Université Babes- Bolyai, (Cluj Napoca, Roumanie)

IPDSR, Université Cheikh Anta Diop (Dakar, Sénégal)

Université Charles De Gaulle - Lille 3, (Lille, France)

UFR LLCE : Langues, Littératures et Civilisation Etrangère

An Exploration of the Influences on the Self Concept of Street Children

The Case of the Talibé in Dakar

MASTER 2 : ERASMUS MUNDUS MITRA

MEDIATION INTERCULTURELLE : IDENTITES, MOBILITES ET CONFLITS

Présenté par :

Amy Stapleton

June 2014

Jury :

Directeurs de Recherche:

Dr. Fiona McCann

Dr. Pape Sakho

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Declaration

The author hereby declares that, except where duly acknowledged, this thesis is entirely her own work and has not been submitted for any degree in University Charles De Gaulle - Lille 3, University Babes - Bolyai, University Cheikh Anta Diop or in any other University in France, Romania or Senegal.

Signature

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This dissertation is the result of the most exciting, challenging and interesting two years of my life to date. It is a project that reflects not just my work but involves a range of people from various walks in life and all over the world. Firstly, it is essential that I thank my supervisors, Fiona McCann and Papa Sakho, who have guided me since the early stages of my research, giving me invaluable input and having great patience throughout the development of my research. I would like to thank all the MITRA team, partners and associated staff members who have been a huge support, and have facilitated my academic development, making this experience possible. In this regard, I would like to particularly thank Norah Giraldi Dei Cas, Patrice Canivez, Isabelle Surun, Marion Demay, Michael Markey, Marie Pascale, Sabine Dullin, Sergiu Miscoiu, Rosalie Diop, Abdoulaye Tall and Papa Demba Fall.

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Abstract

Street children are a significant vulnerable group in the world. UNICEF (2005) state that it is impossible to quantify the total number of street children in the world, with an estimated tens of millions. Ennew and Swart-Kruger (2003) describe how paradigms in both the understanding and in the definitions of street children are currently shifting. There is a new recognition that there is not a typical street child and that children are not just victims or problems. They are interacting with a variety of environments where the child themselves actively construct their own worlds. Using Grounded Theory approaches, this study seeks to gain a greater understanding into the world of the poorly understood group in West Africa, the Talibé street children. A two stage participative methodology was used in order to allow theory develop out of the context. The aim of this study is to explore the influences on the self concept of Talibé street children in Dakar, Senegal.

Keywords: self concept, Talibé, street children, participatory methods, Grounded Theory.

Résumé

Les enfants des rues sont un groupe vulnérable. UNICEF (2005) explique qu'il n'est pas possible de calculer le numéro global d'enfants des rues dans le monde. Selon Ennew et Swart- Kruger (2003), l'altération des paradigmes relatifs à la définition et la compréhension est en cours. On reconnaît peu a peu qu'il n'y aurait pas un « prototype » de l'enfant des rues. En outre, celui-ci ne serait pas simplement une victime ou un problème mais un individu qui interagit avec divers environnements à partir duquel il construit son propre monde. Adoptant une approche de la Grounded Theory, cette étude cherche à comprendre le monde d'un groupe mal-compris en Afrique de l'Ouest : les enfants Talibés des rues. Nous avons utilisé une méthodologie en deux étapes afin de permettre le développement de la théorie à partir du contexte. L'objectif de cette étude est d'explorer les différentes influences sur le concept de soi des enfants Talibés des rue.

Mots clé: concept du soi, Talibé, enfants de la rue, méthodologie participative, Grounded Theory.

Section 1:
Introduction and Context

Figure 1. Local Children Playing in a Neighbourhood in Dakar[1]

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[1] All images were used following the guidelines of the CONCORD Code of Conduct on Images and Messages in order to ensure no breach of ethics. CONCORD is a European NGO Confederation for relief and development. The guidelines followed included *'to truthfully represent any image or depicted situation both in its immediate and in its wider context so as to improve public understanding of the realities and complexities of development; avoid images and messages that potentially stereotype, sensationalise or discriminate against people, situations or places; use images, messages and case studies with the full understanding, participation and permission (or subjects' parents/guardian) of the subjects; ensure those whose situation is being represented have the opportunity to communicate their stories themselves; establish and record whether the subjects wish to be named or identifiable and always act accordingly; conform to the highest standards in relation to human rights and protection of the vulnerable people.'* (CONCORD, 2006).

1.1. Introduction

The phenomenon of street children has become a focal point of the media and in academic research in recent years. It is a continuing issue and has been accepted by the international community as a serious global problem. A large amount of research has been done related to street children, however, research related to the identity and self concept[2] of street children has been relatively neglected. Hawk (1967) describes that it is very difficult for someone who has not been disadvantaged himself to see the world in the eyes of a disadvantaged child as they do not come from the same context or background. Therefore, in order to understand the lives of street children it was vital that, instead of imposing theory, a methodology which allows the children to speak about their lives was used.

Ennew and Swart-Kruger (2003) describe how paradigms in both the understanding and in the definitions of street children are currently shifting with the recognition that there is not a typical street child. The new opinion is that children are not just victims or problems but rather that they are interacting with a variety of environments where the children have the power to actively construct their own worlds. For this study, the voices of this poorly understood group in West Africa, the Talibé street children, were explored. Broadly following the structure of Ovaska (2005) and Kealy (2012), an initial set of concepts were generated from a preliminary review of the literature. As this was specifically an exploration of the voices of a largely unheard vulnerable population a deep review of literature was avoided as it may have prejudiced the data gathered. Using Grounded Theory, this body of research investigated the self concept of Talibé street children[3] in the West African Country, Senegal and concluded with recommendations on how to improve the situation for these children.

1.1.1. Justification of Study

Many authors believe that the self is the starting point when studying human behaviour as it is not possible for an individual to behave independently from the way in which he thinks about himself (Hawk, 1967). There are various studies which relate self concept to school achievement, delinquency, physical maturities and different socio-economic and ethnic backgrounds (Long, Ziller and Henderson, 1968). The behaviour and identity of vulnerable and disadvantaged groups have been examined in various studies. A limited number of

---

[2] Self concept is defined by many authors, including Bem and Allen 1974; Butterworth 1992; Wakslak, *et al.* 2008, as set of self-identities and self-schemas that, together, form the person we perceive ourselves to be.
[3] In Senegalese society, Talibé children are children who attend a Quranic school (a *daara*) which is run by a religious leader (*Marabout).* For the purpose of this study Talibé street children will be any children who are in a daara or were in a *daara* for a period of time but now find themselves on the street.

studies have investigated the influence and importance of the self in relation to these groups, for instance, investigating children from ethnic minorities.

A large number of studies exist on street children, most of which focus on different areas of their lives (such as Payne (2004), WHO (n.d.), Campos, *et al.* (1994)). There are also various NGOs working with street children, at every level, across the globe which aim to find solutions to the problems faced by these children. Although there are a few studies conducted which examine the identities and behaviours of street children, little research can be found regarding the self of street children, and even less is found related to the self concept of street children. Could a focus on the self not assist in gaining a deeper understanding into the lives of street children as well as how they see themselves? How are policy and projects developed to deal with issues faced by street children without an understanding of, what many would argue, the most fundamental feature of a person; the self?

Behaviour is described as being directly related a person's perception of his own self, which is developed in his environment (Hawk, 1967). Therefore, gaining an insight into the self of a street child would assist in understanding why the child acts a certain way on the street, and the differences in this behaviour across different contexts. Furthermore, children develop their self concept by comparing themselves to those around them (Hawk, 1967). This means that an investigation into the self of street children would also give an insight in to the actors who influence the self of the child. Developing an understanding of this could assist in improving the effectiveness of interventions and in the construction of holistic interventions.

Research with children is delicate due to adult perceptions and the fact that children are different to adults, as well as due to their marginal position in a society of adults. Research with street children is particularly delicate as these children are in an even more marginalised position in society, vulnerable to many risks with many having experienced traumatic situations. Therefore, various issues had to be considered for this study. The context of each child was considered. Although street children tend to be categorised into the same labels, each child is an individual with a unique history, story and self. It was vital that the children had the opportunity to share their a voice instead of implementing a specific theory and methodology coming from an outside perspective. In this respect, a substantially broad study was carried out in order to incorporate the child's context; initially in the context of their country, Senegal, and secondly in their specific context.

Talibé street children in Dakar, Senegal were chosen as the situation that they are in and

issues that they face are continuously debated at a national and international scale. There are differing views on how to resolve these issues, particularly concerning the welfare of these children. As well as this, Talibé children count for the vast majority of street children in Dakar (according to UNICEF (2007) Talibé children count for 90% of the beggar children in Dakar) and thus, by beginning to understand this group and who these children are, a deeper insight may be gained into the issues faced by this group and effective solutions may be possible in the future. This study aimed to give these children a voice and express their point of view regarding what influences their wellbeing and their own self.

1.1.2. Aims and Objectives

This study was conducted in two stages as it was feared that working directly with the target group, the Talibé street children, may have led to ethical misconduct. This concern arose from the fact that there was only a few studies found in the area of street children and identity, fewer found in the area of self concept and street children, and evidently even fewer again found regarding appropriate instruments to use when exploring street children's self concept. The study was structured in two main stages following a similar structure to Moreno Murcia (2007). This is illustrated in Figure 2:

Figure 2. Dissertation Plan
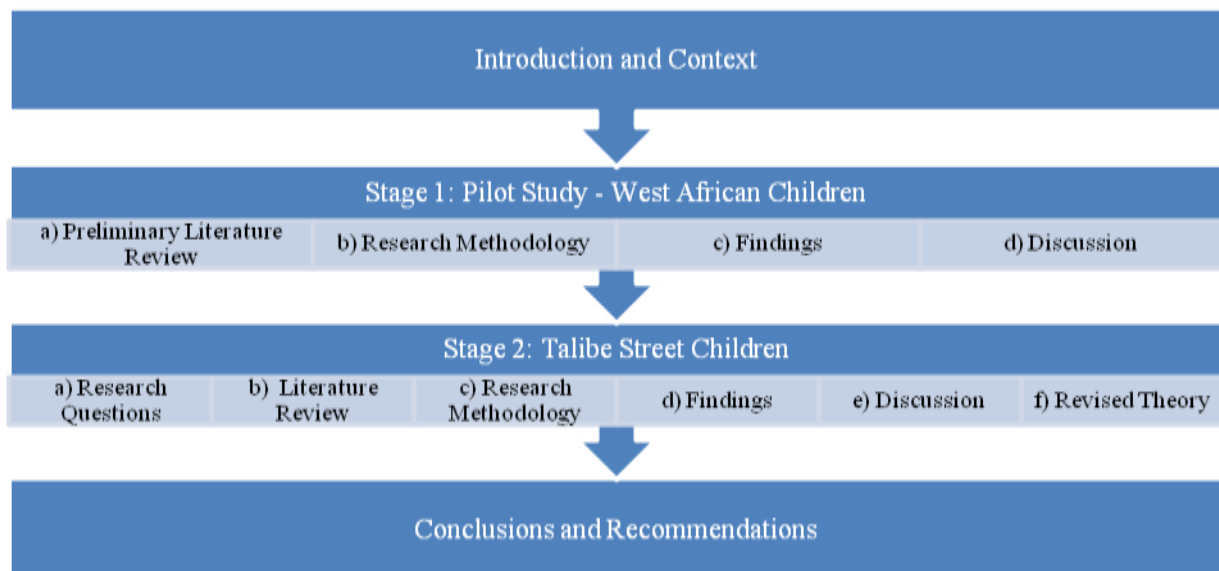
The two stages began with Stage 1: A Pilot Study of West African Children in Dakar, in which self concept was explored in a group of West African school children who were not vulnerable to the same risks as Talibé street children. Then Stage 2 with a new target group, the Talibé street children. In this stage, the interviews were developed using instruments refined during Stage 1 and key concepts found as a result of Stage 1. The study's overall

objectives concerned the results from Stage 2 of the study which was the principle motivation of the research. However, Stage 1 of the research had its own set of preliminary research questions which guided this section (Stage 1) of the study.

For the purpose of this study a child was taken to be any person under the age of 18 as described in the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) (OHCHR, 1990).

The following is the general overall research objective and the more specific objectives of this study:

General Research Objective

➤ Explore the influences on the self concept of Talibé street children in Dakar

Specific Research Objectives

1. Identify the key factors influencing the self concept of Talibé street children in Dakar
   a. Determine the actors influencing the self concept of Talibé children in Dakar

1.1.3. Preliminary Research Questions

Stage 1 of the research was conducted with a sample consisting of children in the mainstream education system in Senegal. These children came from both Senegal and West Africa. The Talibé street children were not used in the first stage of the study for two reasons. Firstly, as the Talibé street children are a vulnerable population, developing the majority of the methodological instruments using only them may have been in breach of ethics and the ethical code developed (See Section 5, Annex). However, by using a pilot sample of children from mainstream education, these children would not be as exposed to risks as the Talibé street children may have been. Secondly, although there were methods for conducting analysis of self concept in children, the majority of these tools come from a Western point of view and they do not take into account the context of this study. In addition, these tools focus on gathering quantitative data rather than qualitative data so therefore, would not have been appropriate for this study. Qualitative data was collected because there was a lack of studies found investigating the voice of the child, particularly street children, and a lack of research which allowed them to actively participate. Due to these considerations, the development of tools with a separate target group, children living in Dakar, Senegal who have both a West African origin or a Senegalese origin, was deemed more appropriate. These children could

voice their opinions openly regarding the study without the risks of ethical misconduct faced by beginning directly with vulnerable children.

As a result for Stage 1, the below preliminary research questions were used:

> RQ1. Is the self concept influenced by different factors in West African children in Dakar?
>
> RQ2. If the self concept is influenced by different factors, what are these factors?
>
> > RQ2. a) In Dakar, who do West African children identify as actors in their lives?

1.2. Context

1.2.1. Definition of a Street Child

The definitions and concept of street children are said to have dated back as far as the 1950s. However, the first published research on street children was in 1986 and the phenomenon of street children only became of interest to the scientific community during the late eighties (Ratele and Duncan, 2003). Currently, there is a number of differing opinions on what defines a 'street child'. The term 'street child' can be problematic, associated with negative connotations, further stigmatising the child (UNICEF, 2005). However, the term is also embraced by children, giving them a sense of identity and belonging to a group of children in a similar situation (UNICEF, 2005).

Some definitions are broad and others are more precise. For instance, Chetty (1997) defines street children as those who have abandoned or who have been abandoned by their families, schools and close communities before the age of eighteen and who are now living in a nomadic fashion on the street. Alianza (2000) distinguishes street children with two terms: firstly, 'market children' who work on the streets and markets of cities selling or begging but live with their families. The second term used by Alianza is 'homeless street children' who work, live and sleep on the streets, often with little contact with their families. On the other hand, Payne (2004) describes the definition a street child as including any youth and children for whom the street plays the main role in their lives and who, even if the child lives with a parent, guardian, relative or friend and works on the street all day, *'does not bring that sleeping place to the street, he brings the street to that sleeping place.'* (Shanahan (2003) (cited in Payne (2004), p. 17).

There is a wide acceptance that there are two categories of street children, as introduced by Ennew, the 'children *of* the street' and 'children *on* the street' (Ratele and Duncan, 2003). Ratele and Duncan (2003) describe the accepted definition of these two categories where 'children *of* the street' are children who have abandoned their families, communities, schools and homes for a nomadic life on the streets before the age of 16. The other category, 'children *on* the street', are those who go to urban areas to earn money and return home. These children are attached to or connected with their families. Unfortunately, there are issues with these distinctions as, for example, 'children of the streets' may permanently live on the street or live on the streets for periods of time but in both cases continue to maintain some contact with their families, hence contradicting this definition. As a result, the ideology of 'part time' and 'full time' street children was introduced where sleeping on the streets was no longer a categorizing factor but rather a street child was defined in relation to the amount of time spent on the streets (Ratele and Duncan, 2003). In this definition, 'children of the streets' are children who are full-time on the streets and 'children on the streets' are children who are part-time on the streets.

Organisations such as World Health Organisation (WHO) and USAID incorporated these differentiations of street children and define street children in the following categories:

1) A 'Child of the Streets': Children who have no home except that on the streets, and have no family support. They move often, living in shelters and abandoned buildings.

2) A 'Child on the street': Children who visit their families and may even return each night to sleep at home, but these children spend most days and some nights on the street as a result of poverty, overcrowding, sexual or physical abuse at home.

3) Part of a Street Family: Children who live on sidewalks or city squares with their families. They may be displaced because of poverty, wars, or natural disasters. The families tend to live a nomadic life, carrying their possessions with them. Children in this case may work on the streets with other members of their families.

4) A Child in Institutionalized Care: Children who are currently in institutionalised care and come from a situation of homelessness. They are at risk of returning to the streets (CYC-Online, 2004) (WHO, n.d.).

For this study a broad definition was used in order to be as inclusive as possible. This definition is found in Schurink (1993, p.5), originally developed by the 1983 Inter-NGO program on street children and street youth:

"Any boy or girl who has not reached adulthood for whom the street (in the widest sense of the word, including unoccupied dwellings, wasteland, etc.) has become her or his habitual abode and/or sources of livelihood and who is inadequately protected, supervised or directed by responsible adults."

1.2.2. Global Situation for Children

Today, at a global scale, it is evident that there are a huge number of issues facing children. Children account for 38% of the worlds' population under the age of 18 years and approximately half of the populations of Least Developing Countries (LDCs) (UNICEF, 2005). Alianza (2000) estimates that, globally, there are approximately 600 million children are living in poverty and an estimated 130 million children of primary school age not in school.

UNICEF (2005) states that it is impossible to quantify the total number of street children in the world today but that it is likely to be tens of millions. In 2003, they estimated that there are approximately 100 million children living in the streets in the world today (CYC-Online, 2004) (Bellamy, 2003). In 1998, UNICEF estimated that there are 10 million street children in Africa alone (Alianza, 2000). In Morocco, there is an estimated 30 to 50,000 children on the streets and in Kinshasa in the Demographic Republic of Congo, there is an estimated 14,000 children on the streets (Pincent, *et al.*, 2011). Samusocial Mali also claim to have identified close to 2000 street children in Bamako, the country's capital, and have seen an average of 100 new children arriving on the streets annually (Pincent, *et al.*, 2011). Most research indicates that the majority of street children are boys and that most of the services are focused at boys (Campos, *et al.*, 1994).

The UNICEF 2005 report, *The State of the World's Children*, stated that 6 out of 10 urban dwellers are expected to be under 18 years old and, in correlation with the increasing urbanisation of states, the number of street children is likely to be rising.

The age and profile of these children depends largely on their location. The World Health Organisation explains that in developing countries children as young as eight live alone, with girls making up 30% of children living in the street (WHO, n.d). However, the organisation found that in developed countries girls count for 50% of the population of street children. Reasons attributed to gender disparity among street children in developing countries include decreased visibility, the girl disguising herself as a boy for safety reasons, authorities picking

up the girls on the street faster than boys and child marriages where the girl is married off to another family at a young age (WHO, n.d.).

1.2.3. Difficulties facing Street Children

Children find themselves on the streets for various reasons including poverty, family issues and breakdown, neglect and abuse (LLC, 2001). Johnson, *et al.* (2005) links these issues to vulnerability, defining vulnerable people as people living in extreme or difficult situations without safety nets and with limited options. Johnson, *et al.* further outlines a variety of reasons at various levels which can leave children vulnerable: structural (for instance, development shocks, regional inequalities), societal (cultural expectations, chronic impoverishment) and familial (abuse or neglect, domestic violence). The reasons in which the children go to the street are complex. The WHO compiled the following as the main reasons: to earn money for themselves and their families, to find shelter, to escape family problems or work demands at home and to escape from child institutions (WHO, n.d.).

Children living on the streets are particularly vulnerable to victimization, exploitation, and the abuse of their civil and economic rights. When children are on the streets they face problems at a social, physical and psychological scale. At a social level this can include discrimination, stigmatisation, poverty, illiteracy and violence. Physical issues include a lack of proper nutrition, sexual and reproductive problems, diseases and injuries and psychological problems can include stress, isolation, loneliness, substance abuse, mental health problems and issues at an emotional scale resulting in relationship and interpersonal difficulties (WHO, n.d.).

This begs the question, how do children survive on the streets? Street children prove to be extremely resourceful and develop a number of survival strategies in order to survive life on the streets. Many, first of all, have huge personal strength which enables them to cope with the difficult situations; the peer group, exploiters, group dynamics and pure chance are also factors in the survival of street children (WHO, n.d.). Payne (2004) conducted study of street girls in Accra, Ghana describing the survival strategies of young girls who have found themselves on the streets of Accra. Payne found that the girls carve out niches for themselves where the notion of 'space' becomes a method of identity construction, allowing the girls to develop a collective identity and encouraging a feeling of belonging. This notion of space also was found to promote the development of individual identities which are related to occupation of other spaces, for example, in work they are serious and responsible, whereas in

a television room (entertainment space) they are relaxed. The survival strategies of street children are found in the daily norms, values and practices which are influenced by the relationships that they have (Payne, 2004). These wider support networks and relationships can include street children, wider families, church and organisations (Payne, 2004).

1.2.4. Senegal

Country Background

Senegal is a coastal country on the most Western point of Africa with a population of approximately 13.7 million people (Bank, 2013). Figure 3 illustrates Senegal's neighbouring countries which include Mauritania, Mali, Guinea, Guinea Bissau and Gambia.

Figure 3. Map of Senegal and Neighbouring Countries (CIA, 2004)

When Senegal gained independence from France in 1960 the country was divided into fourteen regions with over twenty different ethnicities making up the population. The population consists of the following ethnic groups: Wolof 43.4%, Pular 23.8%, Serer 14.7%, Jola 3.7%, Mandinka 3%, Soninke 1.1%, European and Lebanese 1%, other 9.4% and languages include French (official), Wolof, Pulaar, Jola and Mandinka (CIA, 2014). 94% of the Senegalese population are Muslim and 5% are Christian (CIA, 2014). The Wolof are politically and culturally dominant in Senegal and are found in all major cities but are mostly rural farmers cultivating crops such as millet and cassava (Levinson, 1998). The Wolof are

predominantly Muslim. The second ethnic group, the Fulani (Pular, or *Peul* in French[4]), are Muslim pastoral nomads who are found across West Africa (Levinson, 1998).

The country is placed 155th out of 187 on the Human Development Index (HDI) but according to the World Bank, Senegal is one of the most stable countries in Africa with its political democratic system continually strengthening (Bank, 2013). The capital of Senegal is Dakar with an estimated population of 3 million people (UNDATA, 2013). In accordance with 2012 UNDATA statistics, youth count for a large percentage of the population (43%) is aged between 0 and 14 years old and 42.8% of the population live in urban areas with an average annual urban growth rate of 3.3% (UNDATA, 2013).

Poverty continues to be an issue in Senegal only dropping from 48.3% to 46.7% between 2005 and 2011 with 15% of the Senegalese population living in extreme poverty and with a widening poverty gap between Dakar and rural areas (26.1% to 57.1%) (Bank, 2013). 49.7% of the population are literate with a school life expectancy of 8 years (CIA, 2014). Secondary school enrolment is low among Senegalese children with only 13% of girls and 14% of boys enrolled (Epri.org, 2011). Child labour is said to be at approximately 22%, with over 657,000 children aged between 5 and 14 involved in child labour activities (CIA, 2014). UNICEF estimates that 37% of children between 5 and 14 years old are forced to work in Senegal (Epri.org, 2011). As well as this, youth (15-24 years) unemployment is 14.8% with a greater number of females facing youth unemployment in comparison to males (CIA, 2014).

Social Perceptions of Children in Senegal

Sarr (2001) describes traditional Senegalese society where children are firstly seen as a gift from God with a boy carrying the family name and secondly as security for their parents in their old age. Sarr discusses the strong notion of the extended family, with, for example, an orphaned child taken in by another family. The Save the Children Suède 2001 report found how children stay close to their mother until they are 6 years old, and then from seven upwards they start life learning where the boy follows his father to the fields and the girl works with her mother in the home. Sarr (2001) describes that at 12 years old the girl prepares for marriage and the boy begins school, whether it is learning a trade or going to a Quranic school.

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[4] For the duration of this study the Fula people were referred to as *Peul*. This was because the study was conducted in the context of Senegal and in this context, this ethnic group is referred to as *Peul*.

In certain Senegalese societies, the traditional cultural beliefs are extremely strong and sometimes can negatively impact the protection of the child. For example, a 'good spell' may be cast over the child where the parents believe that the child cannot be harmed or if the mother is a good wife to her husband, nothing bad will happen to her child (Sarr, 2001). Also within a deeply religious culture, parents may believe that whatever happens to the child is his destiny, and there is nothing that you can do to change it. Therefore, sometimes this can leave the child unprotected and, in the case of Talibé children, the parents unaware of the possible dangers their child maybe facing within these Quranic schools (*daaras*)[5] and when begging on the streets (Sarr, 2001).

Talibé Children

Talibé children are children who attend a *daara*, in order to learn the teachings of the Quran. These *daaras* are run by a religious figure called a *Marabout*. Talibé children are found in West African countries including Senegal, Guinea Bissau, Guinea Conakry, Mali and Gambia (Baldé, 2010). The word Talibé in the Wolof language means 'disciple' (Baldé, 2010). In the study by Ware (2004, p.516), a former Talibé student describes the existence of a Talibé child:

'The real 'Talibés' [students, disciples], they live with the serigne... Their parents, usually poor, confided them to the holy man, the Marabout, convinced that their education would thereafter be in good hands. The serigne requires from them no remuneration. But they must cultivate his fields, procure wood for him, and do all the domestic chores to the functioning of the household. A painful existence, that of the "Talibé." '

Talibé children are found in both rural and urban areas with the children's main activities involving working and praying during the day. Ware (2004) describes that the economic functioning (work and/or begging) of these Quranic schools (Wolof, *daaras*) always rested on the shoulders of the Talibés. An account by Cheikh Niang in Ware (2004, p.525), explains the standard traditional daily life of a rural Talibé child:

'We learned the Qu'ran three times a day: during the day, at dusk and also at four o'clock in the morning. During the rainy season we farmed; during the dry season we went to the bush to gather stalks of millet and hay. We [also] went to gather dead wood to light the fire by the light of which we could read the Qu'ran.'

---

[5] The Wolof word *daara* is derived from Arabic '*dar*' meaning house. The full phrase is *'dar al-Qur'an'* meaning house of the Qur'an (Ware, 2004).

In an urban setting, the Talibés beg for food and money rather than hard labour. These alms are given to the *Marabout* in return for his care (Baldé, 2010). The notion of a Talibé child having to work was introduced with the goal of teaching the child, with work seen as a fundamental life value (Sarr, 2001). The 2007 UNICEF report, *Enfants Mendiants dans la région de Dakar*, found that 98% of Talibé children in Dakar state that their Quranic master (*Marabout*) sends them to beg with all the alms collected destined for this master (on average 400 CFA[6] per day). Some authors make a distinction between urban and rural Talibés, as the day to day lives differ with the urban Talibé children facing hardships relating to child begging on the streets and are exposed to different issues to the rural Talibés who are facing hard child labour. In both cases socially these children are seen as Talibé children (Baldé, 2010).

