

Window on the World of Violence Against Children Outside of Family Care in Uganda:

Pushing the Limits of Child Participation in Research and Policy-Making through Youth-Driven Participatory Action Research (YPAR)

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Introduction: On Working Beyond North-South/Adult-Child Binaries in Research with Children Outside of Family Care

“Engaging young people in research helps challenge social exclusion, democratize the research process, and build the capacity of young people to analyze and transform their own lives and communities” (Cahill, 2007a, p. 298).

From within the supportive environment of the AfriChild Center housed at Makerere University in Kampala, Uganda, our interdisciplinary, intergenerational and multi-country research team launched the qualitative violence against children (VAC) project as a means of opening a window on children’s worlds of violence and resilience, inside and outside of households, in order to catalyze child-focused policy making and community-driven transformations in society. Within households, our research team focused on parents and other adults in the community as catalysts of change through positive parenting practices (see Boothby et al., 2017). In contexts outside of households and family care, our research team focused on children as the catalysts of change through their participation in the research and dissemination process. In this paper, we place children living outside of family care at the center of the stories we will tell and at the center of our methodological reflections surrounding child-focused research and policy-making.

While academics and policy makers alike have long called to end violence against children globally, we still remain far from connecting the micro-worlds of marginalized children in adversity with the many times impenetrable structures of child-oriented public policy at both the national scale and within the global development apparatus. With the collective goal of bridging the worlds of children in adversity and high level policy making, this paper explores the nexus of youth-driven participatory action research (YPAR) and child protection practice through both ethical reflections and empirical evidence on violence and resilience. We urge our colleagues in academia and in the global development community to think through what participation really means for our research practices and policy commitments to social justice for children in adversity moving forward.

Our work is interdisciplinary, multi-method and multi-country in nature, intended as a context for the exchange of knowledge and best practices between scholars in the global South (including South-South exchanges between Uganda and Colombia) and exchanges between scholars based in the global North and global South. Beyond these exchanges between adults that challenge traditional, extractive research practices and unilateral

capacity building in the global South, we further push the boundaries of research on children's livelihoods and protective environments through the intergenerational composition of our research team and through the deep participation of children, adolescents and young people living in extreme adversity in the qualitative research process. Our research practices and approach to child participation is operationalized within a YPAR framework, which we will discuss in more detail in the following conceptual framework.

Conceptual Framework: On the Limits of Child Participation in Research & Policy Circles

Considerable attention has also been given to the methodological issues and ethical considerations of conducting research with marginalized children in general and street-connected children in particular (Aptekar and Heinonen, 2003; Beazley and Ennew, 2006; Bordonaro and Payne, 2012; Ennew, 1994; O'Kane, 2003; Thomas de Benitez, 2001; 2003; 2007; Young and Barrett, 2001; Van Blerk and Ansell, 2006; 2007; Vans Beers, 1996; Morrow and Richards, 1996; Christensen and Prout, 2002; Hopkins, 2008). Scholars in the past have called to give children control over the research process through the destabilization of the hierarchies separating adults and children in the research process and differentiating their decision-making capacity and power in crucial moments that shape both the outcomes and impact of the project (Alderson, 1995; Punch, 2002; Alderson and Morrow, 2004; Christensen, 2004; Williamson et al., 2005; Morrow, 2008; Ritterbusch, 2012; Skelton, 2008; Sime, 2008).

Additionally, scholars have called for child-focused methodological practices that emphasize the importance of semantic precision when we discuss our research initiatives, referring to research *with* rather than *on* children (Van Beers, 1996; Matthews et al., 1998; Beazley and Ennew, 2006; Evans, 2006; Cahill, 2007a; Kesby, 2007; Thomson, 2007). Participatory approaches, emerging from a growing interest in methodological innovation in studies of childhood and adolescence across disciplines over the last three decades, are becoming central to the social study of childhood as they enable participants to "explore their subjectivities and capacities in ways that not only generate rich data but which can also effect alternative agency and action in participants' lives" (Kesby 2007, 203). The recognition of children as competent social actors in research processes and their particular contribution to research, which is complementary but different than that of adults, contextualizes how "children imaginatively construct and practice space in ways very different and 'other' to adults" and therefore the need for more inclusive research processes that incorporate and prioritize children's voices and visions about their own lives (Williams et al. 2006, 89; see also Matthews and Limb 1999; Holt 2004).

In our research process, we place children, adolescents and young people in charge of opening a window on their world through their deep participation in decision making about what types of questions and methods will be used to build 'the window' or representation of their lives and subsequently in decision making about what stories *can* and *should* be urgently told upon opening a window in their world for different audiences.

Our project incorporated the use of auto-photography and social cartography to give children an active role in the visualization of their place worlds and narratives of violence and resilience. Children’s geographers have used these methods in the past as a way of involving children in the process of knowledge construction and also serving as a “stimulus for story-telling” (Langevang 2007, 277; see also Aitken and Wingate 1993). With every map drawn and picture taken, children actively contribute to the visual knowledge produced about their lives and spaces of violence and resilience and they are in control of the content and limits of the window they will open on their worlds.



Photograph 1: Auto-Photography Activity



Photograph 2: Social Cartography Activity

Participatory visual methods have been contextualized in previous work as a powerful dissemination platform for catapulting policy makers toward action by ‘haunting’ them with images (Mitchell, 2011; see also Mitchell and De Lange, 2011; Ritterbusch, 2016). In our project, we designed this space in the format of a participatory forum where children speak for themselves and contextualize the visualizations and narratives they chose to share with an audience of policy makers, politicians and child protection program officers (see section on participatory forum below).

Participatory dissemination through child-led visual data and texts may be the starting point for clearing the roadblocks between the micro-worlds of children in adversity and high-level policy-making. The ruptures between these worlds are deepened by failed communication and synergies between “...tradition-bound practitioners, who insist on practicing their way and believe they know their ... populations best, and ... the smugness of scientists believing that if they publish it, practitioners and the public will use it” (Green et al., 2009, p. 154). When adults involved in policy-oriented child protection research and practice cannot get on the same page to move things forward toward social justice and action for children’s well-being, it is understandable how the role of children’s participation in these spaces is given only marginal, if any, space in

decision-making processes at the grassroots organizational level or within national public policy meetings and youth participation symposiums organized by the national government.

In these spaces, we may hear the melodious voices of a group of children singing the national anthem before the First Lady or we may listen to children's opinions in structured and timed break out sessions, but are we really listening? Are we really prepared for the messiness and long-term commitment of what children's participation actually means in public policy and academic spaces? Or do we still limit their participation to interventions that we can control and rehearse in order to ensure that what we hear is aligned with our adult-centric way of seeing and listening?

In order to diminish the disparities in power and status between adults and children in the research process, scholars advocate the employment of "methods which are non-invasive, non-confrontational, and participatory" (Morrow and Richards 1996, 100). Accordingly, many of the "ethical problems in research involving direct contact with children can be overcome by using a participatory approach" (Thomas and O'Kane 1998, 336). After conducting research with street children in Kampala, Young and Barrett emphasize the importance of making "every effort to become accepted and trusted by the children" and to overcome the language barrier by learning street slang, which are both necessary stages in the process they refer to as "mutual familiarization" (Young and Barrett, 2001, p. 385-387). The researchers found that the use of child-led and participatory methods "...resulted in the research becoming important to the children, rather than imposed upon them" (Young and Barrett, 2001, p. 389).

In our research at the nexus of child protection and participatory action research (PAR) with a multi-country, multidisciplinary and intergenerational team, we collectively designed a research process that was meaningful for the children, adolescents and young people involved and created contexts through team work and daily reflection that inspired them to catalyze change both their immediate contexts and in broader spheres, particularly that of public policy.

The emergence of PAR in the 1970s through the social justice work of scholars such as Orlando Fals Borda in the Colombian context, and the later emergence of subfields such as youth-driven PAR (YPAR) at the turn of the century, is largely a response to the debates within and across disciplines on best research practices *with* children and adolescents, as many of the dilemmas regarding adult-child hierarchies and child participation were left without resolution or practical advice for research teams facing these issues.

As stated by Michelle Fine and Julio Cammarota, both of whom are scholars working with marginalized youth in two different contexts in the global North, " what ... distinguishes young people engaged in YPAR from the standard representations in critical youth studies is that their research is designed to contest and transform systems and institutions to produce greater justice – distributive justice, procedural justice ... a justice of recognition, or respect ... YPAR is a formal resistance that leads to

transformation – systematic and institutional change to promote social justice” (Camarota and Fine, 2008, p. 2).

The spaces in which such resistance and transformation takes place have been described in the YPAR literature as ‘**contact zones**’ where “...very differently positioned youth and adults are able to experience and analyze power inequities, together. Privileged youth who otherwise might opt out of such work (as it potentially challenges a system which benefits them) ally with historically marginalized youth, who also might not have joined the research collective (as they have learned well that change is slow and promises are rarely kept)” (Torre and Fine et al., 2008, p. 24).

In our experience, our contact zone between multiple academics from different parts of the global North and South, two university-trained youth researchers and four street-connected youth researchers currently living in or transitioning out of adversity was an engaging and exciting space where we worked as a team across generational, country context, language and socio-economic difference. While these differences presented challenges throughout the process, we were able to form a Kampala-based youth-driven collective of researchers working against violence and injustice in the lives of children outside of family care.

Furthermore, although issues in the contexts where Camarota and Fine work in Arizona and New York are many times questions of life or death in regards to racial profiling and institutional racism, within our contact zone in Kampala and surrounding areas the stakes are so high that the urgency of action and change made the slowness of research and related bureaucracies unbearable at times. The challenge moving forward is achieving the sustainability of this collective, youth-driven action research initiative, before we lose the battle to the demands of survival in the streets.

The stories that we will share in the following empirical section reflect this urgency of action and the urgency of working in the contact zone between the micro-worlds of children in adversity, policy-oriented research and policy-making, a contact zone that we have yet to articulate beyond tokenism and rehearsed spaces of participation.

What does ‘child participation’ look like within the contact zone of YPAR? It is necessary to situate our practices and definition of ‘child participation’ in the research and policy making process in the sense set forth by Cahill:

“We need to be wary of broad applications of the term ‘participation’ because it often masks tokenism and the illusion of consultation ... it is important to articulate more clearly what we mean by youth participation in collaborative research and to specify the degrees of participation in our practice” (Cahill, 2007a, p. 299).

In the design of our project in Kampala we were careful to avoid tokenism, although the challenges of sustainability in order to ensure the continuation of our contact zone in the streets and in policy spaces have presented significant roadblocks in our YPAR process.

We urge scholars working with children in adversity in general, and children outside of family care in particular, to move beyond thematic or theoretical discussions of their lives and experiences of violence and toward long-term YPAR endeavors that enable young people to speak for themselves and propose ways of catalyzing social change in their daily lives that can be scaled up to collective strategies against violence in the policy realm (Ritterbusch 2012, 2013).

Introducing the Protagonists

The following table summarizes the subgroups of children outside of family care that participated throughout the research phases.

Table 1: Research Population and Subgroups of Children Outside of Family Care

Subgroups	Boys	Girls	Age Group	Method Used	Total
Street-connected children 1	10	10	12-17	Life History Interview with Social Cartography Component	20
Street-connected children/youth 2	5	5	16-25	Life History Interview	10
Street-connected children 3	5	5	5-8	Place Perception Interview; Auto-photography	10
Domestic workers 1	5	6	12-17	Life History Interview; Place Perception Interview; Auto-photography	11
Domestic workers 2	9	15	12-17	3 Focus Groups	24
Sexually exploited children 1	5	6	12-17	Life History Interview; Place Perception Interview; Auto-photography	11
Sexually exploited children 2	0	8	12-17	1 Focus Group	8
Total					94

The three subgroups were selected in order to explore three different realms of adversity in the lives of children outside of family care in Kampala and surrounding areas. The first principal subgroup of children outside of family care included **street-connected children** divided into three groups based on age and situation in the streets. The first group of street-connected children included girls and boys between the ages of 12 and 17 currently living on the streets or connected to the streets as their principal means of survival. The naming of this subgroup addresses the classic debate on naming and framing ‘street children’ and the difficulty of categorizing children’s activities on and connection to the streets (see Ritterbusch 2013 for further discussion). The second group of street-connected children included female and male adolescents and young people between the ages of 16 and 25. By working with the age group, the YPAR team was able to consult with adolescents and young people who have survived longer periods on the streets and who were working toward transitioning off the streets. We were also able to gain insight on strategies of resilience and the survival strategies they used to avoid violence and death on the streets. The third group of street-connected children included girls and boys between the ages of 5 and 8. We worked with this age group in order to understand the dynamics of violence and resilience in the younger age groups and used principally visual methods in order to facilitate a more interactive research process.

The second principal subgroup of children outside of family care included male and female **domestic workers** between the ages of 12 and 17. This subgroup included children in situations of exploitation and child labor who work in households as domestic workers. Inclusion criteria included children who had been pushed into work (and out of their homes) by family members or who sought work as a survival mechanism after leaving their households. Due to the requests of participants and particular sensitivities, this subgroup included both individual and group data collection techniques. The third principal subgroup of children outside of family care included **sexually exploited** boys and girls between the ages of 12 and 17. This subgroup of children often interconnected with the street-connected group of children, as situations of sexual exploitation begin at both street-based and club, bar or brothel-type locations in the city. Due to the requests of participants and particular sensitivities, this subgroup also included both individual and group data collection techniques.

While the three realms of adversity outside of family care are not the only receptor sites where children seek refuge from violence, abuse or neglect in their households, the streets, networks of sexual exploitation (in the streets, clubs, bars, etc.) and spaces of child labor in households are three common, interconnected realms where children find ways to survive outside of family care. While beyond the scope of this article, we have also explored dynamics of violence and resilience within child protection institutions as receptors of children outside of family care (see authors forthcoming).

Methodology and Qualitative Research Design:

The research design guiding the formal data collection draws from methodological approaches in various fields including children’s geographies (auto-photography), qualitative GIScience (cartographic visualizations of violence), environmental and behavioral geography (cognitive and activity mapping), and ethnographic techniques (participant observation, interviews and focus groups). These methods were employed with the three subgroups of children outside of family care during a period of eighteen months in multiple study sites within and surrounding Kampala. Our team utilized different methodologies tailored to the context of each age group and subgroup of children, taking into account the circumstances contributing to potential revictimization and evaluating which set of techniques (visual, group or individual) were the most appropriate. We also worked with our team of youth researchers when selecting the appropriate methods for each subgroup and during the design of the research instruments employed in each project phase. Given the intensity of the contexts of adversity where data collection took place, the YPAR team was trained to listen to the needs of the children who participated in each activity and to empathetically evaluate their well being during the activities.

The complete data set includes 122 qualitative data components including 35 fieldnote summaries from participant observation completed by peer leaders and university-based researchers, 52 semi-structured life history interviews (including a social cartography component completed with subgroup 1), 31 auto-photographic exercises followed by place-perception interviews, and 4 focus groups with subgroups 2 and 3 (see Table 1 for subgroup and method distribution). Future search activities were also conducted at the close of formal data collection as a means of articulating goals individually and thinking through possible routes to achieving them in a collective, youth-driven space.

Aligned with our previous discussion of child-led and youth-driven participatory action research (YPAR), the multiple methods were employed as a means of opening a window on the world of violence, adversity and resilience in the grounded experiences and lives of children outside of family care. All data collection, analysis and dissemination activities were led by the young researchers involved in the project, including 4 street-connected youth between the ages of 16 – 25 who are transitioning out of street life and 2 university-trained youth researchers who provided training and technical support throughout the phases.



Photograph 3: Child-Led Interviewing

Our youth-driven research process involved child-led interviewing techniques. Children across the three subgroups living in extreme conditions of adversity were interviewed by one of the street-connected youth researchers. When conducting research on violence, peer-led interviewing is a strategy that helps convert spaces of potential revictimization, fear and shame into safe spaces of rapport and empathy between peers and in many cases friends who hold a deep understanding of the stories and experiences their peers choose to share.

Furthermore, an adult-driven data collection process surrounding experiences of violence and resilience makes the research process more susceptible to the revictimization of participants, whereas a peer- and child-led process reframes the research environment as a space for collective reflection on the past, present and future and creates contexts for self-empowerment where children and young people recognize the strength implicit in their survival strategies and resilience.

