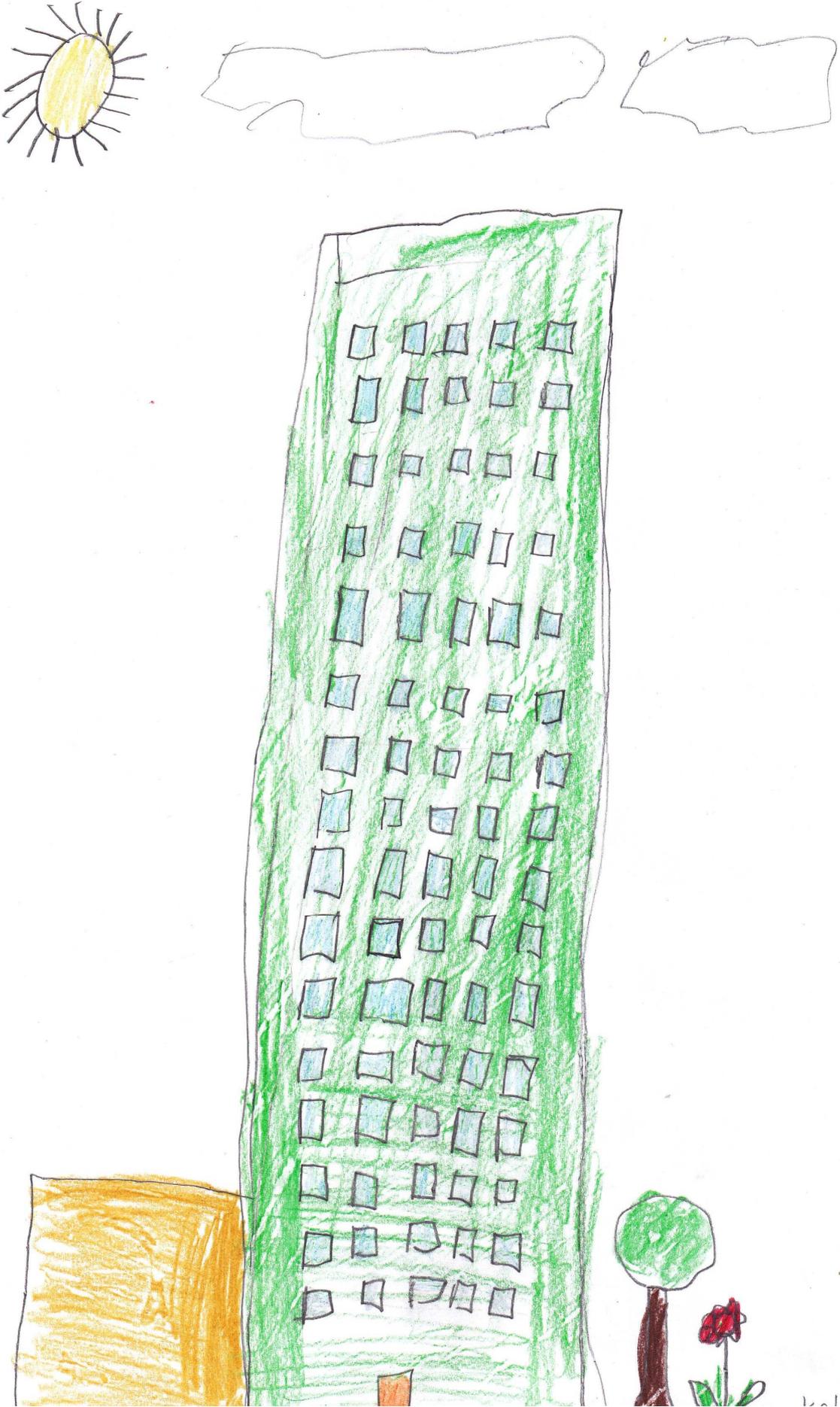


My Place

Street-working Children, Home and Space in Cusco, Peru



Sara ten Brinke

My Place

Street-working Children, Home and Space in Cusco, Peru

Sara ten Brinke

3237877

s.s.tenbrinke@students.uu.nl

June 2011

Supervisor: dr. C.G. Koonings

Image on the front page: Bernardo's (eight years old) dream house, drawn 29.03.2011.