Ware (2004) mentions the views of Islamic reformists concerning how the economic base of the *daaras* has changed, going from a historically agricultural focus to begging. The *Marabouts* used to go to the fields to teach their students and cultivate the fields during the rainy season in order to earn a living. However, now these *Marabouts* are bringing the children to the streets to beg, harassing the students to get money, threatening them with physical punishment if they do not bring enough. This means that if necessary the child may even steal to get the money (Ware, 2004). These reformists believe that the 'good old days' of the *daara* are over.

Talibé Children in Dakar

UNICEF (2007) found that there are approximately 7600 child beggars in Dakar, and of these, 90% are Talibés. Evidence in the report found the average age of child beggars as 15 and the children as living in extreme poverty[7]. The same report also states that 95% of these children come from outside the region of Dakar or from neighbouring countries, notably Guinea Bissau, Guinea Conakry, Mali and Gambia with the 30% of the Talibé children from Guinea Bissau. Baldé (2010) states that although it is difficult to find exact numbers on origins of Talibé children in Senegal, approximately 60% are Senegalese, particularly from Kolda, Kaolack and Diorbel and the other 40% are from neighbouring countries. A similar

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[6] CFA is the West African CFA franc, the Senegalese currency, and 400CFA is worth approximately €0.61 or $0.85 (using March 2014 exchange rates)
[7] Extreme poverty means an average daily consumption of $1.25 or less. Those living in extreme poverty are barely living at subsistence level.

study by Baldé (2010) also agrees with UNICEF (2007), finding that the majority of non-Senegalese Talibés are from Guinea Bissau. The majority of child beggars in Dakar are of the ethnicity *Peul* (66%) and Wolof (25%). The *Peul* Talibé children in Dakar account for the greatest proportion of *Peul* beggar children in Dakar (64%) (UNICEF, 2007).

Linkages between Street Children and Talibé Children

As found in the UNICEF "*Enfants Mendiants dans la région de Dakar*" 2007 report, 91% of beggar children describe themselves as frequenting *daaras*. These Talibé children spend a large proportion of their day on the streets and are suceptible to the dangers and risks of the street exposure, such as poor health and nutrition. As described in Section 1.2.1, the definition of a street child taken for this study is:

"Any boy or girl who has not reached adulthood for whom the street (in the widest sense of the word, including unoccupied dwellings, wasteland, etc.) has become her or his habitual abode and/or sources of livelihood and who is inadequately protected, supervised or directed by responsible adults" (Schurink,1993, p.5).

Therefore although virtually all Talibé children live with their *Marabout* (UNICEF, 2007), the Talibé children in Dakar are spending a large amount of their lives in the street environment, begging and socialising with other non-Talibé beggar children who are living on the streets, and exposed to the risks faced by non-Talibé street children. Their main source of livelihood, and even though given to the *Marabout*, is also gained from the streets. Thus according to the above definition of street child, for this study, urban Talibé children currently in a *daara* or Talibé children who were previously in a *daara* but now find himself on the streets, were considered as street children.

1.3. Conclusion

In this section, the structure, the overall research objectives as well as preliminary research questions for Stage 1 of the research were introduced. The issues faced regarding appropriate definitions of street children and the current context of children, both globally and in Senegal, were described. Finally, there was a description of who Talibé children are and what their lives consists of, both traditionally and at present, in a rural and urban context, as well as a demonstration of the linkages between Talibé children and the street.

Section 2:
Stage 1. Pilot Study with West African Children in Dakar

Figure. 4. Local Children in the Guele Tapée Neighbourhood, Dakar, Senegal[8]

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[8] This image illustrates local children in the Guele Tapée neighbourhood in Dakar. The children and their guardians gave their informed consent when this image was taken and for the use of this image in this study. This image was used in order for the reader to gain a small insight into the daily life of these children and was NOT intended to sensationalise or prejudice these children. None of the children identifiable in this image were participants in interviews. The CONCORD (2006) code of conduct on images and messages was followed in regards to all images taken and used for this study.

2.1. Stage 1 Introduction

In Grounded Theory a number of stages are used to conduct research. Interviews with five West African Children attending mainstream school in Dakar, Senegal were used for Stage 1 of this study. The main purpose of Stage 1 was to investigate if the self concept is influenced by different factors in the context of children in Senegal. This allowed both the contextualisation and effective development of the methodological instruments, such as the analysis tools and interview guides for the second sample, the Talibé street children, in Stage 2 of the research. Figure 5 illustrates the structure adopted for Stage 1. This first stage involved the following preliminary research questions in order to derive preliminary concepts:

RQ1. Is the self concept influenced by different factors in West African children in Dakar?

RQ2. If the self concept is influenced by different factors, what are these factors?

RQ2. a) In Dakar who do West African children identify as actors in their lives?

Figure 5. Structure of Stage 1: Pilot Study with West African Children in Dakar

Stage 1:
Pilot Study -
West African
Children

- a) Preliminary Literature Review
- b) Research Methodology
- c) Findings
- d) Discussion

2.2. Stage 1 Preliminary Literature Review

The key concepts found in the preliminary review of literature were detailed in this chapter. Firstly, the theories regarding self concept were outlined and then self concept analysis tools were briefly investigated. This assisted in the understanding and theorising the subject as well as in the development of appropriate data collection tools and analysis methods.

2.2.1. Self Concept

Various authors such as Blyth and Traeger (1983) and Zirkel and Moses (1971) highlighted that since the late 1940s there has been a vast and 'bewildering array' of theories, instruments, research designs, definitions and hypotheses examining self-concept with variables such as achievement, IQ, ethnic group membership and socio-economic status. Various schools of thought and behavioural academics believe not only that in spite of limitations surrounding the concept of self concept which include the vast range of different ideologies and tools proposed, questionable external validity and strong demand characteristics of the experimental situations employed, self concept is an extremely useful and necessary explanatory tool. Self theorists (phenomenologists) believe that it is the most important concept in all of psychology as it is the only perspective available to understand behaviour of individuals (Epstein, 1973). In this phenomenological view the self is the central characteristic in behaviour, learning and education (Hawk, 1967). Before discussing the various definitions of self concept it was important to distinguish between the self and self concept. Gecas (1982, p.3) describes the confusion sometimes made between the self and self concept and differentiates the two:

'The self is a reflexive phenomenon that develops in social interaction and is based on the social character of human language. The concept of the self provides the philosophical underpinning for social-psychological inquiries into self-concept but is itself not accessible to empirical investigation. The "self-concept" on the other hand is a product of this reflexive activity. It is the concept the individual has of himself as a physical, social, and spiritual or moral being. '

As described in Epstein (1973)'s article *The Self-Concept Revisited* authors including Mead (1934), Cooley (1902), Sullivan (1953), James (1910) and Allport (1955) explain the various ideologies surrounding self. Examples include viewing the self as an object of knowledge consisting of whatever an individual views as belonging to himself including the material, social and spiritual self; the self being anything that is designated in common speech by the first person singular pronouns of I, me, my and mine; the ideology of the looking glass-self

where an individual perceives himself the way others see him; the belief that the self arises out of social interaction be it with general interactions with everyone or with significant others; and the proprium of the self, made up the key aspects of the individual which he believes are of central importance and which contribute to a sense of inward unity (Epstein, 1973). Hawk (1967) describes the self as an aspect of experiences as well as a contributor to one's overall experience and its quality. Here experience which does not correspond with the self is inclined to be rejected. Self concept is defined by other authors, including Bem and Allen (1974), Butterworth (1992) and Wakslak, *et al.* (2008), as set of self-identities and self-schemas that, together, form the person we perceive ourselves to be.

Baumeister (2010) describes what he believes are the three principle roots of the self:

1. Reflexive consciousness; awareness of yourself and the creation of knowledge regarding yourself, for instance, by weighing yourself in order to find out how many kilograms you weigh. This self knowledge is related to one's self awareness, and changes in the self can result from self- deception where one tricks the self to change by, for example, being over optimistic and therefore becoming happier than in reality.

2. Interpersonal relations; the self is formed by various interactions and relations with others. The self creates certain role and relationships, and positions itself in the social system. One method of this is with name, it is chosen in relation to the social system and carries certain significations regarding group membership, links with family, partners etc. Baumeister (2010) has also described how interactional behaviour can influence a change in self concept as a result of the concept of Self Presentation. This is where one tries to portray oneself in a certain way to others. The self can change as a result of how you want others to see you or how you think you should be according to their perceptions.

3. Making choices and exerting control; decisions about your life and situation, choosing specific goals and paths and resisting temptations. Self regulation is relevant here and can lead to changes in the self concept with its success influenced by the extent to which an individual lives to a standard and wants to change his behaviour so that he can live to this standard, the monitoring of the behaviour that one wants to change and the will power to change the behaviour that one has.

Gecas (1982) discusses the development of theories regarding self concept in the social psychology domain and the influences from both sociological and psychological traditions

describing the development of self concept theories coming from two differing focuses. Social psychology from the sociological tradition tends to look for causes in behaviour outside the individual (e.g. culture, social structure and social situation) whereas the psychological tradition theory tends to focus overly on the internal behaviour and the consequences of self conceptions (e.g. self esteem motive and efficacy motive). This research focused on the former, examining the self concept particularly from the sociological social psychology traditions.

The definitions in self concept vary with some authors focusing on a more global definition and other believing that self concept is multidimensional. Traditionally self concept was understood as uni-dimensional with the ideology of the *"global self"* (Moreno Murcia, *et al.*, 2007). The global self refers to the individual's attitude towards self in its totality (Rosenberg, *et al.*, 1995). However, in recent decades literature has begun to recognise the self as multidimensional with many including Fox (1990) believing that the concept of a global self is imprecise (cited in Moreno Murcia, *et al.*, 2007). For instance, Marsh (1990) describes how self concept cannot be fully understood if its multidimensionality is ignored, and that self concept is not studied primarily within one discipline but rather across various disciplines and domains. Epstein (1973) believes that self concept is a theory a person has about himself in interaction with the world, as a functioning and experiencing being, which supports theories regarding symbolic interactionism (for instance, those demonstrated in Gecas (1982)). Although there are differences in the various definitions, they hold the fundamental principle that the self-concept is conceptualized as an organization (structure) of various identities and attributes, and their evaluations, developed out of the individual's reflexive, social, and symbolic activities (Gecas, 1982).

The important distinction between self-concept and self-esteem is also described in the literature. Although Blyth and Traeger (1983) explain that not everyone believes the separation of self concept and self-esteem is a viable one, he, himself, distinguishes self concept as the aspects of the self-image *"... which are considered to be basically 'descriptive' and non-judgemental..."* from self-esteem, which includes *"... those aspects or attitudes which can be classified as 'evaluations' of the self or the degree of satisfaction with the self..."*

2.2.2. Interpersonal Relations and the Self

According to Eisenberg (2006), relationships are being increasingly studied and viewed as important in research examining a person's self and more and more frequently the self of children. Hawk (1967) states that we can only develop our self in relation to our social group and that the structure of the self concept expresses and reflects membership of this social group. The influence of actors in a person's self concept can be demonstrated in both the Integrationist Theory and the Self Discrepancy Theory. According to the Integrationist Theory self concept is a reflective self, correlated with another's appraisal of the self and one's perceived appraisal of the self (Schafer and Keith, 1984). Here the reactions of others regarding an individual's role influences this individual's responses towards the self and so influences self concept development and change. Self concept validation resulting from other's actions increases confidence in oneself and on the other hand, actions which undermine self concepts increase distress for a person. Having a stable self identity gives confidence to ones functioning in daily life, both in interactions with others and in one's own actions (Schafer, Wickrama and Keith, 1996). Lipsitt (1958) gives an example of the influence of actors, with their verbal and physical actions, on the self of a child and their wellbeing. Here, if a parent, for example, tells their son that he is naughty and follows this verbalisation with physical punishment from which the child has an emotional response, e.g. pain, the behaviour of the child may bring out the verbal counterpart, 'I am naughty' which will then result in the original emotional response of pain.

The Self Discrepancy theory, as explained by Schafer, Wickrama and Keith (1996), describes various discrepancies of self which include, the 'ideal' self and the 'ought' self. When a person feels that they do not live up to the 'ideal' self they find themselves in a negative psychological situation with issues of dejection occurring. However, if they do not live up to the 'ought' self which they feel that they should attain and reach, emotions related to agitation such as fear and tension are found. These discrepancies in the self are related to the relationships of the person and the self, where the reactions of others, and the social context influences the definition of the different selves.

When examining specific relationships, self concept and children studies the importance of the parent child connection as well as the extended family and other actors outside the family were found (See examples of this in Eisenberg (2006)). Hawk (1967) describes these specific relationships in the life of children as *'significant others'*; those who are important to the

person and can influence feelings of security and well being. Psychological studies have identified children's social relationships as influencing their development, for instance, in early childhood, parent child interaction has been found as having an influence on the development of the self and emotional regulation in children (Cassidy, 1994). Friendships are also found as a factor in the development of children and adolescents in areas including self perceptions, conflict and social, emotional and cognitive development (Eisenberg, 2006). Child development studies discuss the importance of a child's relationships with different actors including parents and siblings, extended family, peers and the importance of relationships outside the family. These actors are particularly influential and relevant in the lives of adolescents and are found in various settings such as in school, workplaces, volunteer activities, leisure activities and neighbourhoods (Eisenberg, 2006). Chapter 2 in *The Handbook of Child Psychology, Volume 3* by Eisenberg (2006) describes the influence of relationships on the development of children, especially on the development of the self and the need for future research in the area of relational influences in the developmental areas.

2.2.3. Analysis of Self Concept in Children

Systematic reviews of self concept have pointed to the lack of theoretical basis for, and the poor quality of, the measurement instruments used in most studies (Marsh and O'Neill, 1984). There are various methodologies available, for example, the Self Description Questionnaire (SDQ) which uses thirteen factors of self concept with the identification of these dimensions using conventional and confirmatory factor analysis (Marsh and O'Neill, 1984). Epstein (1973) describes The Self Theory which categorises a number of attributes important to the self of an individual. These categories are extensivity, parsimony, empirical validity, internal consistency, testability and usefulness. There are also many tools which have been used to directly analyse a child's self concept as well as their self-esteem. These tools include Rosenberg's Self-Esteem Scale, Piers-Harris Children's Self-Concept Scale, Bachman's School Ability Self Concept Index and The Coopersmith Self-Esteem Inventory (CSEI).

One of the most recent tools is the Multi Self Aspect Framework (MSF), a broader framework, developed by Allen McConnell exploring and analysing a person's self concept, focusing on the multidisciplinary aspects of the self which he believes is made up of attributes and aspects (McConnell, 2011). McConnell describes the following key principles of the MSF. These principles correlate with the fundamental definitions and thinking of the main authors as described in Section 2.2.1.:

1. The self is a collection of multiple, context-dependent self-aspects.

2. Self-aspects are associated with personal attributes, which become more accessible when the self-aspect is activated and vice versa.

3. Overall affect reflects the evaluation of one's self-aspects weighted by their accessibility, and thus feedback about a self-aspect will affect general affective states to the extent that the information has implications for one's evaluation of that self-aspect.

4. Feedback about a self-aspect influences evaluations of other self-aspects that share greater attribute associations.

5. The impact of information pertaining to a specific attribute on overall affect increases as the number of self-aspects associated with the attribute increases (McConnell, 2011).

McConnell (2011) uses the diagram in Figure 6 to demonstrate the self concept representations with the self concept aspects, related to certain attribute(s). For example, Rachel's student self aspect is related to the self attributes of intelligent, serious and philosophical. The philosophical aspect is shared across the 'student' aspect and the 'being Jewish' aspect. The self attributes in the diagram which are white indicate that the attribute belongs to only one self aspect (e.g. shy- daughter), the light grey attributes are linked to two self aspects (e.g. philosophical- student and being Jewish) and the darker grey attributes are linked to three self aspects (e.g. female- Mike's girlfriend, daughter, sorority sister).

McConnell (2011) describes that the attributes are the products of a number of exemplars (e.g. personally experienced events, behavioural episodes) which can influence one, or multiple, attributes sometimes taking many exemplars to produce an attribute. In Figure 6 the vertical lines underneath each attribute illustrate these exemplars. McConnell gives the example of Rachel's sense of being philanthropic to demonstrate these exemplars. The philanthropic self aspect may have developed due to a number of specific exemplars, such as, involvement in activities with charities, discussions on values with her rabbi, protesting for a specific social cause. As a result of a number of these events, these exemplars may lead to more global and abstracted self representations.
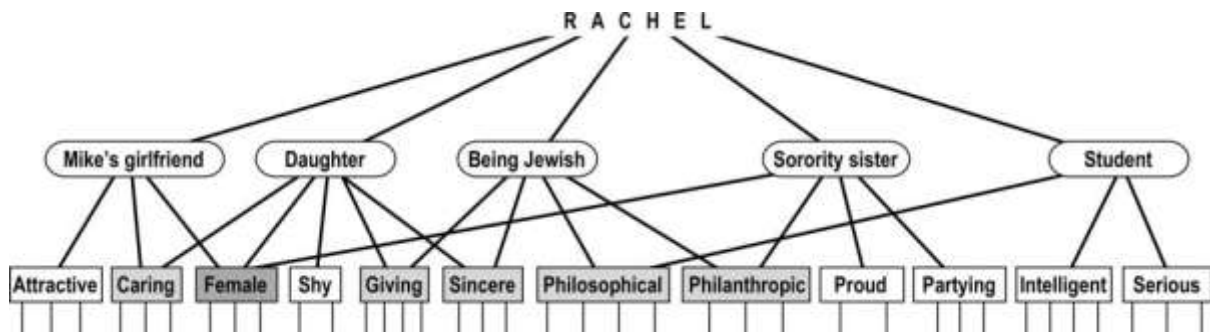
2.3. Stage 1 Research Methodology

Stage 1 was conducted with children from West Africa in order to develop the key concepts, tools and refine the methodology in order to ensure that all methods used were appropriate for the second, main sample population of Talibé street children in Stage 2.

2.3.1. Research Method Selection

Multiple data sources; both secondary and primary data, were used in this research study. The secondary data was gathered and analysed using various academic journals, books, local, international, country and regional reports and instruments. Internet sources were used to gather recent literature surrounding the topic. Research conducted by governmental and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) was also used to collect data. The research methodology within this study aimed to draw from various disciplines including literature studies, religious studies, migration studies, childhood studies, sociology, health, anthropology, history, geography and psychology. This wide range of secondary sources gave the study a strong relevance in the area and drew upon other theories and ideologies in order to develop strong evidence to answer the research questions and fulfil the aim of the research.

2.3.2. Research Design

Harter, Waters and Whitesell (1998) recommend that studies take account of the personal context of individuals as we do not know if they are including a personal context in something believed to be context free. Grounded Theory Methods (GTMs) provided an opportunity to conduct the study taking into account of the participant's context. Gasson (2003) explains that Grounded Theory involves the generation of innovative theory derived from data collected in an investigation of "real-life" situations relevant to the research problem. The approaches generally gathered in Grounded Theory are purposefully explanatory (Rossa, 2005). In grounded theory circles, this method is believed to be the only

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true method of research but in general it is considered to be an appropriate methodology particularly when researching in uncharted waters or to gain new perspectives on familiar issues (Stern, 1980).

Grounded Theory has been used in a number of disciplines particularly in Scandinavian countries, to shed light on lives and experiences. For example, Ovaska (2005) used Grounded Theory to explore the experiences of people involved in the design and use of new technology in a large corporation in Finland. The study revealed the important insights about the perspectives and contexts which informed people's attitudes and behaviours relating to key relationships and technology in the community. Gawronski and Padrini (2009)'s study also used GTMs to explore the factors influencing parents appraisal of their child's pain by examining value systems, culture, beliefs and other cognitive factors.

This study used GTMs in order to give Talibé street children an opportunity to share their voices without pre-constructed ideologies coming into play. Grounded Theory allowed us to take into account personal contexts by beginning with a separate pilot sample, where the participants themselves led the interviews and defined the contexts of the interview. As well as this, the proper design of research tools was also extremely important as the research was conducted with children. Immediately the tool development started with the aim for child participation and with awareness of the sensitivity of working with children, and more specifically, vulnerable children during the second stage.

As a result and having consulted various experts in the domain of child education and child research, participatory tools were developed, using artwork to base a discussion on the self of the child and the actors in their lives. Past experiences of working with children, particularly in the education domain but also with street and vulnerable children in various different contexts assisted in developing and adapting the tools. However, the tools were adapted from previous educational tools utilised when working with child identity. Various sources were examined when designing tools; from academic journals to government curriculum supports to online materials for teachers, psychologists and those working in the area of identity and child development. Finally the most relevant sources found were curriculum guides such as CCEA (2007).

Three activities were designed, both group and individual, to be refined with children in Stage 1. As a result of Stage 1, out of these three activities, two activities were adapted and

refined into one final activity to be used during the interviews with the Talibé street children sample in Stage 2. The original activities and final activity can be found in Section 5, the Annex.

2.3.3. Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations are always important when working with children and an ethical code was developed. This ethical code acted as a guideline when working with Stage 1 children and was also used when working with Stage 2. The ethical considerations were more complex in Stage 2 as the sample was a particularly vulnerable group of children. Each child (in both stages) was briefed in detail of what the study involved and exactly what their participation meant. Each child gave their full informed consent. In Stage 1, the parents of these children were also briefed and they also gave their full informed consent. In Stage 2 relevant actors were briefed (such as staff in the centre where the data was collected) and similarly gave their full informed consent. Key ethical procedures necessary for consideration included ensuring confidentiality; done by using numbers rather than names to identify each child such as Child 1, Child 2 etc, and editing the drawings so as to exclude the real names of the participants.

Safety was a big consideration during the interview stage. In Stage 1, the interviews were conducted with other adults present and the children were never alone. The interviews in Group 1 were conducted in the researchers home but other adults and guardians were present. In Group 1 and in Group 2, the children were interviewed in pairs in order to ensure that they felt at ease and were comfortable during the interviews. Group 2 and Group 3 interviews were conducted in the child's own home. If an adult could not be present for a few minutes, the doors were left open so that family members or guardians of the children were able to listen and watch the interviews. The children were aware that they were recorded and both they and their guardians gave consent to this. In Stage 2, safety considerations were also taken into account. The participants in the second sample were in a room with a staff member of the centre and the researcher and never left alone with either. The door was not fully closed or locked during the interviews, leaving access to other staff members. In both stages, any potential traumatic areas were avoided during the discussion and if a child demonstrating feelings of discomfort at any stage, the subject was changed and if necessary the interview was stopped.

Although the pilot study focused on testing the instruments and developing basic concepts, it was important to ensure that the children were not at risk and did not feel that they were being experimented on. This was done by using material developed within educational studies which had been previously utilised with children across various contexts and therefore already had a certain level of validity. These materials were refined in order to keep the instruments quite broad ensuring that the children themselves led where the discussion and activities went, this allowed the child and their own contexts to control the interview rather than imposing external western influences and viewpoints. Furthermore, the participant lead discussion ensured that the child was comfortable themselves with where the discussion went rather than getting into potential risk areas which could cause possible distress to the child.

2.3.4. Sample Size Strategy

As the aim of this study was to see through the eyes of the participants, really understand the context and be flexible, a number of considerations were made. Firstly, it was recognised that social actors are not predictable like objects and secondly, that there was time and budget constraints for this study. Therefore, Quota sampling, the non-probability sampling method was chosen. The qualities of the sample were determined and quotas made in relation to these specific qualities. The two samples chosen were West African children in Dakar (Stage 1) and Talibé street children in Dakar (Stage 2). The West African children were attending mainstream school in Dakar. These children were Senegalese and Togolese. The children in the first sample were chosen as they represented different contexts and age groups, enabling the enhancement of instruments and gathering an insight into the identities of children in Dakar. The children were selected from these two regions because in Stage 2 of the research the second sample population would also be from Senegal and other West African countries. Therefore, the pilot study was more representative with both contexts included.

The sample in Stage 1 was selected in accordance with the following conditions:

1. The child gave their full informed consent in the participation of this study

2. The parents/ guardians gave their full informed consent for the participation of their child in this study

3. The child was born in Senegal or living in Senegal for a minimum of five years and enrolled in the Senegalese mainstream schooling system.

2.3.5. Data Collection Process

The qualitative primary data was gathered to either support or oppose the literature and assists in achieving a more in-depth view of the situation which will help to answer the research questions in depth. The qualitative analysis was conducted in order to dive deeper in to the current situation facing street children and to explore their self concept. The qualitative method using face to face interviews was chosen the aim was to focus on a small group of participants in order to gather data on self concept until reaching saturation point. It was also due to the fact that the research was searching for specific details of the participants and to gain a deep knowledge on this subject. For the most part, studies on self concept have been quantitative in nature, using tests etc. However, hearing the voice of the child was focus on this study, particularly the children who are members of a vulnerable group who rarely has an opportunity to tell their story or explain who they are. Finally, as well as this, quantitative testing would have been difficult due to the literacy and language barriers of these children and also due to the context of the study. It was due to these reasons that a qualitative approach was chosen.

Five interviews were conducted in Stage 1 in order to decipher key concepts, actors, the effectiveness and relevance of the research tools. These five interviews were conducted in three groups with the sample of West African children in mainstream school in Dakar. Seven interviews with Talibé street children were collected for the sample Stage 2. Table 1 describes the interview collection method, the period in which they were collected and the activities completed in each interview. The activities described with an '&' symbol refer to two or more activities carried out, for example, A&B - Activity A and Activity B were completed by the child, whereas activities such as BC, signify activity B and C merged together into one activity.

Table 1. Breakdown of Activities and Groups in Stage 1 and Stage 2

Stage	Group	Activity	Period of Collection	Child
1	1	A&B	December 2013	1, 2
1	2	B&C	December 2013	3,4
1	3	BC	December 2013	5
2	-	BC	January 2014	A, B, C, D, E, F, G

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In Stage 1, Five children were chosen as across the three groups, a minimum of two children was aimed for in Group 1 and Group 2. Groups were used as they facilitated participant interaction and therefore, allowed for indirect feedback on the instruments. Group 3 was conducted with one child as the instruments were already refined in Group 1 and Group 2. This was a final interview to ensure that any minimal refining was completed and for the identification of additional concepts.

In Grounded Theory, data collection and analysis are conducted simultaneously (Charmaz, 2006) (Glaser, 1978). In Stage 1, data analysis began immediately after each group of interviews was conducted. Similarly in Stage 2, data analysis began directly after each interview. In the first stage, changes were made to the instruments used during the data collection process in order to ensure continuous improvements to instruments. The data in Stage 1 was gathered in December 2013. All interviews were conducted in French, however, for the benefit of the reader, all interviews transcripts (for both stages) have been translated to English to give a clearer insight into the voice of the child. It is important that the reader recognises that, when reading quotes, the interviews were not translated by a certified translator, and were meant to give a deeper insight into the interview rather than a directly translated quote from the participants.

The first interviews (Group 1: Child 1 and Child 2) were conducted with two Senegalese school girls aged five and eight years old. The interviews with Group 1 were conducted over the course of two hours with two 20 minute breaks as the children were getting distracted and tired. Two activities (Refer to Annex in Section 5) were conducted during the two interviews and a discussion followed:

      A. Picture of Self Reflection:
         1. Draw self portrait
         2. Draw self interests
         3. Discussion of portraits
      B. Art: Who Plays a Part in My Life?

