

**The Successes and Challenges of Reintegrating Street Children  
through Nonformal Education in Maputo City, Mozambique**

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## **Abstract**

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The objective of the research was to explore challenges and successes that street children centres encounter while reintegrating and educating their children. Research questions divide in two: what kind of nonformal education is available for street children in certain organisations and what are the challenges and successes of children's nonformal education and the reintegration process?

Research targets are two centres, a closed and an open one in Maputo city, Mozambique. The research approach was based on ethnographic and theoretical framework of constructs of socialization process, nonformal education and street children intervention models. Besides this, previous studies of street children have been examined to gain understanding and reflections about the street children phenomenon. The research made use of participatory observation, document readings and semi-structured interviews both for children and workers during five month field work period. The data analysis was done through thematic division and using a SWOT frame.

Findings of the study demonstrate that successes of these centres were satisfied children, successful reintegration, and ability to provide for children's primary needs, relatively satisfied workers and encouraging approaches of the centres. Opportunity for children to receive education at various levels was a strength of both centres. Better success of the reintegration process and children's education could be achieved through improving the cooperation and coordination of the centres, training the workers and continuing to listen and raise awareness of street children and their rights.

Findings also uncovered elements that are considered as challenges for both centres. These were lack of financing, centre's limitation due to location and space available, limited educational opportunities and relevance of education. In addition both workers and children had some motivation problems, emotional challenges and dissatisfaction in the centres. Threats to these centres were poverty, poor family relations, lack of cooperation and coordination of the various street children centres, society's poor attitude and difficulties and temptations of street life and culture.

To prevent the street children phenomenon from growing, governments should provide more open and flexible educational possibilities. Also at the global and local level people should think how to create and strengthen the sense of belonging to communities in positive ways. Then for the children, hopefully the street does not become the only option with its hardships and cruelties.

Keywords: Street children, nonformal education, socialization, reintegration, developing country

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## Acronyms

DINAEA-	National Direction of Literacy and Adult Education (Direcção Nacional de Alfabetização e Educação de Adultos)
EFA-	Education For All
ESSP-	Education Sector Strategy Plan
INE-	National Institute of Statistics (Instituto Nacional de Estatística)
INEA-	National Institute for Adult Education ( Instituto Nacional de Educação de Adultos)
INED-	National Institute for Distance Education (Instituto Nacional de Ensino a Distancia)
MDGs-	Millennium Development Goals
MEC-	Ministry of Education and Culture (Ministerio da Educação e Cultura)
MEPT-	Mozambican Education for All Movement (Movimiento de Educação para Todos de Moçambique)
NFE-	Nonformal education
NGO-	Non Governmental Organization
UN-	United Nations
UNDP-	United Nations Development Program
UNESCO-	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF-	United Nations Infancy Funds

# **1. Introduction**

Before explaining more in detail, why I chose to study street children and nonformal education and especially in Mozambique, I wish to begin at a more universal level. Street children can be found all over the world. Every country has their own specialities in this phenomenon but they also have a lot in common. Street children usually leave home because of poverty and violence, or loss of parents. At the streets life is a fight of survival against hunger, drugs, violence, sicknesses and exploitation. Street children produce their own street culture for instance with street 'families' and drug consuming habits. Societies have various ways to react to street children. Some of them try to protect them and re-integrate them back to mainstream but some only see them as trouble. Between these aspects many other opinions are formulated. From the 1990s universal rights of children's education and the education for children in difficult circumstances have gained more attention. Due to this in countries where the state cannot take care of the poorest and most difficultly reachable children, civil society, with often the support of international actors, has taken the responsibility. This has produced various ways to help and educate street children, often in nonformal approaches. Depending on the cooperation between the government and the civil society, there can be supportive systems and resources for everybody to use or a challenging environment with unproductive processes to confront. Can reintegration be possible for street children in a world with this kind of tensions and what kind of part can nonformal education play in that process? These were the questions that drove my path to the world of street children.

## **1.1. Background of the Study**

In spring 2007 I met two Mozambican students at my home institute, University of Tampere. They were studying social work and sharing a keen interest towards the development of their own country. The other was especially interested in street children and finally made his master thesis about the subject. I also had an interest to street children already before, because of what I had seen during my three-month travel around

South America one year earlier. After befriending these Mozambican students we were soon planning a shared project and research possibilities focusing on street children.

A couple of months later, I heard about an opportunity to go to Mozambique as an exchange student. And so it happened; between February and August 2008, I was studying at the University of Eduardo Mondlane and conducting my research in Maputo City, the capital of Mozambique.

During the research process I have been a part of an international research group that is composed of three Finnish and two Mozambican students (see appendix1). With a joint research group our idea has been to find together a deeper understanding of the phenomenon of street children in Mozambique. My focus is on the educational field and especially at the nonformal level. My position as a researcher has been therefore divided in two: I have been an independent master student doing my thesis but I have worked in interaction with the research group. This means that I have done my individual research, but we all have shared some basic information in our studies, like understanding of concepts like street children. Even though this research group has worked loosely, being part of it gave me support and better understanding of Mozambique as a society and its culture, especially during the field work period. This helped me to do research in a context that I was not so familiar with beforehand. Now that my personal interests are more focused I continue with a discussion on the evolvement of formal education systems and their opening for all children.

Until the industrial era in Western countries only few children were educated in formal systems, because they were either working inside or outside the home. According to Doftori (2004) not before the late industrial era it was seen more useful to put children in schools in order to produce skilled labour force, than to use them as child labourers in factories. In Western countries this was crucial for the universalisation of primary education and thus the elimination of child labour. (Doftori 2004, 17.)

In developing countries the story has been different. In various tribes the traditional education mainly happened through master-apprentice relationship, but a lot of it changed

because of the impact of Western cultures. For instance in Africa, due to the colonization process the education has been provided often unequally and irrelevantly for the local people and for their context. The real general education has principally began after countries' have declared their independence. Yet, still today many of the developing countries struggle to provide quality basic education for all the children at school age. Doftori (2004) explains that because governments in developing countries have failed to provide education for all, like marginalized children, many non-governmental organisations (NGOs) have taken the challenge. Their strategies are often diverse and their role in the education sector can also be seen as a paradox, because they help to deliver education for the unreachable children, but at the same time they might run parallel educational systems to government and take over its responsibility. (Doftori 2004, 19.) In these kinds of situations parallel programs do not get financial support very easily from the government, which prevents them from growing without other financial support (Glassman, Hoppers, Destefano 2008, 13).

Nowadays countries have their own education systems, whether adapted from another country or developed on their own. Beside this almost all of the countries in the world have made engagements to universal declarations and goals for further development in local and global level. For developing countries many of these are also compulsory in order to gain highly needed funding and support from the United Nations and from other development cooperation partners. In that sense these declarations also guide different countries' national aims of the education and development goals as well as affect the policies and actions. Therefore it is important to acknowledge them and understand their content.

At the Jomtien Conference in 1990 a Declaration of Education For All (EFA) was given and ten years later in the Dakar World Forum its commitments and goals were reaffirmed by various governments. Of the declaration and especially from the Dakar framework, that was established, six targets were highlighted:

1. Expanding and improving comprehensive early childhood care and education, especially for the most vulnerable and disadvantaged children.



2. Ensuring that by 2015 all children, particularly girls, children in difficult circumstances, and those belonging to ethnic minorities, have access to and complete free and compulsory primary education of good quality.
3. Ensuring that the learning needs of all young people and adults are met through equitable access to appropriate learning and life skills programs.
4. Achieving a 50% improvement in levels of adult literacy by 2015, especially for women, and equitable access to basic and continuing education for all adults.
5. Eliminating gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005, and achieving gender equality in education by 2015, with a focus on ensuring girls' full and equal access to and achievements in basic education of good quality.
6. Improving all aspects of the quality of education and ensuring excellence so that recognized and measurable learning outcomes are achieved by all, especially in literacy, numeracy and essential life skills. (UNDP 2006, 39.)

The United Nations (UN) keen desire to find ways for global development finally culminated in year 2000 during the Millennium Summit at the UN Headquarters in New York. The Millennium Declaration was adopted soon by all 191 UN member states. The Declaration was a foundation for the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) which gave "*a common global vision of a world where the right of all peoples to development is respected*" in a 25 years period starting from 1990. (UNDP 2006, 1–2.)

The eight Millennium Development Goals are following:

- Goal 1: Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger
- Goal 2: Achieve universal primary education
- Goal 3: Promote gender equality and empower women
- Goal 4: Reduce child mortality
- Goal 5: Improve maternal health
- Goal 6: Combat HIV and AIDS, malaria and other diseases
- Goal 7: Ensure environmental sustainability
- Goal 8: Develop a global partnership for development

All of these goals affect each others and the national development, but directly goal two and three deal with education sector. Goal two aims to "*ensure that all children, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling.*" The goal three targets to "*eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education, preferably by 2005, and in all levels of education no later than 2015.*" (UNDP 2006, 5.)

Achieving Education for All (EFA) has long been UNESCO's top priority in its activities. Education is said to be a key tool in preventing child labour. But on the other side of the coin, child labour might also be an obstacle to having all children attending school. At the EFA Global Monitoring Report for 2003/2004, it was found that one of the

most common reasons for children not attending school is that their families require them to work. Besides economic difficulties, there are various problems within schools also. Curriculum and teaching materials are basically intended to prepare pupils for further university studies, but those pupils, particularly in rural areas, who have no chance to enter universities, feel the knowledge they learn is not useful and therefore they lose interest in studying. Parents may see no point in sending their children to school when they could be at home learning to work and producing income for the family. In this regard, UNESCO's work has aimed to assist Member States in improving their school curriculum and their capacity for example in teacher training with the aim of making school learning more relevant to pupils' needs, particularly the needs of rural children. (Tang, Q. 2004.)

Perhaps the greatest progress has been made in recognizing the link between child labour elimination and Education For All (EFA). Since 2002, an inter-agency group combining the ILO, UNESCO, UNICEF, the World Bank and the Global March Against Child Labour has met annually, leading to the establishment of a Global Task Force on Child Labour and Education at the meeting of the High-Level Group on EFA in Beijing in November 2005. (The End of Child Labour 2006.)

## **1.2. Aims and Objectives of the Study**

In this study I will explore the possibilities and challenges of street children's reintegration process and nonformal education. In Mozambique, nonformal education is seen mainly as a tool to get the children back to the formal schooling and back to families if they have left home. In street children's case, nonformal education is always more or less connected to the reintegration process, because the street children are seen to be 'outside' the society and they are tried to pull back in the circle of society through educational efforts.

The reintegration process is moving between dimensions of home, street and centre. In an ideal way it would be straight from the street to home, but very often the intervention is

needed from some centre and the child needs to relearn the "acceptable way of living". In this study I will concentrate on the intervention situation and what nonformal education can contribute during that time. I will give two different kinds of insights through a closed street children centre system and an open centre system. My aim is to give voice both for workers and children to explain what they think are successes and challenges of the reintegration process and work of the centres.

The problems that the children have after living at the streets vary a lot. Most of the children have already experienced difficult circumstances at home and the street life brings its own problems and hardships. These are violence, sexual and mental abuse, hunger, cold, sickness, dependence on toxic and drugs, stress, tiredness and worries about safety and belongings. Street life is aggressive and the ones who are strong rule. At the same time the street offers freedom, which is unavailable at home. The freedom is a temptation for any children, but "free children" at the streets also causes fear and mistrust because of that uncontrollability.

Since that nonformal education is used also as a reintegration tool I constructed my theoretical frame from a socialization theory and combined it with the knowledge of nonformal education in order to capture the dimensions of the society and education. Usually it is thought that the family gives primary socialization for the children and schools are the second phase, but when in street children's situation many have left home at early age, the socialization process has changed. The longer the child lives on the streets the stronger the influence of the street culture and the socialization to street life is.

To understand the reintegration process and contribution of nonformal education, I spent time at the centres for street children. With ethnographical approach I could access the meanings and interpretations that the children and the workers have about nonformal educational activities. Through two cases by semi-structured interviews, participatory observing, informal conversations, and document readings, I went deeper in the phenomenon of nonformal education among the street children. It is not enough to make

any universal assumptions but I hope it will give valuable information and examples of the challenges, successes and feelings of the education and the support to street children.

Universally acknowledged challenge Education For All (EFA) is not going to achieve its goals by 2015 if there is not going to happen significant improvements and changes in the ways governments deal with their situations. UNESCO is working with all the countries in need by providing instructions and monitoring the progress. In a global monitoring report it is concluded that:

Governments urgently need to identify the groups of children most likely never to enrol in school, in addition to those who drop out. This is the first step in implementing policies that reach out to the excluded and improve the quality, flexibility and relevance of education. (UNESCO 2007.)

Mozambique is also one of these countries, who are trying to achieve the goals of EFA, and where many children are either out of the reach of education or children have dropped out of the education system. Street children are part of this group and therefore it is important to understand better their situation and the educational possibilities for them. As I will demonstrate further, nonformal education can sometimes meet the needs of the street children better than the formal education system. Governments have acknowledged around the world that nonformal education together with formal education can serve the best the goal to reach all people out-of-school (Glassman, Hoppers, Destefano 2008, 9). My intention is to give information and hopefully some conclusions how to develop the nonformal education for street children in the context of Maputo city, so that already existing projects and new ones will have some perspective, on what to reflect their work and support.

This study consists of six chapters in addition to the first introduction chapter. In this chapter I have explained the backgrounds of the study and discuss the objective and significance of it. The chapter two explores street children phenomenon all around the world. In chapter three I discuss the methodology of the study. The chapter four discusses about the theoretical tools used in this study. In the chapter five I concentrate on the research context by first exploring Mozambique's history and then drawing a picture of the development of education in the country. The chapter six handles the fieldwork and

empirical aspect of the study. The chapter seven describes the two research targets and presents the actual results. The final chapter discuss and concludes the whole study by looking back and looking forward.

## **2. Street children**

In this chapter the phenomenon of street children is examined. First I define the concept and demonstrate some estimates how many street children there are in the world. Then I discuss how street children are connected to child labour issues and what kind of affect does this have on their childhood. After this I continue looking for reasons why children end up in the streets and what kind of a life they are leading there.

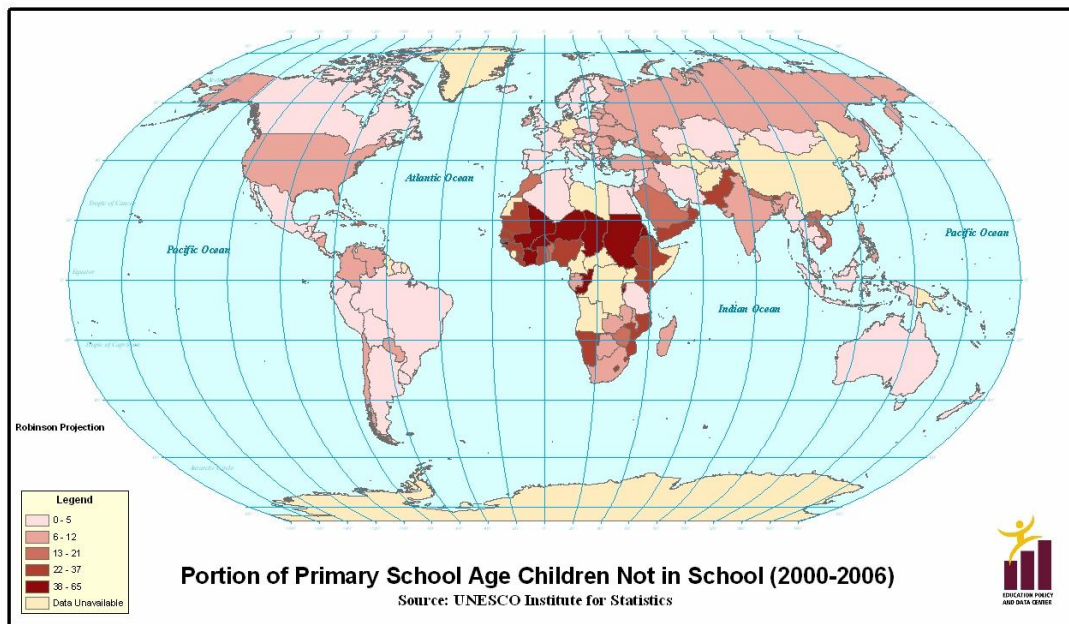
### **2.1. Who are they?**

The concept of street children has variation of definitions depending on the context and approaches followed (Marrengula 2007, 10). Street children may be ‘from’, ‘in’, ‘of’ or ‘on’ the street. This shows the relationships that exist between the child, his family and the surrounding society, and the type of help required. A division into two categories: children on the streets and children of the streets are seen most often in literature. “On the street” refers to children who work and spend time on the streets, but return home during the night-time while “of the streets” refers to children who do everything on the streets: work, eat, socialize and sleep. (UNESCO 1995, 12.) In this study, I use, street children ‘in’ and ‘of’ the street, when I refer to street children who live and sleep on the streets. ‘On’ the street, is used as defined by UNESCO.

There is no accurate number of how many street children there are in the world, but some estimates have been done for example by UNICEF. Their assessment of street children was tens of millions around the world (UNICEF 2006, 40). Even though we cannot say for sure the amount of street children, we can draw a picture of children who might be in risk of becoming a street child. Street children are often those who have not attended

school at all or who drop out after a while. In addition they suffer from family fragmentation and poverty (See Chama 2008; Pare 2004). In the following picture is shown the portion of primary school age children who are not in school around the world. Not all African countries have data about the issue, but it is obvious that in comparison to the world, Africa has the largest portion of out-of-school children. Mozambique is included in these countries with 22-37 per cent of primary school age children not in school.

Map of the World's primary school age children not in school (2000-2006)



(Source: <http://www.epdc.org>)

Of those Mozambican children who are in school around 30 per cents of the female pupils and 23 per cent of the male pupils drop out before reaching the grade five (EPCD 2005). Roughly speaking we could say that there are 10 million children in Mozambique under age of 18. From those around seven million are school aged (See UNICEF 2009, 140). If already 30 per cent of them are out of school it means that there are approximately two million children not going to school. In addition around 26 per cent of the five million children in school drop out. This means that more than one million children do not finish even grade five. So there are more than three million children who have very little experience on schooling or no experience at all. Together with poverty

and break ups in family relations, these children are in a vulnerable situation and also in high risk of ending up to the streets.

## **2.2. Forced child labour or acceptable childhood?**

Street children are strongly connected to the child labour issues, if they are not begging or stealing, they are working to earn their living. The International Labour Organization (ILO) defines children who are working in three categories: child workers (light work), child labourers and children working in worst forms of labour. Light work means participation in economic activity that does not have negative affect on children's health, development or education. This kind of light work is permitted for children over 12 years old by the International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention 138. Child labour on the other hand refers to children working in contradiction to these norms. That is to say children below 12, who are working in any economic activities, those aged 12 to 14 years doing any harmful work, and all children who are involved in the worst forms of child labour. (See ILO <http://www.ilo.org/ipec/facts/ILOconventionsonchildlabour/lang--en/index.htm>)

These worst forms of child labour were defined in 1999. They were based on harmful effect of work on children's development. Signifying:

- (a) Work which exposes children to physical, psychological or sexual abuse;
  - (b) Work underground, under water, at dangerous heights or in confined spaces;
  - (c) Work with dangerous machinery, equipment and tools, or which involves the manual handling or transport of heavy loads;
  - (d) Work in an unhealthy environment which may, for example, expose children to hazardous substances, agents or processes, or to temperatures, noise levels, or vibrations damaging to their health;
  - (e) Work under particularly difficult conditions such as work for long hours or during the night or work where the child is unreasonably confined to the premises of the employer.
- (ILO Recommendation No. 190:1999.)

Nevertheless Dofiori (2004) explains that there is distinguishing literature available about child labour and child work, but it depends on the nature of the work and its impact on children, how the concepts are defined. He defines child labour as dangerous when it has harmful result on children's health, growth, psycho-social development and educational

opportunities. (Doftori 2004, 49.) If the labour is not harmful for the child, it might be natural in one's culture to work as a child and if we think about this further, it means also that the childhood in different cultures vary.

Aptekar, Kironyo & McAdam-Crisp (2005) have studied street children through the theory of resilience. They have made a comparative study about the street children in the minority (western world) and the majority world (southern world with the majority of children). They agree with Doftori (2004) that childhood is a culturally and contextually dependent concept, which definition varies in different societies. Therefore it is not a simple fact to say, who are the actual street children, because culturally a child at the streets in western aspect might be an adult or adolescent providing for the family income in the eyes of a local culture. Also street children are not a homogenous group, but they come from different backgrounds and end up in streets for many reasons. Even when outsiders think that a child is in danger at the streets, they might be blind for the fact that the child might be in a more risky situation at home or in some institution, than in the streets. No one should jump to conclusions when dealing with the street children; instead people should listen to them and acknowledge their reasons and explanations. (Aptekar, Kironyo & McAdam-Crisp 2005, 71–74.)

If we consider more deeply the childhood of street children, I think it is safe to say that it is not easy and differs from the common childhood, whatever the context might be. First of all, the child needs to take duties and obligations of an adult, which are normally transferred and taught to children or youth at certain age levels by the community or the family. The childhood of street children contains freedoms and duties which are not common for the same aged children. Usually children are protected and nurtured in a closed environment with certain rules and regulations. At the streets children have to confront dangers and hardships which are usually dealt by adults. Children live without control of their parents. The freedom is vast. But with the freedom, there comes also obligation and needs that are not always easy to handle. Street children need to get money for living, they need to find shelter or place to live. Besides material things many psychological and social issues arise. Street children need to decide for themselves and



sometimes they do not have enough information about the consequences. The pressure of other street dwellers might be strong and a child might end up doing things that he would not do in a safe situation at home. The childhood at the streets becomes quickly adulthood without the preparedness for it.

### **2.3. Reasons why children end up into streets**

Chama (2008, 410) argues that street children in Africa are victims of widespread social disorganization and familial fragmentation largely due to forces of modernization, industrialization and urbanization referring to Cockburn (1991), Garmezzy (1983) and Smith (2000). Besides these and partly related to these, one of the biggest reason for children running away from home is poverty (Orme & Seipel 2007, 498).

Brink (2001) has specified reasons why children end up into the streets in three levels derived from Barette (1995, 25-29). These are *society level (the root causes)*; *community level (the underlying causes)*; and *family level (the immediate causes)*. At the society level reasons why children run away from home are related to economic problems; social changes like urbanization, high population growth, high unemployment etc; cultural changes; political unrest and natural disasters like droughts and floods. At the community level reasons concern insufficient employment opportunities; uneven distribution of resources, services and opportunities such as land ownership; poor working conditions and no access to basic services like housing, transport, water, electricity etc. At the family level immediate causes are death of parents; high unemployment levels; large and poor families; high divorce/separation rate leading to single-headed households; low educational achievement; alcoholism; mental and physical abuse in the home; and lack of care affection and emotional support. (Brink 2001, 80.)

In Russia same kinds of reasons have been found for children to leave homes. These included unbearable conditions at home, not enough food, violence and lack of parental care and hope of finding better conditions outside. Yet almost 70 per cent of the children went back to home for visits quite frequently. (Stephenson 2002, 48.) In Brazil Pare

(2004) have examined many studies concerning street children and come to a conclusion that also there, street children leave home due to insufficient support in their communities, violence at home and because the streets tempt with liberty, fun with friends and with independent money spending (Pare 2004, 221).

Also in the study of South-African out of school children, were found that the biggest problems why children leave home are poverty and home violence. Besides this the lack of documentation prevents children from attending school. (Porteus et Al. 2000, 10–12.) Anyway Aptekar, Kironyo & McAdam-Crisp (2005) state that children who have run away from home to street due to abusive or violent conditions are only small part of them all. Increasing number of children end up to the street because of civil conflicts, war and HIV/AIDS. (Aptekar, Kironyo & McAdam-Crisp 2005, 78-79.) They also point out that one factor that drives children to the streets is the need for belonging. If this sense of belonging is not fulfilled at home, children look for it through contact with other children at streets and by forming informal street families. This kind of bonding can lead to spending more time at the streets and therefore encountering more risks, but at the same time it can offer resilience through the support of the street family. (Aptekar, Kironyo & McAdam-Crisp 2005, 77.)

Schimmel (2006) broadens the need aspect and argues from the perspective of Maslow's psychological theory of the hierarchy of human needs that children run away to streets due to unfulfilled needs at home. If the basic survival needs of food, shelter and safety are not met the child looks for them somewhere else. This is why children most often end up living in street gangs or street families, looking for a community where these needs are realized. Besides survival needs, love and esteem needs are fundamental for a person to begin to actualize his full potential. According to Schimmel children who are new at the streets therefore do not want to give up their sense of belonging to a community, because they think that it will provide them those basic necessities, therefore those children do not want to leave the streets to go to a shelter or a centre. In other words, children do not choose the streets, but they do not find any other solution for their situation. Streets offer

possibility for an escape from oppressive experiences at home and a possibility to achieve some of the basic needs among other street dwellers. (Schimmel 2006, 222-224.)

Schimmel (2006) continues that children, who run away from home to streets and claim that they want to live there, do not have the mental and intellectual capability to make such decisions. Street children's choices are more like forced reactions to their situation than an autonomous individual's free choice. The limitation on street children's social and cognitive development due to their difficult backgrounds and lack of education leaves them disempowered and unable to make rational life choices. (Schimmel 2006, 211.)

Running away from home is an act of resistance and an expression of absolute frustration with life circumstances. It is the strongest possible response to poverty and abuse that children in circumstances of deprivation and vulnerability can exercise. Their home life and street life are both defined by two major forms of deprivation of basic needs that are essential for healthy child development and socialization: a sound family life defined by supportive parents and intimate relationships, and adequate social provisions of food, shelter, clothing, and quality schooling. (Schimmel 2006, 211-212.)

