Searching for a New Life: How Children Enter and Exit the Street in Indonesia

by

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B.A., University of Victoria, 2012

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Supervisory Committee

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Abstract

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This study describes the reasons why street children in Jakarta, Indonesia choose to leave a life on the street and the steps that are taken to exit the street successfully. Also described are the street entry process, life on the street, street disengagement, life after the street, and the role of service providers. Nine key informants (six former street children and three workers who work with homeless children) participated in in-depth interviews that revealed that troubled family life is the most common cause of street entry, and while street life offers much freedom and excitement it is also the source of great danger to street children, and street disengagement often takes a number of attempts before a "successful" exit is fully negotiated. Forming trusting relationships with street-based outreach workers and attending NGOs that emphasize love and care were highly influential in aiding with street exit. Also key to a successful exit over time is the development of new skills and knowledge, as well as a positive sense of self and an identity that is not connected to street involvement.

Keywords: street children, street entry, life on the street, street exit, street disengagement, street outreach, service providers, Indonesia

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Chapter 1 – Introduction

The street-involved children and youth phenomenon is an escalating worldwide issue in both developed and developing countries (Balachova, Bonner & Levy, 2009; Demartoto, 2012; Karabanow, 2004; Le Roux & Smith, 1998; Mathur, 2009; Scanlon, Scanlon & Lamarao, 1993). It is well documented that many dangers accompany a life on the street (Balachova et al., 2009; Beazley, 2003a; Demartoto, 2012; Mathur, 2009; Scanlon et al., 1993; Schimmel, 2006). Violence, rape, exploitation, substance abuse, HIV/AIDS, traffic accidents, and harassment by police are examples of the risks faced by street children and youth on a daily basis. However, aside from the dangers, under certain circumstances, a life on the street can also be highly alluring (Oliveira, Baizerman & Pellet, 1992). As an alternative life to a home environment that is often impoverished, abusive, or boring, the street offers an abundance of excitement, opportunity, adventure and camaraderie to a scared, frustrated, neglected child or youth (Beazley, 2003a; Oliveira et al., 1992; Pinzon-Rondon, Hofferth & Briceno, 2008; Scanlon et al., 1993). The sense of freedom that is experienced by young people on the streets is highly valued and poses one of the greatest challenges faced by social care providers who run programs and shelters that aim to help children and youth exit street life (Schimmel, 2006).

Karabanow (2008) writes that this euphemistic notion of freedom on the street can eventually give way to boredom, aimlessness, and a desire for something more out of life. In addition, the harsh realities on the street, that come with being assaulted, experiencing overdoses, witnessing violence, involvement with the criminal justice system, and struggling to survive on a daily basis can initiate a reconsideration of street life and possible street disengagement. However, leaving the street for a more structured life,

such as returning home, attending school, or gaining formal employment that requires

strict discipline and time-keeping, becomes increasingly difficult the longer a person has

been on the street (Beazley, 2000). Those who have left the street in an attempt to "go

straight" and return home often become disenchanted with conventional life, begin to

miss their freedom and their friends, and choose to return to the street (Beazley, 2003a).

The push-and-pull of street life to a child or youth can make a clean and committed exit

highly challenging. This leads to my research question: *Why do street-involved children*

in Indonesia choose to exit the streets and how do they do it?

       While there are a number of studies that examine intervention programs and the

rehabilitation and resocialization of street-involved children and youth (see Mugo, 2004;

Muhrisun, 2004; Saripudin, 2012) few have explored the pathways and processes of

exiting the street from the child or youth's perspective (see Karabanow, 2004;

Karabanow, 2008; Karabanow, Carson & Clement, 2010). Studies by Karabanow and

colleagues (2004; 2008; 2010) were conducted with former street youth in Canada

attempting to answer the question, "Why do youth make the decision themselves to leave

the street and how do they do so?" While these studies certainly contribute to our

understanding of the processes of leaving the streets in Canada, I sought to understand

this process within a vastly different context (i.e., politically, economically, socially,

culturally) in Indonesia, which in contrast to Canada, is a less economically developed

country with the world's largest Muslim population (*Aljazeera*, 2010). I anticipated that

the services and systems that street-involved children and youth must navigate would be

different and the opportunities available to re-integrate successfully into mainstream

society would also differ (i.e., limited social services and employment opportunities for youth in Indonesia).

I believe exploring the ways in which children disengage from street life is vital to understanding the complete cycle of street association; from entering the street, to living on the street, and successfully exiting the street. By gaining a deeper understanding of why children choose to leave the street and how this is undertaken, it is my hope that this study can bring useful findings to what is missing in the current literature and provide further insight into the street child phenomenon for services, practices, and policies, especially as this new knowledge relates to the services of countries with emerging economies. More specifically, those who may benefit from this research include policymakers (e.g., with service delivery), humanitarian organizations and their staff (e.g., developing appropriate practices), social workers, teachers, therapists, and police. I also believe this study will provide a greater understanding of the street child phenomenon in Indonesia and an updated insight into this issue at present. Furthermore, this study offers a comparison to the study of street youth exiting processes in Canada undertaken by Karabanow in 2008.

Chapter 2 – Literature Review

At present, there is limited literature that explores how children and youth exit the street. Therefore, in this chapter the following review draws on literature of the street child phenomenon in general, outlining the common themes and salient issues from that literature in order to gain a more complete understanding of this phenomenon.

Literature Search

In an attempt to gain a more global understanding of the street child phenomenon I used the UVic Library search (Summon@UVic Libraries) as my primary search engine and employed the key words, "street child", "street children", "exiting the street", "leaving street life", "street child service", "helpers", and "service providers" to locate research-based articles from a number of different countries, including Indonesia, Turkey, Brazil, Mexico, India, Colombia, Russia, and Canada. I located 17 relevant sources in total: 16 journal articles and one website. The publication dates range from 1992-2012, with majority of the articles published after the year 2000. While there was an abundance of research articles about the causes and experiences of children on the streets from the online search, there was significantly less about exiting the street and the helpers of street children. All articles selected were peer-reviewed.

For the purposes of this chapter, I have used the term "street children" to refer to both children and youth living on the streets; however, if the word "youth" is used this specifically signifies street youth. This is done in an effort to reduce the number of times I must use phrases such as, "street children and youth", when a general reference is made to young people on the street. I have also used the terms "helpers", "service providers",

"social care providers", "youth workers" and "social workers" interchangeably as a reference to those who work closely with street children.

Global Literature / A Worldwide Phenomenon

Challenges in Determining the Numbers of Street Children Worldwide

A review of the global literature reveals that there are increasing numbers of children living on the streets throughout the world (Balachova, Bonner & Levy, 2009; Demartoto, 2012; le Roux & Smith, 1998; Mathur, 2009; Scanlon, Scanlon & Lamarao, 1993). The exact number of street children living in large urban centres is difficult to predict because, 1) there is not a universally accepted definition; 2) there is inconsistency in data collection; and 3) because street children tend to be a highly mobile population that moves back and forth from street life to home life, resulting in large discrepancies in their reported numbers (West, 2003; as cited in Bademci, 2012; Balachova et al., 2009). Government agencies, NGOs, academics, and the general society throughout the globe have increasingly turned their focus towards this population (Lalor, 1999; as cited in Turnbull, Hernandez & Reyes, 2009). Large discrepancies in numbers are certainly the case in Indonesia where there are reports of 150,000 children living on the street (Saripudin, Suwirta & Komalasari, 2008; as cited in Saripudin, 2012); a rather low number, when we consider that the Kampus Diakonia Modern agency (KDM), a long-standing street youth serving agency in Jakarta, reports on its website that an estimated 18 million children are either very poor, live on the streets or have no families (*KDM Children Fund*, 2013).

Street Children in Developing Nations

While street children are found in both developed and developing nations, it is within the poorer nations of Latin America, Asia, and Africa that their numbers are much higher than elsewhere, as an estimated 369 million poor children under 15 years of age live in the urban centres of less developed countries (Boyden, 1991; Ennew, 1986, Myers, 1989, 1991; as cited in Mathur, 2009). In 2005, a UNICEF report stated that six out of ten people living on the streets of the world are under 18 years of age (Pinzon-Rondon, Hofferth & Briceno, 2008). In Latin America there are reportedly millions of street children, with estimates in the tens of millions in Brazil alone (Oliveira, Baizerman & Pellet, 1992), while in Colombia an estimated 400,000 children work on the streets (DANE & IPEC, 2001; as cited in Pinzon-Rondon et al., 2008). In India, the world's soon-to-be most populous country, 18 million children are reported to be living in urban slums – a location that increases their chances of becoming involved with living or working on the street (Panicker & Nangia, 1992; as cited in Mathur, 2009), and in Russia estimates range from 40,000 to 5 million children on the street (de Rooy, 2004; ITAR-TASS, 2006; US Department of State, 2007; as cited in Balachova et al., 2009).

<center>**Causes of Street Child Phenomenon**</center>

Globalization and Poverty

The causes of the street child phenomenon are varied, although the bulk of the literature point towards issues related to globalization, which has lead to greater levels of poverty (Bademci, 2012; Balachova et al., 2009; Beazley, 2002; le Roux & Smith, 1998; Mathur, 2009; Oliveira et al., 1992; Scanlon et al., 1993; Veeran, 2010). Dysfunctional

familial factors, such as alcoholism, physical and sexual abuse, and neglect, also play a major role in the formation of this phenomenon (Bademci, 2012).

Families Living in Poverty

Many families living in poverty are caught in a cycle of low education, low employment opportunities, low wages, and low productivity, resulting in the need for other family members to contribute to providing to the family income (Panicker & Nangia, 1992; as cited in Mathur, 2009). As such, children from poor families are at a higher risk of living and working on the streets (Demartoto, 2012). As well, poverty can create a stressful family atmosphere, and this may result in a parents' use of addictive substances to cope (Mathur, 2009). In India the pressure to create an income often results in children being pushed out of home to work in the markets or commercial centres. In Russia, it is reported that 30% of the population live below the poverty line, with 80% of families with three or more children living in poverty (de Rooy, 2004; as cited in Balachova et al., 2009). Families in Russia are most susceptible to a life of poverty, especially if these families have a large number of children. As a more recent UNICEF report states that having more than one child increases the chances that a family will be poor by over 50% (Ovcharova & Popova, 2005; as cited in Balachova et al., 2009).

Rural-to-Urban Migration

Mathur (2009) points to rural-to-urban migration as a significant contributing factor to children gravitating to the street with the hope for better employment opportunities and living quarters in India's urban centres enticing children, youth and families to relocate. In some cases families must migrate to the cities because of violence

in rural areas, such as with Colombia and Sudan, two countries with the highest rates of internal displacement in the world (Pinzon-Rondon et al., 2008).

What is a Street Child?

ChildHope (1997; as cited in Balachova et al., 2009) defines street children as, "any minor for whom the street (in the widest sense of the word including unoccupied dwellings, waste land etc.) has become his or her habitual abode, and who is without adequate protection" (p. 27). The most common definition of street children used in the literature is provided by UNICEF: "street children are those for whom the street more than their family has become their real home; a situation in which there is no protection, supervision and direction from responsible adults" (Mathur, 2009, p. 301). Two types of street children are defined; those who are *home based* (e.g., they work on the streets but have a home and some type of family support to return to), and those who are *street based* (e.g., they live and work on the street; the street has become their home) (Balachova et al., 2009; Demartoto, 2012; Mathur, 2009; Pinzon-Rondon et al., 2008; Schimmel, 2006).

Categories of Street Children

Pinzon-Rondon and colleagues (2008), through their research on street children in Colombian cities, identify three categories of street child: 1) homeless children; 2) displaced children; and 3) working children. *Homeless children* are characterized as coming from disintegrated or dysfunctional families, where they may have been exposed to high levels of abuse or neglect. They have left their homes and live on the streets or were born to the street, and as such, spend longer hours on the street working compared with the other two categories. *Displaced children* arrive in urban centres from rural areas,

usually with their families, because of stressors, such as internal political or community conflict, that forced them to abandon their place of residence. Typically, this category of street child spends a lot of time on the streets with a high rate of adult supervision. Eventually, this group behaves like *working children* because their families are no longer new to the city and they would become part of the poor communities. *Working children* are a result of impoverished conditions, whereby children attempt to earn money on the streets before returning to a home environment each day. Distinctions such as these in defining street children are important as they help to inform intervention strategies. Each country or geographical location may have definitions and characteristics of street children, and interventions should adjust accordingly.

<div align="center">General Characteristics of Street Children</div>

Fluid Identities, Street Competency and Impulsiveness

Although Pinzon-Rondon and colleagues (2008) describe three categories of street children, Beazley (2003b) reports that street children possess multiple and fluid identities that can change depending on the situation at hand, and that they also have a high degree of familiarity and competency of the streets, and a vast knowledge of the services available (Turnbull et al., 2009). According to Oliveira et al. (1992), street children are "immediatists", in that immediate necessities such as food, clothes, and drugs are sought impulsively (p. 170).

Group Solidarity and Survival

Street children are often found in groups, relying on the companionship with one another for emotional and economic support, protection, and solidarity, something they cannot receive from their family (le Roux & Smith, 1998). There is a strong loyalty to

each other and their use of their own slang provides a distinct identity. From interviews

with street children in Brazil, Oliveira et al. (1992) reported that most of the children only

had the clothes they were wearing, not enough to protect them from the cold, and that

better clothes would make them feel less ashamed, would lessen the risk of being targeted

by police, and enhance their image and sex appeal. Since this population of children face

high degrees of discrimination, and at times hostility from others, and have to struggle

daily to survive, they may have low levels of self-esteem (le Roux & Smith, 1998). The

importance placed on their personal freedom combined with their relatively young ages

eventuates into, "…self-destructive behaviour…[resulting] from a lack of knowledge,

rather than from negative and fatalistic attitudes" (le Roux & Smith, 1998, p. 684).

Health and Hygiene

Children working on the street are generally boys between seven and 18 years of

age, yet some are as young as four or five and are typically brought to the street by an

older sibling (Beazley, 2003a; Scanlon et al., 1993). However, le Roux and Smith (1998),

who presented a global perspective of the street child phenomenon in their research,

report that street children often appear younger than their chronological age because of

acute and chronic malnutrition stunting their growth. In contrast, their free and reckless

attitude combined with savvy needed as a strategy to survive, reveals a level of maturity

beyond their years. In addition to poor health, they also have an absence of good hygiene,

engage in drug use from an early age, and have a greater chance of becoming involved

with criminal activities the longer they are on the street (Oliveira et al., 1992; le Roux &

Smith, 1998).

Street Girls

According to Scanlon et al. (1993) and Beazley (2002), the number of street girls in Brazil and Indonesia is increasing. Street girls not only face discrimination from mainstream society, but also from street boys, who despite being a marginalized population themselves project this prejudice onto other street girls (Beazley, 2002). As such, street girls must negotiate different social spaces and will generally only enter male territory as girlfriends, appendages, or prostitutes. They also look for boyfriends (either street boys or local boys) for protection and other needs, such as food and clothing (Beazley, 2002). Beazley found that while street girls in Indonesia were less mobile than street boys during the day, they were much more mobile than street boys during the evenings, moving around the city between different social groups to find boyfriends and other sources of income.

While street girls face many of the same problems as street boys, such as drug abuse, verbal and physical abuse, and victimization, they also face their own specific set of risks and dangers, including a higher risk of sexually transmitted infections, sexual abuse and pregnancy, childbirth, and motherhood (Mathur, 2009; Scanlon et al., 1993). Street girls are also targeted for prostitution, which is one of the most common reasons there are fewer girls on the streets (Mathur, 2009). One strategy that street girls employ is taking on the appearance and persona of a street boy in order to reduce the risks of abuse and exploitation (Beazley, 2002; Mathur, 2009). Another more commonly used strategy is to navigate the streets in small groups, and then gather in larger groups, which helps to create their own gendered sense of space (Beazley, 2002). Additionally, they will sleep in

spaces separate from street boys for protection and less risk of sexual exploitation (Scanlon et al., 1993).

Attraction of the Street

It is unquestioned throughout the literature that the sense of freedom that children feel on the street creates an intense attraction to this life (Beazley, 2003a; Demartoto, 2012; Karabanow, 2008; Mathur, 2009; Oliveira et al., 1992; Scanlon et al., 1993; Schimmel, 2006). Often introduced or initiated into street life by siblings, a relative, or through another person who showed them the street life as an alternative, this new world offers an abundance of excitement, opportunity, adventure and camaraderie to a scared, frustrated, neglected child, and a solution to a home environment that is impoverished, abusive, or boring (Beazley, 2003a; Oliveira et al., 1992; Pinzon-Rondon et al., 2008; Scanlon et al., 1993). As Oliveira and colleagues (1992) note, "The street lifestyle is hard and attractive; it abuses and fascinates all kinds of children" (p. 174). There is freedom from institutions, freedom of movement, freedom from commitments, freedom to choose a daily rhythm, to enjoy any facilities existing on the streets and engage in activities of one's choosing, such as playing football, fishing, flying kites, hanging around with friends, laughing and joking (Demartoto, 2012; Scanlon et al., 1993; Schimmel, 2006).

Freedom

The lifestyle of freedom that children experience on the streets is one of the greatest challenges for social care providers who run programs and shelters (Schimmel, 2006). Street children place a high value on this type of extreme freedom and it is essential that service providers attempt to provide the children new ways to conceptualize and experience freedom through creative avenues such as developing intellectual and

artistic capabilities and vocational skills development. However, Karabanow (2008) writes that the euphemism of freedom on the street can eventually give way to boredom, aimlessness, and a desire for something more out of life. In addition, the harsh realities on the street, such as being victims of assaults, overdoses, witnessing violence, involvement with the criminal justice system, and struggling to survive day-to-day, can initiate a re-contemplation of street life and possible street disengagement.

Peer Support and Street-Culture Capital

The street child subculture offers children a collective identity and reference group from within which a child can change any previous negative self-concepts and create a new identity (Beazley, 2003a). Strong bonds are formed with peers through similar backgrounds and experiences, and the friendship network provides safety and assistance in times of crisis (Beazley, 2003a; Mathur, 2009). Over time, with the influence of the street and peer culture, the child's attitude and behaviour will adjust to the street life (Ahmad, Latif & Saripudin, 2008; as cited in Saripudin, 2012).

Rules and Etiquette

Within the group there are certain rules and etiquette to adhere to if a child wishes to be accepted; there can be intense pressure to conform, to represent a shared solidarity, and to protect the best interests of the group (Beazley, 2003a; Mathur, 2009; Scanlon et al., 1993). A child who is new to the street can be assessed by more experienced children as to whether he [or she][1] has the ability to survive in the street lifestyle, and this can include analyzing attitude, independence, strength of character, and the adaptation of the child (Beazley, 2003a). Once accepted, the newcomer is shown how to survive on the

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[1] Beazley (2003a) was referring to the boys that she was studying; however, it seems logical to suggest that this could also refer to girls.

street; the ways in which one can earn money and also informed of the strict spatial territories they may inhabit and operate within. Mathur (2009) writes that, in India, street children spoke of the "friendship rules" and gave the example that, "If a younger child commits an offence, he will be pardoned by the remaining group, but if an older child makes a mistake, he will be bashed up by every child in the group" (p. 315).

Subculture Capital

According to Beazley (2003a) the subcultural capital of street children is an integral part of understanding the values and hierarchies of the street child community. Subcultural capital can be expressed through fashion and belongings, or "being in the know", or "being cool", such as with communicating in the appropriate language (e.g., slang), creating an income in a way that is respected (e.g., busking for money), and displaying the accepted attitude (p. 185). For example, in the *Tikyan* (street boy) community in Indonesia, begging and scavenging as a form of income are the lowest levels of work; it is shameful as it is not seen as being independent, which is highly valued in the community. Earning income from work such as shoe shining, busking, parking cars, or petty theft in local markets is much more respected.

Drugs and Alcohol

Woven into the relationships formed on the street is the use of drugs and alcohol in what may be referred to as a "collective character of consumption" (Beazley, 2003a, p. 196; Karabanow, 2008). In Indonesia, alcohol and drug use are prerequisites for belonging to the group, and are sometimes consumed in a competitive manner (Beazley, 2003a). As Beazley showed, the street children in her study reported sniffing glue to give them hallucinations that they were flying and to ease the pains of hunger. They also took

pills, such as sedatives Mogadon and Rohypnol in large quantities so as to be immobilized for up to three days and thus not have to worry about earning money or looking for food. Another way of getting high included drinking *Autan* (mosquito repellent) and coffee.

Generating Income

Street children work in a number of jobs, including collecting empty bottles, rag-picking, washing and parking cars, carrying goods, polishing shoes, selling items such as newspapers, lottery tickets and flowers, working as a mechanic at car garages, and begging (Balachova et al., 2009; Beazley, 2003a; Mathur, 2009; Oliveira et al., 1992; Scanlon et al., 1993). Most of these jobs do not require specialized skills, training or a significant capital investment, although there are differences between work choices (Mathur, 2009). For example, shoe-shining requires a greater initial investment in a box, polish, brushes and chair; whereas begging does not. Children would often work for long hours and earn little money. Oftentimes the type of job does not fit with the personality of the street child. In Brazil, for example, government programs aimed to help street children gain employment in state or private companies in positions such as office boys and elevator operators (Oliveira et al., 1992); however, as Oliveira and colleagues state, it is rather unrealistic to "expect these vibrant, energetic, highly skilled, fast-thinking youngsters to suddenly fit middle-class stereotypes and perform routine asks all day long, frequently without proper vocational assessment or support" (p. 171).

Work Hierarchy in Indonesia

In Indonesia, street children were found to be working as street musicians, begging, selling items such as cigarettes or bottled water, polishing shoes, helping to park

cars, and renting umbrellas (Demartoto, 2012). These economic activities were usually undertaken in public places such as train stations, bus terminals, markets, street intersections, city parks, garbage dumps and gas stations. Doing *ngamen* (busking) with guitars in Indonesia is not only at the top of the street musician hierarchy but also the entire work hierarchy for street children (Beazley, 2003a). Street boys, in particular, take an immense amount of pride in playing their guitars and this ability carries a significant amount of subculture capital. The most common profession among prepubescent street boys is shoe-shining, which can be highly profitable if the child can elicit sympathy from the public because of their "cuteness"; however, many of these boys desperately aspire to own a guitar and will go to great lengths to save their money to buy one in the hope of moving up the hierarchy.

Crime

Oliveira et al. (1992) and Scanlon et al. (1993) write that it does not take much for a street child to shift towards engaging in criminal activities for survival. If children do not make enough money from working on the streets they will undoubtedly look for alternatives (Scanlon et al., 1993). Since opportunities for formal employment are scarce, children turn to the only jobs available, usually these are marginal and/or illegal, and can subject the children to abuses from police or business inspectors (Oliveira et al., 1992). As such, if the children are not allowed to work because of some technical illegality, they are "pushed into a criminal life, and later blamed and punished for their criminal activities" (Oliveira et al., 1992, p. 173). The lack of opportunities and subsequent discrimination only reinforce negative social behaviour.

Street Skills and Managing the Streets

Children Looking for Comfort at the Lowest Cost

During a research study of street children and their helpers in Mexico, Turnbull and colleagues (2009) discovered – as had many other authors – that street children are far from helpless. Their competence on the street is rooted in an instinct to survive that mans their emotions and impulses, which tend to dominate their judgments (Schimmel, 2006; Turnbull et al., 2009). Of particular interest to the researchers in Mexico was the ways in which the children would question those involved with conducting the research project, that is new unknown adults, in order to assess where these outsiders fit within the child's resource network (i.e., what the child could gain from the outsider and what was expected of the child). This would involve the children asking questions such as whether the newcomers knew other visitors, or if the newcomers would buy them new clothes in exchange for ceasing to use drugs. This questioning by the children was done in a cautious manner so as not to give away too much information in case the outsider was in fact a police officer. The questions and small talk were later understood to be the reception routine that all newcomers received from the street children as a way of gauging the degree to which the new individual may or may not be a useful resource. "In the years or months [the children] had spent on the streets they had both, constructed a resource network, and learned the skills to maintain and manage it" (p. 1285). In answering a researcher's question about what street children want, one child responded by saying that those on the street are looking for comfort at the lowest cost (i.e., least hassle). For example, street children who had been using a particular shelter to sleep at

overnight would be quick to move to another that had fewer rules and in doing so would play these services off against the one another in order to meet their needs.

Strategic Compliance in Research Studies

In Turnbull et al.'s (2009) study, street children are also very familiar with answering survey questionnaires and interviews, and would reply to questions at their own choosing, which could mean telling the truth or refusing to answer, or lying for fun, protection or to tell the interviewer what they wanted to hear (Turnbull et al., 2009). These kinds of responses are termed in the literature as "strategic compliance", which helped the children determine what the helpers expected them to do, and as such they would pretend to comply in the hope of gaining something in return. As Aptekar (1994) pointed out some years ago, "Presenting information about themselves is part of their survival skills, which like those of other nomadic entertainers, rests on their ability to manipulate their audiences" (as cited in Mathur, 2009, p. 302). This manipulation of information allows the children to fire back at a society that stigmatizes and devalues them.

Development of Survival Skills Over Education

Schimmel (2006) writes that street children's socialization processes on the street are conducted primarily by their street-based peers, who place a greater emphasis on the attainment of street survival skills than on the attainment of an education and the development of cognitive skills (i.e., being able to judge their choices critically and in an informed manner without "…constraining influences such as drugs/inhalants, coercion and intimidation, and their own limited cognitive and emotional development") (p. 220). Schimmel critiques academic literature that valorizes children's street survival skills over

the development of the skills and competencies that would allow them to leave the street because this romanticizes street life while showing little concern for the long-term detrimental effects of a life on the street. What Schimmel is saying is that time is of the essence; and while it is fine to look at the strengths street children display, overly focusing on a child's competencies within the context of him or her living on the street undermines the importance and need for children to exit the street and acquire an education. He does this to make the argument that the research should be challenging government agencies to ensure street children have access to education and social supports.

Street Life and Dangers

Street life presents many dangers for children who live and/or work in urban centres. Violence, rape, exploitation, HIV/AIDS, and being targeted by police are examples of the risks that street children face in their every day lives (Balachova et al., 2009; Beazley, 2003a; Demartoto, 2012; Mathur, 2009; Scanlon et al., 1993; Schimmel, 2006). In Indonesia, Demartoto (2012) writes that street children also face the dangers of conflicts with other street children and traffic accidents. As well, in her study of street children in India, Mathur (2009) reports that children from impoverished backgrounds face the risk of being sold by their families where they are then used to work long hours in factories. To illustrate this point, Mathur describes the case of a boy who was sold by his uncle to work in a factory, which meant working 17-hour days, sitting in the same position and facing physical punishment even if minor errors were made. Direct dangerous exploitation of children has also be recorded in Brazil, where parents of the street children would come daily to organize the boys into theft and the girls into selling

goods (Scanlon et al., 1993). Since this street child demographic has been alienated by society, they may be "cleaned up" by police through arrests, harassment and abuse, extortion, and in extreme cases torture and even death (Beazley, 2003a; Scanlon et al., 1993; Schimmel, 2006).

In a US study, that involved interviewing street youths from several cities who were living in shelters, 48% of females and 27% of males had attempted suicide, with 70% of females and 24% of males reporting a history of being sexually abused (Molnar et al., 1998; as cited in Balachova et al., 2009). In a survey of 1,500 street working children in Moscow, Russia, 46% reported being in situations where their health and/or life was in danger (Barkhatov et al., 2002; as cited in Balachova et al., 2009). Furthermore, another survey conducted in 2000 indicated, "…between 20 and 30% of street children under the age of 18 reported an involvement in prostitution or production of pornography" (Barkhatov et al., 2002; as cited in Balachova et al., 2009, p. 30).

Education

Street Children's Lack of Formal Education

Street children often come from a background where they have had little-to-no formal education (Scanlon et al., 1993; Freire, 1970; as cited by Oliveira et al., 1992; Schimmel, 2006). In a study by Lugalla, Mbwambo and Kazeni (1999; as cited in Shimmel, 2006), in which 200 Tanzanian street children were interviewed, 95% reported never attending school whilst on the street. Scanlon and colleagues (1993) write that only 10% of all children in Brazil complete primary school education. And according to Andreev (1999; as cited in Balachova et al., 2009) there are an estimated 1.5 million children in Russia not attending schools; furthermore, in 2004 state education spending in

Russia had fallen to 56% of its 1990 level, with many children turning to labour market work instead (de Rooy, 2004; as cited in Balachova et al., 2009).

The Need for Schools to be Sensitive to Children's Learning Needs

Freire (1970; as cited in Oliveira et al., 1992) writes that while street children may not do well in school, it is the schools that do not do well with those living in poverty, as there is an incompatible lifestyle between the street and school. Additionally, Scanlon et al. (1993) state that for the children who have lived on the streets it is very difficult to return to the strict and structured environment of the schools; particularly if the child has developed the habit of glue-sniffing, which makes concentrating on a curriculum a great challenge. Schimmel (2006) reports that some governments refuse to create school programs for street children, arguing that regular schools are there for the children to attend. However, street children need a type of education that is tailored to their unique needs, with the goal to eventually integrate them back into mainstream schools after a period of transition.

Alternative Education and the "School of Life"

Roaming schools are a type of education program that has had success with the street child population (Schimmel, 2006), as have outreach programs such as health education services that focus on personal hygiene (skin, teeth, eyes), food and drink, illnesses, habits (smoking, drugs and alcohol), and the changes that occur at adolescence (Scanlon et al., 1993). Since poverty is often at the root cause of the street child phenomenon it is not surprising that many children are either not enrolled in school by their parents, or made to leave school and encouraged to work in order to support their families (Oliveira et al., 1992). Despite not attending formal schooling, street children

still value learning, as one child commented, "I left school when I left home… Now I am studying in the school of life. I learn from my observations. I want to learn to read, to write and to draw…" (Oliveira et al., 1992, pp. 172-173).

<div align="center">**Police**</div>

A common theme throughout the research about street children's experience is their involvement with police (Balachova et al., 2009; Beazley, 2003a; Mathur, 2009; Scanlon et al., 1993). A study in India that conducted in-depth interviews with 200 street children reported their attitude towards police as both positive and negative (Mathur, 2009). Questions inquiring about the role of police in their lives revealed that 49% of the children thought the police were "cruel", 32% believed police were "helpful", and 27% had "mixed reactions". As Mathur showed the most frequent complaint about the police was the arrest and holding of street children without charge for up to three days in order to fill the "quota" that police are expected to show for their work on the street, with officers essentially violating the law to meet the number of arrests required by their department or supervisors. While in Russia, human rights organizations have expressed concern about the conduct of police officers towards street children (Balachova et al., 2009). According to a 2005 Russian NGO report, 12-15% of street children reported being beaten by police in their lifetime.

Police Operations Targeting Street Children in Indonesia

In Indonesia, police targeted street children because of their "subversive bodies", which adorn tattoos, piercings, and long hair (Beazley, 2003a). Bodily art forms that were once historically characteristic of South-East Asia and held ritual functions, such as the symbol of a young man's rite of passage, were suppressed with the introduction of Islam

in the 17th century (Reid, 1988; as cited in Beazley, 2003a), which did not consider these practices to be representative of an accepted and civilized body (Grosz, 1995; as cited in Beazley, 2003a). As such, periods of "mysterious killings" of males with long hair and tattoos by authorities in the early 1980s and intense police operations, such as "Operation Street Thug" in Jakarta in the early 1990s, which targeted anyone with long hair or tattoos on the streets and had them arrested, shaved, and "re-educated", lead to an increasing fear of police (Bourchier, 1990; as cited in Beazley, 2003a, p. 193). Street youth resorted to burning off their tattoos with lime or acid during police operation seasons and chose to work in the evenings rather than the daylight hours for fear of being spotted by the authorities and arrested. As a shaved head represents inferior status and is a symbol of shame by way of punishment in Indonesian society, a tactic often used by police, street boys have resorted to collectively shaving their heads as a way of strengthening their solidarity and "to defy and subvert the meaning of the state" (Beazley, 2003a, p. 192).

Police Brutality in Latin America

The majority of studies on street children in Latin American countries report that the greatest fear these children hold is that of police brutality (Pineda, et al., 1978; Fall, 1986; Felsman, 1981; Lusk, 1989; Pereira, 1985; World Report, 2000; as cited in Mathur, 2009). In a study by Scanlon and colleagues (1993), which surveyed the lives of street children in Belem, Brazil through involvement with the Centre for the Defense of the Child (CDM), virtually all the children reported having suffered beatings and extortion by police officers. When the adolescent boys in the study chose to attend the survey sessions they did so in order to speak with the law students of CDM because their

problems on the street frequently involved the police. Furthermore, Scanlon and colleagues (1993) reported that, "60% of Sao Paulo's prison inmates were street children" (p. 18).

Police Death Squads

This fear of police is perpetuated by the use of vigilantes and extermination squads, commonly known as "Death Squads", who with the approval and possible participation of the police, attempt to "clean the streets" of derelict children (Scanlon et al., 1993, p. 17). The attitudes and violence towards street children was epitomized in Rio de Janeiro in July of 1993 when a death squad shot and killed eight children sleeping outside of a church (Diversi, 1995; as cited in Mathur, 2009).

Children's Aspirations to Become Police Officers

Ironically, a study by the Foundation Centre for Socio-Educational Services for Adolescents (CASA) in Sao Paulo, Brazil, found that 30% of street children had ambitions to become police officers, as they believed this would enable them to commit crimes freely without any fear of being caught or beaten (Dimenstein, 1992; as cited in Scanlon et al., 1993).

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Reality Shocks

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Street Children's Transitions from Childhood to Adolescence

One of the more significant reality shocks and transitions street children must face is moving from childhood to adolescence and the physical changes that ensue (Beazley, 2003a). This does not only involve the changes they feel within themselves, but also the changes they experience from the outside world. When street children are younger they are perceived as "cute", and this image typically elicits a more gentle and sympathetic

reaction from the general public and results in more money earned. The longer a young child is on the streets the more his or her identity develops around this "cute" image; however, once their physical features began to take on the look of older children they were treated accordingly - as street thugs. This is a dramatic shift in how the child is perceived by society and often leads to feelings of estrangement and frustration, as the "child's idealized image of the street clashes with their struggle for survival" (Visano, 1990, p. 156; as cited in Beazley, 2003a, p. 187). It is at this point that street children consider returning to mainstream society or to their families. These experiences may be more intense for street children in developing countries, such as Indonesia, compared with developed countries such as the United States, because those from less developed countries tend to leave home at an earlier age to work on the streets and subsequently have many more years of experience in this environment before the transition into adolescence (Beazley, 2003a).

Services for Street Children

Services for street children come in a variety of forms, including shelters, drop-in centres, health clinics, mobile care units, residential care, open houses, and outreach programs (Karabanow, 2008; Saripudin, 2012). These may be government services, or non-government services meant to assist those living on the street, from children to adults. I will describe the variations below from country-to-country.

Variations of Services Across Nations

Examples from Western nations (USA & Sweden)

Balachova and colleagues (2009) highlight the differences of services depending on location, as the causes of children living on the streets and the social and cultural

traditions may change from country-to-country, region-to-region, and district-to-district. The local government is then responsible for the services it implements that pertain to that particular location. For example, the USA emphasizes the need for evidence-based therapies and have developed time-specific, structured, and protocol-based services for children and their families, while in Sweden the social workers' advice, personal support and practical help are the most frequently delivered services (Hessle & Vinnerljung, 1999; as cited in Balachova et al., 2009). However, two typical kinds of services across Western industrialized countries like the USA and Sweden have been the development of child protection agencies that provide case management, supervision and coordination of services for children and families, and the view that, if possible, family preservation and/or reunification is a priority of intervention (Balachova et al., 2009).

Services in Indonesia

The approaches that the government and non-government organizations use for street children in Indonesia vary greatly; however, Demartoto (2012) has categorized three of the main approaches used. Firstly, the street-based approach, whereby street educators (e.g., social workers), who spend many hours on the streets developing relationships with street children, come to the children within their environment on the street (Schimmel, 2006). The workers provide education material and basic skill development instruction. The approach principles are "love, teach, and care for" (Demartoto, 2012, p. 109). Secondly, the centre-based approach involves children entering a program in an institution (i.e., an orphanage) or house, such as residential centres for children who have left the street or drop-in centres for children who still come and go from the street. These settings take on the role of an alternate family and provide

the children's basic needs, psychological and emotional needs, and education. Thirdly, the community-based approach involves the organization advocating for the street child within their community, which is often a *kampung* (village), and includes the child's family and neighbours in reconnecting the child to the their home environment. This is a preventative approach that relies on the community and family for support, with the role of the workers being to provide education on the misunderstandings and stigma of street children.

Child protection and services for street children in Turkey

The primary agency responsible for the protection of street children in Turkey is the General Directorate of Social Services and Child Protection Agency (SHCEK), a government agency (Bademci, 2012). In Istanbul, there are eight Child and Youth Centres that act as day-care or boarding social service units for children living and/or working on the street, and operate with an "open door" system (p. 726). There are three procedural phases for street children. Firstly, temporary housing for the children is provided where they can have their basic needs met; secondly, a rehabilitation process is offered; and thirdly, children can go to school and stay permanently until the age of 18, with the condition that they do not abuse any substances. SHCEK also has mobile teams of professionals, including social workers, psychologists, and teachers, who are on call.

Development of services in Russia

The rising problem of street children in Russia has put pressure on the government to improve prevention and intervention services (Balachova et al., 2009). The advantage that countries such as Russia have is the ability to review programs that

are already in use throughout the world and to develop a model that would work well with the Russian culture and current street child situation.

Services Found in Multiple Locations

Roaming schools and wilderness programs

Schimmel (2006) has reported that roaming schools have also become more popular as a means to bring education to street children. They may take place in public parks, such as in Lima, Peru or railway stations, such as in Bombay and New Delhi, India, and insure that the children receive an education. Considering the highly competitive culture of the street, wilderness programs offer an alternative to this lifestyle and the harsh urban environment, by placing the children in a countryside setting. Wilderness therapy can help street children learn how to relate to one another in a safe setting for personal and communal development, where non-aggressive forms of expression, such as artistic and dramatic, can be used. Children are also taught the valuable life skill of balancing freedom and responsibility (Schimmel, 2006).

Outreach work

According to Schimmel (2006) the outreach work done by street educators – social workers who spend a significant amount of time on the streets with children – can be very successful. Through outreach, relationships of trust and confidence are created, with the workers being able to expand the consciousness of the child about their rights and to consider alternatives to street life. The author states the need to further develop and implement these types of programs and services.

Service Workers' Roles and Responsibilities Across Jurisdictions

The roles and responsibilities of service workers across jurisdictions, who work closely with street children, are often not clearly defined, and at times involve taking on multiple roles while also working with limited resources. Worker confusion and ethical issues often occur as a result of this. In Turkey, Bademci (2012) writes that service providers in SHCEK, the government child protection agency, lack a clear job description, which stems from a management that does not designate clear tasks and roles, and fails to provide adequate resources. As such, workers often take on multiple roles and face inter-professional conflict. For example, a psychologist working with the children expressed her confliction by stating:

> I don't always listen to children as a psychologist. I say things that a psychologist should not say. I am a psychologist and a teacher and a sister for them… my role is indefinable… I actually don't know what I am doing here (p. 728).

Demartoto (2012) also writes of multiple roles of street education workers from an NGO in Indonesia, stating that helpers serve as a "friend, elder brother/sister, godmother/father, caretaker, teacher, defender, and supporter all at once for the children" (p. 112); however, the author does not elaborate as to whether these multiple roles frustrate the workers in the same way as those working for SHCEK in Turkey. The undefined multiple roles that workers take on can lead to ethical concerns, such as with a lack of boundary setting in relationships between workers and the street children (Bademci, 2012); for example, "When the children call the male staff 'dad' and the female staff 'mum', they invest them with a powerful significance" (p. 731), and this is

where clear boundaries are necessary to "protect the service users from mistreatment by the service providers and to establish the professional nature of the relationship" (p. 731).

The Need for Improved Education and Skill Development of Helpers

Across jurisdictions, there is also a need for improved education and skill development of helpers involved with street child populations. Oliveira et al. (1992) found that those working with street children in Brazil succumbed to the prevailing negative stereotypes of the children and viewed them as part of the problem without considering their potential for positive growth; Veeran (2004) highlighted potential challenges with implementing child-centred approaches to working with street kids because of the lack of skills involving children by service providers; and Bademci (2012) found that many of the workers in SHCEK were not formally qualified for their jobs and had not received training by the organization. Additionally, Turnbull and colleagues (2009) write that service providers (the outsiders) should be aware of imposing their meanings of "help", "recovery", and the definition of "street children" on the children who have their own ideas and definitions (p. 1286).