Activity A was adapted from the *'Self Portrait'* activity from the Northern Ireland curriculum *'Living. Learning. Together'*, Year 6, Unit 1: Who Am I? which is specifically focused on the identity of the child (CCEA, 2007) and Activity B was adapted from the *'My Support Network'* activity in the same resource.

Task A was explained to both participants and they were given ten minutes to draw a picture of themselves from which a discussion ensued. Following this was the second part of Activity A, *2. Draw self interests,* where the children were given ten minutes to draw the picture of self interests which was again proceeded by a discussion. The second activity, *B. Art: Who Plays a Part in My Life?* with Child 1 and Child 2 aimed to examine who played a role in the child's life. When the task was explained to both girls and both participants were given ten minutes to draw a picture of themselves, however they initially wanted to draw something at random unrelated to the study. Child 1 drew a picture and then the picture was discussed but Child 2 did not want to draw another picture, preferring just to discuss the topic.

The second set of interviews were conducted with two Togolese children aged 8 and 11 (Group 2: Child 3 and Child 4) over the course of 1 hour and 12 minutes. The activity initially completed with the first group (Task A. *A Picture of Self Reflection*) was found to be unsuitable; therefore, Group 2 began with the *Recruit Me* activity, where the children created an advertisement of what makes up their life, and in this they also included the actors in their lives. The *Recruit Me* activity was adapted from the Northern Ireland curriculum *'Living. Learning. Together'* and is specifically focused on the identity of the child (CCEA, 2007). This was refined with the use of mind maps to structure the drawing where the child drew himself in the centre and all the items that make up his identity around him as seen in the activity 'Chalk it up' (ABC, 2003).

The third and final interview was conducted with a 16 year old Togolese girl (Group 3: Child 5) using the *Recruit Me* activity which had been refined in Group 2 to incorporate the actors in her life. This interview was 40 minutes long.

2.3.6. Data Analysis
Having collected the data, the interviews were transcribed from the recordings and translated from French into English[9]. The interviews were repeatedly listened to with the transcriptions and translations double checked several times in order to ensure there were no errors made. This process also ensured a deep knowledge and familiarlisation of the details in each interview, allowing analytical concepts and insights to develop.

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[9] The translation was not done by an official translator but the researcher, as firstly the researcher conducted the interviews therefore understood the context of what was being said. Secondly, there was not sufficient resources to get a professional certified translator. Therefore it must be recognised that any references or quotes regarding the interviews are not direct translations but rather give the reader a deeper understanding of the responses.

The analysis was conducted in parallel with the data collection phase which meant that the categorisations in the data were continuously refined. The data in each interview was constantly compared to previous results in other interviews collected and this led to new insights. These insights were then investigated, giving a depth to the data collected. There was a consistent approach to quality assurance from the beginning of the research plan up to the end of the study. This was done using a data audit trail. This data audit trail consisted of carefully transcribing each interview. Then printing and manually coding the interview transcripts and entering each concept found with associated references to the interview transcript into an Excel table. From there, this table was condensed, linking to the original table which had each specific references from the transcripts. This assisted in allowing for quite straight forward quality control measures to be taken at the data processing stage and ensured that the data gathered was the same as the data presented in the findings. Furthermore, it guaranteed that no data was lost due to carelessness or biases.

There was a focus on the inductive process of data analysis in Grounded Theory which was centred on the materialization of code categories rather than a deductive process of applying pre-existing codes. In GTMs there are differing views on the development of the theory, with, for instance, some authors arguing in favour of focusing on a core issue or concern regarding the phenomenon whether others prefer the identification of diverse problems which are related to the phenomenon (Ravindrana, Rempelc and Ogilvie, 2013). This study focused on the latter. In both stages, standard qualitative analysis was conducted using open coding, axial coding and selective coding (Gray, 2009). This part of the analysis involved identifying, naming, categorizing and describing phenomena found in the data. Fundamentally, each line, sentence, paragraph etc. is read in search of the answer to the repeated question "*What is this about? What is being referenced here?*" For example, the analysis process involved labelling with labels such as education system and family. The outputs of the interviews, such as pictures and responses were analysed using these coding techniques with Microsoft Excel and Memos to discover key concepts. From here, more general categories that these concepts are instances of were identified. These categories were created until a point of saturation occurred. Finally, these categories were reviewed and refined in order to ensure that all categories suited the relevant codes.

When exploring the self concept of children, it must be considered that a number of the scales (as described in Section 2.2.3.) do not take into account the cultural signification of these

tools. For instance, by translating these scales from English to French and then, for some, on to Wolof, and then back to English again, misinterpretations and skewed results may have resulted. Already using the qualitative approach, interviews had to be translated from the original language to English. Data quality was ensured through outputs such as drawings and the recordings of the interviews allowed for double checking the data. Additionally, although the interviews in Stage 1 were conducted with children who have at least a basic literacy, the main target population in Stage 2, the Talibé street children, are not necessarily literate. Therefore, the study kept a focus on Grounded Theory Methods to enable the categorisation of the key concepts identified.

2.4. Stage 1 Findings

This chapter specified the results of Stage 1 of the study. The results of Group 1, Group 2 and Group 3 are described in order to answer the preliminary research question of this study.

2.4.1. Group 1 Results

For part 1 of the first activity, *A. Picture of Self Reflection: 1. Draw self portrait*, Child 1 was quiet and did not discuss the drawing in detail but got on with the activity happily. She mentioned specifically her physical appearance:

'I chose to use the colour brown because I am brown. I drew big eyes and hair like mine, short.'

Figure 7.a. and 7.b. illustrate the self portrait drawings of Child 1.

Figure 7.a Self Portrait Child 1

Figure 7.b.Self Portrait Child 1 (Zoom)

Child 1, the younger child, did not understand the second part of the activity (*Draw self interests*) and found it very difficult to grasp the activities even with explanations from the other participant, the researcher and a native speaker. She tried to draw one or two options where she drew a picture of somebody sleeping and of a chair to describe that she likes sitting and sleeping. Child 2 assisted in Child 1's participation in the activity, as a result the work was not solely hers and was slightly influenced by Child 2.

Child 2 was more outgoing than Child 1 and participated well in the discussion of the photo describing the details of the self portrait, particularly mentioning her physical appearance and the reasons for drawing herself in this way:

Figure 8.a. Self Portrait Child 2   Figure 8.b. Self Portrait Child 2 (Zoom)

'I am brown so I must colour myself in brown, my brown face, my brown eyes, my black hair... I have coloured the clothes in the colours I like. I like stars because they are pretty, so I drew stars on my clothes. I drew my hair like my hair is in real life.'

At the beginning of Activity 1, part *2. Draw self interests*, Child 2 discussed what she does daily and what she likes in her life. She described her interests but more generally what she likes / loves in life which is illustrated in Figure 8.c.

Figure 8.c. Self Interests Drawing Child 2

'I love my mother. I love Emily. I love eating. I love helping others. I would like to be a doctor. I love stars because they are pretty and I love them.' (Child 2)

In the second Activity, *Who Plays a Part in My Life?* Child 1 was happy to participate, She drew her sister, two friends and her cousin. She also discussed her class in school, her

teachers, friends and family. She mentioned her relationship with her teacher and friends, describing the activities with her friends and their support:

'I play with them, we eat together and they help me.'

Child 2 said that she was tired when starting the second activity. However, subsequently she agreed to have a discussion, answering questions relevant to the activity even though she was not interested in drawing another picture herself. She detailed her life in general and her ideal self, related to her physical appearance and nationality. She began the interview describing what she likes in her life and the various actors in her life including her school, family, friends, god, community and neighbours, role models and French people:

'In my life, there are a lot of things regarding me that I like, like my face, my hair and my name... I like my name because it is very pretty. I also like Amy, French people, Leticia, the inhabitants of the village and the neighbourhood... I like god.'

She also described the support of her friends:

'When I am sad, they make me laugh. They are great.'

Overall the main factors found to influence the self concept in the two children were:

Figure.9. Key Influences of Self Concept Identified in Group 1
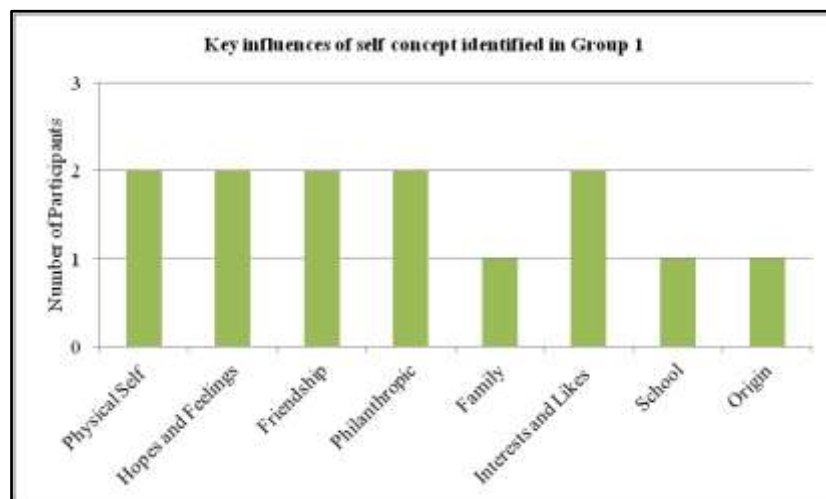
From the second activity, *B. Art, Who Plays a Part in My Life?* the actors who the participants in Group 1 identified as being involved in their lives were categorised in Figure 10:

Figure 10. Key Actors Identified in Group 1
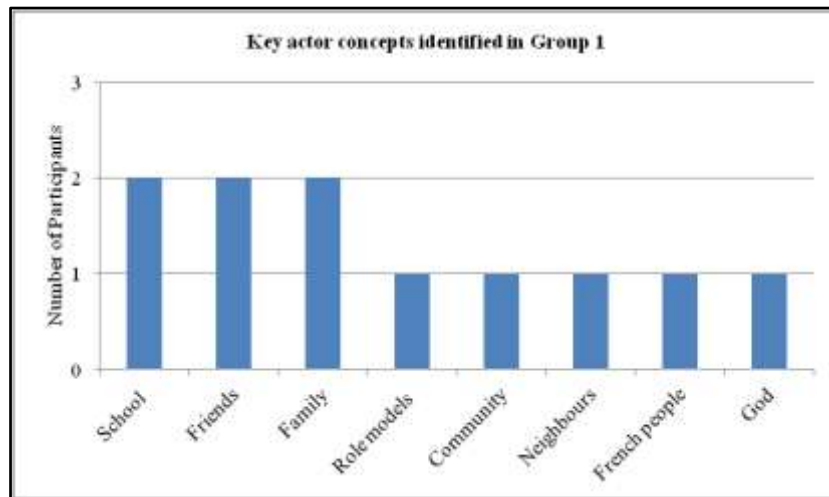
2.4.2. Group 2 Results

Following the guidelines of Cognitive Development of Piaget (Wood, Smith and Grossniklaus, 2001), and due to the results of the first group, the sample for Group 2 interviews was decided to be aged between seven and seventeen years. Two children, Child 3 and Child 4, were in this group.

The first activity was replaced by *Recruit Me* (Refer to Annex, Section 5) In the *Recruit Me* activity, the children had also included an actor map of who is involved in their lives as they felt that this was relevant for the this activity. As a result, Activity B, the map of *Who Plays a Part in the Child's Life* was included in the first activity.

Child 3 drew a picture (see Figure 11) with herself in the centre and all the people, activities and items that are involved in her life. She then discussed the drawing describing who she is in different situations and with different people, detailing specifically the various aspects of her self concept. For instance:

'I like cooking. When I cook I am happy, I have to know how to cook well and concentrate... In my family I have to know how to be respectful, I can't provoke, I have to listen to the others, I have to support the others... I am an artist. I have to be creative.'

The above quote gives examples of the different behaviours adopted by Child 3 in different scenarios and with different interpersonal relations. She described her self concept and behaviours changing in accordance with her overall environment. She was influenced by significant others, adopting certain behaviour with some people and in some scenarios whereas in others, she described that it was not possible or appropriate. In addition, the actors

involved in her life and how they interact together and support each other were outlined. For example:

'My mother makes me happy sometimes [as does] my uncle, everyone, my friends... My family support me and provoke me.'

Figure 11. Recruit Me Activity Child 3   **Figure. 12. Recruit Me Activity Child 4**

Child 4 drew a picture (see Figure 12) with himself in the centre of all the people, activities and items that are involved in his life. He drew happy and sad faces to describe his relationship with the various actors and how he feels when with them. Child 4 then discussed the drawing describing who he is in different situations and with different actors. Similarly to Child 3, he mentioned the different behaviours and the different aspects of his self concept across different contexts. However, he focused principally on the interpersonal relations when discussing his behaviour, describing the change in his behaviour with different actors. The different aspects of his self concept and changes in his behaviour were demonstrated in the two examples below:

'This is school. I have to be intelligent... My professor is kind and I have to be respectful.'

'I have a lot of friends in school. Often there are some who are kind and others not nice. Because often they fight or hit you. There is one who often hits me. I am angry when he does this. He is my enemy. I hit him. There is also another. If you don't give him your money he will hit you. I hit him. Sometimes he is my friend but sometimes my enemy.'

The second quote exhibited Child 4 reacting to certain behaviours of others and the influence of this on his behaviour. Finally, this participant discussed his coping strategies when experiencing certain feelings, for instance, anger:

'When I am angry with my mother often I go into my bedroom and I just wait.'

Overall, the key factors influencing self concept identified in Group 2 were:

Figure. 13. Key Influences of Self Concept Identified in Group 2
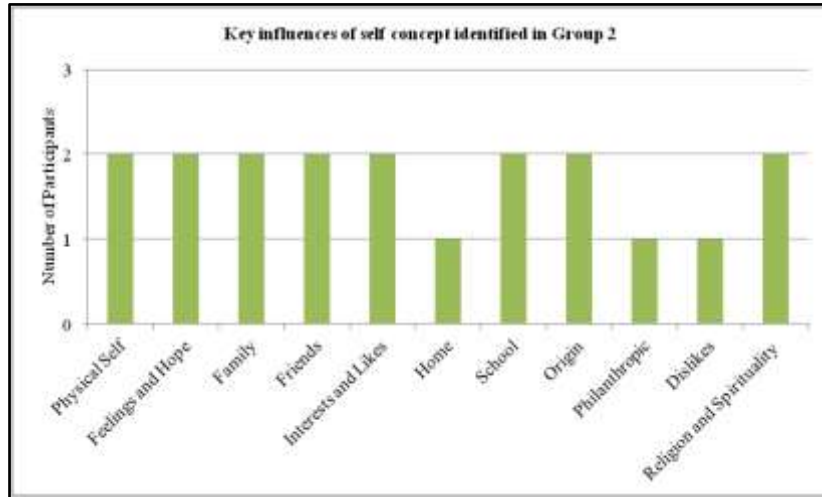
The main actors identified in the children's lives were found as demonstrated in Figure 14:

Figure. 14. Key Actor Concepts for Group 2 [10]
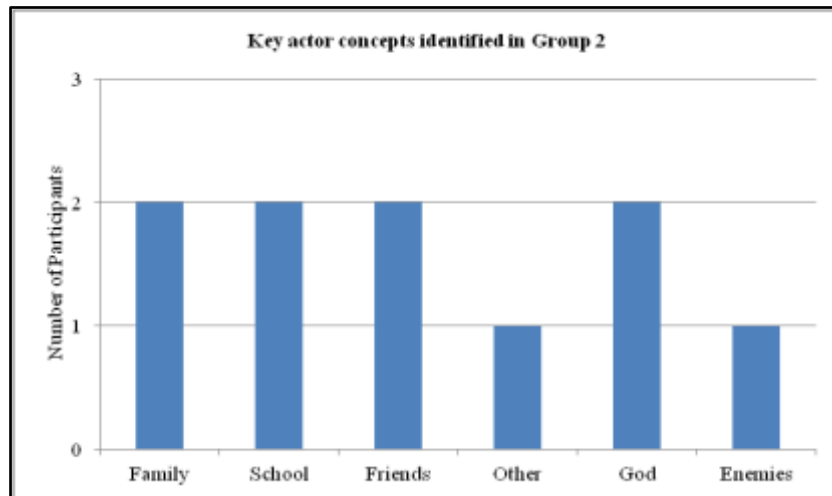
2.4.3. Group 3 Results

As the activity in Group 2 of the interviews worked effectively to answer the research questions, the *Recruit Me* activity (Refer to Annex, Section 5) was incorporated into Activity B, the map of *Who Plays a Part in the Child's Life*.

Child 5 drew two pictures (see Figure 15.a and Figure 15.b) with herself in the centre and all the people, activities and items that are involved in her life circling her name. She drew two pictures because she had a lot of information that she wanted to include in the activity.

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[10] Other in the case of Child 4 refers to his tutor.

Figure 15.a. Recruit Me Activity Page 1 Child 5   **Figure 15.b. Recruit Me Activity Page 2 Child 5**
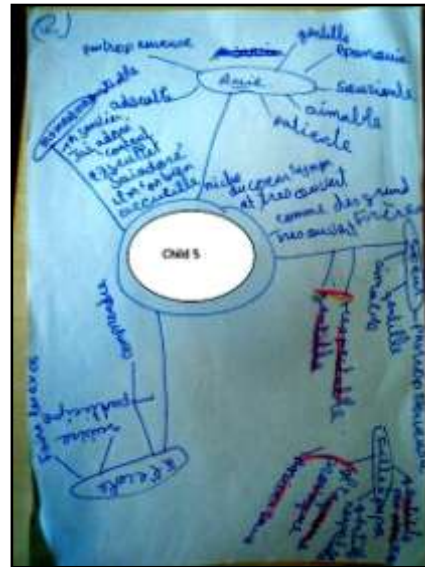
Having finished, Child 5 discussed her drawing describing who she is in different situations and with different people, detailing specifically different aspects of her self concept. She described that the most important characteristic in all of her relationships is that she is kind. For instance:

'And this is the doctor... With him I have to be patient, respectful, friendly, and kind.'

Similarly to the results of Group 2, her behaviours were found to differ depending on the situation, particularly depending on the relationship. Child 5 went on to mention the different behaviours and role of others in her life including what she believes to be the ideal behaviours of others:

'To be my friend you have to be kind, sociable and friendly.'

She discussed her past with some of her favourite moments in her life as well as the people important in her life over the past number of years, particularly regarding moving within West Africa and to various countries. She described the importance of past actors in her life, for instance, extended family members such as her aunt when she was living with her and the support that her aunt gave her.

'When I was small I lived with my aunty Claire so I am very close to her... It is a little hard when she is not here. When I was there visiting she helped me to make and sell jewellery. She supported and helped me a lot.'

She finished by mentioning the difficulties due to distance on her close relationships from the past:

'I am close to everyone but I don't see them often. When they were in Togo and we were together we were close. We are close now but it is just the distance it is hard.'

To summarise, Table 2 lists the following factors found to influence the self concept of Child 5 :

Table.2. Influences of Self Concept in Group 3

Concepts	Child 5
Feelings and Hopes	I
Interests and Likes	I
Friends	I
Other Relationships	I
Migrant	I
Key moments in my life	I
Home	I
School	I
Family	I

The key concepts were found in Child 5's interview in answer to the sub research question *In Dakar, who do West African children identify as actors in their lives?*:

Table.3. Key Actor Concepts found in Group 3

Actors	Child 5
School	I
Friends	I
Other[11]	I
Family	I

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[11] For Child 5, Other refers to her doctor.

2.5. Stage 1 Discussion

In this chapter, the results were interpreted in respect to the preliminary research questions for Stage 1. The discussion was structured in relation to the preliminary research questions.

RQ1. Is the self concept influenced by different factors in West African children in Dakar?

Evidence for RQ1

The changes in the self and behaviour was found in the findings to be influenced by various factors. The results supported Principle 1 of McConnell (2011)'s five principles of the Multi Self Aspect Framework as laid out in Section 2.2.3: *The self is a collection of multiple, context-dependent self-aspects*. From the concepts found, the five children demonstrated that their self is made up of a collection of multiple, context-dependant self-aspects. For example, in Section 2.4.2. Child 4 gave evidence for this describing more aggressive behaviours within his environment related to his friends where other children are aggressive towards him. He was changing his self and behaviour depending on the context that he was in.

Similarly, results concurred with the preliminary review of the literature (for example, Eisenberg (2006) in Section 2.2.2.) demonstrating the importance of interpersonal relations and their influence on the self. Different behaviours and self concept aspects were demonstrated in different interpersonal environments and across different relationships. Baumeister (2010) in Section 2.2.1. supported our results describing the change and adaptation of the self in correlation with the interpersonal relations. Here the difference in the self aspects across the different relationships of the children in Group 2 and Group 3 were demonstrated.

The response to research question 1, *Is the self concept in West African Children in Dakar influenced by different factors?* is yes, the self concept in West African Children in Dakar was influenced by different factors. These factors particularly included relationships with significant others and the environment of the child. As a result of this finding, it was possible to continue and answer research question 2.

RQ2. If the self concept is influenced by different factors, what are these factors?

Evidence for RQ2.

Figure 16 demonstrates key influences on self concept identified within the pilot study.

Figure 16. Key Influences on Self Concept Identified in Stage 1
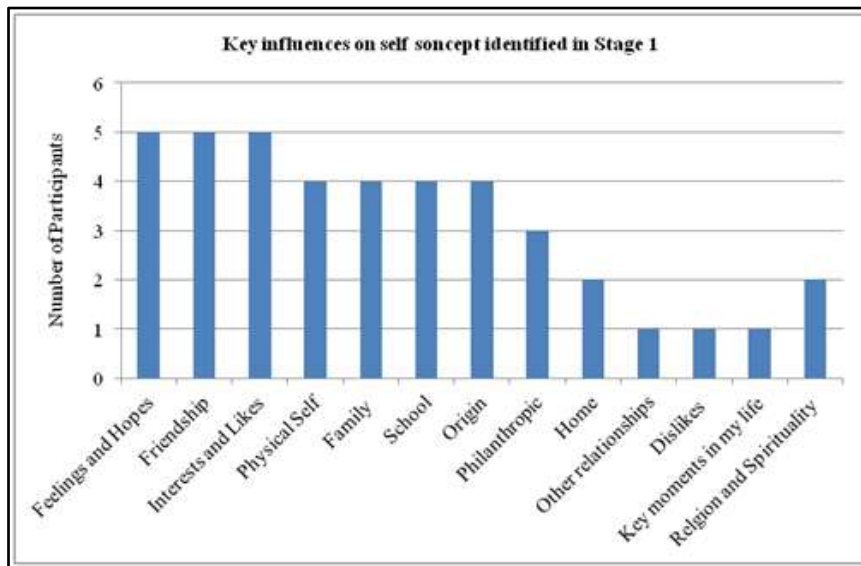
Feelings and Hopes, Friendship and Interests and Likes were the most reoccurring factors found to influence the sample and after these; Family, School, Origin and Philanthropic. When thinking back to Gecas (1982) who, in Section 2.2.1, described the fundamental principles of self concept across all theories as being an organisation or structure of various identities and attributes, and their evaluations, developed out of an individual's reflexive, social and symbolic activities, it became evident that these social, reflexive and symbolic activities must involve more than just the individual themselves. Figure 16 demonstrated that there was evidence found supporting this definition with for instance, symbolic activities described under religion and spirituality identified in Child 3 and Child 4 (See Section 2.4.2, Figure 13).

Another interesting finding was that the key influencing factors seem to involve interpersonal relations and vary on the environment or situation that the child is in. For example, the friendship factor found backs up the theory of Eisenberg (2004) outlined in Section 2.2.2. with for instance, an influence found in relation to the conflict and social development of this sample.

RQ2. a) In Dakar, who do West African children identify as actors in their lives?

Evidence for RQa)

The actors identified in the children's lives are demonstrated in Figure 17 :
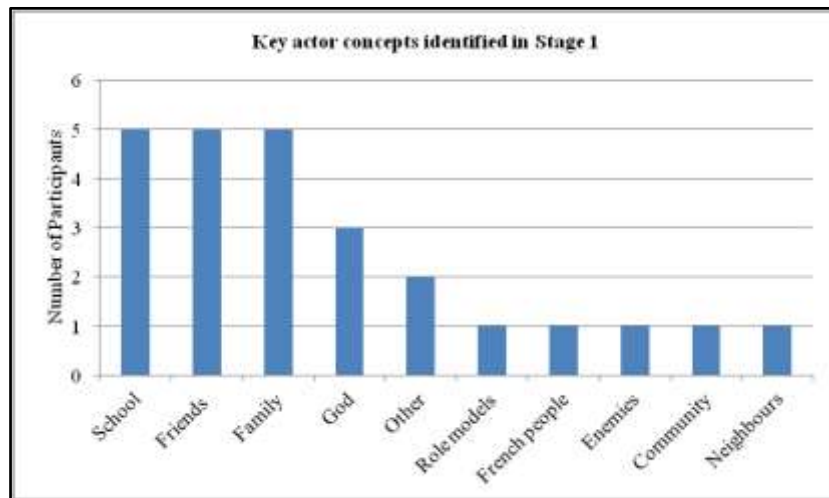
Various significant others, described in Section 2.2.2. by Hawk (1967) were identifiable in the Figure 16. There were three actor concepts identified by all children: School, Friends and Family with God as the next most popular concept, with three of the five children discussing God in their interviews.

All children mentioned their friends as a support in their lives and one described the ideal behaviours and self aspects that a friend should have which gives evidence to Eisenberg (2006) (Refer to Section 2.2.2.). Some children also described having similar behaviours across various relationships, for instance being respectful or being kind. In Section 2.4.2. Child 4 discussed coping strategies when dealing with certain strong feelings, such as anger. In Section 2.4.3. Child 5 demonstrated the difficulties and lack of relationships with actors who were supportive but now are no longer in her daily life. The same child discussed past experiences as part of the important things in associated with her self concept, giving evidence to Eisenberg (2006)'s belief of the importance of relationships on the development of the self.

Identical self concept attributes and behaviours across relationships were found (For instance, Child 5 describes the importance of being kind in all relationships, Section 2.4.3.). This gives evidence to McConnell (2011)'s Multi Self Aspect Framework described in Section 2.2.3. where attributes are identifiable with more than one self aspect.

2.5.1. Implications for Stage 2
The results of Stage 1 influenced the development of Stage 2 of this study. Firstly, the findings in response to RQ1 confirmed that in the context of West African children in Dakar,

Senegal, there are certain factors that influence self concept. These factors particularly included relationships with significant others and the environment of the child. The theory developed out of RQ1 was that self concept is influenced in an environment of significant others. As a result of this finding, it was possible to conduct a deeper literary investigation in Stage 2 with significant others and the environment at the core. This result contribution to the development of a theoretical model for testing with the second sample, Talibé street children.

The concepts found in response to RQ2 and RQ2. a) were guidelines for the literature review guidelines and for the interviews in Stage 2. The categories with three or more occurrences were particularly considered during Stage 2 as these reoccur across more than 50% of the Stage 1 sample. These categories were: Feelings and hopes, Friendship, Interests and Likes, Physical Self, Family, School, Origin and Philanthropic. In addition, the key actor concepts identified assisted as interview guidelines for the interviews in Stage 2. The actor concepts with three or more occurrences were particularly considered during Stage 2 as these reoccur across more than 50% of our Stage 1 sample. The factors and actor concepts found in Stage 1 directly influenced the development of the theoretical model in Stage 2.