Participatory Forum with Policy Makers and Institutional Actors



Photograph 4: Participatory Forum, Window on Children’s Worlds Outside of Family Care

In order to disseminate principal findings and visualize children’s experiences of violence in the study sites, the YPAR team chose a strategic public space as part of a political meeting in Kampala for a ‘Photo Voice’ Exhibition. This participatory venue for the dissemination of preliminary findings with policy actors was one strategy the YPAR team employed to destabilize the hierarchies implicit in traditional academic conferences and contexts of research dissemination. As illustrated in Photograph 4, the entire YPAR team led by youth researchers explained the visual content and narratives they have selected for showcasing to the different policy actors and program officials who passed by our

booth. The preparation for the participatory forum was also an important exercise that served as a transition from data collection to the participatory data analysis process. Youth researchers led the selection of content during various preparatory sessions of reading through transcriptions, ranking the most urgent stories to be communicated and selecting the photographs and maps to be printed portable stands and displayed for the public. There was a lively exchange between the youth researchers and multiple policy actors who were interested in learning more about the methods we have employed to create this window on the world of child adversity. We also inspired some critical dialogue from the military who accompanied the First Lady to the event as they disapproved of the story children shared about police violence and rape. This example illustrates the manner in which children’s voices, as they *want* and *choose* to be heard, are muted in public policy and politicized spaces.

Youth-Driven Qualitative Data Analysis

The qualitative data analysis process involved the following seven phases, which were implemented within a participatory framework.

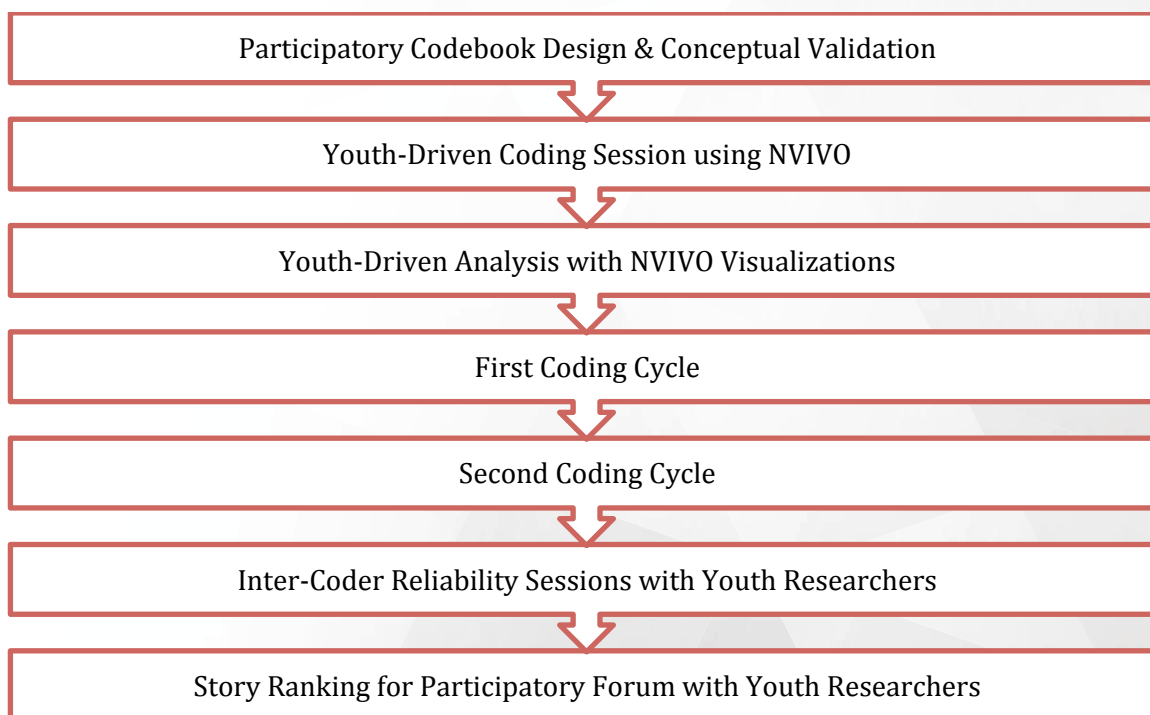


Figure 1: Participatory Coding Process

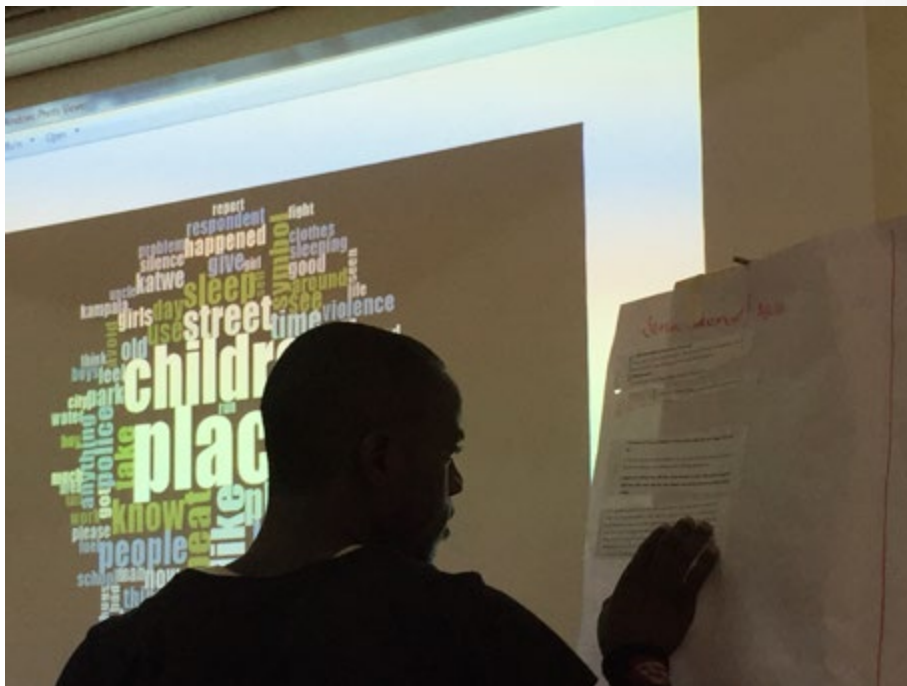
Following the participatory forum, the data analysis process consisted of coding using NVIVO11 and participatory analysis of all 122 data components, including transcribed interview, focus group and visual data and the fieldnotes written by the 6 youth researchers.

Following transcription of the audios, multiple sessions with all members of the YPAR team were held in order to construct the codebook (see Appendix 2). Codebook design was particularly important in our analytic process as the definitions and understanding of each analytical category were not limited to academic definitions or the formal citation of definitions or typologies of violence and resilience in relevant literature. Instead, the YPAR team prioritized youth researchers' understandings and experiences of each category and placed their conceptualizations at the center of the codebook design process. The codebook was designed using the three overarching analytic themes including contexts of adversity, violence, and resilience, which youth researchers defined as 'overcoming violence'.

Youth researchers led these preliminary analysis sessions and supported with the organization of the data set by ranking the most important narratives and photographs and prioritizing which data were the most urgent to communicate to the world. Subsequently, NVIVO11 was used to code the entire data set into the 21 thematic nodes and 15 sub-thematic nodes as shown in the codebook and final node count (See Appendix 1).

Subnodes were selected by the YPAR team by grouping common themes into more specific categories. Two coding cycles were completed by two separate coding teams using NVIVO11 in order to establish inter-coder reliability; however, we also involved the street-connected youth researchers in multiple coding sessions in NVIVO11 in order to ensure that the interpretation of each item in the codebook was consistent with their interpretation of each story and corresponding category/node in NVIVO11. We contend that child participation in the interpretation of data is an important element of inter-coder reliability that is left out of child-focused qualitative research and analytic processes.

Throughout the data analysis process, we employed Saldaña's (2009) model of a two-tiered process of descriptive and axial coding within our YPAR framework of placing children and youth participation at the center of the analytic process. Word clouds and word frequency tables were also developed in order to guide collective analysis sessions and discussions of the data with youth researchers (see Photographs 5-8). As shown in the photographs, youth researchers were also trained in the use of NVIVO11 and participated in multiple participatory coding sessions and visual analysis of the word clouds reflecting their peers' voices.



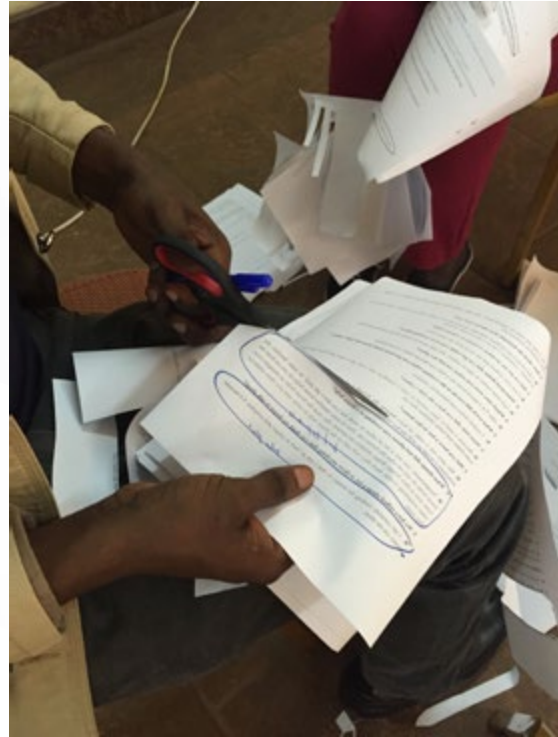
Photograph 5: Youth-Driven Analysis Sessions - Word Clouds and Story Ranking



Photograph 6: Youth-Driven Analysis Sessions



Photograph 7: Youth-Driven Analysis Sessions



Photograph 8: Youth-Driven Analysis Sessions

YPAR Training: Building the AfriChild Community of Youth Researchers

The YPAR team received intensive training on the topic of violence against children in Uganda, on child protection protocols throughout the study, on data collection techniques and institutional research ethics protocols, and analytical training including the use of computer-aided qualitative data analysis software (NVIVO11).



Photograph 9: YPAR Team

Throughout the training, there was an emphasis on practical skills and feedback between team members as a means of generating a collective identity within the group of youth researchers. Each day of training began with practical field experience to apply and reflect on the new research skills and the afternoons involved group discussions to reflect on the day and to make adjustments regarding our interpersonal approaches and personalities in the field or to make changes within the research instruments.

Beyond technical research training and aligned with the YPAR framework underpinning this qualitative project, our research team worked to achieve research proficiency across generations, education levels and socio-economic difference. As Cahill reminds us, "... '[d]eep' participatory research *with*, rather than *on* participants requires that we take seriously the processes of collaboration and building a **community of researchers**, and that requires the development of research proficiency among all participants (Cahill, 2007a, p. 301). In this sense, Cahill's NYC-based YPAR collective sets an example for youth-driven research teams as to how to frame "[child/youth] participation as an approach (as opposed to a method) which takes seriously young people's agency and capacity. It is crucial to ask what domains of research and action are young people involved in (or excluded from) and what is the purpose of their involvement?"

There is a qualitative difference between a project in which young people are intimately involved in framing research questions and one in which they just assist in the collection of data" (Cahill, 2007a, p. 299). Moving forward, therefore, we must constantly reflect on the domains in which children and young people participate and actively carve out spaces in which their agency and transformative, collective energy can be cultivated for long-term action and youth-driven contributions to the evidence base on their lives and futures.

Located within the supportive environment of the Makerere university-based AfriChild Center, the community of youth researchers for our project began to establish trust and a long-term working relationship through the phases of this project.

Results: Situating VAC Narratives

In the following empirical section, we contextualize the range of violence and strategies of resilience of Ugandan children through the stories, maps and photographs of children and adolescents who have experienced violence in the streets, who are victims of exploitation or who have been subject to situations of violence and exploitation within situations of domestic work.

Contexts of Adversity and Violence in the City:

As noted by researchers in multiple research contexts in Africa, the very existence of children living, working and constantly present on city streets in Uganda "is viewed as the antithesis to the globalized image of an appropriate childhood where children are located within the realms of the home and family" (Van Blerk 2005, 9; Ennew 1996). Within the Ugandan context in particular, previous work has found that "... street

children are living in direct contradiction ... [to the ‘good’ childhood] ... creating an antagonistic relationship to Ugandan society” (Van Blerk 2006, 52). We contend that the stigmatization of children and adolescents outside of family and traditional household contexts extends to other contexts of child adversity, including domestic workers and sexual exploitation and the following sections reveal testimonies from these multiple subgroups surviving outside of family care.

This perceived deviance is part of the process of stigmatization and profiling that is used to justify forms of violence against children in multiple contexts outside of family care and household settings. In the following excerpts from different data components, children reveal their experiences of violence perpetrated by family members, police officers, city council workers, thugs, business owners, street vendors, tourists, bosses, and other individuals in the spaces these children and adolescents occupy. As visualized in Appendix 1, the most frequently mentioned forms of violence within the data set across subgroups are concentrated in the following three categories: **physical violence** (487 references), **psychological violence** (479 references) and **sexual violence** (197 references). Although qualitative research does not provide generalizable data for policy makers, the saturation of stories and examples of violence, narrated by children themselves, should be taken just as seriously when designing and improving child-focused public policies.

The following **narratives of violence against children** are examples of the three forms of violence most emphasized by the 94 children, adolescents and young people across subgroups and the situations of adversity that characterize daily life for these children outside of the household. Following the three sections containing children’s narratives of on violence they have experienced, we include children’s narratives on overcoming violence and resilience within these contexts of extreme adversity and violence.

Contexts of Adversity Outside of Family Care:

Children outside of family care across the three subgroups opened a window on their worlds of adversity including the forms of violence within the household that pushed them to the street or toward domestic work and their experiences of violence in the streets or in their contexts of domestic work. Before contextualizing these stories, we present the places and contexts of adversity, such as Photograph 10 taken by the YPAR team during fieldwork at night. These contexts of extreme adversity include unlivable conditions of sanitation and stigmatization that contribute to the accumulation of different forms of marginalization and micro-violence within the daily lives of these children and adolescents.



Photograph 10: Contexts of Adversity – Sleeping Conditions of Street-Connected Children

One participant describes the extreme circumstances that street-connected children and adolescents endure:

“They sleep in bad and dirty places. You can even find one sleeping near human excrement. Sometimes you come across a child and you even think they are dead from the way they are sleeping ... and the dirty places they sleep in...” (16-year-old **street-connected girl**, Life history interview with social cartography, October 15, 2015).

Furthermore, the social stigmatization of children outside of the household also creates contexts in which the violence against them is both normalized and justified:

“When we walk around, we are looked at in a disgusted manner. For example, if I come and sit here, they think I am a thief; and they can even beat me up or chase me away because every child who lives on the street or comes from Kisenyi is

branded a thug or a thief. Yet most of them are actually not” (12-year-old **street-connected boy**, Life history interview with social cartography, October 14, 2015).

Adults and older youth in the streets also create contexts of adversity for children by facilitating their addiction to fuel sniffing:

“The fuel sellers are the worst...Because the fuel they sell to us is dangerous and the more you sniff it, the more you shorten your life expectance” (14-year-old **street-connected boy**, Life history interview with social cartography, October 14, 2015).

Additionally, children and adolescents occupying marginal, unprotected spaces in society are the ones most vulnerable to situations of trafficking, as their zones of marginality are often targeted as pick up zones:

“...there is a place where they take children; I was once taken there. They come around during day and tell you to follow them for sweets or anything else, they put you in their car and take you to some place with isolated buildings, the buildings have no one in them, and they are spacious though incomplete. In there you find very many children...both girls and boy of young age so they can find you minding your business, they call you to buy sweets but then hold your mouth, put you in their vehicle and take you...they take you out and sell you off, others are taken to be prostitutes. There are some people...whites who come and buy these children and take them out of Uganda and use them for anything they like...they once called Chinese who also came bought the children, as many as possible. Mature women are taken and sold off to practice prostitution that is all I know. May be about taking them outside countries, You could only hear them telling one another about the different sales of children they had made and to whom they sold the children for just about 50000 shillings or 100,000 shillings or 150,000 shillings so the children are taken but from the time police intervened, the practice stopped and even the house was demolished” (17-year-old **sexually exploited girl**, Place Perception Interview, May 16, 2016).

Children’s Narratives of Physical Violence:

Physical violence was documented by the YPAR team as one of the most common forms of violence against children both inside and outside of their households. Across the subgroups including a total of 94 children, adolescents and young people, physical violence was referenced 487 times. The following stories were prioritized by youth researchers in the data analysis process as the most urgent to communicate to the world. The definition of physical violence used by the youth researchers to guide the coding process included acts such as beating, burning, stabbing or cutting and other forms of physical harm and violence experienced across subgroups (see Appendix 2 for the complete codebook).