So a child who escapes the home is only expressing the last possible resistance, he/she can. The socialization process is unhealthy both at home with bad circumstances forcing to run away, but also in the streets, due to its hazards and difficulties. Yet in the streets and of its abusive nature, children can find more easily people who want to be with them in a way or another. Even though it is not always what the children are looking for, they at least have some attention and sense of belonging to something. So at home there might be many 'push' factors that force children to leave their homes, but there are also 'pull' factors that tempt children to go to streets. These are such as freedom, money, and the social contacts.

## **2.4. Street life**

Street children make money by selling small things, food and newspapers or by working in exploitative conditions like in factories, or doing car washing, rag picking, shoe shining etc. These are poorly paid jobs. Often street children also beg, steal, and sell drugs or work as prostitutes. Due to the hard surrounding where they are living, street children often suffer from poor general health and addictions to drugs, tobacco, glues and alcohol. Dangers they are facing affect their physical, mental and social wellbeing. Street children are vulnerable for example for sexually transmitted diseases, accidents, infections, lack of sleep and malnutrition. They are often criticized and beaten by police, scolded by other society members and also by their peers. They do not have enough or at all parental love and care; control over decisions; leisure time; personal satisfaction, variety and stimulation from work; nor enough interaction with meaningful adults or with their peers. Worst of all, they confront violence and sexual abuse at the streets. (Brink 2001, 81. See also Aptekar, Kironyo & McAdam-Crisp 2005, 77–78.)

Fear of violence, conflict, abuse and exploitation is present for street children constantly. This often causes them to behave in anti-social ways. However, this is related to the society's attitude towards them. For example in Ghana unexceptionally street children in general behave in ways that are acceptable in scope of the norms and values of the society. This means that street children try to stay out of criminal activities and anti-social behaviour. In Ghana people do not stigmatize or disturb street children so much and there is a broader societal acceptance to street children than in many other African countries. Street children know that if they would start behaving in unacceptable way they would only encounter strong disapproval and problems from the surroundings. This should be acknowledged when discussing about the situation of street children anywhere. (Orme & Seipel 2007, 498- 499.) So by creating a positive societal attitude to street children in limitations of the societal values and norms, communities could possibly decrease the anti-social and criminal behaviour of street children.

Nevertheless street children should not be viewed only in terms of vulnerability, but instead as social actors, who have found a way to cope. Not all, but many street children can learn how to get enough income to feed and cloth themselves, they can learn how to take advantage of programs that serve them, some of them are able find enough information how to maintain their physical health and well-being. In addition they often can stay in connection with their families and form new friendly relationships at the streets. (Aptekar, Kironyo & McAdam-Crisp 2005, 82.) Relationships at the streets are crucial for the survival of street children and even though many of them have abusive nature, such is not the case always. In Kenya Kaime-Atterhög and Ahlberg (2008) studied street children boys and found that they were organized in three different groups by their age and by the way of earning their money for living. In every group these boys lived close to each other, providing support for basic needs and general welfare. Another significant finding of the study was the way of using substances. Children used different substances in different situations, but in addition they also had collective consumption of drugs, which seemed like a ritual done together to escape the harsh reality. Besides collective escapism or diversion children are most often using drugs to forget their hunger, coldness, fears and depression. (Kaime-Atterhög & Ahlberg 2008, 1353.)

Children have different ways of coping with the difficulties at the streets. In other words they have different amount of resilience to handle life challenges. The resilience means the capability of a person to overcome problems and hardships in one's life. The ability to deal with adverse situations is a dynamic process that varies throughout a person's life and in relation to the various situations that he or she encounters. Consequently a child who is resilient in one situation may not be in another. (Aptekar, Kironyo & McAdam-Crisp 2005, 75).

One way of coping in the streets is being mobile. Street children are usually moving around a lot. In the majority world they can stay at the streets for many years, as in the minority world many go between home, streets, centres and institutions. (Aptekar, Kironyo & McAdam-Crisp 2005, 77.) Yet in the majority world street children have also learnt to benefit the city intervention programs and centres. For example in Brazil the

street children have used different projects as a part of their survival strategy (See Pare 2004, 221). This demonstrates also the active role of street children that they take in the streets.

After coming to the streets, children begin to interact with other street children and little by little they are socialized into the street culture. They soon learn from their peers that learning survival skills are the most important. Education and developing their capabilities are not primary focus on their street socialization process. The problem is, that after being socialized into street life and having experienced freedom, building new social network and having consumed substances, children do not want to or are not able to leave the streets very easily. Drug consuming does not only harm their physical health but also affects their mental capacity to make rational choices and see alternatives to street life. The more time spent in the streets, the more difficult it is to get away from there. (Schimmel 2006, 220.)

Also Stephenson (2002) argues that the deeper children go with the street life, the more difficult it is to escape from it. In his study at Moscow, he concludes that street children are margins who lack of social capital of the mainstream and when they become part of the underworld, little by little they acquire social capital that is useful there, such as criminal ways. The underworld has 'shadow communities' which provide protection for the children in some sense and possibilities to find ways to cope without the services of the larger society, but they are not available to every one. To access these communities one must have certain type of social capital. But once someone gets in and is being socialized into the 'shadow' system, it eventually prevents (especially children's) reintegration back to the society. (Stephenson 2002, 53-56.)

Even though some children can manage at the streets quite well it should not mean directly that they should be allowed to do so. The best interest of the child does not mean that the Government or parents can throw away their responsibility of the children and let the children live in the streets (See Schimmel 2006, 225). If a child claims to want to live in the streets and in freedom and it might even appear that he is able to survive on his

own, it should not be accepted. According to Schimmel (2006) children who live in the stress and impact of street life hardships are not able to make such decisions, because of their lack of basic necessities, self-respect, societal conditions and lack of educational opportunities. Therefore sometimes decisions need to be made on behalf of the children. Only this way it can be made sure that a child has an opportunity for the full development of one's person. (Schimmel 2006, 219-221; 226.)

There are four different causes which are strongly affecting street children's choice making. These are *adaptive/perverse preferences*, *learned helplessness*, *incapacity to envision a better future* and *lack of information on how to achieve such a future and lack of support*. The first means preferences that are formulated by experiencing the freedom and occasional pleasures of the street life without controlling or being aware of the causal mechanism behind it. Thrills of criminal actions or possible riches influence children's choice to stay on the streets, rather than look for other alternatives for the street life. This is why government interventions are needed. Street children do not most likely understand the unhealthiness of their lives, because they eventually become so used to it. That kind of living becomes the only possible one, because at home it was not any better either. (Schimmel 2006, 226-227.)

Another matter affecting street children's choice making is the learned helplessness. This attitude is generated over time from repeated failures to control one's life and experiencing powerlessness and incapability to handle one's surroundings. This kind of attitude can lead to child's deprivation and lack of capacity to assess risks in one's environment, not to mention to be unable to understand the long term effects of one's decisions. (Schimmel 2006, 228.) The two last causes mentioned to affect street children's decision making are more a matter of the government, because if street children are not helped and appropriate intervention programs developed, in the worst case, these children remain unable to picture better and different kind of future for themselves. They need to get information and support from the people who really have children's best interest as their primary concern.

Even though Orme and Seipel (2007) are discussing the needs of streets children in Ghana, the following facts should be taken into consideration in all societies who have street children. First of all governments should address more resources to help street children. Besides food and clothing, shelters, counselling, access to health care centres and rehabilitation programs are needed. In addition street children need opportunities for education and vocational training as well as job training services. Finally governments should also create preventive programs to hit the root problem of street children, meaning the difficulties in homes and the family relations. By supporting the families, the conditions at home could be improved and therefore prevent the children running away to the streets in the first place. (Orme & Seipel 2007, 497-498.)

### **3. Research Methodology**

The next two chapters follow the structure of the realization of the study. Therefore I present first the research methodology and discuss the theory later. I had decided to do an ethnographical research among street children, but my theoretical approach was not clarified before entering the field. Before going more in detail with these, I begin with the research questions, which guided my path to Mozambique in the first place.

#### **3.1. Research Questions**

The research question in my study is divided in two. First of all, I wanted to find out what kind of nonformal education is offered for the street children in Maputo city area. I wanted to concentrate on few of them, but as I didn't know the research context beforehand I couldn't decide exactly which ones and how many I would choose for this study. The question also refers to the type of nonformal education. There are various educational activities which are called nonformal (see chapter 4: Nonformal education) and I wanted to understand more deeply what kind of nonformal education and how is it offered for the street children.



After familiarizing myself with the context I learnt that in Mozambique nonformal education with children is mainly used for reintegrating them back to the society and back to the formal schooling. I got interested how the nonformal education worked in this process. That is why I chose the second research question.

- 1) What kind of nonformal education certain street children organizations offer in Maputo City?
- 2) What are the challenges and successes of nonformal education and the process of street children reintegration?

Going through different research approaches I chose the ethnographical approach. In my consideration it gave the best methodological tools to achieve answers to my research questions.

### **3.2. Ethnographic Approach**

Ethnography is basically writing about people. It aims to understand and to describe the society or a group of people, which is being targeted from their point of view. (Rantala 2006, 216.) This is also called cultural relativism, which means that cultural phenomena are studied in their own context, inside the society and through its own assessment and logic (Viljanen 2006, 162). There are also many other different type of ethnographic studies, such as critical ethnography, which aims for example in transformation instead of only describing the society.

Basically I understand the street children and their actions and interpretations as a result of the culture where they are living in. In other words people are more or less products of their culture and of the social interaction that they have experienced. As well I myself am who I am because of my cultural and social experiences. Of course people have their personal identity, but it has developed in interaction with the surroundings of their lives. However all people have same basic needs and that there is something universal in the essence of human kind. This is why I claim that it is possible to understand and learn from each other no matter how different the cultural backgrounds are. I wish to understand nonformal education through the eyes of street children and through the eyes

of the people working with them. The way I think I can get information (the epistemological level of my study) therefore is based on this thought and that by ethnographical approach I can achieve people's own perspectives on issues (See Angrosino 2007, 26).

As a method ethnography is very much field based and personalized, because of the fact that the researcher plays such a big role in the whole research process. An ethnographer uses many different data collecting techniques during (usually) a long-term field period in a dialogical way (with the people who are being studied) in order to get a holistic understanding of the phenomenon under examination. (Angrosino 2007, 15.)

Rantala (2006) also says that the role of the researcher is significant in ethnographical research. Even though fieldwork is the central element in the research process it never forms the whole picture. Analyzing the results is essential for the ethnographical research and it differs from other research methods in the way, how the analyzing takes place also during the whole period of fieldwork. This means that the researcher influences the research results whether he/she wanted it or not. That is why it is important for the researcher to explain and understand his own position and influence on the research process. This can be done through self-reflection and open discussion. (Rantala 2006, 229.) I wrote a field diary, to make personal comments and notes about how things were going and how I felt about different situations. The diary handled my life in common in a new surrounding, but it mainly concentrated how the research process was going on.

According to Fingerroos (2003) levels of reflection in anthropological research are self-reflection, methodological reflection, epistemological reflection and the reflection of the engagements of the research, which means defining the engagement towards issues related to politics and power. The first three reflections mean that defining personal commitments as well as defining methods, theories, concepts and interest of knowledge, is crucial for the success of the study. (Rantala 2006, 230.)

I have made these reflections in the introduction of this study, and during this chapter of research framework. The last reflection about politics and power is not easy to answer. Already in one's own home country many decide not to take any sides in politics, but it becomes even more complicated when talking about these issues and power relations in another country. All children should have possibility to caretaking and meaningful life as their basic human right. This also means that learning and considering oneself as useful to others and for the community are important factors. This is where education in its different forms becomes significant. Whether the education takes place in an institution or learning in a family or from other people in master-apprentice relation it is crucial for the child or youngster, when it happens in appropriate way. But as I have said before, I see the street children in Mozambique as well in all around the world to be in a weak position when it comes down to power and politics. They are seldom considered as citizens with human or political rights and they are often denied to have safe and caring childhood, when forced to work in order to survive. (See Marrengula 2007, 56–64) I criticize the poor situation of street children and I want to promote their rights and their educational possibilities. Ethnography can be used to raise awareness and sensitivity toward issues related to cultural differences and cultural processes (Chambers 2003, 405).

The strength of an ethnographical research is getting close to processes that take place in every day life and understanding what is significant in them for the people themselves (Palmu 2007, 172). When analyzing the research data the ethnographer looks for the concepts and logic that describe the data in the best way. By thickening (with the help of many methods the phenomenon researched is tried to be understood in the deepest way), interpreting and understanding the researcher aims to find features that are common and different in the research data. This draws a picture of the data, which the reader can then evaluate. (Rantala 2006, 255.)

It is being said that previous experience of fieldwork is helpful, but in the beginning it is enough to have common interaction skills: like being able to empathize others, know how to listen and to be attentive. The courage and skills grow by practicing. (Rautiainen 2003,

60.) I consider myself sensitive and able to listen to others and this fact gave me security to go to the field and to do this research, even when I was a beginner.

### **3.3. Research Methods**

Methods used in ethnography are various as was mentioned before. In this study participatory observation, semi-structured interviews, informal conversations, field diary and gathering of other related documents were used.

To observe and to listen make basically the foundation for all anthropological methods. What is important is to decide and understand what is being watched and who are being listened and what the context is for all this. (Pelto & Pelto 1980, 66.) The ethnographer can never observe everything at the field so it is essential to decide what and who to observe and what is the most important for the research to be observed. Participatory observation gives hints and information on how to make interviews, what is essential and it also makes possible to check whether the answers of the informants are reliable or not (Pelto & Pelto 1980, 86).

Observations and thoughts are written in the field diary that the researcher should keep during the whole data collecting period. What kind of notes and how they are written varies from a person to a person, but in general the field diary should contain as accurate notes as possible. An observation form can help to concentrate on certain important issues at the field. It can serve as a checking list to confirm if everything that was intended to observe, has been 'seen' already (See Lappalainen 2007, 113–117).

Besides observations, discussions and conversations with the street children and the organizations working with them are best ways to gather information about street children (see Brink 2001, 80). The main features in ethnographical interviews are the presence and the context (Gordon & Lahelma 2003). The relation of the researcher and the person interviewed define what is being said. Also the context affects what the informant is telling and how relaxed he/she feels. The actual interview may vary between

dialogical conversations to structured questions form according to the aim of the study. (Tolonen & Palmu 2007, 91–92.) Semi-structured interview forms give themes on what to concentrate on, but they also give latitude to react on responses during the interview. In this study the semi-structured interviews in a dialogical way were used.

In anthropological and ethnographical research the researcher formulates his opinion of the research target through interviews and with the help of other data from the field. The researcher should meet and interview informants more than once to gain more accurate understanding of their ways to see the world. (Rastas 2005, 78.) Informal conversations and related documents read in the field help to form the idea of the research target. Other related documents may be such as program papers, plans, reports, flyers, rules and so on. Among all these things double checking the interview information help the ethnographic researcher to overcome the problem of language and cultural differences. By understanding the culture it is possible to gain understanding in the experiences of people (Rantala 2006, 228).

## **4. Theoretical Tools of the Research**

The theory of the study was formulated little by little at the field and after coming back to Finland. The theoretical tools used in this study are constructed from the socialization process, the nonformal education and from the street children intervention models.

### **4.1. Socialization process**

Socialization is a process or processes where an individual becomes a part of one's community by learning the rules and norms around him; one learns the acceptable way of living in his own surroundings (see Danziger 1971). This happens in interaction with the community members; first inside the family and then on a larger scale. As Siljander (1997) states socialization at large can be seen any process which makes an individual to become an active subject of society. Socialization process can be observed from the

sociological or psychological point of view. Sociologists emphasize the collective, societal and historical conditions and premises of the socialization process whereas psychological approaches address more individual development, identity formation and becoming an autonomous subject in the socialization process. (Siljander 1997, 8–9.) Besides psychological and sociological approaches LeVine (2003) discusses also about an anthropological approach on socialization influenced profoundly by the research of Margaret Mead and Bronislaw Malinowski in the 1920s and 1930s. Anthropologists have based their socialization studies on knowledge from the development psychology especially dealing with the social and communicative responsiveness and learning capacities of young children. Anthropology of socialization concentrates on intentional programmes for learning, of their background, their social and conceptual organization and how well or badly they succeed in achieving their purposes. Socialization processes can be viewed from different perspectives, from the individual's and from the society's point of view. (LeVine 2003, 2-5.)

Even though I understand socialization as a process that happens at different levels by different actors, I do not want to forget the individual aspect of a human being. Without going too deep on the philosophical debate about the relations of society and individuals, I would like to present Durkheim's ideas about the matter. Durkheim (1973) has viewed individuals and society in relation to each other by discussing the duality of human nature; body and soul; needs and sensations derived directly from ourselves and rational thinking and ability to decide in contradiction to our own needs. In the centre of his ideas become the separation of sensations and conceptual thoughts with morality. Moral acts begin by not thinking about ourselves primarily, morality is attached to something outside of us, to other people, to the community. As morality, the conceptual thought is always collectively produced, because without interaction and negotiations concepts would not have their meanings. Intellectual and moral behaviours are the basis of civilization and they are produced by collective activity. (Durkheim 1973, 149-151.) In other words socialization is social by nature, but the individual passions and needs can be separated from it. They come from us. Yet most of the human behaviour and thinking can be derived from collective social activities. We use concepts in our thinking, we use

language as a tool of thinking, and even though we are the actors of doing all that, it would not be possible without the language shared by others, concepts that have meanings and so forth.

According to LeVine (2003) it is necessary to understand the difference between learning, education and socialization. Learning is an individual process, which cannot be clearly predicted or limited, not even when trying to affect by intentional actions. Processes that aim to guide or facilitate the learning in wanted direction are called education and socialization. So these concepts are not equivalent to learning or development in general, but represent planned efforts to direct individual learning to certain pathways. The difference between education and socialization is that education is a general term that describes the social processes that facilitate learning in human communities, and socialization consists of educational processes which are intentionally guided changes in learning both at individual and group level in certain social environments. Hierarchically these concepts could be put in following order: socialization (educational processes in certain environments), educational processes (intentionally guided social processes), education (social process to facilitate learning) and learning (individual process of development). (LeVine 2003, 2-3.)

Socialization process is contextually dependent and it is always influenced strongly by the elements in the wider culture (Danziger 1971, 133). Therefore it is important to aim to understand the culture of the research target. Agrarian African childhood socialization traditionally emphasizes good obedience and compliant behaviour (these features are still valued in many African countries, such as Mozambique). This is because children are needed at the fields as labourers to provide for the family income and wellbeing. Children, who are used to close supervision in their family and in their community through their childhood, need and want it to continue in adult life. They are also likely to take less initiative and show a less active attitude for example in an environment like schools. When the social control is absent, people used to it, suffer from anxiety, and often end up in criminal paths or to substance using. Psychologically these people are not ready to live without the authoritarian societal structures. (LeVine 2003, 97.)

Okuma-Nyström (2003) has studied children's socialization in two Gambian villages. The study describes how the social integration can be divided into several different ways giving an example of *communal collectivities* and *associative collectivities*. The first one consist the social primary ties that we are born into. Even the individual part of us can be track down to collective conscience by Durkheim (1973) as mentioned before. Associative collectivities, emphasis individuals more as 'agents' (Giddens 1993), who act in the world through individual interests and purposes. In her own study, Okuma-Nyström combines aspects from both. She also explores the concept of socialization through various researchers and theorists such as Habermas (1987), Bourdieu (1972; 1990) and Bronfenbrenner (1979). Summarizing and concluding socialization process from this can be expressed as following. Socialization is a process where the child is prepared for his adult life, through internalizing the codes, values and principles of society through practises. This happens in interaction with the individual and the surrounding world through instant life world to global phenomena in micro-, meso-, exso-, and macro systems. (Okuma-Nyström 2003, 42-43.)

Okuma-Nyström (2003) argues from her results that children's moral education is more and more challenging due to various agents that compete against each others in the socialization process. These are changing adults and Western norms and values. Adults change through migration and by gaining different values themselves as Western norms and values push through especially from Western schools but also from mass media. Okuma-Nyström also mentions the importance of peer influences. Children who have grown up in the city bring different type of values and behaviour to villages when their mothers move back to their home community. Through all these changes also children's socialization process is changing. (Okuma-Nyström 2003, 199-200.) Therefore children are gaining new kind of values often related to Western world's individualism and capitalistic state of mind, which pulls children away from traditional African culture.

In this study I use the socialization theory as a broader frame for examining the street children's reintegration to the society. In addition I use integration and socialization as synonyms to each others. Re-integration therefore is re-socialization.



## 4.2. Defining Nonformal Education

Nonformal education is a concept that is not as clear as it first seems. Typical to nonformal education is that it is set against the formal education. Yet the matter is not so simple. There are various educational activities which are called nonformal education such as out-of-school education, basic skill education, vocational education, literacy and numeracy learning, rural education and so on. Furthermore whether nonformal education is aimed for adults, youth or children, is not always clear in the light of the name given to it. These names have developed and changed according to time, place and depending on whether the discourse has begun among policy makers, practitioners or theorists. Therefore before defining the concept of nonformal education it is better to look back to the historical discussion.

Every society has had some sort of out-of-school education long before any educational systems were created. These types of education can be called indigenous education. It is a variation of informal learning and more structured processes. The historical foundation for nonformal education arises from the fact that, each society has had a need to create socialization processes to teach young people the rules and norms of their community. (Evans 1981, 17.)

Evans (1981) divided nonformal education to concepts according to the nature of the educational activities and especially their relationship to the formal schools. These three categories are: complementary education, supplementary education and education which replaces schooling. The last category was very interesting for the planners and funders', because it offered a promise of cheaper way to reach the growing group of learners inside and outside the formal schooling. The problem was the quality of that type of education. Planners had to make difficult decisions of whether to offer schooling for larger amount of people with less quality or for smaller groups with more quality. (Evans 1981, 19–22.)

Rogers (2004) on the other hand has reviewed the history of nonformal education from its origins in the 1960s to the mid 1980s. By exploring the various discourses he separates four different debates of nonformal education:

**The Advocates** who saw nonformal education as all education outside the formal system (extra-formal).

**The Ideologues** who saw nonformal education as inherently opposed to formal education (anti-formal).

**The Empiricists** who looked at nonformal education in the field and claimed it was much the same as formal education (para-formal).

**The Pragmatists** who saw the possibility of nonformal elements within a formal educational situation (intra-formal). (Rogers 2004, 69.)

Nonformal education discourse silent down after the beginning of 1980s. This happened partially because the formal education began to recover after being criticized ineffective, but also because UNESCO stopped using the actual concept of nonformal education. Nevertheless UNESCO continued to make surveys and research about issues that could be described as nonformal. Furthermore, the need to describe various programs more precisely than just nonformal education, created diverse concepts such as education for pre-schoolers, education for drop-outs, education for young and adult workers, education for women, education for slum dwellers, education for rural inhabitants and so on. One major factor for the declining of the discourse was anyhow the disillusion with nonformal education. It had not answered the problems and questions of formal education as had been hoped for, on the contrary it was claimed to be inefficient. Nonformal education, as well, was used as a political tool either to reinforce or to reproduce the current societal state or as opposite to challenge the capitalist hegemony. This was enough reason for aid agencies and some writers to become sceptical of nonformal education. (Rogers 2004, 133–138.)

The history and variations in discourses have given nonformal education many meanings, but to move further, I present following definitions of the concept. Evans (1981) defined nonformal education on the one hand educational activities, which can clearly be separated from formal school structures and on the other hand from the broad range of

unstructured learning activities of everyday life (Evans 1981, 39). Kosonen defines nonformal education by Coombs et al. (1973, 10) saying that it is

Any organized education activity outside the established formal system - whether operating separately or as an important feature of some broader activity - that is intended to serve identifiable learning clientele and learning objectives.

He adds that because of that *nonformal education should be distinguished from formal and informal education*. (Kosonen 1998, 20.)

According to UNESCO (2006) nonformal education should provide alternative learning opportunities for those who have no access to formal schooling or need specific life skills and knowledge to overcome different obstacles, therefore nonformal education is defined to mean any planned, organized and sustained education activities that are outside normal education institution, responding to education needs for persons of all ages (UNESCO 2006b, 39). These activities usually have clear learning objectives, but vary by duration, in conferring certification for acquired learning and in organizational structure (UNESCO 2007, 393).

Rogers (2004) suggests new definitions for formal, nonformal and informal education by developing the ideas of Campbell & Burnaby (2001). Instead of being clearly defined entities, these concepts move on a continuum from contextualized to de-contextualized forms. I also use these definitions in this study.

All educational programs can be constructed as being somewhere along this continuum marked by

- **Formal education (de-contextualized education)** – that is, schooling which is characterized by a high degree of standardization, like formal groups. It is not adapted to the needs of the participants but the participants are called upon to adapt to it. The same learning programme is provided for all the members of the group
- **Flexible schooling** – that is, standardized educational programmes adapted in limited ways to meet local needs. These are programmes which can be either context-sensitive or context-adjusted, altered to meet local conditions but still recognizably standardized
- **Participatory education (contextualized)** – that is, programmes which are highly participatory, adapted needs of the particular set of participants in every respect – curriculum, teaching-learning materials, length of the programme, the timing and methods of evaluation etc. In these programmes, the participants learn what they want to learn, when they want to learn it, where they want to learn and in their own mode, and for as long as they want to learn it (Campbell & Burnaby 2001)

(Rogers 2004, 258.)

Definitions are therefore following:

- **Formal education:** that education which is highly de-contextualized, not adapted to the individual student participants
- **Nonformal education:** that education which is partially de-contextualized and partially contextualized (flexible schooling)
- **Informal education:** that education which is highly contextualized, individualized and small-scale (participatory education)

(Rogers 2004, 261.)