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Success of Services for Street Children

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Successful services for street children are those that foster respect and partnerships, uphold the child's rights, and emphasize love, care, and commitment. The following outlines these key factors in greater detail with an analysis across jurisdictions.

Fostering Respect and Partnership with Street Children

Veeran (2004) stresses that client self-determination, the acknowledging of individual needs, should be the centrepiece of intervention programs. "Provisions of services should reflect the needs and rights of children generally, as well as more

specifically in relation to their living on the street" (Veeran, 2004, p. 364). From this

position children are more likely to be cooperative and enthusiastic about the programs.

"The primary resource of any program is the street children themselves" (Veeran, 2004,

p. 364). Deciding on a name for the service, choosing an emblem, and decorating the

space are examples of how children can take ownership and pride in their cause, and

debates and drama are examples of how children can advocate for their situation and help

to educate their peers (Veeran, 2004). The Child Workers in Nepal Concerned Centre, the

Bangalore Street People's Services, and New York's Street Work Project, are examples

of successful programs that emphasize the principles of partnership and respect for street

children. These projects serve to promote client self-determination and uphold the rights

of the child whatever their circumstances are (Veeran, 2004).

Emphasizing Love and Care

Schimmel (2006) refers to humanist psychologist Abraham Maslow's Hierarchy

of Needs to make the point that far greater attention should be given to the love and

relational needs of the children than what they currently receive. In a study from

Indonesia, Demartoto (2012) advises that no matter what approach is used to work with

street children the most important factors are the empathic attitudes and sincere

commitment of the service providers. Additionally, from studies conducted in Canada,

Karabanow (2008) emphasizes the need for service programs to foster a culture of hope,

whereby, in addition to gaining life skills and employment skills training along with

having basic needs met; street children can begin to regain confidence and self-esteem.

Failure of Services for Street Children

Unfortunately, the failure of services for street children is all too common. A lack of resources and appropriate training for service staff, imposing ideas of help and rehabilitation onto street children, and confronting macro-level issues (e.g., poverty) at the micro-level contribute to the failure of services for street children. The following is a cross-jurisdictional analysis of program failure.

Lack of Resources and Training of Service Staff

Too many services for street children in the developing world are understaffed and suffer from a lack of resources, adequate facilities, and staff training (Bademci, 2012; Saripudin, 2012; Schimmel, 2006). Well-intentioned programs face numerous challenges, such as a lack of resources and funding, lack of training for staff dealing with children with behavioural problems, substance abuse, and trauma from past abuses; all of which leads to children returning to the streets because these services have not been able to meet their needs (Balachova, et al., 2009). An example of such a service is the Open House program, a government initiative aimed at assisting in the re-socialization process of street children throughout Indonesia, which has had minimal success since its implementation in 1998 (Saripudin, 2012). Limited resources, low levels of funding, and lack of staff and adequate training has lessened the effectiveness of the program, and as such, the number of street children has not decreased and the children's "social deviance" (author's words) is still high (Saripudin, 2012, pp. 269-272). However, the author states that the children who do complete the program improve in the areas of self-awareness, understanding the importance of education for their future, self-confidence, problem-solving skills, and social behaviour.

Service staff, who work closely with street children, also may face many challenges as a result of inadequate resources and lack of training. Bademci (2012) detailed inadequacies of the government child protection agency services for street children in Turkey whereby staff reported being close to burnout. This was a result of slow progress with achieving desired outcomes and having few positive results, a lack of resources and training, being overworked, having excessive administrative duties, and constantly facing aggressive behaviour from children, which is psychologically and physically exhausting. "Killing some of your emotions helps you the most to work here," (Bademci, 2012, p. 729) reported one staff member.

Imposing Ideas of Help and Rehabilitation onto Street Children

Oftentimes those behind the design and implementation of services – and subsequently the service staff – have their own ideas about what is best for street children in the way of help and rehabilitation, which can result in children not believing in or committing entirely to one program or service (Turnbull et al., 2009; Veeran, 2004). An example of an initiative that failed as a result of this happened in Durban, South Africa in 1994 when the mayor suggested a means for addressing the needs of street children by offering food, clothing, and shelter in exchange for their service in cleaning up the city and beaches (Veeran, 2004). This initiative completely ignored the needs as identified by the children themselves, and the rights of the child, and subsequently was destined to fail before it had even begun. Furthermore, a project in Nepal attempted to rescue girls on the street by placing them in residential care; however, this was undertaken without their consent and resulted in the girls eventually returning to the streets (Ennew, 1994; as cited in Veeran, 2004).

Turnbull and colleagues found that when services imposed their ideas of help and rehabilitation on street children in Mexico, the children would use a service for their own needs and move on to another service when they felt these needs or desires were not being met. The available services were being used as a resource network, with children moving to and from programs depending on what was offered. This caused the programs to adapt and try to entice the children back to the program, resulting in a "continuous battle that [kept] the children on the streets" (Turnbull et al., 2009, p. 1283).

In many cases, outsiders (the people who try to help street children) who create services will eventually give up, frustrated that their service has been used improperly by the children or because the children have returned to the street despite the program having done everything possible to help (Turnbull et al., 2009). Seeing the outsiders upset is confusing to the children who believe it is the program's fault if they (the children) were persuaded to make promises and commitments, such as staying off the streets or going to school. In order to mitigate such outcomes, the authors suggest that children should be involved in the research and decisions of project evaluation and planning (Ennew, 1994; Veeran, 2005; as cited in Turnbull et al., 2009), as "their survival situation has privileged their instrumental competencies at the expense of the cognitive competences they need to engage in a systematic, long-term project" (Lucchini, 1993; as cited in Turnbull et al., 2009, p. 1287).

However, despite the failures of programs to remove children from the street Turnbull and colleagues (2009) state that services for street children are absolutely necessary. The recommendations are that helpers need to understand their contribution to the problem, and most importantly, anyone working with street children should be aware

of the impact they have on the identity of each child or youth: "It is certain that the role of outsiders as referents for identity formation is far more important than our role as providers of goods and services" (Turnbull et al., 2009, p. 1287).

Confronting Macro-Level Issues (Poverty and Migration) at the Micro-Level

A familiar thread throughout the literature is that the root-cause of the problems are not being dealt with, which in most cases is poverty, and this results in many children returning to the street despite having access to services (Bademci, 2012; Saripudin, 2012). Even when governments attempt to remove children from the street, the poverty that the children and their families face forces them back on the street to earn a living (Bademci, 2012). The children know that these services are not in a position to solve their problems, and as such they will use the services in a way that suits their own needs while seeking to avoid government agency workers who are required to remove them from the street (Bademci, 2012; Turnbull et al., 2009). Child welfare services have been described as bureaucratic and ineffective, and staff at organizations trying to deal with macro-level issues, such as migration and poverty, at a micro-level, will often feel frustrated at their inability to control life outside the organization (Bademci, 2012; Karabanow, 2004).

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Removing Children from the Street

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Removal in Accordance with the UNCRC

Veeran (2004) emphasizes that street children need to be invested in their removal process from the street. She and others also draw attention to the delicate balance between protecting children from dangers and infringing on their rights (Veeran, 2004; Schimmel, 2006). Schimmel (2006) takes the view that governments have a legal and moral obligation to place children in residential care to ensure their basic needs; rights

and safety are met, in accordance with the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) as these needs cannot be assured if the child is living on the street. Because of these legal and moral obligations, Schimmel supports removing children from the streets against their will and with force if necessary, arguing that the longer children stay on the streets the greater their tendency to exhibit symptoms of psychopathology and learned helplessness, whereby children adopt an accepting attitude towards street life and lose the desire and energy to look for alternatives. Still, Schimmel emphasizes the importance of keeping in mind that this process of removal should be done with sensitivity to the child and in accordance with the UNCRC human rights guarantees.

Shortcomings of Removing Children in Accordance with the UNCRC

Veeran (2004) writes that while she acknowledges the UNCRC as the most powerful international voice for children, she stresses that it reflects a Western ideology and concept of childhood as millions of children throughout the world already live in poverty and thus do not sit within the Convention's principles of safety, security, and living in an environment with a nurturing and protective family. Thus, although the Convention serves to influence service provisions for street children, the socio-economic reality of many developing countries is such that the well-intended policies fall short of their purpose.

Removal of Street Children in Indonesia

Within Indonesia, peer reviewed research published between 1995 and 2003 suggests that the desire to be viewed as a modern and progressive state by international investors has increasingly pushed the street child even further to the peripheries of society (Beazley, 2002). Not fitting with the "global export of modern childhood"

(Stephens, 1995, p. 15; as cited in Beazley, 2002, p. 1667) and being seen as defilement

to the increasingly colonized city spaces, street children are accused of committing a

social violation, with authorities justifying their removal. Arrests, imprisonment, and in

extreme cases torture and death are the means by which the streets can be "cleaned up"

(Beazley, 2002; Beazley, 2003a).

Exiting the Street

The literature that I was able to locate for this review largely explores street

engagement and street culture; that is, how children and youth enter the street and what

the experience of street life is like. However, so far where published research is

concerned, there has been little focus on how and why children and youth choose to exit

the street and detach from street culture (Karabanow, 2008). One such study that

explored street exit from the individual's perspective is a study conducted by Karabanow

(2008), who interviewed 128 young people and 50 service providers in six Canadian

cities and outlined six interrelated dimensions to the street exiting process. This article

presents the most in depth and comprehensive analysis of exiting the street from the

literature.

The process of disengagement as outlined by Karabanow (2008) involves six

stages that street youth experienced: 1) contemplation, 2) motivation to change, 3)

securing help, 4) transitioning from the street, 5) changing routine, and 6) "successful"

exiting. These stages are described in greater depth as follows:

Contemplation

In the contemplation stage, street youth begin reconsidering their lives on the

street (Karabanow, 2008). Based on Karabanow's research, three factors appear to

instigate this thought process: 1) experiencing a traumatic event(s), such as physical and/or sexual abuse, drug overdoses, and involvement with the criminal justice system; 2) becoming disenchanted with street life; and 3) becoming bored with street life. Reconsideration comes into play when the initial infatuation with the street has given way to boredom, aimlessness, and a desire for something more.

Motivation to Change

The second stage involves the individual young person's courage to change (Karabanow, 2008). The factors that come into play in this stage include: 1) an increase in responsibilities, such as becoming pregnant or involvement in an intimate relationship; 2) receiving support from family and friends; 3) feeling cared for; and 4) creating a personal commitment towards change. An important facet of this stage is the presence of support systems that surround youth and help them feel as though someone believes in them no matter what.

Securing Help

This third stage overlaps with the second stage, and involves seeking and securing help within the early stages of street exit (Karabanow, 2008). More specifically it includes: 1) using available services; 2) seeking employment and stable housing; and 3) involvement in formal institutions, such as going back to school or entering supportive housing. In this stage youth participants also stressed the importance of service providers, who offered support and care while helping the youth to find employment, housing, and education.

Transitioning from the Street

Stage four is perhaps the most difficult stage as youth physically remove themselves from the street environment (Karabanow, 2008). The facets of this stage involve: 1) physically disengaging from the street; 2) reducing connections with street culture and friends on the street; and 3) creating new relationships with mainstream society, such as making new friends and engaging in new activities. One of the most challenging phases of this transition was severing street-based relationships. This typically involves a slow and gradual process as relationships with street-based friends and surrogate families were usually forged during extremely stressful survival situations and in some cases the street communities represented the first experiences of security, acceptance, and love for street youth; as such, experiencing feelings of guilt, disloyalty and loneliness were a common occurrence. Drug use is also linked strongly with relationships, and provides a multi-layered challenge to street exit and oftentimes enough reason to stay on the street. At the same time, youth are also leaving the service workers who helped in their transition and who were often seen as surrogate parents, which makes the transition even more challenging.

Changing Routine

In stage five, youth form a new life routine (Karabanow, 2008). This involves: 1) education, employment, and housing; 2) a change in future goal-setting and aspirations; and 3) receiving social support to aid in the transition. In this stage youth reported being happier, healthier, and more motivated. In particular, education and employment helped replace the street activities and the change in lifestyle lead youth to feel more positive about their future.

"Successfully" Exiting

The final stage "…primarily embodies young people's emotional and spiritual sense of identity" (Karabanow, 2008, p. 784) such that youth feel they have control and direction in their lives. This stage involves: 1) youth feeling proud of moving away from the street; 2) being able to enjoy life; 3) an increase in self-esteem; 4) being independent and self-sufficient; and 5) having stability (i.e., with housing and health).

According to Karabanow's (2008) findings, the key turning point in the street exiting process comes from the individual themselves. In that study, former street youth reported that the choice to leave the streets came without any specific reason other than feeling that, "enough was enough" or, "something clicked in my head". The service providers echoed these findings by saying it was nearly impossible to decipher what exactly it was that propelled street youth to exit the streets, other than they were, "finally prepared [to leave]" (p. 777). However, their motivation to change was very much influenced by having support from family, friends or someone who cared.

Karabanow's (2008) study highlights the need for programs and services for street children as they not only provide basic needs, and life and employment skills training, but perhaps more importantly, a community space where young people can begin to regain confidence and self-esteem within a "culture of hope" (p. 780).

<div align="center">

Gaps in the Literature

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The majority of the global literature regarding street children involves street engagement and street culture; the causes and consequences of street life have been thoroughly researched, including issues of poverty, family dysfunction, abuse and trauma, exploitation, addiction, and mental health (Karabanow, 2008). While these areas

of research provide valuable insights into the street child phenomenon there are a number of gaps in the body of research involving street children that still need to be addressed. These gaps in the literature, as identified by the articles reviewed, include the need for a greater understanding of the lives of street girls; how and why street children exit the street; assessing the service delivery for street children from the workers' perspective; and comparing the perspectives of street children and service providers (Bademci, 2012; Beazley, 2002; Beazley, 2003a; Karabanow, 2008; Oliveira et al., 1992; Scanlon et al., 1993).

Street Girl Populations

Scanlon and colleagues (1993) suggest that studies exploring the lives of females and young children living on the street have largely been ignored. From my understanding of the literature, this is most likely due to the fact that there are significantly less females on the street in comparison to males, and as Beazley (2003a) writes, "…street girls are less visible [because] they do not engage in the same income-earning activities as the boys…street girls [usually] survive by being looked after by their 'boyfriends', their principal guarantors of income and protection" (p. 198; as cited in Beazley, 2002). Further research into the lives of street girls is important because, "…[street girls'] social position is even more marginal than that of street boys…[as] they are not only harassed by the state, but also by men and boys on the street" (Beazley, 2002, p. 1666).

Exiting Processes of Street Children

Karabanow (2008) writes that there is a rich literature that explores the causes and consequences of street life – such as poverty, family violence, abuse, addictions, and

exploitation – but little about exiting the street. Karabanow suggests that this creates an incomplete understanding of street life career cycles; from the beginning (i.e., causes and street entry) until the end (i.e., "successful" street exit, disconnecting from street culture, and forging a new stable life routine). He notes that in particular, there is a need for research that explores the street exiting processes from the perspective of both the children or youth and the service providers. He suggests that a greater understanding of the complete career cycle can help inform the development and implementation of services for street children and youth.

Assessing the Service Delivery for Street Children from the Worker's Perspective

Bademci (2012) states that, in Turkey, the street child phenomenon has been approached as a socio-economic problem with a focus on the micro and macro levels, while the field of service provision for street children, where workers interact with the children (i.e., the meso-level), has yet to be investigated. She also notes that in particular, the voice of the front-line workers is missing (Kidd, Miner, Walker & Davidson, 2007; as cited in Bademci, 2012). In her study, Bademci (2012) sought to "…explore the nature and organization of state welfare service provision for street children in Istanbul and to develop a conceptual framework of state welfare service provision for street children in Istanbul from the service providers' point of view" (p. 725). The primary finding from Bademci (2012) is that "…service provision cannot be assessed without the direct investigation of service providers because the service providers themselves determine the scope and the quality of the service provisions" (p. 733). The author suggests an increase in research at the meso-level, such as with the staff's position in relation to the street children, with a focus on giving primacy to the voice of the workers.

Comparing the Perspectives of Street Children and Service Providers

In 1992, Oliveira and colleagues wrote that most studies only present the opinions and assessments of professionals, or only the needs and problems expressed by the street children. The authors highlight the importance of studies comparing the opinions of the street children and those of the professionals working with the same children in order to highlight potential differences. This is important because, as the authors indicate in their study comparing "…youths' perceptions of health, lifestyles, attitudes and behaviours, existential thoughts and psychological characteristics" (p. 164) with "…service providers' understanding of street youths' attitudes and beliefs" (p. 164) the findings highlighted possible biases from those working in the field about their interpretations of street children's inner realities; as such, dominant generalizations of street children can become a problem (e.g., placing blame on the child or youth, negative labeling, seeing them as a burden on society) as opposed to seeing their strengths and potential. Comparative studies such as this can help promote "…a critical reflection on the education of all those who directly become involved in serving this vulnerable population group" (Oliveira et al., 1992, p. 175).

Summary and Conclusion

In this chapter I sought to review the academic literature reporting on the street child phenomenon throughout the world. Research studies from a number of different countries were reviewed and showed that the street child phenomenon is primarily the result of poverty and inequalities throughout the world. Street children can be found in both developed and developing countries; although it can be expected that generally children enter the street at a younger age in less economically developed countries

(Beazley, 2003a). Street children are far from helpless, and have an abundance of strengths and capacities that throughout their time on the street are channelled into survival skills and instincts. Programs and services for this vulnerable population can only do so much to counter this problem when they are battling a macro-level issue at the micro/meso-level (Bademci, 2012). Nonetheless, services that emphasize partnership and respect for street children, in addition to upholding their rights and providing opportunities for a sense of ownership within the service, have a greater chance of success (e.g., children are more likely to be cooperative and enthusiastic about the program) (Veeran, 2004).

My review showed that there is a significant amount of research articles about the causes and experiences of children on the streets but less research on the street girl populations, the street exiting process, service providers' views, experiences and understandings of working with street children, and comparing the perspectives of street children and service providers (Bademci, 2012; Beazley, 2003a; Karabanow, 2008; Oliveira et al., 1992; Scanlon et al., 1993). Accordingly, I turn my attention to these issues and do so in a non-Western country, where little such research has been conducted. My research question is: *Why do street-involved children in Indonesia choose to exit the streets and how do they do it?* I chose to conduct my study in Indonesia because 1) Indonesia is known to have a large population of street children; 2) I am familiar with the country, its people, language, culture and customs, after having lived there for over four years; and 3) Indonesia would provide a different context (i.e., politically, economically, socially, culturally) for which to understand children's street exiting processes – in

comparison to Karabanow's (2008) study of youth exiting the street in Canada. In the

chapter that follows I will outline how I conducted my study.

Chapter 3 - Methodology

Research Aims and Questions

As noted in Chapter Two, the research question that I sought to answer with this study is: *Why do street-involved children in Indonesia choose to exit the streets and how do they do it?* The *why* part of the question aimed to explore the reasons the individual wants to leave the street. The *how* part of the question aimed to understand the choices these individuals made and the strategies they used to disengage from street life.

Methodology

In order to explore, describe and interpret the street exiting process of children in Indonesia I chose to conduct this research using the strategies employed in ethnography. However, I wish to clarify that this study should be understood within the parameters of an MA thesis, whereby the process did not consist of a long-term ethnographic study, but rather it borrowed from ethnographic traditions (i.e., observations and interviews) in order to meet the expectations of an MA thesis and fit within an eight-week practicum conducted in Indonesia.

Ethnographic research seeks to describe and interpret the shared patterns of values, behaviours, beliefs, experiences and language of a culture-sharing group (Harris, 1968; as cited in Creswell, 2007; Padgett, 2008). This approach involves extended observations of the group whereby the researcher is immersed in the day-to-day lives of the people, engaging in intense and on-going observation, taking field-notes, and interviewing the group participants who are the researcher's key informants (Rieger, 2012) with respect to the life worlds and experiences of the people the researcher is seeking to understand. Essentially, the ethnographer is entering the everyday lives of

those whose situations are being studied and with the help of local key informants,

develops the "thick description" necessary for grasping how people construct and share

meaning within a cultural group (Dietz, Prus & Shaffir, 1994; Glesne, 2011).

Ethnography has been used primarily in the field of anthropology, but is also used in

other disciplines including sociology, education, and nursing. There are a number of

forms of ethnography, such as auto-ethnography, feminist ethnography, life history, and

visual ethnography (i.e., photography and video) (Creswell, 2007). Ethnography

"embraces cultural relativism, a perspective holding that cultures must be understood on

their own terms, not judged by the beliefs and values of other more powerful cultures"

(Fetterman, 1989; as cited in Padgett, 2008, p. 31).

　　　　Writing about culture can be traced back to ancient Greece during the 3rd century

BC, where Herodotus, known as the father of history, visited with numerous cultures to

document their traditions and sociopolitical practices (Clare, 2003). However,

ethnographic reports occurred on a larger scale during the European colonization period

when explorers, missionaries, and administrators documented the people and cultures

they encountered with the goal to "civilize" the world (Glesne, 2011). Furthermore, in the

1800s anthropologists embraced the theory of social evolution, which placed people and

societies at different stages along the societal development continuum, creating an

academic anthropological racism as Europe was considered the standard for

"civilization". Ethnographers W.E.B. Dubois and James Joyce, who were activists and

writers of the early 1900s, bravely attacked imperialism and the various oppressions it

exemplified (Clare, 2003). Both were praised as being fundamental to the future

movements in ethnography, whereby former subjects of colonization would use

ethnography to critique what was written about their cultures and to turn the focus onto the colonizers' practices (Glesne, 2011).

In the early 1920s sociologists began to study the urban poor, with schools of ethnography developing from the fieldwork conducted in London, Chicago, and Philadelphia (Clare, 2003). One of the most renowned schools was the University of Chicago, where sociologists began studying people in their own communities, both exotic and marginal (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992; as cited in Creswell, 2007; Glesne, 2011). The researchers saw Chicago as their laboratory while conducting urban fieldwork, producing some of the most revered ethnographic texts, including Anderson's *The Hobo*, 1923; Shaw's *The Jack Roller*, 1930; and Zorbaugh's *The Gold Coast and the Slum*, 1929 (Glesne, 2011).

Historically, ethnographic researchers appeared unaware of their own assumptions and biases, which lead to a great deal of discrimination of observed cultures; therefore, contemporary ethnographers "…are attempting to unveil not only the biases of the past, but also add reflexive interpretations that speak to their own cultural assumptions and prejudices" (Clare, 2003, p. 20). Many ethnographers are now women who come from a variety of different backgrounds: socioeconomic, ethnic, gay and lesbian, and non-Western groups (Glesne, 2011). Today, a number of alternative forms of ethnography that adhere to different theoretical orientations and aims exist, such as structural functionalism, symbolic interactionism, feminism, Marxism, interpretivism, critical theory, and postmodernism (Atkinson & Hammersley, 1994; as cited in Creswell, 2007; Clare, 2003).

The theoretical framework from within which I work is interpretivism, which holds the ontological belief that reality is socially and experientially constructed in the world through inter-subjective meanings and understandings; it is complex and ever changing (Glesne, 2001). Thus, there is no direct and consistent understanding of the world because "…the world is always interpreted through mind" (Schwandt, 2007, p. 143; as cited in Glesne, 2011, p. 8) and through the social constructions (e.g., language, wider-societal thought, political structures etc.) that individual perspectives interact with (Glesne, 2011). The social scientist working within this paradigm desires to access other people's interpretations of a social phenomenon and to understand and interpret these. In doing so the researcher takes on a role of personal involvement and empathic understanding.

The Location of my Study

From April to June 2014, I undertook a practicum at an NGO in Jakarta, Indonesia that provides services for street-involved children and youth. This allowed me to not only fulfill the practicum related degree requirements of my Masters program but also to locate my research in a setting where I had previous experience and some established relationships that could help me in my role as researcher. Throughout this thesis I will be referring to this NGO as "the organization" in order to maintain anonymity. The organization acts in a boarding school style fashion, with between 60-80 children and youth who have disengaged from street life living full-time on the campus in dorm-room type living quarters, while attending regular school and/or skill development classes within the organizational grounds. The services are offered free of charge. The curriculum has been designed to correspond to the needs of the children and youth, to

encourage them to study, to guide them to discover their individual talents, to foster

creativity, and to support the development of a good character. The services of the

organization extend into outreach work (e.g., building relationships with children, youth,

and families who are still engaged with street life, and offering alternatives to a life on

the street by joining the organization), and an adaptation program – located in the

countryside separate from the main organization setting – that aids in helping children

adapt to a more consistent routine that aligns with the services of the organization and to

help with the detoxing process of various forms of substance use before children are

relocated to the main organization campus. In order to provide these services, the

organization relies heavily on funding from public donations, and various associations,

businesses, and banks. Government funding is inconsistent and ranges from being

minimal to non-existent; it depends greatly on the policy of that time (i.e., when the

policy changes the funding changes).

Ultimately, the organization aims to reunite children with their families and/or

provide support for families in need; however, if this is not possible or there are other

risks involved (e.g., safety issues within the family) the children are welcomed into the

organization. An important component of how this organization's function is that

children have the choice to enter or to leave (i.e., they are not forced to attend). This does

not mean they can come-and-go every few days, similar to what a drop-in centre may

look like. On the contrary, if a child wishes to enter the organization there is a certain

commitment required, and this is discussed with one of the intake staff, who will talk

with the child and inquire as to why he or she wishes to enter and what they are hoping to

gain from this. Informal interviews such as this attempt to maintain a consistent "culture"

within the organization rooted in commitment, goal setting, and a desire to change. Oftentimes children will want to enter the organization to simply "hang out" or "meet a friend", which would not be considered reasonable justification for entering. Furthermore, the organization is not affiliated with any religion or religious endeavour, and children are free to choose their own religion and are expected to respect the religious choices of their peers. Close to 90% of children in the organization consider themselves Muslim and the remaining 10% Christian. Volunteers, both local and from abroad, are welcome to offer their knowledge and skills, and have the option to live on-campus if needed. The age for exiting – or graduating from – the organization is generally 18 years, although in certain circumstances this may be extended, and the staff do the best they can to help alumni transition into independent living, such as helping to secure a job and find housing.

My Role as Volunteer and Participant Observer

I chose to undertake my Master's practicum and conduct my thesis research at this organization because I believed it would provide me the best opportunity to build rapport with the youth and staff that I would interview, as well as provide a broader ethnographic experience of getting to know the context, location, and issues associated with street exiting, including an introduction to the local language spoken by the children and their interaction styles, daily routines and power structures; thus, enabling a sense of what types of dialogue may arise in the interviews (Kvale, 1996). In essence, this environment would provide me the platform from which to become connected with youth who have lived on the street – who have since exited – and youth workers who may have assisted in their exiting from the street.

I am also familiar with the culture, language and customs in Indonesia after having lived there for over four years. This country feels like a second home to me and I am often drawn back there to travel and visit friends. I have also worked closely with street children and their families in Sri Lanka for a seven-month period designing and implementing a sustainable day-care centre to meet their basic needs, which has helped me to further understand this population of individuals. These collections of experiences helped provide the basis for building strong relationships with the children, youth, and staff at this organization, and also helped to speed up the adjustment phase and/or culture shock upon arrival from Canada.

As a volunteer at this site, my role was to provide whatever skills or knowledge I had to offer in a way that would contribute to the programs that were running and the school lessons in the organization. More specifically this involved the following:

- To locate areas of need at the group/organizational level in the practicum placement – which happened to be issues of student bullying and distracting others in the classrooms – and to develop culturally sensitive and sustainable interventions in collaboration with local staff to meet this need and to supervise/administer implementation. This involved working together with the classroom teacher in creating and presenting a workshop for students (13-16 years old) that explored their motivations for bullying behaviour, provided a framework for viewing their options and making choices regarding their behaviour in a variety of circumstances, and collaborating with students to create rules within the classroom setting and consequences for breaking them with the overall aim to, a) reduce the time spent by the teacher repeatedly micromanaging student conflicts,

and b) to create a classroom culture where student interaction is more supportive and less adversarial.

- Collaborating with staff to plan follow-up sessions, building upon or refreshing what was enacted with the first bullying intervention (e.g., supporting the sustainability of interventions once I had completed my practicum).

- To identify specific learning needs of individual students in the classroom and provide supplementary assistance in order to help students increase their knowledge and understanding of the subject area (e.g., English, mathematics). The focus was to build upon strengths and to encourage progress that students made.

- To establish connections and build relationships between the organization and the community. This was undertaken through outreach work with the intention to inform children, youth, and families of available services, answer any questions, help to determine if the organization is an appropriate fit, and - if they choose – facilitate their entry into the program.

- To aid students in preparation for a musical performance, with a focus on stage presence, proper vocal pronunciation (e.g., if song is in English), and strengthening weaker areas of playing guitar and singing.

Additionally, I would often speak informally with staff about various learning styles of students or developmental theories that they felt were suitable in the Indonesian and street child cultures. Oftentimes, when I was not meeting one of the specific goals listed above, I was organizing sports or activities with the children, engaging in conversations, and observing their interactions.

Key Informant Participant Selection

I aimed to conduct interviews with up to six youth and three staff members. I had

visited this organization a number of times over the past three years on trips back to

Indonesia (as I was curious about the street children populations because of my

experiences in Sri Lanka); during which time I had created a rapport with the manager,

who agreed to assist me in the recruitment process. This process involved the manager

introducing my study at staff meetings, youth group meetings, or on individual basis' by

following the study speaking points outlined in the Letter of Information (Appendix A)

and providing Consent Forms (Appendix B, C, D, and E) and Introductory Scripts

(Appendix F and G) in order for potential participants to gain a better idea of the study

and to contact me directly if they were interested. The Consent and Introductory Script

forms were provided in both English and Indonesian languages. Participants then

contacted me either by telephone or in-person on the organization campus to discuss the

study further and arrange a time and space for the interviews to take place.

As per the Letter of Information (Appendix A), I sought two groups of

participants: for group one I sought up to six youth who had previously lived on the

street, and for group two I sought up to three youth workers (staff or associates of the

organization) who have experience working closely with street-involved children and

youth. The specific criteria for both groups was as follows:

The criteria for Group One participants included:
- male or female participants;
- between the ages of 15-24;
- who have disengaged from street life;
- have completed the three-step program at [this organization] (including detoxification of any substances); and
- are currently in a more stable life routine either attending school, gaining vocational training, or working.

The criteria for Group Two participants included:
- male or female participants;
- staff or associates of this organization; and
- have had significant experience supporting children and youth to exit street life.

Key Informant Characteristics

A total of nine key informant participants were interviewed in this study,

consisting of six youth and three staff members. Of the youth participants selected, three

were still living full-time at the organization and attending school or skill training, while

the other three had moved on from the organization and were living independent lives,

with two working full-time and one studying at university full-time. Of the six youth,

four were male and two were female, aged between 15-24 years. All youth participants

were of Indonesian nationality with ethnic backgrounds consisting of Javanese,

Bataknese, and Palembangese. Youth participants spoke predominantly Indonesian

language, yet were also able to converse in basic levels of English. Five identified as

Muslim and one identified as Christian. The staff participants consisted of two females

and one male, between 25-45 years of age, and had worked in varying capacities with the

children and youth in the organization, including the roles of caregiver, outreach worker,

and schoolteacher. All staff were of Indonesian nationality, Javanese and Bataknese

ethnicity, with 2-7 years experience working with children and youth involved with the

street, and were able to communicate comfortably in English.

My reasoning for conducting interviews with both a staff group and a youth

group, as opposed to only one group, was to broaden the scope of what would be shared

of the street exiting process. With the youth group I assumed their experiences would be

more focused on their own personal journey from the street, while the staff would have

experienced a number of children leaving the street and would possibly have been involved with this process. This also provided the opportunity to note any differences in statements of the same issue, experience or process between and within the two groups.

Introduction to the key informant participants

The six youth participants have had significant experience living on the street as children and have since exited street life and are currently in stable life routines. Given the primacy of their voices in this study, I have used pseudonyms when detailing their experiences (each youth chose his or her own pseudonym). The three staff participants have had various experiences working closely with children associated with the street; including teaching at the alternative school in the organization, outreach work with children still on the street, and working in the parenting division of the organization, where staff take on parenting roles and responsibilities. I have presented the staff voices in a more generalized manner throughout the thesis without the use of pseudonyms in order to provide increased anonymity. The duration of each interview was between one and two hours, with all being conducted in person.

Data Collection

Ethnographers typically rely on three sources of data: observation, participant-observation, and key informant interviews (Dietz, Prus & Shaffir, 1994). For this study I collected data through, 1) my own participant-observation and field notes, and 2) interviews with key informants. My participant-observation was in important data collection method because I was spending a significant amount of time volunteering in the same setting where the children and youth live. My field note-taking focused largely on the relational dynamics among the key informants and others in their life worlds that

is how the youth on campus interacted with one another, staff, and volunteers. I usually

wrote my field notes at night when I had time to reflect on the day or week just

completed. The key informant interview sessions were taped on a digital audio recorder

and later transcribed (the transcription process is outlined in this chapter under the

heading "Transcription"). I made use of a semi-structured interview process, which

allowed me to have some structure in exploring my research topic, as well as allowing for

"spontaneous, lively, and unexpected answers from the interviewees" (Kvale, 1996, p.

129).

Participant-observation brings the researcher closer to the lived experiences of the

participants – more so than straight observation – with a deeper and more active and

interactive role allowing for greater "opportunities to gain insight into the viewpoints and

practices of the other" (Dietz, Prus & Shaffir, 1994, p. 21). My observations were

important in adding greater depth to understand how the youth participants' lives are

structured after having left the street, such as with their daily routines, interactions, the

sharing of space (i.e., two-to-three people in bedrooms), changes in character or

confidence, and what things helped them resist re-engaging with street life. For example,

I would sometimes hear children state, "I'm no longer a street child." I observed that the

children and youth took a lot of pride in their new self-identities and in not being street

children anymore. Additionally, while my observations provided deeper insights they

also inspired additional questions for interview sessions, where I was able to inquire

about something I had observed or engaged with while volunteering in the organization.

While my participant-observations helped me to build an additional layer of

understanding for this study, the interviews were to be the primary source of data

collection. The interviews were conducted at a location of the participants' choosing, which for eight of the interviews was on campus in an empty classroom at the organization. Abdul was the only participant whose interview was not at the organization; he asked if the interview could be done near the restaurant where he worked as he was working long shifts and coming to the organization would be difficult, to which I obliged without question.

At the beginning of interview sessions, I provided participants with a context for the interview; this included: thanking them for agreeing to be interviewed; explaining the purpose of the interview; providing a brief summary of my background; the use of the tape recorder; reading over and signing "consent to be interviewed" forms; and asking if they had any questions before the interview began (Kvale, 1996). As I required the use of a translator in some interviews, I arranged for interviews to run between one-and-a-half and two hours, so as to allow time for translation to take place throughout the interview. Translation and communication is described in more detail in the following section titled, "Translation".

My interview questions were provided in both English and Indonesian languages (see Appendix I, J, K, and L). In considering the sequencing of questions, I decided to move in a chronological pattern. For the youth I began by asking how the participant came to live on the street, what street life was like, how he or she exited the street, and the adjustment to life after the street. Given the overall aim of the study, the interview questions were more heavily weighted towards the exiting process. For staff participants I began the interviews by asking about their role with the organization and their understanding of street children, before moving on to what they see as the children's

processes of leaving the street, adjustment to a new way of life, and services that helped in this transition.

As a compliment to the interview questions I used probes to assist in eliciting deeper and richer responses. These included going deeper ("Can you tell me more about…?); going back ("Earlier you said _____, please tell me…?); clarifying ("And were you the same age when you first entered the street?"); steering ("That's interesting, but can we go back to…?"); and contrasting ("How do your experiences in this organization compare to those on the street?) (Padgett, 2008, p111). I made sure to remind participants (particularly the youth) that this study and my questions were not about judging their experience, but about understanding their experience. However, the youth participants seemed more than comfortable sharing their experiences. At a later time I mentioned the comfort level of the youth in the interviews to staff members and the manager, who commented that the children and youth in the organization are familiar with participating in interviews with people asking about their life on the street.

Towards the end of the interview sessions, I reviewed some of the points I had learned to give the participant a chance to comment on my grasp of what I believed they had been telling me (Kvale, 1996). I also made sure that I asked the participant if they had any additional questions, comments, or concerns about the interview session before we ended the session. Once both the participant and I had agreed the interview was over I presented the interviewee with a small gift as a token of appreciation for taking the time to be interviewed. The gift, such as a t-shirt, diary and pens, or Starbucks vouchers cost between CA$15-20.

Translation

Given the time restraints and limited funds I had for this study, my best chance to conduct this type of research (ethnographic, cross-cultural research with language barriers) was to enlist the aid of a close friend, who I will refer to as Mr. A for reasons of confidentiality, to help translate between the participant and myself in the interviews that required a translator. Mr. A is an Indonesian who I have known for thirteen years; he is fluent in English and has worked consistently in a number of English speaking environments. Mr. A agreed to help with translating and did not wish to receive payment for his service, despite insisting that I wanted to pay him and the repeated emphasis I placed on the high level of professionalism required of this role (i.e., not being late for interviews). Participants were made aware that there would be a translator present in the interviews if needed and that he would be required to sign a confidentiality agreement (Appendix H).

Mr. A conducted himself with a professional manner throughout the duration of the study, helping to arrange interviews with participants, familiarizing himself with the research aims and interview questions ahead of time, ensuring to be at interviews on time, to be available for any follow-up questions after interviews, and to build rapport with participants before interviews began. Additionally, we are both familiar with one another's communication styles, as we converse sometimes in English and other times in Indonesian, which helped the fluidity of communicating with each other in the interview sessions.

Translation was needed in all six interviews with youth, although some youth could speak limited amounts of English. All three staff interviews were conduced in

English. As I am comfortable conversing in casual Indonesian language, I was able to understand certain comments made by the youth and could clarify my understanding with Mr. A.

With regard to how the actual translation took place in the interviews, Mr. A and I had decided upon an approach whereby he would translate verbatim as the participant was speaking. For the most part he would wait for the participant to finish a sentence and then translate to English what was said. This same process was replicated when I spoke English that needed to be translated to Indonesian for the participant. Further discussion of the translation procedure in interviews and the certain limitations of this approach are outlined in a later section titled, "Limitations and Ethical Issues."

Transcription

I attempted to complete the transcriptions within a week or two of the interview taking place while I was still in Indonesia. Eventually I did run out of time and was unable to transcribe three of the last interviews until I arrived back in Canada. I wanted to complete the transcriptions in Indonesia because it would provide me 1) the chance to review the data (i.e., informing the early stage of analysis), and 2) give me the opportunity to speak with participants in person if I had any questions, as I knew attempting to make contact once I had returned to Canada would be very difficult, especially considering the language difference with youth participants.

The staff interviews were transcribed verbatim from the participants' voices; however the youth interviews were transcribed verbatim from the translator Mr. A. This meant that majority of the vocal expressions of the youth; such as *umm, hmm, ah*, and *yeah*, were not transcribed. This is discussed in greater detail in the section titled,

"Limitations and Ethical Issues." In the process of transcribing I checked the transcripts with the original audio recordings to ensure greater accuracy and that transcripts were true to the voice of staff participants and the translations of Mr. A.

Analysis and Representation

"Content analysis is a careful, detailed, systematic examination and interpretation of a particular body of material in an effort to identify patterns, themes, biases, and meanings" (Berg & Latin, 2008; Leedy & Ormrod, 2005; Neuendorf, 2002; as cited in Berg, 2004, p. 349). This involves coding the data (e.g., the interviews) and transforming those codes into themes in order to address the research question of this thesis. As I was working within an interpretative theoretical orientation, I organized the data in a way that aims to present patterns of human activity, behaviours, and meaning.

To help guide the analytic process of the data collected I chose to use Braun and Clarke's (2006) step-by-step outline of a thematic analysis, which "is a method for identifying, analyzing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data" (p. 79). This aids in the organizing and describing of the data, in addition to providing a preliminary interpretation of parts of the research topic (Boyatzis, 1998; as cited in Braun & Clark, 2006). Thematic analyses are not limited to one theory or epistemology and can be used rather broadly (Braun & Clark, 2006), as such I believed this analytic tool to be helpful in providing a rich and detailed presentation of the data.

The first step suggested by Braun and Clarke (2006) is to become familiar with the data. For me, this involved transcribing the interviews, reading over the data a number of times in the search for patters and meanings, and writing down any ideas for coding. Despite the time-consuming process of transcribing all nine interviews, this was

very helpful in providing another layer of familiarity to the data; reintroducing me again to what was spoken about while conducting the interviews.