At the beginning of the life history interviews, children described the factors pushing them to the streets or to domestic work, including experiences of physical violence and torture from family members and other actors in their communities:

“She (my mother) beat me and hurt me, you can even see the scar on my thigh...Here on my arm...she cut me with a knife saying, ‘Let me put this mark on you, you will always remember me’. Whenever I remember this incident, I feel like crying, it reminds me of the ‘hell’ I went through living with that woman...she used to torment me. Like you can be there and you do not have love for the child in your heart...she used not to appreciate anything that I did. There came a time when I also hated her. I would spend time in a video hall. One time she even locked me out of the house and I went hungry for one week and said I would not eat food at her house...She changed the padlock to her house and would leave money with the neighbors for her other children’s food. I was not eating at her house and I had to fend for myself [*neneyiya*]. During all that time I had an idea of sleeping with men to get food, and indeed I started doing that. I started sleeping with men, sometimes they would not pay me or would give me as little as Shs. 2,000...the behavior of my mother pushed me to do that” (16-year-old **sexually exploited girl**, Life history interview, May 15, 2016).

“She would deny me food, beat me, make me do all the domestic chores like digging fetching water and yet her children were seated. Later I said enough is enough and I couldn’t stay with her anymore, at 13 years I left and got a man who used me and got me pregnant. One day I went to him when I was 8 months pregnant and he told me the day he will see me again he will kill me. Up to now I am still selling myself because I don’t have any other source of income” (**Sexually exploited girls**, 12-17 years old, Focus Group, May 24, 2016).

“In case she sent me and I took long to come back she would beat me using big sticks or anything she would lay her hands on...It could be a mingling stick...yet I had gone to a far place...there’s even a time she almost cut me with a knife. I ran and it fell on the ground...” (12-year-old **street-connected boy**, Life history interview with social cartography, October 16, 2015).

“...[if] you are a half sister to the others, they tend to discriminate. As girls, we tend to get challenges from our uncles. They may decide to ‘*kwefunza*’ (to sexually abuse you), yet you don’t have any one to tell. This may push you to find work” (Male and female **domestic workers**, 12-17 years old, Mixed-Gender Focus Group, April 21, 2016).

“My step mother did not like me at all ... She even attempted to kill me by mixing a drug for cattle into my food; fortunate enough our cattle keeper noticed that there was something fishy in the food and reported to my father...” (15-year-old **street-connected boy**, Life history interview with social cartography, October 16, 2015).

“... when I came to my step mother’s place ... I stopped going to school yet I wanted to study. She didn’t take me to school, she used to beat me a lot, I used to fetch a lot of water...My step mother wanted to kill me ...She used to throw knives at me but I would dodge them so whenever I dodged the knives she would deny me food and sometimes she would lock me outside and I slept in the cold then I contracted a disease but when I told her she didn’t give me any medical attention... I would shiver at night so when she refused to care for me I left” (12-year-old **street-connected boy**, Life history interview with social cartography, October 17, 2015).

“...there used to be some rebels that would come and torture us at night demanding things like saucepans, mattresses which government used to distribute to us in the villages and they would take them at gun point. We would inevitably surrender everything to them in order to save our lives. This is the very reason why I left the village and came this way...” (16-year-old **street-connected girl**, Life history interview with social cartography, October 16, 2015).

“My stepfather beats us continuously without getting tired. You found me nursing my younger sibling after being beaten for failing to go to the mosque...This step father of mine wanted to rape me. When my mother complained about it, she would get beaten. He would hang us on the tree with a rope. Before I went to the village he beat me seriously and I was admitted to the hospital...I would be beaten with electricity wires...People told my mother that I was suffering and that I was not looking okay. She used to stay at Katwe. My mother reported my father to the authorities and that’s when he let me go...He would beat me and my mouth gets full of saliva. He had promised to kill me...He broke the knees of my brother with a hammer before he died. He would beat you even when you’re playing, hit your head on the wall. Most people said my brother died because of the severe beating from my father...” (17-year-old female **domestic worker**, Life history interview, March 31, 2016).

“One time, I broke the water container when I tripped while coming from the well. When I told my step mother she demanded to know what I did to break it...She was not satisfied with the response, she instead beat me up...then my father came and asked why the container was leaking. She told him what I had told her earlier...He held this hand and twisted it. ... [starts crying...] he held my hand and put it in the fire as I watched! He said to me, ‘I have burned your hand for breaking the container...never break any other container again’ ... He pushed my hand in the fire for some time ... I wished he could take me to hospital after burning me! He did not help!...After burning it he told me to go away somewhere. I could not go anywhere, I was very young. I was eight years old...He locked me in the house. I was not allowed to go anywhere. The hand was rotting away and maggots were visible. Whenever they were eating, they could dismiss me saying that, ‘You smell, go away!’ After some time, he went to visit a ‘musezi’ [cannibal] and told her to take me and do what she wanted with me ... She came and they made a written agreement. They also asked my stepmother to sign ...

She declined and asked her husband, ‘Are you selling your daughter to get money?’ ... she called an old woman who first received us on the village. She informed her of dad’s plan, she intervened and asked him to take me to the hospital. She threatened him that if he did not take me to hospital, she would call for his arrest. He said, ‘I don’t have anywhere I am taking the child...she smells a lot...I don’t care if she died...her mother also died!’...” (Male and female **domestic workers**, 12-17 years old, Mixed-Gender Focus Group, April 21, 2016).

“This was my step mother ... She continued to mistreat me and one day she called me in the kitchen, and burnt me with hot cooking oil. She accused me of not caring for her baby and told me that she wanted me to always remember her by the mark/scar on my thigh I received when she burnt me with cooking oil” (Male and female **domestic workers**, 12-17 years old, Mixed-Gender Focus Group, April 21, 2016).

In the context of the streets, children discuss their experiences of physical violence from police officers, adults and older youth in the streets and business owners:

“In Kisekka they rape girls, they even burn the children while they are sleeping in the sacks...they burned a child while he was sleeping...Those big guys burned him with the petrol they sniff...They ran away. What they do is they tie the sack like the KCCA guys, they pour a little of their petrol on you and light up. So whoever wakes up first has to rush and get some water to put out the fire and then untie the sack” (12-year-old **street-connected boy**, Life history interview with social cartography, October 17, 2015).

“They [street-connected children] have a right to protection, so chasing them from one place to another, tear gassing them [Throwing cans of tear gas onto them] without a valid reason is not good...Tear gas is used by politicians and recently it has been because of elections. The issue is, when they spray tear gas at people, even the innocent children are caught up in the situation and they are sprayed too. Some of us who do work in the city e.g. hawking snacks lose their things [throw the buckets of samosas] and run away...One morning, it had rained and the children had already come to Job’s place as they usually do. I was also there taking tea when the police came in but they did not pay attention to me. They started beating the children one by one [slapping, kicking, beating using batons, etc.]. They beat up the children without telling them the reason why they were being beaten. They harassed the children to the extent that whenever the children would meet them they would just run away” (13-year-old **sexually exploited boy**, Place Perception Interview, May 17, 2016).

“In Kisenyi, I used to go to Kampala Road or Jinja Road to beg ... they [Abayaye (*older youth, thugs*)] beat me and even threw me into drainage!...When they ask you for some money and you refuse, they will come and beat you...they beat me and strangled me and even bled from the nose...Kisenyi people are inhuman even when they know you they will not hesitate to push you into the water passage...I

was so much tortured from that place. I even drunk dirty water from a drainage...Someone beat me and tried to drown me in that drainage channel that's how I drunk the dirty water" (16-year-old **street-connected girl**, Life history interview with social cartography, October 16, 2015).

During the interviews and other data collection activities led by the youth researchers, children also described how they are brutally murdered by other actors in the streets:

"Here at Gaddafi. They have ever killed a child from here...One day a child went there because he had nowhere to sleep. So when he got there, he found a place to sleep and he slept. In the night while he was sleeping these drunk guys came along with beer bottles and they started fighting; so one of them threw a bottle which hit the child on the head then the other said, "What is this 'dog'[child] doing here?". So they stabbed the child to death with broken bottles and then ran away but after they came back and dumped the body in the drainage channel where his body was found the following morning. But the report they made was that the child fell into the drainage channel and it was registered as the cause of death" (12-year-old **street-connected boy**, Life history interview with social cartography, October 17, 2015).

"There is some thug (*muyaye*) who killed a boy from that place [Kisenyi]...that boy wanted to sleep during the day and the thug (*muyaye*) came chasing us away, but the boy told the thug that he shouldn't chase him away because it is not his home. The thug brought a cane and started beating him...He beat him until his hair came off, his brains poured out...after killing the boy, I ran away and he threw a knife at me, which cut my finger. They do not want us to sit in this place" (7-year-old **street-connected boy**, Place Perception Interview, February 26, 2016).

"You know we always collect this metal scrap around garages, so sometimes you might find something that you think is useless to the mechanics but when you pick it, they beat you up. They even sometimes kill children from there...there's even one they burned to ashes...we were told about what happened...We were told that this boy had gone to look for metal scrap around a certain garage; the mechanics locked up the place; beat him up severely and later burned him...he was actually buried on the other side" (12-year-old **street-connected boy**, Life history interview with social cartography, October 16, 2015).

Police and other law enforcement authorities are also described by the children as major perpetrators of violence against them in the streets. Within the word frequency visualization of the entire data set, the word 'police' has a frequency of 2399 and is mostly mentioned in the context of violence against, rather than protection of, children on the streets. During the interviews and other activities, street-connected boys describe how they have been brutally beaten, tied in sacks and dragged through the streets by police and other public authorities:

“At night when we are sleeping in the sacks, sometimes the police or KCCA guys came and beat us...The KCCA normally beat us. There’s even a child that they pulled on the pavement until flesh came off his butt...You know when you sleep in a sack, your legs are inside so they held the upper part of the sack towards the head and pulled him; he had no way of defending himself so they kept on pulling the sack on the pavement towards the park until flesh came off his butt” (12-year-old **street-connected boy**, Life history interview with social cartography, October 16, 2015).

“Makerere is where I meet challenges of being taken by the police ... I was beaten and even they pulled a gun on me. The police man kicked me with his shoes right in my face when I was trying to stand up, I fell down and that is when they pointed at me and threatened to shoot me” (17-year-old **street-connected boy**, Life history interview with social cartography, October 15, 2015).

“They chase us; whoever is got gets his/her hands tied with a rope, then put onto a police car and is taken...There is one of my friends who was chased by police; as he was crossing the road near Owino, he was hit by a car and he died instantly. So, the problem we find is running away from police, sometimes we get accidents, sometimes we fall and break limbs, or hurt teeth or an injury. Those are the things children experience when they are chased by police” (17-year-old **street-connected boy**, Life history interview with social cartography, October 17, 2015).

During the interviews, focus groups and other data collection activities led by the team of youth researchers, children also describe the situations of physical violence they were subjected to in the context of domestic labor:

“He beat me so severely that I was vomiting blood and in addition he did not pay me yet I was working so hard from morning to evening” (**Male domestic workers**, 12-17 years old, Focus Group, April 18, 2016).

“They used to not allow me to go anywhere. They used to control me a lot, they would give me a lot of clothes to wash, my employer used to come home drunk, beat and kick me and as a result I had bruises all over my body. I used to call my family but they never used to pick the calls. So I stayed in this agony for 3 months. Eventually I left that home and got a new job. Here also they used to overwork and starve us; they never gave us where to sleep we used to sleep on the verandah. We would sleep late after midnight. I used to put on the same clothes for a full week. They used to mistreat me so much that I had to call my sister to come and get me out of there” (**Female domestic workers**, 12-17 years old, Focus Group, April 18, 2016).

“One day the goat ran away from me and went to the neighbor’s garden... It ate the neighbor’s maize, and they reported me. He insulted me and beat me...He asked me to lie down or beat me wherever he liked. I first resisted his command

but later lied down but he still beat me anywhere he liked... The same man burned me... I had collected firewood and was trying to put it up on *'kibanyi'* (a place above the fire place)... As I was coming down from the *'kibanyi'*, I knocked something and the food fell off one side. That is when he entered and started insulting me. He reached for my hand and got one of the hot sticks from the fireplace and burned me. When he released me I ran and slept outside... I came in the following morning and pleaded for forgiveness. Then I stole money and ran away to my mother” (14-year-old **male domestic worker**, Life history interview, April 8, 2016).

As narrated by the children across subgroups, situations of physical violence permeate all aspects of their daily lives and contexts, many times pushing them to the streets and to other exploitative, violent contexts.

Children’s Narratives of Psychological Violence:

Psychological violence was documented by the YPAR team as the second most common form of violence against children outside of family care. Across the subgroups including a total of 94 children, adolescents and young people, psychological violence was referenced 479 times. The following stories were prioritized by youth researchers in the data analysis process as the most urgent to communicate to the world. The definition of psychological violence used by the youth researchers to guide the coding process included acts such as verbal abuse, humiliation, stigmatization, social rejection, neglect and being forced to engage in traumatic activities such as cleaning a dead body (see Appendix 2 for the complete codebook).

During the interviews, focus groups and other data collection activities led by the youth researchers, children described the multiple contexts and experiences of psychological violence in the streets:

“My step father would sometimes come home drunk... My step father used to beat me, he used to deny me food; he used to chase me away from home saying that I am a prostitute; I am promiscuous; I am this and that; that I will steal his property; I eat his food; things like that... My mother used to be at work. My mother is poor, she had to work to look after/raise my young sibling. So, she had to bear with the situation” (16-year-old **street-connected girl**, Life history interview with social cartography, October 16, 2015).

“They do not want me to sit here. Even this lady does not want children to sit here, she’s right here. She is called *Mama Pilipili*. She doesn’t want children to sit here yet she is the one who sells the fuel (Naptha kerosene) to them... Children fight for fuel, for food and money. They beat you up and take away your money, they can even undress you” (8-year-old **street-connected boy**, Place Perception Interview, February 26, 2016).

“The bayaye...they chase us from there... We are chased away while we sleep” (8-year-old **street-connected boy**, Place Perception Interview, February 28, 2016).

“There are police men who chase us away each day. They do not want us to stay here. They tell us to vacate this place; they come in the night and beat us” (7-year-old **street-connected boy**, Place Perception Interview, February 26, 2016).

“Those that sell clothes and shoes...Normally when you pass by them they say that since you are a street child; you are a thief ...They say that ‘that one is a thief’ and they throw you out of the building and you have to look for whatever you want from outside ... Every time I go there they just chase us away they don’t want any of us there...They think every street child is a thief” (15-year-old **street-connected boy**, Life history interview with social cartography, October 14, 2015).

“The traders chase children away...they beat them and they abuse people and stone them ... Because they are dirty. They say that they will not get customers when they are there ... they push me and sometimes send me away ... When I report them to mom, she abuses me and blames me of being too soft saying I should beat them too” (8-year-old **street-connected girl**, Place Perception Interview, March 1, 2016).

“Some street children are forcefully defiled, people despise them; saying after all s/he is a street child [kyana kya ku bala], s/he is a nobody... I have been beaten and verbally abused” (16-year-old **street-connected girl**, Life history interview with social cartography, October 16, 2015).

These stories of banishment in urban space are a challenge to children’s right to the city and reflect discriminatory practices of profiling that perpetuate violence against them. Children also narrate their experiences of intimidation and abuse of authority from policy and city council workers:

“The City Council workers ... Like a week ago arrested us, took us to Muzaana. They took all our money removed our shirts yet we had not stolen anything. Actually it was our Chairman who came and bailed us out ... One day they came to where we stay in Kisenyi and they surrounded the whole area; then they packed all of us on their lorries and took us to Kampilingisa. They have their prison cells there one of them is called Black house. Children who misbehave or are unruly are kept in that special room called the Black house. They remove your shirt and lock you up for like one week and by the time you get out; you will be on the right track ... there used to be things that would come at night especially when the power was off. They were scary and they would make noise I think they are ghosts...one of the children got possessed by them and till now she has never stabilized... When she gets possessed, she faints and becomes unconscious...She ran mad” (14-year-old **street-connected boy**, Life history interview with social cartography, October 14, 2015).

“There is a tall man there [Muleefu] and he is a police officer. He mistreats children ... He finds them with things. Even if they have not stolen them, he confiscates the things and sells them. You see the police post in that area, the police post in Muzaana. Every child they find with scrap s/he has collected, they confiscate his/her things. They have confiscated mine twice. But the children are usually not in the wrong, just after hustling to get money, they confiscate their things...He puts on [clothes] like a civilian but his trousers are for a police officer. He confiscates their [children’s] things” (13-year-old **street-connected boy**, Life history interview with social cartography, October 15, 2015).