As a result of Stage 1, both the methodology and the literature was refined and developed using a participatory approach with children in Dakar and taking into account their specific context. Therefore, potential biases and implementing outside processes and theory were avoided.

2.6. Conclusion

In this chapter, the theory surrounding self concept and the analysis of self concept was described. Various perspectives and theories on the self and self concept were discussed and the literature demonstrated that interpersonal relations are key in the development of the self and self concept. The discussion of analysis tools gave a deeper insight into which tools could be useful for this study. Following from the preliminary review of the literature, the research methodology chapter outlined the research design, ethics, data collection process and the data analysis for Stage 1 of this study.

The result and discussion chapters, assisted in guiding the interviews in Stage 2 and gave a preliminary insight into participative methodological tools necessary for working with children on self concept in the context of Senegal. As well as this, insights were gained into the self concepts of children in this context and the actors involved in their lives. From there,

in answering RQ1. *Is the self concept influenced by different factors in West African children in Dakar?,* the self concept in West African Children in Dakar was found to be influenced by different factors. These factors particularly included relationships with significant others and the environment of the child. Overall, the interpersonal relations and the environment that the children are in, influenced both the behaviour and self concept of these children, with different behaviours and self concept attributes demonstrated in different environments and across different relationships.

In response to RQ2. *If the self concept is influenced by different factors, what are these factors,* thirteen factors were found to influence self concept in the sample with 50% or more of the children identifying Feelings and hopes, Friendship, Interests and likes, Physical self, Family, School, Origin and Philanthropic as factors.

In regards to RQ2. a) *In Dakar who do West African children identify as actors in their lives?*, it was found that all five children identified school, friends and family as actors in their lives and three of the children identified God as an actor in their lives.

The results of the Stage 1 gave important insights into the self concept of African children in Dakar as well as new participative methodologies. The participants benefited from this study as they had a forum to discuss their lives openly and share their voices, which is not always possible. This study aimed to also improve the understanding and increase the awareness of the need for participatory approaches in this area in order to ensure that these children are recognised as important members of society. Therefore, following the completion of this study, reports will be generated for relevant actors and this study will be distributed among NGOs, government organisations and research groups working in the area of child identity in West Africa in order to increase the understanding of this area and promote future studies in this area. The learnings from Stage 1 could assist in the development of child protection policy, school curriculums as well as appropriate extracurricular activities. A particularly interesting area for further research is migration and the impact of migration on the self concept of children, as the results demonstrated the impact of changing environments and relationship change on the self.

Section 3
Stage 2: An Exploration of the Influences on the Self Concept of Talibé Street Children

Figure 18. Street Children at Marché Sandaga, Dakar[12]

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[12] This image was taken when on field visits with the Centre Nazareth. This image illustrates an area in Marché Sandaga, a market in the centre of Dakar, which the street children attending the centre frequent. The children gave their informed consent when this image was taken and for the use of this image in this study. This image was used in order for the reader to gain a small insight into the daily life of these children and is NOT intended to sensationalise or prejudice these children. None of the children identifiable in this image were participants in interviews. The CONCORD (2006) code of conduct on images and messages was followed in regards to all images taken and used for this study.

3.1. Stage 2 Introduction

Stage 2 was the core of this study. Using a methodology refined in and key concepts developed in Stage 1, Stage 2 explored the influences on the self concept of Talibé street children in Dakar, Senegal. Figure 19 illustrates the structure of Stage 2. This stage began with the preliminary research questions and literature review which was guided by the findings of Stage 1. Following the review of the literature a theoretical model was proposed. Then the research methodology used for the collection of the main body of data was explained, finishing with key findings and the discussion. Stage 2 was conducted with a second sample of seven interviews with Talibé street children attending Centre Nazareth in Grand Yoff, Dakar, Senegal.

The research objectives as described in Section 1.1.2. were as follows:

General Research Objective

> ➢ Explore the influences on the self concept of Talibé street children in Dakar

Specific Research Objectives

2. Identify the key factors influencing the self concept of Talibé street children in Dakar
   a. Determine the actors influencing the self concept of Talibé children in Dakar

Figure 19. Structure of Stage 2: Exploration of Self Concept in Talibé Street Children

3.2. Stage 2 Research Questions

In Stage 1, the self concept of West African children in Dakar was found to be influenced by certain factors, particularly related to significant others in the child's life and the child's environment. As a result, the aim of Stage 2 was to discover what factors and significant others influence the self concept of the second sample, the Talibé street children. The working research questions were as follows:

➢ What factors influence the self concepts of Talibé street children?

RQ1. In Dakar, What are the factors influencing self concept among Talibé street children?

RQ2. In Dakar, what significant others are involved in the lives of Talibé street children?

3.3. Stage 2 Literature Review

As a result of Stage 1 findings, the guidelines of Piaget (Wood, Smith and Grossniklaus, 2001) and his theory on cognitive development were followed and children aged between the ages of 13 and 17 were the focus of the second stage. The Stage 2 literature review specifically examined the self concept of children and adolescents of this age, and of vulnerable children, particularly street children. Furthermore, the key factors and actors influencing self concept identified in Stage 1 were investigated. The relevance of these factors were considered and an investigation of theory supporting these factors was conducted. Lastly, the theoretical framework was illustrated and in light of this, the Stage 2 research questions were finalised.

3.3.1. Self Concept of Children and Adolescents

Adolescence is a time in which most people undergo changes in their physical, psychological and emotional states. The article 'Self *Concept and Self Esteem in Early Adolescents'* by Blyth and Traeger (1983) explains the influences of physical change, relationships and cognitive development at this age. New identity patterns can develop in relation to one's changing environment and their relationships which result in a need for a change in the self and one's outlook on the world (Long, Ziller and Henderson, 1968). Long, Ziller and Henderson (1968) suggest that adolescences may need to subordinate their childhood identifications and synthetically put, what would be normally considered, well meaning actors into the role of enemies in order to gain an integrated self identity.

As well as the physical changes at adolescence, there are also changes in the dynamics of relationships, for instance with parents and peers. Blyth and Traeger (1983) illustrate how trying to detach from parents, become established and 'fit in' among peers can dramatically impact how a person sees himself. There are new expectations on the adolescent and this can

influence the ideas on what is important and behaviour which would likely influence the self concept representations and self image. Cognitive development can change how people view their thoughts, how they should think and how they think about others and this can influence their self-perceptions with an increased level of self abstraction (Blyth and Traeger, 1983). Hawk (1967) believes that self concept is structured by adolescence and that after this stage the self is less subject to the influence of significant other. Perkins (1958) indicates that as children mature their self concepts become more stable and consistent, with their self concepts and ideal selves[13] growing in congruence. However, Perkins also recognises that the environment and life experience are likely to influence the self - ideal self correlation outside of this maturity factor, in other words, in children, the self and the ideal self become more harmonious with time. The same study also found that, in general, self - ideal self similarities in girls are higher than in boys.

Hawk (1967) indicates that the self is learned in a steady process of interactions with an environment becoming organised in relation to the community and in accordance with social situations and generalised others. Long, Ziller and Henderson (1968) describe that an increased dependency on actors in younger, elementary aged children is linked to a higher self esteem and a more positive self. Their evidence found older children, at around ninth grade, to have a decreased dependency on actors which they feel may be related to preparation for adulthood. Hawk (1967) lists three *'cultural agents'* [14] which he believes interact to develop a person's self concept. At a younger age, these cultural agents are peers of a similar age in the neighbourhood and later the peers in an age-mate society and the more distance adult figures, such as teachers who are representative of community institutions. He describes this environment as essential to the development of the self where the main process in this development is the identification with these three categories of significant others.

A 1998 study on relational self worth among adolescents by Harter, Waters and Whitesell examined the changes in self-perception within certain relationships and suggested that the way in which an individual evaluates the self in certain relationships can be critical to their overall sense of self worth. Harter, Waters and Whitesell (1998) then described a number of studies which discuss the way that self changes and adapts depending on interpersonal situations. As well as this, these studies explained the various changes in self-descriptions across different roles, such as with parents, with peers and with classmates, with an

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[13] The ideal self is the self that a person aspires to have or think is the perfect self for them.
[14] Cultural agents: sources of social experiences.

individual's perception of other's appraisals influencing self-worth rather than the actual appraisals of others. Perceived approval in a public setting and peer support were found to be more influential than approval of close friends as it appeared to contain a more of a general representation of others. Relationships with parents and their approval remain important but other adults were also found to be important as this gave the adolescent autonomy from the parents (Harter, Waters and Whitesell, 1998). Boys have been found to have a stable perception of their distance with others during early and middle adolescence whereas girls withdraw first and then re-approach (Long, Ziller and Henderson, 1968).

The findings of Harter, Waters and Whitesell (1998) correlate with evidence from Chaplin and John (2005) who describe socialization agents, such as parents, media and peers, having an influence in the development of the self concept in children, providing information regarding social norms and who they are. Chaplin and John (2005) demonstrated the growing importance of peer influences as a child moves into adolescence. The results seen in Stage 1 also gave evidence to these above views of Harter, Waters and Whitesell (1998) and Chaplin and John (2005) where Group 2 and Group 3 children linked varying self aspects to their relational context (Refer to Section 2.4. and 2.5.). Almost all of the aspects of self concept identified were found to be related to different actors in their lives and their relationship.

In *Relationships in Adolescence* (1974) (cited in Blyth and Traeger (1983)), Coleman concluded that the changes taking place in an adolescent's life are largely influenced by the rate of change of experiences as well as the degree to which these changes occur simultaneously. When one change occurs it should not hugely disturb the individual. However, when two changes or more occur simultaneously the likelihood for disturbances greatly increases and with these changes the self concept needs to restructure in order to integrate these changes into one's personality (Blyth and Traeger, 1989). Would harsh changes in the situation of a child dramatically change their self concepts? Would increased risks and changes faced by vulnerable children and adolescents influence self concept?

3.3.2. Key Factors Influencing the Self Concept of Children in Dakar
In Stage 1 of the research the key factors influencing the self concept of West African children in Dakar, Senegal included Feelings and Hopes, Friendship, Interests and Likes, Physical Self, Family, School, Origin and Philanthropic. Moreover, in Stage 1 key actor concepts of West African children in Dakar included School, Friends, Family and God. In this section, a review of literature was conducted in order to evaluate if these above concepts

correspond with previous academic work. School, Friends/Friendship and Family were overlapping as both factors and significant others, which was not surprising as evidence in Stage 1 (Section 2.5.) demonstrated the fundamental influence of actors, particularly significant others, in the development of self concept. Due to this, each of these factors were explored under title which incorporated both the factor and significant other. The concept of God, which was also found as a significant other influencing the self concept of the sample in Stage 1, although not occurring as frequently as the other factors, was investigated under the factor: 'Religion and Spirituality'.

Feelings and Hopes

Lipsitt (1958) demonstrated the verbalisations of the self reflecting a person's feelings towards their own selves. In his article, Lipsitt explains that an individual who verbalises inferiority or inadequacy demonstrates that they have a weak self concept. However, he also makes the point that we tend to identify ourselves with an ideal self. Here there is a common belief (for instance, see Perkins (1958)) that there is a large discrepancy between ideal self and our actual self. On the other hand, evidence of a positive correlation between true self and ideal self verbalisations has been found (Lipsitt, 1958). Lipsitt (1958) differentiates the methods of verbalising the self with sentences such as 'I am...' (as one really is) and the ideal self with sentences such as 'I would like...' and 'I would like to be...' (how one would like to be). In Stage 1, this difference was identified and the verbalisations of the ideal self were categorised into the factor 'Feelings and Hopes'.

Friendship

Friendships have been found as making a unique and fundamental contribution to child development and social adjustment (Vaughan and Elbaum, 1999). Various studies have positively correlated self concept and friendship, with friended children having a higher self concept and self worth than unfriended children (Vaughan and Elbaum, 1999). Friendships have also been described, by authors such as Vaughan and Elbaum (1999), as moderating the impact of peer acceptance on the self. For example, a child who has at least one close friend but who are not accepted by peers will have a more positive development and be less subject to the effects of lacking peer acceptance than a child without a friend.

The influence of friendship on self concept was described in Vaughan and Elbaum (1999) as increasing with a child's age becoming more influential at adolescence. The same study

demonstrated the influence of friendships, particularly in relation to the presence or absence of a friendship, the number of friendships and the quality of these friendships. The children who have no friends were found to be generally more negatively perceived by others and themselves. The more friendships a child has positively influences the child's wellbeing and adjustment. The quality of friendships was described as being one of, if not the, most important aspect of friendship as it contributes to social outcomes that are not captured in the other aspects (Vaughan and Elbaum, 1999). Here friendship quality, for instance, interpersonal support and closeness, was found as adding significantly to feelings of self worth, and Vaughan and Elbaum (1999) expect that this may influence more self concept than the other two factors. Connolly and Konarski (1994) concur with this analysis, discovering that friendship quality and network structure are significant predictors of peer self concept, as does Mannarino (1978) who discovered that a 'chum' relationship in preadolescence increases self worth as it is an opportunity for a child to discover that another shares similar thoughts and values.

Interests and Likes

The findings of the study *Changes in Self Concept and Stated Behavioural Preferences* by Ludwig and Maehr (1967), were supportive of the hypothesis that changes in self concept result in changes in preference and choice. Corresponding with various other authors (Seen in Section 2.2.2.), the self was also found to be influenced by significant others. Here it can be supposed that if the self is influenced by significant others, and it influences changes in preference and choice, this would mean that by influencing self, significant others can influence ones interests and likes. This concept was renamed 'Preference and Choice' in accordance with the literature.

Physical Perceptions

There was little evidence found regarding the direct link between puberty and the development of self image. However, the physical changes in an adolescent's body have been found as related to the changes in the way they view themselves, their identities and where they fit in their surroundings, with classic Freudian theory describing the pubescent changes as creating dramatic disturbances and disruptions in personality (Blyth and Traeger, 1983). Some authors are not convinced of the relationship between the physical self, such as the aspect of appearance and the overall self concept, with, for example, Musa and Roach (1973) finding a relationship only between self evaluation of personal appearance and social

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adjustment in girls. Yet, in the past two or so decades there has been an increased focus on the physical self aspect of children particularly with a growing concern regarding child health issues such as obesity. The physical self concept has been described as consisting of four principle factors: sports competence, physical conditioning, body attractiveness and physical strength (Hagger, Biddle and Wang, 2005). Caliguri (1966) conducted a study describing the self concept of *'the poverty child'* with 425 minority children. In this study, the participants were found to be sensitive towards their physical self which Caliguri believed has a psychological impact on a child. References to the physical self also appeared in Stage 1, Section 2.5.2. where it was found to be one of the most reoccurring factors influencing the self concept of the sample, mentioned by 4 out of 5 participants.

Hagger, Biddle and Wang (2005) found significant gender differences between female and male adolescent's and their physical self concepts. In their article, they describe these difference as developing out of a focus on competency and ability at that particular age where boys are typically viewed as more competent than girls. They discovered that girls score lower on self concept appearance and that overall physical self concept was found to be higher among boys.

In Stage 1, the physical self concept mentioned, was for the most part, referring to appearance. Considering that the self was found as related to significant others' perceived perceptions of us, appearance would play a part in this, with others validating or invalidating our appearances and our perceptions of our physical self. Appearances emerge when the self is established and mobilised, is part of our identity indicating our self perception, or who we want to be, to others (Stone, 2009). Various studies have investigated this with, for instance, Shapka and Keating (2005) finding that perceptions of appearance is the domain most closely tied with self worth, with an unchanging pattern over time.

Family

Hawk (1967) states that due to the level of emotional content between family relationships, the family is a major player in the development of self concept, giving the example of the influence of parental the discipline measures on self concept in children. Sears (1970) found that in middle childhood, high self concepts were significantly related to parental warmth (from both the mother and father), ordinal position and small family size. In Sears' study with boys, lower father dominance in husband wife relations also was found to be associated with high self concepts. The beliefs of parents have been found to influence child expectancies and

self concepts. This was demonstrated in the article *Socialization of Achievement Attitudes and Beliefs: Parental Influences* by Parsons, Adler and Kaczala (1982) which focused specifically on mathematical achievement.

There have been a number of studies specifically centred on the influence of the relationship with the father on the development of the self concept of children. In a study of development changes in self concept among adolescents, Long, Ziller and Henderson (1968) describe the importance of power in relation to self concept in adolescents, indicating that the father is the most important authority figure in the child's life with teachers and principals following next. The same study discovered a sharp withdrawal in boys in later adolescence from their father and teacher, but the same withdrawal was not found between them and their mothers. Long, Ziller and Henderson (1968) suggest that the higher the position the father has in society favourably reflects on the adolescent because it may be possible for his chid to share this higher status. Sears (1970) also demonstrated that the self concept of children is correlated with the fathers aspiration for the child's work future. Higher self concept was positively associated with higher work aspirations of fathers.

Raschke and Raschke (1979)'s article *'Family Conflict and Children's Self-Concepts: A Comparison of Intact and Single-Parent Families'* revealed that although they found that a child's family structure (such as a single parent family) makes no significant difference on self concept, children who perceive family conflict will have significantly lower self concepts. Interestingly, the emotional wellbeing of a parent was also found to have a significant impact on the child's self concept with their perceived happiness positively correlated with the self concept of the child.

Education System (School)

Hawk (1967) describes education as fundamental in child development and he states that it will undoubtedly influence self concept development in children. He found that peer and social groups in school can affect the self perceptions of a child as can the teachers. In an investigation of children's perceptions of their teachers' perceptions of them and their self perceptions, children were found to be conscious of how a teacher feels about them and they feel the same about themselves as the teacher does (Harter, Waters and Whitesell, 1998). Long, Ziller and Henderson (1968) describe that teachers and principals are given a higher power status among adolescents, but, because the children don't identify closely with them, this may negatively influence self concept. The extent to which a school experience

influences the correlation between self and ideal self may indicate the effectiveness of an education system or school in child self development. The self is the most important factor for happiness and success and no education focus can aim to increase possibilities for the success and happiness of a person if they negatively influence the self concept. Therefore, according to Hawk (1967) the school environment can clearly influence a child's self concept and is fundamental in a child's wellbeing and long-term identity construction.

Origin

Although there are a number of studies investigating issues concerning the origin of a child and their relationship with self concept development, particularly concerning race, ethnicity and stereotypes, opinions differ regarding the correlation of origin with varying self concept. A range of studies, such as Stabler (1971) and Osborne (1995) (cited in Jackson, *et al.* (2010)), found differences between the self concepts of negro children and white children, but others, including Carpenter and Busse (1969), found no evidence to support self concept changes due to origin or race. These differing results may be due to the varied methods of evaluation and analysis as well as the differing contexts in each sample used. As origin was identified in Stage 1 as relevant to the context of this study, origin was investigated as a potential factor influencing self concept.

Philanthropic

Although there are examples of philanthropic self concept representations found in the literature, for instance in McConnell (2011), from the review of literature, studies which directly discuss this self concept representation and the self, particularly, in relation to social movement and philanthropic participation, are lacking (Owens and Aronson, 2000). Owens and Aronson (2000) indicate that social movement participation can be due to high self esteem when linked with experiences of serious injustices towards a group in which one has a significant social identity. According to the same authors, the key factor influencing participation is that one must identify with this group or have a significant social identity associated with this group. Various studies were discovered to investigate value systems, such as Caliguri (1966) who described the value systems of the participants in his study with the concept of 'Personal Considerations' accounting for 28% of the responses where he noted that the children were able to identify right and wrong conduct.

In Chapter 4 of '*Self, Identity, and Social Movements',* Gecas (2000) also describes that the construction of identity and the self is influenced by not only social structural contexts but also by value systems and values. These self-values can be therefore a component of self-definition as well as standards for self-evaluation. As values give us meaning, purpose and direction in our lives these can be one of the most, if not the most, important element of self-concept. Gecas (2000) further explains that almost no identities are formed without some sort of value influence, and that these values are founded in social relations and group membership. These value based identities are more transcendent than other identities, pertinent across various situations.

In Stage 1 both role identities (for instance; doctor) and character identities (such as kind, respectful) were found, as well as the two (character and role identities) interlinked. Gecas (2000) describes character identities as fundamental to what we 'ought' to do and as reflecting how we think that we should behave, try to behave and what values we try to live up to. Here, the relevance of the philanthropic self concept is seen, reflecting both the character identity, role identity and the collective identity which consists of membership in a shared group identity. Value identities have a direct correlation between a person's authenticity with the correspondence between their actions and values placing a large emphasis on the moral and cultural context of self-definitions and providing the conditions for the development of concepts of justice and injustice (Gecas, 2000). As the philanthropic self aspect is underpinned by one's values and value systems this concept was renamed 'Value Systems'.

Religion and Spirituality

A range of examples examining the influence of social interactions, relationships and significant others on the self were found in our literature review. However, most of these focused on real, concrete relationships. Pollner (1989) highlights the importance of what he describes as 'divine relations' on the self providing evidence that symbolic relations with a divine other are significantly positively correlated with well being, satisfaction and negatively correlated with one's levels of stress. He suggests that these correlations are due to an individual's increased sense of coherence and order as a result of interactions with divine relations. He also found that the less educated gain more from the divine than more educated persons.

Prayer has been described in Sharp (2010) as an imaginary social interaction between two actors, the concrete self and the subjective divinity (i.e. oneself and an imaginary actor). Interactions with God (or a god) using prayer can act as an emotional management strategy which can give one a forum to express and manage anger and can act as a coping mechanism in difficult situations. These interactions can therefore provide an opportunity to escape from negative inducing emotional stimuli and provide positively reflected appraisals which can help to keep a positive self esteem (Sharp, 2010). Kirkpatrick and Shaver (1990) also suggest that God may serve as an alternative attachment figure in a person's life. These interactions have many similarities with interactions with real actors where, in the same way one perceives concrete others, one perceives the characteristics of this divine other and one perceives himself from what he believes to be the divine other's perception of him (Sharp, 2010). The interactions and conversations with this divine other influence the person's perceptions of the world and their interaction with it, as well as their self perceptions, therefore, not unlike real significant others, this will influence their self concept.

Although, some critics found that the self, self esteem and self context have no relationship with religiosity, there are a number of other studies which also agree that religious belief is positively correlated with self concept. For example, Blaine, Trivedi and Eshleman (1998) found that strength in religious belief was associated with more positive and certain self conceptions, and that the influence of religiousness on the self concept was evident in multiple self knowledge domains. Bagley and Mallick (1997) also discovered a positive correlation between religious participation and self concept. In a study of Catholics with similar backgrounds the positive relationship between self esteem and god images was demonstrated with positive self esteem related to loving and accepting god images and vice versa (Benson and Spilka, 1973).

3.3.3. Disadvantaged and Vulnerable Children

Is self concept in vulnerable children, such as street children, the same as in children who are living in more stable situations? From the investigation of the literature surrounding street children's self concept it became evident that, although there is quite a wide range of general studies on street children and a number of studies investigating street identities, literature on the self concept of street children is, for the most part, neglected. In Stage 1 (Section 2.2. and 2.5.), interpersonal relationships with significant others and a child's environment were found to influence the development of self concept, therefore, it seems reasonable to consider that

street children, as a specific group living in difficult conditions and facing daily challenges, may have self concept development particularities. Here an exploration of studies which examine the self concept development and the self of children, particularly those in vulnerable or disadvantaged groups, may give some insight into the self concept of street children, as a vulnerable, discriminated group.

Several studies have found the self concepts of disadvantaged children to be classified by low self-esteem, self-deflation and self-depreciation which correlate with behavioural tendencies associated with fear, passivity and interpersonal communication difficulties (Hawk, 1967). Hawk (1967) defines a socially disadvantaged child as one with an unfavourable picture of himself.

Hawk (1967) discussed the various factors and influences on the self concept of disadvantaged children, one of these being the culturally constructed labels used to describe disadvantaged children. Hawk believes that these could have severe effects on the development of a child's self. If all children are grouped, each, in essence, individuals with different perspectives, contexts and identities, into a label related to their status as socially disadvantaged, a child, who may not necessarily fit under the characteristic assumed by this label, may begin to behave in a manner to reflect this label. In other words, the child begins to reflect this norm just because significant others perceive that this is the norm. The more enforced that the preconceptions of the interacting actors (the child and the significant other) become, the less likely the self concept will change. This is because once the self is formed it is difficult to change and any changes will be gradual. As people tend to move towards natural feeling and consistent situations, the child will aim to be in a situation, behave and to live in accordance with their self concepts (Hawk, 1967). Behaviour has been described by many authors, including Hawk and Moustakas, as not just directly linked to self, but that it is in fact the self. This means that a negative self concept which has developed, for example, due to these negative labels, will result in the child behaving directly in line with behaviour associated with this self concept.

'Behaviour is self.' (Hawk, 1967, p.202)

Hawk (1967) argues that the self concept actually buffers perceptions and acts as a protection mechanism when one is facing a very difficult situation. A person perceives the world in

relation to his self concept rather than his true environment. Due to this censor, the more positively one perceives himself, the more open a person is to the world with a lessened need to distort the true situation in defence of what he is really living. A person with a very negatively skewed self concept has to put up defences in order to protect his own self perception and to continue believing that he is the way that he sees himself. The more positive the self concept is, the more open and free a person will be and vice versa. Acceptance is vital for the development of a positive self concept; a person will respond to experiences which demonstrate that they are positive people, for example, in order to feel adequate one must be treated adequately (Hawk, 1967).

Although one would imagine that those in a vulnerable or stigmatised group have a low self concept, Crocker and Major (1989) give another perspective on the self concept of vulnerable groups, believing that membership in a stigmatised group actually protects the self concept. This vulnerable or disadvantaged group may put the discrimination and stigma down to prejudices against their group and focus on comparing themselves to the group rather than the overall social environment. In this case, value is given to the positive characteristics of the group rather than on an overall negative social environment. Vaughan and Elbaum (1999) mention that it is important to consider academic self perceptions separately to other aspects of the self, categorising the self into academic self perceptions, social self perceptions and global self perceptions. Studies are conflicting regarding the global self concepts of LD children (i.e. children with learning disabilities), for instance, similarly to Crocker and Major (1989)'s findings, it was found that segregated children with learning difficulties have a tendency to compare themselves with children in the same setting rather than the global setting which can increase their self concept perceptions. Yet, other studies found that self concept was similar in non-segregated LD children and segregated LD children (Vaughan and Elbaum, 1999).

Dorn (1968)'s results on delinquents contradict those of Crocker and Major (1989) and Vaughan and Elbaum (1999) finding that institutionalised delinquents were very alienated, anxious and more likely to make self degenerating comments regarding their self concept, in compared to non delinquents. However, results on non institutionalised delinquents were found to be lying between institutionalised delinquents and non delinquents, with fewer negative comments regarding self concept and although present, weaker feelings of anxiety and alienation identified. These non institutionalised delinquents were described as being in a

sort of limbo, not completely alienated as the other institutionalised delinquents, with contact to the mainstream community whom they respect and conform to but at the same time with whom they are not completely attached to either, living as sorts of 'marginal men'. Dorn outlined that this will produce some negative self concepts and feelings of alienation but not to the same extent to 'hard core' institutionalised delinquents.