The second step in this kind of analysis that I engaged in is to generate initial codes. Boyatzis (1998, p. 63; as cited in Braun & Clarke, 2006) states that,

> Codes identify a feature of the data (semantic content or latent) that appears interesting to the analyst, and refer to 'the most basic segment, or element, of the raw data or information that can be assessed in a meaningful way regarding the phenomenon' (p. 88).

To aid in the process of coding I used "Dedoose," an online qualitative research and mixed methods research program. I was familiar with this program having used it to analyze secondary data collected by a professor teaching a Child and Youth Care Seminar class that I was attending. Additionally, while the program is relatively easy to learn it is also inexpensive. Once I had transcribed the interviews in Microsoft Word documents they were uploaded to Dedoose where I began coding by highlighting relevant text and allocating a code(s) to it. For example, below I have used an excerpt from an interview with a staff participant speaking about street children, and I have indicated the codes I drew from this passage:

> There's no responsibility at all. When they're hungry they just beg for money, or if they don't get any money at all they just ask their friends and their friends just give it to them. The solidarity is very tight. The bond.

This excerpt was coded for: 1) Friends/Gang on the street, 2) Freedom & independence, and 3) Begging. In undertaking this process I aimed to code for as many themes as possible from the data, attempted to retain some context within the coded excerpt (a standard criticism of coding is the lack of context) (Bryman, 2001; as cited in

Braun & Clarke, 2006), and assign codes to as many excerpts as applicable; whether that be one code or five codes for an excerpt (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

The third step in the analysis process is searching for themes. This involved sorting the codes into the broader category of themes and considering how differing codes may be related and placed under the same theme (Braun & Clarke, 2006). I also considered the relationship between primary themes and subthemes (i.e., themes within a theme). For example, a main theme from the data was, "Creating an Income", and subthemes included, "Begging" and "Sweeping Train Station Floors." As I prefer a more "hands-on" approach, the method I used in this process was to print out all the excerpts and assigned codes (using Dedoose helped a lot with this), which I referred to as the "Excerpts Booklet" (over 150 pages) and then while reading through each excerpt I would mark down what themes it fits within on a separate page I referred to as "Themes"; I also noted page numbers of the excerpts for easy reference. This was a long process, yet it helped familiarize myself again with the data and made the writing of the findings much easier as the themes often morphed into what I would use as headings in the Findings section (Chapters 4 and 5).

As Braun and Clarke (2006) note, the fourth step in this analytic process is reviewing themes. This is a refining process whereby themes are analyzed as to whether or not they have enough data to support being a theme, if they need to be divided into separate themes, or merged into one theme. Braun and Clarke point out that, "Data within themes should cohere together meaningfully, while there should be clear and identifiable distinctions between themes" (p. 91). Braun and Clarke also state that the validity of themes should also be considered in relation to the overall data set. Thus I used a

chronological sequence of the street life cycle (i.e., life before the street, entering the street, life on the street, exiting the street, and life after the street) to help determine this process. Additionally, participants' thoughts on the services that aim to help street children were considered. At this stage I also coded any data that may have been missed earlier. As Braun and Clarke (2006) tell us, "The need for re-coding from the data set is to be expected as coding is an ongoing and organic process" (p. 91).

The fifth step in this structured process is defining and naming the themes. This involved further analysis in refining the specifics of the themes, such as what aspects of the data the theme embodied, verifying if the theme is trying to do too much (i.e., it's being used to encapsulate more than what it can), identifying the "story" of each theme and how it fits within the larger "story" context, and checking again whether a theme contains any subthemes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Furthermore, while the themes had been given titles it was necessary to consider what titles would be used – and if some needed to change – when the findings would be presented in the final document, as Braun and Clarke (2006) stress, "Names need to be concise, punchy, and immediately give the reader a sense of what the theme is about" (p. 93).

Finally, the sixth and last step is producing the report. Here I aimed to tell the story of the data in a clear, concise, and ordered manner in the two chapters entitled "Findings." In order to represent and report the findings I have used a narrative discussion, which uses written passages to provide a detailed summary of the findings from the data analysis (Creswell, 2012). I relied heavily on using participants' voices throughout the presentation of the findings by inserting direct quotes where themes and subthemes were outlined. I attempted to make the presentation of the data interesting and

sequential by positioning the findings along the street life cycle, as such, the reader can

follow what a child in Indonesia may experience when faced with a challenging family

experience (e.g., poverty and abuse), the choice to enter street life, the experiences of

what life on the street offers, the choice to exit the street and beginning a new life in an

organization for former street children. Within the sections detailing these experiences, I

elected to present the themes in an order pertinent to the occurrence, difficulty, severity,

or importance of the findings. For example, in the section titled, "Creating an Income,"

the subthemes were listed in order of risk or extremes, with children begging and busking

for money being presented first as these are less aggressive means of income earning, and

stealing and robbing people being presented last as these involve greater risk or

aggression. Lastly, the findings not only describe the data, they also present an argument

that is related to the research question (Braun & Clarke, 2006): Why do street-involved

children in Indonesia choose to exit the streets and how do they do it?

Throughout the research process, researchers need to undertake a process of

validation – and report on this process – in order to strengthen the trustworthiness of the

study and any claims that are made. The following section addresses the trustworthiness

of my research:

Trustworthiness

"A trustworthy study is one that is carried out fairly and ethically and whose

findings represent as closely as possible the experiences of the respondents" (Steinmetz,

1991; as cited in Padgett, 2008, p. 184). According to Padgett (2008), threats to the

trustworthiness (or validity) of qualitative research include, 1) reactivity; how the

researcher's presence may cause participants to behave and respond differently than if the

researcher was absent; 2) researcher biases; when observations and interpretations are distorted by the researcher's preconceptions and opinions; and 3) respondent biases; whereby the respondent may withhold, distort, or lie to protect themselves or attempt to answer in a manner that aims to please the researcher or that conforms with the norms of the larger society.

With regard to reactivity and respondent bias, Padgett (2008) suggests prolonged engagement within the research setting, as there is less likelihood of respondents lying or withholding information. Spending two months at the organization allowed me to be a participant within the living environments of the children and youth, and the working environments of the staff. This prolonged engagement also allowed for data triangulation, whereby there is more than one data source acquired; in my case both interviews and observations were sources of data (Bamberger, Rugh & Mabry, 2006; Padgett, 2008). Furthermore, the data collection from two groups (staff and youth) and the number of interviews conducted (nine in total) assisted me with reducing reactivity and respondent bias.

Regarding researcher bias, Padgett (2008) makes the suggestion to use peer debriefing and support as a means of "keeping the 'instrument' [the observer/researcher] sharp and true" (p. 189) and increasing the rigor of the study while reducing researcher bias. While I did not have debriefing sessions with other academics, I was able to have discussions with Mr. A, who translated the interviews, about the interview and observational data. This was particularly helpful when I had questions about a variety of topics, such as the social services in Indonesia, government policy, geography, language, culture, customs, history or public perceptions, and how these related to what the data

was saying. Additionally, during the practicum, I had ample time to ask both staff and youth many questions about my observations or to clarify my interpretations of what I was seeing or had heard in interviews (while always maintaining participant confidentiality), as many of the topics of general discussion were similar to what I was researching, particularly when talking with staff. Upon arrival back in Canada I was also able to have similar conversations with university peers about the research process and I shared with them what I was finding and how I was interpreting the data. This allowed me to consider alternative perspectives and was a helpful debriefing process while analyzing the data.

In an effort to further address researcher bias, I took a reflexive approach throughout the entirety of the research project. Reflexivity refers to a "reflection on self, process, and representation, and crucially examining power relations and politics in the research process, and researcher accountability in data collection and interpretation" (Jones et al. 1997; Falconer Al-Hindi and Kawabata 2002; as cited in Sultana, 2007, p. 376). In other words, this helps to address how the researcher is affecting the research. To increase awareness of my own values, biases and actions throughout the research process I was in constant dialogue with myself; questioning my position in the organizational setting and among those living, studying and working at the organization, what knowledge I hold and how I came to acquire it. As mentioned in the above paragraph, I had numerous discussions with Mr. A about many facets of the research process and I was also able to verbalize my own reflexive thoughts. This helped externalize the internal dialogue I was having. Reflexivity with regard to power relations are discussed further in the next section titled, "Limitations and Ethical Issues." Furthermore, as the primary

researcher I was involved in every phase of the research process from beginning-to-end and worked intently on differentiating between my own thoughts and what was shared by the participants.

Lastly, regarding external validity (e.g., the degree to which the results of a study can be generalized to other situations and people), considering the research was undertaken within the scope of a Master's thesis it was not possible to conduct multi-site studies. However, by conducting the research in an organizational setting where children and youth have left the street and are in stable routines, other studies that are carried out in similar settings – of which there are many throughout the developing world – will be able to compare and contrast their findings with my own (Kirby, Greaves & Reid, 2006; Nurani, 2008). By clearly documenting the series of moves throughout the stages of data collection, analysis, and interpretation – including how participants were selected, the role of the researcher and their relationship to the participants, the documentation of analytic constructs and meanings, the methodological approach, data collection procedures, a narrative of the social context in which the research took place, and the explanation of theoretical propositions – I hope that other researchers will be able to reconstruct the original strategies for analysis in similar studies (Azham & Hamidah, 2011; Nurani, 2008).

Limitations and Ethical Issues

Two of the immediate limitations that I became aware of with this study were the length of time I was volunteering at the organization, and the use of a translator. Spending only two months in the organization would not be enough to consider this genuine ethnographic research. While I do believe that my familiarity with Indonesia and

having worked previously with street children in Sri Lanka helped provide a rapid

adjustment to the setting and the people, a longer period of time spent immersed in the

environment would have enabled greater insights into the street children subculture and

the various exiting processes that children use. In particular regarding observations,

having more chances to experience outreach work – meeting and creating relationships

with children still living on the street – would provide valuable insights into their lives

before street exit, as the organization only provided insights into their lives after street

exit. Unfortunately time restraints prevented this from happening.

The other obvious limitation of this study is the use of a translator. As commented

on in the "Translation" section of this chapter, a close friend of mine, Mr. A, helped me

translate the interviews with youth participants. In the process of these translations

certain information expressed by the participant may be lost or distorted. Padgett (2008)

states that through translation there is the risk of losing the "…nuanced meanings

embedded in language" (p. 138) and the possibility that "translators may feel that they

need to safeguard their community values" (p. 138) (i.e., leaving out certain embarrassing

or culturally taboo details that conflict with these values). Furthermore, in the

transcription process I chose to transcribe the voice of the translator, meaning that certain

elements of speech such as *umms*, *ahhs*, *hmms*, and laughter from the participant were not

transcribed. In considering if I could attempt to include these types of speech in the

transcription I concluded that it would be too difficult to try and place these

verbalizations at the correct places within the phrases translated by Mr. A in an accurate

and consistent manner. In essence, it made more sense to simply transcribe the

translator's voice. Padgett (2008) also suggests that translators be included as full-

members in the research team, which would help them to garner a greater comprehension of the research study and allow the chance to debrief after interviews in which a lot of emotion was expressed.

In an attempt to lessen the above mentioned limitations with translation the following was considered: 1) While he was not included as a full-member of the research project, Mr. A was well informed of the study and we both spend significant time discussing the research question and the general issues of street children and poverty in Indonesia; as such he entered each interview from a well prepared and informed position. We also went to great lengths in order to ensure our dialogue with one another within the interviews and the translation process was effective and flowed smoothly; having known him for many years we already had a strong foundation of familiarity with how we communicate. 2) Mr. A is an Indonesian living in Indonesia who speaks both English and Indonesian languages fluently and was not a hired outsider who studied to learn to speak Indonesian. As such, the understandings of the culture, customs, and language are natural to him. 3) Padgett (2008) states that, "In ethnography, prolonged immersion leaves time to correct misunderstandings or inaccuracies, and the risks of distortion by the translation are lower" (p. 137). By spending two months in the organization I had the time and opportunity to inquire further about the findings in this research.

One of the main ethical issues of this study was being a researcher from the Global North conducting international studies in the Global South and the power relations at play (Sultana, 2007). Before I began my study and for that matter also while I was conducting it, I considered my own location in relation to those I would be interviewing and working closely with at the organization: I am a white, English-speaking, Australian

male, studying at a university in Canada, who has the freedom and finances to travel to the most populous Islamic country in the world, that was colonized by the Dutch for 350 years, and only 15 years ago was under an authoritarian regime. The youth I would be interviewing and working with were Indonesian, with limited English ability, and mostly from impoverished backgrounds, who had experienced large degrees of discrimination and repression among other significant challenges living on the street. While the staff would be working within a vastly different national social service delivery system where the institutional model rather than a community-based model is the dominant method for dealing with vulnerable populations (*Building Professional Social Work in Developing Countries*, 2006) and within the organization would have access to limited resources. Despite my familiarity with the country and its people there is still significant power differences at play.

Entering this environment, I needed to be attentive to histories of colonization, development, and local realities, so as to avoid research that would perpetuate relations of domination and control in an exploitative manner (Sultana, 2007). It was essential for me to be aware of the differences in factors such as material wealth, racialization, social and political power, religion, gender, and the hegemony of the English language, which can "often precondition exploitation in the research process" (Sultana, 2007, p. 375).

Negotiated ethics in the field applied to my situation on a daily basis as I was working alongside interviewees during my practicum placement; attempting to "fit in" even through seemingly minor everyday actions such as how I dressed and how I conversed with people could indicate power relations (Sultana, 2007). I aimed to ensure participants understood that I was not there to assess and/or critique them, as I believed

this is how I could have been perceived, as a white, foreign, researcher from a Canadian university. I reassured participants that this study is about understanding their experiences and not judging them (this is also outlined in the introductory scripts and consent forms – see Appendices D, E, F and G). I relied on my knowledge of the culture and language, effective interpersonal skills, background experience working with street children and familiarity with relevant street child literature in an attempt to reduce the power boundaries. In practice this meant being culturally sensitive, particularly with customs and nuances, for example, by not being loud or boisterous, speaking politely, not using an authoritarian tone, smiling, using open body language, and being calm when things go wrong. These examples fit well with Indonesian culture and customs. Furthermore, I have very close relationships with Indonesian friends who were able to advise me about power differences and what I could do to mitigate these. I believe this helped in the development of a mutual trust and respect between the participants' and myself.

Chapter 4 – Findings (Part 1)

This chapter is the first of two parts that outline the findings from the research I conducted in Indonesia. In this chapter, part 1, I present four major sections: 1) the Initial Finding of the age at which the youth participants were leaving the street; 2) Entering the Street, which include various reasons for entering street life, most of which were related to family difficulties and troubles; 3) Life on the Street, consisting of the children's living environments, adapting to street life, friends, gangs and territory, creating an income, and dangers on the street; and 4) Exiting the Street, where I have presented the reasons for leaving the street, the process of street disengagement, transitioning to an organization that supports street exit, and relapsing back to street life. The next chapter (Chapter 5 – Findings Part 2) presents the remaining findings of this study: Life After the Street, and Services.

Initial Finding – Age Demographic of Street Exit

At the completion of the first interview I was met with the first significant finding of this research that immediately had me reconsider the study's focus on *youth* leaving the street. Subsequent interviews reinforced this initial finding. I will attempt to explain this as follows: The original title of my thesis was "Youth Exiting Street Life in Indonesia: An Ethnographic Inquiry". I had been intrigued by an article written by Karabanow (2008) that explored the processes of youth exiting the street in Canada. With very few articles inquiring into the "why" and "how" street-involved persons exit street life, I found this article to be highly insightful and very much necessary considering the numerous studies that explored the phases of entering the street and street life itself. I then chose to create my thesis around a similar question to what Karabanow (2008) had

asked, to look at youth exiting the street, but to undertake the research in a vastly

different environment, and began designing my research study with this in mind. The

operative word here is *youth*, which the United Nations describes as, "those persons

between the ages of 15 and 24 years" (*UNESCO*, 2014), and which is the internationally

accepted definition of youth. I had planned to talk about how youth exit the streets;

however, I could not have prepared for what I found in the interviews. The average age of

entry into the street from the youth I interviewed was nine years, and the average street

exit age was just under 13 years. These findings shifted my research study from a focus

on *youth* exiting the street, to a focus on *children* exiting the street, and is perhaps one of

the clearest indicators of the difference between research conducted in Canada, a

developed country where those entering and exiting street life would typically fall within

the youth demographic (11-22 years of age according to Karabanow, 2004), and

Indonesia, a developing country where the age demographic of those entering and exiting

the streets is much younger.

These findings took me by surprise. Not that I was unaware of the street child

issues in Indonesia; these are well documented. What caught my attention was that when

expecting to talk with youth about leaving their lives on the street during their "youth"

years, I was met with stories of leaving the street in their childhood years. I had not

prepared for this. As such, some of the interview questions (see Appendix I and J), which

were designed to be answered from a youth's perspective were answered quite differently

than what I had expected, as these were a better fit to be answered from a youth's

viewpoint, not a child's viewpoint. For example, with questions inquiring about the

processes of preparation to leave the street (e.g., Question 6a in Appendix I: *How did you*

prepare yourself emotionally and psychologically [to leave the street]?) the children had

a less methodical approach to leaving the street compared with the youth in Karabanow's

(2008) study, whose ages ranged between 16-24. The answers from the Indonesian youth

participants I interviewed, who were reflecting on their childhood years when they exited

the street, were shorter and involved actions based more so on impulse and trusting the

outreach workers, who were encouraging them to leave the street, whereas the youth in

Karabanow's (2008) study spoke more at length about street exit and had much greater

depth of contemplation regarding this process. After this discovery I renamed the title of

this thesis: "Searching for a New Life: How Children Enter and Exit the Street in

Indonesia."

Entering the Street

This section of the chapter explores the participants' responses to the process of

children entering the street: Why they entered the street, how they entered, with whom

did they enter and when are outlined below.

Reasons For Entering The Street: Family Difficulties and Troubles

A troubled family life and family difficulties appear to be the main and most often

mentioned reasons for entering the street according to the youth and staff interviews and

the informal discussions I had with various people in the organization. As one outreach

worker stated, "I think all the children have a problem with their families." These

problems take various forms:

Family living environment

Many families in Jakarta, whose children work on the street, live close to the

street in slum-like housing very near to rivers, train stations, and railway tracks.

According to staff participants, in addition to the dangers of having children unsupervised in these locations, and the health and sanitation issues that inevitably arise, families are also prone to the effects of yearly flooding and urban development projects, both of which can result in losing their living space. Children living close to the street often become involved in street life simply because the street is in their immediate environment. It acts as a playground, income-generating opportunity, or a means of escape from family violence, and there are few safeguards in place to discourage children from this exploration. Sometimes this precarious environment can lead to loss of family, which in turn leads to life on the street.

Becoming suddenly separated from family

Staff spoke of young children playing near train tracks, who would climb on a train for fun only to have it take them to another location that they were not familiar with, and situations where a child's friends would encourage them to visit the street and eventually leave the child there without bringing him or her home. In these events, the child did not know how to return home. Being kidnapped and made to work in a forced labour type fashion was also mentioned, although staff said this was not so common. Likely the separation from family is more often accidental rather than intentional. Arul's story serves as a poignant example. Arul lost his family in a busy marketplace and was unable to find his way home:

> I was from a village far away [from Jakarta], I don't know the village, but myself, my mother in law, my father…[and] three siblings…arrived in Jakarta…[When I was] six-years-old. When I was seven-years-old my older brother took me to play around in the traditional market place. We began to play further and further away from each other. Then all of a sudden we became separated because there were too many people. I was a strong child, I never cried, so people didn't know that I was lost. Only my brother knew the way home, but I didn't know at that time…At the beginning I was very scared, and I tried so hard to find the way but I realized I

had gone too far away, and I realized I was lost…At that time a man working at a car service store asked me, "Where did you want to go?" and I was crying at that time and I was sad…He received me as a step son and they welcomed me into their family.

Over the next couple of years Arul moved in with three different families before entering street life full-time. The reason for moving from family-to-family was the different conflicts he experienced with certain family members. He eventually decided it was better to live on the street. To this day, 10 years later, Arul has yet to be reunited with his family. Outside the realm of separation, the family troubles that were described to me by both youth and staff now follow:

Difficulties with earning an income

Of all the family problems discussed, difficulties with earning an income and violence were most frequently noted. Youth spoke of being held to unreasonable working expectations given their young age (usually six-eight years old) – being forced to work with Buffalo in the rice fields, being made to sell goods on the street for long hours (i.e., cigarettes, bottled water), doing extensive house chores, and looking after siblings – and being beaten by a primary caregiver (e.g., parents, relatives, or stepparents) for making a mistake or not completing the task sufficiently. Being poor and coming from a broken home were also mentioned, with divorce and the death of a parent contributing to unstable family life. The story that Jawa shared about his experience of how he came to enter the street provides a cogent example of what youth participants told me:

> When I was four-years-old my parents separated and at that time…I'm not completely sure what happened with me but it seems like my parents gave me to my uncle and my aunty. In Indonesia we call it "anak buangan" ["throw-away kid" – a child who is abandoned or disposed of]. No one wanted me anymore...I lived in a village in Central Java…My uncle and aunty forced me to work with buffalo in the rice fields, but I didn't want to…For a small child it was very difficult…They hit me all the time, abused me…So when I told my uncle and

aunty I didn't want to help with the buffalo [anymore], they told me, "If this is the case I will not take you as my child."…So when I was eight-years-old…I decided to run away from that situation with my friend…he introduced me to the street.

A staff member also spoke of the parents' lack of education as a factor, particularly the those who are from an intergenerational cycle of poverty or street life, and that despite the organization's best efforts to work with the family to break that cycle, the lack of education and serviceable skill only leads the family back to what they know so well, which is living on the streets. Additionally, as a result of the economic difficulties the families faced, their children could not attend school regularly.

Working for the family

Children often worked on the street, either alone or with a parent or sibling, in order to provide an income for the family. Staff spoke of parents setting a quota that the children must meet each day by begging or selling goods, and that children could be punished if the amount is not met. A staff participant said, "[Sometimes] the family will give the child a target to have to bring in Rp.50,000 or Rp.100,000 (CA$5-10) by night time. If the child does not bring [that amount of money] then the parents will be angry with them." Another staff member commented:

> [Some] parents are already living on the street, making money on the street, so the only way they know how to live is on the street…they pass it on to their children and then of course the children do not know any other way of living, except on the street. They have parents like this type, [they may be] good parents, [the children] have a mother and a father, but because their parents are already living on the street begging then they teach their children to get money on the street.

There are also children who look for money for themselves, sometimes for their own schooling. Nadia, a 15-year-old youth participant, was in this kind of situation, about which she said,

> [My daily routine was] I went to school, I worked on the street, and sometimes I went back home and sometimes not…The money [I made on the street]

sometimes goes to my mum, half, and sometimes is for my school…half, half. My mum and me.

Family expectations

In Indonesian culture, the older siblings have a significant responsibility to help their parents by sacrificing their own needs and wants in order to provide for their younger siblings. These expectations put a lot of pressure on the first or second child in a family that may have a large number of children. A staff participant reported that it was common to hear the eldest child saying, "If I go to school then my brother and sister cannot go to school, so I have to help my parents by looking for money."

Nadia, whose description of looking for money for herself we read above, spoke about the expectations of having to look after her three younger siblings on-and-off throughout the day, sharing parenting responsibilities, while juggling a daily routine that involved working in the early hours of the morning with her father collecting recyclable items, going to school at midday, and doing *ngamen* (busking) on buses in the city in the afternoon and evening:

> Because I have three siblings, the youngest one is with my mum, the rest are following me when I do *ngamen*. So I look after them…it's a lot of work because after 9am [when finished working with my father] I usually have to look after my two brothers and sister because my parents need to take a rest.

The expectations on the older children in the family means that the idea of working or living on the street becomes more of an option, especially for those living in poverty.

Dreaming of the big city

Many children working on the streets in Jakarta have come from smaller villages. Due to difficult economic situations or family violence, they often dream of making it to

the big city. Urban migration to a city like Jakarta with the hope of "making it" was a

strong motivating factor for those from smaller towns and villages. This was the case

with Alan; he commented:

> I wanted to go to Jakarta so bad, because Jakarta is like a big city, like America, big buildings, and I had a dream to work in a big office building there…I wanted to work in one of the highest buildings in Jakarta…I just wanted to come and see the city, and I was thinking that I could work like common people in Jakarta in an office.

Before children act on their desire to leave their family environment they

oftentimes experience a process of being introduced to the street, as follows:

Introduction to the Street

The majority of youth interviewed stated that their introduction to the street came

from either a friend they knew previously before street life, who had become involved

with the street, or by making new friends who already had an association with the street.

The introduction provided by the already street-involved youth included sharing

knowledge about street etiquette, how to survive, and networking, all of which will be

described in greater depth in the next section titled, "Life on the Street." However, this

process occurred at different rates for the youth participants, with some gradually

spending more and more time on the street until they had become immersed, and others

moving directly from their living environment to a life on the street. Some traveled to

Jakarta from other island provinces, and arrived by ferry, train, bus, and hitchhiking.

Between eight and ten years was the most common age of participants entering the street.

As the participants explained to me, becoming immersed into street life can bring

with it as much excitement as it does challenges. This new way of living requires an

adjustment to the new environment and the people within it, as outlined below:

Life on the Street

In this section, I have outlined the findings of what it is like to live on the street. Youth participants shared experiences of their adjustment to street life, daily routines, and what the benefits and challenges were. Staff reported on their experience of working closely with children and youth living on the street and what the salient issues were. The categories outlined in this section include: Types of street children; living environment creating an income; friends, gangs, and territory; experiences of adapting to the street; and dangers.

Types of Street Children

The staff indicated that there are typically three types of street children in Jakarta. Firstly, what one staff member called the "hardcore kids", are those who live full-time on the street, get money from the street and sleep on the street. Five of the six youth I interviewed are in this category. A staff member spoke about the hardcore children:

> …I call it hardcore…these are the children that are the toughened ones. [They] really end up living in the street. Like Rahmad, I see him in Pondok Gede [a sub-district of Bekasi city, not far from Jakarta], he's really hardcore. But from what I see, in here [at the organization] the children that are really hardcore, really hardcore types, whenever they commit to this organization they will succeed, because they have a strong character from the street.

Secondly, there are children who live on the street for a period of time before returning to their home to check on their parents. A staff participant informed me:

> …there's another type [of street child], like after three or four months they go back home, and then [they're] back to the street for [another] four months, three months, a month, and then back home [again] just to see how the parents are going. Then back on the street again.

Lastly, there are children, such as Nadia, who lived very close to the street and worked on the street, but usually returned home each evening to their parents or

caregivers. Stated one staff participant, "The other type they come home, they work on the street, but every day they go home…[so] there's different types."

Jakarta city street children

According to staff interviews and interactions throughout my time at the organization, children on the street in Jakarta were considered much different than children from the street in other cities in Indonesia. Jakarta is seen as a more aggressive place, and the children represent that. One staff member said, "…many street kids live in Jakarta and maybe another big city like Surabaya (Indonesia's second largest city)…but I think they're a different kind of street children; more soft…Jakarta is crazy place." She continued by saying that there was a greater prevalence of street children on the island of Java, where Jakarta and Surabaya are located, compared with other islands of Indonesia.

As children gradually move into spending greater amounts of time on the street in Jakarta, they begin to choose and adapt to living environments and the characters within them. The following section outlines those spaces:

Living Environment

Train stations and the street

For the youth interviewed, train stations were the equivalent of what a home would be; a place they return to each night to sleep. Alan slept in one of the main railway stations in Jakarta each night, sleeping above the mini shops once they had closed. This situation worked well for Alan as he was part of a larger gang and could claim certain locations as their own territory. However, in Arul's situation, he was not part of a gang and usually spent his time with one close friend. This made it more difficult to stay in a train station close to the city. Arul described where he lived:

I didn't sleep in the train stations in central Jakarta; I slept in another station quite far away, to the north east of Jakarta, the train station there because it was free from anyone's claim as a territory and any other kids who thought they could claim that place.

Living further away meant more safety and less problems, and in order to work he could always take the trains into the city centre each day.

It is also important to note that not all participants who identified themselves as street kids and participated in this study necessarily always slept in street based locations. For example, Nadia, who had a family and home to return to each night, would occasionally find herself sleeping at a friend's place or on the street. She shared this experience saying,

> Once I finished nyamen [singing and playing guitar in buses for money], I might come back home, or stay at a friend's home, or not come home at all. It was very random, sometimes I was at home, sometimes I stayed at a friend's house, sometimes I stayed on the street.

Train station upgrades

In recent years, using train stations as a living space to work in, hangout with friends, and sleep in has become more difficult, particularly in central Jakarta and the immediate surrounding districts. The government, lead by former governor of Jakarta and now recently elected President of Indonesia Jokowi Widodo, has implemented numerous upgrades to the train stations, including renovations, ceasing the use of the ekonomi trains (older trains with no air conditioning, usually overcrowded with people sitting on the roof) and beginning the use of newer air conditioned trains, raising the price of tickets, and increasing the security. Children were used to living in the train stations and making money by riding the ekonomi trains; these changes have forced the children to move outside of Jakarta to other districts to live and work where these modifications to

the stations and trains have yet to take place. Similar changes are also taking place in bus

stations. Staff commented that the new upgrades for people like themselves are great,

they must pay a little more for a ticket but they get a lot more comfort, which is worth the

price. However, for the street children it is not so great. It means the children do not have

a place anymore, and these changes have not solved the street child problem. The

problem is still there; it has just been pushed away to a different area. A staff participant

discussed the situation:

> Right now, if you want to go inside the train station it's really strict. You have to get a card… a ticket. It's really changed…there's no street children anymore…There's not much of a place in the city [for them]; they've moved out… A year ago in Pondok Gede [a sub-district of Bekasi City just outside of Jakarta] there was not so many street children. But right now there is a lot. When I talk to them they say that in Jakarta they really don't have a place anymore…Also in the bus station, Jokowi started to make the bus nicer; air-conditioned also, and then also there's more security in the bus stations.

Another staff member, who works in outreach, shared this view about children

being indirectly pushed away from Jakarta:

> …[the children have moved] outside of Jakarta…I think the government in other areas, not in Jakarta, have to cooperate with the government in Jakarta on how to solve this issue. I think now the population of street kids in other areas outside of Jakarta is bigger; I don't know about Bogor [a city south of Jakarta] but in [the cities] Depok, Bekasi, and Tangerang yes.

Participants reported that children not only need a place to sleep that has a degree

of safety, they also need protection and assistance from older and more responsible

individuals on the street in the event that unpleasant situations arise. Youth and staff

participants shared their experiences in the following section.

Safety and security

The kids need a patron so it will make them feel safe…someone who can protect them. If

someone steals their money or beats them they can report to the foster father or foster

brother and they will take action against the people that hurt them. - Staff member

This is the general belief of street children, who upon entering the street seek the

safety of an older male figure, often referred to as *abang-abang* (brother or male friend

who is older than oneself). This person may be living on the street, such as an older street

youth, or someone living close to – not necessarily on – the street, who may act more as

an uncle or father. Females living on the street usually would have a boyfriend for

protection. Cipuy spoke about her experience:

> The challenge to live on the street is that we have to find someone who will back
> us up, someone like a brother…or someone who is responsible. So in case I'm in
> trouble, I can find someone who can help me. That's what I had to do…I was
> really aware of the potential dangers around me.

Participants spoke of the different types of *abang-abang* on the street, some good

and some bad. Those who were "good" would give the children food, a place to stay, and

give advice and protection if needed. Arul spoke of two men who worked at the train

station he lived in who accepted him as a younger brother. Others gave suggestions to the

children about entering an organization that helps kids off the street. While some do it

from the goodness of their heart, others require a financial agreement. For example, if a

child or youth chooses to make money at the traffic lights begging or doing *ngamen*, a

payment to an older local male is necessary, as Alan stated, "We give money, or tax, to

the abang-abang to allow us to keep working at the traffic light. It's like an

understanding, to give cigarettes or Rp.20,000 (CA$2)." This transaction offers the

freedom to work in another's territory and also offers protection, for example, if a

motorist and a street child come into conflict, the *abang-abang* will intervene on behalf

of the child.

However, the participants also talked about those *abang-abang* who will take

greater advantage of a child on the streets, and demand payment for protection in the

form of asking for sexual favours from the children or who resort to raping them. This

was a concern for one staff participant who reported that he had difficulties while

conducting his outreach work with encouraging some children to join the organization

because they were influenced by an *abang-abang*, who he believed was making money

from the children and/or abusing the children sexually and did not want to lose the child

to a street child organization. As this worker explained:

> Because the children really want to go with us. [They] really want to go to our
> organization. I already saw him [the abang-abang] three or four times, but
> whenever this person is near them…the three children are really afraid. They
> don't want to say anything anymore [to me]. So one time I was really angry, and I
> said directly to him, "Sir, these boys want to come to our organization."…[but]
> no, the boys didn't come here. They're afraid. They're scared.

Some children seek out refuge in street child organizations when they have a

conflict with their *abang-abang*, such as when there is a dispute over money. This is

usually just to give space to the situation and let it "cool down" before returning to the

street. Abdul commented on the extreme dangers that can be a part of being under the

protection of an *abang-abang*: "Yeah all those things can happen [sexual abuse, rape,

murder] because on the street nobody will care. You are you, and I am me. No one will

care." In the end, abuse and exploitation are the risks the children take in creating a

relationship with an *abang-abang* on the street, risks they weigh against the gain of the

abang-abang's protection.

In spending a lot of time on the street and in train stations, street children will eventually come into contact with officers of authority. However, contrary to what is written about in the literature regarding the dangers that police present to street children, both youth and staff participants did not share this view. The following section outlines the information participants shared about the police and also the civil service police, referred to as Satpol PP.

Police

While most street children will tell you they do not like police, it is not specifically because they are seen to be dangerous. In fact, some staff members say that the police actually try to help and can sympathize with the children's circumstances. The street children do not fall under the police jurisdiction, unless of course they are seen to be committing a crime; this responsibility falls to Satpol PP, the public order officers (see following section). When I asked Abdul about the police and if he thought they were dangerous, he replied, "The police not so much, because it is not their duty, not their job [to be involved with street children]. That is the Satpol PP job." Cipuy even went out of her way to seek out police officers for protection on the street. She shared the following:

> The challenge to live on the street is that we have to find someone who will back us up, someone like a brother. Although I was a street child it didn't mean that I only would speak to groups of street children or adults who live on the street. I would also speak with policemen or someone who is responsible. So in case I'm in trouble, I can find someone who can help me…I was trying to look for protection from adults who live near me or someone who was responsible, like the police, and trying to talk with them to get sympathy and protection.

Police caught Alan and his friends stealing from cars in a parking lot. At this time Alan had not begun stealing from cars at traffic lights yet: He shared his story:

> They took us to the police station and they asked me, "What are you doing? Why did you steal the car mirror?" They interrogated us with many questions. They kicked us, but not on the face, only on the legs…The police didn't kick me too

much, but [they kicked] my friend a lot. Usually, it's just to intimidate the kids and to shock them. It's not because they want to [injure us], it's more a process of the interrogation so we will speak honestly and to intimidate us. But then the good police brought us Coca-Cola, Fanta and Nasi Padang [a meal from Padang City consisting of steamed rice, meats, fish, vegetables, and spices]. But after we had lunch the police told us, "You must clean the toilets in the whole police department," like as a form of social service. There were very good police though, who let us sleep the night. We were lucky to find good police who treated us good. The next morning they released us from the station and the police told us, "Don't do this again, if we see you again we will make you go to jail."…At the time I was scared, just that time, then as soon as I went to the street I was brave again. The police also gave us money. They told us be careful. They were nice to us…[but I think] it depends on what kinds of kids they arrest. When I was arrested I was young…but if they catch teenagers then maybe it's different treatment.

According to staff members, sometimes when there is a severe incident involving a child from the street, such as their murder, the staff need to ensure that the police do a thorough job of investigating the case, because at times it is too easy for police to take the view that the child was only a street kid without a family and no one will be missing them; therefore, the case is not that important. One of the staff participants shared their view:

> …sometimes like the one [the child] who is stabbed, murdered, I have to go to the police and make sure this case is taken care of because if nobody pushes the police they will think, "Oh this is only a street child, they don't have a family so I don't have to do it [because it is not important]…nobody is looking for them, nobody will come and take them [take their body]."…I have to make sure [an investigation is carried out] and maybe three or four times I had to go to the police and ask this.

Yet, when the staff take injured or sick children from the street to the hospital, the police are consistently helpful:

> The police actually help. You know whenever I went to the hospital with the street children who were sick or really need help I have to bring a letter from the police [stating] that these children are in fact street children. And they [the police] give it to me actually. They help.

While according to participants, police did not present a significant danger to street children and were more or less viewed with nonchalance by the youth; another body of authority was referred to more frequently and with greater disdain by youth in both the interviews and throughout my observations at the organization: the Satpol PP. The following section provides information on the Satpol PP and outlines the participants comments:

Satpol PP (Civil Service Police Unit)

The Satpol PP (Satuan Polisi Pamong Praja) are a civil service police unit also known as public order officers (Civil Service Police Unit, 2013). They are a law-enforcement group operated by the Department of Home Affairs and they differ from the national police in that their duty is to enforce regulations from the city mayor. One of their duties is to remove illegal street vendors, beggars, homeless people, and those living in illegal residential areas such as slums.

Street children come into regular contact with the Satpol PP officers, more so than the police, and the children do not view these officers in a positive light, and actively seek to avoid them. Jawa spoke about a time when the Satpol PP were chasing him and his friends; in a desperate attempt to escape he attempted to jump onto a moving bus, but ultimately was caught; "…I fell from the bus because the Satpol PP were chasing us...I was running [alongside the bus] and I grabbed the door but I fell. I wasn't injured badly…[but] I got caught…We got caught together, my friends and me."

If officers find children unattended on the street they are likely to be taken to what the youth described as a detention centre, where they are kept for a number of weeks (usually no more than a month) until a place for the children is found, although

oftentimes they end up back on the street. Abdul described what he knew about Satpol

PP, and what his friends told him about the detention centre:

> Usually on the street you have Satpol PP. If we sleep on the street they will catch us and put us in the detention centre…[They] don't have television there and the only food you eat is tempeh and vegetables. And also you must share the toilet…but I've never been there. And I also don't want to go there.

Staff varied on their views of the Satpol PP and the detention centre. One staff

member, who took more of a positive view, stated:

> But it's not like a jail; it's more like a dormitory…[the jail-like walls are there] to make it so you don't run away. Because sometimes you still can run away from a place like that; [the children] usually escape over the roof…[This centre is] more like a suggestion of the public because [in the past] the government were doing bad things to the marginal people…it's only temporary, until they find a place they can bring [the kids]…sometimes they make them go back to their hometowns…So maybe they're [in there], the longest maybe only a month, after that maybe they can spread to another place…I think the people [in the detention centre] are friendly…they talk to [the children], and give them very good food and they have a clinic also.

I asked if the children like the Satpol PP, and the staff member answered, "Still

no. They don't like them… But I think now the social police are more friendly with the

kids. They don't use the uniforms [anymore]… They were bad but now they are good

because the government changed the system."

However, another staff participant was not so optimistic about the public order

officers, and believed the approach is not the best when dealing with street children:

> [It's an] oppressive approach because their main duty is to clear the street of the homeless and street children, so they just take them and put them in their institution. The government has institutions for the homeless…[but] there's no programs at all, no education, no skills training…[the kids] just sit. They [the Satpol PP officers] put them in there and wait for them to run away or for someone to pick them up.

As mentioned in the "Train Station Upgrades" section, children on the street are

now moving outside of Jakarta to surrounding cities because of the infrastructure,

security, and procedural changes in train and bus stations. It appears that the Satpol PP

officers are a part of this process that is contributing to children seeking out other places

to live and work. Speaking to this situation a staff participant commented:

> …[the children] move to a satellite city, like Depok, Bogor, Tangerang, Bekasi, so
> that's why in Pondok Gede [a sub-district of Bekasi City] you can see now there
> are more street children. I think because now in Jakarta it's difficult for the kids to
> find money, because the Satpol PP stay in the spot where the street kids usually
> get money.

Attempting to avoid Satpol PP officers is one of the adjustments to street life that

children have to make if they wish to keep their freedom and independence. The

following section presents the various experiences of adapting to the street, as reported by

interview participants.

Experiences of Adapting to the Street

This section explores the ways in which children adapt to the street. Positive

experiences reported to me included the feeling of freedom and independence that street

life brings, as well as the different ways children had fun on the street. Participants also

reported challenges of living on the street; the insecurities of being a "street child" and

feeling judged by others in society, and issues of health, hygiene and hunger. Other topics

mentioned include developing an impulsiveness because of a lack of rules and order,

sexual behaviour, and how street girls will try to act and look like street boys.