“... There is one I got, he came [to the street context of commercial sexual exploitation] ... bought me and took me ...I do not know exactly where he took me, because they usually take us at night and you cannot really figure out where you are going. He was rich, he had a car. He took me to his house (it was big). I noticed that he was acting strange because he was not up to doing what he had taken me to do. When we got to the house, he started doing his own things; he sat alone. Later, he asked me if I really knew what had brought me and I told him no. He held me by my hand and took me to a secluded room. He showed me something... I was very scared ... When we got to that room --- there is a fridge and in it there was a woman’s dead body. The woman seemed to be old. When he opened the fridge, I got so scared [nenekangannyo] and I asked him who the woman was --- I wanted to make an alarm, he told me to keep silent. He told me that he would give me all the money I wanted only if I did one thing: get that body, bathe it, apply makeup, dress it up and bring it back to the fridge. Then you can go. I first sat down and reflected on what exactly I was going to do. He then asked me if I was up to doing the task and if not then he would figure out what to do to me. He said that I was going nowhere; that I would stay in that house forever, he told me to do it, that nothing would happen to me. He also said that if I decided to go, something bad would happen to me. He then helped me, I took the water, bathed the dead body” (17-year-old **sexually exploited girl**, Place Perception Interview, May 21, 2016).

In the context of domestic work, children describe their experiences of psychological violence:

“They never listened to us, they never respected us, and they would look at us as dogs. They would look down on us” (**Female domestic workers**, 12-17 years old, Focus Group, April 18, 2016).

“I used to work for a very cruel woman who used to call me names when instructing me to do things ... They never used to allow me to sit with them like after lunch yet I wanted to also feel loved; they would tell me to go and sit on the verandah and eat from there. They would not even allow me to make friends with the children in the home because their mother would tell them that I was a mere maid she brought to work. I used to eat last after everyone else had finished eating and they would collect leftover food including the baby’s leftover food and give it

to me to eat. There was a neighbor who used to sympathize with me but my employer used to abuse her asking her why she felt pity for me as if she is the one who brought me. I used to cry so much. I used to sleep on a sack on the floor even though there were some free mattresses. One of the children who was in P7 used to despise me. My wage was 20,000/= but sometimes she could not pay it in full. One time when I got my pay, I bought some clothes but my employer burned them all...” (**Female domestic workers**, 12-17 years old, Focus Group, April 18, 2016).

“There was a time when he was so furious as if he wanted to beat me up. He called me and asked me whether I had cooked food for the children. So he found everything done and said that if he had found anything not done, he would have beaten my head. It scared me that one day he would beat me ... There is another time, when he brought food...he brought peas and matooke. He told me to cook it. After it was ready, he picked it and took it inside the house. He ate it with his children. It was lunch. He made it lunch and supper because it was holiday time, children were at home. I did not eat that day [Silence] ... I asked myself what mistake I had made, but could not remember any!” (17-year-old **male domestic worker**, Life history interview, April 7, 2016).

“I discovered that if your employer is not your tribemate this can bring problems. The lady I was working for was a Munyankole and it seems it was one of the causes of not getting on well with her. For instance one day I came home with a chapatti and shared it with one off her young children. When the mother saw this, she cautioned me never to share my eats with her children ... it really hurt me so much that I cried. I lost my self-esteem because of this. But all the same I did not show it to her, I continued with doing my work as always...at times they would speak in their language about me and laugh and as a person I would be offended. So I realized that if you are not the same tribe as your employers this can cause discrimination” (**Male domestic workers**, 12-17 years old, Focus Group, April 18, 2016).

These narratives of children’s experiences of psychological violence further contextualize how their daily activities are embedded in contexts of toxic stress and emotional distress that propel them toward other contexts of risk and violence in pursuit of both emotional and physical refuge.

Children’s Narratives of Sexual Violence and Sexual Exploitation:

Experiences of sexual violence, including sexual exploitation, were documented by the YPAR team as the third most common form of violence against children outside of family care. Across the subgroups including a total of 94 children, adolescents and young people, sexual violence was referenced 197 times. The following stories were prioritized by youth researchers in the data analysis process as the most urgent to communicate to the world. The definition of sexual violence used by the youth researchers to guide the coding process included acts such rape, sodomy, sexual exploitation, sexual abuse and any sexual act forced on children (see Appendix 2 for the complete codebook).

During the interviews, focus groups and other data collection activities led by the youth researchers, children described the multiple contexts and experiences of sexual violence and sexual exploitation:

“Abiliga...practices homosexuality on young boys...All the children around there know that he is a homosexual and that once he takes you to his place you cannot survive...They told me that once you get to his house; he tells you to put off your trousers as he also undresses completely then as you are sleeping he fondles you and then he forces you into the act against your wish” (15-year-old **street-connected boy**, Life history interview with social cartography, October 16, 2015).

“You can be seated there then a guy comes and pulls you to a dark corner and he rapes you when everyone is watching...Yes there’s a girl though I don’t know her name she used to stay here with us but after she had been raped she started fearing this place so she comes by once in a while...Even here at *Kibaati* they just raped two girls not long ago; they don’t stay this side but when they failed to find a place they decided to go sleep there but they were raped and they were left naked while others were left with nothing...Here at Nakivubo channel they wanted to rape me and I ran away...I was sleeping but when I was awoken by the feeling of nakedness, they had undressed me and even removed my knickers so I screamed and screamed but he was fighting me and holding my mouth so I screamed even harder until he released me and he told me ‘*Genda olye enkoko yo*’ (you should go and celebrate) then he ran away” (17-year-old **street-connected girl**, Life history interview with social cartography, October 19, 2015).

The night is even more dangerous for girls, as they are often raped and violently beaten by both community members, older children and outsiders:

“The girls that I stay with; sometimes they bring me boys but in response I just beat them up ... Because you see Esther was raped and now she is expecting ... She was on her way to the other sleeping place. In the Kisenyi Park two boys followed her past the police post; she did not know what they were up to. When she reached the corridor, they lifted her up and took her to a certain car, raped her there and brought her back to the corridor ... Actually when they ask her, she

confirms that she is pregnant but cannot disclose that she was raped. The whites told her not to abort. They send her 4000/= daily to ensure that she gets something to eat. You see abortion is very common among these street girls; almost whoever gets pregnant they end up aborting. It is Esther that has retained the pregnancy. One girl has aborted twice and she is pregnant now ... So some have aborted once, others twice, like that ... You see most of them sell their bodies/are involved in prostitution [*Betunda*]. There where you have found us, there is a woman called Big Mama; she stays with us and her children are our colleagues. Behind Big Mama's house, there are some rental houses and you find there girls. These girls practice prostitution; the very reason I had to part ways with them. They only come out at night but even during day they do it. They only sleep in the morning hours ... The men that buy them are not all from here. Some of them come from Katwe" (16-year-old **street-connected girl**, Life history interview with social cartography, October 14, 2015).

"Life becomes hard for a street girl during night. You see when people see these girls meandering at night they think the girls are interested in prostitution yet others are just raped. Like me I was just walking and two men grabbed me made me unconscious only to gain my consciousness I was in the hospital...I do not know what exactly followed because they started by beating me up only to understand when I was in the hospital...I conceived" (16-year-old **street-connected girl**[2], Life history interview with social cartography, October 14, 2015).

"You know here on the street we have got some thugs [*Abayaye*] that usually rape us while we are sleeping. You can be sleeping and on waking up you realize someone is already on top of you; in most cases you have no way out because these thugs usually carry knives and can easily stab you in case you refuse. Sometimes they would be very violent and force themselves on you while beating you at the same time ... Sometimes they would grab me as I walk around looking for some stuff to cover myself but it would always be in the night ... sometimes they could come like two of them and they all want to 'use you', rape you ... The last time I was raped, it was Hussein who arranged for it. At first I was in love with him because I was now a grown up girl. But later when I learnt about his character I decided to part ways with him. So one day I was walking and he came with three other thugs and they all used me to the point of death...It was around mid night; I had gone dancing but on my way back. It all happened because I had told Hussein that I was no longer in love with him. Previously he would protect me and nobody would touch me even when I would walk late in the night; because all his fellows knew that I was his girlfriend. But this time they all raped me and even broke one of my ribs ... I could not tell anybody about it. And you see after doing such things these thugs usually vacate the place and go elsewhere on other streets" (16-year-old **street-connected girl**, Life history interview with social cartography, October 16, 2015).

“...I am not even sure whether I got pregnant; I would at times feel much pain in my stomach, I did not know that I was pregnant and my mother kept on buying me some tablets. One day I just saw a lot of blood flowing out of me. Later the bleeding stopped but I kept on feeling something turn painfully within my womb/stomach. I almost died last year! My mother wanted to take me to Mulago but I said no, God is there, he will heal me. When I healed, I ran away from my mother and went to Kisenyi. While at Kisenyi, the pain resumed, my stomach was swollen and painful. I did not know that I was having an abortion. I could use hot water to massage my stomach. I could not even go to the toilet; I would ease myself from inside the house ... When I went to the City council I was told that I had an infection in my privates. I was so badly off, so they gave me some medication to swallow and some to insert in my privates” (16-year-old **street-connected girl**, Life history interview with social cartography, October 16, 2015).

“They raped Melissa here [Showing picture of a place] ... There are *bayaye* and girls, and they start touching here [Pointing] ... I was watching them and they barked at me and I ran away ... Melissa was raped while she was sleeping, they got a stick and pushed it there ... [Pointing] ... She was taken to the village” (5-year-old **street-connected girl**, Place Perception Interview, March 2, 2016).

“I was affected because after the rape I got sick and when they took me to hospital they tested my blood and they found that I had been infected with HIV...I fell sick for a long time but whenever I went to the clinic they would tell me that I had typhoid. I wondered what kind of typhoid it was that did not respond to treatment! ... It was then that some of my friends I usually hung out with suggested that I go to Mulago for a checkup. When I went to Mulago, I had my blood tested and the doctor came with the sad news that I had contracted a virus. I was a little confused and I asked, ‘What virus?’ he told me ‘HIV’. He told me I had to start taking drugs immediately because my CD4 count was very low. When I started taking the drugs, they really affected me so much that I was admitted at Mulago hospital. I explained my situation to the doctors and told them that I had nowhere to stay, but they told me that apart from the free medication, they couldn’t help me in any other way. I came out of hospital and used to sleep at the cinema hall for about a week. Actually my friends thought I had died because the situation in which they left me at hospital was bad. So when I returned, the first one to see me asked, ‘*Are you a ghost?*’ I told her that ghosts don’t have bones, I am alive. When she asked what was wrong with me I told her nothing because I didn’t want them to know. She however commented that I was looking good then and I told her that I was doing well. So for the past one year I have been taking ARVs” (17-year-old **street-connected girl**, Life history interview with social cartography, October 19, 2015).

Children also contextualize how they are sexually exploited in the streets and in detention centers by multiple actors including peers, police, strangers and family members:

“One time I went to this lady (the phone seller) and she asked me if I wanted to go back to school. I told her that I wanted to go back ... So she suggested that she get me somewhere to stay where they would give me food and also be able to go back to school. I agreed. She asked me if I wanted her to get me a person to stay with or I would rather go to her home and stay with her as I help her with work around the house. Because I had developed trust in her I agreed to go and stay with her at her home in Kawempe ... With time she began forcing me and using me (having sex with me). It later became a routine whereby whenever she would come back from work she would force me to sleep with her ...” (16-year-old **sexually exploited boy**, Life history interview, May 20, 2016).

“...I was 11 years old... I met a man and he told me, ‘Come and I buy you a sweet and food at the shop’. Remember I was hungry. So I went with the man. Along the way, he asked me if he should take me to his home to sleep and I accepted... he took me to a deserted building [*ekiyumbakyalawo*] and he told me that after I finish eating I sleep...He came and started caressing me [*ngaankwatirira*]...I told him to leave me alone, then I tried to make an alarm. He held my mouth tight and removed all my clothes...He ‘used me’ [had sex with me], ...He used me and ruptured my private parts [*nampasula*]...after which I started bleeding and the days that followed I started smelling; flies would be all around me. I did not look like I was a human being because I smelled badly. I went, sat on the street and started begging. That is where the policemen ... came and rounded me off /arrested me. They took me to Kampiringisa and I stayed there for some time. By the time I came out, I was older and I understood life better [*nganinamuakategeera*]. That is when I started selling myself ...” (17-year-old **sexually exploited girl**, Life history interview, May 15, 2016).

“...this is a police station I don’t like [Pointing to the Photograph 11 below] ... In Katwe, Kibuye...There is an Afande from this police station who raped me ... I was with my friends at Dancer’s Club and the policemen came, two got out and one got inside while the other stayed outside. My friends ran away and one police man held my hand saying he was taking me to the police station but he instead took me to his house and raped me ...We got onto the bodaboda [mototaxi], I thought he was taking me to the police station but he took me to his house and he used me ... He used me and later threw me out of his house ... he beat me saying I was a child and I should go away” (15-year-old **sexually exploited girl**, Place Perception Interview, May 20, 2016).



Photograph 11: Place photographed by a girl as representing violence

“Auntie owned a bar, so in third term she asked me to start working in her bar and I once again dropped out of school. I asked her, how much will you be giving me and she said that that the more men I sleep with the more money I will get but every man I would sleep with, she would be the one collecting the money and she would never give it to me ... She told me that I would need to sleep with men or else she was going to chase me away and I accepted since I had nowhere to go. She later took me to the hospital and when we went for checkup they said that I was still negative. She then told the doctor to put me on family planning because she never wanted me to have babies which would be an added burden to her ... There is a time I was home and she told me to bath and dress properly. Later she came with 5 men and they all entered at the same time and they would all use me one after the other. Other times she would bring me two men and that is how I lived while working for her at that bar. What I want to do is go for checkup because I don’t know what my status is at the moment ... One day I was removing clothes on a wire and three men came and knocked on the door, I told them that auntie was still at the bar and she hadn’t returned, as I was entering the house, they put a handkerchief on my mouth and they did whatever they wished to me and they said that I should be used since I am a prostitute. Later I went outside and started crying” (**Sexually exploited girls**, 12-17 years old, Focus Group, May 24, 2016).

“In the taxi park, I found boys who were also in a sorry state as I was, and together we started collecting scrap and we would combine our earnings and buy food and clothes ... and sleep ... Under the market stalls where they sell tomatoes. Early in the mornings, I would wake up and leave. Along the way, I would pick old sacs [*ebikutiya*] and empty bottles, which I would sell and get money... Together we collected scrap for a long time. It came to a point when I was big enough and the police arrested me for being on the streets. I was arrested and taken to Kampiringisa where I stayed until I was 12 years old. When I came back, I started ‘selling my body’ [*okwetunda*] (literally meaning she became a commercial sex worker). A man would come and ‘buy me’ [*omusajaajan’angula*]. He would tell me to go with him to his home, that he would give me money. After using me, he would refuse to pay and then he chases me away from his home. Sometimes they would beat me. However, during all this time, men have abused me so much [*bantulugunyizzanyo*] they use me and not give me a single coin. I have friends who help me; when they prepare food, they share with me. Nowadays I stay with that one but we do not have a mattress in the house. The clothes that we have, people just give us ... At night I borrow my friend’s shoes when I go to sell myself at Dancer or at Kiwa’s place. I saw that is what would help me survive but I realized that men would come, use me and leave without paying me. In fact I have been looking for work/jobs but people do not give them to me. Even the jobs I get, the employers mistreat me and I leave after 2-3 days. They also used to pay me between Shs. 1,000-1,500” (17-year-old **sexually exploited girl**, Life history interview, May 15, 2016).

“One time I was sleeping on the street, it was about 1:00am, there came a man from a car. He asked the women on the street if there were young children...He asked me to go with him so I can start living in his home, that he would pay me. So in my mind I thought he was taking me to work. So we went to Masajja-Gangu. When I got to the house, I realized there was neither a wife nor children but two other men. I went and bathed and ate food. I then went to sleep. Deep in the night, the man and his friend came to where I was sleeping. They started caressing me, and then I woke up. I asked the man what he wanted and he told me, ‘Keep quiet, if you make noise, I will slaughter you. When I got you, I just wanted a woman to have sex with.’ I kept quiet and he used me. When he finished the friend also came and used me. When they finished, they left a condom inside of me ... At 4:00am they dropped me where they had found me...at the old taxi park, where the lame sleep” (16-year-old **sexually exploited girl**, Life history interview, May 15, 2016).

“Being a commercial sex worker was very tough. The men used to beat us, they would refuse to use condoms or put it on but remove it without your knowledge. Some would leave a condom in you and you suffer with it you do not have money for medical treatment, you need help but have nowhere to get it, things like that. I for one, a man left a condom in me. I had to go to the hospital – KCCA Clinic to remove it and for treatment. They would beat me; it was tough” (17-year-old **sexually exploited girl**, Life history interview, May 21, 2016).