### **4.3. Nonformal education programs and street children intervention models**

Marginalized and vulnerable population groups have always been a challenging issue for the education planners. Nonformal education has been long part of the solution, because its activities and programmes are based on an integrated approach that takes into account all the factors influencing the opportunities and life-chances of different population groups, and the role played by education systems themselves in the processes of social inclusion and cohesion (UNESCO 2006b, 39).

Evans (1981) pointed out already in the 1980s that nonformal education planners should pay attention to questions, which emphasize flexibility and overall participation. Especially at the program level learners should participate in the planning process. This helps to develop skills in the learners; motivates them to complete the training; and can help to insure the maximum relevance of the content to the needs of the learners (Evans 1981, 80).

EFA 2008 report points out that the providers of nonformal education vary and therefore the programs themselves are also diverse and may differ in terms of objectives, target groups, content, pedagogy and scale. Most common programs (according to the data available) were large-scale literacy programs generally offering life skills, livelihoods and/or equivalency education. These programs were typically supported by international NGOs and bilateral and multilateral agencies. (UNESCO 2007, 60.)

Nonformal education program can work as a bridge back to school or back to finishing the education cycle. The strength of nonformal education programs are in their ability to change and adapt to the local context. Nonformal education is effective when they are community-based and combine the use of local languages, relevant curriculum and productive work. (UNESCO 2006, 73–74.)

Nonformal education has confronted also many critics. It is not always a credentialing process and therefore its graduates cannot compete equally at the labour market. This influences learners motivation and nonformal education can become a second-class schooling with lower expectations. (Evans 1981, 54–55.) Further on this might increase the segregation of the people to well educated and poorly educated. When planning and realizing nonformal education programs, it should be remembered that by teaching learners the skills and knowledge, it does not guarantee them employment or make them ready to start their own businesses (Evans 1981, 87).

The evaluation and data collecting are not easy to accomplish in nonformal education research. The follow-up of the third EFA goal is difficult, because it does not quantify the

objectives, there is no shared idea of the activities, which should be included and it is challenging to demonstrate how well the young people's and adults' learning needs are being met, because the lack of international comparable indicators. Nonetheless the monitoring process should be improved in order to understand the correspondence to the demand. The data of nonformal education enrolments are not always easy to gain from organizations or programs but some information might be collected through household surveys. (UNESCO 2007, 60–61.)

Whether to evaluate learners in terms of learning results similar to formal schooling or more in qualitative methods is not easy to decide. If the evaluation process reminds of formal exams, then also the activities easily begin to change towards more formal context. From another perspective nonformal education program can be defined a success, when participants are satisfied and the program is continuing in a sustainable way. (Rogers 2004, 164–165.) The evaluation process should depend on the objectives, which the nonformal education program have. Qualitative assessments are more complicated to accomplish, but they serve better individual development.

Nonformal education and formal education are usually set against each others. But maybe we should think education as a one big entity, as lifelong learning and just talk about the way it is being delivered: in a formal or nonformal way. Without any kind of formalizing nonformal education cannot exist efficiently. Nonformal education needs to be institutionalized if it is to survive as a major force in developing societies (Rogers 2004, 129). Small grass-root programs can work for a while for a small amount of people, but when they want to grow and reach more people, some kind of bureaucracy is needed. Along with this comes often the need to give certifications for the learners, because they continue living in a society, where certifications determine more or less what one can do. But maybe nonformal should not become formal, but formal should become more nonformal. If the education system as a whole would change to more flexible and open system, maybe we would not even need this kind of debate. Rogers (2004) argues that the discourse of nonformal is polarized and that while academics may use the discourse of lifelong education the educational planners at government levels seem to prefer that of

nonformal education (Rogers 2004, 202). Nonformal education has its value but so does also the formal education. Educational settings need both and when we evaluate or plan education programmes it is easier to put them on a continuum and see for example what organisational or pedagogical settings should be more flexible or more formal, than just to think them as opposite to each others. Rogers' (2004) way of thinking clears the blurriness around the concept of formal, nonformal and informal education and gives us back a tool for planning and analyzing.

Now I will discuss what kind of approaches there are in nonformal education programmes and especially in street children programmes. Nonformal education aims often to promote the livelihood of its target groups. So is the case usually with street children. They can be approached in various ways with different amount of formal and nonformal activities. Ansell (2005) demonstrates four different approaches based on ideas by Rizzini and Lusk (1995). These are correctional model, rehabilitative model, outreach strategies and preventive approach:

**In the correctional model** street children are seen as public nuisance and risk to common security. The objective is to deter children from the bad life with crimes and violence and protect the public of their threat. Juvenile justice and detention in jail or some sort of institutions are used as a method by the government and police.

**In rehabilitative model** street children are viewed as damaged. Usually NGOs or churches organize programmes of drug detoxification, education and provision of family-like environment. The objective is to rehabilitate the children and help them to re-enter mainstream society.

**Outreach strategies** aim to empower the oppressed street children based on the education model from Paulo Freire. The method is to use outreach education including practical and political skills at the streets and support groups there. Actors in this method are street teachers whose work is also funded by the religious groups and civil society.

**Preventive approach** sees street children on the streets because of social and economic forces. Their objective is to improve those situations that lead children to the streets in the first place. This approach does not have any simple solutions, but it tries to promote children's rights and targets unemployment and poor housing to mention few. Actors are NGOs and coalitions of street children lobbying government. (Ansell 2005, 204-206.)

These approaches can also be combined and various nonformal education programs use more than one approach with marginalized groups. These kinds of programs are called hybrid programs and they aim to promote life skills, vocational training as well as more traditional literacy training (Glassman, Hoppers, Destefano 2008, 10-11). If we think

about street children it is rational that they are tried to be approached by out-reach programs in addition to rehabilitative or correctional centres. To go deeper to this discussion I present examples on different street children projects, educational models and intervention approaches.

Nonformal education has proven to give good result among street children. Sometimes children, who have lived at the street for a long time, do not feel comfortable going to state schools even they would have possibilities for that, because they are often bullied due to their smelly and dirty appearance and they might not have enough patience to concentrate silently to the formal teaching. For instance in Kenya Ouma (2004, 21; 93) reported, that even though the Government made primary education free for everyone, some children still kept on going to nonformal education centres.

Ouma (2004) examined Undugu Society, which was established in 1973 in Nairobi, Kenya. He evaluated the role of the Undugu in the provision of education for street children and its strengths and weaknesses. The purpose of the project was to return street children's humanitarian rights, though the criteria for admission were in conflict with this main purpose, because only children, who were resident at the nearby slum areas living with a parent or guardian, were able to enter Undugu Society learning programs. This meant that in the end children who were supported were 'children on the streets' and not 'children of the streets' who would have been even more in need. (Ouma 2004, 57.)

Most of the learners in Primary education programs at Undugu Society were from the age group 13–16 years. Being so old, it meant that it was hard for them to catch up with their peers who normally finished primary education by the age of 13. Almost all of the children (90 per cent) had dropped out of school before entering Undugu Society. (Ouma 2004, 46–48.) The education provided in Undugu was divided in three categories: basic education, basic skills and informal skills. Objectives of basic education were to teach basic literacy and numeric skills and to teach values and attitudes, which are necessary for adjustment to desirable living in society. The basic of these skills were necessary to



learn also in order for the children to enter the Undugu vocational training centres. (Ouma 2004, 57–58.)

The study reported that street children have unique basic needs; therefore curriculum content and pedagogy should be constantly reviewed and updated. The participation of community is important and should be improved, and projects like the Undugu should not be so much dependent on external donors, because this puts a risk on its continuity. The study suggests that there should be more research in the area of pedagogy for street children and their psychology and sociology. Studies should also be done in the area of curricula and teaching and learning resources for street children. (Ouma 2004, 91–93.)

To change street children and their behaviour programs need to concentrate on creating friendly and dialogical relationship with the children. In this way educators can learn to understand their way of living. This should be the fundamental basis for all the programs aiming to help street children to achieve successful adulthood. (Kaime-Atterhög & Ahlberg 2008, 1354.) In addition all people working with the street children or handling matters concerning them should show empathy and care in their work (See Orme & Seipel 2007, 498).

Orme and Seipel (2007) suggest that fighting against poverty through micro-credit programs would be useful. This is a preventive approach for street children and their families. In this approach families could get small loans for self-employment and income-generation in order to improve their livelihoods. Poor people are not able to get loans from the traditional banks so this type of help provides them great opportunity to change their own life. (Orme & Seipel 2007, 498.)

According to Brink (2001) working approach with street children should be multi-component rather than a simple model, meaning that the help should be provided for example to both children and their family at the same time. Street children projects can be either street-based or centre-based, in other words project workers go meet the children where they are living and working or they offer services for them in certain places. Many

projects have combined these two elements and provide both out-reach services as well as centre-based services. (Brink 2001, 81.)

Brink (2001) introduces three fundamental principals that have been discovered to work well when providing educational opportunities for street children. First of all education should be supportive, collaborative and happen step by step in dialogue with the children. Educators should not be ‘instructors’ with authoritarian manners; instead they should act as ‘facilitators’ with open mind and affection (see also Kaime-Atterhög & Ahlberg 2008, 1354; Orme & Seipel 2007, 498). Secondly mutual learning and teaching between the children is found to be useful. ‘Peer-counselling’ and ‘child-to-child’ teaching benefit of the similar experiences of the street children and gives them more capability to communicate with each others. Thirdly projects should work in cooperation with the surrounding community. This strengthens the quality and relevance of the project while at the same time raises awareness of the problems and supports the actual functioning of the project. (Brink 2001, 81–82. See also Aptekar, Kironyo & McAdam-Crisp 2005, 84)

Brink (2001) argues that five different educational activity approaches could be adopted when working with street children. These are recreational approach, educational and socio-cultural approach, special health care approach; vocational training and income generating approach; and residential care approach. They can be used separately, together or in stages from one to another. (Brink 2001, 82-85.)

<b>Approach</b>	<b>Objectives</b>	<b>Space/place</b>	<b>Activities</b>	<b>Special</b>
<i>Recreational</i>	Provide a safe place for relaxing, playing and gathering together	Usually public area or multipurpose space like park, street or beach	Recreational activities, such as free play, hanging around, relaxation	Useful in initial contact making
<i>Educational and socio-cultural</i>	Provide basic education, life skills and self improvement relevant to children's own experiences	Public area like park, street or beach, but also in centre-based environment	Basic numeracy and literacy skills teaching, theatre, music and dance	Should be organized in flexible, informal and home-like manner to succeed well
<i>Special health care</i>	Provide medical care and health information	Drop-in centres with private and common rooms, hygiene and laundry facilities	Health-care, information, counselling, washing and laundering	Should support both mental and physical health
<i>Vocational training and income generating</i>	Provide working and income generating skills	Workshops and storing spaces	Vocational skills or trade teaching with basic numeracy and literacy skills education	Aims for quick visible results and income generating possibility
<i>Residential care</i>	Provide a secure place for sleeping and hanging around	Residential centre with beds, hygiene facilities and common room, maybe a kitchen	Free participation on up-keeping such as laundry, cleaning and maintenance (food preparation)	Free coming and going, but maybe some rules when staying

Table 1: Approaches to street children's educational activities. Derived from Brink (2001, 82-85).

The concepts of residential care and institutional care need to be distinguished. In the residential care children can move freely and in the institutional care, they are not usually allowed to leave the place without authority's permission. Sometimes in literature the concept of residential care might mean both.

Vocational training programs are not really useful for street children if they are not planned according to the labour market situation. Often children, after finishing the program, are expected to find a job, but if they do not succeed, they might expose to further risk factors. (Aptekar, Kironyo & McAdam-Crisp 2005, 84.)

When street children still have connections to their families, family-centred models would be appropriate; helping the children and the family at the same time. Furthermore the whole community should be involved in the process, so that it does not lead to a situation, where children actually begin to migrate away from homes just to get in to a centre. Family-based models do not come without problems, because sometimes the family accepts the child back in just to get some monetary benefit or food support. (Aptekar, Kironyo & McAdam-Crisp 2005, 83.)

Community-based models are often good option to support street children, for example when caring children affected by HIV/AIDS (see Chama 2008). However, they do not address the needs of the orphanage children or girls, who do not have the possibility to go back home. Even though the institutionalizing has been criticized it should be considered as an option in certain situations. Especially in the majority world, children need housing possibilities. (Aptekar, Kironyo & McAdam-Crisp 2005, 84.)

As paid workers, educators and trainers are not always so authentic in their relationships with the street children. Many of them might not be adequately trained, but they may appear charismatic and to get along with youth easily. Usually there is a lack of educators so it is good that at least some are working with the street children. Nevertheless this does not mean that untrained educators or volunteers can be left alone without supervision, because in worst situations they might be the ones who abuse children. (Aptekar, Kironyo & McAdam-Crisp 2005, 83.)

To enhance resilience, street children programs should have the appropriate staff with necessary training; programs should offer a supported and safe venue back to home and home community and they should be community-based but also offer educational information of life skills and employment training. In addition programs work best when they also provide information about AIDS, general health issues, family planning and socialization skills. All this should happen in respect of the child's individual experience within one's own environmental context. (Aptekar, Kironyo & McAdam-Crisp 2005, 85.)

Schimmel (2006) argues that a residential care for street children can sometimes be the only reasonable solution to make sure children are in a safe environment where their basic necessities can be met. It is not ideal and may require force to remove the children from the streets, but sometimes it is the moral obligation of the governments to do so. (Schimmel 2006, 212.) I understand the obligation to take care of the children and not allowing them to live in harmful conditions, but I do not agree that by using force, street children can be helped even when trying to do it in sensitive way. If they are taken from the place where they live against their own will, I do not see what the good that the child gets from it is. This is also in contradiction to other studies (see above Brink 2001; Kaime-Atterhög & Ahlberg 2008; Orme & Seipel 2007) which promotes caring and understanding approach to street children. I fear that by forcing children to go to an institution with limited freedom, they do not appreciate the effort but desire to escape from it. This produces even more suspicions towards adults and to governmental authorities.

In China the central government decided to do something to help the street children. They established an institution called The Protection and Education Centre for Street Children (PEC). Lam and Cheng (2008) studied in Shanghai the effectiveness of this program, which aims to provide protection and education for the street children and finally to reunite them with their families. If relatives are not located the children will be transferred to other governmental children's institutions. The study concluded that the street children did not appreciate the protective approach of the program. They disliked the environment at the institution because of prison-like atmosphere. Doors were locked, windows had iron bars, children were divided in small groups and their social activities were narrowed down to program activities and they were not allowed to go outside the institution. Also the objective of the program to send the children eventually back to their families was not appealing to many children, because they maybe did not want to go back home or there was not any conditions for them to be there. According to this study street children need to be listened in order to help them profoundly. Besides this the study suggests that different organizations working with children and families should improve their collaboration and the governments need to understand and tackle the root problems

of the street children phenomenon, which usually begins inside the family and violations of the children's rights. (Lam & Cheng 2008, 575-583.)

Khair (2001) have studied street children in Bangladesh in relation to law. According to him street children and their rights are violated all the time from picking up from the streets to institutionalization which only gives them reason to commit real crimes and become persons, which they are already seen and accused. Written and ratified laws are not enough. The government needs to monitor and implement these laws together with NGOs and individuals who care about the situation of street children. Besides this the government needs to raise awareness and improve the political will to help. In the end children's overall participation in decision making need to be emphasized before the actions taken to solve the street children problems becomes efficient. (Khair 2001, 73-75.)

It is necessary to develop a comprehensive juvenile justice system, human rights education, public awareness, political will, capacity building and quality leadership in administration... --- the needs, interests and perceptions of children should be included in social and economic policies in an attempt to establish a more child focused public administration. (Khair 2001, 75).

Schimmel (2006, 216) agrees that governments cannot imprison street children or violate their human rights, but at the same time he sees that they have the obligation to provide these children education and rehabilitative facilities and to make children to use them. Before forcing anyone street children should be encouraged to leave the streets voluntarily. He also states that the shelters and their equipments should be good quality to meet the variation of needs that street children have but also to be more appealing for them. Such is not the case often in street children shelters. Also the love and care inside these facilities should be improved with support of working adults. In order to achieve change in street children's attitude to move to a shelter street educators play the key role. They are usually social workers who out-reach the children in their own surroundings and build relationships with them on daily basis. Street educators can give information for children about various issues such as health, their rights, alternative options to street dwelling, educational possibilities etc. They can promote the voluntary migration from streets to residential care programs. (Schimmel 2006, 228-229.)

In South-Africa, there is a project that responds quite well to previous ideas. Le Roux (1994) has studied a street children project that has many dimensions. Street-Wise was founded in 1986 and after three years it had branches in Johannesburg, Soweto, Durban and Pretoria. Street-Wise aim is to be a non-political interdenominational and non-racial endeavour. From a mobile school (taking educative activities to children) it became a comprehensive model with variation of activities striving for street children's wellbeing. The objective of Street-Wise is to give child care (shelter, food, clothing, and help with medical, welfare, psychological and legal services), provide education and provide vocational skills. Activities include reuniting street children with their families, providing accommodation, running outreach programs and inform children still living at the streets, running educational programs to offer functional literacy and numeracy skills and to prepare participants for effective, productive and meaningful employment, coordinating support programs for ex-street children and informing other organizations about street-wise approach. (Le Roux 1994, 64–65.)

Street-Wise approach has five steps for solving the problems of street children. These are street outreach, shelter, assessment, Street-Wise education project and graduate program. In the first facet, children at the streets are contacted, helped with their immediate needs and informed about the other services Street-Wise offer. Second, shelter step is to offer children a place to stay, where child care workers create a substitute home environment, where recreational activities, informal guidance and development work are undertaken. Third face is assessment, which aim to reintegrate the child back to his/her home or to find suitable foster care. During the assessment the background, counselling need and educational level of the child is evaluated to mitigate the following steps. After the assessment children move on to the education project, which concentrate on remedial programs (numeracy, literacy and general educational rehabilitation), formal education, life-skills training (religion, health and hygiene, sex education, drug and solvent abuse counselling, and art and drama therapy) and job-skills training (instil work ethos, develop concentration and preparation for employment). In the final step of the program, the child is prepared to leave the project for formal schooling and formal training. Even after this

the program continues to support the ex-street child to one's independence and employment. (Le Roux 1994, 65–66.)

Le Roux (1994) argues that because Street-Wise program has involved community and its members to its activities, it has contributed significantly to its success. The program faced failure when trying to house the street children out in the country, because children themselves were used to urban life and desired to live in city areas. Challenges were also found in the test results of cognitive development with older boys and those who had stayed at the streets for longer time (Richter 1989). Street children had effective problem-solving skills but they needed counselling with mental health and social adjustment problems. Le Roux (1994) pointed out some reasons for the relatively poor success rate of Street-Wise. These reasons were that children do not always know how they could be helped best to become independent and self-sufficient; they dislike the rules and limitation in the programs and also the prying into their personal lives by outsiders; some of them were also mixed with other children with whom they did not want to be with on the streets; and in addition not all the children wanted help in the first place. (Le Roux 1994, 67.)

#### **4.4. Summary**

The theoretical frame for this study is constructed of a socialization process, nonformal education and of different street children approach models. Whether intentional or not, children are socialized in the world through different kinds of processes. First everything begins in the family and continues in the surroundings the child has while growing older. Education as a system is normally integrating children to the mainstream society, but sometimes it can be used to promote different objectives depending on the target group and who is providing the education. By understanding that nonformal education is a complicated concept and discourse, my aim in this study is to see where on the continuum my research targets end up. How flexible they are and what is the level of formal and nonformal in their activity. Nonformal education might be driven by the government, civil society or international party.



Depending on the approach to street children, nonformal education varies greatly with its activities, methods and objectives. It seems that best working street children programs have many activities and approaches; have trained workers who are in constant dialogue not just with the children but also with their families and communities; provide education about basic skills, health knowledge, moral, behaviour, schooling and about employment; and these programs are also aiming to rise awareness of children's rights. In this frame and with this knowledge I observed the situation of two street children centres in Maputo and found out what their approaches, objectives and methods were and what kind of successes and challenges they confronted in their daily routines.

## **5. Education in Mozambique**

In this chapter I draw a picture of Mozambique as a context of my study. First, I will introduce some basic information about the population and country. Then I will explore the history from the aspect of education and I will also study some schooling statistics. Finally the discussion broadens to nonformal education and to its current state.

Mozambique is a long and big country in Southern East-Africa. Today Mozambique has a population of 21 millions, of which one third is living in the urban areas. Half of the population is under age of 18 and there are 3.7 million children under age of five. People are expected to live only up to 42 years old. The Gross National Income (GNI) was 320 US\$ per capita in 2007 and 75 per cents of the population live below international poverty line of US\$1.25 per day (UNICEF 2009, 140-143). Mozambique has been heavily dependent on foreign assistance already for decades. The situation is getting better, but still in 1990 approximately 40 per cent of the GDP was received as official development assistance and yet in 2005 the amount was almost 20 per cent of the GDP (UNDP 2007, 293).

HIV/AIDS affects highly the lives of Mozambican people. 12.5 per cent of the population is estimated to be living with HIV, and more than six per cent of this amount is children under 14 years old. Besides this, almost four per cent of all children under 18 are orphaned by AIDS. (UNICEF 2009, 131.) For street children all this is the reality. Many of them have ended up on the streets due to death of parent(s) by AIDS. Also their own risk of getting infected grows even bigger, because sexual exploitation is very common at the streets.

### **5.1. Historical Overview of the Educational Development in Mozambique**

The Portuguese arrived to Mozambique at the turn of the fifteenth century. Their interest was not to create a unified state, but merely to capture the gold trade from the Arab merchants. Later this changed to ivory and slave trade. Portuguese probably sold at least one million Mozambicans into slavery. Throughout the first 400 years of colonial supremacy, Portuguese didn't bring any new technology to Mozambique or worked to improve the country. This all laid basis for long-term under-development. (Waterhouse 1996, 4–5.)

The development of education in Mozambique mainly began at national-wide level after the Liberation Front of Mozambique, FRELIMO came into power. Before, Portuguese colonials provided superior schooling only for the children of settlers and small amount of natives, who had been assimilated. At the same time African education was entrusted in the hands of rural missionaries from the Catholic Church (Waterhouse 1996, 49).

National Independence was declared in 1975, which caused all the Portuguese colonials and many other foreigners to leave Mozambique. This left the country in economical chaos. In the middle of 1980s thousands were suffering hunger and fleeing from their homes because of rapidly spreading civil conflicts, which eventually led into a civil war. This all had a vast effect on the educational level of the country. FRELIMO expanded the national education network and their government managed to raise literacy level to 25 per cent. Unfortunately during the war a rebel group called RENAMO, Mozambican

National Resistance deliberately targeted schools with the teachers and children. (Waterhouse 1996, 10–14; 50.) Between 1983 and 1992 Mozambique lost nearly 58 per cent of its schools in war (Christie 1996, 96).

Finally in 1992 Peace Accord was signed in Rome (Waterhouse 1996, 12). Because Mozambique has a diverse population, with many native languages, the education system needed a lingua franca for teaching. Portuguese was adopted, because it had already been used as the official language during the colonial period. Unfortunately only very few knew Portuguese and this became one of the major reasons for the high rate of children repeating grades or dropping out of school. (Christie 1996, 96.) Not until year 1995, the government decided to allow local language teaching for the first time (Waterhouse 1996, 51). This has gained more emphasis on the 21st century both in formal and nonformal education. Mozambique has still a lot to be done until all citizens complete at least the primary education. In recent 15 years Mozambique has taken the challenge of Education For All (EFA) and Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) with the support of international cooperation, in order to achieve better wellbeing and development level throughout the country.

## **5.2. Formal education system and literacy level**

Mozambique has a voluntary pre-school education for children below 6 years of age. The primary education covers the first seven grades of general education, which is divided into two levels: The first level, EP1, Grades 1-5 and second level EP2, grades 6 and 7. The compulsory education begins in the year of the child's sixth birthday. General secondary education, also called the second level of general education, lasts five years. It is divided into two cycles: the first cycle lasts three years, Grades 8-10 and the second covers Grades 11 and 12. (Christie 1996, 96–97; WDE 2006, 8–9.)

Technical schools and institutes provide technical and professional education. “*Basic technical education (equivalent to the first cycle of general secondary education) trains skilled workers; mid-level technical education (equivalent to the second cycle of general*

*secondary education) trains technicians.”* There are three public institutions at the Higher Education level. They offer “*a variety of programs leading to the bachelor’s degree (three-year course), the licenciatura (generally, a four-year course; seven years in the case of medicine), the master’s degree (two-year course), and the doctoral degree (three- to five-year course)*”. The school year in Mozambique is divided into two semesters, which consists of 180 working days. (WDE 2006, 9.)

The Government of Mozambique uses almost 20 per cent of the Central Government expenditure on education, and most of it goes to primary level education (UNPD 2007, 268). Even today, only 44 per cent of the adults know how to read and write. Among young people the situation is slightly better. 58 per cent of the young men aged 15-24 and 48 per cent of the same aged women are literate. (UNICEF 2009, 135.) Data published by National Institute of Statistics in 2004 (INE: Instituto Nacional de Estatística), shows that the regional illiteracy variations are large in favour of south; Maputo Province has only 15,1 per cent illiteracy rate. Furthermore in the rural areas the situation is worse with 65,7 per cent than in urban districts with 30,3 per cent of illiteracy. (Mario & Nandja 2005, 5.)

During the years of 2000-2007 the average primary school net enrolment ratio has been 79 for boys and 73 for girls, but only 63 per cent of the boys and 57 per cent of the girls attended regularly on lessons. Approximately half of the children drop-out before reaching the grade five. The school survival rate varies according to administrative data (40%) and survey data (68%), so only estimates can be given. (UNICEF 2009, 135.)