Contents

Map of Cusco	4
Foreword	5
Introduction	6
1. Home, Place and Street-working Children: a Theoretical Framework	10
1.1. Home	10
1.2. Space and Place, Public and Private	13
1.3. Street-working Children	16
1.4. Socialization	19
2. Street-working Children in Cusco	21
2.1. Yo hablo poco Quechua: Socio-economic, Family and Regional Background	21
2.2. Esto soy yo: Image and Self-image of the Street-working Child	23
2.3. Los Sabados trabajo, juego, hago tareas: Living, Working and Playing Childhood	25
3. Actors and Places of Socialization	29
3.1. Trabajo para ayudar a mi mama: Relationship to Socializers	29
3.2. En la calle se juega. En la calle no se debe jugar: Places of Socialization	32
4. Home and Home-making in Public and Private Space	39
4.1. Me gustaría ser dueño de mi casa: Being at Home in Private Space	40
4.2. En la Plaza me siento feliz: Being at Home in Public Space	48
4.3. En IRW somos amigos: Being at Home between Public and Private Space	53
Conclusion	56
References	59
Appendix I: Reflection	63
Appendix II: Resumen en Castellano	69

Map of Cusco

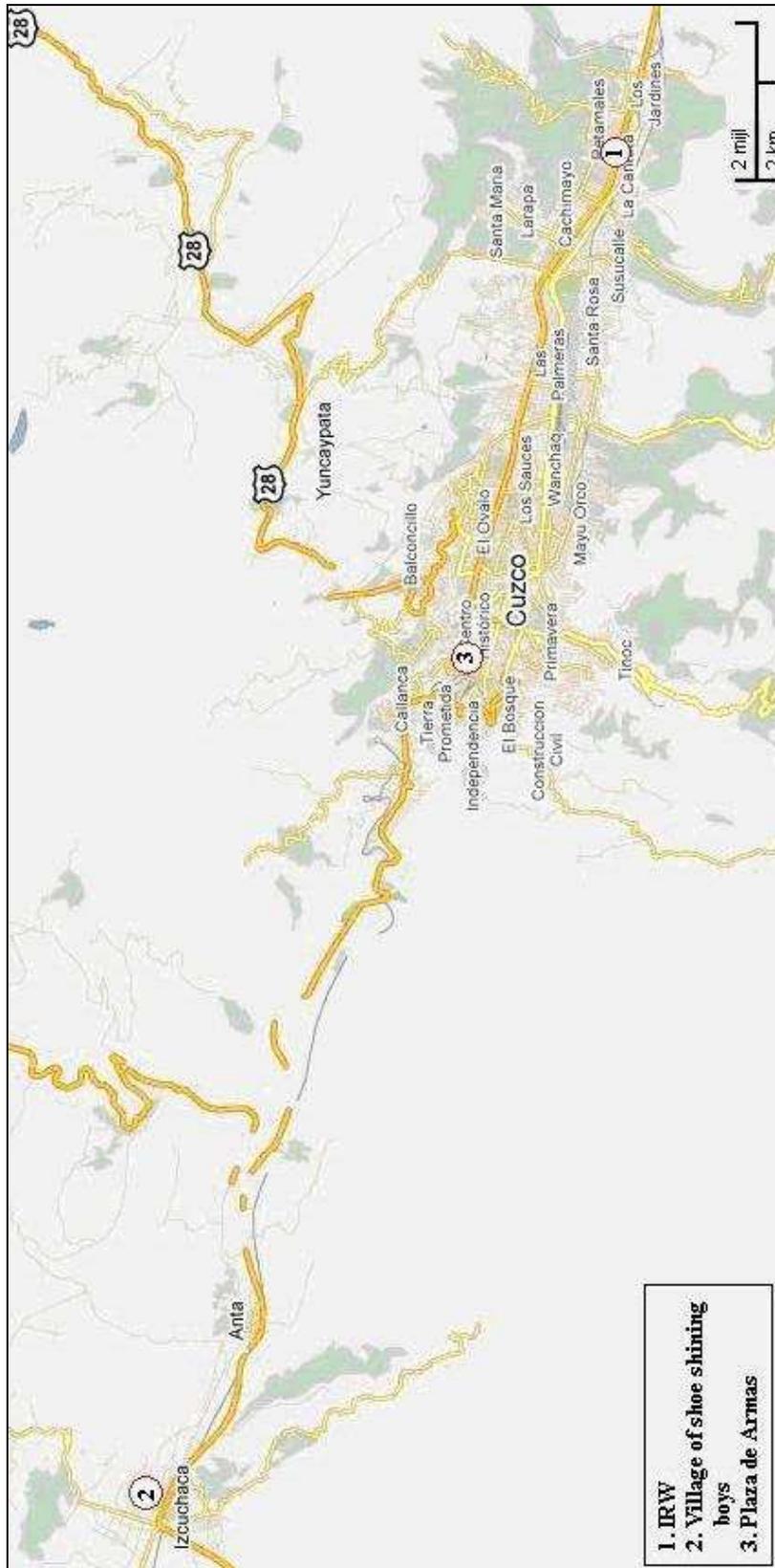


Image 1. Map of Cusco. Source: Google.