“Sometime back, my friend –Kizza used to take me to Kabalagala. While she seemed to be used to the place and many people knew her, for me it was strange and I did not understand the life there...It did not go well because they used to beat me from there...For instance you tell somebody to put on a condom and he refuses. If you insist, he beats you up and ask you if you are out of your mind and if you are really up to doing sex work [*wajjakukolaoba?*]...Even if you make an alarm, who will help you? Because I used to make noise and he would tell me that he would strangle me and leave me there to die. You cannot make noise. If he has hired a lodge room, you have to be strong, do it, he pays you and then you go away ... Some of them are not paid, they beat them, undress them and tell them to go naked. You see her get back home naked, with a polythene bag [*ekiveeraobaekikutiya*] wrapped around her. For some, their phones are stolen ... Like Kizza. She came back home with a polythene bag wrapped around her, she had been beaten and her phone had been stolen and she had not been paid ... She returned home at about 3:00am. She was coming from Kabalagala” (17-year-old **sexually exploited girl**, Life history interview, May 21, 2016).

“... a friend of mine got for me a job in a rich man’s house. This man had a dog, and told me that if I agreed to have sex with his dog, he would give me 120,000 per month. I accepted because it was the only way that I would provide for my brother. He would hold the dog and I bend over and the dog would have sex with me. This went on for a period of 2 years...I still go to the street up to now because I still need to provide for my brother. When I get money I send money to my

brother for food” (**Sexually exploited girls**, 12-17 years old, Focus Group, May 24, 2016).

“When I was taken to Luzira, I was taken to a room ... remember there are old men; there are some who behave like they own the prison [*beefulanti be bananyinikomera*] ... The next three weeks that followed I was sodomised...I was in the bathroom as I was bathing; there was no one else, that is where they found me. I tried to report them but nothing would progress... remember as a prisoner, they looked at me as a naïve person. No one listened to me. There is one warden [*katikiro*] who agreed to change me from that ward to another...I felt very bad. I was remaining with two weeks to be released. I was taken to the hospital, given medicine [*amakerenda*], treated and I healed. They later released me and I came back to the city” (17-year-old **sexually exploited boy**, Life history interview, May 16, 2016).

“Those are containers, they are in Kisenyi [Pointing to the photograph he took] ... This is where I used to sleep, but we really got problems there. Other boys would come in the night and sodomize us ... The time we started sleeping here, we were six boys. At night, other boys would come at night and sodomize us. The biggest challenge that I faced in this place was being cut on the forehead with a razorblade by one of the boys that sodomized us...At about 2:00am, he started by cutting our shorts/trousers he first took our money. He started by sodomizing my friend, for me I woke up when he was on me and my friend was crying. So I moved out and told him that I will report him. He then grabbed my hand and cut me on the forehead using a razorblade. That is the challenge I faced ... So the boy said that if my friend told anyone, he would kill my friend. I just kept quiet. Because if I told people, they would start backbiting and insulting me. So I decided to keep quiet” (13-year-old **sexually exploited boy**, Place Perception Interview, May 17, 2016).

“...we were sleeping. By the time we woke up, he was already sodomizing us (my friends and I). He was on me by the time we woke up...that was the first time, he started with me, he sodomized me. When I woke up, I saw him and asked him what he was doing to me. I told him that he was sodomizing me and that I would report him. He ran away. The next day, I went to the programme (at uncle Kiseka’s) where they took me to the clinic and gave me tablets and injections until I healed...” (13-year-old **sexually exploited boy**, Place Perception Interview, May 17, 2016).

Similar to the experiences of street-connected and sexually exploited girls, domestic workers also report sexual violence in the households where they engage in domestic labor:

“There was this lady that took me to Kasensero having promised to give me a job of selling passion fruits. This lady treated me very well as a son. She gave me special treatment and I was very different from other workers I used to sleep in

the main house unlike other workers. Even her children treated me very well and I felt good thinking that it was the end of troubles. I was doing my work with no problems and even saving some money some of which I used to do a side business of selling *mandaazi* alongside the passion fruits. One day when the children had gone to school this lady came to my bedroom; I woke up when she had removed my panties and was sitting on top of me; she forced me to have sex with her ... I felt very bad but I did not have anything to do because I solely depended on her; I did not have enough money for transport and neither did I know anybody in that place. She did this three times. One day I went to hospital and they tested my blood and found out that I had HIV” (**Male domestic workers**, 12-17 years old, Focus Group, April 18, 2016).

“... The older boy used to come and use me. He would find me in the bathroom or kitchen and use me ... Whenever he noticed that his mother was at work, he would come and have sex with me” (Male and female **domestic workers**, 12-17 years old, Mixed-Gender Focus Group, April 21, 2016).

“Some men in these homes we work us the house girls sexually abuse girls and sometimes they end up being pregnant. Consequently they are sent away and end up on streets with their babies. Some decide to get other men to support them who may just use and abandon them. Sometimes they end up contracting HIV/AIDS because they end up practicing prostitution” (**Female domestic workers**, 12-17 years old, Focus Group, April 18, 2016).

Street-connected girls are also victims of psychological, physical and sexual violence perpetrated by police and other law enforcement officials:

“Police are major perpetrators of torture ... a police man can find you seated and he calls you, ‘you girl first come here’. And the moment you refuse then you make sure you stop walking because if he comes and finds you again, he will just hit you with anything around him...In most cases they want to use you sexually” (16-year-old **street-connected girl**, Life history interview with social cartography, October 14, 2015).

“Police usually abuse children...they round/arrest and detain them. Sometimes they round them up and get money from them. A police man can find you and arrest you, he will say that if you do not want me to take you to police, let us go together to my home. If you refuse he takes you, frames an offense against you and starts to beat you” (16-year-old **street-connected girl**, Life history interview with social cartography, October 16, 2015).

“City Council just takes you by force...City Council goes there looking for street children even during night hours and they beat us up ... City council men can hit you with a baton in the legs and privates while you are deep asleep even dreaming” (16-year-old **street-connected girl**[2], Life history interview with social cartography, October 16, 2015).

“I started begging. By then I did not know where the Karamajong lived here in Kampala. I was not aware of how things move around here; I even did not know that Kampala Capital City Authority [KCCA] arrests children. So one day as I was begging, they tried to arrest me. I tried to run away from them and in the process I was hit by a bobaboda (mototaxi) as you can see here on my hand. I was arrested still and taken first to Naguru, then later on to Kampiringisa” (16-year-old **street-connected girl**[3], Life history interview with social cartography, October 16, 2015).

While stories of rape and sexual violence both within and outside the household penetrate the life histories of these girls and boys, they also contextualize the conditions of sexual exploitation within commercial sex zones and clubs, both street-based and in commercial establishments:

“I told her I could not go to stand at the street, (she worked at Dancer’s Night Club) because most people in Makindye knew me and they would tell my dad. She told me I was small and the customers would like my size, she told me she would bring me 3-4 men who can pay 10,000/= each. I stayed and she brought the men about 3-4, she would bring men then go away. And we got money for rent. Sometimes the men would not give me money and yet I had to give money to the person who had brought a man for me, some men would come with knives and after using you they just walk away without paying. And my friend would think they paid me money yet they were not giving me money because they knew you would not fight them; they would just walk away...Nonpayment after using me and using me without protection that is what hurt me most” (24-year-old **street-connected young woman**, Life history interview, December 12, 2015).

Children’s Narratives of Resilience: Exploring Safe Spaces, Survival Strategies and Mindsets that Build Pathways Out of Extreme Adversity

Beyond children’s narratives of physical, psychological and sexual violence, they also shared their stories of resilience and overcoming violence with the YPAR team. Across the subgroups including a total of 94 children, adolescents and young people, ‘resilience,’ as defined within the codebook, was referenced 561 times. The following stories were prioritized by youth researchers in the data analysis process as the most urgent stories of resilience to communicate to the world. The definition of resilience used by the youth researchers to guide the coding process included conceptual (re)framing using words such as ‘overcoming violence’, ‘survival strategies’, ‘ways of avoiding violence’ and ‘the capacity to quickly solve/suppress harsh conditions/difficulties’ (see Appendix 2 for the complete codebook). Youth researchers also framed this category in terms of decision-making: “overcoming violence is [a] ... vivid decision to move from a worse situation to slightly/better living conditions” (Codebook, YPAR Definition of Resilience, Appendix 2). While stories of resilience were drawn from the entire data set, the second subgroup of street-connected children and young people was included specifically to understand resilience and strategies for overcoming violence that have been employed by the street-connected youth researchers who led our research process and some of their peers who have also started to transition out of street life. Our YPAR team was interested in understanding what contributed to their positive pathways out of adversity in order to share the lessons they have learned with a broader audience.

In the midst of extreme adversity and violence in their daily contexts, therefore, what do children and adolescents outside of family care do to escape violent contexts and to survive on the streets or in other exploitative and unprotected contexts?

Children’s Survival Strategies Outside of Family Care

The following stories include some of the strategies these resilient young people have developed to survive in extreme contexts of adversity.

The first set of strategies deal with self-defense and children standing up against violence:

“The police...Like now a police man can come to you and ask if you have any documents or identification; when you say that you do not have they threaten to take you to prison but when his real intention is taking you to the lodge for sex. It has happened to me only that I am bold and **I challenged the policeman**. He told me, ‘Come here’ and I asked him what wrong I had done, he asked me, ‘Do you have a national ID?’ I told him that I don’t need one since I don’t vote. He told me that the ID is not used for voting. Then he said that show me a letter from your LC then I told him I don’t need one because you are all the same even if I get it you will take whatever you want from me. He then asked for my identification and I told him I have never gone to school and I am only blessed that I can write my name so **when he realized that I was bold he decided to walk away**” (17-

year-old **street-connected girl**, Life history interview with social cartography, October 19, 2015).

“...**You have to teach yourself self-defense so that when you are faced with such a situation, you can protect yourself** ... Sometimes I go to the gym to learn some skills of self-defense. I am confident that where I am now, no one can touch me or disturb my peace...People should teach their male children to avoid bad peer groups, because in such groups, children learn bad habits that even push/pull them onto the streets yet their parents love them and are still willing to take care of them at home. I caution the children/youth against moving at night, in secluded/dark places/corridors [ebikuubo]. Whenever they move, they should be accompanied by an older person” (17-year-old **sexually exploited boy**, Life history interview, May 16, 2016).

Other children discuss the importance of reporting violence, although in some cases they recognize the act of reporting may generate more violence against them:

“I come here, I run to Kibaati. When I am here, I go to the Chairman who also helps me with any problem I have...He is the Chairperson of Muzaana. I find him there in Kisenyi...There is a delinquent who was beaten by the police using a stick/cane and he got a cut in the head. So, we went to the Chairperson’s place and he said the police officer should be arrested or chased away...” (13-year-old **street-connected boy**, Life history interview with social cartography, October 15, 2015).

“If someone steals your money or if they beat you badly you can go and report them...I run to the uncles...At Retrak and the Church; like I usually tell Jajja V. I always run to him and tell him my problems” (14-year-old **street-connected boy**, Life history interview with social cartography, October 14, 2015).

“Sometimes you can call a certain number; I do not know if you aware of it; it is 116 and they come to your rescue” (**Female domestic workers**, 12-17 years old, Focus Group, April 18, 2016).

“The situation was not bad compared to where I was before. I was sleeping and eating so I did not mind much. After a month, he did not give me the money, but when the woman came she gave me fifty thousand shillings. At night the man was trying to ‘kunefunza’ (wanted to rape me), but I shouted and people who lived in the fence with us banged the door...They arrested the man and took him to police before raping me...” (Male and female **domestic workers**, 12-17 years old, Mixed-Gender Focus Group, April 21, 2016).

To the contrary, other children used silence as a survival strategy and to avoid more violence against them:

“Even the youth usually want to defile us [*okutukwata*], to beat us. Yet, they do not like us. They want to beat us...their problem is, if they want to use you/have sex with you and you refuse, they beat you. Afterwards they say, walk away/go... We cannot report them because they say they will kill us” (17-year-old **street-connected girl**, Life history interview with social cartography, October 17, 2015).

“They raped me at Nakivubo...even if I were to report; I was raped at night, where would I find the rapist in the morning?...I didn’t know the guy I was just passing by so I just got up and left because even if you went to the police no one would help” (17-year-old **street-connected girl**, Life history interview with social cartography, October 19, 2015).

“What helped me was the fact that I was so quiet that even when they would abuse me I would just stay quiet. Besides I was really in need of money. Another thing that helped was that I would bring everything they told me to do quickly otherwise I would be slapped. And also I avoided mentioning anything about my pay because he had promised to pay me when the house was complete” (**Male domestic workers**, 12-17 years old, Focus Group, April 18, 2016).

“Did I even have anywhere to report yet I was on the street? I did not for fear of being taken back to Kampiringisa. Street life is not all that good but you can survive as a girl. We suffer too much while here on the street”. (16-year-old **street-connected girl**, Life history interview with social cartography, October 16, 2015).

When discussing survival strategies, children also discussed the multiple activities they engage in order to buy food and clothes:

“I haven’t got a business but there’s somewhere I work to earn a living. I collect plastic soda bottles...It does not harm me. I look for these plastic soda bottles and within an hour I can pick bottles that weigh close to 4kgs...I can make 20,000/= a day...I get some food, buy clothes and save the rest”. (15-year-old **street-connected boy**, Life history interview with social cartography, October 14, 2015).

“With the Brenda’s [street girls group] we used to collect empty/scrap bottles...Around this time we would be going to Owino Market to collect clothes that have been thrown away. Sometimes when it would rain, we would go to the channel to wash them...We go to Owino very early in the morning and pick onions, put them by the roadsides and people buy... We also used to eat left overs. We would first collect scrap bottles, then go to the channel to bathe, then go buy food [*amakombo*] for sh500. Remember, the food would usually be much but would be left over. After that, we would just walk around Kampala and sleep

wherever we would find. We would come back in the morning and spend the day at the playground...We are five girls, every one brings... now we are actually 6 girls, and each one contributes shs 6,000 every month...the landlord reduced the rent; we give him/her shillings 40,000. We sleep down on the carpet; we have about two bed sheets” (15-year-old **street-connected girl**, Life history interview with social cartography, October 19, 2015).

“I go down to Kiseka market to collect scrap and get money to buy food. I got friends there who keep metal parts that they don’t need...I used to collect bottles that I sold at 200/= a kilogram, my friend was earning 3000/=. So I also started collecting metal scrap, now days I get clean bottles (2 for 100/=). I compared this to scrap, getting 2 kilograms and 2 bottles at 100/=, I can quickly collect 2000/=” (8-year-old **street-connected boy**, Place Perception Interview, February 28, 2016).

“I search for the ‘soft’...The small white polythene bags. (Obuveera)...A kilo is 1000/=...I can collect 5kgs...even 7 at times but the problem with polythene it is light and very hard to make a kilo and that is why they are expensive...I buy myself food and clothes” (12-year-old **street-connected boy**, Life history interview with social cartography, October 16, 2015).

“In the morning I go and pick used up mineral water bottles and in the evenings I do petty jobs like fetching water for people...People do call me to fetch water for them especially those in hotel business around Taxi Park ...There are some Aunties in Ham shopping grounds who give us something to eat. We sometimes go to Mega and get chicken bones and chew. I do not eat goat meat but the bones are also there...So that is how I survive” (17-year-old **street-connected boy**, Life history interview with social cartography, October 15, 2015).

“I used to collect empty/scrap bottles and sell them. I sold them for some time and saved some money which I used to start selling clothes. I also sold charts, like that until it came to a point where everything was not working out. I always wanted to go back to school and complete P.7, so all the money I made I used it to go back to school and completed Primary 7...I sold clothes, I sold empty bottles, I sold charts, I washed people’s clothes, I picked people’s clothes/things, yah, those ones. Like where you found me at Kisenyi someone can send you to do something for him/her in town and he pays you when you come back...Like someone can send you to buy him/her something from a shop, and s/he pays you for that. Sometimes they want you to wash for them clothes, fetch water” (16-year-old **street-connected girl**, Life history interview with social cartography, October 16, 2015).

“We used to work and we would put all our earnings in a pool and we bought what we needed and the rest we would use for food...We used to sell food like chips and sometimes we would sell onions. We would buy at a relatively lower price and sell them at a profit. Out of onions that cost like 20,000 shillings we

could make a profit of 50,000/= to 60,000/= which we used to give to one girl and she buys more onions and sell for us all...They would pay us a daily wage of 5,000/- for vending local food and 7,000/= for vending chips...From Owino” (16-year-old **street-connected girl**, Life history interview with social cartography, October 14, 2015).

“There is another person who gave me beads to sell at 500 shillings each on the streets but what I do is to sell each at 2000 shillings each. I make profit and I use the money for buying clothes. You see it is now a rainy season now and I need proper shoes like that pair that Auntie is putting on” (16-year-old **street-connected girl**, Life history interview with social cartography, October 16, 2015).