According to the report on the Millennium Development Goals 2008, Mozambique should be able to achieve universal primary schooling by 2015. In 2007 average net primary school enrolment index was 95.5 per cent with a little difference between boys (97.1%) and girls (93.1%). Nevertheless full completion rate will not likely be achieved. In 2007 the average completion rate was 72.6 per cent. 80 per cent of the boys complete the first five grades but only 65.1 per cent of the girls do the same. The biggest challenges for Mozambican education are quality and continuity. The teacher-student ratio is still low and there are not enough schools for children to go to. Also the

improvement of support and supervision of learning and teaching processes is needed. The focus should not only be at the primary level, because the educational path should continue to secondary and technical higher educational levels. (MDG/MOZ 2009, 23.)

The literacy situation has developed greatly from the poor situation at the year of independence, but still new innovations and better strategies are needed (See ESSP II 2005). The role of non-governmental providers should be explored in a more thorough way and better strategies should be implemented to achieve the aims of Education For All (EFA) and Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Even though literacy has been recognized to be one of the most effective ways of reducing poverty, it is not one of the goals of MDGs as Mario and Nandja (2006) point out. They make a critical remark that in the MDG Action Plan of Mozambique only universal primary education is provided, but there is no reference to literacy itself. (Mario & Nandja 2005, 4.) Making national plans to reach EFA and other engagements is very important, but is crucial that the work continues to implementations and their follow-ups all the way to evaluations and re-planning. It is sometimes a matter of chosen words, which areas and objectives are highlighted and pointed out. Therefore critical reading of plans should be done regularly. In the current ESSP II emphasis is more strongly on the quality of education. The educational needs of all citizens have been acknowledged, due to the Action Plan for the Reduction of Absolute Poverty (PARPA) and due to understanding the benefits of early childhood education and adult learning/literacy programs for the primary education. Parents who are literate themselves support better their children in schooling. (ESSP II 2005, 11–12.)

Because this study concentrates more on nonformal education than on formal education, I wish to explore it more in detail. Next I will go few decades back to the history in order to give broader view on the nonformal education. Then I will discuss the situation today and its challenges and benefits.

### **5.3. The development of nonformal education**

After gaining independence in 1975, Mozambique faced a situation where illiteracy rate was as high as 93 per cent (ESSP II 2005, 18). A national directorate was established for adult literacy and nonformal education. With the help of some 100,000 volunteers a massive campaign was followed, which succeeded to reduce the illiteracy rate 18 per cent before the civil war began. During the war years the directorate's work was halted. After peace agreement in 1992 the directorate reactivated and aimed to reduce illiteracy 10 per cent until 2004. (Obanya 2004, 45.) Even though the enrolments fell in nonformal and adult education during 1980's and 1990's some non-government providers like NGOs and religious organizations continued to develop innovative programs for women, adults and young people. "Unfortunately these initiatives were until recently poorly coordinated and documented and have therefore not yet been fully used to develop strategies and activities on a larger scale." (ESSP II 2005, 18.)

The national education policy (Política Nacional de Educação), that was published in 1995 promote overall development and reconstruction of the education system. The policy worked as a base for an Education Sector Strategic Plan (ESSP I) 1999–2003 with the priority to increase access to educational opportunities at all levels of the education system. (Obanya 2004, 37.) This included also the nonformal sector, therefore a national strategy for the literacy and nonformal sub-sector (Estratégia do Subsector de Alfabetização e Educação de Adultos/ educação Não Formal) was made for years 2001–2005. The focus was on women and nonformal education with the aim to provide relevant education in different contexts in order to develop individuals as well as communities as a whole. This included use of local languages in addition to Portuguese, synchronizing time-tables of nonformal education with rural life, using participatory methodology, ensuring that volunteers undergo a 15-day initial training, targeting out-of-school youth, using the help of professional teachers and admitting diplomas after finishing nonformal education programs, equivalent for the fifth grade in the formal system. From an evolution perspective adult literacy programs have therefore changed from the 1978 reading-writing-calculating approach to more in direction of functional

literacy. This means that learning to read and write are related to improvement of the quality of life, civic emancipation, women empowerment, health issues (including HIV/AIDS), income generation, management and organizational skills. (Obanya 2004, 45–47.)

Currently the Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC) is coordinating, developing the curricula, making standards and producing learning materials for nonformal education programs. Besides these the work of National Institute for Adult Education (INEA) is being strengthened in order to train trainers and to produce manuals and instructional materials for all agencies involved in the sector. Overall the MEC cannot provide sufficient financial or human resources to support extensive public involvement in nonformal education and adult education. Reasons are many, like the diversity of the learning needs, the complexity of the problem and because the Ministry have other strategic priorities and obligations. (EFA Assessment 2000.) The focus is concentrated on adult education and literacy programs. In the eyes of the Ministry the role of nonformal education for children should only be a way back to formal schooling and reintegration back to the society. The role of MEC at the children's nonformal education sector is therefore small. At the moment coordination and cooperation are tried to be expanded and improved to develop the system as a whole. Cooperation is done with communities, civil society, NGOs and with international organizations such as UNESCO, UNICEF, Save the Children and Aka Ghan foundation to participate in the local and global development and discussion of education. The practical work of children's nonformal education is left for civil society, religious groups and NGOs.<sup>1</sup>

There are still Mozambicans who cannot go to school and of those who go many are dropping out or repeating the classes. This is due to the poor quality of education, lack of relevance, high costs, cultural issues and the impact of HIV/AIDS. Therefore adult education and nonformal education plays a key role, together with primary education, in ensuring progress towards the goals of EFA. (ESSP II 2005, 18.) The challenges of

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<sup>1</sup> Information is based on an inquiry made by the author about adult education and nonformal education in the Ministry of Education and Culture at 14th of April 2008.

primary education are also challenges of adult education and nonformal education. Next I will discuss adult literacy programs, because they can be quite easily transformed to help also youth illiterate such as street children. This study's other research target is using governmental adult literacy program for teaching street youth to read, write and calculate.

#### **5.4. Literacy programs**

Adult's nonformal education and literacy programs are coordinated and organized from the National Direction of Literacy and Adult Education (DINAEA). The ministry provides teaching and learning materials for Portuguese language, mathematic and natural sciences. The third year of adult education is equal to fifth grade at the formal primary school. The first year's teaching is focused on learning Portuguese and mathematic. Second year continues the subjects from the first year and teaches also natural sciences. During the second and third year also professional skills and life skills are being taught. This is done together with the students in order to improve their living condition and their community. The quality of the courses and adult education is being evaluated based on the concrete results. The impact of the nonformal education is seen from the improved living conditions of the learners, for example they can run their businesses more effectively, they have more agricultural products to use or to sell or, they know more about their own rights and possibilities to act etc. (See e.g. learning materials by MEC and DINAEA: Cartilha de Alfabetização, "Siga-me e aprenderá" segunda Edição, 2007; Material de Formação para Potenciais Micro-Emresários 2007)

The Adult education and the literacy programs are given face-to-face or through distant learning methods. The literacy program is organized in a way that, learners get direct teaching from voluntary educators and in addition they can learn from the radio and TV literacy programs that are being broadcasted through national media. These distance technologies give the possibility to learn in a flexible way and in one's own pace. It is also relatively cost-effectual when learners live far away from each others and from educators, like in sparsely populated rural areas. (EFA Assessment 2000.)



The adult education and nonformal education provided by the Ministry have often two different kinds of teachers, voluntary educators and adult educators. Voluntary educators need to have completed at least seven years of formal schooling and they need to participate on a 21 day training course, which is organized by the MEC once in a year. Voluntary educators do not receive any salary but they get a small pocket money to cover the expenses of their work. The adult educators have to go through a two-year education at National Institute for Adult Education (INEA) in Beira, before they can work as educators. For them the MEC pays the salary<sup>2</sup>

The MEC does cooperation with other Ministries like the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Women and Social Affairs in order to develop and provide the best nonformal education as possible. Also every province has their own forum, where cooperation and discussion is done between the Ministry, NGO's, civil society and religious groups. MEC has been funding some projects at nonformal education sector, but there is no standard policy for financial support. Because of the lack of resources the funding is small-scale and given case by case.

Through adult education and nonformal education the illiteracy rate was tried to be reduced to 40 per cent in the end of 2009. Unfortunately the quality and the relevance of literacy programs have often been less than desired. Therefore their coordination, curricula and materials should be improved. Also the distribution of materials in sustainable way and use of technological channels and innovation should be developed. Moreover additional partners should be identified and supported in order to promote nonformal education and the monitoring system. Even though the need is large MEC does not have resources to dramatically increase the level of funding. The share of adult and nonformal education in the whole education budget is approximately 4 per cent. The main objectives of adult education and nonformal education in ESSP II are to increase enrolments in literacy and post-literacy programs, improve the quality and the relevance of the programs by implementing new curricula and to strengthen the capacity of INEA

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<sup>2</sup> Information is based on an inquiry made by the author about adult education and nonformal education in the Ministry of Education and Culture at 14th of April 2008.

as well as in provincial and districts levels. Also gender issues have been emphasized and women's role is being strengthened at different levels. (ESSP II 2005, 20.)

Besides providing literacy teaching, adult education and nonformal education programs can serve the purpose of community development as a whole. Programs are often a combination of literacy and numeric teaching and teaching of cultural values, democracy, and nutrition, health issues like HIV/AIDS and practical skills, which help to improve people's life. (ESSP II 2005, 18.) Literacy and citizenship training can also be included in courses, which are organised by private companies and employers. These types of course offer for unemployed young people possibility to learn skills and to support them. (EFA Assessment 2000.) These are real benefits, which increases the relevance of the education and help to empower people so that they can take care of their own lives. Another good side of community education is that learners can be supported often with their mother tongue in the process of learning Portuguese and other subjects. This is not usual at the formal system, even though from year 2005 it has been a recommendation to support small children's learning at the first grades of schooling with their mother tongue. It is also less expensive to educate community educators than formal teachers. Also the local knowledge of a community educator can be a great benefit and help to improve and motivate the community in a holistic way.

There are some weak points in the nonformal education system as well. The literacy programs, which are run by or in cooperation with the Government of Mozambique, have equivalence for formal schooling, but still many nonformal education programs educate learners who will not get an official certificate of their knowledge and skills. If these learners want to continue their studies they have to always start from the beginning or where they have left in the formal system. Basically without a certificate it is impossible to find a good job with decent salary. It means that young people who do not go through the formal system are always in a worse situation than their peers who have finished formal schooling. According to EFA assessment of Mozambique, The Ministry is examining the possibility of establishing some sort of equivalence between skills and credentials obtained in school and those obtained through nonformal education and

training programs, in order to increase the chance that students who complete nonformal courses can subsequently find employment or re-enter the formal school system (EFA Assessment 2000). This has been the situation nine years ago and still many of the adult education and nonformal education programs do not have equivalence with the formal education system.

## **6. Fieldwork in Mozambique**

In this chapter I discuss the process of data collecting, analyzing and interpreting. In addition I assess the validity of the data. First I begin by describing the process of entering the field and choosing the research targets.

### **6.1. Entering the field and collecting the data**

I collected the empirical data during the period of February – July in 2008. At this time I was studying in the University of Eduardo Mondlane in Maputo city as an exchange student through the North-South-South exchange program.

After arriving to Maputo I organized my everyday life and began to search for different organizations working with street children. I had already a list of centres, which I got from the website of Rede da Criança. It helped me to get started. Some of the information on that list was out of date, but some was still accurate. Through the partnership of the exchange program I was introduced to Ministry of Women and Social Affairs. They gave valuable information and organized visits to some centres and to the department of Adult Literacy and Nonformal Education at Ministry of Education and Culture. I also visited places on my own and asked advices from the Department of Education in University of Eduardo Mondlane. By asking around and exploring I got an idea of different organisations and association working with street children.

My original plan was to examine a broader picture of the field, but I found it impossible with the time and resources I had. I realized that there are two different kinds of centres for street children, open and closed ones. In open centres children only participate and visit the centre during the day time with some regulations and rules while in closed centres children live in the centre and lead a life in a home-like environment with clear rules and obligations. I wanted to learn more about the difference of open and closed centres so I decided to have one of each in my study. The decision of the research targets happened partially randomly, but at the same time based on the size of the centre (it was easier to handle small centres, because I had a time limitation for the field work) and based on the activities they were offering. Besides not all the centres were reachable, so that I had to settle with what I could get contact on.

I collected the data with qualitative methods, mainly using semi-structural interviews and observing (see Appendix 2 and 3) while I was working as a volunteer in the centres. Everyone was told about my researcher role and that I am doing voluntary work at the same time. In addition to working in the centres and observing and interviewing I read and analyzed documents and written material that I was able to reach, (e.g. action plans and annual reports) in order to get better understanding of their work and goals. I completed my knowledge through informal conversations with children and also with workers.

I planned to record all the adult interviews, because my language skill was not yet so fluent when I began collecting the data. At first it worked well and I could check what was told during the interview later at home. Unfortunately my recorder broke down in the latter part of my data collecting process and I had to write down five adult interviews by hand. By that time I was already more fluent in Portuguese and I had more experience in making interviews. I spent more time with the last interviews and made many clarifying questions. Due to this, I felt I could get as good information as when I was recording the interviews. The interviews became more dialogical and I actually felt that I had deeper understanding of some issues and concepts because I reacted immediately when I wasn't able to understand clearly, what was the answer. When I had the recorder, I maybe

trusted too much of the possibility to listen to it again at home and understand all on my own. Therefore I did not make as many clarifying questions as without the recorder.

All the children's interviews I did without the recorder because I felt they were more relaxed around me like that. From the beginning I explained to all of my interviewees that their participation is voluntary and they can stop the interview at any time. Especially with the children I tried not to ask too personal questions and I aimed to stay sensitive about how they were reacting to my questions. Various times children began to explain more about themselves that what I was asking. In these situations I listened and talked with them about their past. Only one child's interview was interrupted after few questions. The boy questioned my intentions and claimed that I only want to use him and make money. I explained to him again what I was doing and that we can stop immediately if he feels uncomfortable with me. He wanted to continue but then he lost concentration totally and I decided that it was better to stop.

In total my main data consist of thirteen (13) adult interviews and ten (10) children's interviews. Besides this, I have (33 + 45) 78 pages of field diary, where I have written my observations and thinking during the field process.

## **6.2. Data Processing and Interpretations**

There are primarily two different ways to approach qualitative analyze. The researcher can assume that the research data tells the unquestionable truth about the research target. On the other hand the researcher can approach the data in more interpretative way, meaning that the data is relative, depending on the methods and research interests; and therefore can only tell something about the research target in certain context, but not the absolute truth. (Eskola & Suoranta 2008, 141.) As I have already explained before, I aim to make interpretation about the reality of street children and their educators. Hence, it is important to keep in mind my research interests and methodological choices.

I began the data processing already at the field. Every time after making an interview of a child, I translated it from Portuguese to English following my notes. I wrote children's sayings in a story-like form. Processing the adult interviews varied more. Some of the interviews, which I had recorded I transcribed to text form already while at the field, but some later in Finland. If I had made only notes during the interview I made a transcript of them later the same day. All adult interviews are in Portuguese. The actual data analyzing I began in Finland. First I familiarized myself more deeply to the data by just reading it through again and again. I read everything, all the interviews and my field diary (and I also listened to the interviews with the transcripts). Overall it is essential to know one's research data before trying to do any deeper analyze. After this I used the themes from my interviews to divide and organize the data. This type of coding is typical for qualitative interviews before continuing further in the analysis. (Eskola & Suoranta 2008, 151-152.) I combined some of the themes and re-organise their structure so that I had three main themes: Background information of the centre, Workers' working experiences and Workers opinions about the children of the centre. These I divided in themes more closed to those in the interviews. While I was reorganizing the data into these themes, I also relocated them from their original places. The interviews were realized in a dialogical way so sometimes a question not only followed an answer but contained much more information about some other important theme than just the one, which was questioned about. Therefore organizing the data under certain themes helped me to analyze the issues in more specific and deeper way. This kind of thematic division is one of the basic ways to approach research data and begin to do the analysis (see Eskola & Suoranta 2008, 174-180).

#### Thematic division of the adult's interview data

##### Background information:

- Description of the centre
- Planners and decision makers of the centre (who & how)
- Workers in general
- Interviewees' jobs and tasks
- Reintegration process
- The contribution of the activities in reintegration process

##### Workers' working experiences:

Achieving the objectives  
Satisfaction in the work  
Challenges and dissatisfactions of the work  
Development ideas

Workers opinions about the children of the centre:

Needs of the children  
Children's participation possibility in decision making and activity planning  
Children's satisfaction  
Workers expectations for the children  
Future prospect of the children  
Reasons for children abandoning the project

These themes also reflect the theoretical and methodological aspects of this study. Through the background information I describe and set context for the research data, which is both important in ethnography and in socialization process. As I mentioned earlier anthropological aspect on socialization emphasis the educational programmes, their background, their social and conceptual organization and how well or badly they succeed in achieving their purposes (See LeVine 2003, 5). Besides describing the backgrounds I look for the challenges and successes of the educational programmes in these two street children centres. Also the social organization of the centre is examined in various themes, but especially in the planners and decision makers of the centre. From the perspective of nonformal education I look for the participation possibilities and flexibility of the educational settings as well as experiences of how well they are working and responding in the needs that the children have.

I realize that I could approach my research data from various perspectives and especially in ethnographical study I might go deep into the interaction between the interviewer and interviewees as Mietola (2007) has done in her research. For this study's purpose I think it is enough to say, that all interview situation were different. Some interviewees were more talk active than others, but all were voluntary. Two of the children seemed rather tense with me even though they assured me that they want to participate. They turned rather shy and silent. In these cases I could not have all the answers but as I felt it was important for the children to participate, I did not stop the interview. With adults the interaction was usually first a bit reserved, but after few questions they begin to discuss openly. Only one worker was seemingly selective on what he answerer to me. I felt that

he was afraid to lose his job and gave me answers that left out the real opinions about certain issues. Always after the interview I wrote down notes about how everything happened and how I felt about the situation. These notes I have used to reflect the information received so that I can have some clues whether the interview has been open or more closed by nature. Using the interview data and field notes together and reflecting them to each other gives deeper understanding of the issues than just analyzing the other (Mietola 2007, 175). Through out the analysis I used my field notes to see the wanted issues in a broader perspective and I have paid attention to them also when interpreting the interviews. But further than this in assessing the truthfulness of the interviews I have not gone. As I have wanted to learn the interpretations that these people give to their own reality, it is not useful for my purposes to question what they say to be true or not.

I wrote children's interviews in story-like form and divided them in background information, own wishes and other's expectations and the attitude to the centre. From children's interviews I looked things and reasons about what satisfied them and things that did not. I also examined how useful children saw the education and support they received at the centre.

From the field diary I looked for things related especially to street culture, to better comprehend street children's world. But as I explained before, most of the analyzing process my own observations have worked in constant reflection to what I have learnt from the interviews. If some strong sensation has arisen from my field diary I have pointed it out in the text. But most of the time I do not separate my interpretation from interviews or from observations. They produce all together my final interpretations.

I have used SWOT analysis as a method to analyze further the research data. SWOT is a domain divided in four by inner Strengths and inner Weaknesses and to outside Opportunities and outside Threats. It was developed to analyze business world enterprises and organisations to make them better and more efficient. The analysis can be use to make decisions of how to benefit from the strengths and opportunities, and how to change weaknesses to strengths and how to avoid threats. (Lindroos & Lohivesi 2004, 217-218.)



Table1. SWOT analysis model

Strengths	Weaknesses
Opportunities	Threats

(Source: Lindroos & Lohivesi 2004, 218)

SWOT has been used also in educational research. Palovaara et Al. (2003) have used it in developing the university teaching by creating a model for student tutoring and guidance. SWOT was used as a tool for informants to analyze their opinions about the development of student guidance. SWOT analysis has been used also in my home university as a strategic development tool in the Department of Early Childhood Development (see University of Tampere 2006). In my study I use the SWOT as a way to analyze the already gathered information, thus it has not been a data collecting method, but an analyzing method. Themes that I used in the interviews were anyhow quite close to the idea of SWOT domains. From these domains I have derived successes and challenges of the process of the reintegration. Successes of the centre are formed of already existing strengths and of opportunities that support the centre from outside or could be developed to do so. So opportunities domain contains both things of present time and ideas for better future. Challenges of the centre are formed of existing weaknesses and threats from outside. I have divided the result chapter in these domains, but many issues could be dealt with various domains, because they are complex by their nature.

### **6.3. Limitations and Validity of the Data**

This research data has its limitations first of all due to me as a researcher and due to the sensitive research target group. Street children might have prejudices towards adults and foreigners, because of the rejection they have experienced before from the society. Street children don't open themselves up so easily, they don't let anybody inside their lives without knowing them; they have their own protective actions and understanding of the world (Marrengula 2006, 48; See also Brink 2001, 80). Also the language has set some limitations for this study. I have tried to overcome these limitations by learning the language and collecting the data in various ways and using the help of the local colleagues in the research group. I believe that as a foreigner I have had a different way of looking at the normal activities in the centres and because the surrounding has been strange for me I have not taken things for granted. Another limitation is that neither the children have been very fluent in Portuguese. Yet by spending time with the children and asking explanations and translations from the local workers who were able to speak many languages I could complement my own information. Also children did the same when they wanted to know something about me but they did not know how to ask. This way I could also add the validity of the data.

Generally in research it is very important to pay regard to ethical considerations. (Fontana & Frey 2003, 88–89.) I knew it was my responsibility as an adult to guide interviews with children in a sensitive way and not to force them talk about issues that they did not want to. Therefore there is a natural limitation of the research data, because children have told what they have wanted. It can be true or not, but I have taken it as the truth. I have made sure that all of my interviewees have stayed anonymous in order to respect their identities.

Another limitation is that I only have small portion of interviews from many children at the centres. Also from the closed centre I did not have time to interview all educators and workers around the children. With these choices I have made limitations to the data already at the field, but anyhow I have made the decisions according to my best understanding and in respect of the local people.

Due to my methodological choices this study is limited to give interpretation about certain experiences and certain moments of certain people in certain context and cannot therefore be generalised to give objective truth about the issues discussed. But they most certain can give insights and “one-way-of-seeing-it” perspective to them, which is as valuable as pursuing the generalised data about some issue. In the end I have explained and discussed about the research process and my position in it in order to give the reader an option to make own conclusions about the methods used and the information gained. In my own opinion the results answer the research questions well and therefore the data has served its purpose.

## **7. Results from the centres**

In this chapter I will introduce two research target centres. First I give description of them: activities, people, approach, reintegration process and so forth. Then I explore the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats of these centres. Under these themes I have dialogue between the data from the interviews and from my own observations in reflection to previous studies. Finally in the end, I make conclusions about successes and challenges of the reintegration process of street children and nonformal education.

### **7.1. Description of the closed centre**

The closed centre was founded in 1996 by European missionaries. It is located in the suburban of Maputo City, approximately 20 kilometres from the city centre. Nowadays the Centre is run by a local director with local workers, but it still has close contact to church and European missionaries. The centre has also some volunteers from foreign countries all around the year. The main objectives of the centre are to help street children, educate them, and to reintegrate them back to their homes and to society.

The first step of the centre's work is to contact the children at the streets. There are educators who look for the children and begin educating them already at their living surroundings in the city. Then they are invited to come to the centre. This process can sometimes take months. The centre offers boarding school like environment for 30 street children (during the time of the field study 32 boys were present, due to larger capacity of earlier years). Only boys, aged 7–14 years, are admitted. In the centre's property lays a school building for the boys but also for the surrounding community. The school is run by a normal state program and has a capacity for 1500 pupils. The centre has also land for small-scale cultivation and playground area including basketball and football fields. The actual houses for everyday life are built close to each other, containing five small houses for children's accommodation with each having one room for educator. The sixth small house and some parts of the five houses are used for office space for educators and for storage room for school uniforms, tools, balls and other material for games and medicine. Between houses there is a yard and a building for showers, toilets and place for washing clothes. Other part of the house groups are for administrative offices, director's office, workers' common room, kitchen, hall room for eating and gather rounds, library, play room and storage for vocational activities. Next to these buildings lays a workshop for carpentry and mechanics.

There are three criteria for entering the centre. First a street child should have a family or relatives to contact with. Second the child needs to have a desire to return home, and third he has to have spent more than three months in the streets without visiting home. The centre does not accept children without families, because they want to work as a bridge for children in the streets and between their families. Children who do not have families should go to an orphanage according to the centre.

In the centre, children are offered meals, accommodation, medical help, clothes, information about children's rights and education at school level, life-skill level and vocational level. Education in the school (grades 1 to 10) is formal but the other two levels happen in a more nonformal way. Life-skills are taught through different routines and by conversations with the educators. These include information about hygiene,

health, nutrition, but children are also taught to do household chores such as cleaning, preparing meals, washing the dishes and doing laundry. The centre aims to educate the children things that they would learn normally at home. Vocational education consists of mechanics, carpentry (which has stopped during the year of making the study) and agriculture work in the 'machamba' (fields). The centre also provides spiritual and moral education. Besides these children have recreational activities like sports and games, possibility to use centre's library and to make visits to historical places at weekends with the educators.

The centre has been financing its activities by donations, but the aim has been to become self-sustainable. Because of this there is a small water bottling factory inside the land of the centre. This provides funds for the whole centre. It has worked quite well. The year 2008 was the first, when the centre was not receiving any financial support from their European partners. Even though some activities have been reduced the centre has been able to continue its work quite normally.

The centre is part of the Network of Children (Rede da Criança), where people, working with children, are able to exchange ideas and values and to work together in open environment in spite of the differences they have in their objectives. The centre cooperates with some open centres in the city and a bigger closed centre near by. In addition the centre has made an effort to involve the surrounding community in the centre by offering the community children a possibility to use the school building and the playground areas.