Foreword

This thesis is the product, not only of eleven weeks of research, but of four years studying Cultural Anthropology and, in fact, twenty four years of fascination for “home”. For me home is a place to belong to, home is a place toward which to feel *saudade*, or maybe a little of both at the same time. Home is here and there, home is where the heart is, and even sometimes where the heart cannot be. Whishing to find out how home would be conceptualized by children who did not have a home like I did when growing up I decided to go to Cusco and to conduct research among street children.

Looking back over this period of research, over these four years of studying and over these twenty four years of life I feel this thesis would not exist without the helping hand of many important people. Despite the fact that inclusion leads to exclusion and the fact that I could not name everyone who deserves it here, there are a few people to whom I want to express special thankfulness.

Regarding the twenty four years of life I want to thank my parents, Bert ten Brinke and Maddie van der Sande, but also all the other people of the Casa de Santa Isabel who have not only always been my home, but have also given me the means and the possibilities to pursue my dreams.

For the four years of studying Cultural Anthropology I want to mention a special thanks to Elisabet Rasch for helping me to formulate my first ideas, Kees Koonings for helping me to bring all the loose threads together and Gerdien Steenbeek for having played a vital role in my love for Cultural Anthropology.

Lastly, for the eleven weeks of my research I am profoundly thankful to the staff of IRW for receiving me with open arms, but most of all I am thankful towards all the children who have shared their lives, their stories, their creativity, their strength and optimism, their sorrows and joys, their tears and beautiful smiles and their wisdom with me. It is to them that I dedicate this work.

Introduction

It is Saturday morning, eleven o'clock, and the air is cold from the rain of last night. When I arrive on the Plaza de Armas my eyes scan for familiar faces, over the stairs in front of the Cathedral, the benches on the Plaza, the stairs around the fountain and the perimeter of the square. People sit reading newspapers. An early tourist, having to continue his tour to Machu Picchu today makes a hasty snapshot of the idyllic Plaza while two municipal police officers chat in front of the fountain. There! I see the familiar green and brown jumper of Diego and the lanky figure of Juan, sitting on the stairs in front of the McDonalds, both holding their shoe shining box between their knees. I walk up to them and greet them asking "So, how are the *municipales*¹ treating you today?" Juan smiles looking up to me and replies "Ah Sara, it's the same as always...they won't let us work!"

I spent eleven weeks, from January the 31st until April the 15th of the present year in Cusco, Peru, conducting anthropological research among street-working children (poor children who contribute to their family incomes by working on the street). My fieldwork settings were Cusco's Plaza de Armas and the Non Governmental Organization (NGO) Inti Runakunaq Wasin² (IRW). Spending my days in these two settings I observed how children between the ages of six and eighteen years old make themselves at home in both the public and the private space. The question that led me through these observations was: "What is the relationship between actors and places of socialization and street-working children's conceptualization of home in Cusco?" The search for answers to this question led me through the daily lives and activities of street-working children. It made me aware of their relations with the people and the places who surround them in their daily lives. However it also created the necessity to actively explore with the children how they felt towards those people and those places. It compelled me to listen, not only to *what* they said about their lives, but also to *how* they said it, and to what they did *not* say.

The theory that formed the basis for this research came from three distinct and voluminous debates: the debate on home, the debate on the public/private dichotomy and the debate on street children. Although distinct, these debates converge in the daily situation of my research population: they are street children and although they are not

¹ Municipal police officers.

² Quechua for House of the people of the Sun

homeless, home cannot always be taken for granted, it has to be made. This making of the home does not only take place in the private domain but mostly in the public domain. There is a pervasive tendency to associate home with the private sphere, mostly the house (see Douglas, 1991; Hareven, 1991; Mallet, 2004; Saunders&Williams, 1988). With this thesis I contribute to the home debate by stating the home is not only tied to the private sphere and that therefore, home can be made in public space too. There is also a pervasive tendency to associate street children with victimhood and homelessness (see Bar-On, 1997; Glauser, 1990; Hagan&McCarthy, 1997; Smith, 2008; Williams, 1993). I contribute to this debate by arguing that street children are not passive victims and by illustrating how children actively engage in processes of home-making and creating a place for themselves in society. Hereby I merge these two debates, arguing that street children are not necessarily homeless and that when they are (physically or socially), they are active agents in the construction of their home. Street children should thus not be regarded as passive victims but as active entrepreneurs.