“There is a woman there where people commonly seat while waiting for buses, who sometimes gives me packs of jackfruit to sell for her and then she gives me money after selling...Sometimes I do baby sitting for a woman there near where I stay; and then she gives me food or porridge in return” (16-year-old **street-connected girl**, Life history interview with social cartography, October 15, 2015).

“I would sometimes go to Arua Park and eat leftovers (Ekombo)...which is usually food that remains in saucepans in restaurants. One day I told my friend to teach me how to look for scrap and earn money (*okuwenja*). I also wanted to earn and be able to buy my own food. He taught me little by little. I was tired of eating leftovers from the saucepans and people’s plates. I was scared of such food sometimes because people would put poison in the leftovers and this caused death of some of the street children. A certain friend of mine Yahaya died of food poison...I started to look for scrap alone (*okuwenja*)? But when policemen found me alone, they would beat you up. They would also arrest us at night. Due to fear, you would hide yourself in a very small place alone to avoid being easily seen and arrested at night. You would see the rest of your friends the next morning. They would sometimes round us up (*okuyola*) when we’re sleeping in a sac or beat us up...” (17-year-old **street-connected boy**, Life history interview, December 16, 2015).

“I started sleeping at Owino with my friends. We would pick onions and sell them. By that time I feared to steal thinking that I would be beaten to death if I was caught stealing. My friends asked me to join them and we stole together. Still I had this fear in me that I would be caught and beaten. I continued picking onions at Owino and sold them to earn some money...” (19-year-old **street-connected young man**, Life history interview, December 17, 2015).

Running away from violent zones or from perpetrators is another strategy children described as a means of survival in contexts of extreme adversity, although sometimes the very act of running away presented other risks or danger in their lives:

“In most cases I do not wait for violence. By the time the violence begins I am always far away. I only go to town during daytime. The taxi drivers always warn

me whenever there is rounding off of children and I avoid the town center”. (17-year-old **street-connected boy**, Life history interview with social cartography, October 15, 2015).

“They round up children...I normally run away. Once I hear the sound of ‘there he is,’ I just run and find somewhere to hide...You could be sitting somewhere, you hear people shout...‘obusajja bubwo! obusajja bubwo!’, alerting you that [the men that round off children are around]and you start running...I have not been through any torture because torture normally happens among the thugs (*Bayaaye*). If you do not mix with them, you do not go through any scuffles/fights. You just sit aside” (15-year-old **street-connected boy**, Life history interview with social cartography, October 19, 2015).

“There is one of my friends who was chased by police; as he was crossing the road near Owino, he was hit by a car and he died instantly. So, the problem we find is running away from police, sometimes we get into accidents, sometimes we fall and break limbs, or hurt teeth or an injury. Those are the things children experience when they are chased by police” (17-year-old **street-connected girl**, Life history interview with social cartography, October 17, 2015).

In addition to avoiding or running away from violence, children also discuss the importance of their peer networks of protection and safety within the streets:

“Here the children are kind hearted; they are always willing to help in case you are in danger, sometimes if you don’t have what to eat they can help you...I have some friends who are kind hearted even some men around there...They are street children... When I was still staying in Kisenyi, I used to sniff petrol and one day when I was sleeping they tied my sack and put me on fire; I still have the scars on my belly but they rushed me to hospital” (12-year-old **street-connected boy**, Life history interview with social cartography, October 17, 2015).

In other contexts of adversity in the streets and within contexts of child labor in households, children often describe their decision to pursue work (in contexts where it was their decision) as a survival strategy:

“...when you don’t have any one who can care for you. You need to survive. You think of your future. You won’t be begging people always. When you are a maid and are paid you can save and later start a business. That makes us go to work” (Male and female **domestic workers**, 12-17 years old, Mixed-Gender Focus Group, April 21, 2016).

“The challenge in Katwe is that one had to look for food, which means you had to have money. So I started trying to get money [*okweyiya*] through commercial sex work and after sometimes I went to Kiwa’s place ... That is how I live my life. That is the life I have lived. It came a time and I decided to start washing people’s clothes so that I do not put my life at risk. So I move around asking people to

wash their clothes. Some people give me their clothes to wash and they pay me between Shs. 3,000-5,000. This I use to buy food and to contribute to rent for the house where I sleep with my friends. Since I started this laundry work, I no longer sell myself” (16-year-old **sexually exploited girl**, Life history interview, May 15, 2016).

“...There is a school where street children gather for a programme where they learn important things such as games and get other opportunities to go to school, go back home and to learn literacy...they gather children in one place, they wash clothes, cut their hair and basically groom themselves. Then they play games, then attend life skills sessions where they tell them to be responsible [do the right thing, avoid risky behavior, stop stealing, etc.], they help them get jobs but that takes a long process which I will not explain [it involves getting a Local Council letter, identity card and other documentation]. So those people are there to help street children do the right things so that they can be useful citizens. Some children who want to study are helped to go back to school. For me I wanted to go back to school but the people who would have taken me to school came once and never came back...I was in Uncle Lovindo’s group. I told him that I wanted to go back to school. He took my picture, made me sign papers but the whites who were going to help me did not come back. They would come back many years later yet me I do not have that patience to be there disturbing people. **I decided to give up and do my own things. In fact I do not usually go to Kivulu these days and I no longer go to those programmes. I go to the city, make money and do my own things.** I see other children attend the programmes but I do not...” (17-year-old **sexually exploited boy**, Place Perception Interview, May 17, 2016).

The above interview excerpt presents a complex question about the traditional model of support for street children and other groups of children outside of family care. Are basic needs/survival programming and self-empowerment programming mutually exclusive? Why did this 17-year-old boy take matters into his own hands?

Children’s Narratives of Safe Spaces Outside of Family Care:

Throughout the research phases, children also described the spaces where they felt safe and protected, which was the way most children contextualized their strategies for overcoming violence and their resilience in the contexts of extreme adversity. Visualized through Photograph 12 below, Job’s Place was mentioned many times across the street-connected subgroups as a safe space:



Photograph 12: Job’s Place (Child-Led Auto-photography Exercise)

“I wanted to show the situation the children are in and the joy/peace they get when they are in this place ... **Job’s Place**.... They do whatever they want. As you can see, this one is watching TV, the other is sleeping, others are playing games (Ludo, pool, cards, omweso, etc.) ... We do not pay, not even Shs. 100. They just put that TV for us to watch. Job is a very good man. He just wanted the children to have some form of entertainment when they are in this place. He also runs his other businesses in this place; he sells snacks [mandazi, bread, tea, porridge, etc.]. So, when the children come to relax from here, they can also buy food/snacks. He is also on the Local Council Committee of this area. He is in charge of street children affairs. He does his best to look after street children. So, Job works hand in hand with a pastor who pastors children at Naguru Remand Home who comes on Sundays to Job’s place to preach/pray with the children. That way, he helps to empower and restore hope for the future in the children. He also comes with other responsible people and whites who come to check on the children” (17-year-old **sexually exploited boy**, Place Perception Interview, May 17, 2016).

“**Job’s Place** in Kisenyi...That is where I am at peace. I go and watch films and also sleep, like you can see this one sleeping. There is this one and that one. Sometimes when I have finished eating and I am satisfied, I go and keep my money and I come and sleep...I keep it with the people who buy scrap. He must be your friend. So you go and ask him to help keep your money. After keeping my money, I come here and sleep because if you come here with money, they will steal it...Sometimes I sleep here, especially during the day. So when I walk so much in the hot sun, I come and rest here because inside it is cool...When you want to watch TV you just come, sit and watch free of cost, it is not a video hall. It is just that he made his business in a way that he put a screen and a dvd player. When you have money, you can just go and hire a movie and they play it for you. So you watch with your friends...It also helps me to relax because sometimes I think about many things...Someone might come and buy tea and also offer to buy

for you. He can also pay for pool and call you to play with him...He [Job] is born again [*mulokole*] and he decorated the place with photos of Jesus. What I know is that Jesus is the one who makes this place peaceful/a good place to be because when you sit here, no one beats you and he does not stop people/children from coming. What he does not like is fighting here. If he finds you fighting, he beats you and chases you away” (13-year-old **sexually exploited boy**, Place Perception Interview, May 17, 2016).

Playing video games and watching films are some of the strategies children use to temporarily escape from the violent spaces of the streets:

“I watch TV from this place. It is found in Kisenyi, inside Kibaati. Most of the children rest in this place watching TV while others play games...uncle Suakhila plays movies for children to watch. We do not pay anything to watch the movies...This place helps us relax; there are games we play in this place...Nobody sends them away until a movie is done...He doesn’t want children who fight in this place, those who cause chaos in this place are sent away” (8-year-old **street-connected boy**, Place Perception Interview, February 26, 2016).

“In Kisenyi, at **Jingo’s Place**...I go there to play games...There are TV screens, play stations, pads, chairs and an attendant...When I am at this place I relax and have peace. [nfunirayoemirembe]. Sometimes when I don’t have money, I go tell the attendant that I do not have money and he allows me to sit and watch. I spend as much time as I want and when I am tired I just move out and leave. I am at peace at this place because they welcome everybody...You get a seat and watch others playing. Sometimes someone can come and pay but has no one to play with and you get a chance to play...For instance if it is a football game, it helps you to know the names of famous footballers...It opens up my mind and I become sharp. You get to know many things” (13-year-old **sexually exploited boy**, Place Perception Interview, May 17, 2016).

“This is **Jingo’s Place** in Kisenyi and it is where children play games from ... In case I have been annoyed by someone in Kisenyi I walk away and go to play that game for example there is a boy called Sadam who I treat as my brother ... When I go to Jingo’s Place and play games it helps me to get relieved of stress. So if I had quarreled with you, then you just see me coming back and greeting you. I can’t get annoyed for the whole day. I can get annoyed with someone at one moment and the next you see us talking...That is **city square**...Like on Sundays when I don’t have work I usually come and sit here. Just like you see these ones sitting. No one disturbs you” (16-year-old **sexually exploited boy**, Place Perception Interview, May 22, 2016).

As discussed in the previous interview excerpt, children actively seek out spaces where they will not be disturbed or abused, where they can breathe fresh air and where they feel safe and at peace:

“**Jinja Road**, as you are going to Kibuli...The place has good air, you can sit there and feel good...you can see these ones seated there no body can chase them away. That I why I go and sit there in the grass, there is good air and all your stress goes away and you look at the city and the people...I can sit there and someone who knows me comes to say hello and I explain my problems to them ...” (17-year-old **sexually exploited girl**, Place Perception Interview, May 28, 2016).

“It is called **Mukisister**...There are sisters that live there. Here is where people learn tailoring from... Here is where they pray from...I feel at peace when I am there... Here there is fresh air and children always play from here...I just entered the place since there is no gate and the gate that the other side of the church is always open...I used to feel at peace while here to the extent that even now; much as I have somewhere I stay I still go there and sit. Generally I like it there the sisters are my friends. I like that place and I feel at peace when I am there” (17-year-old **sexually exploited girl**, Place Perception Interview, May 16, 2016).

As a means of overcoming the consequences of violence in their daily lives, children also go to worship centers, youth centers and clubs in order to explore new spaces and renew their energy:

“There is a **church** nearby and I dance to the Lord’s song. There is a lady that gives us money...It is a project church, they give us books, uniforms and soap” (5-year-old **street-connected girl**, Place Perception Interview, March 2, 2016).

“**Sharing youth center**. There are dances and playing the ball...We sometimes play netball from here...We learn to dance, box and there is something we lift...Netball. We also teach ourselves by forming groups...One person gets a group and they teach them how to dance...They bring back the lost energy...You could go to a function and dance for money...We play from here with my friends...We play *akaguwa* and *sonko*” (8-year-old **street-connected girl**, Place Perception Interview, March 3, 2016).

“I was affected because after the rape I got sick ... they found that I had been infected with HIV...the club...Like the one in Nateete there’s Sunset Pub; it’s called **KK club**...When I go there, since I have a problem like I have told you; I find interesting things there which make me happy and I forget my ordeal. Because sometimes when I sit alone I start pitying myself then my mind tells me ‘*why don’t you go to the club?*’, so I go and that is why it is my favorite place” (17-year-old **street-connected girl**, Life history interview with social cartography, October 19, 2015).

“When I came to Katwe, I made friends there. You know in Katwe there is an entertainment center with several disco halls. So we would go dancing with my friends in the evenings till late. After dancing we would sleep on the verandas in town where people sleep and in the morning we would go back to Katwe. Later on some girls rented a room where we used to sleep very many of us ... There was some place that used to have a machine that would play music and just when you wanted a song of your choice to be played, you would put in it 200 shillings and they play it and we dance ... I would dance ... we would just dance for free, we used to enjoy dancing ...” (16-year-old **street-connected girl**, Life history interview with social cartography, October 15, 2015).

“We go there to dance, there is music ... There is a TV and speakers...” (5-year-old **street-connected girl**, Place Perception Interview, March 3, 2016).

Paving Pathways Out of Extreme Adversity

Mindsets that Pave Pathways Out of Extreme Adversity

Children and young people across subgroups contextualize the mindsets that began to pave their pathway out of adversity:

“**As much as I used to feel bad, I exercised patience because I knew this was not my home.** I was aware that, I came to work and knew that one day I would be better off. I was there as a means of survival” (**Male domestic workers**, 12-17 years old, Focus Group, April 18, 2016).

“... when I reached Sharon’s home, **her life was a good example that inspired me to change.** Someone who was bad changing and then started to help bad people who she doesn’t even know or have a relationship with. I wanted to be like her... So then I started changing slowly and I could take whatever advice she was giving. So with time this lady believed in me and she took me to school ... I went back to school when I was 19 years that was in 2010. I started in primary 3. I did not know a single thing but I liked studying. In fact the teachers asked me which class I wanted to go to. I told them even if it is primary two as long as I am in school. They said they were going to put me in primary three because of my brains. I went and even performed well ... After PLE I went in to adult schooling” (25-year-old **street-connected young man**, Life history interview, December 14, 2015).

“... when policemen found me alone, they would beat me up. They would also arrest us at night. Due to fear, you would hide yourself in a very small place alone to avoid being easily seen and arrested at night. You would see the rest of your friends the next morning ... I prayed to God to survive arrest ... I got tired of staying on the street. I decided to join the scholarship team under an organization called ‘Muzana Street Children Development Association’. I started playing

football under this team. They trained me how to play football. Sometimes we would go to distant places to play football ... I used to sleep at Nabagereka Primary school before it was demolished. I also watched other boys play football while I didn't know how to play it. One day I walked towards the football coach and asked him if it was possible for me to come from the street and join his football team. The football coach told me that it was possible if I had materials to use. I went to Owino Market and bought a uniform, a vest and shoes. At first I was not staying with him but I would come in the morning and train very early in the morning and would go to look for money in the afternoon (*okuwenja*). One day the coach asked me to leave the street. I was happy about it because I also wanted to ask him to allow me to sleep at his place" (17-year-old **street-connected** boy, Life history interview, December 16, 2015).

"I was volunteering at Freedom Heroes because it was my dream to help children leave the street...When I was in that organization they started to pay me. They were not paying my school fees but they were paying me 100,000/= per month. They helped me to survive and even gave me accommodation. So I helped them to identify children in the slums and brought them to the organization to be helped. Some used to be taken to homes, others to other organizations and others were being taken back to their homes. So that was my work ... So with time I joined AfriChild and started working with them. I was doing research and up to now I am still with them. We are researching the challenges children both girls and boys face on the streets ... I inspire these youth and also counsel them during day. When we do devotions we talk about ways we can protect our lives, ways we can prevent ourselves from backsliding. I use my life examples to encourage them and inspire them so that they don't go back to the streets ... Right now I have where to stay and I don't fear because by then when I passed near the police I feared to be arrested but right now I can pass near the police with no fear...when I left the street I stopped stealing, smoking marijuana, I stopped sniffing fuel, I can no longer be arrested. Right now I am thinking about work and helping other people. Right now I am working and earning some money. I am trusted, I am helping fellow youth to leave the street and I have seen many leaving because of me being able to leave. I went to school and I am planning to start a family. I got good friends because the friends I had before were leading me to doing bad things. **I have friends who are helping me to make good decisions**" (25-year-old **street-connected young man**, Life history interview, December 14, 2015).

It is interesting to highlight how one of the youth researchers from the YPAR team attributes much of his gradual transition out of street life to an example that was set for him and how he reflects on the importance of the example he sets for other children. While both peer-led outreach work in NGO interventions and peer-led research approaches have become increasingly more popular in child protection programs and research, we need to seriously rethink the structures that we build to support the children and young people who work as agents of change. It is not enough to provide housing and to pay them for their daily outreach work or research in the streets. We need to invest in their futures as agents of change and build sustainable structures of care from which they

can continue to inspire other children. We firmly believe that when an NGO or research initiative incorporates marginalized children and youth in a short-term process of change, this involvement can create false hope and can do more harm than good in their lives. It is therefore our responsibility to find ways to involve children and youth in the long term, in both intervention-related outreach and research.