One important aspect of the nonformal education and street children centres are the planners and decision makers. The closed centre has a director, a coordinator of the social sector and an administrative council, who all are responsible of the primary planning and decision making. They evaluate the work and activities, and make the annual plan for the centre. They also consider the propositions of children, decide the hiring of the workers and supervise the financial stability. Workers have meetings with the director and council about once a month. There they can discuss the difficulties of the work and other important issues.

The centre is divided in different sectors: social sector (family, reintegration and street work), administrative sector, water sector, and internal sector (centre activities, children's education and housing). All of the sectors have their coordinators and together with the workers they make their own plans in relation to the annual plan; monthly, weekly and daily plans. Experienced workers sometimes make direct suggestions to their sector leaders to change the way of working, because they have the practical knowledge.

If there is something in my work that does not work I tell the coordinator (of the sector) that I want to change this. For example I plan my own work, but I was told to go to the streets at 15:30 to meet the children, but they are in the open centres during that time. They begin to appear to the street an hour later. So we made a new plan to visit the children in the streets between 16.30 and 18.00. (Street educator)

The mechanic teacher has based his teaching on the study program of the government, but respects the objectives of the centre. The football trainer comes outside the centre and plans his activities with the educators. Everyone aims to achieve the same objective in the end: preparing the child to have a meaningful life in the society and with his family.

As a whole the centre has 39 workers. Eleven educators work in the internal sector. They and the educators from the social sector work mainly with the children and their relatives. Educators who I interviewed were working in these sectors. Most of the workers have been in the centre for more than two years.

Workers of the centre have different backgrounds and educational levels. Some have finished their schools and graduated as social workers, but many do not have much official education. According to the director of the centre the most important qualification for the people working in the centre is that they want to work with neighbouring people. Workers should be able to appreciate, to care and to discuss with children who come from difficult circumstances. The director also explained that there are training possibilities for the workers every now and then. During the time of the study the director was planning training about how to handle children in difficult situations, such as violent situations without using corporal punishment. There had not been any training yet during

the ongoing year, but earlier years seminars about children's right to play and psychological issues were organised.

The main approach of the centre can be defined by Ansell (2005) as rehabilitative model (see p.39-40). In this model the children are seen as damaged, who need to be withdrawn from the harmful environment and help to reintegrate to mainstream society. Typical for this kind of programs are family-like surroundings organized often by NGOs or churches. In addition to rehabilitative model there are some aspects of outreach strategies that the centre is using, while contacting the children on the streets. Street educators spend time with the children by playing and talking with them but also by giving information about crucial health issues and survival skills. Yet this centre does not aim to empower the children to stay on the streets but eventually to come to the centre or return directly to home. (See Ansell 2005, 204-206). Besides rehabilitating the children the centre offers education in various ways; formal schooling, life-skill education and vocational training. Because of the combination of different approaches this centre has a hybrid approach as Glassman, Hoppers and Destefano (2008, 10-11) calls it. This is quite typical for street children approaches (See also Brink 2001, 81).

### **7.1.1. Interviewed workers**

I interviewed seven educators in the centre. Reasons for these choices were that they seemed to be important in the daily activities of the children and they represent different aspects of the education provided for the children. Five of them are working full time in the centre but two only part-time. These two are the teacher of the mechanic and the football trainer. Two of the rest five, work in the social sector: both in reintegration and on the street. Another educator is representing the "mamas" in the centre as a female educator. The other interviewed educator is responsible of the agriculture as well as the internal education and the last one works also in internal issues but participates in addition in the reintegration process. Because I want to protect the workers identity from both centres, I only refer to them as worker 1, worker 2 etc. Yet I wish to give some information about my interviewees and therefore here follows a short description of

them. This order of informants is not the same what number I will be using of them as workers, so that they cannot be connected (of the female worker I here call Mama and the mechanic teacher and football trainer are called as they are, later they are also referred only as worker no. this and that).

First informant is doing social work in the centre. He participates both in social and internal sector. He works on the streets, in the reintegration process and inside the centre with the children. He has been working ten years already.

The mechanic teacher began his work a year ago. He teaches both younger and elder children (many of the older boys have been already reintegrated, but they live close by and still participate on some activities and do some work at the centre) mechanics in practice and in theory. He teaches at Tuesdays and Thursdays for two hours. His main job is at the governmental technical school.

Mama has been working in the centre for five years. She cooks and works mainly in the kitchen, but she also teaches children how to behave and how to respect people in general. She also gives lessons once every week about children's rights and talks about God and fate.

Informant two is a social assistant and works both in internal and social sector. He takes care of the children's school education, health issues and other daily needs. He has been working since the year 2000. Before these eight years of working he was a volunteer for almost a year. First he was working as a street educator, but then he began to work more inside the centre. Now his work is partly in the field of reintegration, but primarily he is responsible of the centre's internal issues.

Informant three is educator at the internal sector, but he also takes care of the centre's 'machamba' fields and teaches children cultivation. As an internal sector educator his job is to make sure the children do their morning task such as cleaning, making the beds, arranging their things and later during the day to do laundry, to take shower and to make their homework. He helps the children in making their homework and guides them with



recreational activities like playing games. He is responsible of guiding the children and taking care of them as a parent at home. He has been working one and a half year in the centre. First his job was at the social sector to work in the reintegration process and especially with the families. But then he changed with another worker and became internal educator.

Fourth informant has been working in the centre since its foundation and already before that during the pilot years. Altogether he has been working for 12 years with street children. His job has been primarily in the social sector and especially on the streets, but during these years he has been working also in the reintegration process. He is the most experienced street educator in the centre. He works on the streets three days a week, on Monday, Wednesday and Friday. Each day has its own place to visit. And the children also know when he is coming. It is important to be there when promised in order to build the confidence between the educator and children. Other two days he helps in the centre and makes reports about activities in the streets. There used to be more street working days, but children in the streets have begun to decrease and there is not so much need anymore.

Football trainer has been working in the centre since 2002. First he was invited to come to see if some of the boys could participate in federal football clubs outside, but he himself suggested that he could come and teach the boys inside the centre. For six years now he has been coming every week to give training in football and sports for the boys. In addition the ongoing year they have trained to participate in a local football league for young players.

### **7.1.2. Interviewed children**

There were five boys from the closed centre who I interviewed, and they were from 12 to 16 years old. Two of the boys were quite new in the centre and they had been there for only some months. Other two boys had been in the centre for one year and the fifth boy over three years. All of the boys had families. Two of the boys had nuclear families with mother and father. One had his aunt and uncle as parents. One boy's family consisted of a

mother, a step-father and step-brothers. The fifth boy had foster parents. Four boys are visiting their families quite regularly, but one did not mention to do so. Three boys told about their siblings. From two I could not get the information. Two boys mentioned why they had run away from home. One had problems with his step-brothers and step-father, who accused him of stealing, and the other boy explained how he left to streets because of his drunken grandfather. Two of the boys did not learn anything at home according to their saying. Other three learnt to work and to do household-chores as well as to know what is allowed and what is not.

I didn't learn anything when I was at home... (Boy from the closed centre)

I learnt to clean the house and cook. (Boy from the closed centre)

One of the boys had been in the streets only few months before coming to the centre. Three of the boys had live in the streets from one to three years. The oldest boy was an exception, because he had not really been living in the streets, but he had spent most of his life in different centres for street children. Without getting into those he would have become a street child. Three boys claimed that they had not learnt anything while living in the streets. One learnt to pray and to know the city and the other told that he learnt to read while in the streets, because he met a street teacher there.

Two boys had not gone to school before coming to the centre. Now they have learnt the basics in math and in Portuguese, and some basic things about natural sciences. One boy did not really answer the question but later on explained that now he has learnt to write his name in the school, so probably he has not gone to school before or only for a little time. Another boy had some schooling experience before coming to the centre and now he is on the second grade. He learnt to write, draw and calculate at school. The oldest boy had finished the fifth grade and is fluent in Portuguese and knows natural sciences quite well.

These boys had dreams to learn professions and work as a mechanic or a football player. One boy wished to have his own house, community and family. Another boy just wished to have friends in his life. One mentioned also a dream to travel and see the world.

### **7.1.3. Reintegration process in the closed centre**

Street educators of the centre are working in specific areas of the city. When they meet street children there for the first time, they introduce themselves and tell about the centre and their work. Educators tell that they are people from the church and that they wish to get to know the children and to spend time with them by playing and having conversations. Between and during these recreational activities the time is used also to explain children about the dangers of street life and the educators try to motivate them to leave street life and return to their homes. These dangers are such as dropping out of the school and not getting any education, being abused sexually, and using drugs, alcohol and cigarettes. Trust and good relationship are built little by little, because the children seldom reveal their real names and thoughts at the first gathering. All this creates the foundation for the children's choice to leave the streets. Sometimes children want to return to their homes directly, but if not and if they are in suitable age (7-14), they are offered the possibility to live in the centre. While on the streets they are offered also lessons about various issues which can help them to survive and live better, for instance how to behave in public transport, how to respect elder people, handicapped people and women, especially pregnant women; how to take care of one's health and hygiene to avoid malaria and cholera; and how to wash clothes, take care of one's living environment cleanness and avoid rotten food etc.

The centre accepts new children in January and exceptionally in June. Other times the children are prepared to live in the centre by explaining them the rules of the centre and everybody's obligations. They are also told about the possibilities that they have in the centre. As a child is accepted to the centre he is provided with clothes and basic equipment for schooling and living in the centre. He is presented to the people and to other boys in the centre and step by step integrated to the daily routines and activities. When a child enters the centre he stays normally two years, but depending on one's behaviour he might stay shorter or longer time. The idea is that during the time in the centre children learn to live by the rules of the society again and become ready to live back with their families. If a child's behaviour is still unwanted and abrupt after two years he stays for another year.

The family of the child can visit the centre, but more often the child goes to visit his family. This is part of the reintegration process. By visiting the family for example at weekends the child learns how to be at home again. At the same time the family adjusts to having the child back at home. Workers of the centre also emphasize the relationship to religion and they find a church near by the home of the child to urge the whole family to participate in church activities. This way they can find supporting network for the family and for the child. Workers also make reports of the visits at home, so that they can supervise the situation and try to help if problems encounter.

After the child's reintegration to home, educators help the family by giving money for clothes, for food and school transportation if necessary. Educators also register the child to a closest school and look for places near home to continue healthy activities like sports or vocational training. As Brink (2001, 81) stated, this kind of support for both the child and the family, is most beneficial. If a child does not have a possibility to reunite with his own family, he is reintegrated to substitute family. According to educators there are substitute families, who want to help and take children to their homes. Yet the main objective is to reintegrate the child to his own relatives.

## **7.2. Description of the open centre**

The open centre is a project run by a church. It is located in the heart of the city of Maputo. It was founded by a European nun in 2003, but recent two years the project has been run by local people. The project has capacity to work with 20 children at a time, but because the children can come and go as they want, about 100 children participate in the project annually.

The centre is open four days a week from Monday to Thursday at 7.30 to 13.30. First there is a morning gathering and some praying and then it is time for breakfast (bread and tea). After this begins the morning educational lessons which last usually one or two hours. Then it is time for free play and relaxing. Before lunch the children are taught biblical studies and there is more praying. Sometimes this time is used also to talk about

important other issues like health, moral, good manners etc. Before going to eat the children usually sing some songs. After the lunch children often leave and go back to the streets, sometimes they hang around until the centre closes the doors.

Children are chosen for the project from the streets by a street educator, who informs them about the project. Basically the only criterion is that the child wants to go back to home. The project used to work with adult street children also, but recently their focus has been on children under 14 years old, because they had too much problems with the older ones, who are often involved in criminal activity and they have brought the problems with police also to the centre. Anyhow if an individual older than 14 is interested and shows good character, he can be accepted. The children who come are 8 to 16 years old boys. Girls are welcome, but they do not participate. They are generally much harder to contact in the streets.

The open centre offers literacy and numeracy education for street children. In addition they have other activities such as football, handcraft, biblical studies and recreational activities. The spiritual education is central for the project. The main idea behind all education is that spiritual fate can change the way children understand the world and they learn to live well instead of leading a bad and dangerous life in the streets.

Before the project aimed always to reintegrate children completely back to their homes, meaning that besides bringing the child back to home, the family was given clothes, food and money to support the child and to register him/her to governmental school. The situation has changed, due to lack of financial resources. Now the children are reintegrated, but not with such a big monetary and material help as before. All the money comes from the church and from some international donations. The project is aiming to become self sustainable in the future. The project workers do some cooperation with other street children centres in the city, but they do not have any formal agreement with them.

Also this centre's approach is rehabilitative and centre-based even though it has used some ideas from outreach strategies like the closed centre had. What is different to the

other research target is that this centre does not have vocational training or formal schooling and it does not offer shelter or residential care for the children. The approach is more educational and socio-cultural with recreational activities. (See Ansell 2005 and Brink 2001, 81-85)

The principals of the project were decided together with the founder of the project. Later on some objectives have been revised and some regulations have been made by the current workers and head of the project. The management of the project is done by the leader of the project, coordinator and by one educator in cooperation with the church. Also the teachers participate in decision making from their behalf. In the end the church has to approve all the decisions related to the project.

There are seven people working for the project: Two literacy teachers, two educators, one cook, one person responsible of the finances and the head of the project. The requirements for the teachers are qualification from the literacy training programme organized by the government and experience in teaching. In addition good and loving attitude towards children is highlighted. Teachers are volunteers that receive only small compensation money but not a real pay check. Besides this teachers have to be Christians due to the close relation with the church. There are not such strict formal requirements for the educators and other workers. Christian faith, courage, patience and strength are the most important qualities for them.

All the workers participate in meetings organised by the director of the project every month. They discuss the work, its challenges and objectives and how to solve the problems. During these meetings they also pray together. Sometimes the educator responsible of the social area participates on seminars organised by the “Rede da Crianca” Children’s network, but this happens seldom. Besides this the workers do not participate in any training.

### **7.2.1. Interviewed workers**

As mentioned before in the following text I refer to these workers only by number and in different order as presented here. The workers from the closed centre are numbers from 1 to 8 and workers from the open centre are numbered from 9 to 14.

The first teacher is also the supervisor of the project and responsible of controlling the work inside the project. At the moment he is teaching the first and third level of the literary program, but this always depends on the children who are attending the classes. He has been working in the project from the beginning and before that he was working in another open street children centre.

The other teacher has been working in the project for one and a half year. He does not have any other tasks than teaching. Usually he takes care of the teaching of the more advanced students.

The street educator's work consists of visiting the children on the streets and making the initial contact with them. He also helps the children on the streets if they are sick or need some other kind of help. He also teaches the children about the Bible and buys the food for the project. He has been working two years in the project.

Another educator is working in the area of reintegration. He identifies the reasons why children have run away from home and want to stay in the streets. He also makes visits to the streets and has conversations with the children. After the permission of the child he contacts the family and finds out the problems at home. He aims to identify all the factors that are important in the relation of the family and child as well as the ambience of the home. Besides this he teaches the Bible at the centre and plays with the children. He works as a coordinator of the project and therefore does some cooperation with the other street children projects. He has been working almost six years in the project, all the way from its beginning.

The cook is an older woman preparing the breakfast and lunch for the children and for the workers. She also spends time with the children and teaches them sometimes how to do home chores such as laundry. She has been working two years in the project.

### **7.2.2. Interviewed children**

There were five boys, who I interviewed in the open centre. They were from 11 to 16 years old. Most of them had been coming to the centre for one to several months, but the oldest had been coming already two years. All of the boys had families, but only one boy referred to his family with parents. The rest talked about aunts and grandparents as closest relatives. One boy told that he had lost his mother, and the other that his dad had died. Third boy mentioned that his dad was living in Maputo, but he did not want to take the boy to live with him. All had at least one sibling. Two of the boys did not see their family members, but the rest had at least some connection to their relatives. The other boy explained that his family was living too far away to visit them, and the other boy claimed just not wanting to see his family and refused to talk more about the issue. Four of the five boys said that they had learnt different things while still at home. One told that he cannot remember if he had learnt anything because he was so small when he ran away. Other boys had learnt household chores like washing the dishes, getting the water and doing laundry but two boys' learning experiences were related to real jobs with possibility to get money. One told that his dad taught him to build houses, make bathrooms and run errands with money and the other told that he learnt to do handbags and sell them in the marketplace, of which profit he one day stole and ran to the streets.

My dad taught me to build houses from bricks. I also learnt to make bathrooms with him. Sometimes my family sent me to the marketplace to get something and they gave money to me. I was good at using money. (Boy from the open centre)

By the time of interviewing the boys had been on the streets several years, from two to four years. Three of them mentioned to have been periods at home also, but soon returning to streets again. One said to have spent time also in a closed centre, but after reintegration to home he ran away back to streets. Two of the boys said that they had not learnt anything while on the streets. Three boys told how they had learnt to cook food.



One had learnt to build small cardboard houses and to make paper hats. Two boys also told how they learnt to steal small things and also side-mirrors from the cars. They both told that they had stopped that after coming to the open centre and hearing that it was a bad thing to do. One boy told how he learnt to beg for living. Other boy had learnt to wash clothes and play football on the streets.

All of the boys had been going to school before running away from home. Two of them had finished the fifth grade. One was at grade three and two at grade four. They all had learnt to read and calculate, some had also learnt to write little.

Only one of the boys wanted the most in his life to return to home. Two boys wanted most to continue studying. One just wanted to live well: have a house with furniture and a car. Two boys had dreams to become football players.

### **7.2.3. Reintegration process in the open centre**

The reintegration already begins on the streets, when the street educator goes to seek the children. First he has conversations with them and tells them about the project. If the children are interested they are invited to come to see what the project is like. The commitment to the project is asked if the child begins to participate on the project, but the final decision is always the child's. The fundamental thing for children's reintegration is the will to go back home. Many children do not know how to go back or they are scared of the reaction of their family. They want to get in touch with their family again but they need some one to help them do that.

While at the centre, the children's background information is gathered and the educator taking care of the social area, contacts the family or relatives. The centre works as a mediator between the child and the home. The initial dialogue with the family is important in order to prepare them to receive the child back home. After coming to the centre the educational capacity of the children is also evaluated. Depending on the child's skills he is put on the equivalent level of teaching group. The literacy program that the

centre uses is a nonformal governmental program, which aims to help poor families. In total the program offers also the possibility for the parents to participate in the first level of the literacy training and to do micro-enterprise. This program is close to the one by Orme and Seipel (2007), used as preventive approach for street children and their families to improve their own possibilities to create employment and to improve their livelihood by offering them micro-loans (see p.42). Anyhow, at the moment the centre offers only literacy training for the children of this program. The five primary school years are packed in three years of nonformal education. The emphasis is on Portuguese and mathematics but also natural sciences like physics are taught. The children take also official exams and they are graduated with a certificate if they complete the literacy training while participating on the project. In reality the children are often absent, only maybe five comes at some days and they keep on studying the same things, without hardly making any progress.

The educators keep an eye on the children while they are in the centre and have conversation with them, so they know when the child is ready to go back to home. When this moment comes, they take the child to his family and support the process of reintegrating. Educators make follow-up visits to make sure everything is going well. There are some occasions when the child has not been reintegrated back to his family, but the centre has taken the custody of the child and a place is rented for him to live in. If the child runs away from home again before three month has come full, the centre looks for the child and begins the process again, if this happens after a longer time period, the centre does not try again.

The way this open centre is acting is against the idea of Schimmel (2006, 212), who argues that street children should be placed in residential care if not voluntarily then by force. This centre has as its primary rule to respect the child and do nothing against his will. Yet, the main objective is to pull the child away from the streets and reintegrate him back to the society. But as stated before, if the child returns to the streets after reintegration and three months period at home this type of a centre is powerless.

### **7.3. Strengths of the centres**

First I go through common and similar strengths which these two centres have and then I discuss about their differences. All of these following themes have been derived from the data of the workers' and children's interviews as well as from my personal observation and informal conversations with the people in the centre.

#### **7.3.1. Taking care of children's primary needs**

Children run away from homes for many reasons, but as I have discussed earlier fundamental reasons come down to fulfilling the basic needs. If the child cannot get enough food, he does not feel safe or cared at home, he has a risk to run away to streets (see Schimmel 2006). Both of the centres that I researched stated to take care of children's primary needs as priority number one. The closed centre is taking care of children's needs profoundly, due to its nature of working as a temporary home for the children. Workers there stated that the primary needs of the children are nutrition, accommodation, clothes, educational possibilities and time to relax and play. Educational needs vary according to a child, but most of the children need teaching starting from the basic life skills to guidance in behaviour. Children need to learn about hygiene, how to take care of oneself and the belongings and also to learn moral and ethics. Many of the children do not know how to read or write and they lack experience in schooling, which they need to have for future successes of their lives.

In the open centre also the importance of primary needs were acknowledged. First of all children who live in the street are often very hungry, that is why the project provides food for them. After that, children are helped with their health problems and if needed they are accompanied to seek medical care from a hospital. Children are also advised of their rights and they are helped to adapt into the society by conversations and lessons about life and how the society works. In addition to this the centre aims to give children basic literacy and numeracy skills and to prepare them for entering formal schools through literacy training. Workers in the open centre felt that they can achieve the objectives of

the project by educating and controlling the children and sensitizing them to live a better life. It is important to teach the children how to read, write and calculate, but also to give them religious teaching. Both centres used religion to fulfil children's need of belonging. Through spiritual faith children were taught about their roots and belonging to God's sons. The need of belonging seems to be quite important factor also from the perspective of earlier studies. If children's need of belonging and care is not fulfilled at home they might run away to look for it somewhere else (See Aptekar, Kironyo & McAdam-Crisp 2005, 77; Schimmel 2006, 222).

We need to pull the children away from the streets, take them back to their families and to reintegrate them back to their home and to the society. We also aim to teach the children how to read, write and that they are not just children of the streets but children of God. (Worker 14)

Besides taking care of the primary needs, workers at both centres stated that it is important to create a need for the child to be something else, to have things for themselves and not to just struggle to survive. Making children understand that there is more in life than just eating, sleeping, playing etc. Street children are not used to be controlled. They might argue that their need is to be free and to do what they want, but in their situation they might not see anything else than the acute needs.

When a child comes here from the streets he is not used to being controlled, and he thinks that he can continue to live like outside in the streets, and to do whatever he wants to. He might think that there is nothing for him in the centre because he is used to live as he is living, but the truth is that the centre can offer him the basic things, fulfil his basic necessities... and due to this the centre needs to take care of him and create those minimal conditions for the child to make him understand his real needs... (Worker 3)

According to Schimmel (2006) street children are not capable of expressing their needs and choices in rational way because of their situation. The need for freedom at the streets is only a reaction to the oppression and depression of their lives. Besides primary needs of food and shelter, supporting social relationship to caretakers and quality education are crucial for healthy child development and socialization. (Ibid. 211-212.) During the time of my field work I realized that one of the biggest needs right after the primary survival needs was the social need. These children miss loving and caring adults. They were genuinely delighted of small acts of care and the accompany of adults who gave time to them. Smallest children constantly tried to climb to my lap or take a hold from my hand. For some reason, maybe cultural, workers in the centres did not hug the children, hold

their hands or let them sit in their laps. In the closed centre this was even discouraged by some workers for instance in a situation where a child was crying and a volunteer comforted the child and let him to sit in her lap, a female worker told not to do so. I got the impression that workers did not want to become too close with the children so that they would not end up preferring them from their own families. Apparently this had not been the situation in past years, because a young man who was reintegrated from the closed centre but still came to do some work there told me that the situation has changed a lot from the days when he was one of the centre's children. He said to have experienced more care and loving as well as time from the workers that what the children were receiving nowadays, even though there were fewer workers at that time. Orme & Seipel (2007, 498) also emphasize the love and empathy from the people working with street children. Even though these kind of direct caring acts were few, both centres did show care and empathy in other ways, such as tone of voice, asking how the children were and by encouraging them.

Nonetheless the positive adult company is very much wanted among these children, even though children themselves did not highlight it in their talks. It could be seen in their behaviour. In my observations I noticed that the workers, who treated children with respect and understanding, but also made limits and explained things carefully, were most liked among the children. Many workers had positive authority over the boys. Also workers who explained negative things without yelling or blaming the children were respected. What I observed was that children in the end did not mind so much about obeying the rules or being controlled if it happened fairly and consistently. But before reaching this kind of situation, the workers need to win children's trust. In the interviews workers from both centres explained that everything with the street children begins by having conversations with them and building trust and friendship. Knowing the child is a foundation for all the work. Also in earlier studies this has proven to be the best way to help and work with street children (see Kaime-Atterhög & Ahlberg 2008, 1354; Brink 2001, 81-82). Some who had been working with the families emphasized the importance of knowing the family as well. Creating connections to relatives was essential for many children, because they might have lost contact with them and not to know how to find

their relatives. Many of the children were originally outside Maputo, from other provinces, so taking care of this kind of social need was fundamental for the children.

Children's needs in the eyes of the workers were seen various and complicated. Every child has their special needs, but all street children need understanding and defending, because they are marginalized group who live in hard circumstances. Children need a safe place to be and have a possibility to continue studying. Street children need safe and friendly adult contacts. Without street children projects and centres these positive adult contacts may remain few on the streets. Most often street children are very sceptical to adults who they do not know. This was also the case when they first met me. Also there was a difference on how the boys acted around me between the centres. In the open centre boys were more reserved and sceptical of me and my purposes than in the closed centre, because the life situation for children of the open centre was more difficult. In this sense it was understandable. I come back to this issue later when I talk about the threats of the centre.