Campos, *et al.* (1994)'s study on the developmental implication of growing up as a youth on the streets of Belo Horizonte, Brazil gave some insight into the influence of the street on the child's development. Campos *et al.* (1994) identified interpersonal relation problems and problems in school among homeless youth. The presence of the family was found as being diminished among the participants with many families living in a different city, as well as this it was discovered that parental absence or family issues was both a direct and indirect precipitating factor of the child's arrival to the streets. Results of this study found that nearly two thirds of the children were part of a street peer group which provided supports, friendship and protection indicating that the street as a concept influencing self concept may be relevant to this study. Campos, *et al.* (1994) also outlined the presence of institutional services in the lives of the street children. These institutions and services included the justice system and police to religious and government services agencies. This was not found as a relevant concept for the mainstream children interviewed in Stage 1 of this study but as a result of the research by Campos, *et al.* (1994), institutions and services were considered for the second sample of Talibe street children.

Problem behaviours were also outlined in Campos *et al.* (1994). These were said to include drug dependency (alcohol, street drugs and injecting drugs) which youths use as an escapism mechanism from their reality, dulling hunger pangs and providing a youth with courage to conduct illegal and risky behaviour. Sexual activity was identified as frequent among street youth with various partners (both peers and adults) and used for fulfilling various needs, survival, comfort etc.

Finally, the study described the developmental challenges for 'children *on* the street' and 'children *of* the street' (defined in Section 1.2.1.). Campos *et al.* (1994) found that 'children on the street' have to work from an early age for their families which can contribute to developmental stress. However, the study also outlined that this is not always the case, and that it depends largely on the attitude of the child towards the work, sometimes having a positive affect allowing the child to take a role of responsibility and importance in the family,

as a breadwinner. Another source of stress found was the exposure to risks on the street but again, this may not always be the case as the findings indicate that many youths avoid participating in problem behaviours and activities (Campos, *et al.*, 1994).

Among 'children of the street', parental absence was found to be one of the largest stresses influencing the development of the children. Abusing or neglectful parents have been found to have a large influence on the psychological wellbeing of the children. Stable family support networks were established to make up for this, nonetheless, most 'children of the street' tended to turn to peers, strangers or institutions for support rather than their families. The long endured exposure to multiple life stresses experienced by homeless youths was described as having a long term emotional and psychological effect on the child as well as a short term negative physical effect on the children (Campos, *et al.*, 1994). Peer group support was discovered as being a fundamental support in the lives of street youth, with this support system described as one of strengths of street children. Overall street children's situations and life experiences were suggested in Campos *et al.* (1994) to have a large effect on their long term wellbeing as adults.

Even with some of the mentioned inconsistencies, from the review of literature it was clear that self concept is seen as an important area of child research. The literature has demonstrated that many vulnerable children are in situations which could influence the development of negative self-perceptions associated with feelings of inferiority, isolation or unacceptability, and therefore leave the children vulnerable to deep psychological issues. As a result, it quickly became evident that there was a need for research to improve the understanding of self-concept of vulnerable children, particularly street children.

3.3.4. Theoretical Model
From the review of literature, specific research directly examining the self concept in street children was not found nor have any potential theoretical frameworks indicating factors influencing self concept development on street children been identified. Following the findings in Stage 1 (Section 2) and the review of the literature which supported the factors identified in Stage 1, as well as adding that institutional services and the street were also potential relevant influences in the lives of street children, a theoretical model of the Influences of the Self Concept of Talibé Street Children in the specific context of Dakar, Senegal, was developed. This model was investigated in the next chapters. Figure 20 illustrates this theoretical model.
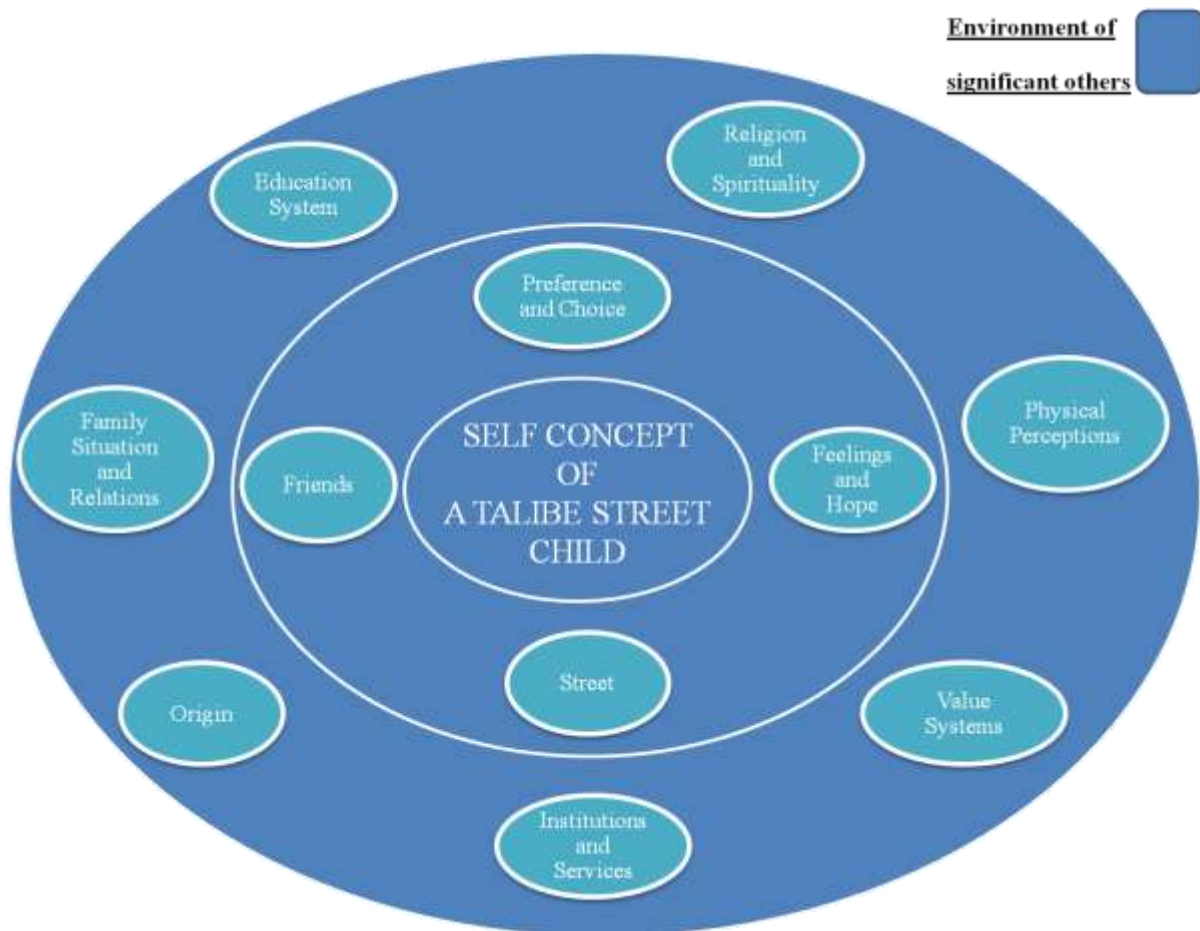
This framework consisted of eleven factors (found in the light blue bubbles in Figure 20.). In this framework, the dark blue areas represent the environment of significant others. This environment of significant other's influences the various factors illustrated in light blue and directly influences the self concept development of the children. These significant others appear in certain factors more considerably than others, with certain factors directly related to these significant others, for instance, family, institutions, friendship and education system (school).

In the inner circle illustrated in Figure 20, four factors are illustrated: street, preference and choice, feelings and hopes, and friendship. These are the factors that are proposed to have the greatest influence on the child's self concept and wellbeing. The street was indicated in Campos *et al.* (1994)'s study Section 3.3.3. to have a large effect on the child's long term well being and development and therefore was incorporated into this framework. The other three factors were identified as the most frequent in Stage 1 results (See Section 2.5.), therefore, in the context of Dakar, Senegal, it was anticipated that this would also be the case for the Talibé street children sample. The second outer circle in Figure 20 illustrates the factors

which were proposed to influence the self concept of Talibé street children but these concepts did not appear as frequently in the results of Stage 1 (See Section 2.5.). Therefore, they are anticipated to have less of an influence the self concept than the inner circle factors.

In summary, it was proposed that these eleven key concepts developed in an environment of significant others, influence the self concept of Talibé street children in Dakar, Senegal. As a result of the literature review and Stage 1 of this study, the working research questions have been formalised in order to test the theoretical model:

General Research Question

> What influences the self concepts of Talibé street children in Dakar?

Specific Research Question

RQ 1. In Dakar, What are the factors influencing self concept among Talibé street children?

RQ1. a) In Dakar, what significant others influence the self concept of Talibé street children?

3.4. Stage 2 Research Methodology

Stage 2 concentrated on the "*Talibé*" children who attend *daaras* (Quranic schools) run by muslim relgious leaders (*Marabouts*). This is a traditional practice continued today by particular ethnicities (for instance, *Peul* and Wolof) in Senegal and surrounding countries.

In this study, a Talibé child is defined as any child that has spent time in a *daara* (defined in Section.1.2.4). The children chosen for this study were Talibé street children which were defined as: children who spent time in a *daara* but now are spending the majority or all of their time on the streets.

3.4.1. Research Design

The methodology for Stage 2 was refined in the early stages of this study. Stage 1 assisted in refining the methodology of this study to the context of Dakar, Senegal. The key factors found in Stage 1 to influence the effectiveness of instruments were found to be: the age of child, the complexity of the activities and the length of interviews.

Firstly, the age of the child influenced the possibilities of participation (See Section 2.4.1.). The results of Group 1 (Section 2.4.1.) demonstrated that the younger child of five years old (Child 1) found it difficult to understand the procedure of the first activity even when it was repeatedly explained and demonstrated by various parties. She wanted to participate and did her best to produce a drawing, however this was difficult. On the other hand, Child 2 did not have problems grasping the concepts or procedures of the activities which indicated that Child 1 was slower to participate as the activities were too complex for her age, although she was also very shy which may have been an influencing factor. As a result of interviews with Group 1, the first activity was excluded as it was believed to be too complex, limiting the participation of less advanced and younger children. The results from Group 2 and Group 3 concurred with this conclusion, with the simpler, *Recruit Me* activity adopted in place of *A Picture of Self Reflection.*

The second activity with Group 1 yielded more in-depth results than the first activity (See Section 2.4.1.) and was found to be easier to understand. However, as the children were tired this activity may not have reached saturation point and due to this all information may not have been obtained. A second interview may have assisted with this and, if deemed necessary, this was done when necessary during Stage 2 interviews. The length of the interviews and activities correlated negatively with the participation of the children, both

getting tired as the time went on (found in Group 1 interviews). As the interviews progressed with the following groups, shorter interviews were conducted and from there, no problems related to concentration or tiredness resulted.

In '*A Meta-Analysis of Measures of Self-Esteem for Young Children: A Framework for Future Measures'* by Davis- Kean and Sandler (2001) an increasing reliability of results was found, in studies regarding self-esteem and self-concept, to be correlated with the increasing age of participating children. Chaplin and John (2005) describe the major changes between self concept between early childhood and adolescence. They describe how toddler and preschool children very concretely conceptualise self concept, with single representations, for example 'I am a boy' but then as children get older their self concept representations become increasingly abstract with children in middle childhood begining to find connections between self representations (for example, I like to make jokes but the child will not say I am jovial). Chaplin and John also demonstrate how self constructs become more complex as the child ages, with, for example, possessions appearing and gaining an increased importance with age. Therefore, children in Group 2 were chosen as they were aged between seven and seventeen years. The activities with the two interviews in Group 2 (See Section 2.4.2.) worked well and yielded more detailed results.

Due to further investigation and following Piaget's theory of cognitive development which describes 12-17 years old as the formal operational stage in which the child understands the world through hypothetical and thinking reasoning (Wood, Smith and Grossniklaus, 2001) Group 3 was conducted with a child in this formal operational stage (12-17 years). As a result of these studies, and a final interview with Child 5, although the children's age in Group 2 was suitable, in order to ensure the maximum reliability of the results, Stage 2 of this study focused on children between the ages of 12 and 17 years old.

As a result of the limitations found in Stage 1 interviews adjustments were made to the activities for Group 2. The first activity *Picture of Self Reflection* was excluded as an option and instead *Recruit Me* was employed. The second activity, *Who Plays a Part in my Life,* was deemed appropriate and thought it could be further refined to take the shape of an actor map. These adjustments ensure that activities for Group 2 were more specific, direct and took less time allowing the researchers to gather the maximum and most detailed information in a shorter time frame so reducing the risk of the children losing their concentration. During Group 2, the participants included the actors in their lives in the first *Recruit Me* activity.

Therefore, it was clear that there was no need for the second activity but rather that both activities were merged together. The fact that the children themselves included both activities together, indicated that the actors were relevant in their lives when they examined their identity, which correlated with the literature, for example, Eisenberg (2006). As a result, one activity was sufficient to gather all information, which avoided any potential problems such as insufficient time for both interviews or the children getting tired. This refined activity, following a final pilot study with Child 5, was taken as the interview guide for Stage 2 interviews.

The final activity, as refined in Stage 1, was used as a participatory interview guide rather than a formal activity with recognition that the Stage 2 sample, the Talibé street children, were not educated in the same manner as the participants in Stage 1 interviews and that they were coming from a slightly different context. Therefore, the interview guide developed was flexible and sometimes adapted slightly with differing children which ensured that the instruments refined in Stage 1 worked effectively in Stage 2. The lessons learned from Stage 1 was that the age of a child participant can influence the ability to participate fully. Similarly, with children, the complexity of the activities and interviews that take too much time greatly influence the data gathered and the results obtained.

3.4.2. Ethical Considerations

Section 2.3.3. described the importance of ethical considerations when conducting research with children, particularly vulnerable children. As well as in Stage 1, in Stage 2 these ethical considerations were considered. The phenomenon of living on the street is complex surrounded by stigma, abuse and criminal activity these, which meant that ethical issues were essential to consider. The code of ethics found in the Annex (Section 5) was developed and signed by all partners involved in Stage 2 (the university representatives, the researcher and the centre). In addition, all those involved with the study, were given the full details of the study, its aim and the purpose of the study. The staff of the centre (where the data was collected) were also involved in the study giving their full consent and all information, resources etc. was discussed with them before use. Most importantly the participants of this study were fully informed of the details of this study and they gave their full consent, each happy to participate and fully supporting the study. Any issues within the research identified by the staff or the participants was adjusted.

As in Stage 1, Stage 2 was conducted always keeping in mind the potential benefits of the children, both long and short term. Upon finishing the study, the research will be shared among any relevant organisations and institutions, such as government bodies, NGOs and universities. The study will be made publically available and following the completion of the study, follow up publications will be made in order to lobby relevant stakeholders to ensure the improvement of the situation for these children. The centre Nazareth, where the data was collected and the other centres mentioned by the participants will be sent directly the study with recommendations for improvements as described by the participants themselves.

3.4.3. Sample Size Strategy

In Stage 2, Dakar was chosen as it is the capital city of Senegal and is a hub for Talibé street children coming from both within Senegal and the neighbouring countries. There are various services and initiatives set up in Dakar to support and work with this population. There is a vast number of Talibé children in Dakar, with UNICEF (2007) estimating that there are 7600 beggar children in Dakar and that the majority of these are Talibé children (90%). As a result it would have been difficult to access and collect representative data on the total number of these children. Due to this, the research was conducted in a centre targeting these children as there was better access to data and the data was representative of the population of children in the centre. The centre chosen was the Centre Nazareth in Grand Yoff, Dakar, Senegal. The centre met all the criteria necessary due to the factors listed in Table.4 :

Table 4. Requirements Met by Centre Nazareth

Centre Nazareth
1. The centre is a welcome centre for street children
2. The staff in the centre confirmed that the majority of the children frequenting the centre are Talibé street children
3. The centre has weekly services available to the children inviting the children to come on a Wednesday to eat, wash themselves and their clothes, to get treatment and to participate in awareness discussions
4. The centre works at a community, grassroots level in collaboration with various local actors and groups and welcomes involvement from locals in the surrounding and greater to community.
5. The centre works and engages with children both in the centre and on the streets, as well as works with the families, local communities and other actors all over Senegal in order to reintegrate the children.
6. The centre is located in Grand Yoff, Dakar and although it targets younger children, the centre accepts children between the ages of 13 and 17.
7. The centre and its staff were willing to participate in the study and aid the researcher during the data collection phase. The staff agreed that interviews could be conducted every Wednesday when the children came to the centre and that the staff would make themselves available to act as translators during the interviews[15].

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[15] The majority of the children spoke Wolof and not French, although one or two had some limited French, and the researcher (interviewer) spoke French only. As a result, it was necessary to have a translator during the interview process.

The staff explained that from the centre's data, the average number of children in the centre each Wednesday was calculated at approximately 31 children. Therefore the aim of this study was to have interviews with at least 20% of this population (i.e. a minimum of six children). Seven interviews with Talibé street children were collected in total for the Stage 2 sample.

All children in the sample were boys as only boys attended the centre during this time[16]. The participants were selected following a preliminary observation of the children in the centre. Children were chosen based on the following criteria.

The child:

1. Had been in a *daara* for a period of time
2. Was currently frequenting the streets
3. Was between the age of 13 and 17
4. Regularly attended the centre
5. Gave full and informed consent to participate in the study

3.4.4. Data Collection Process

Stage 2 primary data was gathered during the month of January 2014. In order to answer the research questions a semi structured exploration was conducted with Talibé children involved with the centre. The seven children participated in interviews each Wednesday in the centre during the month of January.

Each interview lasted between 15 minutes and 75 minutes. Each interview started with the each child completing the *Recruit Me*/Actor Map activity refined in Stage 1 (Refer to Section 3.3.1. and Section 5). In order to collect the data, interviews were conducted in a small group (maximum three per group) as well as individually. The group work was conducted in order to increase participation giving the children opportunities to share with each other. However, having conducted the first set of interviews in a group it became evident that individual interviews were less intrusive, allowed greater confidentiality and were more comfortable for the children. It also ensured that the children were not influenced by the answers of other participants. The children appeared more at ease and happier to speak openly in an individual setting. The interviews with Child E and Child F began together, in a group setting due to time constraints but the discussion was conducted individually.

In a few of the interviews there were some interruptions due to the fact that the interview was conducted in a room in the centre and so it was open for staff to go in and out. This meant

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[16] According to the staff in the centre and various other experts views in Dakar, it is rare for girls to frequent the street in Dakar.

that the interviews sometimes became a bit disjointed, however this was resolved with follow up interviews in the cases that information was missing or unclear. Each interview was held with a translator who was Senegalese and working in the centre. Three different translators were used, one man and two women. All interviews were conducted in French/ Wolof.

The first Wednesday, three children participated (Child A, B and C) but unfortunately as there was time limitations not all necessary information was collected which meant follow up interviews were necessary in order to reach saturation point. Saturation point was reached in one interview with the following four children (Child D, E, F and G). The saturation point was identified as being when the children started to repeat the same answers or stop giving answers and/ or when all the key information necessary had been gathered. Some children very openly discussed all areas and answered questions in detail but some were very quiet and found it more difficult, particularly concerning some more personal questions. If a child seemed very uncomfortable talking, the subject was changed quickly in order to avoid causing potential distress to the child.

3.5. Stage 2 Findings

This chapter laid out the results of Stage 2 of this study. The aspects self concept found in the sample of Talibé street children in Dakar were identified. From this the factors and significant others found to be influencing self concept in the sample were described.

The data related to development of the self concept of the seven children interviewed varied greatly in the amount of information and the responses given related to self concept. Six children, mentioned feelings and self attributes specific to self concept, such as protector and being patient. However, these children tended to focus their discussion on their behaviours. The self concept aspects found had a tendency to focus on relationships with people and the significant others in the child's life, how they behave or should behave with them in the environment of significant others. Therefore, these behaviours and situations were used to distinguish the self concept aspects, for instance, when a child discussed life on the street and aspects of being a street child this aspect was categorised as street child. Interestingly, the most reoccurring self aspect across the 6 children was 'Street child', found in five out of six children. The seventh child, Child G, did not specifically give information directly related to his self concept aspects so as a result it was not possible to generate results of this from his interview. The other aspects reoccurred in two children at most. Figure 21 (following page) demonstrates these key self concept aspects identified in the sample.

The self aspects linked to the street child aspect were mainly involving survival mechanisms such as *'protect himself'*, *'avoids fighting'*, *'hits back'* and being careful and patient. The children discussed the concrete ways of trying to survive on the streets, what sort of behaviours they need and who they have to be to be a street child.

Figure 21. Occurrences of Self Concept Aspects Identified in Stage 2
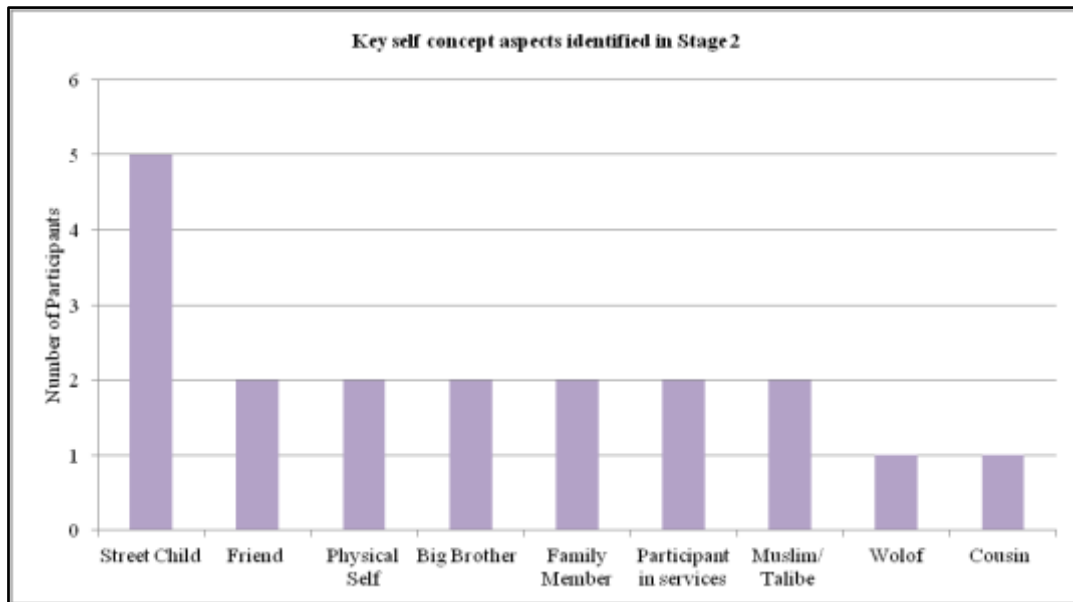
The following sections describe the findings which allowed us to answer our research questions:

General Research Question

> ➢ What influences the self concepts of Talibé street children in Dakar?

Specific Research Question

RQ1. In Dakar, What are the factors influencing self concept among Talibé street children?

RQ1. a) In Dakar, what significant others influence the self concept of Talibé street children?

3.5.1. Key Factors and Significant Others Influencing the Self Concept of Talibé Street Children

The children identified a number of factors, which included actors, in their lives. Firstly, the drawing that each child completed demonstrated the most important actors in their lives. Their drawings gave us the first insight of who and what they considered most significant in their lives as they drew them directly, with no discussion. These drawings incorporated various elements in their lives, namely, the actors, memories and situations which came into their mind as most important. A number of the illustrations depicted scenarios in the past, hopes and dreams and the likes and interests of the children etc. Some of the pictures were more detailed than others. All children drew who they felt are the important actors and people in their lives. Overall, the children concentrated on family members, friends (from the street and non street children), aggressors and staff members in the Centre Nazareth. A number of these significant others were described in the discussion as playing a minimal role in the current lives of the children and this was found to be as a result of the child frequenting the streets.

The discussion with the children facilitated further exploration of the factors identified in the drawings and through the discussion, new actors and concepts were discovered. Table 5 describes the most significant factors identified in the seven interviews. The number of participants in the sample is outlined in the second column. The shaded factors are the factors which also directly relate to specific actors.

Table 5. Concepts Identified Related to Self Concept

Concept	Child	Occurrence in text
Family relations and situation	ABCDEFG	46
Street	ABCDEFG	31
Institutions/services	ABCDEFG	29
Friendship	ACDEFG	22
Education system	ABCDEFG	17
Origin	ABCDEFG	12
Work	ABCEFG	9
Feelings and hopes	BCDEF	9
Value systems	ABCD	7
Physical perceptions	BCF	4
Religion and spirituality	BF	2
Preference and choice	A	1

The concepts outlined in Table 5 will be discussed in detail according to the concept title.

3.5.1.1. Family Relations and Situation

Although not all participants were in current contact with their family, each one described their family as an actor in their lives, providing evidence that family is a key factor relating to the self of the participants in this sample. The family was discussed both negatively and positively by the children, having both a negative and positive influence on the children's current situation. For example, Child A described having no problems with his family and that they are close.

'The fact that he stays on the streets depends totally on him, he says that if he stays on the streets it is just that he is not ready to go home. But he has no problems with the family.' (Child A)

On the other hand, the same child mentioned that the family's financial situation is the reason that he stays on the streets and that his family brought him to the *daara*. The conditions in the *daara* were the reason that he originally fled to the streets. Therefore, indirectly the family's decision to bring Child A to the *daara* has led to him frequenting the streets.

'He lives with the family but comes back to the streets when they need money... They brought him to the daara... He came to the streets due to the daara...' (Child A)

Even with their previous influence in his decision to go to the streets, Child A said that it is completely his decision to stay on the streets now. The case of Child A, the findings suggested that the family influenced the original behaviour of the child to frequent the streets, however, that his current behaviour (staying on the streets) is because he is not yet ready to go home.

Overall, the family were found to influence the current behaviours of the children and their current situation. Table 6 describes their influence.

Child	General Family Influence	Justification
A	Positive and Negative	No problems with family but they influenced his tendencies towards to street because they are in a precarious financial situation. Family are not aware that he is on the streets but think that he is working.
B	Negative	Broken relationship between parents: his mother is gone and he does not speak to father. The family problems are the reason that he left home. He wants to go to his Grandmother's home but doesn't know where she lives.
C	Positive and Negative	No problems with his relationship with his family however his parents are divorced and he cannot go to his mother's home. He ran away because he was tired of the *daara* and he was continually sent back there. His family know that he has left the *daara*.
D	Negative	Does not know where family are or how to get home. He has no support from them. They sent him to the *daara* but did not know that the situation was bad for him there because he has not seen them since he was there. He would tell them how difficult he found the *daara* if he had the chance to see them
E	No information	Child gives little specific information about family. As a result it is not possible to decipher the influence of his family on his life. He mentioned that his immediate family know that he wants to go home. He has not got the money to go home yet.
F	Negative	The family sent him to the *daara* and continued to do so when he told them he didn't like it so he ran away to the streets. He wants to go home but feels that he cannot. He believes that his mother knows that he is on the streets
G	Negative	The family sent him to the *daara* and made him return when he told them he didn't want to so he ran away to the streets.