Freedom and independence

According to the participants, freedom is one of the strongest draws for children

to the street and an important part of street life itself. No rules. No responsibility. No

supervision. No schedule. Eat when you want. Sleep when you want. Play when you

want. You can do what you want when you want to. You are your own boss. Youth spoke

of daily routines that were loose and may involve waking up when they wanted to, begging for money or looking for food if they were hungry, and playing with friends.

One of the staff participants recounted:

In the street they don't have to obey the rules, in the street nobody asks them to take a bath, nobody asks them to get food, or get your clothes properly, or to wash your clothes. In the street you can sleep anytime you want, whenever you want, that is the freedom, freedom is the most strongest factor.

Arul spoke of how freedom and independence extended beyond his daily routine in Jakarta to where he would venture on train trips across the island of Java: "I liked traveling…it was such a free feeling, I could travel around without someone around me, I could go wherever I wanted…instead of being a beggar or sweeping the floors." Another staff participant commented on the risks of this lifestyle, stating that too much freedom and too little structure on the street creates children who are overly self-interested, and develop impulsive and obnoxious tendencies. This is a challenge for staff, who attempt to maintain rules and a consistent daily routine for the children in the organization. A staff participant commented:

[The children] just want to do what they want. They don't want to follow the rules because on the street there are no rules. [They say] "I don't want to come to class," so they don't come to class, "I don't want to eat. I want to hit my friend. I want to go outside to play."…Free, free, freedom…[There's] too much freedom on the street, and when they're here [in the organization] there are a lot of rules, [but] they want to be free too.

With these experiences of freedom and independence, children were able to find enjoyment in a number of ways on the street, as detailed in the following section:

Having fun

"For me, sometimes I just see that maybe they think the street

is their playground." – Staff member

Despite the dangers present, youth also spoke of the fun they had on the street. The enjoyment is usually in the company of their friends or gang: hanging out, smoking, drinking, laughing, and living in the moment. For example, when Cipuy and her friends were not looking for money they would go to the lake at the University of Indonesia to sit around and relax. Furthermore, between looking for money on the street, youth participants spoke about the enjoyment of playing Playstation video games with friends. Once children had collected enough money and had eaten breakfast or lunch they would gather in small shops that rented the use of the consoles.

Jakarta Fair, a vibrant month-long fair celebrating the anniversary of Jakarta, is an occasion that some street children look forward to each year for entertainment. The Fair features exhibitions, shopping, musical performances, various shows, amusement rides and a food festival. Alan spoke about the Fair being like a "party everyday" where his friends would hang out and play in places like the Ghost House.

If children made enough money they may even venture to Anchol Dreamland, a resort destination along Jakarta's waterfront that, amongst an international championship golf course, beaches, an art market and hotels, includes numerous theme parks such as Fantasy World, Atlantis Water Adventure, and Sea World. In Alan's case, because he and his gang made a lot of money stealing and selling car side mirrors, they would venture to Anchol each week. "When we went to Anchol we didn't pay to enter, we just climbed the wall…it's like a [fun] park, a Disneyland…waterpark, beach, Sea World…we were like little kids."

For Arul, his fondest memories on the street came with travelling by train with his friend across the island of Java to places like Surabaya (Indonesia's second largest city)

and Banyuwangi, where he would stay for a few weeks before returning to Jakarta. Arul said that these trips broke up the daily routine in Jakarta of begging and sweeping train station floors, while also enabling him to earn money on the trip by begging or diving for coins.

Impulsiveness

On the street there is always new stimulus at hand, and living day-to-day without a consistent structure can lead to impulsive behaviours. As one staff member commented, "In the street they live in a very 'instant way' you know? If they're hungry they go begging, it's impulsive, you know, the shortcut. In the street they're doing everything in a shortcut kind of way." The children often do not understand that there is a process to things and that if they have a goal it takes commitment, hard work and patience to reach it. For example, many children, especially the boys, want to be football stars and represent their country. If they're talking with an outreach worker about this it is difficult for them to understand the process needed to attend trainings and make progress. Children want things now, in the moment. However, after a long enough time on the street the typical daily survival routine of waking up hungry and then begging for money for food can make kids lazy, according to Abdul: "I was just doing the same thing every day."

A particular risk that comes with impulsiveness is the sexual behaviour of the children. The next section presents this issue from a staff perspective.

Sexual behaviour

An outreach worker stated that a concern of hers was the age at which the children were having sexual intercourse and becoming pregnant:

…they don't use any protection, they have no knowledge about sex education, they just do it…usually the girls get pregnant at 15 or 16-years-old, the first time pregnant. Sometimes they're 14…they have bad sexual behaviour. Sometimes they do it at an early age…12 or 13 [years old]…maybe younger.

She believes it is a result of the children observing people on the street having sex in the open. She said the children witness these acts and see it as a joke and don't take the idea of sex seriously. The children engage in both opposite and same-sex sexual intercourse.

During my practicum I was told that there are significantly more boys on the street than girls and that girls are at a greater risk of abuse and exploitation compared with boys. The following section briefly outlines how girls may adapt to street life and these risks.

Tomboy

Girls who are living on the street will often take on the behaviours and/or appearance of a boy for protection. Cipuy spoke about her experience, stating, "When I was on the street I tried to show that I was a tomboy…so people will feel afraid and respect me." An outreach worker described how she would see the girls gradually morph into looking like boys. She said,

> …the girls [on the street] need the boys to protect them. [But] sometimes the girls also cut their hair so they look like boys. It protects them from the risks on the street. I have met some children that at first they seem really like a female but [then] after [a period of time on the street] they change [and look] like a boy. Really like a boy…[it's for] protection. If they [appear] tougher, or stronger, then people cannot bother them.

While girls may take on the appearance and/or behaviours of boys as a form of protection, children on the street may also be wrestling with a number of insecurities about themselves and their life circumstances. These insecurities are outlined as follows:

Insecurity – feeling embarrassed and ashamed

"On the street I'm useless, a nobody. My looks are not presentable. I don't look like a

neat and tidy person. Nobody's taking care of me." – Abdul

When I spoke with staff about the sensitivity of the children, they told me that street kids have higher levels of insecurity, and that when working with them the workers must be careful with their words, particularly with regard to giving feedback. As staff explained, a particularly sensitive area involved staff encouraging children to confront their problems or conflicts, or to take responsibility for their actions if they make a mistake. When this happens, the children are quick to feel criticized or judged. In these circumstances the children will likely opt for a means of escape, some into the world of drugs and others will remove themselves from the situation or person who was critical. As such, the process of change can be a long and difficult one as the children are afraid of attempting to change because of a fear that they will fail and be labeled and criticized for this. Cipuy commented that it took her a long time to gain confidence and lose her insecurities, stating, "Right now I think anyone can give a comment [about me], it's their right, I don't have to be angry with it. I know who I am. But before [while living on the street] I would be very upset because of what people say."

As one staff participant explained, there is a lot of shame that comes with living on the street. This was confirmed by the youth who talked about being sensitive to how they were viewed by others in society. Being a street child is difficult enough, but having the public watch you as you try to find food in the rubbish bins is one of the most humiliating moments described by the youth. Abdul shared his experience:

> …if we don't have money we just search for food in the trash bin…[but] nobody
> will care. They will think that we are only beggars, or jobless or homeless…I

don't like them…[because] they looked down on me, as if I'm useless…I become unconfident.

Alan could not bring himself to make a living on the street singing and doing *ngamen* at traffic lights, "I was embarrassed singing," he says, and decided to turn to crime instead, by stealing car side mirrors. The children were also ashamed asking for money. Approaching someone and asking for money on the street requires a lot of courage, especially if the child is shy by nature. Therefore, to overcome feeling ashamed the children would take drugs to reduce the fear and give them confidence to approach people for money. Another story of embarrassment was Jawa's inability to read when he lived on the street. All his friends were able to read, yet no one had ever taught him. Eventually, learning to read became a goal for him and provided motivation to exit street life. Jawa shared a part of his story:

> …[at that time] I couldn't read, I couldn't write. I wanted to learn this. One time I was in the city…in the museum…just sitting there quietly, trying to read the newspaper but I didn't know how to read. I didn't know what was on the newspaper. Also at the time there were other kids from the street and a bunch of people…and one of the people asked me, "What are you reading?" I replied, "I don't know." My hand was shaking. I don't know what the writing meant. That person was a lady, and she helped me to read the words in the newspaper.

In addition to feeling varying degrees of insecurities living on the street, children also face increased risk of deteriorating health and poor hygiene practices. The subsequent section details these issues.

Health and hygiene

When on outreach sessions, staff regularly encounter children who have various types of health problems. A common problem involves sniffing glue. The side effects of "gluing" are common. A staff participant reported that children who do a lot of gluing do not develop physically in the same way as their peers, as the outreach worker explained:

…the most noticeable thing we can see when a kid is sniffing glue is the kid is not like other children, they are usually so skinny and do not get taller…They look so skinny, grow so skinny. And I ask, "Why are you not taller?" And I see these children, not here [at the organization, they are back on the street] for two months and they look taller and bigger, but not with the kids who are sniffing glue, after two months [back on the street] they are the same [height and weight].

Children's lungs also can be affected by the pollution of traffic fumes and smoking, and in some cases children have tuberculosis. Skin infections and physical injuries from being hit by a car or from fighting are typical and are attended to by the staff while they are with the children on the streets. Furthermore, the children's general hygiene suffers while living on the street. On outreach trips the children I came in contact with wore torn and dirty clothes, had messy hair, didn't appear to have showered recently, and in general appeared to have a lack of personal hygiene. Staff members told me that simple things like showering or brushing one's teeth were a rare occurrence for most street children. One of the staff members I interviewed stated, "[Children complain and say to me], 'In the street I don't have to take a bath, but here [at the organization] I have to take a bath every day!' They get angry." Another staff member, who does outreach, attempted to use swimming as a means of getting the children to wash themselves. She commented, "We tried to use swimming as an approach, you know, and then achieve that objective [of connecting with children on outreach]. One [objective] is to take them swimming, [the other] is to make them take a bath."

In addition to experiencing personal hygiene and health challenges, experiencing hunger was mentioned as a difficult adjustment to the street when the children could not make enough money to be able to eat. In the following section two youth participants speak about this challenging experience, while another youth participant shares a different experience of how he avoided going hungry on the street.

Hunger

"Sometimes I didn't make any money…that is why I had to look for food

in the garbage, the waste that people throw away. If I didn't get any money I had to get

the food from the garbage…Being hungry is difficult…

sometimes I went one week without food." - Jawa

Going hungry is a challenge of street life. Both Jawa and Abdul agree that on the

street it is difficult to find food, with Abdul explaining that the only purpose he had on

the street was to find food each day. Hunger is also one reason to inhale glue, because it

ceases the hunger pains and the children can last a few days without feeling the need to

eat. Jawa stated, "…if [my] money has run out [and I haven't eaten], [my friends] bring

glue so I can inhale the glue."

Alan, on-the-other-hand, did not have many difficulties finding food on the street

once he had established himself within a group and was earning money by stealing car

mirrors. His situation appears to be the exception though, as in most cases children are

challenged every day to find food. Nonetheless, Alan provided a different take on street

life:

> Like many children on the street I didn't want to work hard. Hard work is no
> good. But the challenge depends on the people. If you are open to do anything on
> the street [to make money] you will not find the difficulties [in living on the
> street]. If you're lazy, hmm, I think it's like the common people. You have to
> work hard. What I did is not a good job [stealing], but it's a kind of work. I ate
> good food, chicken and fish, like a rich man, every day. You can just buy and
> throw away your clothes.

However, Alan's experiences are not typical of what most children face when

living on the street. A key component of the above-mentioned adaptations to a life on the

street are the friendships created with peers who are in similar situations. Youth

participants spoke about friendships that were formed, conflicts, and associations with gangs and their claims to territory. The following section reports on these experiences.

Friends, Gangs and Territory

Through the observations of children on the street and the discussions I had with workers and youth at the organization, in most cases children will be involved with a gang or larger group of peers on the street. However, among the youth interviewed there was a wide variety of peer associations commented on. For example, Abdul recalls preferring to be alone on the street rather than joining a larger group. He had one or two close friends, which was enough for him, and they were not always together. Similarly, Arul did not create too deep a connection with a larger group of people on the street, but he did have a very close friend, who not only introduced him to street life but also kept him away from what he described as, "…bad tendencies, sniffing glue, or smoking, or doing drugs." Arul was thankful that his friend provided guidance, saying, "…he taught me the good things, not the bad things." This friendship lasted until Arul chose to leave the street a few years later. On the other hand, Cipuy made sure to establish herself at or near the top of the hierarchy in a gang of between four and six members. This involved exerting an image of strength and at times aggressiveness in order to create a "don't mess with me" aura that would be respected and feared by her peers. Jawa and Alan had larger peer group associations, with Alan being the leader of a group of 15 children.

Friendships and gangs provide solidarity, whereby the children look for money together, eat, play, and sleep together. Reflecting on his time spent with friends on the street, Jawa said, "I liked to be with my friends. Hang out; play *ngamen* together, music together. It's all about togetherness."

The friendships also provide safety and protection. Despite having to fight to establish herself in a higher position within her gang, Cipuy commented that being in a gang has its benefits, such as support and protection. She said,

> What I liked when living on the street is the solidarity between us as street children. So if someone is in trouble or someone is teasing our friends then we will fight against the enemy because we are together. Togetherness between the street children is what I like the most.

Alan spoke about his gang and their claim to territory and what this means:

> There were about 15 people in my group. I was the leader…I don't know why, but they looked up to me, obeyed me, followed me, went everywhere with me. So in that train station usually it's kind of like street rules, if you stay a long time in one place it's like you own the place…So other people who come [to our train station] are actually like guests. Like it's your home and they are guests.

However, the togetherness of the group can also increase the levels of peer pressure and conflict. Being involved with a gang can mean being pressured into adopting the customs of the group (i.e., substance abuse). Arguments between friends are also common, and on occasion can escalate to extreme circumstances. A staff member spoke of having to pick up the body of a child from the hospital who had been killed by his friend. The child was formerly associated with the organization and had returned to the street. He became involved in an altercation with his friend, who was drunk at the time, and was stabbed to death.

Territory, rules and fighting

"If you're living on the street it's like living in the jungle.

Whoever is stronger they will win." – Abdul.

As mentioned in the section above, there are rules regarding the different territories occupied by those who live on the street. Jawa chose to work mainly on trains because they were free of anyone's claim as a territory of theirs. Whereas a location such

as traffic lights would prove to be difficult to enter because of whoever was already established there. Similarly, Arul chose to sleep in a train station far from central Jakarta each night to stay clear of territorial conflict. According to Arul there are less problems this way. Asked about the challenges and frustrations on the street Arul replied:

> Facing someone who feels he has the territory or power. For example…after we do ngamen, singing or whatever we do…when we already made a lot of money these people will take it all from us. That is the difficult part…whoever is more powerful we have to give it to them…if we run they will put a target on us. You just surrender everything and give it to them, we cannot run…I tried to change locations, but any place is the same.

"In every group there is a different code," said a staff participant. Different groups hold different sets of codes and it is unclear how these codes came to be. For example, sniffing glue is a common behaviour for street children, yet in one area they do not do gluing. If one member is caught inhaling glue they will be kicked out. The group will take pills, get drunk, and engage in a number of other risk taking activities, but gluing is strictly not allowed. In another area the group is strictly against stealing from friends in the group. If you are caught stealing from a group member you will be beaten up.

Territorial disputes often end in large groups fighting one another. Alan shared his knowledge about these disputes:

> There is fighting often, it's like we have a border to our area where we are, so if you pass the border the other group will fight for their area…you have to notice these borders…the kids in Bekasi [a city on the eastern border of Jakarta] are the enemy of the kids in Manggarai [an administrative village near Jakarta], and they like to fight. If they see each other they like to fight.

Alan also described a situation when members of his group were in the wrong place at the wrong time and were targeted by another gang, and the consequences for his friend: "My friend is disabled…his leg is smaller, so he cannot run too well. My other friends ran away, but this guy got caught by the other gang…they used a chainsaw to cut

his head." When I asked if this was fatal Alan replied, "No. They don't usually try to kill when fighting, the groups just punch or kick."

Usually in these instances the larger group is the one that wins. Abdul, who chose not to be involved in large gangs and typically kept to himself on the street, shared the dangers of this choice:

> If we are alone compared to alone with other people, if we have a problem the people with the most friends will be against one person and that one person will get beaten. The people with the most friends are always going to win.

However, as mentioned in the "Friends, Gangs and Territory" section, gang altercations involve fighting but without the intent to kill one another, or at least without acting on that intent. Usually the extremes involve being beaten up.

Alan did mention that within gangs or groups there was a different class of street child. What he was referring to was the way in which a child and group earns their money. This concept is briefly outlined as follows:

Classes of street children

While speaking about working on the street, Alan mentioned that he was "from a different class" and that "it depends on your job". I did not inquire further about this concept, although it appears there are different classes on the street depending on how income is earned. For example, begging is seen as being in the lower class of street work. This was mentioned throughout my observations at the organization and I was familiar with literature that also stated this, because begging does not require a skill or talent; anyone can do it. However, according to Alan, who called his work "criminal" because he was stealing car side mirrors – and making greater quantities of money – the way that he and his gang made money places them in a higher class. This means of making money

required skill, precision, and confidence in order to create larger earnings, and was

outlined in greater detail in the "Creating an Income" section. Stealing is a higher risk,

higher reward endeavour and therefore also a higher status undertaking. While those who

choose begging to make money will typically be wearing clothes that are dirty and not

make attempts to improve this image because of the sympathy it can elicit from the

public, Alan was very proud of wearing nicer clothes and living a higher quality of life on

the street. The following quote from Alan was used in the previous section titled,

"Hunger"; however, I believe it also brings insight into the different classes of street

children as well:

> Like many children on the street I didn't want to work hard. Hard work is no
> good. But the challenge depends on the people. If you are open to do anything on
> the street [to make money] you will not find the difficulties [in living on the
> street]. If you're lazy, hmm, I think it's like the common people. You have to
> work hard. What I did is not a good job [stealing], but it's a kind of work. I ate
> good food, chicken and fish, like a rich man, every day. You can just buy and
> throw away your clothes.

An essential part of survival for street children is finding a way to earn an income.

Alan's comments lead us into the next section that outlines the number of ways in which

children fulfill this need.

Creating an Income

According to participants interviewed, street children can typically make between

Rp.20,000-30,000 per day (CA$2-3). Of course, this amount depends significantly on the

way in which children make money and also how often they work. For example, a child

who is forced by his or her parents to work on the street and reach a set quota per day

may be earning more than a child who lives alone on the street and only works when he

or she feels the need (i.e., when he or she is hungry and has no money). The following outlines various ways in which the children created an income living on the street:

Working as a child vs. working as a youth

There is a difference between the choices for work and income available to a child when compared to those of a youth on the street. Staff reported that when children are young they are able to beg and make money more easily because the public feels pity for them. Youth can also make a living off the street and not be discriminated against because of their age, only this is much more difficult to do if the youth is still begging. Once children enter their mid-to-late teenage years *ngamen* (busking) is considered much more appropriate than begging for money.

Begging

Begging is the easiest way to generate an income as it requires no skill other than the courage to approach people to ask for money, although, even on the street it is considered a lower form of making money. Children will usually wait at the traffic lights and then move from car-to-car asking for money. Alan shared his story of begging and attempting to gain greater sympathy from the public:

> Before I did the job stealing mirrors, I was begging for money, and I was lying to people pretending I didn't have any legs. I tied my legs like this [Alan motions to tying his lower leg to his upper leg inside his pants to give the appearance that his leg had been severed at the knee], so it looks like I had only one leg. I was trying to cross the street with one leg…and a taxi hit me…by accident…I got 40 stitches…Before I went to the hospital the taxi driver brought me to the police first, for one hour. I blacked out. I told the driver, "Please sir take me to the hospital right now." The taxi took me to the hospital maybe at 1 AM and after surgery at 4 AM. I had to leave the hospital and the taxi took me back to the street.

Despite the dramatic incident and 40 stitches, Alan said he was okay and had no long lasting effects.

Ngamen

Ngamen (playing an instrument and singing for money) is very common in

Jakarta, and is performed by those of various ages living or working on the street.

Children typically work alone or in small groups at traffic lights or move from bus-to-bus

with one playing guitar, another singing and yet another collecting money. Nadia shared

her daily routine that involved *ngamen*:

> What I did was before and after school, usually I got to school in the afternoon, so
> before school at 5:30am I woke up and by 6 or 6:30am I was already in the street
> doing ngamen until 12pm. Then school until 5pm, and back to ngamen again until
> 8:30pm. Two shifts…[We would do] ngamen bus-to-bus, general transportation to
> other general transportation, on Kopaja [public transport minibuses used
> throughout Jakarta]. We had a certain place, we know our boundaries and we
> won't go further. We would travel a 10 kilometre distance back and forth in one
> certain area each day on the bus.

Sweeping train station floors and collecting recyclables

Sweeping train station floors and collecting recyclables to sell are other ways to

generate an income. Kids can earn small amounts of money sweeping the station floors

where they sleep at night or collecting recyclable items, such as plastic bottles and

cardboard, and selling them at the recycling centre. Abdul commented, "I used to pick up

the [empty] bottles, plastics, and cardboard and take it to the trash place…In the morning

I would wake up and go pick up the trash, then try to sell what I had found."

Coin diving

Aside from begging and doing *ngamen*, Arul enjoyed making money coin diving.

He would do this when he would occasionally leave Jakarta on train trips to Banyuwangi,

a city at the easternmost tip of Java known for its ferry connection to Bali. He and his

friend would go to the docks where the large ships, boats, and ferries were, and people on

the those vessels would throw coins into the water for the children to swim down to and

retrieve for themselves. Arul described his experience:

> Whenever the ships are in the dock we would swim between the boats, not at the
> back where the fans are, these are huge boats…we would get the money like a
> dolphin. Whenever they throw the coins I would provide entertainment, like doing
> a backflip or a triple flip [off the docks] before getting the coins…the coins
> usually sink in the water before us, and we have to open our eyes and the water is
> so salty, and the problems are always there, but we get over it.

Stealing

Another way to make money is by stealing. Jawa spoke about one of the ways

children would steal from each other, by using box cutter blades to gently cut open the

pant pockets of other children while they slept to steal their money. Sometimes the thief

was a friend.

Alan spoke about a car side mirror stealing operation that he and his gang ran

when he was 10-years-old:

> I used to wait at the traffic lights, on the side of the street. If I noticed any cars
> that had expensive mirrors, or gold studs, I would take them…only expensive cars
> [like] BMWs or Mercedes…They had gold studs, you can steal them. But now
> they don't have them anymore. But before they did. Now they're just plastic…[I
> used] a paint scraper…and you just pop the mirror out with only one hand. You
> push under and then pull down from the top and it comes out. After that you must
> put it away and run…The first time it must be done slowly. The first time [I tried
> to steal the mirrors] I failed to steal it, [but] the next time I could do it easily, my
> friend showed me…When I took the mirrors I would sell them and then spend the
> money.

Alan proudly stated that he had the technique down to three seconds per mirror

and one mirror could sell for Rp.100,000-200,000 (CA$10-20). By aiming to steal five-

to-six mirrors in one day, Alan could make close to CA$100 and spend the rest of the

week relaxing and having fun with friends without needing to work. After having worked

begging and doing *ngamen* in his early days on the street, which he was very embarrassed

doing, stealing car side mirrors became Alan's main source of income for the duration of

his street life. When I asked him about the reaction of the people in the car he was

stealing from he said that usually the people were scared and of an older age, and they

also knew that there is an *abang-abang* at the traffic lights who would protect the street

children if the drivers or passengers confronted the child. However, in order for Alan and

his friends to undertake this activity they would have to take pills similar to ecstasy, to

give them energy and confidence. According to Alan, "[The pills] were expensive.

Rp.50,000-200,000 (CA$5-20) [each]…[they gave me] energy so I'm not scared about

the police or anything…even when I crossed the street I just walked straight across

without caring." As the participants who were involved in stealing explained, many of the

stolen goods could be sold to a buyer that specialized in receiving any number of stolen

items, including anything from cell phones to motorbikes.

The participants also reported that they sometimes adopt a more confrontational

and aggressive style of making money. Two youth participants commented on this

method:

Robbing people

Jawa and Cipuy spoke of using knives to rob people for money. Jawa explained:

If I had to rob I would rob, if I had to steal I would steal. If I had to use a knife to
ask for money in a rough way I would do it. So anything [to make money on the
street] I did it there.

Cipuy worked on the roof of trains on the route from Jakarta to Bogor and back (a

1.5hr train ride one way). Being a girl, Cipuy would invite someone to sit next to her on

the top of the train, and once that person got close Cipuy's friends, mostly males, would

come and they would rob the person. "I really threatened people," said Cipuy, "[I was]

just looking for someone to rob. Because it's on the roof of the train, I would tell them, 'Give me your money or I will push you from the train.'" Between Rp.200,000-300,000 (CA$20-30) could be made per day robbing people on trains, with each child making between Rp.30,000-50,000 (CA$3-5).

Jawa and Cipuy's comments highlight a common trait of many street children: the use of aggression in order to survive. Depicting a tough and potentially volatile exterior to peers on the street was mentioned among most of the youth and staff participants. I also witnessed these behaviours at the organization, where oftentimes children or youth will react on impulse in a threatening manner if they feel they're being confronted, challenged, or believe an injustice has been committed. The ensuing section provides further insight into the aggressive behaviours of some of the children on the street:

Aggression and survival

Most youth interviewed explained that while on the street they were very emotional and quick to get angry. It would not take much for something to set them off. Arul stated:

> When I was on the street I was really sensitive and emotional. It was easy for me to fight somebody. I cannot hold it [the anger] at that time…if someone touched me like this, I would just hit back right away. Punch them.

Cipuy added, "I was quick to get emotional in general, to get angry. If someone disturbs me I am quick to get angry. It's common for street kids to be rude."

A staff member of the organization said that the aggression displayed by the children is an important tool and is used to show strength to others because the second you look weak you are taken advantage of. As this staff member noted, "At the street they must be brave. They will meet boys who are bigger than them, and sometimes the

bigger ones will say, 'Give me your money.' If you're not strong and confident you will

lose your money." When I asked Alan about exuding a strength and confidence he told

me that on the street you can only really rely on yourself. Others will always save

themselves first. So in order to survive you must be tough and you have to be very solid

in the things that you do (i.e., creating an income from crime). It is also explained to me

that street-based children will tend to lie and manipulate others to survive.

Life on the street often involves significant dangers, such as accidents, addictions,

and various forms of abuse. The following section explores the dangers that children may

encounter, as reported by youth and staff participants.

Dangers

Train and traffic accidents

As reported in the "Living Environment" section of this chapter, children often

used train stations as their primary living space; a place to sleep, meet friends, and make

money. However, according to participants, train stations also present an element of risk

and danger. Risks that children face in these environments include being hit by, run over,

or falling off the roof of a train. There are few restrictions stopping children from either

playing on the train tracks or climbing on the train roof. Cipuy mentioned her friends

dying from falling off of trains after using drugs. Her comments are elaborated upon in

the next section detailing "Addictions."

A staff participant recounted the more challenging aspects of their job in relation

to the accidents that children suffer:

> …the first time I joined [this organization] I was working in rescue [outreach
> work] and…I think three times I picked up a [child's] body from the hospital that
> had been cut in two [by a train]…Luckily our organization is really famous on the
> street. So whenever there's one of the children who were living here [in an

accident]…there's always a phone ringing for the staff. Like [the director of the organization], his phone number is always there. Sometimes in the middle of the night [our director] calls me [and says], "Please go to the hospital right now you have to pick up a body."

He also mentioned assisting children with other various injuries from traffic accidents; however, this was a passing comment and was not elaborated upon. The threat of traffic accidents is increased with the time that children spend near traffic lights and jumping from bus-to-bus begging or doing *ngamen*.

Street children can often become addicted to various substances while living on the street. The next section outlines in more detail the common addictions spoken about by youth and staff participants.

Addictions

Smoking cigarettes, taking drugs, getting drunk, and inhaling glue are common habits of many street children that turn into addictions and can sometimes prove fatal. As mentioned above, gluing is particularly prevalent in the street child communities. On my first outreach visit to a slum area near a train station in Jakarta the outreach worker spotted two girls in their early teens who had previously been in the organization. They were now living back on the street again and one of them had a silver tin of glue in her back pocket that she would inhale from. It wasn't too long before a boy of 15 was sitting with us and holding a tin of glue under his shirt. His eyes were cloudy, he seemed to be in a daze and he would occasionally put his face down his shirt and inhale. "[Sniffing glue] makes you fly and experience another dimension, just inside your own imagination, to be alone and do anything you want," says Abdul. An outreach worker I spoke to agreed with this saying that the hallucination is a way to escape. She commented further on her experience working with children inhaling glue:

Sometimes it's like a language of friendship [sniffing glue] because your friends are doing it and it's not cool if you're not doing it, so you have to try it sometimes. And if you're sniffing glue or using drugs you can eat less, so it will not expend your money…If you're sniffing glue you can not eat for a few days maybe…[inhaling glue helps children] feel comfortable to talk anything. So when I talk with the kids who are sniffing glue usually they talk about anything they want. They talk and then it's more open, the kids are more open and can talk about anything. But sometimes they're dreaming something like crazy…if they sniff a lot they do something like crazy people…They can imagine anything, you know hallucination.

Speaking about the evening of a typical day on the street, Jawa said, "Usually when I hang out with friends, and around 8 PM if the money has run out [and I haven't eaten], they bring glue so I can inhale the glue. Then I go to sleep around midnight." One of the staff interviewed said that gluing was a big problem as it was very addictive for kids and caused a lot of damage to the children's lungs.

When I asked about injection drug use, such as using heroin, the interview participants said that street children rarely used these types of drugs because it was too expensive. Oral drugs such as ecstasy and tramadol were cheaper and easier to get; thus they were the drugs of choice for many children. Other addictions include smoking cigarettes and heavy drinking of alcohol. Speaking about one of the benefits of taking drugs, Alan stated:

If we use drugs we feel so high and we lose our inhibitions, we're not afraid of anything. So if the people are chasing you, you can run faster because you don't care about the cars [and getting hit] you just run across the street…I wouldn't be scared about police or anything.

While substance abuse is common throughout street child communities, death from drugs is at times an unfortunate consequence. As briefly mentioned in the above section, "Train and traffic accidents," Cipuy shared her story of witnessing her friends

lose their lives after combining drugs with riding on the roof of trains or climbing up

buildings. She stated:

> Some of my friends were killed because they used drugs or got drunk and fell off
> a roof [of train or building]…The dangerous behaviour living on the street is
> using drugs. Many of my friends were using drugs. So if we're not firm enough
> for ourselves, we will be influenced by that and try to do that as well.

Abang-Abang

As stated earlier in the "Safety and Security" section, children often look for an

older male figure for protection on the street, referred to as *abang-abang*. This person can

be a positive influence on the life of the child, or they can take advantage of children,

sometimes to extreme degrees. Arul shared his story of becoming close to a man who

worked as a street vendor and who was well known in the street child community,

referred to as "Babeh" (father) by the children. Arul remembered:

> He was really close to me. I had started to live with him…he had a wife, but lived
> in a small house. It was a strange thing when that guy was close to me he was
> really nice…[but] I heard so many kids complaining about him. Saying that he
> would punch them and hit them. But whenever I was alone with him he was so
> nice to me.

Arul spent a number of weeks with Babeh before moving on. However, it wasn't

long before Arul realized just how close he was to a brush with death as Babeh, whose

real name is Baekuni, was arrested and sentenced to life in prison for murdering,

sodomizing, and mutilating 14 street children aged between six and 12 years old. Arul

was 10-years-old at that time. "He was mean to others. Killed kids, mutilated them. But

when he was close [to me]; I don't understand why he was so nice to me." At that time,

Arul says there were other *abang-abang* caught killing street children, not only Babeh.

Rape

Participants also brought up the issue of rape as a danger on the street. A staff

participant spoke of rape not being taken serious by those living on the street, and in

response to my question asking if boys rape other boys on the street she replied:

> Yeah, yeah. After the first rape sometimes they [the victim] agree, 'Okay, they did it already [to me] so [I'll let it happen again].' Sometimes it's natural to them. They don't know it's a serious thing. They think it's a joke, it's okay to do it because it is a joke and makes us laugh. That's all. But it's different with the girls. The girls sometimes really feel that they are the victims from the boys.

Cipuy shared her thoughts of the dangers for a female on the street:

> There is a risk and dangers from [other] people on the street, but I actually never had that bad experience. Lets say for example the girls who are raped because someone gave them drugs or put something in their drink, and then when they are unconscious someone rapes them. So I really was careful about it and aware of the potential dangers around me, that's why I was trying to look for protection from adults who live near me or someone who was responsible, like the police, and trying to talk with them to get sympathy and protection. I was really aware of those risks. And I'm a person who's not easily being influenced by people.

The above-mentioned dangers are certainly among the reasons why children begin

to contemplate what life would be like if they chose to leave the street. This next section

explores the additional reasons for and processes of disengaging from street life.

Exiting Street Life

Reasons For Leaving The Street

"I always think about the purpose in life, and if other people can make a new life,

then why can't I make a new life?" – Abdul

Wanting a better life

A common theme for the motivation to leave the street was wanting a better life.

Youth spoke about the lack of improvements in their life, that the routine on the street

was the same every day, and that they were not evolving as people (e.g., no education, no

goals). From this position the children began contemplating their future, and in particular,

whether or not they wanted to be in this very same situation later in their lives. As Cipuy

said:

> I really believed within myself that I could not stay like this until the end of my
> life. I have to leave the street, the street life…I had to find a way to leave the
> street…I always had that in my mind, and I kept thinking and praying for it.

To help with the motivation of leaving the street, Alan reflected on his original

reason for coming to live in Jakarta: To work in one of the big office buildings in the city.

This was his dream of a better life, and it was not going to be possible if he kept living on

the street. In order to get to this dream Alan said, "[I wanted to] go to school, have a

healthy life, a clean hygienic life, like other kids who go to school every day."

Meanwhile, Jawa was gaining the first insights into what would become his life

philosophy, which was, "Always that I want to change to be better than before."

Comparisons to other "normal" kids

Comparing themselves to other children in more fortunate life circumstances was

another motivation for children to leave the street – seeing kids their own age going to

school, dressed in school uniforms, and living what they viewed as the "normal" life of a

child. Abdul began to see some of his older friends leave the street, get married, and

make a success of their lives, while it took Alan only one visit to the NGO in order to

"check it out" to realize he wanted a life like the one he saw the children living:

> When I first came to [the NGO] I looked at the children and saw they had a good
> life, a very structured life, like waking up in the morning and doing cleaning
> activities, and then having breakfast and going to school. So the regular life is a
> better life for me. So when I saw the kids at that time I felt that this is the life that
> I want.

Nadia wrestled with the idea of leaving her family and entering a street child NGO full-time because she would not be working and providing an income for her parents. Eventually she convinced herself that it was her right as a child to an education and a better, more stable life: "I said to myself, 'It's okay, kids are supposed to be like this. We are not supposed to be on the street. We are supposed to be in the school, growing, and learning.'"

Boredom on the street

When asked about why they wanted to leave the street, boredom was often mentioned by the youth. The same routine, which would oftentimes revolve around finding money to get the next meal, would get tiresome and a yearning to do something different in life, other than just survive, would begin to develop. This process usually happened at a faster pace if the children were not a part of a larger group, as those who were typically had a tight bond with other group members and the activities of the group, which lessened the effects of boredom. The children that were generally solitary are the ones who would begin to experience boredom at an earlier stage in their street life.

Safety, problems on the street, and seeing the "bad things"

One of the reasons children are likely to leave the streets is the concern for their own safety, experiencing problems, and seeing or hearing of the "bad things" on the street. As some of the participants noted, NGOs for street children can offer that sense of safety and security. For example, Arul began considering his exiting process by thinking of all the costs of living on the street:

> Security is number one for me…I heard a lot of stories that kids died, got mutilated, sodomized, and that made me scared…I was 10 years old…I didn't want to be like this all the time…I didn't feel safe to stay on the street.

Other youth spoke of the problems they had on the street, such as being targeted in certain areas by people or gangs who did not like them, getting beaten up, owing money to people (oftentimes *abang-abang*) and needing to "disappear for a while", or having a traumatic event happen (i.e., abuse). When children referred to the "bad things" on the street, they meant being the victims of crime, abuse, traffic accidents, being introduced to smoking and drugs, getting pregnant at a young age, or seeing/hearing of children being raped or murdered. Children often use NGOs as temporary shelters for safety in order to get away from the street for a little while, and once they feel the situation is not dangerous anymore they will return to the street. Other times the safety issues are enough of a concern that the children will commit long-term to an NGO.

Staff support and care

Often the first people who can offer a way to leave the street are the NGO outreach workers who meet with the children while they are still on the street. It is the care and attention from the outreach staff that helps children consider a different life. They let children know that there are people who will care for them and support them, and that good clothes, good food, and an education are all possible. Arul stated that he believes that the positive attitude of the staff is what helps children change, to have hope, and to want to leave the street. Children often do not receive a lot of attention on the street from a positive role model or parental figure, and this is crucial point, because when children do decide to connect with the outreach staff and come to an NGO, if the staff are unable to provide the care and attention the children want then they are likely to think that being in the organization is the same as being in the street and will contemplate returning to street life. A staff member commented on this, stating:

…new kids here usually need a lot of attention…if they don't have a lot of attention they will say, "It's the same for me in the street and here [at the organization], so I might as well run away." The attention is an important thing for them.

Sometimes it was the staff's advice given at just the right moment that helped to convince a child that he or she should put the street life behind them. In Alan's case, he had only been in the NGO for a couple of months and had completed the adaptation program. It was at this time that he was becoming fed up with the rules and structure of the organization and told one of the workers that he wanted to go back to the street. The defining moment for Alan came when,

Mr. B said to us, "And what will you do there on the street? You are already better than living on the street, you've already been here at this organization, and you're better than the street life. If you have a dream that you want to read, or maybe have a family, what will you do if you're still on the street?" Mr. B's words were correct. I thought that what he said was right, and I felt that I cannot do anything more on the street. I only steal, get high, and play, just the same every day. No improvement in life…I wanted something new and something bigger than living on the street, and Mr. B's words were magic for me.

From that moment on Alan committed himself to changing his life and never returned to the street.

Alternative education

Most children on the street want an education, they want to learn; however, those who are fortunate enough to enter the mainstream school system quickly find that they are discriminated against. Oftentimes a lack of funds means the children are not in an optimal position to attend school (i.e., attending with dirty clothes, not the right books, and overall not the right lifestyle). This often results in the other students, and sometimes the teachers, making fun of these children. The school system is not embracing of children who are poor or from the street. A staff member who teaches the children said,

…because sometimes when they are poor on the street their friends [at school] will tease and mock them [saying], "Ah you are poor, you shouldn't go to school here."…So then [the child] doesn't want to go to school anymore…The situation at school sometimes is not good for them; the poor people.

While another staff participant commented, saying, "…in the school, the formal school, they get bullied faster because everybody says, "Ah you're street children," and it really makes them feel frustrated [and they say], "I don't want to go to school."

As well, the strict rules of the school may prove difficult for the children to adhere to. Youth workers said that the strict rules and teasing were the primary reason that kids on the street resisted the idea of education, despite wanting it. When the outreach workers suggest the idea of an alternative style of education that fits the needs of the children more so than having the children fit the school system, they are more interested. A youth worker stated:

> …they [children on the street] want to go to school, but maybe the school has a lot of rules, because if you go to a formal school they have many rules…but in an organization like this, or another, the rules are very flexible, and the kids and teachers can have a very open discussion, open conversation, so it's easier for them, it's flexible…they need an education like that.

Additionally, for those children who were not fortunate enough to attend school, merely presenting the idea of being able to get an education (at the organization) can be intriguing. Joko's main motivation to leave the street was the opportunity to learn to read and write. When a woman who was volunteering at the NGO asked Joko if he wanted to join the organization and go to school he replied, "If I can learn to read then I want to go." A staff participant said:

> [I say to them], "You can come to [this organization] and to school with your friends and you will be placed in a class that fits you."…They need an education like that. I think all Indonesian kids need an education based on their needs. Based on their needs, their interests, their talent. Because the whole formal education

system in Indonesia forces kids to be someone else. I experienced it. That's why many kids don't want to go to school sometimes.