### **7.3.2. Children's education**

All workers in both centres were well aware of the objectives and they agreed that the basic purpose was to change the way a child has been living in the streets; to change his behaving and attitude as well as to recover him from possible addictions, and to prepare him to be part of the society again in an acceptable way. These processes included behaviour and moral education, basic skill learning through conversations, working and training. Big part of the education was routines, especially in the closed centre. In addition to basic skill education, the closed centre offered children the possibility to go to school and to receive vocational training on mechanics and cultivation. Schooling happened in formal way, but it was supported in the closed centre by homework help in nonformal way. Vocational training was also nonformal by its nature even though the teacher was primarily teaching in technical schools. He had adapted and modified lessons from governmental program. Cultivation and working in the fields teach children basic farming skills and plant knowledge. Learning happened in guidance and dialogue with

the educator responsible of the 'machamba'. Both centres were educating children in various ways. According to Brink (2001, 81) this is good in street children education. Both centres combined out-reach services to centre-based services. In addition educational activity approaches were various. Both centres' have recreational activities as well as educational and socio-cultural activities. Besides this the closed centre also offers vocational training and residential care, which is more close to institutional in that sense, that children are not allowed to leave as they want. (See Brink 2001, 82-85.)

In the open centre they did not have any vocational training or formal education. The literacy training program is governmental, but it was provided in nonformal ways. Teachers often modified and used the teaching material depending on the situation and learners who were present. The closed centre had better equipment and playground areas than the open centre to provide recreational activities. Yet both centres' had football as a favourite game and children were always looking forward to playing. In the open centre football was used only for playing and recreational activity but in the closed centre it was more planned and organised, because they had their own football trainer who came to train the children twice a week. From workers interviews and also from my own observation it was obvious, that football was used as an educational tool. Besides getting physical exercise boys learnt to play together, listen to direction and act on that, and to have patience and cooperation skills. Boys expressed in their interviews also how extremely excited they were about playing football. It was not self-evident that these boys were playing together or paying attention to the educator. What I observed was that boys had to be constantly commanded to behave well or listen to workers in many other situations. Football and eating situations were exceptions to this.

Boys are behaving very well when they are having lunch. They appear patient and they share equally all the food. Besides this they are also very polite. They have some sort of arranger system, and boys who are responsible of the kitchen clean also the tables. The entire center's cleaning and organizing work circle in turns between the boys. (Field diary note 14/5/2008)

Through different works and activities children are expected to learn to do things, but most of all to respect and understand the meaning and value of work. Activities also aim to develop children's self esteem and sense of belonging.

These fields are not for making money, they serve just in teaching. To teach a child how to cultivate, to teach children that outside the life, the people are cultivating their fields to have something to eat. Only after that the harvest can be used to earn profit. But the main objective here is not to provide harvest for the kitchen, to us to eat; it is to demonstrate the value of working for children. (Worker 7)

Most of the street children are rebels when they come to the centres, but little by little they are expected to change to friendlier and better behaving children. The more time has gone, the more expectations for the children grow. In general workers expectations for the children were mostly the same. They expected the children to unlearn the bad habits of the streets and learn new skills, good manners and needs to become something, so that they are prepared for the future and its responsibilities.

Reintegration back to home and also to society in general was maybe the biggest overall expectation for children. Workers wanted that the children learn their values as citizens of Mozambique with rights to housing, to a family, to protection, to education and to work in the future. They wanted street children to achieve religious knowledge and faith. Workers expected also children to learn values, good behaviour, social skills and how to take care of their belongings and personal hygiene. Both centres hoped that children would learn to learn, so that in the future they would not struggle.

When I asked from the children what they thought workers were expecting of them many answered that they are expected to study. In the closed centre boys emphasized more good behaviour, obedience and care in their responses as in the open centre boys emphasized the expectations to leave the streets and work in addition to studying well.

One of the essential strengths that both centres' have is a positive and encouraging approach to children. Depending on the worker this may vary in practise though. Some are able to handle difficult situations calmly and without problems, but others might not. Workers act often according to their personality because they might not have any education or training about social work or how to help children from difficult circumstances. I come back to the weak points of this later. In the open centre one worker explained in the interview that as important as it is to teach children all kinds of things it is equally important to learn from the children.



We need to live with them day by day, so that we can learn about them and they can learn about us, to know us. Only this way we can work with them, because they do not work with people who they do not know... We want to create a desire, a necessity for them to be someone... (Worker 13)

Both centres also wanted to respect what children wanted and their participation especially in evaluating the activities was emphasised. In the closed centre children can participate in decision making, at some level. Every Wednesday there is a meeting where children can express themselves freely. They can say what problems they have, what they do not like or what they would like to change. Some ideas have changed the practice, for example children complained about having only soup as a dinner, so things changed and ever since the kitchen prepares proper meals for dinner also.

Every Wednesday the centre has a reunion where the children can express their opinions and together by discussing with the educators they make plans and find solutions for problems or ideas. We use the children's ideas and value them. (Worker 4)

Both centres respect children's choices. For example when they are asked if they are ready to return to their homes and if they say no, this is respected. In general children do not participate in the planning, but they can state their opinions about the activities and things concerning them. In the closed centre children need to do daily routines and activities, but they are often given options to what they would like to do, for example whether to go to work in the fields or to clean the houses.

In the open centre children have also a possibility to share their ideas about different matters. This happens only twice a year, in a hearing that provides for biannual evaluation of the centre. Also workers can state their opinions about their work. Children have given some ideas and things have changed because of that. For example in the beginning children had only lunch, but they suggested that they would like to have breakfast also. First the centre did not want to offer any breakfast, because they did not want to encourage children to stay on the street but soon they realized that children cannot learn if they are too hungry in the morning. So the practice changed. In the open centre children's ideas are listened and if there is money they are also tried to put in practice, but sometimes children do not understand that there is a lack of finance and some things might not happen fast, if at all. This can hurt the feelings of the children and

they might feel that workers are only lying when they say that children have a possibility to participate and their ideas are welcomed.

Children's possibilities to participate and tell their opinions are strengths which also benefit to the success of nonformal education. Flexibility and participatory of the centres can be viewed on the continuum by Rogers (2004). Both centres have aspects from formal and informal education, yet they remain somewhere around the definition of flexible schooling, because their education and approach is partially context sensitive and partially standardized. (Ibid. 261)

Strengths that the centres had in their education of life skills, moral and behaviour were that they worked together step by step with the children. Religion and spiritual life were seen in both centres and in their activities, but there was a difference how much each worker emphasized religion. Some did not use it so much but educated more in a general well-behaving manner, but others based their whole educational approach to Christianity. Sensitizing of children to school, to moral living and good habits is crucial according to many educators' experiences. Educators felt that they can sensitize children by giving them self-esteem, telling them that they are important and supporting their dreams and future wishes in a positive way.

We need to pass self-esteem to a child, tell him that he has importance and he can achieve his dreams and a positive future. So, to sensitize children to a school, to a church, to sensitize children to do good, not bad things, this is for his future... a child will apply what he is taught here. (Worker 8)

Developing the self-esteem is essential in street children education. At the streets children often lose their self-respect, because they have to accept to do anything in order to survive. The development of self-esteem is observed all the time and besides skill and knowledge learning children's motivation and self-esteem were constantly tried to be improved. Even though boys themselves did not tell that their self-esteem had improved the change was obvious when I compared children who had just arrived to the centre and children who had been there more than a year.

Two boys said that they had learnt to pray at the closed centre and to take care of their belongings, clothes and hygiene. Boys had also learnt to go to school and play. Besides

this some mention to learn to respect other people and be a good person. One boy said that he is learning also mechanics and how to repair a car. Other mentioned that he knows better now how to work in the fields. What I observed was that, in the mechanic lessons things were first learnt in theory and then in practise as in the fields everything happened in practise. Mechanic teacher had adapted his governmental program for two groups of boys, older and younger ones, which was good, but unfortunately in both lessons teaching happened quite teacher centred. This is not the most convenient way to educate street children as the educator should be more like a facilitator and not appear as authoritative instructor (see e.g. Brink 2001, 81-82).

In the open centre two boys said they had not learnt anything at the centre but yet they thought that things the project is teaching are important and good. Also the rest of the boys emphasized the importance of the centre to their lives. Things that the three boys had learnt were basic life skills such as taking care of hygiene, clothes and belongings. Two boys mentioned also how they had learnt to pray and to know God. Besides this the learning experiences were related to school subjects or doing handcrafts. Boys had also learnt good manners.

When I asked what the boys would like to learn some boys in the closed centre said just to study more in school. One wanted to learn how to play traditional drums. They preferred studying only and working after graduation. Boys from the open centre were more work and profession oriented. They wanted to learn to work and be professional in some occupation. Two boys wished to study and work at the same time, so that they could earn money as well. Dream jobs were pilot, doctor, constructor and mechanic. One boy's only wish was to learn to read. This could be explained by the background difference between the boys from the open and closed centre. Most of the boys in the open centre were already quite experienced in schooling and also they were more in acute need of money to survive in their lives than the boys in the closed centre. In my observations also I got the impression that boys in the open centre felt more obligated to earn money and support their friends as in the closed centre children did not have to worry about the basic needs so they could concentrate more on studies and playing.

### 7.3.3. Satisfied children

All of the workers felt that the children are quite satisfied and happy in the centres, because they do not complain or abandon the centre. Centres can offer street children basic things that are not always available outside, and that satisfies them. Some educators mentioned the importance of the football to many children and how happy they are when they can play it. In the closed centre children seemed to also enjoy playing together with the children around the community, which was also a big satisfaction for the workers. In general children were satisfied in all activities, sometimes they might have shown unhappy faces, but it was without any real reasons. Of course sometimes children only prefer playing or hanging around than doing house chores or study. In the open centre there were no unsatisfied boys, because if they were unhappy they left or did not come back anymore.

Eight out of ten children from both centres told me that they were content and happy at the centre. The opportunity to study and eat well was highlighted at both centres, but also playing (especially football) and learning new things as well as possibility to take care of their hygiene and laundry was mentioned. Some liked the spiritual teaching and knowing how to pray, some just expressed that nothing in the centre makes them sad. In the open centre boys were also happy that they had their freedom, and after the day was over they could return to streets. Children in the open centre also pointed out more clearly that they were happy to spend time with their friends and play together.

Also my observations reinforce the impression that most of the children were satisfied at the centres. Especially in the closed centre boys laughed a lot and played more than in the open centre. In the closed environment boys have rules and jobs to do but they seemed to use more of their imagination than the boys who still lived in the streets. Often I saw children changing their work task to plays. They took time for playing during the working hours.

I have noticed that very often children just start playing when they are supposed to work. For example, when they need to sweep the yard, they might imagine that the broom is a sword and they are warriors. --- Today children who were ordered to pick vegetables from the 'machamba' played that the wheelbarrow was a car and they drove all around the centre. It is great to see these

children playing. It is so normal for children to play, but those who seem to have worst traumas, seldom play. Luckily there are only few of them here. (Field diary note 12/5/2008)

On the other hand some new arrivals on the centres that seem to be traumatized did not play. They did not seem directly unhappy or happy. They were somehow empty. Also in both centres these boys were quiet and did not do almost anything without telling. Their whole presence was passive. It was great to see though that in the closed centres these boys began to recover little by little. In the open centre I did not see often these boys. Those who came did not participate regularly.

In the open centre boys played, but usually quite simple games such as 'three-stones' which basic idea is close to draughts but much simpler or a coin-game, where they just hit the coin with fingers and the one whose coin was the last spinning won all the other coins. What was different to closed centre's children was that I did not see boys at the open centre playing any imaginative games. In addition they did not play so much, but on the other hand they neither had as good toys or games as in the other centre.

#### **7.3.4. Relatively satisfied workers**

Workers were relatively satisfied of their jobs and working conditions. Satisfactions were related closely to achieving a positive change in a child and a successful reintegration. Some referred that seeing content and healthy children made them happy. Moreover to create motivation for children and to teach them to want to become something were everyday joys for the workers. In general, the changes from a fearful child to become a member of the society again; maybe getting married and to study well were things that many educators mentioned as satisfactory.

To see a marginal street child to become something useful for the society against all the odds is satisfying. (Worker 6)

The best satisfaction is to see a child getting back to his home and staying there... To see a child change from rebel to a good child. (Worker 12)

The best thing is to achieve children's happiness and to love them. (Worker 4)

All of the workers mentioned that they were happy to work with children and especially with those in need of an adult company and guidance. Playing and having conversations with the children were daily joy for the workers. Also to offer street children food and a safe place to be in the city were good things in their work. In the open centre some workers pointed out also that what a joy it was for them that the centre is still active and it is run by local people, even though it was started by a foreigner. In addition to this workers were content with their colleagues. There were only few workers in the open centre and the atmosphere was more open and familiar, as the closed centre had almost forty workers and little more closed ambience. For example, one of the open centre's workers told that he was doing his dream job, because he could learn new things from the children. Many also mentioned that they have good relations between other colleagues and there is general happiness and harmony at the working place.

In both centres workers were satisfied on the educational activities in general. In the closed centre workers felt that children are able to continue at home what they have learnt in the centre. Those who learn for example mechanics, are not yet mechanics when they arrive home, but they can ask to learn more in a local repair shop and to gain experience by working. Eventually they learn a profession and a possibility to earn their living. The socialization that happens through educational activities and through spiritual teaching was seen positive and important for children. The biggest satisfaction for many educators was to achieve a successful reintegration and to hear that everything is going well at a child's home and his life.

We are satisfied when we are doing the reintegration of a child. When a child accepts living at home, it is a victory for us. We take the child off the streets, where he slept without cover, where he suffered from rain and too much sun, where he did not have food or ate bad food... Dirty food... and so now he is living well. This is the greatest satisfaction; to reintegrate the child and to see him using the knowledge he has learnt through the activities here in the centre. (Worker 7)

In broader aspect some workers felt that they were serving the whole nation by helping the children of the country. Without the support of adults, many of the street children will become bandits and robbers by the age of 20 or die in the streets. But when they are supported, children have an opportunity to continue studying and building their own future.

It is important for the children, because the older they get the better they understand the meaning of education and they are happy to have a certificate of some basic knowledge, also they can continue studying in formal schools. Every year the project enrolls children to schools, this is an achievement. (Worker 11)

One of the terms that nonformal education programs could be evaluated to be success according to Rogers (2004, 164–165) was that it is continuing in a sustainable way and the participants are content. Both centres are still continuing even though they are run by local people with smaller resources than before. Children are happy in both centres and workers are also to some extent. So from this perspective both centres' nonformal education can be seen as a success. Before going to weaknesses I discuss about the strengths of the overall integration process of the centres.

### **7.3.5. Strengths in the reintegration process**

All of the closed centre's activities are planned and have objectives to educate children to be ready to return to home and to get along with the community. Through the activities and work in the centre children learn habits and customs that are normal in their societal environment, both at home and in the society in general. The objective is to help children to live outside the centre without encountering problems. They are taught basic skills that usually are learnt in home by parents, such as cleaning, taking care of personal hygiene and belongings, preparing food and washing clothes.

Whatever type of activity, may it be sports or cultural... whatever activity that people are doing here have their objective to educate children. (Worker 8)

The work is used as a therapy to make the children busy so that they do not have time to think too much about the temptations of the streets and it also helps them to get rid of addictions to cigarettes, alcohol and drugs. The second purpose of the work is to give values for the children and strengthen their self-esteem. When they learn something new and achieve something they have a positive experience of doing something appreciated. The objective is to create a desire for the children to become something and not just to stay in apathy. Third purpose of the working is to actually teach children skills that they can use in the future to earn a living. Through vocational training children can become

self-employed, which is important, because people might have prejudices to ex-street children and therefore they might have problems when looking for jobs. Also in general a child who knows for example mechanics can be useful for his community if somebody's car is broken and he knows how to fix it.

The overall objective of the activities in the closed centre is that the children begin to trust other people again and to socialize with others. Every day educators are in dialogue with the children and explain them things and educate them. They also evaluate children, their mental state and behaviour, constantly to see when they are ready to return home. The activities and work in the centre are just the beginning of the children's reintegration process, but very important one, because if the children do not start to study and learn skills to work in the future, nobody will help them when they are adults. For the children's future it is crucial that they understand that after school years they have to arrange their things and look for places to work in order to be accepted in the society, not only in the family.

They need to begin to work here, because when they are 25 or 30 who will support them? They need to work. Start to learn something, like gardening or doing mechanic or carpentry... and when they leave the centre they need to continue outside and become a trustworthy person, to arrange a working place... that is how they can reintegrate to society, and not just to family, but in the society. (Worker 3)

Workers in the open centre see that the contribution of activities is that children are helped to reintegrate back to the society in general; they learn to work and be part of the communities not outside them and they learn to read and write little by little. Workers also emphasized the meaning of spiritual education, because through religion they can have a feeling of belonging and understanding of their roots. Through spiritual education they also learn about moral and ethics as well as forgiveness. All these give content and reason for living.

We help these children in many ways, for example to read and write... so that they do not stay outside of the society. The biblical studies' aim is that children understand their existence, where they are coming from and about the power of God... (Worker 13)

Also in the closed centre religious education was seen to benefit for the reintegration process. Workers aimed to connect children to the society by religious communities and



segregation in addition to relatives. Besides gaining sense of belonging children could get reason for living through religion. Some open centre workers were also active outside the centre and lead discussions about street children in church ceremonies. They aim to raise awareness of the children's problems generally in the society through religion.

As the closed centre, also the open centre offers children a possibility to return home by working in cooperation with the family and with the child. If reintegration back to home is not possible, the open centre tries to look for other solutions, for example they have rented rooms for couple of ex-street children who are doing well now and study in the university. In the closed centre on the other hand this kind of solution was not considered. Their opinion is that the best place for the child is always at home or with own relatives. This kind of approach does not consider the possibility that some children may not have a possibility to stay at home or at some relatives' place (see Aptekar, Kironyo & McAdam-Crisp 2005, 84). Even though the child would like to go home, he might not have conditions to stay there, which causes failure in the reintegration. I discuss about this more later on.

It is a strength that the centres were able to reintegrate some children back to their families or organise them other possibilities to live outside the streets. The amount of successful reintegration was not maybe big in relation to all the children who participated on centres' activities, but nevertheless each success has its value not only for the child but also for the family. The future prospect of the children depends on every child and his family. The reintegration process success is not 100 per cent sure in the closed centre, but most of the children stay with their families. The open centre did not succeed so often, but they emphasised more quality than quantity in the process. In the closed centre children are aimed to reintegrate back to their families, but at the same time to church, to school and possibly to some communal activity, so that the future is more secured and children stay busy and do not have time to think about going back to the streets.

All the children will be reintegrated to their families, some with better luck than the others. They learn for the future. That is why the jobs here and school are important. (Worker 4)

I was told that some of the reintegrated children from the closed centre have continued their studies successfully or began to work and some have gotten married. Vocational education given in the centre prepares children to continue studying or working outside the centre. It gives basic knowledge, which to build on. The centre cannot give official certification of the vocational skills gained, but nevertheless some of the children have found jobs or have begun their own business, especially in carpentry. There are some older reintegrated boys or young men who come to the centre and work in the garden or kitchen or who are repairing things and earn some pocket money.

In the open centre according to the workers children who participate on the project have possibility to have life outside if they succeed in the reintegration, but at least children have learnt skills, self respect and values during the time in the project. They have a possibility to continue studying or work, even though they cannot work through the project yet. The literacy and numeracy education that the project gives is planned in that way that the child has enough skills and knowledge to go to a government school. In one occasion two children were arranged a house to live, when a reintegration to home was not possible. They are the model examples of the centre nowadays.

We can also arrange a house for them to live and arrange a place to do some work... For example there are two children who we helped to leave the streets, who we offered a place to be, we are responsible of those children and after they finished studying here in the project we registered them to a governmental school. One of them is now in the university and the other is also doing very well. It is like this in our project... not quantity but quality. (Project director)

Some of the reintegrated boys from the open centre have stayed with their families and continued to study, but some have returned to streets. Workers explained in interviews that every child is different and it depends on the child whether he understands the education and advice given in the centre or not. Those who understand well go back to home and stay with their families, those who do not, return to the streets after reintegration. Also the conditions at home affect this decision. It is a problem in that sense that if the child stays at home over three months and then runs away, he cannot come to the centre anymore.

## **7.4. Weaknesses of the centres**

Weaknesses that the centres have are related to financial problems, limitation of the centre by its location or physical space, motivation problems of the children and workers, lack of cooperation and coordination with other centres, and lack of relevant educational opportunities. In general most of the challenges in work were hoped to be overcome in the future.

### **7.4.1. Lack of finance**

Both centres had some financial problems. In the closed centre they had to reduce some vocational training opportunities, such as carpentry due to lack of resources and in the open centre they were able to be open only four days a week. For children this meant long weekend without the support of the centre. Both changes had happened quite recently and were also related to the economical situation of Mozambique. For example the food prices were getting higher which caused challenges for the project.

Both centres' workers felt also that they are not able to grow the project or improve the support and education for children because lack of finance. Taking care of children's health was one thing, that workers felt, was missing. They could take care of small wounds and bruises, but in more difficult situations they had to accompany the child to hospital. There they often had to struggle with officers, because many children did not have official documentation and workers did not have legal guardianship. Things had improved over years but still going to hospital to get the child treated was quite slow.

In general workers felt that it is possible to work and change small amount of children, but to work with many as successful is difficult. Especially in the open centre this was explained as not only the challenge of project capacity, but also the centre's approach should be more open.

It would be good, if we could work 24 hours... we don't have health support... also a car would be helpful to go to streets... and we could be bigger centre, but then we should be more open also... --  
- our working hours are not enough, we should be open 24/7... (Worker 14)

In the open centre some lack of material was also mentioned as a challenge by the workers. They needed more learning materials like notebooks for the children, a freezer in the kitchen and most of them lack a place of their own. Now the centre's office was in another location than the rest of the centre, which was part of the church spaces.

#### **7.4.2. Limitations of the physical space and location**

In some cases the children's families live quite far away from the centre, so the reintegration work is sometimes distant work. Because the centres do not have money for own transportation it takes a lot of time to keep the contact with the family and to follow-up the child's situation. The distance between the closed centre and the city centre can be seen both strength and a weakness. Bad side of it is the mobile work of the street educators, because their going to streets is time-consuming. Making the initial contact with the children is not easy. Children are often scared and they lie. Only after some time they begin to tell truth about themselves. It might take months and several meetings before the child begins to trust the street educator. On the other hand the distance from the city centre separates children from the direct contact to other street dwellers and this way protects them better from the temptations of the streets.

The closed centre has big space and well equipped houses and offices for children and workers. They also have large yard and some fields for cultivation, where as in the open centre they have a small and quite simple space, with only partially covered by roof and cold concrete benches and tables. There were no yard or playing fields and the children had to use public playfields besides some schools or parks. Workers of the open centre also felt sometimes that the close connection to the church was limiting because they could use the centre's facilities on big events disturbing the routines of the centre and also because the church was influencing on the centre's activities. On the other hand the location of the centre was good. It is very close to the places where street children hang around. For children it was easy to come and easy to return to their living areas. None of

the children complained about the facilities or space of the centres, even though in the open centre I could see children suffering from the cold.

### **7.4.3. Challenges concerning workers**

There were some dissatisfaction in the work at both centres, but most of them were challenges that were hoped to be overcome in the future. Common challenges that the centres faced were lack of finance, motivation and attitude problems, lack of knowledge about traumatized children and lack of skills to cope with them, dangers and hardness's of the streets and feeling of incapability to help all children in profound way. Workers from the closed centre also mentioned interpersonal difficulties and lack of workers as challenges of their work. In the open centre challenges in addition to what was said before were lack of material resources and own project place, too strong connection to the church and religion, lack of cooperation with other street children centres and lack of coordination of the city's children projects.

Workers with appropriate character are not easy to find, not to mention trained and well educated workers. Working with street children is not commonly very acceptable and the salary is not high (if there is any salary at all), because centres function often with donations. Centres had both types of workers, those who are professionals and workers who are naturally good with children and suitable for the work based on that. Some workers in the closed centre complained about too busy working days and lack of personnel. They said it is difficult to have good interaction with the children, to control them well and in addition to make appropriate evaluations of them when there are only two or three educators working with 30 children at the same time. From another perspective a young man who had been reintegrated from the closed centre many years ago told me that when he was in the centre there were much less workers and as many boys as today and yet he felt that workers had always time for the children and they even offered more vocational training than nowadays.

Some workers in the open centre argued that it is difficult to find volunteer workers with enough patience to work with street children. First they were also sceptical of me, when I asked if I could work as a volunteer and do my research at the same time. After some days I was asked if I was tired already. They did not believe that I wanted to do that kind of work for five weeks. Later I was explained that they thought I would behave as many other European visitors and just stay for couple of days. There are neither many local people who want to work with street children and who have the suitable skills and understanding for that.

Motivation problems were challenges that both centres' workers mentioned quite often in the interviews. Low motivation of the workers originated on poor salary in relation to difficult job. Workers felt that they have an unselfish job that requires lot of dedication and sacrifice, but still many of them have their own families to take care of. One educator even feared that his own children might end up into the streets, because he cannot offer them enough food at home due to the poor salary.

It is a serious problem, the salary... If we are not able to feed our families, what can happen one day is that my own son will feel bad of waking up and not having any bread, no breakfast, no lunch... and so he leaves home, because it is not enough anymore. And so one day in this kind of situation my own son could decide to leave home and to go to streets, because my salary won't be enough to feed my family. (Worker 7)

In the open centre workers do not receive any salary, just some compensation to cover few expenses. Their work is voluntary type, but yet they work almost the whole day. If the workers are not feeling well and happy they do not work so well.