Although, on some levels the family are found to have positively influenced the children and that some families still play a large role in the child's life (such as in the case of Child A). Table 6 demonstrated that in the majority (6/7) of the cases, the family situation and decisions have influenced the child's decision to come to and/or to stay on the street. The remaining case, Child E did not give precise information on this.

The relationship with different members of the family also was found to vary between mothers and fathers, between siblings, and in regards to the extended family. When looking more closely at family members, all children mentioned their father in some capacity. The father and the relationship with the father were described as being both bad and good, however, the children did not always specify.

'He doesn't want to say if they are close or not.' (Child E)

Some children mentioned that their fathers would be angry with them if they found out that they are on the street, for example, Child A. Others described their fathers being angry now due to the children leaving the *daara* and/ or frequenting on the streets, for instance, Child

G's father. Child B was one of the children that described difficulties with his father, clearly demonstrating that he continues to be very angry and hurt by his father. The same child also mentioned that his father forbid certain contact with his mother, negatively impacting his relationship with his mother by creating more distance between him and his mother. In the case of Child F, his father is dead, and his uncle was described as taking the father figure role, deciding whether he goes to the *daara* or not. Child E's uncle also was found to play a key role in his current life as he is living with him in Dakar.

The mother was mentioned by six of the seven children, with four describing the mother in a positive light:

'He misses her... He was favouritised by her...She looked after him.' (Child B)

'She supported him before the daara... She is nice.' (Child F)

The child (Child C) who did not describe his mother directly, mentioned only that he cannot go to live with her because she has remarried. The mothers were described as playing a supportive role in the past, for example, bringing the children to eat, looking after them and caring for them when sick, listening to their problems and playing together.

'They used to eat together... She cared for him... She brought him to hospital when he was sick.' (Child D)

Three of the children specified that they have not seen their mother in a very long time with others mentioned missing their mothers. The current supportive role of the Child G's mother was identified by the child, mentioning that every time he goes home his mother tries to make him stay and wants to help him to get off the streets, assisting with finding jobs etc.

'She tries to make him return home and tells him every time that he mustn't go back on the street but he doesn't listen.' (Child G)

Activities with siblings were mentioned by some participants, such as Child C who drew a picture of a game he plays with his little brother. Current contact with siblings was found to vary, for instance, Child G described seeing his brother in Touba three times per month, whereas Child D said that he has not seen his siblings for what he described as a very long time, since before he was sent to the *daara*. Although the children mentioned being happy and close with some of their siblings, they rarely described siblings as emotionally supportive. This is partly due to many of the siblings being younger, for instance, in the case of Child D. Only Child E described a brother as supportive. Unfortunately this brother lives far away in Guinea.

'He can talk to him if something is worrying him or if he doesn't know something.' (Child E)

The roles that the children play within their family were identified in the interviews. Three children discussed the big brother role that they play/ played with their siblings and cousins. Child B mentioned his role as a protector with his cousin whom he described as his '*little sister*'. Also, Child D said that a big brother must act as a protector and that he was a protector:

'He would tell them to be at peace with the brothers and not to hit them or treat them badly. A big brother is a protector. Are you like this? Yes.' (Child D)

Family was found to influence the child's current situation and behaviour. However, examples also gave evidence of the child's behaviour influencing the relationships with significant others in the family. Two children discussed the negative impact of frequenting the street on their relationships with siblings and extended family. Child B mentioned support from his cousin who he was very close to but, in addition, he discussed the shame he feels surrounding living on the streets and the effect that this has on his relationship with his cousin:

'He says that he would not even talk to her now because he knows that she has gone to see his father a lot to ask where he is gone and that she will know he is on the streets and all that, and because of this he could not talk to her. He would be ashamed to see her.' (Child B)

Similarly, Child G described his big brother as not loving him and that this was amplified because he is on the streets:

'So it is because you are on the streets that your big brother does not love you as much? He said yes that is it. He said that before he was on the streets the relationship was better but not much.' (Child G)

3.5.1.2. The Street

The factor of the street was discussed by all children and was the second most reoccurring factor found in the interviews. The children focused on describing their own behaviours and the behaviours of others on the street, particularly related to survival strategies, as well as the risks and dangers faced. The participants were both full time living on the streets and also frequenting the street sporadically.

In the interviews the spaces that the children occupy on the street were described. They outlined where they frequent during the night and during the day. Child D mentioned that he stays at the stadium where there are old cars. There he passes the night in an old bus. Both

Child C and Child G drew pictures of specific places they frequent. Child G drew a bus because he stayed for a period of time in one and Child C drew where he slept when he left home. He also drew a picture of working on the street. He described it as:

'This is where he finds things on the street with his friends, he does not steal them but just finds them and resells them so that he can eat. He finds items with children of his own age but he sells them alone.' (Child C)

Negative perceptions of the children regarding the streets were found, with all seven children describing the streets negatively. Child B, Child C and Child G believed that returning home is the best solution for a child living on the streets.

'He would say that the street is not safe, there is not peace, there is nothing on the street for a person.' (Child D)

'Don't run away, stay with your family. The street is hard you know.' (Child G)

However, two children explained that the streets are an improvement on their previous situations in the *daara*. For example, Child F said that the street is better than the *daara* because he can have money or find money from begging or working. On the other hand, Child C did not know which is more difficult. Child G and Child A described their constant to and fro to the street. They discussed going home and coming back again to the streets for a period of time even when they said that they have no problems at home and the effect of the street on gaining a stable routine such as finding a job:

'The fact that he stays on the street is his choice, it has nothing to do with his family. The thing is he has spent a lot of time on the streets and it is difficult to go home now and settle there. He said that even at one point he had started working but he stopped because he is used to the streets and it is very hard to leave now... He has gotten used to the situation there.' (Child A)

'After the streets sometimes he returns home. And now he doesn't know what pushes him to return to the streets.' (Child G)

The situation is not easy for the children on the streets and the difficulties and risks faced for the children were discussed by all but Child E who stated that he sees no risks on the street. Nevertheless, later in the interview, Child E did mention some negative aspects and his hope to leave his current environment on the streets. Difficulties mentioned by the participants included violence, lack of shelter, lack of food, no clean clothes, lack of security and lack of support or protection. Child G gave a detailed account of issues of sleeping on the street and the behaviours that he must adopt in order to protect himself and cope in this environment:

'The thing is that it is hard sometimes is that you look for a place to sleep. He sleeps and sometimes there are friends who come to sleep in the same place. And this place there for example the owner of the land will say that it is forbidden to sleep here. You see, and if there are a lot of youths there, the owner could come and hunt you out. He could come there and hunt you out and this night you can end up spending the whole night searching for a place to sleep. Or sometimes you can be there, for example, and the older children come there and try to steal your money or even to try and have sexual relations with you.. It is the older ones who do this if they try you wake yourself up and wake up all of your friends. They fight. Or even you take a weapon and threaten them, a broken bottle or that and they run away... If you try to threaten them they run away.' (Child G)

This account describes the difficulties in relation to other actors on the streets. In his picture (Figure 22), Child B also negatively illustrated actors from the streets, drawing an aggressor in his neighbourhood whom he is afraid of and wants to avoid.

Figure 22. Illustration by Child B

Four children mentioned issues with some of the other street children for instance, problems with those who take drugs, physical abuse and lack of support from other street children as well as getting in to trouble due to hanging around with *'bad people'*. Child F described the lack of support from others on the street:

'He says in fact it is not that he doesn't trust them, it is that when someone has a problem, they do not really take this problem into account. They do not help. When someone is sick or hurt they leave them... Maybe the older will help them but the younger won't.' (Child F)

Behaviour was mentioned as changing depending on the circumstances, for instance, between the street and family home or the street and the centre:

'The behaviours cannot be the same thing because there is no peace or protection... So in the home it is not the same.' (Child A)

'He is better here in the centre, compared to the street he is better.' (Child C)

However, some children described trying to normalise their behaviour in all of their situations, attempting to be as good as possible. Adapting behaviour to street life was found to be a key survival strategy. Children try to make protection for themselves, some, such as Child D and Child B, attempt to normalise their lives undertaking activities of the mainstream community such as learning French, working, attending centres, praying and frequenting various services. Evidence clearly demonstrated that the street environment and actors influence the behaviour of the children with five children describing behavioural methods and strategies in order to avoid problems and stay out of trouble on the street. For example:

'He says that he is very careful and takes a lot of things into account because in fact being on the street is always a risk.. The best thing to do is to be at peace with everybody, instead of going looking for a fight, he tries to get on with everyone because, he takes the example of one child who provoked others and was killed just like that. For him the best thing to do is to be at peace with everyone.' (Child B)

'He said that if children are fighting he will leave them alone and if it is him, he will avoid it.' (Child E)

'He tries to stay far away from problems. If there is a problem in the games room he will go to another one to avoid trouble. It is his way of avoiding risks.' (Child D)

'How does he protect himself and avoid these risks? He goes home, at home he has no problems.' (Child C)

3.5.1.3. Institutions/ Services

Six of the seven participants discussed institutions/ services in their interviews. In other words, the institutions and centres that they considered as involved in their lives. Both the centre Nazareth where the study was conducted and other centres in Dakar were discussed. All the children positively described the Centre Nazareth:

'He wouldn't change anything... The centre is very good... When he comes he is good.' (Child A)

'It would be difficult to survive on the streets without the centre... It is better than the others.' (Child B)

The centre Nazareth was described as providing various supports and facilities for the children and as making street life easier for them. The centre provides health and cleanliness facilities with treatment when hurt or sick, washing clothes and facilitating the children in washing themselves. In addition, the children discussed the leisure and educational role of the

centre; giving advice to the children and having discussions and providing them with a space to relax with television, to play together and to lie down. The staff of the centre also were mentioned as conducting outreach on the streets with the children.

All children except for Child B stated that they didn't want to improve anything in the centre. Child B said that he would like the centre to improve the facilities to include a place for the children to sleep. The overall regular attendance rates were found generally high among this sample. All children described attending frequently except Child G, who said that he does not attend the centre frequently only because he cannot keep track of the days of the week or time due to living on the street. As a result, he usually forgets when it is a Wednesday and does not attend. When he remembers he always attends. Although the centre provides a number of key services for the children, two of the children mentioned that they have been attending the centre for a number of years (at least two years). This demonstrated the longer term behaviours of the children who have been on the streets for a significant amount of time.

The children also discussed other centres in Dakar. These centres were found to be both playing a positive and negative role in the life of the children. The children generally talked about the centres but also described specific centres as listed in Table 7.

Evidence demonstrated the influence of the centres on the children. These centres were described by the sample in both a positive and negative light. Out of the nine centres mentioned (these nine excluding Centre Nazareth) only two of them were specifically referred to in a particularly positive light. The Centre Sociale was described by two children very positively with Child C describing it as the best centre in Dakar. Evidence was found regarding the supportive role in Centre Madame in the interview with Child D who described a staff member of Centre Madame as a big support for him:

'Who is the most important actor in your life at the moment who could help you? Generally it is the responsible in the Centre Madame who he goes to for help.' (Child D)

Table 7. Services Identified by the Children

Centre	Role	No. of Children who discussed service	Positive or negative perception of service	Child who discussed service
Centre Sociale	Health Shelter Food Reintegration	2	Positive	Child C, Child G
Centre Gindi	Education	2	Negative	Child C, Child G
Centre Sper	0	1	Negative	Child C
Christian Centre	0	1	Negative	Child B
Centre Madame	Leisure and sport activities Support	1	Positive	Child D
Centre ABC	0	1	0	Child D
Centre John Paul	Meal provision	1	0	Child D
Keur Massar	Education	2	Negative (Child B), 0 (Child G)	Child B, Child G
Samisociale	Reintegration	1	Negative	Child C
Other centres in general*	Health and treatment Leisure and sport Shelter Reintegration Food Education Support	7	Positive, Negative	All
Games room / Guardian in games room	Support Protection Shelter Security	2	Positive	Child B, Child D

*Other centres in general refer to general discussion on the above nine centres (excluding Centre Nazareth).

The centre and the other centres in Dakar were found to play a number of key roles in the children's lives, providing health and treatment, food, shelter, support and advice, protection, education and reintegration services. The children considered these services as key to their survival and recommendations were given by Child A to increase the number of centres in Dakar. Child C demonstrated the importance of the services provided by centres in Dakar, mentioning that if he could give advice to those having difficulties while living on the streets, *'the only advice that he can give is to go to the centre or to the other centres where people there can help and understand.'*

Yet, even with the few positive aspects mentioned, a surprising number of problems and negative aspects related to the other centres were found. Five centres were described in a negative light and centres in general were described quite negatively. Two children called Centre Gindhi the worst centre. They said that this was due to staff members and animators hitting the children and trying to convert children from Muslim to Christian. Similarly two other centres, Centre Sper and the Keur Massar centre were also negatively described by the children as they aimed to convert the children. The Keur Massar centre was mentioned again as being too severe, forbidding the children to play. Child E also explained that he himself stopped going to another centre due to conversion attempts:

'He said that this [Centre Nazareth] is the only one he goes to now but that he used to go to another one but there they tried to convert you so he doesn't want to go anymore.' (Child E)

Another centre was described by Child D as being *'good and nice'* but he said that at the time it was closed due to paedophilia accusations. The above mentioned negative perceptions of the services may result in the services having less of an influence on the children's behaviours, with some avoiding the centres:

'They tried to convert the children so it is due to this that a lot of children avoid going there.' (Child B)

Although the games room is not a service specifically focused on the street children; it was mentioned by five of the children as a survival mechanism and a support in their daily lives on the street. The games room gives them a safe sanctuary and protection from the street during the day, though for one also during the night. One child described sleeping in a games room during the night. Evidence demonstrated the importance of the games room in the day to day existence and routine of the children. For example, Child D described his day as playing with friends, going to a centre or a games room and then at around 7pm he goes to bed.

'What does he do during the day? He said that he is on the street, in the games room.' (Child F)

'How does he protect himself [on the street]? He says that in the morning he goes to eat then he goes to the games room.' (Child C)

'... Some move a lot each night but for him he is just in the games room. He stays at the games room. In the morning he goes to look for something to eat and after he returns to the games room.' (Child B)

'He says that he is at the table football [games room] during the day and the stadium is only for the night.' (Child D)

Child B described the guardian in the games room as playing an important role in his life, giving emotional support and advice, a routine (such as prayer), shelter and protection as well as assistance with money management:

'He says that in fact he spends the night at Patte d'Oie [games room]. There is a guardian there... This is for protection... In general when he goes to the games room there is a sir who prays with him... Some move a lot and each night but for him he is just in the games room. The games room is a bit like a home for him because the sir who runs the games room is /a bit of a father/. He gives advice and knows his situation well... He says that he trusts him.' (Child B)

3.5.1.4. Friendship

Friends were mentioned by four out of seven participants. These friends were described across various environments, from on the street and in Dakar in general, to in the child's original home place, in a games room, in the centres and also those who were in the *daara* with the child. Many friends were described as frequenting the streets themselves. Some friends, such as other street children, were found to be in daily contact with the participants but others are further away, no longer in regular contact or even in any contact at all. The relationship between the participant and the friend varies also; some are or have been working together, others have met just from being around Dakar, others are on the street and they play together, for instance, in a games room.

Responses regarding the influence of friends on the child's life varied. The participants described the support given by friends in various ways:

'... He can talk to him if he has a problem.' (Child A) (Child E)

'If he has a fight they will help him... Can talk about football.' (Child C)

'He can confide in him [his friend]... [His friend] gives advice and help when there is a problem.' (Child G)

Financial support was also mentioned by the children, for example Child A:

'He said that if his friend has a problem he gives him money and if he has a problem his friend gives him money.'

Interestingly, Child A went on to describe a staff member of Centre Nazareth as his friend who gives him support when he comes to see him on the street. Child C agreed and said that he feels that the centre supports him more than his friends:

'The centre supports him not his friends.' (Child C)

The influence of the friendships with other street children was demonstrated in Child G's situation when he described his friends on the street as a sort of a second family, with his best friend, a street child, providing him with support giving him the opportunity to talk to a close friend but also someone to play and work with in a similar situation. He said that these friends create a pull to the streets because he will come back and visit them.

On the other hand, other children outlined the lack of support from street friends. They mentioned that because the other street children are in the same situation as they are (i.e. on the streets) they cannot provide emotional support, but only basic physical support.

'He cannot talk to him [his friend] about problems; he is also on the street so he cannot help. They have the same problems, for example, the daara.' (Child E)

'They don't support him, that they cannot talk about anything complicated or meaningful like problems.' (Child C)

Two of the children mentioned choosing specific friends as a survival strategy on the streets. For instance, Child B wants to avoid risks and feels uncomfortable around certain street children. He avoids drug users as does Child D who chooses friends who do not smoke or take drugs:

'He says that his friends are the guys who don't smoke, who don't take drugs or anything. He doesn't do any of that... He stays with people who do not do it.' (Child D)

Similarly Child A referred to the behaviour of his friends mentioning that his closer friends are *'the good ones'.* Two of the children demonstrated self support discussing support coming from themselves rather than others. and that he is the only one that can support himself. Child C described supporting himself as follows:

'He is patient and he will start to feel better.' (Child C)

Child F explained that he hides his problems from others, preferring to not talk to anyone at all about his problems rather than seeking support.

'When he has a problem he hides it.' (Child F)

Overall friends were found as significant others who can influence the child's behaviour and tendency towards or from the streets. There was some evidence of children choosing friends in relation to the behaviours they want to adopt, and the values they have, for example, anti drugs. Although friends were identified across the various environments and from the past, the current situation of the children does influence the friends that they currently have.

3.5.1.5. Education System

All the children interviewed stated that they have attended a *daara* school. The life in the *daara* involved learning lessons and the Quran, cleaning, eating and working or begging. According to Child D it takes three years to finish the classes and learn the Quran. He explained that the aim is to learn the Quran but earning money was the focus of his *daara*. He said that he didn't get close to finishing learning the Quran even after 2 years. Child G described his daily life in a rural *daara*:

'In the morning they get up very early to learn the Quran until around 9am. Then they have breakfast, after this if it is during the retreat time, they go back to the house. The biggest cultivate the fields and the younger ones stay to clean in the house. They all work.' (Child G)

Evidence suggested that the *daara* is a significant other which influences the behaviour of the children. Four of the seven children described the *daara* as having a direct influence on them arriving on the streets.

'So why did he come to the streets originally? He says that in fact he was in a daara and the conditions there were very difficult. When they did not learn the subjects properly, they were chained up and hit. That's what they did to him the first time and after that he ran away.' (Child A)

Two children discussed the *daara* as an indirect cause of them frequenting the streets, in association with the family's influence and situation. Although Child E and Child D did not specify that the *daara* was a factor in them frequenting the streets, they indicated that the *daara* may be a factor. For instance, Child E described the *daara* as the last place he was before Dakar and he did not tell his father that he left the *daara*, these two points lead to question to why he left, suggesting that he left of his own will to go to Dakar to the streets.

The conditions in the school were described as difficult by all the children and as a reason to why children fled the *daaras* to the street. Children were subjected to physical punishments such as being chained, hit and beaten.

'It was difficult. They had to beg, when they didn't earn enough they would be beaten.' (Child E)

'They would hit you when you didn't learn your lessons properly.' (Child F)

'It was difficult in fact/ because when the children didn't do what the Marabout said he would hit them.' (Child D)

The child's relationships with the actors of the *daara* were mentioned. Four children described the *Marabout* (religious leader) in their *daara*, explaining that he asked the children for money and to beg.

'It was necessary to have money: 500, 700 or 1000 francs... So they beg for that and give it to the Marabout.' (Child A)

Child D and Child F both said that they would not say anything to the *Marabout* if they had an opportunity to speak to him. Child F stated that:

'I could not and would not be with him.'

The other students attending the *daara* and relationships with them were also mentioned by four of the children. Child A described a hierarchy among the students, with the younger children respecting the older children. Only Child F mentioned the supportive role of his comrades in his class when he attended the *daara*. Although, as he is no longer in the *daara* he no longer sees them or has their support:

'He can talk to his comrades about problems but he doesn't see them at the moment.' (Child F)

The *daara* was found to influence the behaviour of the participants and their arrival to the street. The children described that some children have run away and been brought back and that the older children influence the younger children to go to the streets.

'The youth in the daara and outside the daara try to influence those in the daara who are around 10 years old. They say to leave the daara and that. He says there are youth influencing the children and that they were influencing him. He said that he ran away thinking that life would be better.' (Child C)

The children discussed the best behaviours to adopt when in a *daara* giving advice to other children that are currently in the *daaras*. Two participants felt that it was important to patient and to put up with the situation there. Similarly, Child G said that he would tell the children not to run away but specifically spoke about going home. Child D also told children to run away if they are close to home and it is possible to go home. Child E did not feel that he was in a position to give advice to other children.

'Be careful, don't run away, stay with your family. The street is hard you know.' (Child G)

'If they are close to home they should run away from the daara and go home.' (Child D)

'He would say to children who are thinking of running away from the daara to be patient, to learn their lessons well and work well.' (Child C)

'The only thing that he could advise is to be patient, even though it is not easy to put up with the treatment and to be patient, it is the only thing he could tell them.' (Child B)

Finally, the children discussed the best and worst points about the *daara* as well as what they would like to change. Child C felt that the *daara* is easier than the streets being the only child to mention a positive point about the *daara*:

'It is easier than the streets.' (Child C)

The most difficult element of the *daara* and what the participants would like to change correlated. Here, the children mentioned the importance of getting rid of the chains and stopping beating children. Child C described how the *daara* tired him and that he would like to learn French rather than the Quran. He also said that if he had children, he would not send them to a *daara* due to the conditions and hardships faced by the children. On the contrary, Child F said that although he prefers to stay on the street than to go back to the *daara*, he wants his children to learn the Quran. However, he would not send his child to a traditional *daara* but to an international *daara*.

'He would send his children to an international daara because it is less difficult there. There is a big difference between an international daara and those where you beg... He wants his children to learn the Quran and then to go to a French school.' (Child F)

3.5.1.6. Origin

In the Origin factor, three categories were discussed by the children: name, place of origin and ethnicity.

Three children talked about the meanings of their names. The children described liking their names and said that the origin of their names are American, Wolof and Senegalese. Child A specifically said that he likes his name because *'it is him'*. Two of the children also associated their names to religious practices and people.

'I like it [his name] because it is the name of Ramadan.' (Child B)

'It is a Wolof name and the first name of a Marabout so he likes it.' (Child C)

The children described where they come from originally with six from Senegal and three of these from Dakar and one from the neighbouring country of Guinea Conakry:

Table 8. Origin of Participants

Origin	General location of origin	Child
Guediawaye	Dakar	A, B, G[17]
Touba	Senegal	C, F
Fouta	Senegal	D
Guinea Conakry	Guinea Conakry	E

In Table 8 illustrates that two of the children are from Touba which is a religious centre of Senegal with a huge Muslim population. This was not surprising as these children are coming from families which must have some level of religious beliefs, having sent their children to a *daara*. Links were found between identity and origin in the interviews with, for example, Child A feeling that he has a Senegalese identity describing Senegal:

'Here in Senegal there is the national dish thieu dieune [fish and rice], the national sports, fighting and festivals. There are also the drinks.' (Child A)

The final category mentioned in regards to the origin of the children was their ethnicity. Child A and Child B did not specify which ethnic group they belong to, however, Table 9 outlines the ethnicity of the other children:

Table 9. Ethnic Groups of Participants

Ethnic Group	Child
Peul	E, D, G
Wolof	F, C

The children discussed the origin and their identity further in relation to these ethnic groups. The *Peul* children described the *Peul* ethnicity; a *Peul* is a shepherd who lives in the countryside adopting a nomadic lifestyle of moving and finding food for animals. Learning the Quran was also included as making up part of their *Peul* identity. Child D described the nomadic lifestyle as a barrier to finding his family as the family move often. Child C believed that for him to be Senegalese is to be Wolof and that he is Senegalese because he is from

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[17] Child G's family are originally from Fouta.

Senegal and he speaks Wolof. Child F identified with being Wolof because it is the language that he speaks.

'They [Wolofs] are very black and we recognise their way to speak... In Senegal in general there are many Wolofs.' (Child C)

3.5.1.7. Work

Six of the seven children mentioned work during their interview. Some children described working as a survival strategy on the streets. The children work alone and/ or with friends in order to have money to eat, for instance, selling water and drinks. Others mentioned begging as a method to get food while on the streets:

'He said that he can beg to get food.' (Child F)

Two children described working in the past, for example, Child G discussed working as a tailor but did not specify if he continues to work, although he did mention meeting his boss recently. Child A described working in Touba with a friend but stopping because he came to the streets in Dakar. Now he works with a friend who has a cart. Work in this sense was described by Child A as a survival mechanism in the sense of self protection and occupation to keep himself from hanging around the streets:

'He says in fact there is no peace or security there [on the street] so he tries to create his own protection or cover for himself. For example, he works with a friend who has a cart, you see when he does that he spends his afternoons with him. He does all to keep himself away from staying around the streets and to keep himself busy.' (Child A)

Child C and Child G portrayed work as a method of accessing the streets and networks of Dakar. Child G mentioned working with horses in another region of Senegal and that it was due to this work and these connections he arrived in Dakar. Similarly, Child C took a bus from his home town to another region and begged for money in order to take a bus to Dakar port. Both children drew these significant points of the journey, with Child C drawing the port in Dakar of his arrival and Child G drawing the bus he took to arrive here (shown at the bottom of the drawing illustrated in Figure 23).

Figure 23. Illustration by Child G

3.5.1.8. Feelings and Hopes

Five of the children discussed this concept in the interviews. The two main categories identified in Feelings and Hopes were: the want to go home or to a family member and hopes for the future.

Five children described wanting to go home or to a family member. Three of these children explained the difficulties of going home or to a family member as being due to distance, lack of information of where the family home is, lack of money to reach home and family beliefs. These family beliefs were mentioned by Child G who said that although he would like to go home to his family for good, he cannot because they believe that he has to continue to go to the *daara* and so he will wait until he is older to go home. Child B drew a plane in his drawing (Section 3.5.1.2. Figure 22) as he wants to travel to where his mother lives in Italy:

'This is a plane. Why have you drawn a plane? Because he wants to travel... To Italy to his mother.' (Child B)

Four children discussed two principle hopes for the future: education and work. Three children mentioned continuing education and their want to learn various domains:

'To learn French' (Child C) *'To go to school'* (Child D) *'To learn medicine... To finish learning the Quran.'* (Child B)

Two children also described work as a future hope. Child C wants to work with cars and Child F wants to work in any job he can find.