Other reasons

Additional reasons mentioned for leaving the street include getting older and thinking of what future the street life will bring, not having enough money to buy food, and choosing to enter an NGO because a girlfriend or boyfriend is staying there. Regarding the latter, a staff member commented that joining an organization in order to be reunited with a partner does not often lead to a firm commitment:

> Right now [a boy on the street] is calling me, chatting on Facebook saying he wants to come here…but he already has a girlfriend here…that might be part of the reason he wants to come here…but [the commitment] is not long enough you know. Okay, the girl in here asks the other friend or partner to come and maybe it only lasts for a month and then they have a fight and run away…the motivation is not too solid…[it's] only based on the relationship.

Process of Leaving the Street

Exit support and recommendations from friends

Sometimes friends from the street support and encourage one another to make a change in their life and enter an organization. Some children have experimented with many different programs and can give good advice to their peers as to which ones were better than others. At times those giving advice will join their friend and enter the program. Of course, this can also work the other way in that children advise each other not to enter an organization because of a previous bad experience or general distrust.

Trusting outreach workers

With the chance of a new life opportunity right in front of them, the children's trust of outreach workers becomes incredibly important for any subsequent steps to be taken. The workers must build credibility in the minds of the children, and if they

succeed and a positive relationship based on trust is developed then there is a greater

chance the children will take that next step of actually leaving the street environment to

enter an NGO. However, if workers are caught lying to the children or sugar-coating any

information, then the relationship may likely be over. Commenting on the importance of

trust, a staff member said:

> We must give the correct information [to kids on the street], not false information. Not giving false promises, stuff like that, but giving them the true information. So when they come here [to the organization] they see the truth…[Otherwise] you've lied and then there is no relationship.

In this instance, truthful information is referring to what life will be like at the

organization that the children are considering. For example, playing football, swimming,

doing art projects, and having a room of their own with roommates. So if children hear

that they can play football every day at the organization then they had better be able to

play football each day. When sharing information of the organization staff try to add key

information about rules and responsibilities while also talking about the "fun" activities.

A key part of the relationship building process includes not pressuring children to

leave the street. Staff must know when to back off from their words of influence if they

sense the child is feeling pressured. Deciding to come on one's own terms is vital to the

genuineness of their commitment. Sometimes children will choose to come to the

organization with the outreach worker, while other times they may simply show-up at the

organization when they are ready.

In the street child community there is a fear of organizations falsely declaring

who they are and kidnaping the children and selling their organs. Thus, children are

typically not ready to fully trust outreach workers upon first introduction. It took a

number of visits by outreach workers to Alan and his gang – and a one-day tour of the

organization – before they were willing to commit to leaving the street.

> Firstly, [the outreach workers] came to the streets near where I was. They came three times. They told us about the organization and what it gives to kids. The first time I told my friend in the group that you cannot trust anyone because at that time there was a famous story about the people who like to kidnap kids and then sell their organs, their body. I was afraid that the outreach workers were like that…by the third time [the outreach workers] tried to convince us that they will take care of the children who want to join [the organization]…my friends who had already been in [the organization] before…they told me that it was a good foundation…told us what the outreach workers said was true. It wasn't a lie. After that, the 15 children in my group trusted the outreach workers, and they took all of us kids there, and after the tour, in the morning they took us all to adaptation for six months.

While Cipuy was on the street she had developed a general distrust of people, and

was also skeptical when told about the organization by an outreach worker:

> …[the outreach worker] tried to convince me about going to [the organization], to the foundation, but then because I'm not a person who easily trusts someone and to be influenced by someone, [the outreach worker] had to persuade me three times, many times, and then I said, "If this foundation is real, and really a good foundation, you have to show me a video of it." Then [the outreach worker] came and showed a video of it and I trusted him, and then I came to [the organization].

Social media

Social media, such as Facebook, has become a useful tool for outreach workers

and street children to remain in contact when not meeting face-to-face. An outreach

worker commented:

> …sometimes I can talk with them on Facebook chat, and on Facebook they're usually more open…Facebook and sometimes cell phones, but Facebook is better because they can take a happy hour in the night and stay in the internet café and sleep there, there's carpet, so it's comfortable for them.

This connection through social media can further develop the bond between the

outreach worker and the child, and if children decide in the moment that they wish to

leave the street and want to be picked up, they can use Facebook to ask outreach workers

to pick them up.

Support from family

Organization staff agreed that talking with any family that the child has about

entering the organization can provide another useful layer of support to the child's street

exit process. An outreach worker commented:

> We can talk with the family and ask, "What about if your kids can have a better education?" It's not only [this organization], I usually recommend another institution that may be better for them because they usually need fast education so they can get a job first. Sometimes I recommend organizations that can provide an education and after that [the child] can go to work and get certified with some skills.

However, typically if there is a family in the child's life and the child is working

on the street to help provide an income, then the family is less willing to support such a

change despite the potential longer-term economic benefits. Although, in the case of

Nadia, who was working to help her family, her parents wholeheartedly agreed with the

prospect of a new life for their daughter. "My parents were really happy because they

wanted me to be good in school, instead of being wild on the street." Other times it is the

child who is resistant to leave the street when the opportunity presents itself, and it's the

parents who encourage their children to leave with the outreach worker and enter the

organization.

Choosing an organization

Children on the streets of Jakarta have numerous organizations to choose from if

they wish to exit street life. A staff member said there were over 50 organizations

specifically for street children in Jakarta that have many different approaches to appeal to

the variety of children's interests or needs. For example, there are those that are nature-

based in their teachings, one's with student-centred education, art-based education, those

with a skill development focus, and even an organization that uses clowns and

performing as a way to attract children.

Some organizations allow the children to come-and-go as they please, allowing

them the freedom to continue making money on the street (usually to help the family),

whereas others take more of an outreach approach by venturing out to the children to

bring them education, sport, food and other basic needs. There are also the organizations

where the children must commit to and live within on a full-time basis. Commenting on

the options children have for joining an organization, a staff member said:

> …I think most of the street children in Jakarta or near Jakarta understand that
> there are many institutions or organizations that can be really helpful for them. So
> I think there is no area with street children in Jakarta that doesn't know of
> organizations, so whenever they want to get out from the street there's an
> organization there…they know where to go…like, if not today, tomorrow they
> will meet an outreach worker. If not from this organization here's another
> organization coming…so there's a lot of options for them actually.

Children can speak with outreach workers about what they want and workers will

often recommend different programs that they believe would be a good fit for the child. If

the children try an organization and it does not work for them they will most likely return

to the street before trying another. It is not uncommon for children to be resistant in

giving up the freedom on the street, and as such, there may be less motivation to enter

programs that have more strict rules.

Trusting the new environment

Outreach workers will often invite children to visit the organization for a tour to

see if it would fit for them. The children could stay the night, see how everything

operates, talk with staff and other children, and then if they decided they were not

interested then the staff would take them back to the street. If they wanted to stay, they could stay full-time. This was an important step for some of the youth who were interviewed. A staff member commented:

> My approach, when I was in outreach, I brought a brochure…told them what we have in the organization…and sometimes I said, "Okay, if you want to see and want to try, then lets go to the organization and you can stay here maybe one or two days and maybe you can see what's going on in here."

Getting a first hand understanding of the environment before having fully committed was an opportunity for the child to assess whether the program met their criteria and if it would be a good decision for their life. Jawa recalled:

> The thing that made me interested in the organization is that I saw it was very neat and tidy. Everything was complete here. If I wanted to learn something they had a class. There was a culture here, you follow the rules and everyone followed them. The routine was consistent.

Alan had a similar experience: "I just wanted to see life here [at the organization] first and then follow that. This was better for me…I saw the good habits and I thought it would be good for me here."

Concerns about family finances

Children who are strongly connected to their family and actively participate in providing a supplementary income, yet leave to join an organization, will often worry about their family's financial situation while in the organization. If the child knows that the family will be okay without their financial contribution, then the child's commitment to the program is likely to be stronger and the temptation to return to street life will be reduced. Nadia reflected on her family situation when she stopped work on the street and began attending school regularly before moving to the organization:

> When I came back to school there were people who really supported me with the financial situation for me to go back to school and focus on school. There was a

time when I wanted to go back [to the street] but they were very kind to me…At first my feeling [of attending school again] was not good because I kept thinking of my family, but day-by-day it turned out well.

Some organizations may attempt to take the family and child as a package, and help to give skills to the adults while helping the child with their education; although these arrangements can be difficult to manage if a specific program targeting families is not in place.

Transitioning to an Organization

Adaptation program

When first entering the organization, the male children must commit to a one-to-three month period at an adaptation program separate from the main organization. This program is situated further away from the city and is closer to the countryside, with few houses and lots of rice fields; it usually has between five-to-20 children. Once having exited the street, the boys must progress through the adaptation program first, while the girls complete the adaptation process in the main organization, where there is schooling, skill development, sports and activities daily. The separation of street boys and girls for the adaptation phase is because there are more former street girls at the organization – than at the adaptation program – who can help the new girls adapt (e.g., with rules, routines, hygiene). Additionally, this separation also reduces the risk of sexual harassment or abuse.

The adaptation program can be quite a challenge to adjust to at first. It is drastically different from the street life. It is quiet, the air is fresh, and there is little in the way of entertainment. This provides an opportunity for children to detox from any substances, be given more attention from staff (the ratio is better in adaptation), show a

commitment to change, and develop a more consistent daily routine. Showing a commitment is important, because the organization takes its goal – of helping children to a better life – seriously, and needs to have the children committed to change in order to function effectively. If male children want to enter the program, or have run away and wish to re-enter, they know that they must go back through the adaptation process first before they can join the main organization.

Adapting to structure and rules

The structure and rules of an organization can be a drastic change from the freedom of street life. Behaviours, such as personal hygiene and washing one's clothes, and habits, such as smoking and sniffing glue, must be changed and it is the children in the organization who are already established that are often the ones to remind the newcomers; however, this message is usually delivered with a harsh tone and the more sensitive newcomers may find this yet another challenge to deal with. Children who have been at the organization for a longer period take pride in not being considered a "street child" anymore and this includes not replicating the behaviours of the street, which many newcomers will still be doing. According to staff, the newcomers who have an easy-going temperament and who are not overly sensitive to the comments of the staff and their peers will have fewer difficulties in adapting to the structure and rules of the new environment.

Children often will react to the rules of the new environment by becoming scared or angry, because they think, "This is not the way I want it," says a staff member. This is a delicate time for the newcomers as the lure of freedom back on the street can override the challenges of adapting to the organization, and the temptation to relapse back to street

life can be acted upon. However, once children are able to blend with the structure and

follow the rules they are able to see the benefits of this change in lifestyle. Alan

commented:

> The structure of life here [at the organization] had a good impact on my own life. It's not as easy to get sick [here], while on the street you live how you want and it has a bad impact on your health. If you wake up late and sleep late it's easy to get a headache, so the structured life made my life better.

For Arul, the structure, while frustrating at times, was eventually welcomed:

> Living on the street, what you do is you only get the money, spend it, eat, make money, spend it, eat. But here [in the organization] you learn about discipline, you can manage your time, you can save your money, and you can do things like public speaking.

Commitment

According to a staff member, as a general rule of thumb if a child has been

present in the organization for at least six months there is a high probability they will not

return to the street permanently and will move forward in their life. It is at this point that

the necessary "alternative world" has been experienced enough to be a solid comparison

to the child's familiar world of street life. The staff member went on to clarify this

comment by saying that some children, who have been at the organization for six months

or more, do in fact relapse and return back to the street; however, this relapse period is

not long term and may only last a few weeks and at most a couple of months before the

child opts to return to life at the organization. The positives of life at the organization will

outweigh the positives of street life:

> In their mind they start to enjoy this life [at the organization]. Even if they relapse…in their mind they already know that, "I enjoy life here [at the organization]. I don't have to work anymore, there's food, always food, I always have friends, always play games."

Commitment from children though is oftentimes difficult to come by. A staff

member who had previously worked in outreach stated:

> I spent only three or four months in rescue [outreach work], and I was able to
> bring 30 or 40 children here [to the organization]. But only two ended up staying.
> And those two were not the type [of street children] who are really living in the
> street.

Making new friends

Creating new friendships that support the newly chosen decision to exit the street

is important for the confidence and commitment of the child. Youth spoke about the

difference in friendships between friends on the street and those made in the organization.

Abdul recalled:

> I was happy to have new friends…I think the new friends I made actually have a
> purpose in life. My friends from before on the street, I think they didn't have a
> purpose. They just continued to be what they were and live the same way.

Cipuy shared the following:

> …[in the beginning] I felt lost because I had to leave my friends on the street, who
> were always with me. But at the same time I also understood that this is for my
> own good, I have to leave. The feeling was…more mixed feelings.

And Jawa stated, "…I was tired of that life. I wanted to find new friends. The

important thing is that I have lots of friends."

Severing street-based friendship ties

While making new friends in the organization was the beginnings of creating a

support network for the new life ahead, youth also found that in the process they were

moving away from the friendships they had created on the streets. However, this process

of cutting ties with friends on the street is not necessarily a specific step that is planned

out and acted upon by the children independent of other life choices, as one of the

outreach workers shared:

Maybe it's not the intention [to cut the friendship] because I think, you know if you live in a separate place then yeah it will be that you have less communication and you have less time together. It's not cut intentionally or directly, but if you have a separate place it is ultimately less contact. But sometimes they can chat on Facebook…because we have Facebook time [here at the organization] on the weekend.

Despite not intentionally cutting friendship ties, leaving friends behind is still a very difficult process for some children. When asked about this Jawa responded by stating, "The positive thing is that I can forget cigarettes, drugs, sniffing glue, and all the bad stuff. The difficult thing is leaving my friends. The freedom of street life I can do without, but friends I cannot." Whereas Alan decided to leave everything behind him:

I just forgot everyone. Everyone on the street, my friends, just forgot all my life on the street, and tried to think about the future…[But] I didn't have a lonely feeling, because at [the organization] I had friends…in [the organization] all staff and friends support each other.

Speaking about his experience severing friendship ties on the street, Arul commented:

The difficult thing about leaving the street was leaving my friend Sam…[but] I wasn't following a gang or group of street kids, which made it easier to leave the street life, because if you're already in a group it's easier to be addicted to sniffing glue, smoking, doing drugs, or anything, but because I wasn't involved with those things it made it easier to choose, there is no bond or promises with friends, so it's easier for me to leave the street.

Dealing with detox

Organizations that require a full-time on campus commitment tend to have a more strict set of rules regarding substance use. Drugs, alcohol, and even cigarettes are prohibited at the organization. This is a big challenge to children who have become addicted to the various substances available on the street. The adaptation program is designed to assist in the detox process, yet the challenge for the kids is still there. Arul

believes addictions play a very significant role in whether a child leaves or stays on the

street:

> Addictions are a big part of the street culture…For the kids who live in the street the decision to get out of the street depends on what addiction they have. If they have too much addiction with several stuff, it makes them stay longer on the street than if they aren't addicted with anything…I have a friend here and he is still addicted with cigarettes, and this is what makes him want to come back to the street because [in this organization] you cannot do those things…if they already have an addiction I'm not sure what to do with them. I still have friends here who have addictions and are smoking, and sometimes I give advice to them, I say, "You can smoke, that's okay, but just don't go back again to the street."

Faith

In response to the question, "What gave you the faith and courage to undergo this

process [of exiting the street]? I was expecting to hear some stories about God, religion,

or a higher power where the children drew upon this image, belief or feeling for

empowerment. However, of the six youth interviewed only Cipuy was highly religious

and found strength in her belief in Jesus, which helped her with the exiting process. The

others said they had faith in themselves. This lack of religious connection is typical of

children on the street, according to one of the outreach workers, who says that many of

the kids learn about religion more thoroughly through the organization:

> …[the children] do not have religion, they usually judge the religion and they have no connection with God…the children usually know that God wants us to be good…if God wants you to be good, what is good? Maybe you don't say something naughty or you don't beat your friends…but I think some of the kids find their religion here [at the organization]. They choose to be a Muslim or a Christian…I don't know, I never heard a story like that from the kids [about courage through religious faith]. Usually it's just practical, very practical things [that help with this process].

When I asked Jawa about where he got his faith to make these changes in his life

he replied, "It came from myself first…before I couldn't read, I didn't know what it

was," I asked, "So now you can read?" and Jawa responded, "Yes I can." This appears to

be the practical accomplishments that the outreach worker was referring to whereby the children find their courage through self-efficacy. Nadia also found faith in herself, stating, "[the faith and courage] is from myself, my hope is that I want to be better than before…so I can reach my dreams one day."

However, Cipuy held strong beliefs about God helping her leave the street. When I asked whether she believed in herself and her own potential to change and achieve things in life she replied:

> No not really. I don't really believe in my own potential but I believe in God and that everything is in his plan, so how I got to [the organization] is because I believe that God has a plan for me…I used to go to church every week [on the street]…I believe that God is the one that never leaves me. People could leave me or abandon me, but God never leaves me…

Wanting attention

Having experienced the harshness that the street life can offer, being seen in such a negative light by the general public, and not having received much care or affection from adult figures, the children enter the organization craving for the attention that staff and volunteers can provide. A staff member commented:

> Yeah, they need a lot of attention because they hope that what makes a difference once you live in the street is the attention. We treat them really like a human. We are not shouting, not yelling, or beating them, or angry with them, and we can talk a lot to them. It's an important thing when they first come to this organization…if they don't have a lot of attention they will say, "It's the same for me in the street and here [at the organization], so I might as well run away." The attention is an important thing for them.

The yearning for attention from the staff can be quite intense, and the potential boredom that can result from a lack of attention can have children thinking about returning to the street. This is particularly true for the boys that have completed the adaptation program and have moved into the main organizational body to attend school

and develop skills in the company of the other children who are also doing this. Since the staff to child ratio in the adaptation program is much greater than the ratio in the main organization, the children notice that they are no longer receiving the same level of attention that they have become used to. A staff member in the parenting division described this change as follows:

> …sometimes the children who have come from the adaptation program complain that they're not having as much attention like they were in adaptation. But it helps because in here [the main organization] because we have a lot of activities to keep the children busy and they have to go to school and there's a lot of tasks they have to do, and it helps to keep them occupied, to make them busy…[the challenge is] trying not to make them bored, but as you know they are children and can become bored often, and sometimes there are enough activities but some of them do not have any activity at all, so we try to keep them occupied.

Spending time with foreigners

The opportunity to learn English and meet foreigners is an exiting idea for many of the children. At any one time, the organization usually has at least two or three volunteers visiting at any one time from a number of countries around the world who have come to help work with the children. According to many of the children and youth I spoke with, the visitors bring new games and activities, teach new skills, help with language development, and are potentially an endless form of entertainment because they share stories and bring a different perspective of life to the children. I was able to bond quickly with many of the kids because I could speak their language, which was especially helpful in creating a connection through humour and the subsequent laughter. I also taught guitar and English. I believe these lessons, particularly the one-to-one lessons, helped satisfy the children's need for attention, as they had me all to themselves during those times and would become quite angry and protective of this time if any other children tried to impose their presence. However, I am unable to play soccer very well,

which is by far the most popular sport in Indonesia, and this was a big let down for many

of the boys!

Reflecting on outreach visits, one of the staff commented, "[I] tell them they can

meet a lot of foreigners in our organization, a lot of foreigners…[it's] interesting for

them." In talking about what he would tell his friends about the organization, Arul said:

> I'm happy to meet foreigners from other countries…I can speak English to the
> people who visit here, I can train my English…just try a little bit of English
> speaking, you will meet a lot of volunteers here, you will have a lot of
> opportunities here. Maybe there is a volunteer who will give you a scholarship.
> Because when you go back to the streets you will not get anything there. It will be
> the same all the time.

Developing strong principles

During my stay I was able to see the development of strong moral principles in

the children who had adjusted to the organizational structure, rules, and culture. The

children and youth would often keep each other in check, particularly if they broke a rule,

such as not going for lunch when it was lunchtime or not completing homework.

However, the children were not completely robotic in this respect, with many breaking

rules as much as they enforced them, and each individual was unique in their own right

when it came to the principles he or she decided to fight for and the motivations behind

this. Perhaps the opportunity to scold another child was a motivating factor, yet there

were numerous incidents where children appeared to take pride in properly reflecting the

principles of the organization, and in the case of Alan, this extended to challenging staff

members if they broke a rule that everyone in the organization should be abiding by:

> I'm the type of person who stands by my principle. So if someone tries to crash
> that principle I will feel very disturbed, and react in a rebellious way. For
> example, I had a responsibility in the kitchen when I was a teenager, and at that
> time the owner from the organization tried to break the rules in the kitchen, and I
> didn't like it. I was brave and told him, "No, this is my responsibility, so you have

to ask me, you cannot just break the rules. You have to follow the rules."…I answered the challenge from the staff.

Playing sports

Engaging in physical activities is a way to help the children learn new skills, burn the energy they have, and to keep their mind active so as to reduce any thoughts of boredom. An outreach worker described using sport as a way to reach children on the street and also keep children engaged and active within the organization. She stated:

> I think sport is a good approach. Football and swimming, because if we give them an activity like a table activity it's not interesting for them. They like something that can move their body. They can move their body and then they can use their energy. I think sport is a good approach because in sports you can use anything in general, you can forget your problems because you focus on the games, on the sports. It gives them a lot of fun.

Arul used sports to keep from becoming bored at the organization, and shared the following:

> When the boring feeling came I just threw that feeling into the sports. Before I really liked swimming, and then I liked soccer and I can do it well. Then I went to Brazil for the Street Child World Cup, so sports are one of the things that can keep me away from the boring feeling.

Sports, games, and any type of physical activities are emphasized in the organization and are offered throughout the week in a structured format lead by staff and volunteers, who provide swimming lessons and with the help of a coach who visits the organization to help train the kids, soccer training. Volunteers are encouraged to teach new games and activities each Friday morning, and the children and youth also create their own games and sports competitions. A competitive game of soccer on campus organized only by the students is a daily occurrence in the afternoon once school has finished.

Having a goal

One of the areas of focus of staff at the organization is to encourage children to create a goal, something to aim for and work towards. A staff member commented:

> …if you only live in the street you cannot set your dreams higher. You can only say that I want to be a driver of a bus. It's not a trans-Jakarta bus [a higher quality bus service], it's okay if it's a trans-Jakarta, but you know [the children aim for] the Angkot [small mini-van type bus service] or Bajai [small three-wheeled taxi service]. I don't appreciate that work. It's good work, but if you have set up your dreams higher you will lean more towards that.

Jawa's goal was more focused on education, he said, "…now I really want to learn English…the steps I put in my mind are that I should have a dream that I can read, write, and get the certificate [from school] so I can go to work." More information on goal setting and having a purpose is discussed in the "New Life" section of this paper.

Effort and fear of failure

When speaking with staff throughout my time volunteering, I was intrigued to hear that with regard to setting goals and considering a career many children and youth would rather give a lesser effort and aim lower than give a greater effort and aim higher. In the interviews a staff member commented, "…it's comfortable. It's easier. [By setting low standards] you don't have to give a big effort." She continued:

> It's like wasting time. "I just want something easy and something fast that can get me money fast. If you're a driver you can get money that day, but if you're an architect maybe you get the money when your project is finished. Plus it takes a long time to study to become an architect or a doctor."…They need easy money, with less effort.

Although the staff participant did say that by working with the children staff are eventually able to help them to change these attitudes, it is still a common approach for most children from the street to take the easy road rather than to take up greater challenges.

Support and care from staff

The organizations staff are like a constant guiding light for the children and youth with whom they work. They are there to consistently provide many forms of kindness, love and support to a population that is in need of consistency with regard to this affection. The staff take on a variety of roles, including parenting, teaching, coaching, and counselling. What I admired about the staff was that they were able to remain consistently patient and stable through many kinds of ups and downs that the children went through on a daily basis. Often it is the little things that staff do that can mean so much to the children, things like listening to them, helping them to resolve a problem, or teaching them a new interpersonal skill. Cipuy reflected on what the staff meant to her while she was attending the organization:

> Rina [a former staff member] is the one who really helped me during that period of time, really supported me. I felt that Rina was more like a sister to me than staff, she even felt like my parents. She really helped me and I really care for her. Even until now I really care for her…for example, I had a problem with friends in my house, in my dormitory, and I felt so disappointed and upset with them. So I spoke with Rina and she gave me advice about how to deal with it. She really cared about me and helped me to feel relaxed and to become more patient.

> Nadia commented:

> The staff helped me by giving me emotional support. Usually I am very sensitive. I was a very sensitive person. They showed me how to not be so sensitive and gave me good advice and helped me when I became angry or emotional.

> And Abdul was also appreciative of the staff:

> The staff at the organization. Sanjaya. All the staff there were so good to me…they gave me knowledge and if I had a problem I could talk with Sanjaya and Utari, but most of the time it was with Sanjaya…he was like a friend.

When asked what supports at the organization help the children, one of the staff replied:

Staff like me. I listen to them and mostly I just try to be close to them, you know. Maybe once or twice per day I will talk to them and see what's going on…I give time to them, [especially] with the new ones.

Relapse

One of the more significant challenges for children who undertake the dramatic steps involved in moving away from street life is resisting the temptation to return to the street. Just as street life presented many difficulties that the children did not like, so too does adjusting to life off the street. However, relapsing back to street life appears to be a part of the larger overall process of exiting the street permanently. Children who do end up leaving the street permanently, have also very likely relapsed back to street life a number of times: Alan and Abdul relapsed an estimated three times, Arul five times, Cipuy six times, and Jawa 10 times. Relapsing can also mean different things to the participants, especially with regard to how long a relapse lasts. Some of the children may count returning to the street for only one week a "relapse," while others might consider returning for six months a "relapse." As mentioned previously in this thesis, a staff member talked about believing that if the children stay off the street for at least six months in a program they will inevitably choose to leave the street permanently, despite any relapses, because they would have tasted this new non-street life for long enough that it will eventually draw them away from the street.

Boredom off the street

Perhaps the most frequently used word when asked about the challenges of both living on the street and living away from the street was, "boredom". Without the constant stimulus and impulsiveness that living on the street can bring, children can quickly become bored with life in the organization. In reality, because it is the child's choice if he

or she wants to be on the street or not, the organization is actually competing with the street. Arul stated:

> In the beginning when I left the street it wasn't easy. I kept wanting to go back because of all these rules at the organization, I was bored and tired with them and I just wanted to be free again.

Jawa became bored while attending the adaptation program, located in a country-side setting far away from the big city, he recalled, "[I returned to the street] 10 times…I missed my friends and was bored…it's quite boring for me [at adaptation] because in that location it's like only the forest and mountains, it's a very quiet place." Cipuy commented that for her, "…usually boredom was the main problem." It is however not just a quiet place, there are also interpersonal challenges that arise even in such a quiet setting. One key challenge is conflict:

Conflict

Not being able to face conflicts with peers in the organization is also reason enough for children to return to the street; oftentimes children would rather escape from the conflict rather than confront it. Furthermore, some children who have become comfortable with living in an organization may choose to leave that organization – because of an argument or disagreement with a friend – for another. An outreach worker stated:

> …if the children have a problem here they can move to another spot…they have no consistency because [they think], "I can go anywhere, so if I have a problem here and I cannot face it, I can run away anywhere"…[they could run away] to another organization or to the street, it depends, usually the kids who have stayed a long time in an organization will find it difficult when they live on the street again, so for them it's better to find another organization…but kids who are still familiar with the street they find their way to another street or spot in the street. Usually they don't have enough courage to deal with the problems…if they see an obstacle or challenge they think, "No I cannot face this, so I will take the easier road."

A staff member who teaches the children agreed:

…the children here, they're always having a problem with their friends. So, the short cut is when they have a problem with their friends they will run away..."I will run away, I will run away" that is always the reaction.

Arul recalled why he left to go back to the street:

The forth time I left [the organization] was because I was bullied here, because I was one of the smallest ones, the younger ones here. I was actually thinking I wanted to live here, but I got bullied. But because there are lots of activities here, computers and everything, study, I decided to come back.

Cipuy also had problems with fighting and wanted to leave, stating:

There was one time I was fighting with someone and I wanted to run away, but before I could they [the staff] caught me…When I was at the organization I was not stable, so every time I got angry or disappointed I went back to the street. It was almost six times I went back from the organization to the street. Almost six times.

Another ongoing challenge these children often face is having money, not just enough but any money.

Money

The children have very little money of their own at the organization as their primary purpose there is to get an education or skills training. Some children that I spoke with said that their parents occasionally send money to them to be used as pocket money to buy candy or snacks, but this is rare. As such, wanting to make money can be enticing enough of an incentive to make them consider returning to the street. One of the outreach workers commented on this, stating:

…here we don't give money to the kids, so when they don't have the money it's like a reason why they leave soon after we bring them here. Sometimes they say, "I want to go looking for money because I need to buy something, snacks or drinks," so it's about money also sometimes.

An additional reason to relapse to the street is not wanting to follow rules, especially after having become used to very few if any formal rules other than those designed by the street children themselves.

Too many rules

Shifting from the freedom that the street offers to a structured organization that has rules and discipline can take time to adjust to. For some children, this is sometimes this is too much and they need to reconnect to the less rigid and routine-driven life on the street. "At the beginning I didn't get used to it here, there was too many rules…sometimes I wanted to go back again to the street because there are lots of rules," said Arul. This was also a problem for Alan, who said, "[I wanted to leave with my friends] because there were too many rules. We missed street life. You cannot work here, you cannot sleep in the afternoon, and we must wake up early." Additionally, some of the children missed their street-based friends:

Peer pressure and friendships on the street

Since the camaraderie amongst street children is often so strong, those that choose to live in an organization may well be tempted to return to the street to reconnect with that camaraderie. This is more likely with the children who were connected to a gang or part of a larger group. An outreach worker recounted the difference between the solitary children and those with a larger friendship base:

> The kids that will stay the longest here are the kids that come alone. They stay longer because it takes a lot of courage to make the decision, "I will live in a new place and I don't know about that place." That's big courage. If the kids make a decision like this by themselves, not because of their friends, it means they will stay longer here.

For those children that do have solid friendship connections the peer pressure can lure them back to the street. A staff member explained:

> Sometimes the children have a strong bond with the children on the street. It's hard for them to leave that. Even though they already are in here sometimes their friends from outside are still in contact with them and say, "You don't have to stay in the organization, just come here and you can get money."…it's peer pressure. "Don't live in the organization that's for chickens you know. You're stronger than that."…it's a lot of pressure for a young mind. "Why should you have to live in an organization, you have to sleep at night, you don't get television, you don't get freedom."

Staff also described children who had the habit of entering the organization only to return to the street while convincing other children to leave as well. In relation to this, a staff member said:

> …[when he approaches me and wants to return to the organization] I'm just thinking, "Okay, I don't think you should come here to just hang around, because this boy will affect the children here."…mostly he will say to the others, "Okay let's go," and they will run away…Whenever he runs away he always takes the new kids, three or four of them.

Finally staff talked about the importance of organizational fit:

Organizational fit

How the child fits within the organization can also determine whether they will return to the street or not. After having outlined a number of reasons why children return to the street, I asked one of the staff members if there were any other factors related to relapse, and he replied, "One more thing, maybe they start to think this is not the right organization for them." For example, if the child must work for the family and there is no other way around that, then living full-time in an organization will not fit for that child. Additionally, perhaps skill training would be a more valuable use of time than an education. During my time volunteering I met a16-year-old boy, who was reading and writing at a very low level considering his age. He did not have any learning or

developmental difficulties; he simply had not been in a school environment for many

years. He was becoming frustrated at the time it was taking to catch up to his peers in the

classroom and the embarrassment of feeling left behind as other students his age excelled.

In his case, the staff decided to focus more so on providing him skill development that

can be used to earn an income once he reaches 18 years of age and must leave the

organization, while providing a less stringent academic education adapted to his essential

needs out in the world (e.g., basic reading, writing, and math). A staff member

commented on these situations:

> We have to start teaching them skills [if] they're already 16…Whenever the
> children are already 15 or 16 we have to start giving skills to them instead of
> pushing them to do the reading or writing or other subjects…that's the priority...as
> long as [they] can read and write it's fine…[but] it's more important [they have]
> the skill development than pure education.

The key informants also made some final points about factors that contribute to

the potential for relapse:

Starting from zero again

On a final note regarding relapse, Arul, who is well-versed with returning to the

street after having gone back and forth from the organization to the street five times,

offered the following perspective of having to start back at zero each time a change is

made moving from the organization to the street:

> I manage [not relapsing] by using all the activities here. Whenever I get bored I
> just fight it by playing soccer or doing other activities. Because when you go back
> to the street it's like you have to start from zero again. And when you come back
> here [to the organization] you have to start from zero again with the adaptation
> program. So it's not easy. I have to fight for my future, I have to achieve it and I
> have to persevere.

Chapter 5 – Findings (Part 2)

The purpose of this chapter is to present the remaining findings from the research study. Continuing from Chapter 4, this chapter (part 2) outlines findings in two major categories: 1) Life After the Street, and 2) Services. In the first category I present the findings about what children experience once they have successfully exited the street and are in a more stable life routine; this includes, changes in perceptions of self, looking for employment, wanting to help others leave the street, and plans for the future. In the second category I present the findings that are related to the various services and service workers who work closely with street children populations. Topics in this section include, the roles of staff and challenges faced on both outreach work and within the organization, and includes workers' views about the importance of outreach work, providing the choice to leave the street, involving the family when possible, and providing education and skill-training that fits the child.

Life After the Street

"When I saw my old friends in the street, I felt a lot of pity for them.

They sleep on the street, they're bitten by mosquitoes, and it's cold.

I used to be in the same situation as them." – Jawa

A New Life

In my interviews, I aimed to explore the youths' experiences of life after the street once they had become more firmly established in the organization, had developed a more stable life routine, and the temptation to return to the street had subsided. I inquired about the changes they noticed in themselves, the ways in which their lives are different now, and their hopes for the future. Some youth participants had already left the organization,

and thus reflected on and commented about their life in the present, while other participants were still in the organization.

While volunteering in this environment, I was able to gain a greater understanding of the children and youth through my observations and interactions at this phase of my inquiry as I was immersed in a setting where a large portion of the children and youth were in a more stable place in their lives. The themes from the interviews that I describe below were reinforced by the daily encounters I had with the children and youth of the organization. Although I found outreach work to be incredibly interesting, challenging and eye opening, I was limited in the time I could spend on the streets where children were living especially because my venturing into this environment would typically require an outreach worker, with the necessary experience and rapport within the street communities, to accompany me. I was therefore to spend significant time on the street.

Changes in perceptions of self

"I feel better now that I have left the street, and I don't feel like people look down on me

again. Because people usually look down on street kids." - Arul

The children usually enter the organization with a number of insecurities, are highly emotional, and quite aggressive in their behaviour. Developing greater patience and self-esteem appear to be common adjustments in the characters of the children. Cipuy reflected on the changes she noticed in herself:

> …before, I was a person who would force others to think twice before saying something to me, otherwise I could be very upset because of the words. People who want to talk with me had to be really careful about it. But now, I'm trying to be much more patient about what other people say to me. I try to understand more.

Cipuy continued expressing her thoughts:

I had a lot of changes happen, like 98% of myself has changed…I can be more brave in the outside world. What I see now, the experience of being on the street has helped me to become a person who is brave and who understands others…I became less emotional and angry, and I became more patient. I can analyze the situation and understand what happened. I'm the new Cipuy.

Staff encourage the children by reminding them of the new place they have in the world now, as one participant recalled, "…I often say to them, "You're at a different level now [at the organization]. You are in a different life. Now you are no longer a street kid, you have to behave like an educated kid." Thinking about the changes they witness in children a staff member commented:

"Self-esteem. Yeah, about how they value themselves. Here at the organization they can learn English and other things. It's a good experience for them…They think, "Finally I got out from the street. I have a job, I have an education, I can be normal. I don't have to be ashamed anymore. I can look into other people's eyes…and when the new kids come here, they say to them, "You can do it too."

Nadia shared her reflections by stating, "I feel more peaceful now, happy, and I can study well…I can help myself…I can support my life…I can be more patient, no matter what is around me, I can be more patient and be more strong." Jawa also commented on the changes in himself, saying, "I feel more comfortable now. I'm not as angry anymore. I'm a little bit more patient and it's easier for me to smile now…I'm happier." However, Abdul was still struggling with his own progression. He told me after the interview that he is not comfortable with his position in the world: as a former street child and even now as a young man who has been off the street for a number of years. He was very much interested in self-help books and dreamed of becoming a counselor or motivational speaker to help others in need. He shared much more about himself after the interview session. During the interview he was much more reserved and did not elaborate on his answers, preferring to answer in the simplest and shortest way possible. I had to

use many probes to elicit more of his story. However, during the interview he did share

the following: "I'm still learning how to be disciplined. I must be more confident, it's still

a little low right now…At the moment I'm reading Dale Carnegie's "How To Win

Friends And Influence People".

Developing new skills and knowledge

When asked about the new things they had learned while in the organization many

of the youth replied stating that learning English and studying in school were the

important things to them. However, Nadia expanded this discussion about the skills that

made a difference for her by sharing the following:

> I can cook, I can speak English, and I can sing songs in English…[I like] listening
> to music…especially the lyrics in English…I can learn how to cook…[I can cook]
> pancakes, tarts, and fried Oreos…[they're] delicious. I can play soccer…[I learn
> about] recycling.

I inquired further about the lyrics in English that she enjoys so much and her

answer was that "Hey Jude" by The Beatles was her favourite song. Nadia shared with

me what that song meant to her, what lyrics stood out for her, and how she interprets the

words:

> [I like the lyrics] "Don't carry the world upon your shoulders"…When I'm alone I
> sometimes sing that song to myself with those lyrics, "Don't carry the world upon
> your shoulders". I know I must be brave no matter what happens, I can go through
> anything, to face the difficult situations. If I'm alone on the soccer field I just sing
> those lyrics to myself.

Many of the staff's attempts to introduce children and youth to new skills and

knowledge are focussed on helping to prepare them for future employment. The next

section details the challenges and possibilities that youth face upon leaving the

organization and looking for employment.

Employment

Finding full-time work outside of the organization, or at least enough work to earn

the amount of income necessary to support a young person to live independently, can

seem like a daunting task for many of the youth who must leave the organization by the

time they are 19 or 20 years old. Oftentimes the staff will attempt to help connect youth

with potential employers. Alan, now 23 and living independently, worked his way

through a number of jobs to where he now holds a supervisor position in a restaurant,

which comes with a lot of responsibility. He commented on this position and the

progression of his work experience:

> My mind is tired from being so busy; always making and receiving calls,
> inputting data, doing daily reports. It's a headache…I'm responsible for many
> things, like purchasing, customer complaints, managing employees…I have to
> work today [a Sunday], even though it's supposed to be my day off, the manager
> resigned. So I have to take on his responsibilities…But I think it's a big job for
> me because looking at my track record two-to-three years ago, this job now is a
> big job. Before I was a cashier in a hotel…[then] I became a waiter…and now I'm
> working here [at the restaurant]…[But] I'm happy.

Abdul, 21 years of age, also works at a restaurant, although he found it a difficult

transition from leaving the organization to finding stable full-time employment:

> [Firstly] I went home to my relatives house in Jakarta, and they offered me a job
> to look after a Warung [small family-owned convenience shop that sells daily
> necessities]…I was cleaning and stuff. After about two weeks my relatives asked
> me to look after the shop. At the beginning he was really nice to me, but after that
> he started not to like me. It became uncomfortable…[so] I left the house and went
> back to the street.

After returning to the street for a short period of time Abdul ended up back at the

organization. It was here that he began looking for work again:

> I tried to find a job selling bakso [meatball soup]. After two weeks I got that job. I
> took the bakso cart around the villages and estates to sell the meatball soup. I did
> this for about three months. During that three months I was talking a staff member
> and eventually he got me a job here [at the restaurant].

Jawa, who is 18 and still living at the organization, works at a workshop on campus that does handicrafts and metalwork, and creates furniture and regular household items, such as clocks, stools, vases, and lamps. "I'm happy…I can work. I can make my own money…I make a lot of stuff we can sell," said Jawa, "Today I made tables. [I also made] television brackets to hang on the wall…[I really enjoy] painting the brackets." While it is not full-time work and he is not in an independent living situation, this entrepreneurial program provides valuable experience to someone like Jawa, who at 18 years of age will most likely be leaving the organization in the near future.

Sometimes, those who leave the organization to embark on an independent life of their own will return to visit and act as role models for those still living at the organization. Staff have commented that it is important for children and youth to see the successes of those before them in order to highlight the potential for positive change. Even some of the youth who still live in the organization act as role models for their peers. The following section explores this topic.

Role models

Youth with first hand knowledge of what it takes to leave the street and forge a new life can share this with those who are still struggling with a connection to the street, and doing so, can be role models for those who are just beginning this transition.