This work is voluntary, but we also have families to take care of... it is difficult to work well when we are not satisfied... you know... to make other people happy we need to be happy ourselves. We only get money for travelling and something else, but that is not a salary... (Worker 14)

Another challenge that centres' had was interpersonal. In the open centre only one worker mentioned that there was some division between workers and that caused unhappiness and disturbed sometimes their cooperation, but besides that they were content. In the closed centre appeared more difficulties between workers. There are more workers and some needed a lot of supervision, to make sure that all their responsibilities are taken care of. Sometimes this caused interpersonal conflicts because the workers felt that they are

not trusted as they are checked up on every now and then. But there were things that needed to happen exactly in time such as giving some specific medication to a child. Some workers were not doing their jobs independently but acted only when told by sector leaders or the director of the centre. Aptekar, Kironyo & McAdam-Crisp (2005, 83) emphasize the importance of supervising untrained workers, because they do not maybe always act (or know how to act) on the best interest of a child.

One of the biggest challenges related to the children was that their needs and problems vary greatly. The psychological problems that children have are vast and workers do not always have skills to cope with them. Workers themselves often lacked of education and training so they felt sometimes that educating children is very challenging.

To educate the children is most challenging; to recover their way of thinking. Because many of them have bad experiences and problems before they come to the centre. (Worker 4)

The lack of education and training of workers was seen as a major problem especially in the closed centre, but also in the open centre some workers related to the issue during their interviews or in conversation elsewhere. In the closed centre the director mentioned that the workers have training opportunities but many of the interviewed claimed this not to be true. Only once or twice a year one educator can participate on training during one day in the city, but not all the workers benefit from this. The worker who has participated on the training should share the knowledge he/she has learnt but time is not organised for this, so basically it is left undone. Some of the educators do not have even the basic level of formal education so they learn only by experience. This takes time and meanwhile causes problems, because every worker has their own character, which cannot be changed. Others are more strict and hard on their way of educating the children, but with street children the approach should be soft and understanding. Not all workers understand this, because they do not have enough knowledge about children from difficult circumstances.

Many educators, who are here, do not have any education. A person leaves ones home and comes here and has a role of an educator. So, there exist many difficulties... only after time they learn by experience. But I cannot say that we, educators as we are now, are well here. Not well, because we have this problem of education... We could improve our work by having some training. (Worker 8)

Sometimes to make the child to understand what workers mean and want is difficult. Children vary in their behaving and in their backgrounds, but it cannot be changed. But the way workers teach them and educates them should be unified. Children stop listening and obeying the workers if they give different rules and expect different things of them. Children might begin to think that workers are only fooling around and playing with them even when this is not the case. Children need to see that the educators are working together and not against each other, otherwise children begin to divide educators in 'good' and 'bad'. There is a lack of coordination of the workers and need of training to create a unified line in everyone's work. Also Aptekar, Kironyo & McAdam-Crisp (2005, 85) agrees that trained educators are crucial to promote children's recovering and resilience.

In the closed centre there were contradictions to the lessons of children's rights, which was held every Monday night and to the action of workers. Children were taught that adults should not hit a child but still some of the workers used corporal punishment when disciplining the children. I saw couple of times when some female workers slapped or hit a child when they were doing something unwanted or running around disobediently. Not very strongly but still the reaction of the child was always anger. There was an occasion when a quite traumatized boy was supposed to sweep the yard, but he was not doing it well enough and a worker came to scold him of that. The worker took the broom and pretended to hit the child with it. Instantly the boy changed to fearful and angry. He walked away tears in his eyes with a harsh look in his face. The worker did not seem to notice anything unusual in this and continued talking with another boy. In addition I heard from other volunteers that some male workers hit the children.

The work was described most challenging in the beginning when the child arrives to the centre. Some workers from the closed centre felt tired of those children who do not want to understand the rules and regulations of the centre, even though they accept them when they decide to live in there. For both centres' workers it is emotionally challenging to see children in the streets and to know what kind of life they have there and that with some more money and capacity they could be helped. Also for seeing poor conditions of the



children's families was painful for the workers, because they knew that from that type of homes children so easily end up back in the streets.

Life in the street is hard, because those bigger street children molest and abuse the smaller ones. They beat, they abuse sexually smaller ones, and they light a fire and burn them... (Worker 5.)

It is very difficult, because when children come here they are traumatized. It is most challenging to recover them of this trauma... so the first days, first months it is most difficult to work with a child here. (Worker 7)

Emotionally it was challenging for the workers to see and hear children using drugs and having sex at too young age, because they knew it will harm children's future lives profoundly. Also children's bad habit and their criminal activity were hard to deal with. The open centre had experienced case when some people who had been robbed by the street children came to demand payments from the centre because these children were supported there. This was a problem mostly with older street children that is why few months before I did my study, the open centre had decided to concentrate on younger street children primarily.

Workers at both centres felt bad also about sick children, especially with HIV/AIDS, because they did not have the capacity to take care of them or offer them a place to go to. I knew for sure that in the closed centre some boys had HIV and one worker also, who seemed very tired and was often absent. The probability among the open centre children might have been even bigger, but of them I only suspected some to be sick. It was not an issue that people talked about easily.

The life in the streets is very difficult. They will loose school. They will not study and so they will grow up to my age without knowing to read or write. There are others in the streets that already are at my age and they don't know anything... and they started like that when they were small boys. So the consequence is what I said... they are also abused by older ones, homosexually. And when they already are big, they don't want to have a home, they want to be there doing what they do, and also another consequence is that they learn to use drugs, they will drink and smoke... that is what they learn in the streets. (Worker 5)

Workers felt that the most dangerous work is the street work, because there are grown up street adolescent who might be aggressive and rob the belongings of the workers. Sometimes children can throw stones on educators, who approach them. Besides street children can infect the workers with different diseases; because they are often dirty and

their living surroundings are unhealthy. Street culture has many hazards and difficulties to deal with for both children and adults trying to help them (see Brink 2001, 81; Aptekar, Kironyo & McAdam-Crisp 2005, 77-78).

#### **7.4.4. Children's dissatisfaction and motivation problems**

Even though most of the children were happy and content in the centres, there were some issues which caused unhappiness. Some of them were related to aspects of living in the streets, but some had more to do with how children were treated by their peers or by other people. Workers saw reasons why children abandon the centre to be closely related to street culture. These were children's wish to be free and not controlled by anyone, desire to make money and use it in 'cool' things and clothes, bad traumas of the children or addictions to alcohol, cigarettes and drugs. Other issues that caused dissatisfaction and sometimes lead to abandoning of the centre were disappointment in workers or in other children.

Children in the closed centre did not have many things that made them unhappy. In the interviews one boy said that because he cannot have 'cool' clothes he is unhappy sometimes. Boys wear clothes which are donated for the centre from abroad. Some other boys explained to be sad of workers' ignorance and when they themselves fall sick. One boy explained how the workers did not listen to him or when they did, eventually nothing happened. The same boy was also unhappy because he was sick and due to that he was not allowed to participate in all activities.

I don't really like the educators... well I like some... but they never listen to me, or if they do, they only write things down in the children's reunion, but then nothing ever happens... They don't keep their promises. --- Sometimes educators are not doing their jobs and when I go tell them about a situation that they should pay attention, but they don't listen to me. (Boy from the closed centre)

Other issues that children disliked in the closed centre were work in the 'machamba' because it was difficult and punishments in general. Usually punishments for disobeying or bad behaviour were extra work, such as extra cleaning shifts or work in the kitchen. Children also referred to punishments in school. Boys claimed that the teachers hit them

if they were not silent or if they missed a book or they had not done their home work. Also some other workers confirmed that sometimes children are hit to their hands in the school. One day I heard that a boy had ran away from the centre just before going to school, but he returned the next day. When I asked him why you ran away, he told me that he could not go to school, because he had lost his pencil and notebook. He explained me that children who do not have their school belongings with them are hit. He did not want to be hurt. Workers told me that children can always ask for new pencils or notebooks, but I have seen many times how children are being blamed for loosing or mistreating their belongings. They might not feel comfortable of asking because of the negative reaction.

In the open centre issues that made the boys sad were situations when other people were insulting and beating them or stealing their money. These happened outside the centre, on the streets. Other unhappy issues were thoughts about home and other people's selfishness.

I become sad when people who I live with are cooling but only for themselves. Why can't we cook together? They get things just for themselves not for all. (Boy from the open centre)

This boy is living in a rare community of older and younger street children both female and male. Smaller ones earn money for the whole community and the older ones protect them from beatings and abuse. Usually older street children live in their separate groups in the city and only exploit smaller children. (Field diary note 18/06/2008)

Another boy disliked the beating by his peers and some did not like the religious education. Some Workers in the open centre agreed that the strong emphasis of the church and religion is sometimes limiting, because not all the children want religious teaching and surroundings. There was also a small boy from the closed centre who told that he was unhappy because other boys were hitting him. Both in the open centre as in the closed one there was a dissatisfaction among the boys when workers promised something to happen and then it never did, such as going to play football together.

Workers too had realized that sometimes the children might feel that they were not receiving the attention from the educator that they wanted and therefore they might feel betrayed. Sometimes the child might have felt that an educator was bored with him and

this became a reason to leave. In addition fights with other boys in the centre might result the child to run away. This happened more easily in the beginning when the child still did not know the educators or the other boys so well. That is why it is important to look for the child and ask why he had left the centre and try to fix things.

The child has his need to hurry and I as an educator have my priorities and even I asked the child to wait, it might take too long for him and he feels that I don't want to listen to him and take care of his problems... That is why we always need to look for the reasons why children run away from the centre... If it is our fault it can be changed. (Worker 8)

Many of these dissatisfactions caused motivation problems for the children and these on the other hand created challenges for the workers. In the open centre when children concentrated poorly and when they came and went as they wanted, some workers became frustrated. They felt children did not want to learn or take the education seriously. It was also difficult for the teachers to plan lessons and teach children, when they never knew who would be present the next day. This made the progression in the learning very challenging. Also when it was cold outside, children might have just wanted to stay in their sleeping areas and not to move around in the cold city. In addition the open centre had cold cement floor, tables and benches, which did not tempt children to stay.

Compulsory education was one thing to cause dissatisfaction. One of the open centre worker explained that in general children do not like to study so much, instead they like to play. That is why adults should be guiding and reminding them about the importance of school. Learning to read, write and calculate is not so appealing to everybody, but if the project offered only food and games for the children, the centre would be full.

You know, children do not like to study so much generally. They want to do other things like to play. They might even lie to be free from studying, but the only important thing is to keep showing them that it is crucial for their future to learn to do something. --- If we only offered food and football our project would be full, but because children need to study to get food, they don't want to... (Worker 9)

Sometimes street children love their freedom so much that they return to streets. In the centre they have responsibilities and they need to follow some rules and participate on certain routines, which they might not like. For example children need to take shower every day and they might not want to so it becomes a motive to run away.

Some of the children can say no I am not satisfied, because they have to do compulsory things in the centre and in the streets they are free to do whatever they want. Maybe they are not, but they learn how to work. (Worker 4)

Another open centre's worker felt that children are not satisfied because they need more than just food. There should be vocational training opportunities for them so that they could build for their future.

They are not very satisfied, because these children need more than just food... well they seem content but in my opinion there are not enough activities for them. We don't have for example vocational training. (Worker 14)

As children are lacking warm relationships towards adults, they are emphasising peer relationships. Friendship between street children is very important and especially in the open centre it could be seen how strongly some children connected to each other. Children are still children and perhaps they do not understand the importance of the things that the project is offering, such as education. They might think that "I am still young; I have time, now I want to play and have fun". What I noticed when observing the open centre was that often those boys who came were from the same 'gang' and if they were absent, they were all absent. It seems that the group pressure is a big influence within street children. One boy was an exception. He was almost always present but I never saw him grouping with other boys. This boy was very strong in character and it seemed that the other boys respected him quite a lot. He was normally very calm and polite (which was a total opposite of the other boys), but couple of times I saw him being mad about something and the anger came so strong that it was frightening. He almost never hit or used violence against other boys, but once I saw him being very violent to another boy who had done something to him. It seemed that in the end the reason why other boys seemed to respect him was because they were afraid of him. If a person is not very strong in character it seems that he is more vulnerable for the influence of group pressure.

These children don't think about tomorrow or their future. They don't know how to do it. They just think about today the present moment. They want just to play and have fun... that is why they don't concentrate on studying or how to get away from the streets. We need to help them... (Worker 9)

Schimmel (2006) has stated that street children are not capable of making reasonable decisions because of their difficult backgrounds and situations. If they do not receive care and sense of belonging at home they look for it from the streets and therefore do not easily want to give up on that. (Ibid. 211; 222-224.) In that sense it is understandable that also the peer pressure and its influence is quite strong.

#### **7.4.5. Relevance of education and limited schooling opportunities**

Three boys of ten claimed in their interviews that they had not learnt anything while staying at the centre. Yet they all agreed that things the centre was offering are important and good for their lives. What I observed at both centres was that when children are studying, they almost every time just copy the books without thinking. Many of the children struggle with reading and writing even though they say that they have passed the first grades already in school. In the open centre the group of learners changed every day and also teachers had to adapt to that. Often teaching went forward according to the most advanced student. First all were taught, but if some did not understand and some did, the lesson continued. For slower boys this caused lost of interest and they often began to draw on their notebooks or disturb their peers. Other issue that made it hard for children to learn in the open centre was that they could not take the books with them and study outside the project.

Some issues were not dealt at all in children's education such as sexual education and what it means to go through puberty. Many older boys showed interest in sexuality and girls and their bodies were changing. It is quite strange that these issues were not handled. Maybe it was because many had experienced sexual abuse and workers felt that they did not want to remind the children of that or they did not have tools to educate about these issues. When I tried to talk about the issue with one worker in the closed centre he said it is a taboo, but even he does not know why. I am sure that both centres could benefit from sexual education and giving information about birth control to prevent sexually transmitted diseases.

The long process of overall reintegration is a challenge for both centres. To achieve successful reintegration workers need to have lot of patience, persistence and determination in their work. They need to have the desire to teach and educate children. Sometimes it takes months, but more often it takes years to achieve these objectives. Also the surrounding lives of the children have temptations that pull children back to streets such as, beginning to go out with girls and not wanting to study anymore, getting involved with other children or youth who steal and lead a bad life. Sometimes the reintegration process does not work and the child either abandons the centre or runs away from home. These situations happen with bigger probability if the child is older, like 16 or 17 years old. They want already different things in life than just to be at home and go to school. They want to earn money and buy fashionable clothes. Things they have in the centre do not satisfy them anymore and they want to leave. There are limitations of children returning to the centres after reintegration or abandonment. In the closed centre children can abandon three times and they are looked out and asked to come back to the centre. But if they run away for the fourth time they are left alone, because they clearly do not want help or can be helped anymore. In the open centre if the child returns to streets after three months of reintegration, the centre cannot help him anymore. Abandoning the family after reintegration happens more often in substitute families than in own families and the centres still lack of experience about the use of substitute families. They are anyway needed, because many families are not willing or prepared to take their children back to home. Next I describe the opportunities and development ideas, which workers gave in their interviews.

### **7.5. Opportunities of the centres**

Workers gave many ideas how to develop the activities and general work in the centres. Both centres' saw that with better financial resources workers could get better salary and the activities could be developed. In addition both centres could grow their capacity if there were more money to use.

In general some workers gave estimations how many street children there were in the city, and according to them the amount had dropped, because more and more street children projects were open. One worker estimated that few years ago there were approximately 1000 children and nowadays about 750. Even though there is no accurate data about this issue, these observations of the workers have some value and therefore it is a great opportunity in general to have these centres helping the street children.

### **7.5.1. Improve the cooperation with the Government, community and families**

Many workers stated that better cooperation with the Government would be helpful to their centre. Besides getting more financial help, they wished to have guidelines and coordination from the Government. As there are many street children projects and centres in the city, their overall coordination is needed. Even though an organisation 'Rede da Criança' was trying to work as a coordinator and collaborator of different children projects, it was concentrating more on children in general, and it did not concentrate so much on street children projects. Even though at the Ministry of Education and Culture was stated that they coordinate nonformal education programs in the city, it is not happening as well as hoped, because the workers in the centres who provide nonformal education do not feel there is any coordination.

Both centres saw an opportunity in improving the cooperation between other street children projects, but for some reasons especially in the city centre, this process was slow. In some conversations that I had with different workers I got the impression that projects sometimes have different objectives and way of working, so it is difficult to work together.

Another cooperation opportunity is with the families. As stated already before working together with the families results more successful reintegration. Besides this the community support is important (see Aptekar, Kironyo & McAdam-Crisp 2005, 83). In the closed centre it was wise to try to make connections to community group for the child both in church and elsewhere, because this way the supporting network grows and the



child more likely will have more reasons to stay out of the streets. Especially in the closed centre also the cooperation with the surrounding community was important. Mixing the children from the centre and around in the school was good learning opportunity for the boys to gain experiences of being in the main stream society and socialize with other children. One delightful example was when a small and lonely boy from the centre, who hardly ever had friends of the centre's other boys, went to school, he immediately looked for his friend and began to play together. This boy was from the surrounding community. I saw them playing many times on the school yard. At least some of the centre's boys were able to create new relationships with the community children. Also the playfields offered opportunities for the community children and centre's children to interact. There were tensions in this, but also many times I saw children playing together from in and outside the centre.

### **7.5.2. Draw attention to workers' wellbeing**

As I explained earlier in the workers' challenges not all were content and happy of their work. One development idea is to draw more attention to workers' wellbeing. From the simple fact, that a happy worker does a better job. Besides training to deal with traumatic children, centres could use every now and then guidance and help from experts such as psychologist or doctors. Workers wished to have better knowledge about children from difficult circumstances to handle them, to analyze them and to understand them better. Some workers preferred also to have more information about HIV/AIDS and advices how to teach children and young people about it.

We should have training for the workers, because people don't have information. We need more experience. During the five year that I have worked here, we haven't had any training for the workers. The most important thing would be to learn how to analyze different kinds of children, because they vary a lot. It would be important to understand their ways of thinking and how they could be educated better... We don't have enough knowledge to do our work in a comprehensive way. (Worker 4)

In the closed centre workers wished that someone would come to there to give the training instead of one worker going to the city and participating to a seminar, because in that way only one benefits of the knowledge and not all. There is a presumption that this

worker who got the training should tell the others what he/she learnt but in many cases this does not happen.

Sometimes there are seminars, but they are always outside in the city. So they send an educator to the seminar, but as the seminar is not held every week or even every month, it is difficult for us. It is not so useful. And when only one educator goes, when he comes back he does not have time to explain for the colleagues what was said in the seminar and what he learnt. He has to get back to work immediately. There should be time... or a break when some of the workers could be arranged to look after the children so that the rest of us could listen what was said in the seminar. This way we could learn. (Worker 7)

By improving also the salaries of the workers they would not have to worry about their families' survival as they could provide enough for their wellbeing. This would improve also the motivation to work.

### **7.5.3. Improve the relevance and quality of education**

In the open centre some workers felt that they should begin to improve the quality and relevance of the education on their own, because the Government is too slow. All workers wished to get an own place to run the centre. Some also wanted to disconnect it from the church, so that they could be independent and open 24 hours/day and concentrate better on children's education. This way they could also create vocational training opportunities for the children.

In the closed centre development ideas concerned of strengthening the vocational training possibilities, such as carpentry, gardening and tailoring, and also to create a place where children who are already reintegrated could come to learn real professions in vocational training, to continue where they left while in the centre. They should also receive an official certification of their education to cope better in the future.

In the open centre one worker had an idea about creating an agricultural project to grow plants and grains to make products for selling as well as to have some animals to make money. This could support the actual literacy training project financially and give jobs for the children. In the closed centre better cultivation equipment would improve the

cultivation possibilities. In that centre workers also suggest that they could create more cultural activities such as forming a theatre group.

#### **7.5.4. Arise awareness of street children**

Other development ideas were related to raising the awareness of street children and their rights and problems for example through local media, in order to have better understanding and knowledge in the society. Also the police should be controlled and have training, so that they would change their attitude to street children. Their job is to protect the children and not to disturb them.

The Police, they should be helping and protecting the children, not to cause troubles for them, not to harm them... We could use more the radio and TV and newspapers, those social communication media... because people lack knowledge, they need to understand better, value these children. The whole society needs to understand better. (Worker 10)

Problems with the police have been noticed also elsewhere in the world. The Consortium for Street Children (CSC) has paid attention to this and created a partnership with the Ethiopian Police University College and UNICEF. During the 2007-2009 they were training tens of police trainers on children's rights and child protection emphasizing street children. The objective was to provide knowledge and skills through the trainers to tens of thousands of police officers in Ethiopia all over the country. This way they aimed to ensure that the police officers become advocates of the rights and wellbeing of children and not the violators. (See <http://www.streetchildren.org.uk/project.asp?projectID=2>)

### **7.6. Threats of the centres**

#### **7.6.1. Poverty and poor economical situation of the country**

As I explained earlier poverty is one of the biggest reasons for children running away from homes (see e.g. Orme & Seipel 2007; Brink 2001; Porteus et Al. 2000). This root problem was recognized also by the workers of the centres. When the basic needs are not fulfilled at home children might leave. It is challenging for the workers to see families

with minimal conditions. This is also a problem later on after the reintegration, because when the conditions in the family are not optimal, it is difficult to continue the good development of the child. Often in these cases children end up in the streets again. In this situation a lot of work and money is lost. This is why the reintegration process should concentrate on the family too. But as Aptekar, Kironyo & McAdam-Crisp (2005, 83) argue, family-based models are not trouble free, because sometimes families take children back only in hope of money and food support. In the closed centre I heard some workers facing the same problem. Families have been using the monetary support from the centre to something else than to children's school fees or clothes. Also one child explained to me, that he would like to go home already, but because his family is very poor, they cannot afford to send all children to school. This child as the oldest son had to work and provide for the family income if he was at home, so his mother told him to stay at the centre and receive education there. Even though the centre aims to help both the family and the child, this is not the way they would like to achieve it. At least this family is using the centre to its own means.

Lack of finances and poor economical situation of Mozambique (e.g. food prices getting more expensive) caused challenges for the stability and continuity of the centres. For example the open centre used to be open for five days a week, but when I was doing the interviews they were able to run the project only four days per week. For children this meant long weekend without the support of the project. Poor economical situation also affects the labour markets, and there are not many good work opportunities in the country. Workers did not see the future for the children to be too good, if they preferred to work and not study further after leaving the centres. However, there are not any good working places for these children, so they have to beg, steal or do jobs with poor money or in difficult or in dangerous circumstances.

### **7.6.2. Poor family relations**

The problem is not only poverty, but also the cultural behaviour of parents affects the wellbeing of a child and how he feels his needs are met. Children need good living

conditions with fulfilling relationships to parents or caretakers. Relationships are crucial. In Mozambique parents discipline their children often with corporal punishments and they might be very strict about certain rules at home. According to one worker parents should know how to treat their children better and how to discipline them without harming them.

The relationship between the parents and children in our culture, here at Africa are very different than the culture in Europe... Here parents raise their children in quite painful way, such as disciplining with force... hitting... so for this reason, children begin to escape from their homes. They go to streets, because at the streets they can live as they want, no rules, do what you want, when you want, how you want, and so on... Those rules that parents have at home are sometimes very strict and if they are not followed parents have a reason to go against the children... in these families, parents should learn how to treat their children, how to deal with them in good manner. (Worker 8)

The reintegration process is long and might take many years. The poor financial situation of the family and traumas of the child from the past are some reasons and threats why children's reintegration is not always achieved. If a child has experienced violence or abuse at home by a relative or close neighbour, he might not be able to return there for mental reasons. In these cases it is hard to understand why the child has to be reintegrated to home.

There might not be financial conditions for the child to live at home and then he returns to the streets. This is the difficulty that exists. Also the relationship between the child and the parents sometimes causes problems. Parents might say that they love the child and respect him, but when they are day after day with the child the situation changes... Sometimes even there is money, and even when the relationships are good, the child runs away from home again... this is because these children were traumatized before of something the parent did, or friends of the parents. So they remain afraid... (Worker 8.)

### **7.6.3. Characters of street life and culture**

Great threat to successful street children reintegration is the street culture itself. Hardness's and cruelty of street life are harmful both for street children and adults who try to help them. Street life strengthens children's irrational thinking and incapability to make long term planning due to influence of other peers, substance using, sicknesses and lack of food and sleep (see e.g. Schimmel 2006). This on the other hand causes unwise decision making and inability to create one's future. One of the street workers told me

that he also has to face the hardships of the streets when he goes looking for the children. Sometimes even the police disturb him and try to prevent him for helping the street children.

Street life is life without safety or security. Fears are constantly present. During the time at the field I encountered many street children in the open centre and in the city who were afraid of strange adults. One of the greatest fears was that the adults would kidnap them and take them to South-Africa. I discussed the issue also with the educators of the centre and they confirmed that there are organized groups of criminals doing human trafficking. Indeed children and women are being trafficked every year for forced labour and sexual exploitation from Mozambique to South-Africa. There are estimations that about 1000 women every year are trafficked. Also children suffer from this on daily basis. They are trafficked through the Kruger National Park or across the Swaziland border and when they are moved to their final destinations they are sold for only US\$ 30-50 per child. There are insufficient laws of adoption and informal adoption activity in Mozambique that expose especially orphans to trafficking. Also the spreading HIV/AIDS problem creates demand for younger sex workers who are more likely healthy. There is not enough protective legislation against human trafficking in Mozambique and yet none of the criminals of human trafficking have been fully prosecuted and condemned of their crimes. (UNHRC 2008, 17-18.) It is not hard to see why street children become very vulnerable for this kind of horrors. They have no protection at the streets. I could even hear talks that the police or private security companies are cleaning the streets by picking street children and selling them to South-Africa.

Besides confronting everyday hardships the time spent on the street is often time without education. This means that children fall behind of their age-group in school and it gets even more difficult for them to catch up. Many boys who I interviewed told that they have not learnt anything on the streets or if they had, these learning experiences were most often related to criminal activity and to basic survival skills. Some older street children, who were living in one park of the city, explained to me that they do not go to school because they are constantly hungry and it is difficult to concentrate and besides they and their clothes are so dirty that they are not welcome to any school.