'He would like to work, whatever job it doesn't matter. That is the most important.' (Child F)

3.5.1.9. Value Systems

Throughout the interviews references to the values that the children have, and in some cases, the lack of values, were found. For instance, in the Friendship factor (Section 3.5.1.4.) children described choosing specific friends in order to avoid risks. Some children mentioned feeling uncomfortable around certain street children, with, for example Child D, who chooses friends based on their behaviours, for instance, those who do not smoke or take drugs:

'He says that his friends are the guys who don't smoke, who don't take drugs or anything. He doesn't do any of that... He stays with people who do not do it.' (Child D)

Similarly Child A referred to the behaviour of his friends mentioning that his closer friends are *'the good ones'.* Child A and Child D, for example, clearly demonstrated that they want to surround themselves in an environment of significant others who have morals and values that they consider to be appropriate and with behaviours that they want to adopt. Some children described themselves as having different behaviour in different environments whereas others attempt to uphold a singular behaviour in all environments based on their value system. For example:

'You behave differently in this centre to when on the streets? It is the same thing. He says that he is the same person. He doesn't steal and he tries to behave well and all.' (Child D)

Some children described the lack of structure and routine in the streets as influencing their behaviours, such as practicing religion. On the other hand, children, for example, Child B, use their values as a method of keeping this routine which also may be a method of keeping their self concept in tack. With influences from the new, precarious and constantly changing environment of the street, upholding values and moral practices, such as prayer, may prevent the children from losing their sense of self completely and may allow them to relate to a past that was better. They may even dream of a potential future (as seen in Section 3.5.1.8.). Finally, the values of the children also were found to come into play in regards to their interaction with other actors where, for example, some children described being *'protectors'* of their younger siblings or cousins.

3.5.1.10. Physical Perceptions

Although the physical perceptions were not discussed in detail by the children, they were briefly mentioned by three children. The children drew themselves in different ways and mainly mentioned that they just drew themselves like this for no particular reason. However, others described themselves with items that they like or would like to have. For example, Child B drew himself with a tie and he and Child C both said that they drew themselves with hairstyles they like or would like to have.

'He drew it like him because it looks like this and he wants the same hairstyle.' (Child B)

Child C drew himself with a cap in a way that he has seen people wearing in a certain way and with a football as playing football makes him happy (seen in the lower half of Figure 24).

Figure 24. Illustration by Child C

3.5.1.11. Religion and Spirituality

Religion and spirituality was mentioned by two children: Child B and Child F. Child B described his Muslim name, the name of Ramadan and his behaviours as a Muslim. He particularly focused on prayer and the importance of praying at certain times of the day. The participant said that he continues to practice his faith in the games room, praying there at the specific hours. However, Child F described the other elements that he felt make up a Muslim identity. He also mentioned the difficulties of practicing his faith while on the street:

'For him it [being Muslim] is to be a Marabout, to pray, to learn the Quran. For him, he doesn't do it because he is tired... He says that when you are on the streets you do not have a fixed play and you don't know the hours to pray and all.' (Child F)

In spite of the fact that he described himself not practicing his faith due to the situation he is in, he said that he still considers himself Muslim which demonstrated that he identifies with being a Muslim at a deeper scale than practicing the religion or following the customary practices and rules.

3.5.1.12. Preferences and Choice

Only Child A specifically mentioned this concept describing that he likes performances by a fake lion called Denn. Denn is a man that dresses up as a lion for festivals (illustrated in the top left hand corner of Figure 25).

Figure 25. Illustration by Child A

3.6. Stage 2 Discussion

Nine self concept aspects were identified (Section 3.5.) in the children interviewed. The Street was the most occurring aspect identified. As well as these aspects twelve key factors were found in the results (Section 3.5.1.) to influence the self concept of these Talibé street children. These twelve concepts come under the four categories of an individual's self described by Gecas (1982) where one's self concept is his self perception as a physical, social, spiritual and moral being.

The literature demonstrated the relationship between behaviour and self where, in Section 2.2.1., phenomenologists described self concept as the only available perspective to understand behaviour and in Section 3.2.3. Hawk (1967) stated that *'Behaviour is self'*. This was a fundamental when examining the results. The results in Section 3.5.1. demonstrated that the various behaviours of the participants influence relationships with other actors but also various actors, namely significant others, in various environments, influence the behaviour and current situation of the participants. If Hawk's assumption that behaviour is self is taken, would that not mean that self is also behaviour and therefore would it not possible to examine the self through behaviour? This assumption followed the perspectives from social psychological traditions and examined causes in behaviour outside of the individual in order to decipher the influences of self concept.

It was particularly relevant to explore the influences on the self concept of street children through their behaviours because as the interviews demonstrated, the children identified themselves primarily with their behaviours and situations. They discussed the influences on their behaviours, as well as the impact of their behaviour on their wellbeing and on others. This discussion chapter examined the specific factors described in the results in relation to the theory in order to answer the research questions:

General Research Question

> ➢ What influences the self concepts of Talibé street children in Dakar?

Specific Research Question

RQ1. In Dakar, what are the factors that influence the self concept of Talibé street children?

RQ1. a) In Dakar, what significant others influence the self concept of Talibé street children?

Finally, the original theoretical model was examined and refined in light of the results.

3.6.1. Factors influencing the self concept of Talibé street children

In order to answer the research questions each of the 12 key factors, and their influence on the self concept of the Stage 2 sample, found in the results were investigated.

Family Relations and Situation

  ➢ Influence on the self and current situation of participants

Firstly, when investigating Section 3.5.1.1. the factor family relations and situation, it became clear that the family is a key influence in relation to the behaviour and current situation of these children. The literature (Sections 2.2.2. and 3.3.) demonstrated that families, particularly parents, and their interaction with the child, play a key role in the behaviour patterns of a child as well as their self concept development and wellbeing. In Section 3.5.1.1., similarly to the findings of Campos *et al.* (1994)'s study, the overwhelming majority of the sample identified their families and the family's situation as having a direct impact on their tendencies to frequent the street. Conflict was found as having an influence on some children's decision to go to the streets, but the family belief system was the major influencing factor in the current behaviour of these street children. Evidence corresponded with Parsons, Adlers and Kaczala (1982)'s view on influence of family beliefs on the self concept of children. The children had to change their behaviour of frequenting the street due to the families influence. The family believed that the children had to go to the *daara*, and for some, the families believed that their children had stay even under conditions that the children found as being too difficult. As a result, the children decided to frequent the streets deciding that they did not want to stay in the *daara*, and feeling that they could not go home due to these beliefs or they found themselves in a situation where it was impossible to go home.

All children mentioned their father in the interview supporting Long, Ziller and Henderson (1968) and Sears (1970) (see Section 3.3.2.) who described the importance of the father in the development of a child's self concept. The mother's influence in the children's behaviour and wellbeing was also evident, mentioned by six of the seven children. The withdrawal of the child from fathers described by Long, Ziller and Henderson (1968) was not found directly in the results, however, some participants did discuss the issues and various conflicts that they have with their fathers. On the other hand, in agreement with Long, Ziller and Henderson (1968), in general conscious withdrawal of the child was not found in regards to their mother, although there a physical distance was described by a number of the children who have not seen or heard from their mothers for various reasons for a number of years or months. No child directly described his mother negatively but rather a few children mentioned that they cannot see their mother at this time and their hope to change the situation. The evidence concurred with Campos *et al.* (1994) (Section 3.3.3.) finding that overall in the family

context, the children did not describe the family as supportive. Some of the participants described certain family members as supportive in the past but that now they are not available to act as a support. Furthermore, evidence in Section 3.5.1.1. supported the Brazilian study of Campos *et al.* finding that the children tend to turn to other actors for support rather than their family.

➢ Child's behaviour and its influence on relationships

The behaviour of the child was also found to influence the child's familial relationships with one child unwilling to and ashamed to speak to a cousin due to his behaviour (frequenting the street) and because he is a street child (Section 3.5.1.1.). Others have family members, for instance, brothers, who were described as unhappy with the child and who have a strained relationship with the child due to his behaviour; leaving home or a *daara* to live on the streets. Evidence found that some parents try to change and influence the children's behaviour and try to stop them frequenting the streets (if the child has told them that they are on the streets) and others are angry with the children for leaving the *daaras*.

The behaviour of the child having been found to influence the relationships with significant others was, therefore, demonstrated to influence the child's interaction with the environment of significant others. This may lead to distortions in the self, for instance, if the child's behaviour of frequenting the street creates negative interactions with significant others, this could then lead the child to perceiving himself in a more negative light in correlation with his view of the perceptions of significant others. This would then lead to a lower self concept.

The Street

➢ Space and identity

The street was the second most occurring concept mentioned by the children in the results. In Section 3.5.1.2. the street environment was described negatively by all children in the sample who mentioned a number of difficulties and risks faced. As a consequence of these issues faced, the children have to adapt and create survival strategies for making day to day life as easy and as risk free as possible. Some of the behavioural tendencies described in Section 3.3.3. by Hawk (1967) such as fear and interpersonal communication issues were found in the participants and according to Hawk (1967) these behaviours reflect a low self concept. The various self concept theories (found in Section 2.2.1. and Section 2.2.2.) frequently examined the self concept and it's development in relation to the environment of an individual, with the

organisation of the self related to community, social situations and others. The results in Section 3.5.1.2. demonstrated that, for some participants, the street is almost a second family and the relationships that children have on the street can influence their behaviour to stay on the streets. In this section, Child G described his support network and closest friends as street children in the street environment, and finding it difficult to leave the streets for good.

The survival strategies employed by children include fighting, avoiding people who are involved in dangerous, illegal or risky behaviours and being careful. The children were very aware of the fatal risks they face every day and they described making conscious decisions to try to make their day to day lives as risk free as possible. The results in Section 3.5.1.2. correlate with Harter, Waters and Whitesell (1998)'s study (found in Section 3.3.1.) which suggested that the self changes and adapts depending on the interpersonal situations he is in. The different interpersonal situations on the street were found to influence the children's behaviour.

Similarly to the results in Stage 1, the multiple self concept illustrated by McConnell (2011) in Section 2.2.3. was demonstrated with some children describing different self concept aspects becoming more or less apparent dependant on the situation. For example, the children described being more or less aggressive, careful, etc and adapting to the more difficult situations that they encounter regularly on the street. On the other hand, comparable to the results of Campos *et al.* (1994) in Section 3.3.3., the adoption of a global self concept was indicated in Section 3.5.1.2. in two children, where children described making a conscious decision to stay the same 'good' person in all situations and avoid participating in problem behaviour. Perhaps this was the children attempting to buffer their perceptions using their self concept. Hawk (1967) described in Section 3.3.3. the ways in which self concept can act as a method of distorting an individual's perception of his true situation. The strategy of adopting an unchanging behaviour across all situations may be a method of protection, enabling him to cope with his current situation.

Services

➤ Aimed specifically at street children

Similarly to Campos *et al.* (1994)'s findings seen in Section 3.3.3., the presence of services was found in the children's life (Refer back to Section 3.5.1.3.). The centres aimed at assisting street children in Dakar were found to be a fundamental support providing various

services including health, shelter, education, food, support and advice, protection and security and reintegration services. The centre Nazareth where interviews were conducted was mentioned only in a positive light by the children, however, the results showed a surprising amount of negative points regarding the other centres in Dakar. There may not have been any negative points mentioned in relation to the centre Nazareth as the interviews were conducted there and the translators were also working or volunteering in the centre. Therefore, the children may have felt obliged to say that the centre was very positive and ignore the more negative aspects. Perhaps, also the fact that the researcher was not Senegalese may have influenced the children's opinions of the study and the results of the study. However, this being said, the results did show that the children in our sample come regularly to the centre which indicates that the children may be genuinely happy with the centre and have few problems with it.

The negative behaviours of the centres involved two particular issues: conversion attempts by staff and physical mistreatment/ abuse by staff where staff members were described as hitting the children. The attempts at changing the religion and religious values of the children was not seen by the children as at all positive. In Section 3.3.1. it was discovered that once developed, the self concept of an individual is difficult to change, and these children have grown up in an environment where their Muslim identity has played a large role in their life and their current situation. Although overall the children describe not liking the *daaras* and the education system they were brought up in, they demonstrated a spirituality that may assist them in coping with their situation, changing this may leave them more vulnerable to risk as to change this will change an aspect of their self and past. In addition, it would break a link with the belief system of their families which may be one of the only constants they keep in their lives now.

Hitting the children was also described by the participants as very negative. Violence is a day to day risk on the street and the participants experienced this in their schools. A number of the children mentioned violence as one of their original reasons for coming to the street. Therefore, the children may associate physical punishment such as hitting a child, with negative memories and relate this to something negative in their own self concept. If the centres, who are supposed to protect and assist the children start to show violence, even if only a small amount, the children may have nowhere that they feel truly secure and safe for them. The effect of these two negative aspects meant that children themselves and other children stopped attending the centres which as a result means that the children do not benefit

from their services. In fact, it may even bias them against seeking further support in other centres. Due to this, the children have a reduced opportunity to access services and help that can assist in changing their self concept and get them off the streets both short and long term.

➢ Services not specifically aimed at street children

An unexpected finding, when examining the results regarding services in Section 3.5.1.3., was the importance of a games room in the street children's lives. Games rooms in Dakar are not specifically focused at this population, however, they were found to give the children a safe sanctuary off the streets during the day, and even sometimes during the nights. The space allows them to get away from the risks and difficulties of the streets and provides them with a routine off the streets with other children. The actors found in the games room were other children and a guardian of the games room. For one child, the guardian was described to almost fill the role of his father.

The various spaces occupied by the children according to Payne (2004) (Refer to Section 1.2.3.) give street children a sense of belonging, for instance, the children described the games room almost as a sort of home, or respite from the street hardships. The centres and work environment also gave the children a method of getting respite from the hardships of the street, and greater access to the mainstream society. Although these children are similar to what Dorn (1968) described in Section 3.3.3. as 'marginal men', they are not complete outcasts from society describing interaction with various actors across a range of environments. These different spaces allow the children to stay somewhat attached to mainstream society, which may assist in the longer term reintegration of these children back into their families and communities.

Friendship

The literature, particularly in Section 3.3.2., demonstrated that friendships provide an important contribution to a child's development and social adjustment. All but one child mentioned various friends in the results. The child who did not mention any friends, also was one of the most negative when discussing his situation and the streets. Following the thinking of Vaughan and Elbaum (1990), it is likely that this child will have a lower self concept as he has no friends and therefore may perceive himself more negatively than others.

Section 3.3.2. found that friendship quality is the most influential factor regarding friendship on self concept development. Section 3.5.1.4. indicated that friends were considered as supportive in some cases and as unsupportive in other scenarios with two children describing relying on themselves for support rather than on others. Support was identified by the participants as emotional, physical and financial. Overall, results concurred with Campos et al (1994)'s study, with friends described as more supportive than family members. This may be due to the fact that some families are no longer in any contact or regular contact with the children for various reasons. Chaplin and John (2005)'s results described in Section 3.3.1. which showed the growing importance of peer groups as a child moves into adolescence may also give an insight into the children mentioning peer support more than the support of their family. The friend's own personal situation was described by the participants as influencing how supportive they are. Unlike Campos *et al.* (1994)'s results, it was found that overall street children do not give a huge amount of support as they are in a similar environment themselves and also are suffering with hardships.

Education System

The roles and daily lives of Talibé children in a *daara* were described similarly to that of Baldé (2010) and Ware (2004) involving work and studying the Quran (See Section 3.5.1.5.). Both the literature (Section 1.2.4.) and the participants (Section3.5.1.5.) described the life of Talibé children in a *daara* as difficult. The findings indicated that the *daara* is a significant other influencing the participant's behaviour (to frequent the street) and therefore, the self concept of these children. Due to the harsh conditions faced in the *daara*, the children decided to flee to the street. Only one child mentioned a positive aspect of the *daara* with the rest describing the need to change the most difficult aspects, such as the punishments.

The main influences of the children's behaviour were the *Marabout* and the staff of the *daara* who were said to punish the children, for example by hitting, chaining and beating the students. The physical punishment may result in the development of or change in self concept aspects. In Section 2.2.2. Lipsitt (1958) described the physical response of children to a behaviour. For example, hitting a child when he is bold, would trigger pain when a child sees himself as naughty and/or behaves in a similar way. Therefore, the physical punishment endured by the participants may result in a current emotional pain associated with previous punishment in the *daara*. For instance, it may occur that a child who was punished with

chains when he did not collect enough money for the *Marabout*, may feel the same associated pain now if he is on the streets begging to collect money to eat.

The other students influenced some of the children to frequent the street describing a better life outside the *daara*, though others were mentioned as a support to the children when in the *daara*. It can be concluded, in accordance with the findings from Hawk (1967) in Section 3.3.2. that the school environment of the *daara* has negatively influenced the self concept of these children and has been both an indirect and a direct influence of their current behaviour frequenting the street.

Origin

The place of origin of the children interviewed generally corresponded with the figures given in Section 1.2.4., with the majority of children from Senegal and one from Guinea Bissau. There were more participants from Dakar than the literature suggests, however, generally these children's family originally came from another part of Senegal but migrated to Dakar. Unsurprisingly, two of the children come from Touba, a Senegalese religious centre, which is in Diorbel, mentioned by Baldé (2004) as one of the popular origin locations of Talibé children. The ethnicity described was found to correspond with the literature in Section 1.2.4., with the majority of children (of those who mentioned ethnicity) *Peul* and the other's Wolof, both ethnic groups associate strongly with the Muslim religion. The children described connecting their identity with this ethnicity and others with their Senegalese nationality where they feel that this is part of them due to language, learning the Quran etc (Refer back to Section 3.5.1.6.).

Work

Work was found as a key survival strategy for the children in the results in Section 3.5.1.7. This was a new factor that came directly out of the interviews and had not been identified previously in the literature review or in Stage 1. Work was described as having both a positive and negative correlation to the streets. It was negatively correlated with the streets because, for some children, work is a method of self protection and a way of avoiding the streets. However, on the other hand, work and availability of work also influenced some participants to come to Dakar and to frequent the streets. The behaviour of the children frequenting the street was found to influence the ability to hold down a job as the child

wanted to stay in the street environment rather than a more stable, routine working environment. Payne (2004)'s study described the role of the concept of space and different spaces in the construction of a child's identity, using the example of work (See Section 1.2.3.). If the assumption is taken that the findings of her study that space correlate to identity formation, are also applicable to this study, it is suggested that the notion of work as a space can influence the formation of identity and particularly influence self concept. This is due to work being a specific behaviour influencing other behaviours, for instance, influencing the child to frequent the street.

Feelings and Hopes

The children verbalised certain feelings and hopes which according to Lipsitt (1958) reflect a certain feeling towards oneself. These verbalisations were related specifically to the wish to go home and hopes for the future. The verbalisations of negative feelings such as the feelings related to the difficulties to go home for various reasons, according to Lipsitt would reflect and influence a lower self concept in these children (Refer to Section 3.3.2.). Following Lipsitt's thinking, that verbalisations of feelings reflect one's self and that there is a positive correlation between one's true self and their ideal self, the feelings regarding hope, for instance, a future achieving an education or finding a job, would reflect and influence a more positive self concept.

Value Systems

In Section 3.3.2. of the literature, Gecas (2000) described values and value systems as influencing the self. The results in Section 3.5.1.9. demonstrated that the children adopt certain behaviours as survival strategies and that these behaviours are largely associated with the specific values that each child holds. In their role identities (Refer to Gecas (2000) in Section 3.3.2.), such as a street child, the children adopt various character identities which are based on their specific values, for example, not to steal, not to take drugs. Other children adopt certain values across their global self, where their behaviour does not change in different settings and they try to uphold what they consider good behaviour in all areas of their lives. These character identities which consist of what the children ought to do were found to greatly influence how the children behave and try to behave, particularly when on the streets. Their values also influence who they consider as appropriate significant others in

their lives, with some children avoiding actors who behave in ways that they feel does not reflect their values.

Physical Perceptions

This was not a significant result. However, limited evidence was found to support Stone (2009) (Section 3.3.2.) in regards to physical appearances where the children drew themselves in relation to how they see themselves, what they like or how they would like to appear. The results seemed to concur with Stone's belief that appearances emerge, in relation to the self, when we want to indicate our self perception or who we want to be to others.

Religion and Spirituality

In Section 3.5.1.11. imaginary interaction was found between one child and the significant other (God) through prayer similarly to Sharp (2010)'s description in Section 3.3.2.. According to the same author, this interaction can act as a coping mechanism and increase one's self perception and therefore, influence his self concept. Although there was no direct evidence found in the results, in accordance with the indications of the literature, it is suggested that a deeper investigation on the self concept of Child B, who is a practicing Muslim even though he is living on the streets, would find a positive correlation between his self concept and religious participation. On the other hand, Child F gave evidence of a Muslim self concept without religious participation. This indicated that there may be something deeper than current religious practice needed in order to identify with a certain religious identity. A weaker identification with a Muslim identity may be found in Child F compared to Child B. In addition, if taking into consideration Pollner (1989)'s explanation (refer to Section 3.3.2.) that symbolic relations are linked with lower stress and increased wellbeing, there may be less of an impact of religion and spirituality on this child's life as there is no interaction between this child and a significant other. Finally, overall, three children associated their names with the Muslim religion. The self identification with a Muslim identity may be related to family belief, attending a *daara*, name and learning religious teachings, though no direct evidence is given.

Preferences and Choice

There was no correlating evidence found in the interviews and the literature regarding to Preferences and Choice as a factor influencing self concept in this sample. However, for

future research, a more in-depth and more direct study on this concept may give more insight into this factor.

3.6.2. Revised Theoretical Framework

Figure 26. Revised Theoretical Model of Influences of Self Concept of a Talibé Street Child in Dakar

The final theoretical model was based on the assumption of various authors including Hawk (1967) that **behaviour = self** (Refer to Section 3.3.3.) and was proposed only for Talibé street children in Dakar. The postulation in this model was that the self concept of Talibé street children is influenced in an environment of significant others (shaded in dark blue). In this environment, there are two different levels in which key factors are found to influence the self concept. In the inner circle the greatest influences of the self concept of these children can be found; the family situation and the relationships with family members, the street environment, services, friendship and the education system (Refer to the findings in Sections 3.5.1.1 to 3.5.1.5.). The outer circle consists of six other influences on the self concept of these children: origin, the work environment, feelings and hopes, value systems, physical perceptions, and religion and spirituality (Refer to the findings in Section 3.5.1.6. to

3.5.1.12). These factors were found to influence behaviour and self concept of the participants but not as strongly as the inner circle factors.

The final model in Figure 26 changed significantly from the original theoretical framework proposed in Section 3.3.4. The first and greatest change involved the influence of significant others on the self concept of the sample. Family, institutions and services and education system were found to influence self concept of the sample of Talibé street children more than anticipated. The environment of significant others found in the results also tended to generally correlate with (though not always) the inner circle with the key significant others outlined as family, those on the street, services, friends, the *daara*, those at work and God. Overall the real life situations and real significant others were found to influence the self concept and behaviour of the participants more strongly than the more distant or more abstract concepts (Refer to Section 3.5.1.). This may be due to the environment that the children are living in, reflecting the direct needs of the children.

The influence of the feelings and hope factor was not as strong as was originally anticipated which may have also reflected the importance of concentrating on the direct needs that each child has rather than hopes which may seem impossible or overly emotional feelings (Refer to the findings in Section 3.5.1.8.) Work appeared in the Section 3.5.1.7. which had not been previously anticipated as a factor. Interestingly, evidence for the concept Preference and Choice which appeared as a key influence of the self concept of the participants in Stage 1 was not found in Stage 2 and therefore, the factor was excluded from the revised model. More investigation on this is necessary in order to evaluate if Preference and Choice as a factor is not an influence of the Talibé street children's self concept and if it is not, why?

3.7. Conclusion

This section, following from Stage 1, proposed a theoretical model which was developed from a literature review conducted in the context of children in Dakar, Senegal and vulnerable children. Having described the research methodology, the key results of Stage 2 were revealed. The most popular self concept attribute was found to be Street Child which was linked greatly to the survival mechanisms and behaviours adopted by the participants while on the street. Twelve key factors influencing self concept were analysed and seven significant others were found to influence the self concept.

Through the discussion the research questions were answered. To answer the first research question, under the assumption that behaviour equals self, eleven key factors which influence the self concept of Talibé street children in Dakar were found. concrete evidence for the factor of Preference and Choice was not found so it was not considered for the theoretical framework, and a new factor, Work, was identified leaving eleven factors found to influence the self concept of the sample. Of these eleven factors family situation and relations, the street, friendship, services and education system were found to be the most influential factors. In answering the sub research question, seven categories of significant other were identified. These are listed in order of significance: family, actors on the street, services (both directly aimed at street children and otherwise), friends, school, actors in work and God. Finally, the theoretical model was adapted to reflect these results as demonstrated in Figure 26.

Section 4:
Conclusions and Recommendations

Figure 27. A Talibé Street Child at Marché Sandaga, Dakar[18]

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[18] These images were taken when on field visits with the Centre Nazareth. The images illustrate a Talibé street child in a section of Marché Sandaga, a market in the centre of Dakar, which a number of the street children attending the centre frequent. The child gave his informed consent when these images taken and for the use of these images in this study. Figure 27 was used in order for the reader to gain a small insight into who a Talibé street child is and is NOT intended to sensationalise or prejudice these children. None of the children identifiable in these images were participants in interviews. The CONCORD (2006) code of conduct on images and messages was followed in regards to all images taken and used for this study.

4.1. Introduction

This final section summarised this study, outlining the key arguments and conclusions and illustrating the importance of our study. The section concluded with a brief discussion of the limitations overcome in this study and possible recommendations for future research.

4.2. Summary of Study

The study began faced with two key concerns. Firstly, there was an awareness of the fact that the study would be conducted in a developing country context, which is a very different background and perspective to the researcher. However, coming from a background in development and cultural studies there was a consciousness of the dangers of Eurocentric approaches. Therefore, from the beginning a conscious effort was made to limit the Western biases that can easily negatively influence the study. The second concern was the participation of the children in the study. Often studies are conducted on vulnerable groups and on children with little attention paid to the voice of the individual and with the research interest overly focused on data rather than allowing the participants to truly participate in an environment that they are comfortable in. By allowing a greater participation of the child, deeper insights into issues were anticipated. The concerns about Eurocentric approaches and participation are essential when understanding the research approach.

The study started with the children themselves, using Stage 1 to develop the methodology and key concepts for Stage 2 with the key sample population. Stage 1 enabled the development of instruments and concepts with the participation from children in Dakar who understand and can give light to areas that an outsider may miss. Instead of coming from a top down Eurocentric approach to theory, Grounded Theory was used in order to allow the theory to develop out of the context. In this way the research was not lead by the theory but rather the relevant theory came to light itself. Although, clearly it is impossible to avoid the differences in the colour of one's skin or the different backgrounds, the methodology adopted attempted to limit the impact of these differences as much as possible. Stage 2 blossomed out of Stage 1 and a significant insight into the influences on the self concept of Talibé street children was gained. These children participated and led the data collection process themselves, facilitating a deeper understanding of who they, are as well as, what is and who is important in their lives.

4.3. Limitations of Study

The first limitation faced was in regards to the use of Grounded Theory Methods which meant that the research aims changed a lot from the beginning stages to the final result. Furthermore, as analysis was conducted at the same time as data collection it was crucial to be extremely careful with time management etc. However, following the GTM procedures closely and keeping in mind the research approach it was possible continue with the research and allow the theories and results to develop continuously.

As the research process began before arriving in the field in Dakar, Senegal, certain aspects of the research had to change a great deal due to constraints in the field. For example, access to the target population was not always possible in the time frame necessary. Originally data collection was planned to start with the second sample in the beginning of December but as the centre was closed it was not possible until January, therefore the time allocated was utilised as efficiently and effectively as possible. There was a time limit on the data collection period as the field work had to be finished before the beginning of February, so all of the relevant literature, which was unavailable outside of Senegal and all necessary data had to be collected before leaving the country. Due to a well tested and well developed methodology, as well as analysis running in parallel with the data collection, this was possible. Ideally, it would have been beneficial to have had a longer period in the centre in order to get to know the children and the context better which may have given a greater and deeper insight into the different results and issues. It is recommended that, if possible, similar studies with street children in developing country contexts be conducted over a longer duration.

