not exceeding the age of 18.

Where the above fails there are penalties (Art 166-) of fines, imprisonment.

Art 176. Between 15 and 18. The court may reduce the sentence. Never death sentence.

Art. 544 Infanticide by a mother punishable with imprisonment if extenuating circumstances. By another person equal to homicide.

Art. 545. Abortion by a mother punishable by imprisonment. Someone who aids the mother, also simple imprisonment.

Art. 548. Abortion by a professional punishable by imprisonment + fine + if repeated, by prohibition of practice for a limited period to life.

Art. 551. Exceptions when pregnancy is a result of rape or incest, endangers the life of mother and/or child.

Articles 561 – 562 deal with harmful traditional practices from fine to simple imprisonment

Art. 565. Infibulation rigorous imprisonment, 5 – 10 years.

Art 620 Rape 5-15 years, if under 13, up to 25 years.

628 Homosexual acts simple imprisonment.

633. Prostitution or landlord of brothel simple imprisonment and fine.

635. Trafficking in women and minors, rigorous imprisonment.