Arul is looked up to by many of the children and youth at the organization. In addition to being an excellent soccer player he also is very kind and approachable, converses easily with many different people, and is a very good public speaker. He shared his thoughts on being a role model and inspiration to others:

I am learning about psychology now, because the staff send me and a friend to a woman who is a psychologist and I learned from her. Now I start to get a lot of knowledge about psychology and people's character…So what I got from the psychology lesson I shared it with my friends who still have an addiction or are going through a difficult time. I shared my testimony to my friends that I can go to Brazil [for Street Child World Cup]. It's not showing off, I just want them to know about what they can achieve if they work hard and go through those processes.

In addition to inspiring a wide variety of street children, Cipuy, now 20 years old, is also a role model to many female children and youth who live on the street, as there are noticeably more males on the street than females. She is calm, yet has a strong character and is very driven to reach her goals, and is currently attending university and studying public relations. When she visited the organization she made time to sit and speak with the girls of the organization and it is clear that her presence is respected and admired by those she talks with. Cipuy commented:

I hope I can inspire people that are on the street that there is a better way of living rather than staying on the street, and they can work in many simple ways if they want…because I have experience living on the street and sleeping on the street, and I know how difficult it is and dealing with it, I want to inspire people to move away from street life. I think it's better to focus on the group living on the street first because many people who are living there need help. I can focus to inspire them or support them to leave the street.

As Cipuy mentioned above, a part of being a role model is also to inspire those still on the street to consider leaving the street and beginning a new life. The desire to help others leave the street was typically brought up by the youth when discussing their future, and was described to me as follows:

Helping others to leave the street

From my casual conversations with children and youth in the organization it became apparent that many wanted to help those still living on the street; as if they can now speak to the difference between living on the street and living off the street. There was a sense of responsibility to help others who were in similar situations as they had once been. Said one staff member, "[once they're off the street] then they want to help their friends, the other street children, they want to help them."

Each of the participants touched on the idea that they wanted to help those who still live on the street, but wanted to get their own lives in order first before embarking on any humanitarian endeavour. Jawa had, however, long been thinking of developing a program for street kids:

> I want to own my own property and I want to build an organization like this one on it…It must be big, and it must help street kids but also help the kids who do not have a mother or father, so I can take them and help them…My dream is to have an organization to take care of these kids…I want to make people proud [of what I do] so that those people can help me to take other people and friends off the street…During that time when I was on the street I already had that dream, but the reality was that I was also there living on the street.

Many of the discussions about helping others were embedded in the youths' descriptions of what their future plans will be. In the following section both the young people and the workers shared their thoughts on youth dreaming of and manifesting future plans:

Future plans

Speaking with the staff about how the children and youth see their futures, staff noted that for many of the youth the dream is there but the planning that is necessary to reach the dream is not. In order to deal with this, staff emphasize concrete ideas and plans

to accompany any dreams, visions, or larger goals in life. For example, in reply to what they want for their future youth will often say, "I want to be successful" or "I want my family to be taken care of". It is here that the staff encourage the youth to consider what steps need to take place in order to reach such a goal.

Nonetheless, in their interviews the youth talked about having had many ideas for their futures that they wanted to share with me, some more concrete than others. For example, Arul, who had recently returned from Brazil after representing the Indonesian team in the 2014 Street Child World Cup (an international conference and tournament ahead of each FIFA World Cup consisting of 15 nations that aims to raise awareness about street children and challenge the negative perceptions and treatment they are often subjected to), talked about one day hoping to represent his country's national team:

> I wanted to be included in the Indonesian National Football Team. But one of the staff gave me the understanding that in Indonesia it is not easy to be in the national team because they don't give you good pay and things like that. "Who do you want to be?" he asked me. "Do you believe you can influence your own life?"…Another thing I do is that I'm learning to make computer hardware, because I looked to my past to see what other hobbies I have instead of just playing soccer. I tried to dig around and find another thing I can do, and I really like computers so I decided to try that…In the future [I want] to have a family…to have a child, to have a computer company. I want to send my child to school overseas if they want to go to soccer school, to study in Spain.

Arul then began sharing about his own development and wishes, separate from career:

> Because I got separated and didn't know where my parents were, my hope and dream is my courage to be a better person, I want to succeed, I want to be good at soccer, and through all those things. If I have a new generation of kids myself, I can show them a door to a better life for them. I don't want my children to be like me before.

Alan emphasized having stability in life and a business of his own, stating, "I want to have my own business like in farming and agriculture…[as well as] a café or restaurant business…I will have a wife, children, a house, and a vehicle."

After having found a purpose creating furniture and household items, Jawa was inspired to continue his education and skill development to be independent beyond the organization:

> I want to go to school again. If I get the certificate I will be able to work. If I am already working I will make my own money and be able to save my own money. I also plan to help my friends who are still on the street with the money I save.

> Dismissing any notions of a patriarchal future, Cipuy shared her plans:

> …I want to have a house, my own place for living, that way it's safe there. It's different if I rent a room or I rent a house, I have to think, "How about next year, how about this or that?" But if I have a house of my own it will make me feel more secure. And even in the future if I have a husband I don't want to be dependent on him, I have to support myself. Maybe if a woman is too dependent on her husband and one day he is cheating on her then she will be abandoned, a victim, less powerful. But if I have my own stuff, my own house, if my husband is cheating on me I'll just kick him out.

> Nadia plans to be an international chef in the future. The cooking and baking

classes at the organization have inspired her career direction. She commented:

> I really just want to be successful. I want to work internationally as a chef…[to work] around the world…I can go to Brazil, Spain, Germany, England, Italy, around the world…I want to be a famous chef in Indonesia…I really want to go to a culinary school…I [also] want my brothers and sisters to graduate, go to school and graduate, maybe go to college or university. I want them to reach their dreams too, not only me.

The youth participants had experienced significant changes in their young lives, and I was particularly interested in their thoughts about leaving the street. This next section details their responses to my questions about this.

Reflections on leaving the street

The consensus among the youth participants was that leaving the street was a good decision for their lives and at this point they would not consider ever returning there. As they see it their lives have a new momentum now with different motivations and support networks. When asked the question, "Looking back, what do you think about your choice to leave the street?" Nadia answered by stating:

> If I look at my past I think my life could have been much worse than before. More messy than now. I feel peaceful now, I'm no longer on the street anymore, so if I look back again I think it could have been real bad [if I didn't leave].

Abdul, who said previously that he was not strongly religious, commented:

> I'm thinking like this, I think it was God's plan that I met a lot of good people, especially at the organization, they're so nice to me. About the choice I made [to leave the street] it changed my life, and I'm just enjoying the process now. Until now I just try to enjoy the process…[it] feels good.

While Cipuy considered how she came to be on the street in the first place:

> What I think is that I was living on the street because I had to. The situation forced me to live on the street. That is how I went there; I was forced there. Until now I never had a feeling like I want to go back to the street because it's not a good thing. It's not a good way of living.

Alan shared the following:

> I feel very thankful about my choice [to exit the street]. Actually we will never know if our choice is right or wrong until we get to the point that this is all the life we want. Until you get to that point you will still be confused as to whether your choice was right or wrong. But now, I know it was right. I'm very thankful about my choice.

The decision to leave the street in Indonesia typically requires children or youth to become associated with an organization that helps street children. In the following section I have explored the participants' views of the services they are associated with and their advice for other services for street children.

Services

This section on services outlines the roles and challenges of staff who work both on outreach and in the organization, and also presents the participants' advice about services for street children in general. Staff roles and challenges include targeting non-hardcore kids for street exiting, giving the choice to leave the street, taking on parenting roles, building trust, and dealing with impulsiveness. The advice about street children services speaks to a number of issues including the importance of outreach, seeing potential in street children, providing education and skill training to children and youth, and increasing the profile of the social work field in Indonesia.

Staff Role and Challenges – On Outreach Work

The following section outlines the roles of workers and the challenges they encounter in creating relationships with children on the street as these were described by the staff who engaged in street-based outreach work.

Targeting non-hardcore kids

During outreach work, staff are more inclined to focus their immediate attention on building relationships with children who are new to the street, as there is a greater chance those who have been on the street for a shorter period of time will choose to leave than those who have been on the street for a long time. As mentioned in the "Types of Street Children" section of the previous chapter, one category of street children is referred to as "hardcore kids." These are the children who live full-time on the street and have done so for a significant amount of time (usually beyond a year) and as a result have become more tough and hardened. As will be detailed in the "Importance of outreach"

section, it is more difficult to build a relationship with these children and more of a

challenge to encourage them to leave the street. As a former outreach worker explained,

> …if you meet kids with only two weeks or a month on the street it's easier from them to want a new life…based on my experience it's easier for them, but [for example] if they are born in the street and their family lives in the street homeless then it's difficult.

Another staff member commented:

> …it just depends on how long they have lived on the street. Less than a year is good. It's easier. But two years, three years, we will need extra time [to work with them]…for the kids are born in the streets it's more difficult, [although] I think it's just that they need more time [with outreach workers encouraging them and building a relationship], but sometimes when they grow up it's more difficult because the pattern [of street life and behaviours] is already inside them…the teenagers are more difficult to change because teenagers have a more stable character, so if the street life is inside their blood then it's more difficult and we need to work harder.

The staff participants also noted that no matter their efforts to help children off the

street, ultimately the choice to exit resides with the children themselves. The principle of

giving the choice is emphasized in the organization was outlined to me as follows:

Giving the choice to leave the street

Outreach work staff will always give the choice to children or their families as to

whether they wish to leave the street or not. This is a strong principle within the

organization. This principle was well articulated by one outreach worker who said:

> I think choosing to come by their own conscience, not that we [outreach workers] just pull them and force them, we are not police…and that is the most difficult thing. To make them realize they have a better choice than to live on the street.

The importance of providing choice when it comes to exiting street life was also

commented on by a youth in a later section titled, "Understand and support the choice to

leave the street."

Staff Role and Challenges – At the Organization

In this section, staff participants share the roles and challenges of working in an

organization for street children. The topics discussed include building trust and practicing

patience, taking on parenting roles for the children, dealing with their impulsiveness, and

helping them to find their identity and passions.

Building trust and practicing patience

According to staff, when children arrive at the organization they are oftentimes

still using behaviours common to street survival; in particular, lying, deception, and

manipulation. These behaviours can prove to be very challenging to staff, who must

navigate interactions that include such behaviours with forgiveness, patience, and trust in

order to remain consistent in their care of the children. Staff talked about understanding

that the changing of behviours often takes time. A staff participant described how

children on the street find it difficult to trust. He stated:

> [The children think] "Don't trust anybody." That's what they know, that's what
> they believe in their mind. "If I trust somebody I will get hurt. If I trust somebody
> I will die. If I trust somebody I will not have enough food or money." That's their
> beliefs in their mind. That's what I'm trying to change.

According to staff, there is a difference between teenagers and children with

regard to building trust. He commented as follows:

> [I tell them] "You can trust the staff here. You can start to change that belief. You
> can trust our director, you can trust me, you can trust us." That's what I think is a
> difficult thing to change in their minds, to open up and change…the teenagers
> mostly can understand that, but the small ones no; like seven, or five, or six [years
> old], it's very hard for them to learn about trust.

However, it can be a potentially long and challenging process for staff to endure

the trust building phase with the children and youth in the organization. One staff

member found this particularly difficult to adjust to and spoke about his experience,

stating,

> I just learned about this recently [to have trust in the children even when they lie], before that I would yell at them and wouldn't listen to them [again], I distrusted them. [I would say], "I don't trust you, you lied to me, you come from the street." Mostly [street children] lie. When they live on the street they must lie to survive. They must manipulate to survive. They must play tough to survive. So when they come here I still think they bring that character, and then I start to judge them and yell at them, and not trust them. [I recently] learned that this is not the best way to make a relationship with them. If I want to help them I have to trust them, and I learned to say, "Okay, I trust you, what do you need?"

Eventually there are positives that can come from creating a relationship built on

trust. A staff member described this process, saying,

> If I want to know more about them [the children] the first thing is they have to trust me, because if I want to help them succeed in their future, I have to know everything about them: what they desire, what they want to do, how is their past, and most of the children do not want to tell [these things]. They don't want to tell of their past or future if they don't have trust with the staff. So the first thing I do is I start to trust them. Yeah they will lie to me, they will deceive me, and sometimes they misuse my trust, but that's the process that I have to go through. The beautiful thing about this is when they trust you and they completely surrender to you, that's when I bond with them…If I want to know about their past it's a little bit easier if they trust me, and I don't even have to ask anything, they will just tell me.

I also observed the patience the staff exercised with the children and youth,

particularly when they were misbehaving. For example, in the classroom where I was

providing support, the teacher would rarely take an authoritarian approach to a disruption

caused by a student. Examples of what students might do include hitting another student,

taking another student's workbook, or tapping their pens on the table repeatedly. The

teacher would remain calm, but also ensure that their displeasure was understood. Staff

fostered behaviour change by explaining to the student how their behaviour disrupts the

class, asking them to apologize to those they disturbed, or being silent and not continuing

with the lesson until the disruptive students ceased their behaviour. Sometimes this type

of situation would happen five or six times in a 90-minute class, which I believe required

a significant amount of patience on the teacher's part. Furthermore, I did not witness any

staff member yell at a child throughout my two-month stay. A lot of positive

reinforcement was used and staff often reminded the children that certain behaviours

(associated with the street) are not appropriate, and that they are beyond that life now,

and must act accordingly.

Staff members at the organization typically find themselves in parenting roles

with the children and youth regardless of whether or not this is a part of their job

description. A parenting role is taken on to varying degrees by all staff, whether they

work in outreach, as a teacher, or manager; yet this role falls primarily to staff in the

Love and Care Division. The next section outlines this role in greater detail.

Taking on a parenting role

Since many of the children in the organization do not have regular contact with

their families – if any contact at all – the primary caregiver role falls to staff in the Love

and Care Division of the organization. A staff member describes some of the roles,

responsibilities and realities of the parenting staff:

> That is the main duty for parenting staff in the Love and Care Division, to make
> sure that [the children] can get healthy, good health, and then sometimes they
> come here with injuries or sometimes with problems with their skin, so I have to
> take them to the hospital or nearby facility.

> Aside from health care there were other roles, as stated by staff:

> I also have to give them time. That is the most important thing. I give them time
> to listen to what they want to say and how they want to be in the future. I think
> that is the most important role that I have, giving time to them and then listening
> to what they want.

The staff are also responsible for many other situations with children, as outlined

below:

> When the children want money they ask the parenting staff, when children run
> away they ask for the parenting staff, the parenting staff will handle it, when
> children steal, they, I mean, parenting staff almost do everything here, except
> education…but from the small problem to the biggest one, parenting staff are the
> first line.

One of the everyday challenges staff must face is the impulsiveness of the

children: wanting things to happen to their liking immediately. Staff shared this

experience and outlined the difference between the children new to the organization and

those with more extensive experience in the organization.

Dealing with the impulsiveness of the children

As detailed in the section on "Impulsiveness" coming from the street life without

structure and where acting impulsively in the moment are norms, children often take time

to adjust to the structure and rules of an organization. This also has to be understood by

staff when dealing with children who expect to have their way immediately. Staff

commented about staying firm with their position and to not be threated by a child's

impulsive demands.

> Sometimes I have to yell at them and sometimes I have to [say] "No! Tomorrow."
> [For example] if they want to go home, "Sir I want to go home now." [I say] "It
> cannot be done. You have to fill out the form first [requesting to visit parents or
> family], and I have to ask your teacher [for time off class]," and then they get
> angry and they're crying and they're following me [saying], "I want to run [away
> back to the street], if I can't go home tomorrow I will run [away]." Sometimes I
> say, "Just run."

To clarify the above comments regarding the organization's procedure for

children visiting family, some children who have parents or family members not too far

from where the organization is located are able to visit on occasion. These visits involve

the organization arranging transport to and from the family location, and as the

organization acts in a similar fashion to a boarding school, the children are the

responsibility of the organization. As such, there are procedures that need to take place

before a child can visit their family; usually these require the child to wait a week or so

before transport is arranged and time off of class can be organized.

However, the staff participant clarified that those in the early stages of having

entered the organization will more than likely act on their threat to run away, while those

who have adjusted to the organization and the certain protocols that are involved will

have greater understanding of the rules and are more likely to not run away. He clarified

by stating:

> …if they say, "I want to go home now," in the early stage you know, and I say,
> "You have to fill out the form," then they will run away…they just run, in the
> early stage…[but the later stage] they understand. They understand but will say, "I
> don't want to accept this," but they have the feeling that, "Okay, I understand this,
> but I want it now." Sometimes they run away, sometimes not. But mostly they can
> be talked to.

While staff frequently deal with the impulsiveness of the children, they also aim

to help the children and youth find their identity and to encourage the development of

passions and interests. The next section details what was discussed in the interviews

regarding this topic.

Helping children and youth find their identity and passions

A staff member mentioned the importance of helping those in their teenage years

to find who they are and what they want to do with their lives. This process was easier

with children, and gradually gets more difficult as they enter their teens. He stated:

> …the teenagers, that's the most important phase. The smaller ones who are nine
> years old are fine, but 12-15 years old, they're the most critical. If we [the staff]

succeed with this age, he or she will succeed. But if we fail, they will fail, because this is the moment when they're asking themselves, "What do I want to be?"

Through my observations I was able to see that staff aim to help children and youth find their passion and interests. Whether through activities, sports, or discussion, children are encouraged to try different vocations and possible career choices. In the interviews a staff participant shared their approach:

> [We] give them more options of the future they can get…the first time [they arrive at the organization I ask] "What is the motivation for you to come here?...Right now you already know the routine [of the organization], you know the education [style], you know the art space, the soccer team. What do you want to do?" [They might answer] "I want to cook, Sir."…[so] we give them more options…help them find their passion.

Participants' Recommendations to Service Providers

In this section I provide a brief overview of the feedback I received from both youth and staff participants in answering a question regarding recommendations to services assisting children and youth who want to leave the street (see Appendix I, J, K and L). The following is their advice.

Recognize the importance of outreach

Outreach work is a vitally important piece to the street exit process. It is usually the first stage of contact with children who are living on the street and provides an opportunity for relationships to form between workers and children. This helps workers understand the specific life circumstances of the children they meet (including meeting their families if possible). As outreach workers, they can administer first aid if needed, develop and understand the "street talk" of the children, map the areas where the children spend time, and provide information about the organizations. In my conversations with Cipuy she was adamant about the importance of outreach work and told me that she

believes all staff associated with an organization helping street children should experience outreach work to understand how the children live.

Outreach work also helps workers locate the children who are new to the street. This is important as the longer a child is on the street the more difficult it becomes for them to leave the street. Commenting on this an outreach worker stated:

> We're racing with time in the early stage. When a child is already on the street for four months, or one-month maybe two months, it's much easier [to help them leave the street]. So whenever I see the children who just came to the street, the fresh ones, I go to them and say, "Come on." I'm racing against time. If they're on the street for a longer time it's much more difficult. The more time on the street means more friends in the street. So in the early stages we need to give more information [to the child], get close, then keep encouraging them, and keep in touch with them.

An important component of outreach work is to ensure that ultimately the child or youth have the final say in whether he or she wishes to leave the street; while the outreach worker can provide all the information about alternatives to the street life, encourage the child or youth to leave the street, and offer to facilitate this process, the choice lies with the individual. The next section touches on this topic, as follows:

Understand and support the choice to leave the street

Allowing the children and youth to make their own choice to stay or leave the street was an important factor for services. This approach, as opposed to a forceful approach, leaves the choice and subsequent power and motivation to change in the hands of the individual. The message from the interviews and my interactions was clear: Don't force children off the street; give them the choice. Speaking from experience as a child on the street, Alan commented:

> I think the way that this organization saves the kids is a good way because they don't force the kids to leave the street by bringing them here. They observe them and assess them and try to get to know their family, and if they still have a family

they go to the family. They give the whole choice to the child, "Do you want to leave the street or not?"

As Alan stated above, outreach workers not only try to build relationships with children and youth on the street, but also with the families of those on the street. The next section briefly discusses the involvement of the family.

Involve the family

During my time at the organization when informally discussing street children and the street exiting process, staff spoke of the importance of creating connections with the child or youth's family. Their message as a service provider was clear: When possible, services should attempt to create connections with the child's family. However, this connection should be done with the child's consent. The family can be another supportive system for the child and the organization staff may be able to provide additional information or services to assist the family's specific needs. Furthermore, the workers suggest that when possible, the organization should attempt to reconnect children who have become separated from their families. This can pose significant challenges because of the enormous population of Indonesia, the level of poverty, and the lack of an effective system to track down individuals, particularly those living in smaller villages.

In the process of creating relationships with children and youth (and their families if possible) staff mentioned that seeing the potential in street children was a key factor in believing in their ability to adjust to a life off the street and to also excel in their new life. The following section details this suggestion.

See the potential in street children

It is important for services and their staff to see the potential of street children. Having navigated life on the street, the children have faced challenges that most adults

may never see in their lifetime; there is a strength and resourcefulness in having lived that life. A staff participant from the parenting division commented, "You know Brenden, they survive on the street with a lot of danger. So why can't we think that they will survive and succeed [in our world]? Not just survive, but succeed as well." He continued:

> I see that street children are different from rich children. What makes them different is the chance. The opportunity. The rich children have the chance because they have the money. Many chances and many opportunities…If they [street children] are able to survive on the street with all that danger, I'm sure with the right circumstances they can be a success because they already passed [a great test], they survived on the street. I can't. I don't know how to survive on the street you know. Like today, when I didn't [bring enough] money…I didn't know what to do. [The children] survive on the street, and with the right direction they can do anything. There is a lot of potential.

To help children achieve their potentials, and to lessen boredom and the chance they will run away from the organization, staff need to provide activities that will keep children interested and excited. The education program at the organization still requires the children and youth to be in class for up to five hours on weekdays, where a lot of time is spent sitting and doing school work. The students have a lot of energy and want to be active. Activities that assist with positive channelling of this energy are described in the following section:

Provide activities to keep children engaged

The children I observed in the organization had a lot of energy and wanted to learn new sports and activities where they could be physically active. By being introduced to new activities and sports they were able to use their energy, learn something new, have a lot of fun, and temporarily forget their problems. As one of the outreach workers mentioned earlier, "…if we give them an activity like a table activity

it's not interesting for them. They like something that can move their body. They can

move their body and then they can use their energy."

However, when children are not doing sports or activities, the staff suggest

structuring their education to fit the child's level of development, as follows:

Structure education and skill-training to fit the child

Oftentimes children on the street have had bad experiences in mainstream

schooling or have had very little schooling compared to their more fortunate peers who

never experienced the street life. Therefore, it is important for services that wish to

provide an education to the children to adapt their education style to fit the children's

developmental levels and interest areas. This provides the best chance for children to

absorb any education provided, to see their own progress, build self-efficacy, and stay

engaged with learning. A staff member stated:

> I think in an organization like this or similar organizations they work very well
> because the kids can choose. "I just want to be an artist, painting or making
> something into art." They can try these things, [for example] if they want to farm
> or cook. I think it's a good [approach].

The education system that the organization provides has three levels of classes,

and upon completing various assessments by the staff, children and youth are placed in a

class that suit their developmental levels. Students have the chance to move on to a more

challenging class as they advance with their academics. Furthermore, within classes

teachers attempt to create lessons that are interesting and applicable to the students.

Provide career options and training

Also related to assisting with life success potential, is a suggestion made by a staff

member that workers should help to expand the range of youths' ideas about what type of

careers they can have in the future. Too often youth consider the same handful of jobs

that the youth consider without being introduced to alternative career paths. The staff

participant said:

> Most of the street children only know the job they know, the career they know,
> like, a driver, cleaning service, cook. But they don't know about jobs like IT
> [internet technologies], accountant, these are other jobs they should know, another
> career they should know…[We need to] open their mind…maybe like the fire
> department can give the street children skills to be a fire fighter. Or maybe the
> police should have [training] for the street children, so the police can give the
> opportunity for these kids to become policemen. Maybe a lawyer. [We need to
> provide] very different options.

A career service department was suggested as a helpful alternative, particularly

for youth who are nearing the age where they will be moving into independent living

arrangements. This service could include having a more organized system to introduce

children and youth to alternative careers and provide the necessary training and education

in their fields of interest.

As the youth enter their late teenage years, they have to begin looking for

independent living arrangements outside of the organization. This is an area of concern

for those living and working at the organization as youth need significant support in this

transition period. The next section looks at providing support for youth leaving

organizations.

Provide support for youth aging out of organizations

As Jawa nears aging out of the organization, meaning he will be leaving in the

near future and looking for a place to live on this own, he has put a lot of thought into

what programs or services could help those similar to himself who are facing this type of

transition. He spoke of what is needed by describing his "dream organization"; a place he

wants to create in the future that can help street children live a better life. I asked Jawa to

describe this organization and he replied:

School. My organization will offer higher education than what is offered here, so the youth can study higher [at the organization the students typically study until a grade 10 level and then move to the onsite workshop for skill development; studying at a school off-campus is also an option]… That's why I have a dream that after I finish here there is a place [I can go to] that has similar facilities…[and] I can stay there and go to the next step in school. [Because] if I stay here and want to go to school I will not be provided a place to stay [because of my age]. No home to stay again because I have to leave [the organization].

Other youth and staff have commented on the "next step" issue for those leaving the organization. Another phase of support during this period of transition would be helpful to those youth who have come to rely upon the organization to provide their basic needs and education.

One of the difficulties mentioned by staff while working at the organization was the inconsistency in which different staff members conduct their work. There is a need to be trained in a way that ensures workers will be providing a consistent level of service, as commented on below:

Provide training in order to achieve greater consistency in standard of service

Consistency of service provided by workers in an organization was mentioned as an area that could be improved. A staff participant commented:

> The staff, we need more training for the staff…we need to make the same standard of services…[At present] whenever there's a case every staff member has a different approach…we should be giving more of one [type of] approach…[we have] very different [approaches]. I think to solve this we need to give the staff the same level of education and training in that area.

In addition to suggestions of improving the consistency of the standards of service, staff also commented on the field of social work in general and the need to increase the profile of the profession, which is presented in the following section.

Increase the profile of the social work field

One of the staff also spoke rather despondently about how the social work profession is viewed in Indonesia. He stated:

> …social workers here [in Indonesia] don't count as social workers…[they] have no credibility. In Indonesia [being] a social worker is not a career…it's like volunteering…[there's] no appreciation…I've been working in social work for seven years…[and] because I'm not going to an office 8am-5pm [each day] and my work cannot be calculated by percentage, nobody even sees the success of my work…different training for social workers and more social workers [is needed]…so the government should appreciate social workers.

I had further conversations with this staff member about this issue outside of the interviews. He spoke passionately about the need for improved education in the field of social work; the need to create a four-year university program where there is a high level of education and training, and whereby graduates can enter the workforce and have the opportunity to build a solid career as a social worker. These conversations also tie in with the, "Provide training in order to achieve greater consistency in standard of service" section above, where there is a need for consistency of practice.

Provide education and skills for families in poverty

A larger scale issue discussed was the need for greater support for families in poverty. As this is often the cause of children moving to live on the street, staff believe that both the government and society in general should focus on providing skills and education for poor families. One staff member spoke about this in saying,

> I think the government must focus on the poorer families, because I think that is the reason why the kids go to the street. If the family is settled and can give food

and education to their kids, [then] I think the kids will never go to the street…for the poor people, or the street children, I think there's too little attention on them. So that's why they live on the street; no education and because they are poor people. Who wants to care about poor people? [So] I think that is the homework not only for the government…but for all the people [in society]…to give more attention to the poor people, not only the street children.

Another staff participant agreed on the need for the government and public to support families in poverty. She stated:

> We need to fix many [social] systems [in Indonesia]. It's not only the government's responsibility, but also our responsibility as a community. The street children situation starts in a very troubled family. That is why it is good for us if we can try to solve the problems in the family [first], like give strengths to the families; training, especially the marginal and non-educated families because street kids belong to those troubled families.

Recognize and work with the pressures of urban migration

Both staff and youth commented on the need to limit migration to larger cities. Alan believes that the government must find economic solutions for the people who live in the smaller villages to dissuade them from migrating to the larger cities. He said,

> …the government have to create the rules that manage people who still live in the slum area, or families who still live in the street under the bridges, to limit the migration from the village to the city…maybe bring back the people who come from the village back to their village. Or move the people who live at the side of the road…they have to go back to their villages, but I think it should be a regulation to keep them from moving to the city. Usually the people in the slum build their houses without permission from the government…the [local] government in the area where people come [from]…have to care about the people so the immigration can be stopped. The local government have to give consideration to the economic situations of the people in the villages, because the main reason [to come to Jakarta] is because of poverty, the economic reasons, that's why people want to come to the big city.

Another staff member commented on the health implications of children living in slum areas as a result of urban migration by saying, "Like in Jakarta, there's a lot of slum areas, it's not good for the health of the children [who live there]…dirty water [rain and

flooding]." Another staff participant acknowledged the immense challenge that urban

migration presents:

> I think it's important to limit the people who migrate from the villages to the cities, but I know it's difficult also, I don't know how to solve it. I think it's a huge problem. It's all over Indonesia…the street kids are only interested in a big island like Java or Sumatera.

Government policy was also a topic discussed by staff. I was informed by staff

members that the policies of the government are actually quite good in theory; however,

they just do not function well in reality. This topic is discussed in greater detail below.

Recognize the failure of existing government policy as a basis for change

One of the government initiatives spoken about was the Education for All policy,

"…a compulsory education policy to prohibit children from working in the street"

(Dewayani, 2013, p. 371). This policy was enacted to encourage children to return to

formal schooling and discourage parents from having their children work on the street to

earn an income. Educational funding was distributed to street families as a part of this

initiative, with the condition that children would stop coming to the street. A teacher in

the organization, whose comments were also reported on in the section titled,

"Alternative education" of the previous chapter, laughed in response to my direct

question about whether this education policy actually works. She replied:

> Hahaha, no…[it doesn't work] because sometimes when they are poor on the street their friends [at school] will tease and mock them [saying], "Ah you are poor, you shouldn't go to school here."…So then [the child] doesn't want to go to school anymore…The situation at school sometimes is not good for them; the poor people.

The staff member then explained that if people's basic needs are not met then

certain policies implemented are not going to work, no matter how good the idea behind

the policy is. Her statement is as follows:

…now we have the policy for children [in Indonesia] called *perlindungan anak* [child protection policy], but in Indonesia it's not strict, people don't follow it…[there's] not much action [taken]…[because] for the poor people, who wants to care about policy? [They say], "I need food."

Speaking about policy in general, another staff member shared his thoughts, stating, "The policy here [in Indonesia], actually it's quite good. There's a lot of policy…and a lot of rules in Indonesia, but how to make it work is the problem in Indonesia; how to make it happen [effectively]."

Chapter 6 – Discussion and Conclusion

Street Entry

As Chapter Four shows, in Indonesia as elsewhere, family difficulties and troubles are typically at the centre of the street child phenomenon. Factors like, alcoholism, and various abuse and neglect, that were noted in the literature review as contributing to children seeking a life on the streets as a means of escape (Bademci, 2012; Karabanow, 2008) were also mentioned by the majority of the youth and outreach staff who were interviewed in my study. Also confirmed were earlier findings that poverty, low education, few opportunities for employment, low wages and low productivity, combined to create a stressful family atmosphere that result in the need for children to work to help with the family income (Panicker & Nangia, 1992; as cited in Mathur, 2009). Additionally, the same conditions of poverty that lead to relocation from rural to urban areas in the hope of seeking better employment opportunities in other parts of the world (Mathur, 2009), were also evident in Jakarta, with families moving to the city and quickly realizing that "making it" in the big city is very challenging; as a result, many families end up living in slum-like areas where their children become closely associated with street life. In Indonesia, children themselves may also migrate from rural areas to the cities in search of a better life.

Introduction to the Street

Similarly, the youth who participated in my study were introduced to the street by people they knew, much like youth in other countries; although for participants in my study, the connections were most often made through friends and not so much through

siblings and relatives (cf. Pinzon-Rondon et al., 2008; Scanlon et al., 1993; Oliveira et al., 1992; Beazley, 2003a).

Life on the Street

Types of Street Children

The literature that I reviewed suggests that there are two types of street children: *home based* (e.g., those who work on the streets but have a home and some type of family support to return to), and *street based* (e.g., those who live and work on the street, whereby the street has become their home) (Balachova et al., 2009; Demartoto, 2012; Mathur, 2009; Pinzon-Rondon et al., 2008; Schimmel, 2006). The findings in my study indicated the same two types of street children; however, I also found that *home based* street children may also live for extended periods on the street without contact with their family (usually one-to-four months) before returning home.

Experiences of Adapting to the Street

Safety and security

The friendship networks formed on the street in Indonesia, as in other parts of the world (Beazley, 2003a; Mathur, 2009), provide safety and assistance in times of crisis. In Indonesia, these networks can also include street gangs.

Freedom and independence

As was found elsewhere, the findings of my study indicated that the freedom and independence that children experience is a strong attraction to street life (Beazley, 2003a; Demartoto, 2012; Karabanow, 2008; Mathur, 2009; Oliveira et al., 1992; Scanlon et al., 1993; Schimmel, 2006). Children had the experiences of freedom of movement, freedom from commitments, and the freedom to decide on their own daily rhythm (cf. Schimmel,

2006; Demartoto, 2012; Scanlon et al., 1993). The lack of rules and responsibility, the spontaneity, as well as being one's own boss were highly valued by the youth participants, and according to staff, freedom remains the strongest factor of street life.

Impulsiveness

As reported in the literature review, children on the street develop impulsive behavioural tendencies to meet immediate needs, such as clothes, food, and drugs (Oliveira, et al., 1992). This is also true of children in Indonesia, who act impulsively, and often will take shortcuts to meet their needs.

Street girls

Three of the key literature points that align with my study are that street girls in Indonesia: 1) are subjected to a greater risk of sexual abuse (compared with street boys), 2) will use boys on the street for protection (e.g., as boyfriends), and 3) will use strategies such as taking on the appearance and behaviours of a boy for protection from various forms of abuse or exploitation (Beazley, 2002; Mathur, 2009; Scanlon et al., 1993).

Health and hygiene

As in other parts of the world, the health and hygiene of street children in Indonesia often suffers as a result of their lifestyle on the street (cf. le Roux & Smith, 1998; Oliveira et al., 1992). Children can often be perceived as younger than their chronological age as a result of acute and chronic malnutrition, which stunts their growth. Furthermore, the inhaling of glue at an early age (e.g., to suppress hunger pangs; to escape the harsh reality of street life) is a common occurrence among Indonesian street children, as are skin infections, physical injuries, and a general lack of hygiene (e.g., not showering, or brushing one's teeth).

Gangs, Peer Support, and Street Culture Capital

In Chapter Two, my literature review shows that group association on the street provides emotional and economic support, safety, solidarity and a strong sense of loyalty to one another (Beazley, 2003a; le Roux & Smith, 1998; Mathur, 2009; Scanlon et al. 1993). The same was found in Indonesia, as the peer camaraderie experienced in daily activities was highly valued. Group association also required conforming to various codes or norms of the group (Beazley, 2003a; Mathur, 2009; Scanlon et al. 1993), and breaking these could result in severe punishments from fellow group members. Additionally, the spacial territories that groups of street children inhabit and operate within are strict (cf. Beazley, 2003a), and if not respected by other groups will often result in conflict.

The street culture capital in Indonesia, as with other parts of the world, is important in determining the hierarchies within the street child community; this is expressed through one's possessions, fashion sense, being well-connected in the street world, speaking the proper street language (e.g., slang), and earning money in a respectable manner (cf. Beazley, 2003a; le Roux & Smith, 1998). Regarding the use of slang, staff members in this Indonesia study stressed the importance of outreach workers interacting with the children using their style of verbal communication as a way of gaining respect and acceptance.

Creating an Income and Work Hierarchies

As was found elsewhere, street children in Indonesia seek to create an income in a variety of ways, such as collecting recyclables, selling a variety of items (e.g., bottled water), begging and stealing (Balachova et al., 2009; Beazley, 2003a; Mathur, 2009; Oliveira et al., 1992; Scanlon et al., 1993). A distinct feature of street-involved people in

Indonesian, including the children, is doing *ngamen* (busking with a guitar), which is highly respected in the street community, and at or near the top of the work hierarchy (cf. Beazley, 2003a), whereas begging is considered to be a much less respected means of income. As is similar with other areas of the world (Oliveira et al., 1992; Scanlon et al., 1993), children living on the street in Indonesia will also turn to crime in order to make money to survive by stealing and robbing people. While another study of street children in Indonesia reported shoe-shining to be the most common form of income (cf. Beazley, 2003a), this type of work was not mentioned throughout my research.

Police

The literature depicts police officers as a legitimate threat to children who live on the streets; various forms of harassment, extortion, and beatings from police officers throughout the world have been reported, as well as the more severe acts such as the killing of street children as a means of cleansing the streets (cf. Balachova et al., 2009; Beazley, 2003a; Mathur, 2009; Scanlon et al., 1993). However, these findings lie in contrast to the results of my study where police are not considered to be a threat to street children.

In Indonesia, Beazley (2003a) reported that police target street children and youth because of their different forms of body art (e.g., tattoos and piercings) and long hair, which were viewed as not representing a civilized body (Grosz, 1995; as cited in Beazley, 2003a). Furthermore, mysterious killings of long haired and tattooed males by the authorities in the 1980s and intense police operations targeting street youth for arrest and "re-education" in Jakarta in the 1990s added to a fear of police (Bourchier, 1990; as cited in Beazley, 2003a). However, when participants in my study were asked their thoughts

about the police, both staff and youth reacted with indifference. In Jakarta, the street children I interviewed do not consider the police to be dangerous and do not seem to have the intense fear of police that would be expected if officers were acting as depicted in the literature. Despite having a general dislike of police – as with many forms of authority – street children in my study sometimes sought police officers for protection, and the staff participants reported the police to be generally helpful. Thus, overall, for those who participated in my study, police officers were not thought of as a threat in any way to the street children.

The reasons for the difference in how police are depicted in the literature – especially with regard to articles by Beazley (2003a; 2003b) whose research focus was with street children within Indonesia – and the findings of my study are varied. In the following paragraphs I have attempted to outline the reasons why there are discrepancies between the reviewed literature, specifically relating to police in Indonesia, and the findings in my study.

Firstly, there have been many socio-political changes in Indonesia since the 1980s and 1990s. The research Beazley (2003a) conducted in Indonesia was undertaken between 1995 and 1997, the last years before the "New Order" authoritarian regime of President Suharto, who ruled for 31 years, came to an end with the country transitioning to a democratic system of government after 1998. During the Suharto era the police were part of the military, and thus strongly militarized (Jansen, 2008) and as a means of attracting foreign investors during this period the government (and society in general) took, "…a disapproving attitude towards children working on the streets and perceive[d] them to be a defilement of the city landscape…[by] not conform[ing] to the image of a

modern progressive nation" (Beazley, 2002, p. 1666; as cited in Kusno, 2000, p. 104).

This may explain the extremes of police brutality and the deliberate targeting and

harassment of street youths in Indonesia during the years in which Beazley (2003a)

conducted her research (see p. 198). However, with the political transition in 1998 came

the demilitarization of police and their reestablishment as an independent force beginning

in 1999. In the years since the general belief is that police behaviour has "softened" and

people are much less afraid of the police than in the past. Additionally, according to the

informal conversations I had with the staff, because of Indonesia's free press and

increased public attention on the conduct of the authorities, particularly with the rise in

the use of social media, the police are less likely to maliciously target street children.

Secondly, in Jakarta, street children do not fall under police jurisdiction unless

they are involved with committing a crime; street children are under the jurisdiction of

the Satpol PP (Civil Service Police), whose duties involve removing illegal street

vendors, beggars, and homeless people, including street children. *The Jakarta Post*

newspaper reported that a survey conducted among street children in 2009 by the

National Commission for Child's Protection (Komnas PA) had indicated that street

children view the Satpol PP as "the most terrifying creatures on earth" (Hari, 2010).

While these sentiments were not exactly those of the former street children I interviewed,

it was clear that there was a much greater disliking and fear of the Satpol PP than of the

police. The Satpol PP were not mentioned in the reviewed literature and this may be

because their presence and significance is relatively new – despite being in operation for

over 60 years – and began to grow after 1999 with the decentralization reforms, and as

such, so too did their engagement with street children (Jansen, 2008). In this sense, it

appears that research studies have yet to inquire in any great depth about the interactions between the Satpol PP and street children.