“... **I just made a choice to leave the street** ... I admired boys on the street but I did not know that life was hard on the streets. Many of my friends have lost their lives. That is why I can never steal again ... A child cannot stay on streets for three years now and survive, they are arrested. The city has been demolished. Someone should be a voice for children ... I was tired of living in poverty and I wanted a business of my own. A person with a business is different from a person without it. A person without a business just thinks of stealing to get food. Time comes when a thief lacks what to steal. You can finish a week without stealing and you die of hunger...I first stole onions, scrap and later on we started robbing shops in Katwe. I stopped stealing...**I made a decision** to stop taking cocaine though other people say it's hard. An older boy would tell you to take cocaine forcefully and you light it with a match box ... I also stopped playing cards for money even though I am an expert. These days I stopped for good yet other people say it's not easy to do away with some habits. I just say hi to people playing cards and I continue with my journey...I sleep in the house and not in the cold. I look smart and I am not dirty anymore; I easily fit in society. I am not despised but respected in society. People used to safeguard their things when they saw a street child coming” (19-year-old **street-connected young man**, Life history interview, December 17, 2015).

This young woman recognizes herself now as a job creator and has created a context in which she has empowered herself to transition out of street life:

“Away from the street, you have hope of getting something the next day. But there ... you are scared the man may not pay you yet you are hungry ... When I get sick, I can take myself to the hospital and get medication which I could not do back then ... I go to my sister's school during school time with fried Irish potatoes and she sells them for me. I plait people's hair, I make beads that are put on shoes which I sell to get some money ... I learned to make jelly, shampoo ... **Now I am a job creator** and I will not go to the street looking for jobs. I learned to live with people, back then I would regret and cry but **now I am confident**. I would walk thinking people have seen me on the street, but now I don't think about that. **I used to feel ashamed of myself but now I don't think about that**. I also made friends at Rahab ... They help me, for example I met Kate there. We share a room, this has helped me to know I was not the only one in that situation” (24-year-old **street-connected young woman**, Life history interview, December 12, 2015).

Many participants also discuss how pure exhaustion and being fed up with the harsh and violent conditions of the streets pushes them toward initiating changes in their lives:

“I spent 4 years on the street and **life was too harsh**. If you are not humbled by the situation, then **you become a very hard person, dead or killed**...I wanted a good life and I had to work for it. I wanted to work for a good life. I started to sleep at Uncle Kevin’s as a volunteer after I had come from Cornerstone home ... It was easy for me to work with Kevin and speak to the children on street. **I was tired of the bad situation** of staying with thugs that could steal our things on the street, City Council chasing me on the street all the time” (21-year-old **street-connected young man**, Life history interview, December 18, 2015).

“I didn’t go to the street willingly, I wanted a job to get my results from school yet the men who used me never paid. I decided to go back home and face my father. I stayed for 6 months but the condition was only worsening so I returned home. The girls demanded for rent fees even when I told them the men never paid me, they abused me until I returned home in Makindye...Staying hungry for days, the girls used to abuse me. The mattress we slept on was about 2 inches thick without anything to cover with, **I could not continue in that condition**. Also when someone brings a man to the house, you have to go out until they finish their business. Sometimes they would come around 3am and it is very cold during that time, when they are done and you go back you hardly sleep for an hour then another one brings a man. So I hardly slept during the night and the only time to sleep was during the day...I was afraid to go back home because my father had gotten to know about me. But each day I would stay hungry, I got sick but I didn’t have money to go to the hospital and the girls continued to abuse me. In early June, **I decided to go back home**” (24-year-old **street-connected young woman**, Life history interview, December 12, 2015).

Children across subgroups describe being pushed to the streets and almost immediately being exposed to situations of sexual exploitation. As they narrate their experiences, they discuss how they became tired of this form of violence and how they actively sought other means of survival in multiple contexts of adversity outside of family care:

“I left the street when I got the father of my second born but that was before I went to the Rahab. So when I got this pregnancy for this baby my first-born was 3 years old so I stayed with the father of my second born but I realized that he was not taking me anywhere since he even had another wife. So I stayed there but I would go back to the street sometimes until I met those people of the Rahab ... When I got pregnant I did not go back to the street, I stayed at home with my first born and the pregnancy because the man tried taking care of me ... **I just felt tired** ... Everything about street life, I had even got pregnant with my second born so I decided to give up on the street ... I had left the street without getting infected so I said that if God had kept me safe then I just had to stay away and started a new life ... my children too ... I realized that I might get hurt or killed and I would leave my children at a tender age **so I decided to quit the street** ... I was tired of having to be used by different men and I could not go on ... also being talked about that I am a prostitute but that does not go away unless you shift

from your old place and you go somewhere you are not known ... I was tired of always having to run away from the police and hiding all the time; I was so tired of that **so I decided that enough was enough** ... I decided to completely quit the street ...” (24-year-old **street-connected young woman**, Life history interview, December 15, 2015).

“I also left because of the way men who “used” us. I would get hurt and even if I used to bathe with the medicine; it would not feel the same again. For example I would feel pain when walking or pain in the lower abdomen. I would go to hospital and get treated or injected until I asked myself why I was always getting injection **so I gave up on staying on the streets** ... Another reason is that when I used to go the street I would take alcohol and it did not go well with my health...I would feel sick whenever I took it. I had to feed well yet sometimes I did not get money; I had to eat things like chicken or meat and whenever I did not get them I would feel bad; so I decided to leave the streets. Right now even if I get less money I can use that to eat any kind of food and I will not have any problem but during those days, I had to spend all what I earned just like that. But of all reasons, I always feared my mother’s reaction when she would learn about the kind of job I was doing because the truth can’t hide. I knew one day someone from home would find me and tell my mother the kind of job I was doing. So I decided that even if my mother had not found out about it yet, I had to stop so I went off the streets...Another thing was that for all the time I worked I had not achieved anything so I said that may be that job was cursed and I decided that it was better to toil and get the hard earned money...When I sat down and thought, **I knew that the right decision was to leave the street**. I was always worried about getting infected so I decided that I was tired of all that and thought that maybe if I left the street I would get some developmental ideas and also think positively in my heart and move on. On the streets, all you think of is what tactics you will use to please a man in order to get enough money to send home so I said that let me leave before my mother finds out what I do...It all started when I would be at home seated/ sleeping in my rented room and I would see my neighbors who had children and husbands and they were very happy. So I thought that if I stayed on the streets I would never get a chance to get my own children since I was always on family planning so I said that if I get off the street I would may be get a job and get a decent man to marry and also bear my own children...Another thing that pushed me to get off the streets was the fact that I used to watch wedding shows when the family of the groom would take things to the bride’s family and I thought to myself that if I stayed on the streets, no man would ever wed me. I also wanted to get a man who I would take home and my mother would be happy for me **so I put it in my head that that is what I wanted so I left** ...” (22-year-old **street-connected young woman**, Life history interview, December 16, 2015).

“When men started killing girls, business reduced because clients could no longer come to ‘buy’ us in a place where people are being killed. So we started looking for alternative work. I went to Owino market and started hawking food. From

there God helped me and I got people who trained us in hair dressing and making of candles free of charge. So I started earning some little money. **So I later asked myself why I was suffering in the cold every night.** I said let me continue with my new kind of work. God helped me and I went to church. When I started going to church, I repented, got saved and stopped going to the street and it's now three years **since I stopped going to the street** ... I was tired of suffering, staying hungry, and mostly prostitution, and begging. So I wanted to leave the street so that I could start working with my hands...No one encouraged me to leave the street because I joined the street unwillingly. It was the tough conditions that forced me to go to the streets. But like I told you **I got fed up** of being arrested by the city council authorities (KCCA), I got fed up of offering my body for free **so I decided on my own to leave the street** and go to look for some other work...I don't want to be called a prostitute that is what pushed me to look for other work" (21-year-old **street-connected young woman**, Life history interview, December 18, 2015).

One of the youth researchers contextualizes how rejection and stigmatization was detrimental to his positive mindset and pathway out of adversity:

"There are some people I tell my life story how I was on the street and how I left. **Some of them despise me and laugh at me and sometimes this demoralizes me...**Another challenge is when I sit with people who are more educated than me and **they show that I am not their class. That also demoralizes me...**You can be suggesting something and they show you that your opinion doesn't matter. **They ignore you like someone who has not spoken or contributed.** Another challenge is you can ask for money from a person when you don't have and they refuse to give you because you are dressing nicely and you are smart. Another challenge is being stopped from work. I had never experienced this. Because when Tomorrow's Heroes stopped me from working I felt disappointed. They said I was not doing the work properly so that led me to feel like a loser" (25-year-old **street-connected young man**, Life history interview, December 14, 2015).

Children's Thoughts on Paving Pathways Out of Adversity and Advice for their Peers:

When asked what advice they have for their peers in terms of paving pathways out of adversity, many of their answers point to mindset, mechanisms of self-protection and self-empowerment, and to the optimization of opportunities:

“They should decide to change positively because most times they are exposed to drugs, stealing, collecting scrap and bottles. These things are temporary and the problems outweigh the benefits because you can be arrested and even killed from there. There was a child who was killed accidentally. They were shooting a thief and the stray bullet hit the boy who was sleeping on the street. I advise them to go to organizations for help and when they reach there they should behave well and listen because most of what they tell them to do is for their own good. Another thing **if he gets an opportunity or chance he should use it and not lose it.** Advice to parents is that **they should stop beating children because we all make mistakes.** If it wasn't that, maybe I would have not left home. They should council and guide them before beating them. When children are at home they should also behave well and do the work they are told to do. Children should not run to the street because there is nothing good on the streets because on the streets you learn bad habits and these habits don't lead you to good places. Children should not steal property in homes. Actually I myself stole a mattress when I was in KIN...I sold it to a boda boda man at 5000/= but I spent it in a day and I regretted because I could not go back to KIN for help” (25-year-old **street-connected young man**, Life history interview, December 14, 2015).

“I admired boys on the street but I did not know that life was hard on the streets. **Many of my friends have lost their lives. That is why I can never steal again** ... A child cannot stay on streets for three years now and survive, they are arrested. The city has been demolished. Someone should be a voice for children...I advise street children to get a friend, use some little capital and create a small business. Those young children should be taken to organization so that they are taken to school. **Children can do great things once they believe in themselves** ... They have to first make a decision to stop taking fuel, cocaine, and playing cards for money, and stealing. They can choose to take the good side but not all can do it. This is because God created us with different minds” (19-year-old **street-connected young man**, Life history interview, December 17, 2015).

“I prefer peaceful talks with people. Talk to me nicely and tell me if I have made a mistake so that I can be able to change. I can also understand that what I have done is not good and I apologize...People around you can be helpful because they have good ideas. Get partners like people who repair woofers, TVs, radios. I have a friend who taught me to repair phones and computers to put windows or software. I make money...All children on streets are hard hearted but not all of them are bad. People are always ready to help. You can't go to a clinic to learn repairs. Street children need to learn how to make friends and associate

with others. You also have to be humble and people will help you” (21-year-old **street-connected young man**, Life history interview, December 14, 2015).

“Children on street should leave because there is nothing except wasting life. **They should look out for homes that help out children like we are now at Rahab...They should seek God. He will help them out. They should look out for other work** ... Serving food in markets. If they can, they should go back to their homes in the villages because some children go to street because life gets hard ... **They should change the way they think.** Thinking that being on street will help them get money for clothes, lipstick and hair do; they ought to forget all that. God still looks at those with pale skin. Let them go to children homes, they help and you can acquire knowledge to push you forward...In homes, there are counselors and when you talk to them you acquire knowledge and you get to understand things that you wouldn't understand on your own...There is another home in Kasangati where children can go to. They pay school fees for children who want to go back to school. They should trust in God, he will help them” (20-year-old **street-connected young woman**, Life history interview, December 13, 2015).

“I advise them that if they get off the street and start working with their own hands because before they were using their bodies, so when they start working with their own hands they will get things they had never expected...because when you work with your own hands then they know how hard money is to earn and they might be able to think of may be buying pieces of land because at the streets you find that money is easy to make so you cannot plan for it since you will go back tomorrow and get more...They can do jobs like boiling tea, cooking and serving tea, things like that because you have used your own hands... **The advice I give then is to try and admire life outside the streets and get a desire to get off the streets because for me it started as an admiration of my neighbors and that made me get off the streets** ... They should have pity on their relatives; I personally would feel that how could my parent hear that I had got infected with AIDS? They should get ashamed and think of what people talk about them...They should respect their bodies because God gave us these bodies. If one sleeps with many guys their bodies lose value because if you get used to sleeping with 3 men in a night, when you get married you will not be safe with one man...They should work hard to earn money. If you go to Owino and rain pours on you or in Katwe you will value that money but here you are safely in a room sleeping or even when you stand you will be standing in a room so that money you just spend aimlessly. But if you go to Owino and you sell clothes under the scorching sun, then there's no way you can spend shs30. 000/= in a day because you know how hard it is to earn that money” (22-year-old **street-connected young woman**, Life history interview, December 16, 2015).

“If you want to have a good life **you have to struggle.** But if you don't struggle you can't have a good life ... Struggle by getting work to do so that you can

survive” (21-year-old **street-connected young woman**, Life history interview, December 18, 2015).

“**The source of that [airplane] fuel should be closed** and the children should be protected to stop them from buying the fuel because **so many have lost their lives** due to sniffing fuel therefore there should be a lot of security where the fuel comes from” (14-year-old **street-connected boy**, Life history interview with social cartography, October 14, 2015).

“**They should arrest the people who sell the fuel.** They sell it to children but they are not aware of the consequences on children’s lives. Sniffing fuel affects children’s liver and leads them to die when still young ... When someone starts sniffing jet fuel, they get addicted and even if you tell them the dangers they will not listen. Whatever money they get goes to buy jet fuel as first priority. They just do not care...What can be done to help such children? They should round them up, take them somewhere for a year where they do not have access to the fuel so that they can stop yearning to sniff it” (13-year-old **sexually exploited boy**, Life history interview, May 16, 2016).

“...There is a committee that disciplines children ... They once beat me, for sniffing fuel. They wanted me to stop sniffing fuel because I used to forget my child. They only gave me 5 strokes of a cane because I was very spoiled. After caning me, I started reducing the habit of sniffing fuel and neglecting my child. They first made me collect rubbish, like from here up to the flyover, where I would take the rubbish. That is the punishment they gave me. **I realized I did not want to receive the punishments nor continue taking drugs, so I started distancing myself from taking drugs**” (17-year-old **street-connected girl**, Life history interview with social cartography, October 17, 2015).

“I suggest that those of us who are maids, **we need to know where we can go to report.** Whether offices. We know there are many of us who experience this problem ... **We need someone in our community who advocates for us**” (Male and female **domestic workers**, 12-17 years old, Mixed-Gender Focus Group, April 21, 2016).

“People at home should at least listen when the children tell them that they are going through hard times at the places of work. They should once in a while check on these girls that they sent to work to ascertain the conditions in which they work” (**Female domestic workers**, 12-17 years old, Focus Group, April 18, 2016).

“We should be given time to talk with bosses about what affects us” (Male and female **domestic workers**, 12-17 years old, Mixed-Gender Focus Group, April 21, 2016).

“The bosses should treat maids well, pay them their money and be kind to them. They should **put themselves in their shoes** and say that suppose tomorrow I become poor and my child worked as a maid how would I have loved her to be treated” (**Female domestic workers**, 12-17 years old, Focus Group, April 18, 2016).

“**I don’t support my fellow girls to do a job of a house girl** because it is not good ... Parents should not mistreat children that are not their biological children ... I want people to get jobs for girl children...Educated girls should get work elsewhere and not that job of a house girl. She can be given work of her profession” (17-year-old **female domestic worker**, Life history interview with social cartography, March 31, 2016).

“Being used by my uncle, I should have gone to the police and reported him. So **girls that are sexually exploited should always report to the police...**” (**Sexually exploited girls**, 12-17 years old, Focus Group, May 24, 2016).

“When police arrest children they should be responsible and follow up case by case. Some time they want money and they don’t listen to us even when we tell them our age. **They should not put children with the adults when they are arrested** ... People should not discriminate against street children because they are not thieves but they have their own problems. **We should be treated with some respect like any other person.** Some call us ‘*Kifeesi*’ while others call us thieves. They laugh at us and beat us up ... with no good reason” (16-year-old **sexually exploited boy**, Life history interview, May 21, 2016).