Street culture is a threat also due to its temptations. Choice to use money as one wants and life without no rules or parents telling what to do, are freedoms, which children are tempt to have. This is why children abandon the centres or do not want to enter there in the first place.

The reason might also be that the child just wants to live in the streets, living as pleased, doing whatever he wants to and when he wants to. (Worker 2)

The problem is that factors, such as street temptations are difficult to control in the lives of the children. So even if the child is successfully reintegrated home and a school place is found it might be difficult for the child to go to school every day if he faces problems in other areas of life. And if the child is still living in the streets taking care of one's belongings and hygiene is not so easy.

Every child chooses his own path... some are reintegrated but many return back to the streets. It is not difficult for them to enter a school after the literacy training here, but it is more difficult to control other things in their lives, because at the streets there are lot of temptations... also things like taking care of one's clothes and hygiene is not always easy for them. (Worker 12)

#### **7.6.4. Lack of cooperation and coordination of different street children projects**

Lack of cooperation between different street children projects were mentioned at both centres in different contexts. Both centres did some cooperation, but it could be improved. The issue was discussed more at the open centre. Couple of workers there mentioned that there should be more cooperation with other centres to strengthen the work they do. Furthermore there should be coordination of the city projects and street children centres, because sometimes they cause problems to each other. There are contradictions in different projects' activities even though the basic objectives might be very similar. There are open centres in the city that offer recreational activities for street children or just place to hang around, while at the same time some other projects try to offer education and literacy training (as the open centre I studied). Even though all help and support is useful for the street children, they are still children, and if they can make a choice whether to go to centre where they need to study or to go to a centre where they

can watch movies the choice is quite simple. They go for the easy and fun. As important as it is to relax and escape the hardness of life for a while, watching movies does not help children to leave the streets and have better future. These kinds of problems could be solved out if there was more cooperation and better coordination.

There are many organizations working at the streets. So many times, when they have nice things, they offer movies and other fun activities, children go there... Also when the weather is cold it is not easy for the children to come here. They stay sleeping... So these are some problems we have. (Worker 11)

We have many challenges, for example many projects work at the streets and some of them are good, but some... there is no coordination. Another challenge is to find a sick child at the streets and to help him, because there are lot of children in the streets and every project is responsible of "their" children. We can only help "our" children, because we have the project's support for that... but how to walk away from a sick child... if I help, the project can't pay for it... (Worker 12)

Also the lack of cooperation prevents centres to take care of all children at the streets. This is because in the city every centre or project have 'their children' and other project cannot help others than their 'own children'. This is a challenge for example when coming across a sick child, who is somebody else's 'responsibility'. Also the centres manipulate the children to participate precisely their project, because they often get their financial resources according to how many children participate in their programs. According to one worker some centres are not taking their work seriously and due to that they are not really helping.

We are in a city that has many centres for street children. They can manipulate the children... they have maybe different objectives. We are trying to work more together, but we still lack a lot... --- There is no coordination for the projects who work with street children only. There are four open centres at the moment working, more are registered but they don't do anything in reality... the cooperation between these centres don't work well yet, because they either have different objectives or they don't work seriously, they don't really help... (Worker 14)

#### **7.6.5. Society's poor attitude**

In general workers and children felt that the surrounding society has poor attitude to street children and the centres helping them. Many people are not ready to accept projects helping street children. Theoretically projects can work quite well, but in practice there is still lot to be done. People only want to see reports and progress, but they are not ready to help themselves or solve problems together, according to the workers of the open centre.



In the closed centre the poor attitude was shown in prejudices of street children's closeness to the community. Boys had strict rules not to go close to the gate that separated the centre from the surrounding community during night time, because neighbours had complained that they are afraid that boys will steal something from their houses. There had been even police to settle things down in few occasions. Even though boys had never stolen anything from the surroundings of the centre they were accused to do so.

As mentioned before the police are also often violating street children's rights and treating them poorly. Not to mention the threats of human trafficking and organized crime. If the government allows this kind of attitude it is difficult for the centres to fight against it. As long as street children are treated as something bad, dangerous and worthless, the problem of street children will not solve. Khair (2001) demonstrated that constant violations of children's rights and accusing only cause children to become as they are taken. Better attitude to street children has proven to create more positive behaviour and therefore if street children are wanted to change, the society should change first (see Orme & Seipel 2007, 498-499).

## **7.7. Conclusions**

To conclude previous discussion I present the challenges and successes at more general level. Successes that these centres have in reintegrating and educating the street children are various. Centres are able to provide for children's primary needs and offer them education in basic life skills, moral and behaviour as well as in schooling. In addition they either offer vocational training or are planning to do it in the future. Moreover both centres' emphasised that they would like to have more training to cope better in their work. They already have positive and encouraging approach to street children, but their way of working and working together could be improved with more training. Children in these centres appeared happy and for them having an opportunity to get support from these centres were appreciated. For many children the centre offered a better future through educational possibilities and skill learning. Besides for street children it is crucial

to have a safe place to be even for a while and enjoy the company of friendly adults. The children's joy of learning and playing told more than thousand words. In addition the possibility to have contact with the family and go back to home if wanted is like offering a second chance for the child. This was all possible because of the genuinely caring and patient workers who seemed relatively happy about their work, even though their working conditions were not optimal. A success itself is that both centres have been working already many years and are run by local people nowadays.

The main challenges that these centres have are related to lack of finances which cause inadequacy in both physical and human resources, this resulted both in poor salaries and lack of suitable workers. There were also limited possibilities to grow the centres and to affect the amount and quality of activities due to lack of resources. Because many workers were relatively low educated and some, on the other hand, were trained social workers there appeared contradictions in working habits as well as worries due to challenging jobs. This caused motivation problems and sometimes using of force in disciplining the children. Beatings, punishments and lost of trust to workers in the centre were most disliked by children. These problems could be prevented by training the workers about child protection and how to educate children from difficult circumstances. Centres themselves had challenges also on behalf of the families, communities and other street children centres. The cooperation should be improved not only from the centres' but also from the Government's side. If there was better coordination of the centres and the awareness of street children would be constantly arisen little by little the society and families would also change their attitude to more positive. The training of police and security companies to protect the children and not to harm them would be very wise. But as the country is struggling with poor economical situation there need to be strong political will to change these things. Children should be listened to improve the relevance of the education and support offered for them, so that the reintegration does not happen in a way that eventually leads to failure, such as forcing the child to return home without having any conditions to stay there. Challenges that come from the street culture itself are difficult to solve, because it would mean solving many bigger problems in the society as a whole. Most of the abuses, substance using and violence happen in the streets during

the night time. By offering children safe houses to sleep, perhaps these problems could be decreased. But the children will not come there if there are strict rules because they want to have their freedom. Again the police could play a big role in guiding and helping the children at the streets.

## **8. Discussion**

This study has been moving on a wide scope, from the societal point of view to the individual level and back. I know it has been an ambitious attempt, but the street children phenomenon is very much connected to broader societal issues and therefore it should be seen in its full scope. Governments take different aspect on the relation of formal and nonformal education, they also have different ways to deal with marginalized groups such as street children. According to society's attitude to street children, they are either seen someone who cause troubles or someone who should be taken care of. Street children and workers at the centers explained how their lives and work is quite often challenging due to the poor attitude of society. Already this in itself explains how much the societal level affects individuals. Challenges and successes that street children centers and children themselves encounter are both individual and societal by their nature. In this study I wanted to highlight it and maybe in the future other studies made in Mozambique can concentrate to deal with one aspect at a time. This study has been able to draw a picture of challenges and successes faced by the street children centers in Maputo city at centre level but also at city level to some extend. Research questions have been answered and this long journey has taught maybe me the most. I realize that there are limitations and presumptions in using the SWOT-model in the analysis. It has been developed to serve business organizations to become more effective and more productive. The presumption is that when the weaknesses are recognized they can be fixed. Such is not the case always in real life. But at least after recognizing issues that are weaknesses they can be discussed. Overall, this study has been able to fulfill its objectives and therefore I take it as a success.

The phenomenon of street children is connected also to global context in addition to the societal context. Besides local issues, global forces push children to streets. If governments wish to decrease the amount of street children they need to hit the root problems that cause children migrating to streets. Many studies and also this study emphasize that the biggest problem underneath is poverty. Besides this there is family fragmentation, wars, natural disasters, HIV/AIDS etc. which are forcing children to streets. What can be done then? Many countries are already trying their best to overcome these vast problems and yet they are struggling. In my opinion the key is in the families and communities, and even further, in the state of mind of humans. In our time the world is running according to money and time, unfortunately the capitalistic state of mind has intruded everywhere. This is supported by individualism which emphasizes one person over community. These global phenomena affect the socialization of children by parents and schools. Socialization as a process aims to teach children and young people values, skills and knowledge, what they need in order to survive well in their society. As these values and assumptions of needed skills and knowledge, change over time, so does the socialization process. Maybe earlier when the living context of people were smaller and everything happened more at the local level, socialization processes were easier to direct and handle. But now, as technology has open up the world and global forces are affecting everywhere, also socialization processes have become more complex. Governments and countries need to continue discussing and cooperating with each other in order to find solutions to street children problems. As a man's way of thinking changes, little by little so does the ways of society.

So is there anything we can do to street children phenomenon at the global level? In this study I have discussed street children reintegration, but I argue that governments' should pay attention to people's integration to the society at all levels. If people feel that they are part of their communities and respected and they have meaning in their life, they are also ready to work for their own and for others happiness. When people feel isolated and not part of the community they begin to react on that. If we think about for example the shadow communities of Russia, they are composed of people who for a reason or another have been left out of the mainstream society; they feel they do not fit there. Marginalized

groups such as street children end up looking for sense of belonging from somewhere, often with high cost in hard circumstances. At the global and local level people should think how to create sense of belonging in communities in positive and encouraging ways, for all people, poor and rich, sick and healthy etc. In practice this means doing preventive work, opening doors for different learners, creating more training and safe job opportunities for adults as well as youngsters, improving the feeling of community through various ways in everyday life, such as listening and offering a helping hand for those in need and so forth. Besides acts of care and love, governments need to change and create more open and flexible opportunities for all its citizens. This means to recognize all their citizens, including street children. They may not have the official identity documents, but they are not less citizens of their own country as others. Mozambique does not have the worst problem with street children in comparison to other countries in Africa, but it has many risk factors which might increase the phenomenon, such as poverty, problems with HIV/AIDS and quite high unemployment rate (see more estimates of the amount of street children around the World by Consortium for Street Children in <http://www.streetchildren.org.uk/content.asp?pageID=31#number>).

In Mozambique it is promising that the Ministry of Education and Culture recognizes the value and importance of education and training opportunities provided by non-governmental and private sector, especially in adult education. However they should, also take care of the children's nonformal education and, develop it as an alternative and supporting system to formal primary education. If the Ministry leaves the responsibility of children's nonformal education only for civil society and non-governmental providers, the situation is not being seen in a larger perspective. Because eventually out-of-school children will become illiterate adults and the problem will continue. Furthermore if nonformal education for children works only as a reintegration tool back to the formal education, it is not used in its full capacity. It should be remembered that not all the children have the possibility or desire to go to formal school or they do not feel content enough to stay there. The equivalence with formal system should be created, expanded and improved by producing more learning and teaching materials, creating examination possibilities and giving certification after finishing the nonformal education. Monitoring

and evaluating the success and quality of these programs should also be important part of the system. The emphasis on quality will also make the learning more relevant and appealing and so the drop-out rate and repetition rate should go down. Nonformal education and training can give more flexible possibilities for street children to learn how to survive and take care of oneself while they are learning to read, write and calculate. Also by learning skills that can help to get better jobs or to start a business of their own can motivate them better than the formal way of learning. Because half of the Mozambican population are children under 18, also the country's becoming labour force is young (UNICEF 2009, 140). If the Ministry of Education and Culture would put more effort into developing the children's nonformal education they could offer more flexible ways of learning and produce professionals to the labour market, and in addition they would do preventive work for reducing adult illiteracy. There are already many well-working adult literacy programs, which could be easily transformed to serve youth illiterate.

The adult education and nonformal education in Mozambique has had valuable impact on the development of people's literacy skills, numeric skills and knowledge about various issues. This kind of more flexible way of structured learning environment helps to provide teaching in a time what is more suitable for the learners, to grow tolerance and to value multicultural atmosphere while at the same time supports also the multilingual learning (which are essential issues in a multicultural country like Mozambique). Besides, working and studying are more easily combined, when learners can do things at their own pace. Maybe in the future, if not already done, formal teachers, adult educators, voluntary workers etc. could get together and share their experiences and ideas about teaching, learning and useful methods. This would also teach them to respect and value each other's work and develop the education system at all levels. The cooperation between different street children's literacy programs and nonformal education providers should not be only a coordination problem of the Ministry of Education and Culture, but NGOs and civil society could improve their own connections and collaboration between various agencies related to education. Attempts have been made, for example in 1999, the Mozambican Education for All Movement (Movimento de Educação para Todos de

Mozambique, MEPT) was established. Mario and Nandja (2005) explain that MEPT's main goal is to provide a possibility for civil society to take an active part in education in the country. It has over 70 members including NGOs, religious institutions and trade unions. (Mario & Nandja 2005, 4). Forums have been established, but I do not know how well and effectively they are being used.

Education is easily overloaded with assumptions and hopes, that it will change everything for better. Education is a key factor, but it cannot bring development on its own. Many countries around the world are facing situations where a student graduates and should begin his professional life but there is no work in the labor market. Especially now when the world is suffering from the global financial crisis the unemployment rates have risen all over. Also in Mozambique many people are struggling to get a job. Someone might ask why to waste money for educating street children when there is not enough work for the 'normal' people. I would say, it is never a waste of money to educate people, but we should constantly assess what we are teaching in the schools and for what. In my opinion all schools at all levels should teach their students entrepreneurship. I would suggest that also street children would benefit and be interested in creating their own businesses in addition to having vocational training. But if the school systems whether formal or nonformal emphasize strongly ready settings after graduation, students do not know how to use their knowledge and skills in creative way. If on the other hand, students learn through out the education to be active, think critically and creatively, they have better readiness to become entrepreneurs if there are not jobs available. There are already many good examples about micro-credit programs that have changed people's lives in developing countries. In the end this comes back to the way people are socialized to think. It is a matter of thinking that either we settle for what we are told to have after we do this and that, or we create and improve our own settings, by constantly trying, learning and doing; life-long learning.

I hope some organizations in Mozambique and elsewhere can benefit the results of this study. Challenges and successes can be different in various street children centers, but this study's examples can be used to raise discussion about matters, which affect the

success of reintegration and education delivered for street children. It also gives hints how the strengths and opportunities can be used to prevent the threats to happen and how the weaknesses can be improved. Hopefully it will inspire also other centers to make their own studies about children's motivation and desires as well as workers' wellbeing and training needs. For the governments this study gives information about the reality of grass-root street children projects and organizations and the need for overall support and coordination of various organizations working not just with street children but also with children in risk of becoming street children and organizations working with families. They all support each other.

For further studies it would be interesting to know, how well these two research target centers could benefit the information of this study and organize training to develop their work. After some time there could be a new study assessing the outcomes of the trainings and how it has affected the challenges and successes of the centers. At more general level, better intervention models could be developed if we knew more about the socialization process that happens at the streets. This would mean more research about the street culture itself. Further research could also be made about how to include entrepreneurship education to curricula and what kind of affects it has/could have in developing countries. Also further studies about how to combine formal and nonformal education to serve different learners the best have always their value. There are strengths and weaknesses in both, but when we know them, we are able to plan and realize education with more efficiency and better quality.

Street children centers should always address the families and communities in order to achieve the best results possible. Educational planning, realizing and assessment should happen also in dialogue with the children and workers. Education should aim to develop children's basic living skills, behavior and moral knowledge, schooling skills, but furthermore vocational training and entrepreneurship education should be emphasized. Besides children's education, the workers would benefit from training that address issues, which are difficult in their work. There should be also more research that discusses street children phenomenon at global level in comparison to local levels so that we could



further think how to overcome problems that push and pull children to streets. It is highly important to continue improving the international cooperation and respect the engagements to universal declarations in order to prevent the street children phenomenon growing. Besides this it is obvious that educational providers from the civil society need the support and help of the governments and vice versa; they should find solutions together through nonformal and formal educational means in order to work in their full and best capacity.

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## Appendices

### Appendix 1. The research group

<b>Name</b>	<b>Topic</b>	<b>Department</b>	<b>Degree</b>
<b>Miguel Marrengula</b>	Child rights and child welfare in Mozambique: Promoting community based social work practice using social animation.	Department of Social policy and social work, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Tampere, Finland	PhD student in social work
<b>Riikka Salokangas</b>	The Challenges and Successes of Reintegrating Street Children through Nonformal Education in Maputo City, Mozambique	Department of Education, Faculty of Education, University of Tampere, Finland	Master student in education sciences
<b>Mirja Hentilä</b>	Conception of child rights and child's advantage in family court process in Maputo city	Department of Social policy and social work, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Tampere, Finland	Master student in social work
<b>Célia Ivete da Conceição</b>	Social work practice with children living with disabilities in Mozambique	Department of Sociology, Eduardo Mondlane University, Mozambique	Bachelor degree student
<b>Jaana Salo</b>	Educating the dropouts; the case of street children in Maputo city Mozambique	Department of Education, Faculty of Education, University of Tampere, Finland	Master student in education sciences



## Appendix2. The Interview form for the head of the organization:

1. How long has this organisation/NGO worked here? [A quanto tempo esta organização funciona?]
2. How is this organization and its activities funded? [Como se financia esta organização e todas as suas actividades?]
3. How many people work here? [Quantas pessoas trabalham aqui?]
4. What does your project or organisation offer for street children? [Que coisas oferece seu projecto ou organização para as crianças da rua? Que tipo de actividades ou apoio/suporte?]
  - a. What are your main mission and most important objectives? [Qual é o seu/sua objectivo/missão mais importante?]
5. How do the children come here/ are being chosen here? Which is the selection criteria of the children to benefit of this support? [Como vêm as crianças aqui? Como se escolhem? Qual é o critério de selecção das crianças de rua para beneficiarem do apoio?]
6. How many and how old are children here? [Quantas crianças estão aqui e que idade têm?]
7. What kind of educational activity and how is it realized? Who determines/decides the aims and purposes of education activity here? [Que tipo de actividades da educação têm aqui, como se realizam? Quem decide e planifica as actividades aqui? Como se determinam os objectivos?]
8. Do the children themselves participate in decision making or activity planning? Do you listen their suggestions and wishes? Do children's ideas sometimes change the practice? [As crianças participam na tomada de decisões e na planificação das actividades? Será que as suas sugestões e desejos são ouvidas? Será que as suas ideias podem algumas vezes mudar a prática aqui?]
9. How are these activities helping children in the reintegration process to society? [Como estes actividades ajudam as crianças no processo da reintegração á sociedade?]
10. Are the children satisfied with the support and education they get? If not, why? [Acha que as crianças estão satisfeitas com a educação e com o suporte que recebem aqui? Se não, porquê?]
11. Who are working with the children? What is expected and demanded of the people who wish to work here? [Quem trabalha com as crianças? Que expectativas ou requisitos têm ou exigem das pessoas que queiram trabalhar aqui?]
12. What are their educational and vocational backgrounds? Is there any training for the workers? [Que educação/competencia ou profissão têm? Existe alguma formação para os trabalhadores?]
13. How long are children staying here? (Are they the same all the year round or does it vary a lot?) Do some of them drop out after little while? [Quanto tempo as crianças ficam aqui? São elas as mesmas crianças de sempre ou variam muito durante o ano? Algumas das crianças interrompam/abandonam depois de algum tempo?]
14. What are the most challenging/ most rewarding things when educating and supporting street children? [Que maiores desafios ou maiores satisfações encontra em educar e apoiar crianças de rua?]

15. What do you expect children to learn through these (educational) activities here? [O que espera que as crianças de rua aprendam através das actividades (educativas) aqui?]
  - a. How can they use these skills and knowledge they have learnt in the future [Como poderão usar estas habilidades e conhecimentos que aprenderam no futuro?]
  - b. What happens to the children/youth when they leave this place? Working possibilities, reuniting with families or relatives? [O que acontece às crianças/jovens quando eles saem daqui? Têm possibilidades de trabalhar ou voltar a casa ou a outra família/relativos?]
16. What could be done to improve and develop educational activities and support here? [O que se pode fazer para desenvolver as actividades educativas e apoio aqui?]
17. What are the good/bad points in your educational activities here? [Quais são os bons/maus aspectos nas actividades educativas aqui?]
  - a. How about in comparison to formal schooling? [E em comparação com a educação formal?]
  - b. Do the children benefit more from the other, if so why? [Será que as crianças tem mais beneficio da outra? Quais e porquê?]
18. How are the child rights being promoted here? [Como é que os direitos da criança estão a ser promovidos aqui?]
19. Do you want to tell me something else about this organization or about the children here? [Gostaria de dizer mais alguma coisa sobre esta organização ou sobre as crianças aqui?]

### Appendix3. The Interview form for the workers:

1. What is your job here? What do you do? [Qual é o seu trabalho aqui? O que você faz?]
2. How long have you worked here? Have you always done the same job here or have you had some other tasks to do? [Ha quanto tempo você trabalha aqui? Sempre você trabalhou nesta área ou fez algumas outras tarefas?]
3. What is the main mission and the objectives of this organization? [Qual é o objectivo ou a missão principal desta organização?]
4. How can you realize them in your own work? [Como pode alcançá-los no seu trabalho?]
5. Who determines/decides the aims and purposes of activities here? [Quem decide e planifica as actividades aqui? Como se determinam os objectivos?]
6. How would you describe the needs of the children here? [Como poderia descrever as necessidades das crianças aqui?]
7. Do the children themselves participate in decision making or activity planning? Do you listen their suggestions and wishes? Do children's ideas sometimes change the practice? [As crianças participam na tomada de decisões e na planificação das actividades? Será que as suas sugestões e desejos são ouvidos? Será que as suas ideias podem algumas vezes mudar a prática aqui?]
8. How are these activities helping children in the reintegration process to society? [Como estas actividades ajudam as crianças no processo de reintegração na sociedade?]
9. Are the children satisfied with the support and education they get? If not, why? [Acha que as crianças estão satisfeitas com a educação e com o apoio que recebem aqui? Se não, porquê?]
10. What could be done to improve and develop educational activities and support here? [O que se pode fazer para desenvolver as actividades educativas e apoio aqui?]
11. What are the most challenging/ most rewarding things when educating and supporting children here? [Que maiores desafios ou maiores satisfações encontra em educar e apoiar crianças de rua?]
12. What do you expect children to learn through these (educational) activities here? [O que espera que as crianças de rua aprendam através das actividades (educativas) aqui?]
  - a. How can they use these skills and knowledge they have learnt in the future [Como poderão usar estas habilidades e conhecimentos que aprenderam no futuro?]
  - b. What happens to the children/youth when they leave this place? Working possibilities, reuniting with families or relatives? [O que acontece às crianças/jovens quando eles saem daqui? Têm possibilidades de trabalhar ou voltar a casa ou a outra família/relativos?]
  - c. Do some of the children run away or drop out after a little while? Why [Algumas crianças abandonam depois de estar aqui por algum tempo? Porque?]
13. Do you find something challenging in your working conditions? ã So are you satisfied for your working conditions? [Há alguns constrangimento no seu trabalho? ã Você está contente com as suas condições de trabalho?]

14. Would you like to change/improve something in your work/in your working conditions? How could it be done? [Você gostaria de mudar ou melhorar algo no seu trabalho ou nas condições de trabalho? Como se pode alcançar tudo isto?]
15. What are the good/bad points in the educational activities here? [Quais são os bons/maus aspectos nas actividades educativas aqui?]
16. Do you want to tell me something else about your work or about the children here? [Gostaria de dizer mais alguma coisa sobre o seu trabalho ou sobre as crianças aqui?]

#### Appendix4. Interview form for children:

##### The past and background:

1. How old are you? [Quantos anos tens?]
2. How long have you been here? [Há quanto tempo estas aqui no Centro?]
3. Do you have family? Do you see your family members? If not why? [Tens familia? Tens visto a eles? Se não, porque?]
4. What did you learn at home? [O que aprendeste em casa?]
5. How long were you at the streets? [Há quanto tempo estás/vives na rua?]
6. Did you learn something at the street? What? [Aprendeste algumas coisas na rua? O quê?]
7. Have you been in school? What did you learn there? [Já foste à escola? O que aprendeste lá?]

##### Own wishes and other's expectations:

1. What do you want the most in your life? How do think you will achieve it? [O que queres mais para a tua vida? Como vais conseguir isto?]
2. What makes you happy/sad? [O que te faz feliz ou triste?]
3. What would you like to learn in your life? [O que gostarias de aprender na tua vida?]
4. Do you want to go to school or work or do both? Why? [Queres ir á escola ou trabalhar ou fazer as duas coisas? Porquê?]
5. What are your family/friends expecting for you to learn? [O que é que a sua familia ou seus amigos gostariam que tú aprendesses?]
6. What are people here expecting for you to learn? [O que é que as pessoas daqui do centro gostariam que tú aprendesses?]
7. What do you think you need to learn in order to survive? [O que achas que tens que aprender para continuar a viver/sobreviver?]

##### The Centre:

1. Are you satisfied here? If not, why? [Estás contente por estar aqui? Porquê?]
2. What do you like most/least at here? Why? [O que gostas mais/menos aqui?]
3. What have you learnt in here at the centre? [O que aprendeste até agora aqui no centro e agora estás a aprender o quê?]
4. Are these things useful what you are learning here? [Achas que estas coisas que aprendes aqui são úteis/importantes para ti ou não?]
5. Is there something else you would like to tell me? [Queres dizer/contar mais alguma coisa para mim?]