The Satpol PP are known to have a dismal history, and are "…infamous for allegations of brutality or using excessive force in their daily work" (Sita, 2013). As such, the new government has gone to great lengths to create positive changes with how the Satpol PP function. Comments from staff in my study help to validate these positive changes, particularly with regard to the gentler approach with street children.

Lastly, with the large number of services for street children in Indonesia – over 50 according to a staff participant – there has been an improvement in communications and relations between the police and the organizations who serve street children. These connections may serve to better inform the police of the street child issues in the country and lessen any intolerance towards this population.

It is worth noting that the police targeting of street youths because of the different forms of body art (e.g., tattoos and piercings) and long hair, as reported by Beazley (2003a), is strikingly similar to a recent incident in Banda Aceh – the only province of Indonesia under Sharia law that has a certain degree of political autonomy from Jakarta – where punk rock concertgoers were targeted by police (*Public Radio International*, 2012). Sixty-five youth were arrested without having committed a crime; many had their heads shaved, were thrown in a pond as a sign of symbolic cleansing and held for 10 days without charge. The youth also claimed to have been punched and kicked, and while it is reported that many punks live on the streets, many who were arrested came from secular regions of Indonesia. Nonetheless, the mayor of Banda Aceh said the youth are a threat to Aceh's Islamic values and that visitors must abide by the rules and norms of the province.

Dangers

As found elsewhere in the world, train and traffic accidents, gang violence, conflicts with other street children, addictions, and sexual abuse are also dangers on the street in Indonesia (Balachova et al., 2009; Beazley, 2003a; Demartoto, 2012; Mathur, 2009; Scanlon et al., 1993; Schimmel, 2006). Conflict within and between gangs rarely ended in the death of a child and many of the train accidents occurred when the children had consumed alcohol or drugs. Inhaling of glue is a common habit of street children in Jakarta and helps with forgetting daily troubles and to easy hunger pangs.

The risk of being subject to various abuses, including rape, often came from the association with an *abang-abang* (brother or male friend who is older than oneself), who would look to exploit the children. In extreme cases, street children in Jakarta have been raped, murdered, and dismembered by an *abang-abang*. Other dangers noted in the literature, such as children being diagnosed with HIV/AIDS, being sold by their families to work in factories, and attempted suicide were not mentioned in the interviews from my study.

Exiting the Street

This section explores the phases of street disengagement and compares the findings of my study in Indonesia to those of Karabanow's (2008) study of youth's exiting street life in Canada. The phases of street exit include the reasons for leaving the street, the process of leaving the street, transitioning to life off the street, relapse to street life, and successful exiting.

Reasons for Leaving the Street

Once the infatuation with the street wore off, participants in both studies reported becoming bored with street life and the daily struggle to survive (e.g., finding money for the next meal), and feeling a sense of aimlessness that led to a desire for wanting more out of life. For the Indonesian youth, observing other children going to school and living in a stable and structured daily routine further encouraged this desire to change. Additionally, children who were not a part of a gang and were more solitary on the street had a greater likelihood of experiencing boredom sooner and seeking alternatives to street life.

Another important component of wanting to leave the street, as reported by youth in both studies, was feeling cared for (Karabanow, 2008). In the case of the Indonesian youth, this caring figure typically came in the form of a street outreach worker from an organization for street children. These interactions helped children feel a sense of self-worth and kept them informed of the many options available (i.e., organizations that will help care for them, provide food, clothes and education) if they wish to change their life. Another common reason was the various dangers and exploitation of the street. Indonesian youth spoke of dangers such as mutilations and murders, rape, being victims of crime, accidents, being targeted by gangs, and substance abuse.

One of the differences between my study and Karabanow's (2008) Canadian study was the motivation for street exit that Canadian youth felt as a result of having greater responsibilities emerge in their lives, such as having a child or being in a romantic relationship. For obvious reasons related to age and development, the Indonesian youth

who left the streets when they were children, had neither a child of their own nor a romantic relationship to inspire a sense of increased responsibility to exit the street.

Process of Leaving the Street

As with the findings from Karabanow (2008), my study found that relationships created with those providing services (e.g., from shelters, drop-in centres, health clinics, second-stage independent living resources, mobile care units, NGOs and outreach programs), primarily outreach workers, were instrumental in the process of street exit. In Indonesia, trust was said to be perhaps the most important factor in these relationships. In both studies, creating relationships based on trust, empathy, and not being judged was integral in committing to a process of exiting the street.

One of the major differences that emerged in comparing Karabanow's (2008) study to my study in Indonesia is the age of street children and the organizations that provide support. The children in Indonesia were entering the street at a younger age compared with those in Canada; furthermore, the differences in child protective services (i.e., Canada has a foster care system whereas Indonesia does not) means that Indonesian street children rely predominantly on NGOs to provide settings of support. As such, the children living in the organization I volunteered with could be as young as three-years-old, with a large population in the 8-15 year age range. If children in Indonesia wish to leave the street and are unable to live with their family or relatives, they most likely will move to live in an organization. In essence, the organization becomes their home. Whereas in Canada, independent living resources are a more common option because individuals are older at street exit.

Transitioning to Life Off the Street

Where transitioning to life off the street is concerned, both Karabanow's (2008) study and mine highlight the importance of ceasing the use of substances and creating new friendships outside of street culture. Our studies also contained differences. These differences are focused on how the youth in the two locations deal with difficulty of severing street-based relationships and the role that foreigners play in street exit. These comparisons are outlined below.

Ceasing the use of drugs and alcohol was a difficult step for participants in both locations, Canada and Indonesia. The strong connection between friendships and substance use made battling addictions a significant challenge and would often result in relapse back to street life. In both locations detoxifying from various kinds of substance uses was helpful for self-esteem and transitioning off the street, as was building new friendships outside of street culture. In both locations, these friendships seem to help with the transition off the street and with reinforcing a positive direction for the future.

Regarding the differences of transitioning to life off the streets, participants in Karabanow's (2008) study described creating new relationships and contemplating the friendships left behind on the street as challenging experiences. Building new friendships was difficult for Canadian youth. Perhaps this has to do with the Canadian youth being in an older age group compared with the Indonesian participants and also with their being in independent living situations, which may prove to be isolating during this transition. While a couple of Indonesian youth participants did miss their friends from the street, others did not express a great challenge in leaving their friends on the street or making new friends at the organization. This is most likely due to, 1) the participants being

children (not youth) at street exit, 2) entering an organization with between 70-90

children and youth, meaning the opportunity for daily social interactions is in the

immediate living environment, and 3) the use of social media (e.g., Facebook) to remain

connected to friends still on the street. These combined factors meant that children could

transition to new friendships rather quickly while also remaining in touch with friends

still on the street.

In Indonesia, there was also a high value placed on having foreigners in the

organization. The constant turnover of volunteers visiting the organization from a wide

variety of countries meant there was a continuous stream of new stimulus with chances to

meet new people, learn new games, skills or sports, and practice English. This type of

foreign novelty is obviously not found in the Canadian youths' life experience exiting the

street.

Relapse

According to Karabanow's (2008) study, youth participants reported attempting to

leave the streets an estimated six times before "successfully" exiting. Similarly, the youth

participants in Indonesia reported attempting to leave the street – and subsequently

relapsing back to street life – an average of five-to-six times before their own

"successful" exiting. These findings suggest that exiting the street does not occur in a

linear path and oftentimes requires a number of attempts at disengagement before exiting

"successfully" (cf. Karabanow, 2008). It is also important to note that "relapsing" or

"attempting to leave the street" can mean different things to different people. As

mentioned in Chapter Four under the title "Relapse" children may count returning to the

street for only one week a "relapse", while others might consider returning for six months

a "relapse". The reasons for relapse from an NGO include boredom, too many rules, conflict with peers, wanting to earn money, being pressured to leave by friends still on the street, and not feeling as though they "fit" in the organization.

Successful Exiting

Upon successful exiting, that is the establishment of a stable and healthy life routine was established away from street culture (e.g., with housing, education or employment), there was a noticeable shift in how the participants in both studies viewed themselves. Indonesian youth reported gaining greater confidence, becoming more patient and relying less on heightened emotional responses when feeling challenged. Additionally, participants felt stronger and happier, and came to value themselves; this was most noticeable with the pride they felt in being educated and not being a street kid anymore. Similarly, Canadian youth participants reported developing a healthier sense of self, greater self-esteem, being in control of their own lives, being self-sufficient, and having a direction in life (cf. Karabanow, 2008). New facets of one's identity seem to take root upon successful exiting, and overall, the changes were mostly positive at this stage for participants in both studies.

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Services

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Advice to Services for Street Children

Choice to leave the street

As was found in other studies (Bademci, 2012; Veeran, 2004), children living on the street should have the choice as to whether they wish to leave the street or not – they should not be forced to leave. Street children must be invested in their removal process of exiting from the street, and providing the children with a choice to leave is an essential

step towards increasing the likelihood of securing their permanent disengagement from street life (Veeran, 2004). Forcing children off the street without their consent typically results in their eventual return to the streets, as the children know that the government service providers are unable to solve their problems, which are primarily family-related (cf. Bademci, 2012; Veeran, 2004). This is the main reason why street children in Indonesia attempt to avoid the Satpol PP (Civil Service Police) whenever possible.

Importance of outreach

As was highlighted in other studies, street outreach work is of great importance in helping children consider leaving a life on the street (Karabanow, 2008; Schimmel, 2006). Frontline support, such as that provided by outreach workers, provides healthy and supportive adult figures for the children, adults who can help to expand children's consciousness of their potentials and possibilities, while also helping them to understand their rights and encouraging them to consider alternatives to a life on the street (cf. Schimmel, 2006). Furthermore, outreach work helps to identify any new children to the street and encourage disengagement, as the longer a child is on the street the more difficult it becomes to leave. These relationships are important because they are formed within the children's life spaces and on their own terms and because these relationships are the basis for building the trust for workers and the system that is necessary to street exit (see page 124).

Aim to improve education and skill development of helpers

The need for improved education and training of helpers who work closely with street children was discussed in the literature (Bademci, 2012; Demartoto, 2012; Oliveira et al., 1992; Turnbull et al., 2009; Veeran, 2004), as it was in my Indonesian study. Issues

identified in the literature included helpers working in multiple roles that were not clearly defined, lack of skills in implementing certain approaches with children, and not being formally qualified. This highlights the need for increased education and skill development in many locations. In Indonesia, my study identified a need for greater consistency in standards of service delivered to street children from within the organization (e.g., workers often use different approaches when undertaking a case, leading to a lack of consistency and misunderstandings with colleagues) and a need for the Indonesian government to increase the profile of the social work profession as it is not considered a "reputable profession". Inadequate funding for organizations is typically the reason behind a lack of education and skill development in Indonesia and other parts of the world (cf. Balachova et al., 2009).

Successful programs emphasize love and care

Successful programs that provide the most significant help to children from the street in Indonesia and elsewhere are those that, among other things, emphasize love and care (cf. Demartoto, 2012; Karabanow, 2008; Schimmel, 2006). Love and care is found within the relationships created between the staff and the children that aim to fulfill the relational needs of the children, that exemplify empathic attitudes and sincere commitment on behalf of the workers, within an organization that fosters a culture of hope (Demartoto, 2012; Karabanow, 2008; Schimmel, 2006). The enactment of this love and care also helps to substantiate the trust that the children placed in the workers and the organization, and helps them to continue to trust that they have made the right choice in leaving the street. In Indonesia, the committed and consistent love and care expressed by staff within a positive organizational environment were key ingredients to children

regaining their self-confidence, self-worth, belief in themselves, hope for the future, and learning to trust again.

Conclusion

Initially my research aimed to explore why children choose to exit the streets in Indonesia and how they do it. However, to understand the exiting process there was also the need to understand the entry process. As such, in seeking to understand children's street disengagement my study also presents findings of the reasons children enter the street, their experiences living on the street, relapsing back to street life after attempted exit, life after "successfully" exiting the street, and the role of service providers. The importance of this research is that it provides valuable insight into children's processes of exiting the street – an area that has very limited research – as well as providing a greater understanding of the entire street life experience from entry to exit and life after the street. Data was collected via observations while volunteering at an NGO for former street children in Jakarta, Indonesia and through audio-recorded interviews with six former street children and three NGO staff members. Limitations of this study are that it was undertaken over too short a period of time (two months) to be considered a true ethnographic study, and the interviews were conducted with the use of a translator, meaning some information could have been lost or skewed in translation.

This research reaffirms much of what is already known about street children, particularly in developing countries. Family difficulties and troubles are the most common cause of children turning to a life on the street; children will most likely live at or near train stations and seek to create an income by begging, doing *ngamen*, sweeping train station floors, and collecting recyclables; street life presents children with an

abundance of freedom and independence where life is often lived in accordance with one's impulses; and peer camaraderie, gang association, substance abuse, and using aggression for survival are all common to street life. Furthermore, the street also has its dangers, including addictions, train and traffic accidents, and various abuses (e.g., physical assault, and rape).

An unexpected finding of this study was that police are no longer considered a threat to street children in Indonesia. Political changes that have occurred in Indonesia since President Suharto's resignation in 1998, including the demilitarization of police and establishment of a free press, have changed how police officers interact with children on the street. Among those who participated in my study, I did not find the intense fear and dislike of the police that is described in other areas of the world. As well, street children in Indonesia may even seek out police officers for help. There is however, a significant dislike of the Satpol PP because the officers treat the children poorly and attempt to forcefully remove them from the street, so the damaging behaviour displayed by designated authorities with significant power over street children is not absent. It is displaced and perhaps somewhat mitigated by a more positive police authority.

Boredom, safety concerns, and wanting a better life were the main reasons for considering street exit. Once the novelty of freedom and peer camaraderie began to subside and the harsh realities of life on the street took hold children would begin to contemplate exiting the street. However, this study also demonstrates that children who attempt street exit by entering an NGO will most likely relapse back to street life a number of times before committing to exit the street permanently; boredom, conflict with friends, and feeling too restricted by rules were the main reasons for relapsing back to the

street. Indonesia relies heavily on NGO's as a placement for the children, and this study highlights the need for these organizations and their staff to foster loving and caring attitudes with the children – including a lot of patience in the face of impulsive attitudes and behaviours. By doing this there is an increased chance that children associated with the street – who have had to be skeptical and untrusting of others in order to survive – begin to believe that committing to such an organization and trusting those who work there can be a worthwhile alternative to life on the street.

In addition to providing love and care, organizations aiming to work with street children need to offer a variety of options for the children to remain engaged and motivated. Examples from my study include education that fits the child, activities and sports, the chance to learn English, and the opportunity to meet and interact with foreigners. Street outreach workers are typically the first connection between street children and these available services. Findings from my research have shown that trust is of great importance in relationships created between outreach workers and children on the street. Without trust, or if trust is broken, the children are very quick to dismiss the credibility of the individual trying to help and the relationship may be damaged permanently. The choice to leave the street must also come from the children themselves; being forced in any way will most likely undermine the street exit process and weaken the child's commitment to change. Another reason outreach workers are so important is to identify children who are new to street life. The longer a child is associated with the street the more difficult it becomes to disengage from the street; therefore, creating a relationship early in the child's street experience becomes a major factor in helping ease their transition off the street.

Transitioning from the street to an organization has its own set of challenges for the children, including adapting to a new routine that involves getting up early for breakfast and school, rules prohibiting certain behaviours that were common practice on the street, and adjusting to the general culture of the organization (e.g., the attitudes, beliefs, values of the children, youth, and staff). This is a period of time where children are very sensitive and may test the organizational boundaries, constantly seek attention from staff, or react impulsively (e.g., with aggression or threats to leave) as such, the love, care, and patience of the staff as well as the engaging activities offered are of great importance, as children who remain in the organization for a period of at least six months are less likely to return to the street permanently.

The findings also show that former street children can become valued contributors to society as well as positive role models for other children currently or formerly associated with the street. Once committed to an organization, children experience changes in their character; a more positive sense of self develops – characterized by the pride taken in not being considered a street child anymore – and the acquisition of new skills and knowledge helps to increase a sense of agency. Former street children also have a strong sense of philanthropy, expressing the desire to help those who – like themselves previously – are facing similar struggles in life.

Recommendations

Based on what I have learned from the literature I reviewed, my volunteer experience and my study I would like to make the following recommendations: First, organizations for street children should place an emphasis on training their staff to adopt a loving and caring attitude with the children, including being patient, choosing

forgiveness, building trusting relationships, and highlighting the strengths of the child rather than their limitations. These qualities embodied by staff – and the organization as a whole – can help to establish a consistently stable and safe environment for both the children who have chosen to enter the organization and for the children still living on the street to consider.

Second, it is important for staff to understand that relapse back to street life is a common occurrence in the process of eventual street disengagement and it should not be a surprise when children do return to the street. Here too that patient and caring attitude described above can go a long way to supporting children in their return to services in the future.

Third, those who decide upon funding for human service organizations should continue to invest in and support street outreach workers. These front line workers are generally the first line of contact that street children will have with available services. Outreach workers are integral in creating relationships with street children, and from their street-based standpoint are able to check-in with the children, inform them of their rights, present alternatives to street life, administer first aid, and be a safe and reliable adult in their lives. Additionally, outreach workers help to identify children who are new to the street, which is important because the longer a child lives on the street the more difficult it becomes to successfully exit the street.

Fourth, organizations should aim to provide all their staff members with the opportunity to experience street outreach work. These experiences help to better inform the staff of the environment and circumstances in which children live on the street, and

can aid in a more comprehensive understanding of the street child phenomenon, particularly with regard to how the staff's practice can better serve this population.

Fifth, the development of career path programs that give youth, who had formerly lived on the street, an opportunity to explore careers that are not simply the standard for ex-street youth (e.g., bus driver, cleaning service, cook) and offer a variety of alternatives (e.g., fire fighter, police officer, accountant, lawyer, educator, careers in internet technologies) is highly important not only to the street children, but also to the society in which they live. Taken together, these five recommendations speak to the importance of a context based, relational understanding as the basis for effective engagement with street children.

Finally, I would like to offer a comment about what I learned about the policy shifts in Jakarta with regard to the previous researchers' concerns about police violence towards street children: Police officers are no longer acting in the role of primary law enforcement in the lives of street children in Indonesia, that role has shifted to the Satpol PP, who have taken on the job of removing children from the street. While the Satpol PP appear to be less violent with their interactions with street children when compared to police operations of the past, the notion of forcefully removing children from the street without plan or purpose results in a revolving door experience where children taken from the street are placed in a detention centre type facility where they await processing (e.g., placement in the form of a return to their hometown or family, or the children escape and run away), but typically end up back on the streets. Research into similar approaches for removing children from the street highlight the ineffectiveness of this procedure (c.f., Bademci, 2012; Veeran, 2004). Where removal from the street is concerned, we know

that force does not work. What we need now is a better understanding of cross-systems

and cross-service approaches that can help with effectively facilitating a non-revolving

door street exit when children find themselves homeless, alone and without resources.

Indonesian-to-English Translated Vocabulary

Abang-abang: Someone seen as a brother or male friend who is older than oneself.

Anak buangan: "Throw-away kid." A child who is unwanted by their parents/family.

Anak jalanan: Street child.

Angkot: A small mini-van type bus service.

Bajai: A small three-wheeled taxi service.

Bakso: Meatball soup.

Kopaja: Public transport minibuses used throughout Jakarta.

Ngamen: Busking; usually involving a number of children playing guitar, singing, and
collecting money at traffic lights, on buses and on trains.

Perlindungan anak: Child protection policy.

Satpol PP (*Satuan Polisi Pamong Praja*): A civil service police unit also known as public
order officers. They are a law-enforcement group operated by the Department of
Home Affairs and they differ from the national police in that their duty is to
enforce regulations from the city mayor. One of their duties is to remove illegal
street vendors, beggars, homeless people, and those living in illegal residential
areas such as slums.

Warung: A small family-owned shop that sells daily necessities.

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Appendix A
Letter of Information

Letter of Information

Dear Mr. S [manager's name removed for confidentiality purposes],

The following is a Letter of Information regarding the research study: "**Youth Exiting Street Life in Indonesia: An Ethnographic Inquiry**" that I (Brenden Bentley-Taylor) will be conducting, and outlines relevant information regarding recruitment of participants (including participant criteria), power-over issues, and a script containing talking points that can be used when introducing this research study to potential participants. Your assistance with regard to the following areas would be much appreciated.

Recruitment of Participants
There are two groups of participants being sought for this study:
>Group 1 – up to six youth (having previously lived on the street)
>Group 2 – up to three youth workers (staff or associates who work closely with
>>street-involved children and youth).

The criteria for Group 1 participants includes:
- male or female participants;
- between the ages of 15-24;
- who have disengaged from street life;
- have completed the three-step program at [this organization] (including detoxification of any substances);
- are currently in a more stable life routine either attending school, gaining vocational training, or working.

The criteria for Group 2 participants includes:
- male or female participants;
- staff or associates of this organization;
- have had significant experience supporting children and youth to exit street life.

The attached Consent Form (for staff and youth) and the Introductory Script (for youth) provide further information about the study and may be passed on to potential participants. Moreover, it may be easier for you to simply introduce me at a staff meeting to talk about my research, and either have potential participants approach me or for me to approach them about the study.

Power-Over Issues
(e.g., participation must be voluntary, and not subject to coercion where participants may not feel entirely free to refuse to participate because of a relationship where another person holds a power position over them.)

In order to minimize any potential power-over issues, I request that potential participants, upon hearing of this study, are able to contact myself or Mr. A [name removed for confidentiality purposes] (translator) to inquire further about the study at their own discretion without having to report to you

or other staff members from [this organization]. This process assists in reducing power-over issues and confidentiality issues.

About the Research
This information can be shared with staff or former street youth (preferably in a staff/group meeting setting, although on an individual basis is fine as well) as a brief introduction to the study. Here are some key talking points:

"A graduate student from the School of Child & Youth Care at the University of Victoria in Canada is looking for former street youth and [organization] staff to interview for his Master's Thesis that seeks to understand the experiences of youth exiting street life in Indonesia."

"Research interviews will be conducted by Brenden Bentley-Taylor (MA student) and translator Mr. A [name removed for confidentiality purposes], they will take 1-1.5 hours, and will be audio-recorded. The setting for this recording may be on [the organization] campus or a location of your choosing. The questions are meant to *understand* your experiences, not judge them, and include mostly open-ended questions asked in a semi-structured manner, such as **(for youth)**: 'How did you feel about leaving your life on the street?' and 'How have you changed as a person now compared to when you were on the street?' and **(for staff)**: 'What is your role with regard to working with street children and youth?' and 'What changes do you notice in street children who have "successfully" exited street life?' The questions in the interview are merely a guide, and you are free (and encouraged) to provide additional information if you choose."

"Specifically, this study aims to understand, 1) what makes street-involved youth in Indonesia choose to leave a life on the streets, and 2) what steps are taken to exit successfully. The research question used to guide this study is: Why do street-involved youth choose to exit the street and how do they do it?"

"This study is important because there is little research conducted into the exiting processes of street children and youth, and findings will contribute to a greater understanding of the complete career cycle of street life for youth in Indonesia. Findings may also help to inform policy and practice of those working with street children and youth. This is a chance for you to share your valuable experiences in relation to this phenomenon."

"If you are interested in participating in this research study, please contact:
Primary Researcher: Brenden Bentley-Taylor, email: brenden@uvic.ca, Phone: +1-250-508-2151.
Translator: Mr. A [name and contact information removed for confidentiality purposes]

"To avoid issues of power-over and/or confidentiality, it is suggested that you contact the researcher or translator directly. Throughout the study, reducing power-over issues and confidentiality issues is of great importance."

Thank you Mr. S [manager's name removed for confidentiality purposes] for being so willing to support this research project. I trust this Letter of Information will assist both in your understanding of the research process and in adequately informing potential participants of what is involved.

Kind regards

Brenden Bentley-Taylor

Appendix B

Participant Consent Form (For Staff) – English Version

University | School of Child
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Participant Consent Form (Staff)

Youth Exiting Street Life in Indonesia: An Ethnographic Inquiry

You are being invited to participate in a study entitled **"Youth Exiting Street Life in Indonesia: An Ethnographic Inquiry"** that is being conducted by Brenden Bentley-Taylor, a graduate student in the School of Child & Youth Care at the University of Victoria, BC, Canada. This research is being conducted as part of the requirements for a Master's degree in Child & Youth Care and you may contact him if you have further questions by email at brenden@uvic.ca or phone +1.250.508.2151.

Purpose & Objectives
Street children and youth are a growing phenomenon around the world. While much is known about the causes and lived experience of children and youth on the streets, there is little about how they exit street life. This study aims to explore, 1) what makes street-involved youth in Indonesia choose to leave a life on the streets, and 2) what steps are taken to exit successfully. The research question used to guide this study is: Why do street-involved youth choose to exit the street and how do they do it?

The *why* part of the question aims to explore the reasons the individual wants to leave the street. This may include motivations to change, such as experiencing a traumatic incident or becoming disenchanted with street life – through boredom or tiring of the daily survival activities. The *how* part of the question aims to understand what choices the individual made and strategies they used to disengage from street life. The focus with this question can be on both the practical changes (i.e., seeking help, changing routines, and building networks of non-street related friends) and the emotional and psychological changes (i.e., preparing to leave the streets, being committed to change).

Importance of this Research
Research of this type is important because there has been little research conducted into the exiting processes of street children. This research will contribute to a greater understanding of the complete career cycle of street life for youth in Indonesia; most importantly, how successful street exiting is achieved. From this understanding there is the potential to better inform policy and practice of those working with street children and youth, particularly with regard to street disengagement.

Participants Selection & Power-Over Issues
You are being asked to participate in this study because you have experience working with street-involved children and youth and their process of living on the street and leaving the street life. I have asked Mr. S [manager's name removed for confidentiality purposes] (Program Manager) to introduce this study to you and allow you to voluntarily make the choice to participate by contacting the researcher directly. I reiterate that participation in this research study must be voluntary, and you should not be participating unless you are voluntarily choosing to do so by your own accord without persuasion or coercion from an outside source (i.e., by someone who is holding power over you in a relationship).

Details of Participation
If you consent to voluntarily participate in this research, your participation will include a 1-2 hour audio-taped semi-structured interview about your experiences working with street children, undertaken in a location of your convenience. This discussion will then be transcribed. Some things you say may be

directly quoted in the graduate thesis or scholarly articles, but all information that could potentially identify you will be excluded from any quotations or articles, reports or presentations that will result from this research. You will nowhere be referred to by name, nor will you identified by your gender or location. If you do not want any of your responses to be directly quoted you may request this and your request will be accepted without question.

Though participation in this study may cause some inconvenience to you, including your time commitment to take part in the interview, there are minimal anticipated risks to you by participating in this research. On the other hand, the potential benefits of your participation in this research include your own opportunity to reflect on your experiences and an opportunity to contribute to an expansion of relevant knowledge of street children that can help inform policy and practice.

As a way to compensate you for any inconvenience related to your participation, you will be given a small gift. If you consent to participate in this study, this form of compensation to you must not be coercive. It is unethical to provide undue compensation or inducements to research participants. If you would not participate if the compensation was not offered, then you should decline.

Your participation in this research must be completely voluntary. If you do decide to participate, you may still withdraw at any time without any consequences or any explanation. If you do withdraw from the study, you will be asked if your data can be used. If you do not give permission to the use of your data, it will be destroyed at your request. If you do consent to participate in this study, we ask that your consent includes your permission that the data that is generated by our interviews will be used in reports and articles and a graduate thesis. The author of this material will be Brenden Bentley-Taylor, the graduate student who is conducting this research project.

Anonymity and Confidentiality
Although the nature of the in-person interview dictates that the primary researcher and his translator Mr. A [name removed for confidentiality purposes], will know your identity, care will be taken to ensure that you are anonymous in the dissemination of all research results. However, there are limits to confidentiality, as the [organization] operates in a smaller setting where colleagues may be aware of your participation, and there is also a translator involved in the translating and transcribing of the interviews. Your confidentiality and the confidentiality of the data will be protected by the following procedures: (1) you may contact the researcher directly through the recruitment letter bypassing any "middle men" and reducing colleague awareness of participation; (2) paper data/consent forms and audio-recordings will be stored in a locked filing cabinet; (3) transcriptions will be stored in password protected computer files; (4) a confidentiality agreement will be signed by the translator (Mr. A) requiring him to hold in the strictest confidence any identifying information related to you (the participant) or person(s) mentioned in the interview sessions. Data presented in any dissemination will not contain any identifying information. Pseudonyms will be assigned to each participant during data collection and research findings will be disseminated in such a way that any markers of personality or identity will not be included in research reports or articles.

Dissemination of Results and Disposal of Data
It is anticipated that the results of this study will be shared with others in the following ways: a graduate thesis by the principal researcher, and a published article in an academic journal. An "executive summary" –style report, whereby an estimated 5% of the main study (thesis) will be summarized with key points relevant to [the organization], and presented to [the organization]. Data from this study will be disposed of once approval of the Masters thesis has been obtained and other publications have been completed. At this time, paper files will be shredded and electronic files will be erased. A maximum timeframe for destruction of the data will be 3 years.

Contact Information
Individuals who may be contacted regarding this study include:
Primary Researcher: Brenden Bentley-Taylor, email: brenden@uvic.ca, Phone: +1-250-508-2151.
Translator: Mr. A [name and contact information removed for confidentiality purposes].
Supervisor: Sibylle Artz, email: sartz@uvic.ca, Phone: +1-250-721-6472.

In addition, you may verify the ethical approval of this study, or raise any concerns you might have, by contacting the Human Research Ethics Office at the University of Victoria (+1-250-472-4545 or ethics@uvic.ca).

Your signature below indicates that you understand the above conditions of participation in this study, that you have had the opportunity to have your questions answered by the researchers, and that you agree to participate in this research project.

Name of Participant	*Signature*	*Date*

One copy of this consent will be left with you, and the researcher will keep one copy.

Appendix C

Participant Consent Form (For Staff) – Indonesian Version

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Formulir Persetujuan Interview (Staff)

Proses Kehidupan Anak-Anak Yang Sedang Keluar Dari Jalanan Di Indonesia: Pelajaran Ethnography

Anda telah diundang untuk berpartisipasi dalam pelajaran yang bertemakan **Proses Kehidupan Anak-Anak Yang Sedang Keluar Dari Jalanan Di Indonesia : sebuah Pelajaran Ethnography**. Yang dipimpin oleh Brenden Bentley-Taylor, seorang pelajar yang telah lulus dari School of Child & Youth Care di University of Victoria, BC, Canada. Penelitian ini dilakukan sebagai bagian dari persyaratan dan tugas-tugas dari Mr. Brenden untuk Master's degree (MA) yang dia ambil di School Child & Youth Care dan anda dapat menghubungi dia lebih lagi kalau ada pertanyaan dan dapat diemail di brenden@uvic.ca or phone 0815-1765-7162.

Maksud-Maksud & Tujuan
Jumlah anak-anak yang hidup di jalanan sedang mengalami pertumbuhan yang luar biasa di dunia. Banyak pengetahuan tentang penyebab dan pengalaman kehidupan dari anak-anak yang hidup di jalanan, tapi sedikit sekali pengetahuan tentang bagaimana mereka keluar dari jalanan. Pelajaran ini bertujuan untuk mencari, 1) apa yang menyebabkan anak-anak yang hidup di jalanan di Indonesia untuk memilih keluar dari kehidupan di jalanan, dan 2) langkah-langkah apa saja telah di ambil dan berhasil. Pertanyaan-pertanyaan inti dari pelajaran ini adalah: **Mengapa anak-anak jalanan memilih untuk keluar dari jalanan dan bagaimana mereka melakukannya?**

Pertanyaan "***mengapa***" bertujuan untuk mencari penyebab-penyebab seorang anak yang hidup di jalanan ingin keluar dari jalanan. Mungkin ada motivasi untuk berubah, seperti mengalami trauma atas kejadian atau menjadi bosan dengan kehidupan di jalanan dan melewati masa-masa yang melelahkan di saat menjalankan aktivitas di jalanan. Pertanyaan "***bagaimana***" bertujuan untuk memahami apa pilihan-pilihan dari seorang anak yang hidup di jalanan telah di buat dan strategi-strategi apa saja yang mereka pakai untuk keluar dari jalanan. Yang menjadi perhatian dari pertanyaan ini ada dua hal: 1) perubahan yang praktis (perubahan external), misalnya: mencari pertolongan, merubah rutinitas, dan membangun jaringan dengan teman-teman baru di luar jalanan; 2) perubahan emosional dan perubahan psikologi (perubahan internal), misalnya: mempersiapkan diri untuk meninggalkan jalanan, mempunyai komitmen untuk berubah.

Hal Yang Penting Dari Penelitian Ini
Pelajaran ini sangat penting karena sebelumnya hanya sedikit penelitian dan informasi yang ada tentang proses keluarnya anak yang hidup di jalanan. Penelitian ini akan menghasilkan sebuah pemahaman yang baru akan siklus yang jelas atas kehidupan anak-anak yang hidup di jalanan di Indonesia; yang paling penting, bagaimana keberhasilan yang telah dicapai untuk keluar dari kehidupan di jalanan. Dari pemahaman ini mudah untuk membantu memberikan informasi kepada pemerintah dan organisasi sosial yang bekerja untuk anak-anak yang hidup di jalanan, lebih spesifik untuk keluarnya anak-anak dari kehidupan di jalanan.

Orang-Orang Yang Berpartisipasi Yang Akan Diseleksi & Tidak Ada Paksaan
Anda akan diundang untuk berpartisipasi dalam pelajaran ini karena anda telah berpengalaman
bekerja dekat dengan anak-anak yang hidup di jalanan. Saya (Mr. Brenden) telah meminta ijin
kepada Mr. S [name removed for confidentiality purposes], Program Manager di [the organization]
untuk memperkenalkan pelajaran ini kepada anda dan mengizinkan anda, untuk anda menetapkan
pilihan apakah anda mau menjadi sukarelawan untuk berpartisipasi dengan menghubungi saya (Mr.
Brenden) atau Mr. A [name removed for confidentiality purposes]. Saya menekankan sekali lagi,
dalam pelajaran ini orang-orang yang berpartisipasi harus dari pilihannya sendiri dan tidak ada
paksaan dari orang lain.

Lebih Spesifik Lagi Tentang Partisipasi
Jika anda sudah setuju untuk berpartisipasi di dalam pelajaran ini, anda akan di wawancarai dan
direkam dengan audio-tape, selama 1-2 jam, wawancara yang bersifat semi-structure tentang
pengalaman-pengalaman bekerja dengan anak-anak yang hidup di jalanan. Lokasi wawancara bisa
dipilih oleh orang yang mau di wawancarai (the organization bisa merupakan pilihan utama).
Percakapan juga akan di tulis secara transparan dan jelas. Beberapa hal yang di ucapkan mungkin
akan dikutip di dalam tesis atau artikel akademik, tetapi semua informasi yang mengidentifikasikan
orang yang diwawancari tidak akan di gunakan sebagai kutipan di dalam tesis dan juga artikel,
laporan-laporan atau presentasi-presentasi tentang pelajaran ini. Kita tidak akan menyebut dan
menggunakan nama dan jenis kelamin. Kalau ada kata-kata dari percakapan yang tidak mau di kutip
sebagai quotation bisa untuk di informasikan kepada Mr. Brenden dan Mr. A [name removed for
confidentiality purposes] dan akan langsung di setujui tanpa syarat dan pertanyaan apapun.

Meskipun partisipasi pelajaran ini mungkin menyebabkan ketidaknyaman, juga waktu dan komitmen
yang menjadi bagian dari wawancara ini, tetapi hanya sedikit resiko yang akan terjadi (contohnya: di
saat menceritakan sesuatu yang sangat emosional).

Kelebihannya dari partisipasi ini adalah mempunyai kesempatan untuk diri sendiri memikirkan
kembali pengalaman-pengalaman dan kesempatan untuk menyalurkan dan membagikan
pengetahuan yang luas tentang anak-anak yang hidup di jalanan dan dapat membantu dan
memberikan informasi yang baru dan jelas kepada kebijakan dan praktek-praktek (contoh:
pemerintah, NGO, organisasi sosial) dari kebijakan itu sendiri.

Bagian apresiasi dari partisipasi ini, akan ada pemberian yang sederhana untuk orang-orang yang
berpartisipasi dalam wawancara di dalam pelajaran ini. Jika anda setuju berpartisipasi dalam
pelajaran ini, pemberian ini bukanlah menjadi alasan utama dalam melakukan partisipasi ini. Kami
mengerti sangatlah tidak etis menyediakan pemberian atau insentif yang melampaui batas atau
terlalu banyak.

Partisipasi dalam pelajaran ini haruslah sepenuhnya sukarela. Jika anda memutuskan untuk
berpartisipasi, anda pun bisa menarik diri kapan saja tanpa ada konsekwensi atau penjelasan
apapun. Jika anda mengundurkan diri dari pelajaran ini, anda akan diminta apakah masih bisa
menggunakan data anda atau tidak. Jika anda tidak mengizinkan menggunakan data anda, data anda
akan di hapus sesuai dengan permintaan anda.

Jika anda setuju berpartisipasi dalam pelajaran ini, kami meminta didalam persetujuan ini untuk
anda memberikan ijin untuk menggunakan data dari hasil wawancara yang akan di gunakan untuk
laporan-laporan, artikel-artikel, dan tesis untuk hasil akhir. Penulis dari materi ini adalah Brenden
Bentley-Taylor, mahasiswa yang memimpin proyek pelajaran ini.

Kerahasiaan & Tanpa Nama
Meskipun Mr. Brenden dan Mr. A [name removed for confidentiality purposes] (translator) akan
mengetahui identitas anda, akan ada perhatian khusus untuk menjaga bahwa nama anda akan tetap
tidak di ketahui dan tidak tersebar. Walaupun, kerahasian sesuatu pasti ada sedikit keterbatasan,
seperti [organisasinya] beroperasi di dalam ukuran yang kecil dimana rekan-rekan staff [di

organisasi] mungkin bisa menyadari akan partisipasi anda, dan juga ada penerjemah (Mr. A) yang ikut serta menerjemahkan dan juga menyalin wawancara dalam tulisan. Kerahasiaan anda dan kerahasiaan informasi anda akan di lindungi oleh beberapa prosedur di bawah ini: (1) anda dapat menghubungi secara langsung pemimpin pelajaran ini Mr. Brenden atau Mr. A sebagai penerjemah dan ini akan mengurangi banyak orang yang tau akan partisipasi anda; (2) formulir persetujuan dan rekaman-audio akan di simpan dan di kunci di dalam kabinet; (3) salinan dan tulisan data-data hasil interview akan di simpan di dalam komputer dengan menggunakan password yang aman; dan (4) surat perjanjian atas kerahasian akan di tanda tangani oleh penerjemah Mr. A, dimana dia tidak boleh menyebarkan atau membagikan informasi mengenai anda (orang yang berpartisipasi) dan juga orang lain yang di ceritakan di dalam wawancara nanti.

Semua data yang di presentasikan tidak akan mengidentifikasikan orang yang di wawancara. Nama samaran akan digunakan untuk setiap orang yang melakukan wawancara di saat pengumpulan data dan di saat hasil dari wawancara di bagikan di dalam tesis, laporan-laporan, dan artikel-artikel tidak akan ada satupun hal yang dapat mengidentifikasi seseorang dan identitas seseorang tidak akan dilibatkan dalam tesis, artikel-artikel, dan laporan-laporan.

Penyebaran Hasil Data & Pembuangan Data
Telah direncanakan bahwa hasil pelajaran ini akan di bagikan kepada orang lain dengan cara seperti ini: seorang pembuat tesis oleh Mr. Brenden Bentley-Taylor, dan artikel yang diterbitkan di dalam jurnal akademik. Ringkasan dari laporan, yang hanya 5% dari jumlah tesis yang ada akan di ringkas menjadi poin-poin yang penting yang bersangkutan dengan [organisasinya] dan diberikan kepada [organisasinya]. Semua data dari pelajaran ini akan di hapus setelah mendapat persetujuaan atas tesis MA yang telah diterima dan semua laporan-laporan, artikel-artikel, dan tesis setelah sepenuhnya selesai. Lalu semua data yang tertera di atas kertas akan di hancurkan di dalam alat penghancur kertas dan semua data elektronik akan di hapus. Tenggang waktu untuk pemusnahan data maximum 3 tahun.

Informasi Kontak
Orang-orang yang bisa di hubungi:
Primary Researcher: Brenden Bentley-Taylor, email: brenden@uvic.ca, Phone: +1-250-508-2151.
Translator: Mr. A [name and contact information removed for confidentiality purposes].
Supervisor: Sibylle Artz, email: sartz@uvic.ca, Phone: +1-250-721-6472.