“...For us, when something bad happens to you, you sit and reflect and ask yourself who you should tell because that very person will talk about you behind your back or plainly tell you to stop “selling” yourself and look for another means of survival, yet for you that is the only avenue you see you can get money. That is what really we fear...” (17-year-old **sexually exploited girl**, Life history interview, May 21, 2016).

“The government can send us health workers to treat sick people and to **teach girls to protect themselves** ... they should send people to keep the peace ... Personally, I want to know my HIV/AIDS/health status, after which **I want to be sensitized on how to protect myself.** If I am sick, I want to access drugs. I need help to get food” (17-year-old **sexually exploited girl**, Life history interview, May 20, 2016).

Conclusion:

In the empirical evidence gathered *by* and *with* children and adolescents, it is evident that in the midst of extreme adversity, there are safe spaces and practices of resilience that have been created by children themselves through self-empowerment and mindsets focused on the future.

The question that remains is whether we can scale up and support these child-driven strategies through the articulation of government and non-governmental interventions with academia? What does child participation look like in this context of resilience and self-empowerment?

While the data on the three most frequently mentioned forms of violence against children do not present necessarily new information, these narratives are urgent data and should be read carefully and repeatedly as a means of *recognizing* children's contexts of adversity through a window they have opened on their worlds and as a means of *actively listening* to children's voices as a permanent policy-making practice for the collective construction of more grounded pathways out of adversity that are actually accessible for vulnerable children, adolescents and young people.

Pushing this further to global development initiatives and policy implementation, many times this active listening to children is the missing element of the evidence-based policy programs that have been replicated throughout the world. While the compilation, scaling up and digestible packaging of programs that have been proven to work in multiple contexts is of great importance for building pathways out of adversity globally and through collective commitments made by the funding giants of child protection and well-being, we must also stay attentive to the voices of children, which are particular, very local and are always important to incorporate in our decision making (even if our evidence base dictates that we know and have heard it all before).

We can then ask, policy relevance, for whom and *with* whom? This may be a way to stay grounded moving forward and to articulate the empirical evidence gathered in both the quantitative and qualitative VAC initiatives in Uganda with innovations in child participation in future spaces of dissemination and decision-making regarding the policy priorities highlighted in both data sets.

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Appendix 1: Final Node Count

Node	Sources	References
Care or Lack of care	32	77
Child Labor	22	35
Child Trafficking	3	3
Children's Behaviors and Relations on the Street	35	35
Children's Health, Hygiene and Sanitation	49	106
Children's Movement to the Street	24	39
Children's reporting mechanism	48	104
Consequences of Violence	55	107
Contexts of Adversity	21	30
Discipline	26	40
Future Search	31	41
Perpetrators	67	244
Physical Locations of Violence	38	38
Possible Solutions to Violence	32	58
Positive Transitions	12	51
• Challenges after Transition	7	14
• Triggers of Reasons for Leaving the Street	11	33
Resilience and Overcoming Violence	101	561
• Children's Access to Safety	69	132
• Community protection and Support	88	419
• Places that Overcome Violence	58	165
Substance Abuse	57	120
• How children access Drugs	17	26
• Reasons for Substance abuse	19	25

Theft and Robbery	70	199
Triggers and Reasons for Leaving Institutions	43	93
• Neglect	2	2
Triggers, Push Factors and Reasons for Leaving the Household	66	166
• Neglect	15	21
Violence		
• Physical	103	487
• Places Associated with Violence	71	259
• Psychological or emotional	91	479
• Sexual	70	197
- Reasons for Sexual Exploitation	19	47
• Working Under Exploitative Conditions	39	112

Appendix 2: Codebook Used to Guide Participatory Analysis and Coding in NVIVO11

CODE	DEFINITION	EXAMPLE
<p>Code 1: Violence/Abuse/Torture</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Physical • Psychological & Emotional • Sexual - Factors leading to sexual exploitation • Working under Exploitative Conditions • Places associated with violence 	<p>Principal code definition:</p> <p>Inflicting pain directly or indirectly on someone. This can be through mistreatment of any kind like beating, burning, sodomy, rape, failure to be paid after offering services, theft, drug abuse, murder, etc.</p> <p>Sub-code definitions:</p> <p>Physical violence is direct harming of one’s body like beating, burning, manhandling and use of sharp objects on human beings etc.</p> <p>Psychological violence is pain/torture inflicted directly or indirectly on one’s mind that can cause low self-esteem and self pity.</p> <p>Sexual violence is being involved in sexual interaction without consent including rape, sodomy and other forms of sexual abuse (Explanation of how children got involved in networks of sexual exploitation)</p> <p>Working under exploitative conditions is being mistreated, using someone selfishly for the employers’ own interest</p> <p>Places associated with violence Exact locations where children have experienced or witnessed violence</p>	<p>Physical violence (Beaten with an electric wire, beaten up by a thug, beating on the head, beating from police, beating from institutional care givers, slapping in the face, burning from parents/step parents)</p> <p>Emotional violence/torture (domestic worker describes boss as feeling repulsed by her living space, verbal abuse and humiliation from bosses& perceived fathers of pregnancies), forced to clean the body of a dead women who was already stored in a refrigerator of a wealthy man’s house (from sexually exploited girl)</p> <p>Psychological violence (when we walk around we are looked at in a disgusted manner, we are chased away and beaten)</p> <p>Sexual violence: Raped by bosses and to desire to abort (domestic workers), domestic worker raped by boss using a dog (offered money to have sexual relations with dog) Street girls forced by peers to terminate pregnancy</p>
<p>Code 2: Substance Abuse</p>	<p>Taking in drugs that affect normal behavior positively or negatively</p> <p>Children’s drug acquisition</p>	<p>Sniffing; this helps children to feel worm at night but two children have lost life because of this vice, marijuana busts</p>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How Children Access Drugs • Reasons for Substance Abuse 	<p>procedures (where children get drugs, who sells the drugs to them)</p> <p>Why/ what forces children to take drugs</p>	<p>the children’s self-esteem and end up stealing, raping, murdering and causes mental health issues. alcohol, shisha, cigarette, cocaine, milla (leaves) helps the children to keep awake, The children get these drugs from the business community members like big mama for plain fuel, cocaine, marijuana, etc.</p> <p>Taking drugs to increase one’s self esteem and fit in the ongoing situations in the street</p>
<p>Code 3: Resilience and Overcoming Violence</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community Protection and support • Children’s Access to safety • Places that overcome Violence 	<p>Survival strategies and ways of avoiding and or overcoming violence</p> <p>The capacity to quickly solve/ suppress the harsh conditions/ difficulties</p> <p>Overcoming violence is taking vivid decision to move from a worse situation to a slightly/ better living conditions</p> <p>The help community provides to prevent violence against children. Ways children are helped to identify and led to places of comfort and peace</p> <p>Areas children experience/ expect comfort, safety, provision, protection and support.</p>	<p>Girls have learned over time and provide advice to peers in similar situations (domestic workers)</p> <p>Some of the girls have joined institutions like Rahab-Uganda and UYDEL to acquire skills like hair dressing tailoring etc boys have joined Retrak, Freedom Heros, UCC (Uganda Children’s Centre) (sexually exploited children) Going to grandmother’s place where she feels peace, deliverance church</p> <p>Domestic workers: When she convinces herself (I was strong and patient and know that I would return to my mother’s home to eat food), Optimistic thinking about the future (that the future will be better), neighbors notice abuse and offer to help, relatives coming to offer help, pushes father of child (boss) to provide child support until he accepts (boss was denying paternity)</p> <p>Boy decides to leave one</p>

		<p>organization where he was mistreated and goes to another</p> <p>Report when other children steal from them (village leader facilitates process of refund/recovery of stolen money or belongings or police arrest ‘thugs’)</p> <p>Mechanisms of self protection (<i>Iso</i>) – protector (?)</p> <p>Baylor Medical Center (gives ARVs and other medicine to street children)</p>
<p>Code 4: Triggers, Push Factors and Reasons for Leaving the Household</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Neglect 	<p>These are situations that force/lead children out of their households</p> <p>Neglect is not taking care and being irresponsible in provision of household needs for a child</p>	<p>Resistance to rape/sexual exploitation and others forms of violence in the household</p> <p>Father burning daughter’s hand (accumulating push factor)</p> <p>Domestic workers (factor – when children are entrusted to relatives – underlying issue – relatives sexually exploit them)</p>
<p>Code 5: Triggers and Reasons for Leaving Institutions</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Neglect 	<p>These are situations that force/lead children out of the institutions they live in</p> <p>Neglect is not taking care and being irresponsible in provision of children’s needs while in institutions</p>	<p>Poor living conditions, they are beaten, ‘uncles/caregivers’ are strict, poor feeding, other children’s fight them/provoked by other children to fight, engaging in digging/hard labor (perceived as way to re-integrate children and as a rehabilitation strategy), children flee institutions because their addictions have not been addressed and they want to consume</p>
<p>Code 6: Perpetrators</p>	<p>Person/ people who directly or indirectly cause harm to children within or outside the community</p>	<p>Police, Thugs (peers – both older and same age), Step mothers, Mechanics, employers of domestic workers, big mama, fellow street children (<i>Iso</i> – killed another street child with a</p>

		stone), men who come to buy/sexually exploit girls, institutional caregivers, taxi drivers & passengers, chairman/community leaders (elected village leaders), KCCA, other community members, adolescent taken to jail and 'senior' inmates sodomized him
Code 7: Consequences of Violence	Immediate, short or long term effects of harm on the victims	Failures in the justice system The child's stomach keeps swelling and paining whenever he takes in any substance like food, the girls raped would get the bad stench from her private parts, virginal rupturing and cancer, HIV/AIDS, death and mental illness
Code 8: Positive Transitions <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Triggers for leaving the Street life • Challenges after Transition 	<p>The process of leaving a worse to a better situation by avoiding former harmful practices and engaging in productive ones.</p> <p>Conditions that lead children to leave the street life/ why children decide to leave the street. Problems children encounter after leaving street life</p>	<p>Going to grandmother's place where she feels peace, deliverance church Making paper bags, candles for sale, hair dressing When as street girl finds her peers sniffing she calls the chairman and reports it. The chairman comes and beats them and 4 girls have stopped sniffing We come and pray and have drama lessons, attend school, learn about God, eat food (street boy) – freedom heroes or deliverance church Security guards providing places for children to sleep Stopped going to the street because she got saved and started going to church Older children prioritizing the younger children – when the whites come they send them first People trained us in hair dressing, to make candles, and</p>

		other skills
Code 9: Future Search	The identification of a goal, focusing on the idea and task ahead to be achieved for transformation	starting up a hair dressing salon, boutique, a chart for selling small scale products, candle manufacturing factory, education, running own businesses etc.
Code 10: Child Labor	Engaging the child in any kind of work that is morally or physically dangerous to his/ her wellbeing	Carrying a jeri-can of water at 5 years old, failure to pay, being forced to wash underpants with blood of boss, verbal abuse from bosses and humiliation from bosses
Code 11: Contexts of Adversity	The statements made by respondents that contradict in the lives of children, where some find help/overcome violence from a given point while others get harmed for the same points.	‘Big Mama’ (both bad and good – sells drugs to children and also provides links to rehab and other protection mechanisms) Failures in the justice system for juvenile offenders Health conditions (HIV positive and other health issues)
Code 11: Care/ Lack of care	Being responsible and willing to sacrifice for the child’s wellbeing (Striving to provide the children’s necessities no matter the situation) Minding about the children’s wellbeing	Not providing food in time/ totally, sometimes children depend on tea when the mother buys sugar, My uncle through me out of his house and I slept on the street Provision of shelter by the friends Denial of education
Code 12: Discipline	A person’s ways of interaction and relationship with other people and community at large Disciplining is a process of correcting misconduct with an aim of improving one’s behavior	Asking for permission from an askari (gate man) whenever one is leaving an institution Not listening to the parents’ advice Using abusive words on others Carrying out one’s house duties under less supervision
Code 13: Child Health Hygiene and Sanitation	Child’s Condition of living Hygiene is personal cleanness and	The garbage comes with jiggers and houseflies that spread cholera and other

	<p>tidiness</p> <p>Sanitation is the cleanness of the person's environment</p>	<p>diseases</p> <p>Wearing dirty clothes and failure to bath due to lack of soap and water</p> <p>Passive smoking makes people/ children acquire diseases, the smokers and those that sniff develop different diseases including mental disorders and dirty teeth</p> <p>The church pays medical bills when children fall sick</p> <p>Children fall in water channels that have garbage and develop wounds</p> <p>Exercise helps children to have strong bones</p> <p>The community members offer help by taking children to hospitals when the fall sick or get injured</p> <p>The domestic workers are not provided with medication when sick, overworked and develop chest pain and other diseases</p> <p>After the father burnt a child, she was not given medication until maggot started developing in the wound. ("he locked me in the house, the hand was rotting and maggots were visible")</p>
<p>Code 14: Children's reporting Mechanism</p>	<p>The ways children use to pass on their challenging living conditions to the people or institutions they expect help from</p>	<p>Children fail to report because they cannot identify the perpetrator to the police. Police are give bribes and they release the perpetrators. So children don't see any reason of report to the police</p> <p>Children report to their mothers when offended</p> <p>Domestic workers trust to get help from their neighbors</p>

		<p>when offended by their employers</p> <p>The community minds their own business and when one reports in places infested in by perpetrators no help is rendered</p> <p>Some children report to fellow sibling, friends, adults and organizations or institutions that fight for the rights of children</p> <p>Domestic workers do not report to their bosses in fear of being dismissed from their jobs and so they chose to keep quite</p> <p>Some children report to the police, in order to get help from their parents who have denied them services.</p>
Code 15: Children's movement to the street	The child's experience while coming from where they live to the street. (The experience of a child on his or her journey from where he/ she lives to the street)	Some children travel to the street by trailers, walk on foot, given a lift by vehicles
Code 16: Possible Solutions to Violence	Ideas/Suggestions children believe that if implemented, can reduce or stop violence	<p>Thugs and other perpetrators should be arrested and retained in cells</p> <p>Domestic workers should be paid their agreed on wages, treated in a fairly human way</p> <p>Victims should report to the police or community chairperson and community members who can give help or advice</p> <p>The household members should listen to the children's views of challenges they go through to avoid influx to the street and if at work, they</p>

		<p>should be checked on to ascertain their conditions of work</p> <p>Mutual and genuine agreements should be made before employing domestic workers</p> <p>Children should be aware of the Reporting mechanisms in the community they stay in</p> <p>The community should have child rights advocates and counselors</p> <p>Educated girls should be given professional jobs other than domestic work</p>
<p>Code 17: Theft and Robbery</p>	<p>An act of taking someone's property without the owner's awareness</p> <p>An act of using forceful measures to take someone's property without the owner's permission.</p>	<p>Elder street children (thugs) beat and take the younger street children's belongings forcefully ("the thugs get razor blades, cut our pockets and take out our money)</p> <p>A girl stole a baby from a girl whose origin was unknown</p> <p>The thugs also steal or snatch/robe people's property (the thugs heat a woman on the head with the hammer and took away her purse and money)</p> <p>Children use drugs before they sleep and by the time they wake up their property is stolen</p> <p>Breaking into people's shops to steal merchandise.</p> <p>Distribution of counterfeit money in the community and people being conned on the phones deceiving them that they have won gifts and therefore need to send air time to the conmen.</p> <p>Prostitutes wait for their clients to sleep then they take their</p>

		money
Code 18: Child trafficking	Taking a child from one location to another for one's selfish interest.	<p>Promising a child something and in return, taking him/her for something else / selfish interest.</p> <p>In Nkere suburb, thugs used to traffic children in an isolated place and later sell these children outside Uganda</p> <p>An uncle took the child in disguise of paying for her school fees but later took her to an incomplete house, locked and used her sexually for the period of two weeks</p> <p>Whites deceive and steal children by using small gifts like sweets and biscuits.</p>
Code 19: Child Behaviors and Relations on the street	The way children conduct themselves, interact amongst each other and the community at large	<p>Dancerz Club at Salaama, girls call and pull men, practice substance abuse and others are verbally abused.</p> <p>Kisenyi Suburb, boys are verbally abusing each other, abusing drugs, fighting each other and a man stops them.</p> <p>Some boys freely interact with the researchers. Other boys are seen sleeping on the verandah, some are physically abused from the community that is a woman slapping a street boy.</p> <p>Boys with wounds on their bodies.</p>
Code 20: Physical locations of violence	Actual description of places visited in the process of identifying the different forms of violence children experience and overcoming violence	<p>DancerZ club is located on Salaama road in Makyidyde suburb.</p> <p>Kisenyi is a city suburb surrounded by major business entities like kisenyi taxi park, kisenyi bus terminal and kisenyi KCCA health center IV</p>