Although procedures were in place to ensure that no Eurocentric biases appear, this is not always possible to avoid. The researcher, being a white European who does not speak the local language or have a deep understanding of the local contexts, leads to certain unavoidable limitations, and certain areas of this study may have been affected. For example, by not being able to interview directly in Wolof, it was not possible to analyse the way in which the participants responded, the pauses taken in certain places and specific word significance. For future studies, it is recommended that local researchers are used if possible or at least a non local, if feasible, should learn the language when conducting interviews.

In regards to academic limitations, from the literature review conducted very little information was found in the area of street children and self concept, or regarding participatory methodologies investigating self concept. Much more work is needed on this, in

order to begin to understand the issues surrounding the self concept of street children as well as developing participatory approaches. Quantitative testing is not always appropriate, and in the context of Dakar where the tests were not developed with the Senegalese context in mind, nor in the context of street children, qualitative participatory methods are recommended. More research is needed into the use of qualitative methods in the investigation of self concept. This study contributes to both the development of participatory methodologies and to the knowledge on self concept of street children.

Finally, this research was conducted for a masters dissertation and therefore has had a limited time frame and scale, which has influenced the extent to which the subject can be examined. Although a theoretical model suggesting the influences on the self concept of Talibé street children was developed, it was not been possible dive deeper into the factors influencing the self concept. Due to this and in conclusion, this preliminary study on the influences of self concept of Talibé street children gives a framework for further investigation into the deeper issues that affect the wellbeing and identity of these children. Each factor and significant other should be investigated further to draw more light on the influences on self concept and on the development and design of appropriate solutions.

4.4. General Conclusions, Contributions to Knowledge and Implications

By conducting the study in two stages it has been possible to develop key methodological insights for examining self concept with children. Firstly, a non theory led approach which focuses on child participation was found to lead to the discovery of new concepts and the development of context suitable research instruments. Allowing the participants to lead the study enabled the research to take its own path and life, permitting issues to come to light which may have never been discovered in a more standardised methodology.

The activity developed in Stage 1 worked effectively in Stage 2; however, flexibility was crucial in the interviews in order to ensure that the participants led the interviews rather than the researcher. While working with the second sample, it was necessary to pay a lot of attention to the reactions of the child, in order to ensure that no harm was done to the child's wellbeing. In this regard, it is suggested that future studies working with vulnerable children, particularly when exploring identity and self concept, must put in place very strong ethical guidelines and adaptive, flexible methodologies which consider the child's context. Ensuring child participation gave greater opportunities to the child to share their story and it enabled them to get involved with a project which gives insights into how to improve their situation.

In Stage 1, certain key concepts were suggested to influence the self concepts in children living in Dakar. These concepts laid the foundations of the proposed theoretical framework in Section 3.3.4., ensuring that the study focused on the context of Dakar, Senegal rather than Eurocentric or inappropriate theories. Clear differences in the influences of self concept in mainstream schooled West African children in Dakar and the Talibé street children were discovered. Further investigation into this is important, as it may assist in developing insights into the improvements of self concept of Talibé street children as well as insights into initiatives for mainstream schooled West African children in Dakar. Following the results and discussion of Stage 2, finding that certain assumptions did not hold in the case of the Talibé street children, revisions were made to the proposed theoretical framework.

In the case of Talibé street children behaviour was found as vital in understanding the self. By gaining insights in to the behaviour of the children key influences (both significant others and non actor concepts) of the self concept of these children were identified. The family was discovered to be the greatest influence on the self. However, the overall the family was found to be a negative influence on the self concept of Talibé street children. The behaviour of the street child was also established to negatively influence his relationship with his family which was indicated to lead to a lower self concept of the child. For this influence it can be concluded that although the family may not play a large role in the child's present life, they continue to have a large influence on the child's wellbeing, current situation and self concept.

The street was the second most occurring concept influencing the self concept with a lower self concept found to be related with behaviour on the street. Other actors on the street were suggested to influence the child's behaviour in the street environment. For instance, they were described as influencing the children to stay on the street but also were found influencing other day to day behaviours. The global self concept of Talibé street children was evident where children adopted one self concept across a range of environments and situations, but on the other hand other children were also aware of their multiple self concepts, adapting their self to different situations and needs, with different survival strategies necessary to live on the streets.

Services were identified as the third most influential concept on the self concept of the Stage 2 sample, but surprisingly the vast majority of the services mentioned were negatively influencing self concept and behaviour of these children, with the services directly aimed at assisting these children, the most negative. More research is needed to why these services are

falling short, and were described so negatively by the children. The children themselves demonstrated the negative aspects and therefore, have given the opportunity to centres to improve. The key aspects that this study recommends for services to improve on are the attempts to convert the children's religion and hitting the children. The conversions can be stopped if the services begin recognise that each child is an individual with his own value system and beliefs, and that each one has the right to their beliefs. A deeper understanding of the children and allowing them to have a voice would facilitate the change in practices, such as conversions in the centres. Training and creating the awareness of the negative effects of physically touching these children would also assist in changing practices in these centres.

The centre Nazareth, where data collection took place, was described as extremely positive by the children. However, this may be due to the interviews being conducted in the centre, with translators from the centre and possibly also because the interviewer is not a local which may have influenced the children's responses when discussing the centre. As a result, the findings regarding the influence of the centre Nazareth were not conclusive. Further research on the centre Nazareth is necessary. External, unconnected researchers in a different location may give more conclusive, reliable insights into the influence of centre Nazareth on the self concept of these children. Finally, a surprising result was the influence of non institutional, non targeted services on the self concept and wellbeing of the children. Here, a games room was described only in a positive light, providing security, support, protection and shelter. A lot more research is needed into the influence and impact of these types of services on the children, and to why they are described more positively than services specifically set up for street children. As well as this, the influence of a games room on a street child's life may lead to alternative solutions on improving the self concept and wellbeing of these children. For example, the use of video games and digital images in educating street children on issues such as sexually transmitted diseases, drugs etc.

Friendship, particularly friendship quality, was found as an important influence on the self concept of the sample in Stage 2. Overall friends provide more support than family but this was found to depend on the friend's own personal situation, with other street children only able to provide very minimal supports to the Talibé street children. However, unfortunately although friends were described as providing support, very few friends, except those on the streets, were described as currently available or present to provide close support to the children. This suggested that there is not a high quality of friendship and a deeper analysis into the self concept of these children, may reflect a lower self concept. In other studies, such

as Campos, *et al.* (1994), street gangs were found to provide close support to street children. It would be interesting for future studies to investigate the influence of the friendships among street children on their self concept in order to decipher if the friendship quality within street gangs is reflective of the findings with this sample.

The fifth final factor in the inner circle of the theoretical model is education system. The education system, the *daara*, was described as overwhelmingly negative, influencing the well being, behaviours and self concept of these street children. The *daara*, directly and indirectly, particularly when linked with the family, influenced the sample's self concept and behaviour. These results demonstrated the need to find solutions to the issues faced by children in *daaras*, particularly regarding the physical punishment. Unfortunately, solutions are not easy to find with various limitations. For example, already the results demonstrated that although there are children who prefer to be on the streets to the *daara*, there are a number who would still send their children to a *daara*. The deeper reasons to why this is the case need to be investigated further. By continually enabling the participation of the children themselves a better grasp may be gained on the issues and possible solutions. The children themselves gave the solution of international *daaras*, which they described as an improvement on the traditional *daara*. It is clear that much more investigation is needed on the deeper, cultural and traditional associations with the *daaras* and only when an understanding is gained into the overall situation will the development of effective solutions begin.

In the above factors, the significant others were found to greatly influence the self concept of the sample. It was clear that the factors influencing self concept and the influence of significant others on self concept, in the case of Talibé street children in Dakar, are intertwined, and the factors are based on certain significant others and actors. Unfortunately, of the most influential factors and actors, overall these were found to negatively influence the self concept of the sample. Perhaps in the case of the street, it is not surprising that the factor was found to negatively influence these children. However, is the wellbeing of the child not supposed to be the core concern of the family, services and the education system?

In the outer circle of the theoretical framework, work was found to have both a positive and negative correlation with the streets, at times, influencing the behaviour of child to come to the street. Yet, at other times acting as a protection of children who are on the street, allowing them a different space and routine away from some of the greatest dangers of the street. Evidence also suggested the influence of the significant other, God, in the factor of religion

and spirituality which indicated influences on the self concept of one child in particular. More investigation into the influence of religion on the self concept of Talibé street children could lead to insights into how to connect with these children and reintegrate them into society. The children's negative perceptions of conversion attempts by centres also indicated that their Muslim identity is important to them. This finding could assist in the development of future services, and may even assist in overcoming negative associations with the *daara* by linking the positive aspects of the children's Muslim identity with an improved education system. Similarly, the results on the influence of origin on self concept, if followed by a deeper investigation, may also lead to the development of alternative solutions and improve the self concept of Talibé street children. Feelings and hope were indicated to influence both positively and negatively the self concept of our sample. Finally, the child's value system was found to influence the children's behaviour as well as who they chose as friends, and identified as significant others.

In summary, evidence suggests, in answering RQ1: *In Dakar, what are the factors influencing the self concept of Talibé street children?,* that the most influential factors are family relations and situation, the street, services, friendship and education system. Other influential factors include work, physical perceptions, religion and spirituality, feelings and hopes, the values and value system of the individual and the child's origin. The evidence then went on to answer *RQ1. a) In Dakar, what significant others influence the self concept of Talibé street children?* finding family, actors on the street, services, friends, school, work and god as the key significant others. To sum up, the general research question: *What influence the self concepts of Talibé street children in Dakar?* was successfully answered finding eleven factors influencing the self concept of these children with seven incorporated significant others implicated.

Finally, to conclude with the greatest concern that has arisen from this study: the majority of the factors (inclusive of significant others) influencing the self concept of these children should, in an ideal world, positively develop, support and protect the self concept and wellbeing of these children. However, this study has found that those who have the greatest influence to improve the child's situation and self concept, are those who have most negatively influenced the self concept of the children. The question is why? What has gone wrong in the society that has left these children in a situation where they have little supports from those who should be supporting them the most? The difficult questions need to be asked and the long awaited solutions need to be developed. The main hope identified in these Talibé

street children was to go home. When will we be capable of assisting these children in their search for a safe, secure and fulfilling home?

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Section 5:
Annex

1. Ethical Code and Guidelines

1.Introduction

 The *United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child* guides the research practice of this study. There are 54 articles in the Convention which relate to the provision rights, protection rights and participation rights for children, but it is the participation rights, the right to a name and identity, to be consulted and be taken into account, to physical integrity, to information, to freedom of speech and opinion and to challenge decisions made on their behalf that underpin this code. The widely accepted ethical framework used here, adapted from Schenk and Williamson (2005), outlines three fundamental duties of the investigator: respect for persons, beneficence, and justice. Strict adherence of these responsibilities addresses the difference in power between participant and investigator which can leave the child vulnerable to exploitation.

The research project must ensure children's and young people's rights to:

➢ self determination, such as to give informed consent or refusal
➢ protection from harm, neglect and discrimination
➢ protection from intrusive or restrictive research
➢ what is so far known to be the best available treatment, care or resources.

This a partnership of the people in the community of the Centre Nazareth in Grand Yoff, Dakar and the researchers of the MITRA Masters Erasmus Mundus: Intercultural Mediation in coordination with all partner universities particularly University Lille 3, Lille, France and the Institute of Population, Development and Reproductive Health (IPDSR) University Cheikh Anta Diop, Dakar, Senegal. In this document these groups are referred to as the Partners.

The community is represented by the staff and volunteers of the Centre Nazareth in Grand Yoff, the researcher is Amy Stapleton, the university partners are represented by Papa Sakho and Fiona McCann.

The partners will work cooperatively and collaboratively in the design, implementation, analysis, interpretation, conclusion, reporting and publication of the experiences of the project. Each partner provides ideas and resources that come from the experience, knowledge and capability of all its members. Together, through respect for each other, consultation, and collaboration, they significantly strengthen the project and its outcomes. All partners of the

project share an understanding that community based research is a powerful tool for learning about the community while contributing to the community in which it is being conducted.

Collaborative research acknowledges that there must be respect for the scientific and social integrity of the project. Each group has obligations towards the other partners.

The named parties of this research are committed to ensuring that the needs and protection of children and young people are taken into account during this study. To help fulfil this commitment, this ethical code has been developed in collaboration with all parties involved and is to be signed by all parties.

Finally, researchers are expected to comply with legal obligations that exist in relation to all research activities, as prescribed by the responsible universities and the communities involved.

2. Purpose of the Code of Ethics

The purpose of this code of ethics is to establish a set of principles and procedures to guide the partners to achieve the goals and objectives of the project. The code outlines the obligations of each of the partners through all of the phases of the project, from the design of the research through to the publication and communication of the experiences of the project.

3. Policy statement

The autonomy of the community to make decisions about research in the community is recognized and respected. The researchers should maximize the benefits to the community as a whole particularly the target group of Talibé children and to individual community volunteers. Research should empower the community to support community goals and to assist in the improvement of conditions for the target group.

4. General principles

1. The community must be involved as a full partner in all aspects of the research. Continuous consultation and collaboration should characterize the partnership.
2. The strengths and culture of the community, including community researchers and staff as well as material resources, must be respected and utilized whenever possible.
3. Written permission must be obtained from the partners before beginning the research projects.

4. Permission from all individuals participating must be obtained prior to collecting personal information. Regarding any participants under the age of 18, consent must be given by a guardian/parent/child advocate as well as an informed consent by the children.
5. The confidentiality of all individuals must be respected. If necessary, the community involved may choose to remain anonymous when reporting the results.
6. All research results, analyses and interpretations must be reviewed by the partners to ensure accuracy and avoid misunderstanding.
7. All data collected belongs to the community and must be returned to the community.
8. The partners must all be involved in making decisions about the publication and the distribution of all or parts of the research results.
9. The community must agree to the release of information.

5. Principles specific to research with vulnerable children

The research within this study is conducted based on two key principles, firstly always to ensure that the best interests of the child are put first with the focus of 'do no harm' and secondly that the child's participation is invaluable during the research process, ensuring that they are given a forum to discuss their perspectives, feelings, opinions and views openly. The key duties and principles for working with vulnerable children include:

1. Children must have the opportunity to express their views about activities that affect their welfare, and these views should be respected. The participation of the children must be used in both the design of research tools as well as during the data collection phase.
2. Giving children the maximum opportunity to express their views has got to be balanced with the protection of their best interests and safeguarding children from potential harm by minimizing intrusion. A child's safety and wellbeing cannot be compromised during this study.
3. If the child reveals information indicating legal or illegal activities that could bring harm to the child, family, or community, the partners of this study will work together to report the issue and to try and resolve the situation.
4. If any of the partners uncover serious problems or needs, such as abuse, neglect, or malnutrition as a result of this study, the partners will work together to report the issue and to try and resolve the situation.
5. Ethical supervision of this study will be carried out by the partner universities (University Lille 3 and IPDSR, University Cheikh Anta Diop) and the related research supervisors. The community will also be involved with ethical supervision during the data collection phase of the research. The community and the partner university in the country where data will be collected (i.e. Senegal) will be also responsible for supervision of the researcher to ensure that the research activities are culturally acceptable and that gender equality is ensured. Questions to take into consideration in this regard include: To what extent does an adolescent feel personally empowered to agree to participate in an activity? How will children of different ethnic groups interact in a group information-gathering activity? How will community members regard a young female participant speaking alone with an older male interviewer? What social pressure does a young male participant face when revealing personal emotions that might cause him to cry?

6. The research conducted with vulnerable children as it is specifically related to the status of the vulnerable child and only children within the Centre Nazareth will be included as participants.

7. The partners must anticipate the consequences that threaten the safety of children, their families, and their communities by this study in order to minimise harm. This requirement extends throughout the activity, including attention to collecting data anonymously and keeping records of disclosed personal information confidential long after the activity is complete. These consequences may include: stigma of participating in the study, provoking strong reactions about difficult situation in their lives or difficult feelings. The partners will discuss the possible adverse affects to decide the best kind of interventions and what to do in case of any negative consequences of the study, for example, if the child gets upset during the interview, the interview is stopped and referrals will be made if necessary.

8. "Research on children raises particular ethical issues because the subject nature can be extremely sensitive and the effect on children's emotional health can be considerably different than [the effect of] research questions asked to adults. It is important that the information not be collected just because we want to know something, but because there is an application in sight that will have direct influence on programming and policy development leading to improved interventions for children. " (Schenk and Williamson, 2005). The partners agree with this statement and so the view is that the participants will benefit from the study directly as the study will give the community a better insight into the life and experiences of the child as well as giving the children an opportunity to describe the important actors in their lives and what supports could be improved. This will give the community a better insight into improving or adapting services if nec1essary.

9. Researchers will define clear inclusion and exclusion criteria for child participants, in discussion with community members and using locally accepted definitions. The use of age appropriate research tools will be used during this study and all members of the partnership will have access to all details of the research before the data collection commences.

10. Qualitative data will be collected with a small number of child participants in order to minimise the intrusiveness of this study.

11. All tools will be translated into French and Wolof and then translated back to English again in order to ensure no misunderstandings during the data collection stage and the tools will have been tested before using within the study.

12. The identity of participants will remain anonymous and untraceable using numerical codes instead of names (See 8.1.). Any identifying information participants will remain confidential and will not be disclosed without permission from the participant and their guardian. Access to identifiable data will be limited to certain staff members within the community who are directly involved with the data collection.

13. Only interviewers and translators that have experience working with children will be selected, and ideally those who are already working with the target group. These interviewers and translators will be aware of the children's needs and provide ongoing supervision and support. If appropriately skilled interviewers are unavailable, the study will not proceed. Interviewers will not be alone with child unsupervised and will be aware of potential gender issues. The support system within the community will assist interviewers and any participants in the data collection phase with potential issues that may arise.

14. Children participating will give their full assent and consent will be given from the parent/ guardian/ child advocate (Consent from an additional adult (the child advocate) is

required if the parent or guardian is unavailable to provide consent, or if it cannot be assured that the parent or guardian will represent the child's best interests). It is the interviewers responsibility to ensure that participants must know that they can withdraw their consent at any time of the study. If an advocate is used they will have the following responsibilities:

    a. verifying a minor's understanding of the assent procedures;
    b. supporting the minor's preferences;
    c. ensuring that participation is voluntary;
    d. monitoring reactions;
    e. ensuring adequate follow-up.

15. The child protection policy of the community will be used as a guideline during this study as well as the international and national child protection standards in order to ensure the child is not mistreated, harmed or at risk due to this research.

6. Obligations of the partners

6.1. Obligations of the researchers

1. To do no harm to the community or the target population (Talibé children).
2. To involve the community in active participation rather than passive acceptance.
3. To ensure the design, implementation, analysis, interpretation, reporting, publication and distribution of the research are culturally relevant to the community and in agreement with the standards of competent research.
4. To undertake research that will contribute something of value to the community in which the research is being conducted. To impart new skills to community members.
5. To help to address any issues that are raised as a result of research.
6. To provide expertise to scientifically answer questions that emerge from the community.
7. To promote academic diffusion of knowledge through written publications and oral presentations. This includes the documentation of the undertaking of the study and of the results.
8. To be guardians of the data until the end of the project and to return that data to the community at the end of the study. To be involved in any future analysis of the data after the data has been returned to the community.

6.2. Obligations of the community researchers

1. Community researchers are regarded as the Project Staff and those Co-investigators who are employed within the community. In addition to the obligations listed for researchers, the community researcher is obligated:
2. To maintain a long-term relationship of trust in the dual role of caregiver, educator, and researcher: this will only be possible if the needs of the community are always considered as the first priority in any decision.
3. To communicate with researchers during all phases of the research.
4. To arrange, if necessary, for researchers to meet with the partner Committees and/or Board of Directors, and any other local organizations.
5. To participate in all phases of the research, review all research results, analyses and interpretations for accuracy and present information to the community.
6. To ensure the protection and safety, emotional and physical, of all participants involved in this study.

6.3. Obligations of the community partner

1. To represent the community participants.
2. To be updated by the Project Staff on a determined basis to support the development and offer analysis of the activities to ensure compatibility with the project goal and objectives as well as to ensure the use of good practice and protection with community participants.
3. To meet with the Project Co-investigators to maintain awareness and to offer recommendations concerning the research.
4. To communicate with representatives of other communities to share ideas and program development for benefit and involvement.
5. To serve as the guardian of all evaluation data after the completion of the study.
6. To receive all requests for the use of the data by other researchers after the completion of the study.
7. To approve of or write a disagreement to the interpretation of the data analysis.

7. Authorship guidelines

7.1. Introduction

The purpose of the project is to investigate the research questions described in the research proposal. As this research is unique, the results will be of interest to many other communities. For this reason it is necessary to share the experience of the project with the largest audience who might benefit from it. Part of the research process includes the communication of research results to other people and organizations in similar areas of research.

7.2. Audience

Communications will be directed at four general audiences:

➢ Health, Education and other officials
➢ Scientists and Researchers
➢ Relevant civil society actors
➢ The community, at large.

Health, education and other officials are those people providing services or working on programming and planning. They will be interested in how the research was developed as well as the outcome of results. Scientists and researchers will be interested in the methods used, the process of the study, the results measured, and the answers provided to the research questions. The civil society actors include NGOs, associations and other groups working in an area relevant to this research. The community at large is everyone who participated in or assisted with the study as well as those who are generally interested in the research goals.

7.3. Principles

All aspects of the research can be considered as worthy of communication. All communication pertaining to the study will follow generally accepted ethical standards. The principles include:

➢ Anonymity: Results to be presented in a grouped, not individual manner.
➢ Confidentiality: All personal information provided by individuals will be made anonymous whenever possible and remain confidential unless otherwise determined by the individuals.
➢ Priority of Communities Involved: The communities participating will be the first to review and receive results and the first invited to provide input and feedback on the results.
➢ Respect: Consideration for the communities and all participants must be observed in all communications.

7.4. Process

Results from research projects usually are presented in the following ways:

➢ Articles in scientific journals, referred to as "a paper".
➢ Oral presentation of "a paper" at a scientific conference or meeting.
➢ Oral presentation to the community at large.
➢ Written document to the community at large.
➢ Teaching examples.

For scientific journals and oral presentations at scientific conferences and meetings there is a standard process involved. It is therefore possible to outline the steps from idea to final communication and outline the responsibilities for those involved with the authorship. However, these points should also apply to communications to the community. From here on the word communication will be used to describe both oral presentations and written papers.

It will be the responsibility of the partners to ensure that the staff and investigators who have made significant contribution to the project can qualify for authorship. These are people who have worked directly on the project. However, being involved only in data collection or delivery of a program will not be sufficient for authorship.

The Idea: All ideas for communications must be presented to the partners before writing begins.

Preparing the Communication: The first author of an article (i.e. the person whose name appears first on the article) will assume the major responsibility for preparing the article. The first author will assume most of the writing responsibility. Other authors contributing to the communication will appear in descending order. This order will depend on the contribution

made to the subject of the communication and the preparation and writing of the communication in the body of the document and the author's section.

Submitting a Communication: All authors on the paper must approve of the final version before the paper is submitted to the journal, conference, etc. Furthermore, final versions of all papers must be approved by the partners before submission.

Peer Review: Communications may be reviewed by scientific and community people considered knowledgeable in the subject of the communication. This peer review process may result in suggested changes of the communication in order for publishing the article in the journal of interest. All the authors of the communication must approve any changes made in the review. This will be done by a letter to the editor signed by all the authors.

This next section deals with special communications.

Abstracts: An abstract is a short summary of the content of a communication. When someone wants to present a paper at a conference, an abstract will be sent to the conference organizers. The abstract will then be used to decide if the communication will be accepted for presentation. In case of a late call for an abstract, the partners should be contacted as soon as possible. If there are no objections, the abstract should be sent immediately. The preparation of the communication will proceed following the steps outlined previously.

Responsibility of Communication by the Partners: It is part of the shared responsibility of the partners to prepare communications for the community and the scientific community. Those who have more of an interest in them would appropriately prepare communications for the community: likewise for communication to the scientific communication. This should not limit the authors to one or the other.

8. Evaluation Guidelines

### 8.1. Codification, data entry and data cleaning

The research activities organized should ensure that the data collection process is in accord with the host community values and norms, and competent scientific practice.

Participation in the evaluation activities is voluntary for the people in both communities. The people who express the desire to withdraw will be able to do so at any time.

All information or data collected on individuals will be kept strictly confidential. An identification number will be given and the names of participants will be removed. A file containing names and identification numbers will be kept for future follow-up. Only the Project Coordinator will have access to this file.

The coordinator is responsible for the quality control of the data coding and entry.

9. Agreement Of Partners

9. AGREEMENT OF PARTNERS

Community Representative:

Name SR. JELINE GIRIS   Signature Sr. Jeline G...

Name _____   Signature _____

Researcher:

Name AMY STAPLETON   Signature Amy Stapleton   Date 02/01/2014

Partner University Representative:

Name Dr. Fiona McCann   Signature _____   Date 06/06/14

Name _____   Signature _____   Date _____

Partner University Representative:

Name _____   Signature _____   Date _____

Name   Pape Sakho   Signature _____   Date 5 juin 2014

2. Activities for Interviews

The three activities described below were used and refined in Stage 1 of this study. For the final instrument used in Stage 2 Activity B and Activity C were merged.

A. Picture of Self Reflection

1) Distribute a variety of art materials - paint, charcoal, pencils, etc. and ask the children to draw their self-portrait.

2) Once the participants have finished, ask them to draw some of their interests (or allow them to cut out pictures from magazines). Ask them to put five words about themselves around the portrait or present their drawing and describe five words. If they have difficulty doing this, suggest to them that they include five things that others might say about them.

3) It may be necessary to assist those who have difficulty. To conclude the activity, discuss with the children how they felt about drawing themselves and how they feel about the finished product.

B. Art Drawing: Who Plays a Part in my Life?

1) Each child makes a picture of who are the most important actors in their life. The child places himself in the centre and the actors surrounding him with the most relevant closest: Who helps them every day and supports them and how?

2) They then describe their picture in detail discussing the role of each actor, why they are in the certain position and who they would like them to support them further. If they have a difficulty thinking of these actors ask them to talk about in a given week who plays a part in their lives?

C. Recruit Me

1) Ask each child to create an advertisement. The adverts' purpose is to recruit a person to take over their identity for a day. Agree and set shared criteria for the advert. The advert will use the design of the map above to structure their ideas. The child will put themselves in the centre and then draw the identities and people involved in their lives.

2) Ask them to include the different identities that the applicant will have for the day and the attitudes and dispositions that he or she will need to show when assuming this identity. Two main ideas are Who Am I in different contexts and what do I have to do to be this person in this context (personality traits and daily tasks):If there are literacy difficulties the child can draw and then describe their advert orally. For example, at home as an older brother the applicant would need to show tolerance; patience; kindness regarding a younger sister.