Anda dapat memastikan keaslian dari pelajaran ini, atau mengutarakan kekhawatiran anda jika anda menghadapi masalah dari pelajaran ini, silahkan menghubungi Human Research Ethics Office at the University of Victoria (+1-250-472-4545 or ethics@uvic.ca).

Tangan-tangan di bawah menunjukkan bahwa anda mengerti tentang kondisi-kondisi di atas dari pelajaran ini, anda mempunyai kesempatan bahwa pertanyaan-pertanyaan anda dapat di jawab oleh orang-orang yang melakukan wawancara, dan anda setuju untuk berpartisipasi dalam pelajaran ini.

_____   _____   _____
Nama Orang Yang Di Wawancara   *Tanda Tangan*   *Tanggal*

Satu salinan formulir ini akan di berikan ke anda, dan satu di pegang oleh pewawancara.

Appendix D

Participant Consent Form (For Youth) – English Version

University of Victoria | School of Child and Youth Care

Participant Consent Form (Youth)

Youth Exiting Street Life in Indonesia: An Ethnographic Inquiry

You are being invited to participate in a study entitled **"Youth Exiting Street Life in Indonesia: An Ethnographic Inquiry"** that is being conducted by Brenden Bentley-Taylor, a graduate student in the School of Child & Youth Care at the University of Victoria, BC, Canada. This research is being conducted as part of the requirements for a Master's degree in Child & Youth Care and you may contact him if you have further questions by email at brenden@uvic.ca or phone +1.250.508.2151.

Purpose & Objectives
Street children and youth are a growing phenomenon around the world. While much is known about the causes and lived experience of children and youth on the streets, there is little about how they exit street life. This study aims to explore, 1) what makes street-involved youth in Indonesia choose to leave a life on the streets, and 2) what steps are taken to exit successfully. The research question used to guide this study is: Why do street-involved youth choose to exit the street and how do they do it? The *why* part of the question aims to explore the reasons the individual wants to leave the street. This may include motivations to change, such as experiencing a traumatic incident or becoming disenchanted with street life – through boredom or tiring of the daily survival activities. The *how* part of the question aims to understand what choices the individual made and strategies they used to disengage from street life. The focus with this question can be on both the practical changes (i.e., seeking help, changing routines, and building networks of non-street related friends) and the emotional and psychological changes (i.e., preparing to leave the streets, being committed to change).

Importance of this Research
Research of this type is important because there has been little research conducted into the exiting processes of street children. This research will contribute to a greater understanding of the complete career cycle of street life for youth in Indonesia; most importantly, how successful street exiting is achieved. From this understanding there is the potential to better inform policy and practice of those working with street children and youth, particularly with regard to street disengagement.

Participants Selection & Power-Over Issues
You are being asked to participate in this study because you have had experience living on the street in Indonesia, and have since exited the street life. I have asked Mr. S [name removed for confidentiality purposes] (Program Manager) to introduce this study to you and allow you to voluntarily make the choice to participate by contacting the researcher directly. I reiterate that participation in this research study must be voluntary, and you should not be participating unless you are voluntarily choosing to do so by your own accord without persuasion or coercion from an outside source (i.e., by someone who is holding power over you in a relationship).

Details of Participation
If you consent to voluntarily participate in this research, your participation will include a 1-2 hour audio-taped semi-structured interview about your experiences of the street, undertaken in a location of your convenience. This discussion will then be transcribed. Some things you say may be directly quoted in the graduate thesis or scholarly articles, but all information that could potentially identify you will be excluded

from any quotations or articles, reports or presentations that will result from this research. You will nowhere be referred to by name, nor will you identified by your gender or location. If you do not want any of your responses to be directly quoted you may request this and your request will be accepted without question.

Though participation in this study may cause some inconvenience to you, including your time commitment to take part in the interview, there are minimal anticipated risks to you by participating in this research. However, potential risks include experiencing emotional or psychological discomfort, such as feeling demeaned or embarrassed. The interview is not intended to judge an individual or their actions, it is about understanding their experiences. However, in order to prevent or deal with potential risks you do not have to answer a question if you do not want to (in this event the interviewer will move on to the next question), and you are free to end the interview at any time without consequences or explanation.

The potential benefits of your participation in this research include your own opportunity to reflect on your experiences and an opportunity to contribute to an expansion of relevant knowledge of street children experiences, and policies and practices.

As a way to compensate you for any inconvenience related to your participation, you will be given a small gift. If you consent to participate in this study, this form of compensation to you must not be coercive. It is unethical to provide undue compensation or inducements to research participants. If you would not participate if the compensation was not offered, then you should decline.

Your participation in this research must be completely voluntary. If you do decide to participate, you may still withdraw at any time without any consequences or any explanation. If you do withdraw from the study, you will be asked if your data can be used. If you do not give permission to the use of your data, it will be destroyed at your request. If you do consent to participate in this study, we ask that your consent includes your permission that the data that is generated by our interviews will be used in reports and articles and a graduate thesis. The author of this material will be Brenden Bentley-Taylor, the graduate student who is conducting this research project.

Anonymity and Confidentiality
Although the nature of the in-person interview dictates that the primary researcher and his translator Mr. A [name removed for confidentiality purposes], will know your identity, care will be taken to ensure that you are anonymous in the dissemination of all research results. However, there are limits to confidentiality, as [the organization] operates in a smaller setting where others may be aware of your participation, and there is also a translator involved in the translating and transcribing of the interviews. Your confidentiality and the confidentiality of the data will be protected by the following procedures: (1) you may contact the researcher directly through the recruitment letter bypassing any "middle men" and reducing others' awareness of participation; (2) paper data/consent forms and audio-recordings will be stored in a locked filing cabinet; (3) transcriptions will be stored in password protected computer files; (4) a confidentiality agreement will be signed by the translator (Mr. A) requiring him to hold in the strictest confidence any identifying information related to you (the participant) or person(s) mentioned in the interview sessions. Data presented in any dissemination will not contain any identifying information. Pseudonyms will be assigned to each participant during data collection and research findings will be disseminated in such a way that any markers of personality or identity will not be included in research reports or articles.

Dissemination of Results and Disposal of Data
It is anticipated that the results of this study will be shared with others in the following ways: a graduate thesis by the principal researcher, and a published article in an academic journal. An "executive summary" –style report, whereby an estimated 5% of the main study (thesis) will be summarized with key points

relevant to [the organization], and presented to [the organization]. Data from this study will be disposed of once approval of the Masters thesis has been obtained and other publications have been completed. At this time, paper files will be shredded and electronic files will be erased. A maximum timeframe for destruction of the data will be 3 years.

Contact Information
Individuals who may be contacted regarding this study include:
Primary Researcher: Brenden Bentley-Taylor, email: brenden@uvic.ca, Phone: +1-250-508-2151.
Translator: Mr. A [name and contact information removed for confidentiality purposes]
Supervisor: Sibylle Artz, email: sartz@uvic.ca, Phone: +1-250-721-6472.

In addition, you may verify the ethical approval of this study, or raise any concerns you might have, by contacting the Human Research Ethics Office at the University of Victoria (+1-250-472-4545 or ethics@uvic.ca).

Your signature below indicates that you understand the above conditions of participation in this study, that you have had the opportunity to have your questions answered by the researchers, and that you agree to participate in this research project.

_____   _____   _____

Name of Participant   *Signature*   *Date*

One copy of this consent will be left with you, and the researcher will keep one copy.

Appendix E

Participant Consent Form (For Youth) – Indonesian Version

University | School of Child
of Victoria | and Youth Care

Formulir Persetujuan Interview (Kaum Muda)

Proses Kehidupan Anak-Anak Yang Sedang Keluar Dari Jalanan Di Indonesia: Pelajaran Ethnography

Anda telah diundang untuk berpartisipasi dalam pelajaran yang bertemakan **Proses Kehidupan Anak-Anak Yang Sedang Keluar Dari Jalanan Di Indonesia : sebuah Pelajaran Ethnography**. Yang dipimpin oleh Brenden Bentley-Taylor, seorang pelajar yang telah lulus dari School of Child & Youth Care di University of Victoria, BC, Canada. Penelitian ini dilakukan sebagai bagian dari persyaratan dan tugas-tugas dari Mr. Brenden untuk Master's degree (MA) yang dia ambil di School Child & Youth Care dan anda dapat menghubungi dia lebih lagi kalau ada pertanyaan dan dapat diemail di brenden@uvic.ca or phone 0815-1765-7162.

Maksud-Maksud & Tujuan
Jumlah anak-anak yang hidup di jalanan sedang mengalami pertumbuhan yang luar biasa di dunia. Banyak pengetahuan tentang penyebab dan pengalaman kehidupan dari anak-anak yang hidup di jalanan, tapi sedikit sekali pengetahuan tentang bagaimana mereka keluar dari jalanan. Pelajaran ini bertujuan untuk mencari, 1) apa yang menyebabkan anak-anak yang hidup di jalanan di Indonesia untuk memilih keluar dari kehidupan di jalanan, dan 2) langkah-langkah apa saja telah di ambil dan berhasil. Pertanyaan-pertanyaan inti dari pelajaran ini adalah: **Mengapa anak-anak jalanan memilih untuk keluar dari jalanan dan bagaimana mereka melakukannya?**

Pertanyaan "***mengapa***" bertujuan untuk mencari penyebab-penyebab seorang anak yang hidup di jalanan ingin keluar dari jalanan. Mungkin ada motivasi untuk berubah, seperti mengalami trauma atas kejadian atau menjadi bosan dengan kehidupan di jalanan dan melewati masa-masa yang melelahkan di saat menjalankan aktivitas di jalanan. Pertanyaan "***bagaimana***" bertujuan untuk memahami apa pilihan-pilihan dari seorang anak yang hidup di jalanan telah di buat dan strategi-strategi apa saja yang mereka pakai untuk keluar dari jalanan. Yang menjadi perhatian dari pertanyaan ini ada dua hal: 1) perubahan yang praktis (perubahan external), misalnya: mencari pertolongan, merubah rutinitas, dan membangun jaringan dengan teman-teman baru di luar jalanan; 2) perubahan emosional dan perubahan psikologi (perubahan internal), misalnya: mempersiapkan diri untuk meninggalkan jalanan, mempunyai komitmen untuk berubah.

Hal Yang Penting Dari Penelitian Ini
Pelajaran ini sangat penting karena sebelumnya hanya sedikit penelitian dan informasi yang ada tentang proses keluarnya anak yang hidup di jalanan. Penelitian ini akan menghasilkan sebuah pemahaman yang baru akan siklus yang jelas atas kehidupan anak-anak yang hidup di jalanan di Indonesia; yang paling penting, bagaimana keberhasilan yang telah dicapai untuk keluar dari kehidupan di jalanan. Dari pemahaman ini mudah untuk membantu memberikan informasi kepada pemerintah dan organisasi sosial yang bekerja untuk anak-anak yang hidup di jalanan, lebih spesifik untuk keluarnya anak-anak dari kehidupan di jalanan.

Orang-Orang Yang Berpartisipasi Yang Akan Diseleksi & Tidak Ada Paksaan

Anda akan diundang untuk berpartisipasi dalam pelajaran ini karena anda telah berpengalaman hidup di jalanan. Saya (Mr. Brenden) telah meminta ijin kepada Mr. S [name removed for confidentiality purposes], Program Manager di [organisasinya], untuk memperkenalkan pelajaran ini kepada anda dan mengizinkan anda, untuk anda menetapkan pilihan apakah anda mau menjadi sukarelawan untuk berpartisipasi dengan menghubungi saya (Mr. Brenden) atau Mr. A [name removed for confidentiality purposes]. Saya menekankan sekali lagi, dalam pelajaran ini orang-orang yang berpartisipasi harus dari pilihannya sendiri dan tidak ada paksaan dari orang lain.

Lebih Spesifik Lagi Tentang Partisipasi
Jika anda sudah setuju untuk berpartisipasi di dalam pelajaran ini, anda akan di wawancarai dan direkam dengan audio-tape, selama 1-2 jam, wawancara yang bersifat semi-structure tentang pengalaman-pengalaman dari hidup di jalanan. Lokasi wawancara bisa dipilih oleh orang yang mau di wawancarai (organisasinya bisa merupakan pilihan utama). Percakapan juga akan di tulis secara transparan dan jelas. Beberapa hal yang di ucapkan mungkin akan dikutip di dalam tesis atau artikel akademik, tetapi semua informasi yang mengidentifikasikan orang yang diwawancari tidak akan di gunakan sebagai kutipan di dalam tesis dan juga artikel, laporan-laporan atau presentasi-presentasi tentang pelajaran ini. Kita tidak akan menyebut dan menggunakan nama dan jenis kelamin. Kalau ada kata-kata dari percakapan yang tidak mau di kutip sebagai quotation bisa untuk di informasikan kepada Mr. Brenden dan Mr. A [name removed for confidentiality purposes] dan akan langsung di setujui tanpa syarat dan pertanyaan apapun.

Meskipun partisipasi pelajaran ini mungkin menyebabkan ketidaknyaman, juga waktu dan komitmen yang menjadi bagian dari wawancara ini, tetapi hanya sedikit resiko yang akan terjadi. Adapun, resiko-resiko yang mungkin terjadi seperti mengalami kejadiaan yang emosional atau ketidaknyamanan secara psikologi, merasa tidak enak atau direndahkan atau dipermalukan. Wawacara ini tidak bermaksud untuk *menghakimi* setiap individu atau perbuatan-perbuatan mereka, tetapi untuk *memehami* dan *mengerti* pengalaman-pengalaman hidup mereka. Adapun, untuk memastikan dan menghadapi resiko-resiko yang mungkin terjadi anda tidak harus menjawab pertanyaan jika anda tidak mau (dalam situasi ini pewawancara akan melanjutkan ke pertanyaan lain), dan anda berhak untuk mengakhiri wawancara kapan saja tanpa ada konsekwensi atau penjelasan.

Kelebihannya dari partisipasi ini adalah mempunyai kesempatan untuk diri sendiri memikirkan kembali pengalaman-pengalaman dan kesempatan untuk menyalurkan dan membagikan pengetahuan yang luas tentang pengalaman-pengalaman anak-anak yang hidup di jalanan dan dapat membantu dan memberikan informasi yang jelas kepada kebijakan dan praktek-praktek (contoh: pemerintah, NGO, organisasi sosial) dari kebijakan itu sendiri.

Bagian apresiasi dari partisipasi ini, akan ada pemberian yang sederhana untuk orang-orang yang berpartisipasi dalam wawancara di dalam pelajaran ini. Jika anda setuju berpartisipasi dalam pelajaran ini, pemberian ini bukanlah menjadi alasan utama dalam melakukan partisipasi ini. Kami mengerti sangatlah tidak etis menyediakan pemberian atau insentif yang melampaui batas atau terlalu banyak.

Partisipasi dalam pelajaran ini haruslah sepenuhnya sukarela. Jika anda memutuskan untuk berpartisipasi, anda pun bisa menarik diri kapan saja tanpa ada konsekwensi atau penjelasan apapun. Jika anda mengundurkan diri dari pelajaran ini, anda akan diminta apakah masih bisa menggunakan data anda atau tidak. Jika anda tidak mengizinkan menggunakan data anda, data anda akan di hapus sesuai dengan permintaan anda.

Jika anda setuju berpartisipasi dalam pelajaran ini, kami meminta didalam persetujuan ini untuk anda memberikan ijin untuk menggunakan data dari hasil wawancara yang akan di gunakan untuk laporan-laporan, artikel-artikel, dan tesis untuk hasil akhir. Penulis dari materi ini adalah Brenden Bentley-Taylor, mahasiswa yang memimpin proyek pelajaran ini.

Kerahasiaan & Tanpa Nama
Meskipun Mr. Brenden dan Mr. A [name removed for confidentiality purposes] (translator) akan mengetahui identitas anda, akan ada perhatian khusus untuk menjaga bahwa nama anda akan tetap tidak di ketahui dan tidak tersebar. Walaupun, kerahasian sesuatu pasti ada sedikit keterbatasan, seperti [di organisasi] beroperasi di dalam ukuran yang kecil dimana rekan-rekan staff [di organisasi] mungkin bisa menyadari akan partisipasi anda, dan juga ada penerjemah (Mr. A) yang ikut serta menerjemahkan dan juga menyalin wawancara dalam tulisan. Kerahasiaan anda dan kerahasiaan informasi anda akan di lindungi oleh beberapa prosedur di bawah ini: (1) anda dapat menghubungi secara langsung pemimpin pelajaran ini Mr. Brenden atau Mr. A sebagai penerjemah dan ini akan mengurangi banyak orang yang tau akan partisipasi anda; (2) formulir persetujuan dan rekaman-audio akan di simpan dan di kunci di dalam kabinet; (3) salinan dan tulisan data-data hasil interview akan di simpan di dalam komputer dengan menggunakan password yang aman; dan (4) surat perjanjian atas kerahasian akan di tanda tangani oleh penerjemah Mr. A, dimana dia tidak boleh menyebarkan atau membagikan informasi mengenai anda (orang yang berpartisipasi) dan juga orang lain yang di ceritakan di dalam wawancara nanti.

Semua data yang di presentasikan tidak akan mengidentifikasikan orang yang di wawancara. Nama samaran akan digunakan untuk setiap orang yang melakukan wawancara di saat pengumpulan data dan di saat hasil dari wawancara di bagikan di dalam tesis, laporan-laporan, dan artikel-artikel tidak akan ada satupun hal yang dapat mengidentifikasi seseorang dan identitas seseorang tidak akan dilibatkan dalam tesis, artikel-artikel, dan laporan-laporan.

Penyebaran Hasil Data & Pembuangan Data
Telah direncanakan bahwa hasil pelajaran ini akan di bagikan kepada orang lain dengan cara seperti ini: seorang pembuat tesis oleh Mr. Brenden Bentley-Taylor, dan artikel yang diterbitkan di dalam jurnal akademik. Ringkasan dari laporan, yang hanya 5% dari jumlah tesis yang ada akan di ringkas menjadi poin-poin yang penting yang bersangkutan dengan [organisasinya] dan diberikan kepada [organisasinya]. Semua data dari pelajaran ini akan di hapus setelah mendapat persetujuaan atas tesis MA yang telah diterima dan semua laporan-laporan, artikel-artikel, dan tesis setelah sepenuhnya selesai. Lalu semua data yang tertera di atas kertas akan di hancurkan di dalam alat penghancur kertas dan semua data elektronik akan di hapus. Tenggang waktu untuk pemusnahan data maximum 3 tahun.

Informasi Kontak
Orang-orang yang bisa di hubungi:
Primary Researcher: Brenden Bentley-Taylor, email: brenden@uvic.ca, Phone: +1-250-508-2151.
Translator: Mr. A [name and contact information removed for confidentiality purposes].
Supervisor: Sibylle Artz, email: sartz@uvic.ca, Phone: +1-250-721-6472.

Anda dapat memastikan keaslian dari pelajaran ini, atau mengutarakan kekhawatiran anda jika anda menghadapi masalah dari pelajaran ini, silahkan menghubungi Human Research Ethics Office at the University of Victoria (+1-250-472-4545 or ethics@uvic.ca).

Tangan-tangan di bawah menunjukkan bahwa anda mengerti tentang kondisi-kondisi di atas dari pelajaran ini, anda mempunyai kesempatan bahwa pertanyaan-pertanyaan anda dapat di jawab oleh orang-orang yang melakukan wawancara, dan anda setuju untuk berpartisipasi dalam pelajaran ini.

Nama Orang Yang Di Wawancara   *Tanda Tangan*   *Tanggal*

Satu salinan formulir ini akan di berikan ke anda, dan satu di pegang oleh pewawancara.

Appendix F

Introductory Script (For Youth) – English Version

University of Victoria | School of Child and Youth Care

Introductory Script (Youth)

About the Study
This research study is entitled "**Youth Exiting Street Life in Indonesia: An Ethnographic Inquiry**".

Street children and youth are a growing phenomenon around the world. While much is known about the causes and lived experience of children and youth on the streets, there is little about how exiting street life is achieved. This study aims to explore, 1) what makes street-involved youth in Indonesia choose to leave a life on the streets, and 2) what steps are taken to exit successfully.

The research question used to guide this study is: *Why do street-involved youth choose to exit the street and how do they do it?*

> The *why* part of the question aims to explore the reasons the individual wants to leave the street. This may include motivations to change, such as experiencing a traumatic incident or becoming disenchanted with street life – through boredom or tiring of the daily survival activities.

> The *how* part of the question aims to understand what choices the individual made and strategies they used to disengage from street life. The focus with this question can be on both the practical changes (i.e., seeking help, changing routines, and building networks of non-street related friends) and the emotional and psychological changes (i.e., preparing to leave the streets, being committed to change).

Your Participation
I am curious about your unique experiences of street life and how you ultimately chose to leave a life on the streets. This study is ***not*** designed to judge you or your experiences. This study is about seeking *understanding* of your experiences.

From my understanding, street youth often face stigmatization from mainstream society (i.e., made to feel inferior or troublemakers) and also face a number of dangers such as various abuses (i.e., physical, sexual), exploitation, substance abuse, accidents (i.e., in traffic) and harassment by police. Oftentimes the family situation preceding street engagement is dysfunctional, and this may include abuses or neglect, and is one of the primary reasons children and youth turn to a life on the streets.

Therefore, I want to ensure that throughout this interview process there is minimal emotional or psychological discomfort for you, such as feeling demeaned or embarrassed due to the research. In order to mitigate these risks, I wish to emphasize:

Voluntary Participation: Your participation in this study is completely voluntary, which means you should not feel pressured, coerced or forced in any way to participate. Your participation should be a free choice made solely by yourself without any outside influence.

Choice of Answer: Throughout the interview, you are in control of the answers and have the final say in what you choose or choose not to say. If at any point you are feeling uncomfortable or upset about answering particular questions you are encouraged to express this and we will stop that question and move on to another without any need for explanation.

Terminating the Interview: If at all you feel that you do not want to continue with the interview you should express this and the interview will be ceased without need for explanation. There will not be any consequences as a result of this choice and you will not be made to feel pressured or guilty/ashamed.

Ultimately, you have the final say over how you wish to participate in this study.

Interview Questions
The interview consists of 15 open-ended questions (listed below) that are designed to encourage exploration of the career cycle of street life, from how you began a life on the street, living on the street, and finally exiting street life. Once again, these questions and this study are not designed to place judgement on you; they are designed to seek greater understanding. Additionally, we are free to deviate from this list of questions if you believe there are other areas worth exploring – in effect, the questions serve more so as a guideline for the interview. I hope that having these questions to read ahead of time will be helpful for you to better understand the study and develop an idea of how you wish to respond in the interview.

List of Interview Questions

1. How did you come to live on the street?
2. How long did you live on the street?
3. Describe a typical day on the street?
    a) What did you enjoy about the streets?
    b) What were the challenges of living on the streets?
4. What made you want to leave the street?
5. Had you attempted to leave before, and if so, what was different about this time?
6. Once you made up your mind to leave, what steps did you take?
    a) How did you prepare yourself emotionally and psychologically?
    b) Who did you ask for help?
    c) Who (or what) supported you in this transition?
7. What gave you the faith and courage to undergo this process?
8. How did you feel about leaving your life on the street?
    a) What was difficult about leaving the street?
    b) What were the positives about leaving the street?
9. How long have you been off the street now?
10. How is your life different now that you have left the street?
    a) What is a typical daily routine?
    b) Looking back, what do you think about your choice to leave?
11. How do you manage to stop from returning to the street?
12. How have you changed as a person now compared to when you were on the street?
13. What do you hope for your future?
    a) What are your plans?
    b) What are your hopes and dreams?
    c) What does a "successful life" look like to you?
14. Given your experience, what recommendations would you make to services that assist children and youth who want to leave a life on the street?
15. Is there anything else you would like to share about your experience?

Appendix G

Introductory Script (For Youth) – Indonesian Version

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Naskah Pengantar (Kaum Muda)

Tentang Pelajaraan Ini

Pelajaran ini bertemakan "**Proses Kehidupan Anak-Anak Yang Sedang Keluar Dari Jalanan Di Indonesia : sebuah Pelajaran Ethnography**".

Jumlah anak-anak yang hidup di jalanan sedang mengalami pertumbuhan yang luar biasa di dunia. Banyak pengetahuan tentang penyebab dan pengalaman kehidupan dari anak-anak yang hidup di jalanan, tapi sedikit sekali pengetahuan tentang bagaimana mereka keluar dari jalanan. Pelajaran ini bertujuan untuk mencari, 1) apa yang menyebabkan anak-anak yang hidup di jalanan di Indonesia untuk memilih keluar dari kehidupan di jalanan, dan 2) langkah-langkah apa saja telah di ambil dan berhasil.

Pertanyaan-pertanyaan inti dari pelajaran ini adalah: *Mengapa anak-anak jalanan memilih untuk keluar dari jalanan dan bagaimana mereka melakukannya?*

Pertanyaan "***mengapa***" bertujuan untuk mencari penyebab-penyebab seorang anak yang hidup di jalanan ingin keluar dari jalanan. Mungkin ada motivasi untuk berubah, seperti mengalami trauma atas kejadian atau menjadi bosan dengan kehidupan di jalanan dan melewati masa-masa yang melelahkan di saat menjalankan aktivitas di jalanan.

Pertanyaan "***bagaimana***" bertujuan untuk memahami apa pilihan-pilihan dari seorang anak yang hidup di jalanan telah di buat dan strategi-strategi apa saja yang mereka pakai untuk keluar dari jalanan. Yang menjadi perhatian dari pertanyaan ini ada dua hal: 1) perubahan yang praktis (perubahan external), misalnya: mencari pertolongan, merubah rutinitas, dan membangun jaringan dengan teman-teman baru di luar jalanan; 2) perubahan emosional dan perubahan psikologi (perubahan internal), misalnya: mempersiapkan diri untuk meninggalkan jalanan, mempunyai komitmen untuk berubah.

Partisipasi Anda

Saya sangat tertarik tentang keunikan dari pengalaman-pengalaman kehidupan di jalanan, dan bagaimana akhirnya anda memilih untuk meninggalkan kehidupan di jalanan. Pelajaran ini **tidak** di buat untuk menghakimi anda atau pengalaman-pengalaman anda. Pelajaran ini tentang bagaimana **memahami** dan **mengerti** pengalaman-pengalaman anda.

Dari pemahaman saya, anak-anak yang hidup di jalanan sering menghadapi penilaian yang buruk dari kalangan umum (dipandang rendah atau sebagai pembuat masalah) dan juga menghadapi beberapa kejadian yang berbahaya seperti bermacam-macam siksaan (siksaan fisik, siksaan seksual), dimanfaatkan atau diperlakukan sewenang-wenang, pemaksaan pemakaian obat-obatan, kecelakaan-kecelakaan (seperti di jalan raya) dan gangguan-gangguan dari polisi. Seringkali anak-anak masuk ke dalam kehidupan jalanan dikarenakan masalah di keluarga, seperti siksaan atau ditelantarkan, adalah salah satu faktor utama anak-anak memilih untuk masuk ke dalam kehidupan di jalanan.

Maka dari itu, saya mau memastikan bahwa dari proses wawancara ini akan meminimalisasikan ketidaknyamanan psikologi dan emosi seperti merasa direndahkan atau dipermalukan selama wawancara ini. Di dalam mengurangi resiko-resiko ini saya mau menyatakan:

Orang Yang Berpartisipasi Secara Sukarela: Partisipasi anda dalam pelajaran ini sepenuhnya adalah sukarela, yang artinya anda jangan merasa tertekan atau terpaksa dalam hal apa saja. Partisipasi anda haruslah pilihan anda sendiri tanpa ada pengaruh dari luar.

Pilihan Jawaban: Selama wawancara, anda mempunyai hak penuh dalam menjawab dan di dalam memilih untuk menjawab atau tidak. Jika dimana anda merasa tidak nyaman atau tidak suka di saat menjawab beberapa pertanyaan anda di minta untuk mengekspresikan kepada perwawancara dan kami akan mengakhiri pertanyaan dan melanjutkan ke pertanyaan lain tanpa harus ada penjelasan.

Memberhentikan Wawancara: Jika anda merasa tidak mau melanjutkan wawancara, anda harus mengekspresikannya dan wawancara akan di berhentikan tanpa harus ada penjelasan. Tidak akan ada konsekwensi dari pilihan anda dan juga anda tidak harus merasa tertekan atau merasa bersalah/malu.

Pada akhirnya, anda yang dapat memutuskan bagaimana anda mau berpartisipasi dalam pelajaraan ini.

Pertanyaan-Pertanyaan Wawancara
Wawancara ini terdiri dari 15 pertanyaan yang terbuka (yang ada di bawah) dibuat untuk mendukung penelitian dari siklus yang jelas atas kehidupan anak-anak yang hidup di jalanan, dari bagaimana anda memulai kehidupan di jalanan, hidup di jalanan, dan akhirnya keluar dari jalanan. Sekali lagi, pertanyaan-pertanyaan dan pelajaran ini dibuat untuk tidak menghakimi anda; dibuat untuk mencari pemahaman yang lebih baik. Juga, kita bebas dan bisa lebih fleksibel dalam wawancara ini dan tidak hanya mengikuti pertanyaan-pertanyaan (yang ada di bawah) jika anda mengetahui ada hal yang lain yang bisa di bicarakan.

Saya berharap dengan memberikan pertanyaan ini untuk di baca sebelum di wawancara akan menolong anda mendapatkan pemahaman yang lebih baik dari pelajaran dan untuk bisa memikirkan apa yang anda mau jawab dalam wawancara ini.

<div align="center">

Pertanyaan Untuk Wawancara

</div>

Pertanyaan-pertanyaan wawancara untuk anak-anak muda:

1. Bagaimana kamu bisa tinggal di jalanan?
2. Berapa lama kamu tinggal di jalanan?
3. Ceritakan rutinitas kamu sehari-hari di jalanan?
   a) Apa yang kamu paling suka di saat kamu berada di jalanan?
   b) Apa yang kamu paling tidak suka di saat kamu berada di jalanan?
4. Apa yang membuat kamu akhirnya meninggalkan kehidupan di jalanan?
5. Apakah kamu pernah mencoba meninggalkan kehidupan di jalan sebelumnya? Kalau pernah, apakah bedanya di saat kamu meninggalkan kehidupan di jalanan akhirnya?
6. Di saat kamu memutuskan untuk pergi dari jalanan, langkah-langkah apa saja yang kamu ambil?
   a) Bagaimana kamu mempersiapkan diri kamu secara emosional dan secara mental?
   b) Waktu itu siapa yang kamu minta tolong?
   c) Siapa atau apa sajakah yang menolong kamu melewati perubahan itu?
7. Harapan apa yang memberikan kamu ke kekuatan untuk melewati proses ini?

8. Bagaimana perasaan kamu, di saat kamu meninggalkan kehidupan di jalanan?
    a) Apa yang paling sulit di saat meninggalkan kehidupan di jalanan?
    b) Hal-hal positif apa saja yang ada, di saat meninggalkan kehidupan di jalanan?
9. Sudah berapa lama kamu tidak berada di jalanan?
10. Bagaimana kehidupan kamu sekarang di saat kamu menyadari bahwa kamu telah meninggalkan jalanan?
    a) Apa rutinitas kamu sekarang?
    b) Kalau kamu melihat kebelakang, apa pendapat kamu tentang pilihan kamu untuk meninggalkan kehidupan di jalanan?
11. Bagaimana kamu bisa berhenti di saat kamu ingin kembali ke jalanan?
12. Apa perbedaan kamu sekarang di bandingkan dengan di saat kamu di jalanan?
13. Apa harapan kamu untuk masa depan?
    a) Apa rencana kamu?
    b) Apa harapan and cita-cita kamu?
    c) Apa artinya hidup sukses menurut kamu?
14. Dari pengalaman kamu, cara-cara apa saja yang bisa di beritahukan kepada organisasi yang membantu anak-anak yang ingin meninggalkan kehidupan di jalanan?
15. Apakah ada pendapat lagi yang kamu bisa bagikan dari pengalaman kamu?

Appendix H
Confidentiality Agreement (For Translator)

University of Victoria | School of Child and Youth Care

Confidentiality Agreement
Transcription and/or Translation Services

I, _____, transcriptionist and/or translator, do hereby agree to maintain full confidentiality in regards to any and all audio-recordings, and oral or written documentation received from Brenden Bentley-Taylor related to his research study titled: *Youth Exiting Street Life in Indonesia: An Ethnographic Inquiry*.

Furthermore, I agree:

1. To hold in strictest confidence the identification of any individual who participates in the research study, and any individual that may be inadvertently revealed during the transcription of audio-recorded or live oral interviews, or in any associated documents;
2. To not disclose any information received for profit, gain, or otherwise;
3. To not make copies of any audio-recordings, or computerized files of the transcribed interview, texts, unless specifically requested to do so by Brenden Bentley-Taylor;
4. To store all study-related audio-recordings, and materials in a safe, secure location as long as they are in my possession;
5. To return all audio-recordings, and study-related documents to Brenden Bentley-Taylor in a complete and timely manner;
6. To delete all electronic files containing study-related documents from my computer hard drive and any backup devices.

Please provide the following contact information for the researcher and the transcriber/translator:

For Transcriber/Translator: For Researcher:

Address: _____   Address: _____

_____   _____

_____   _____

Telephone: _____   Telephone: _____

I am aware that I can be held legally liable for any breach of this confidentiality agreement, and for any harm incurred by individuals if I disclose identifiable information contained in the audio-recordings, and/or paper/electronic files to which I will have access.

Translator/Transcriber's Name: _____

Translator/Transcriber's Signature: _____

Date: _____

Appendix I
Interview Questions (Youth) – English Version

The following are interview questions for youth who have left the streets with varying forms of assistance from [the organization]:

1. How did you come to live on the street?
2. How long did you live on the street?
3. Describe a typical day on the street?
a) What did you enjoy about the streets?
b) What were the challenges of living on the streets?
4. What made you want to leave the street?
5. Had you attempted to leave before, and if so, what was different about this time?
6. Once you made up your mind to leave, what steps did you take?
a) How did you prepare yourself emotionally and psychologically?
b) Who did you ask for help?
c) Who (or what) supported you in this transition?
7. What gave you the faith and courage to undergo this process?
8. How did you feel about leaving your life on the street?
a) What was difficult about leaving the street?
b) What were the positives about leaving the street?
9. How long have you been off the street now?
10. How is your life different now that you have left the street?
a) What is a typical daily routine?
b) Looking back, what do you think about your choice to leave?
11. How do you manage to stop from returning to the street?
12. How have you changed as a person now compared to when you were on the street?
13. What do you hope for your future?
a) What are your plans?
b) What are your hopes and dreams?
c) What does a "successful life" look like to you?
14. Given your experience, what recommendations would you make to services that assist children and youth who want to leave a life on the street?
15. Is there anything else you would like to share about your experience?

Appendix J
Interview Questions (Youth) – Indonesian Version

Pertanyaan Untuk Wawancara (Anak-Anak Muda)

Pertanyaan-pertanyaan wawancara untuk anak-anak muda:

1. Bagaimana kamu bisa tinggal di jalanan?

2. Berapa lama kamu tinggal di jalanan?

3. Ceritakan rutinitas kamu sehari-hari di jalanan?

    a) Apa yang kamu paling suka di saat kamu berada di jalanan?

    b) Apa yang kamu paling tidak suka di saat kamu berada di jalanan?

4. Apa yang membuat kamu akhirnya meninggalkan kehidupan di jalanan?

5. Apakah kamu pernah mencoba meninggalkan kehidupan di jalan sebelumnya? Kalau pernah, apakah bedanya di saat kamu meninggalkan kehidupan di jalanan akhirnya?

6. Di saat kamu memutuskan untuk pergi dari jalanan, langkah-langkah apa saja yang kamu ambil?

    a) Bagaimana kamu mempersiapkan diri kamu secara emosional dan secara mental?

    b) Waktu itu siapa yang kamu minta tolong?

    c) Siapa atau apa sajakah yang menolong kamu melewati perubahan itu?

7. Harapan apa yang memberikan kamu ke kekuatan untuk melewati proses ini?

8. Bagaimana perasaan kamu, di saat kamu meninggalkan kehidupan di jalanan?

    a) Apa yang paling sulit di saat meninggalkan kehidupan di jalanan?

    b) Hal-hal positif apa saja yang ada, di saat meninggalkan kehidupan di jalanan?

9. Sudah berapa lama kamu tidak berada di jalanan?

10. Bagaimana kehidupan kamu sekarang di saat kamu menyadari bahwa kamu telah meninggalkan jalanan?

    a) Apa rutinitas kamu sekarang?

    b) Kalau kamu melihat kebelakang, apa pendapat kamu tentang pilihan kamu untuk meninggalkan kehidupan di jalanan?

11. Bagaimana kamu bisa berhenti di saat kamu ingin kembali ke jalanan?

12. Apa perbedaan kamu sekarang di bandingkan dengan di saat kamu di jalanan?

13. Apa harapan kamu untuk masa depan?

    a) Apa rencana kamu?

    b) Apa harapan and cita-cita kamu?

    c) Apa artinya hidup sukses menurut kamu?

14. Dari pengalaman kamu, cara-cara apa saja yang bisa di beritahukan kepada organisasi yang membantu anak-anak yang ingin meninggalkan kehidupan di jalanan?

15. Apakah ada pendapat lagi yang kamu bisa bagikan dari pengalaman kamu?

Appendix K
Interview Questions (Staff) – English Version

Research Questions (Staff)

The following are interview questions for the youth workers at [the organization] who have worked closely with street exiting processes of children and youth:

1. What is your role with regard to working with street children and youth?
2. What are the factors that lead children and youth to a life on the street?
3. What are the typical behaviours of street youth?
4. From your experience, why do street-involved youth choose to leave the streets?
5. What do you notice about how youth leave the streets?
    a) What steps do they take?
    b) What psychological and emotional processes do they go through?
6. What is challenging about leaving the street?
7. How do you approach street-involved children and youth who want to leave the street?
    a) Is there one approach that you believe youth respond better to than others?
    b) How does length of time spent living on the street factor into street disengagement?
8. What are the most helpful factors/supports for youth in the early and latter stages of exiting the street?
9. What changes do you notice in the children or youth who have "successfully" exited street life?
10. What are the factors involved in youth reengaging with street life?
11. What do you think needs to change with training, services, or policy to help children who wish to leave the streets?
    a) What supports do you think are most helpful?
    b) What supports are least helpful?
12. Is there anything else you would like to share about your experience?

Appendix L
Interview Questions (Staff) – Indonesian Version

Pertanyaan Untuk Wawancara (Staff)

Pertanyaan-pertanyaan wawancara yang diberikan untuk anak-anak muda yang bekerja di [organisasi ini]:

1. Pekerjaan apakah yang kamu lakukan untuk membantu anak-anak yang hidup di jalanan di [organisasi ini]?

2. Hal-hal apa saja yang membuat anak-anak hidup di jalanan?

3. Apakah ciri-ciri tingkah laku anak-anak yang hidup di jalanan?

4. Dari pengalaman kamu, kenapa anak-anak memilih untuk meninggalkan hidup di jalanan?

5. Bagaimana cara kamu menilai tentang anak-anak yang mau meninggalkan hidup di jalanan?

    a) Langkah-langkah apa sajakah yang mereka ambil?

    b) Proses mental dan emosional yang bagaimanakah yang mereka melalui?

6. Hal apakah yang paling sulit untuk meninggalkan kehidupan di jalanan?

7. Langkah pertama apakah yang kamu ambil untuk menolong anak-anak yang mau meninggalkan kehidupan di jalanan?

    a) Menurut kamu, adakah cara yang paling baik yang di sukai anak-anak jalanan di bandingkan dengan cara-cara lain?

    b) Menurut kamu, apakah semakin lama anak-anak tinggal di jalanan apakah semakin susah untuk meninggalkan kehidupan di jalanan?

8. Hal-hal apa sajakah yang paling membantu anak-anak untuk keluar dari jalanan, baik anak-anak yang baru atau sudah lama hidup di jalanan?

9. Perubahan-perubahan apa sajakah, menurut kamu, yang kelihatan bahwa, anak-anak sudah sukses keluar dari kehidupan di jalanan?

10. Hal-hal apa sajakah yang membuat anak-anak kembali hidup di jalanan?

11. Menurut kamu, apakah yang perlu di rubah dari pelayanan, training, atau peraturan-peraturan untuk menolong anak-anak yang ingin meninggalkan kehidupan di jalanan?

    a) Bantuan-bantuan apakah menurut kamu yang paling menolong?

    b) Bantuan-bantuan apakah yang sedikit menolong?

12. Apakah ada pendapat lagi yang kamu bisa bagikan dari pengalaman kamu?