The place in which my research unfolded was Cusco³. Known as the “archeological capital of America”, Cusco attracts tourists from all over the world (Steel, 2008). The short term visitor might assume that Cusco is a rich, well cared for and neat city. However, one need only go a little further out of the center before the paved lanes turn into dirt roads and beautiful colonial buildings give way to cheaply and hastily build shacks. The contrast between rich and poor is well illustrated by the fact that despite its tourist boom, Cusco belongs to the three poorest regions in Peru (Strehl, 2010: 22)⁴. Both the poverty in Cusco and its recent tourist boom fuel the development of the informal economy. However, to understand the genesis of the informal economy in Peru we have to consider Peruvian history. Firstly, in the 1980s and 1990s Peru faced a ‘debt crisis’ that pushed the economy into a deep depression. In this context, selling in the streets became the central category of employment (Shehan & College, 1997: 25). Secondly, the rural violence perpetrated by the Shining Path, the Peruvian army and militias in the same period, originated a massive wave of rural-urban migration (Strehl, 2010: 16). The fast process of urbanization led to increasing reliance on the informal sector (ibid.: 17).

³ See image 1 (page 4) for a map of Cusco with the important locations regarding my fieldwork.

⁴ “Cusco” is more than the city alone, it is a region, and outside the limits of the city living conditions and household income are very low.

As mentioned above, the specific sites of my research were IRW and the Plaza de Armas. IRW is an NGO that provides programs for street-working children and for children and adolescents with special needs. Here they receive education and participate in creative and vocational programs, aimed at personal development and building up self-confidence and self-reliance (IRW, 2011). IRW is also part of MNNATSOP⁵ (Movimiento de Niños, Niñas y Adolescentes Trabajadores Organizados del Perú) fighting for the rights of working children and teaching the children about them⁶. Furthermore IRW focuses on strengthening the relation between the children and their families. The age of children attending IRW generally ranges from eight to eighteen years⁷.

The Plaza de Armas is the (touristic) heart of Cusco. Its centrality and popularity attracts commerce, which is officially forbidden in the historical centre of Cusco⁸. Hence, street vendors of all ages selling tobacco, paintings, dolls, jewelry, newspapers, jelly, ice creams, pigeon fodder, or offering their services as a shoe shiner flock over the Plaza in an eternal cat-and-mouse play with the municipal police officers whose job it is to prevent these street vendors from breaking the law. I spent my weekends on the Plaza, talking mainly with shoe shining boys ranging from ten to fifteen years. All of them live in poor villages far out of Cusco travelling an hour to the center. They work during school holidays and weekends⁹.

Conducting fieldwork among children, both in IRW and on the Plaza, I encountered challenges that were decisive in shaping my research methodology. Firstly, a child will not embark on an extensive philosophical consideration regarding his or her own position; indeed, a child will not even answer with much more than “yes” or “no” to a question if this is not explicitly required. Secondly, in how far can one participate? Even if I would install myself on the Plaza de Armas to shine shoes like the boys did, I would still not be a street-working child, I would be a street-working-adult-tourist (something everybody, myself included, would find rather misplaced). How to participate in the lives of children as an adult? Although I will devote more attention and reflection to these dilemmas in Appendix I, I will here shortly elucidate how I adapted my methodology to my research population.

⁵ A Peruvian-wide network for street-working children and adolescents

⁶ Interview with Antonio, who is a coworker in MNNATSOP, 21.03.2011

⁷ Interview with Giannina, staff member in IRW, 15.04.2011.

⁸ Interview with Municipal Police officers, 31.03.2011

⁹ Interview with Juan, Edison and Carlos, shoe shiners at the Plaza, 26.03.2011

I worked as a volunteer in IRW every weekday afternoon. This allowed me extensive hours of participant observation. Having a predisposition for creative activities myself I decided to compensate the shortage in words through artistic activities, something I came to coin as “handicraft fieldwork”. As such, drawings, paintings and gluing exercises became my main source of information. However, the artistic products themselves did not constitute my data, rather the children’s discourse about these products and their reactions toward them, became my key data. With the IRW children these activities were framed in the context of making a book about themselves (for more information on the book, see Appendix I). I then conducted a personal semi-structured interview with each child about the content of the book. With the shoe shining boys, who I only saw in the weekend, I was more dependent on short informal conversations and hanging out. Nevertheless, they did some creative activities and five of them participated in a photo project with disposable cameras. Results of this photo project are illustrated in chapter four. Furthermore I conducted semi-structured interviews with IRW staff, police officers and at the Ministry of Work. I also had informal conversations with people on the Plaza de Armas.

This thesis is divided into four chapters. In the first chapter I address the theoretical concepts and debates already shortly referred to above. The second chapter describes my research population, their place in society, their self-image and their daily lives. Chapter three deals with the actors and the places of socialization, and with street-working children’s relationship to them. In the final chapter I focus on strategies of home-making in the private and the public spheres but also in a place that finds itself in between public and private: IRW. In the conclusion I will bring the theory together with the empirical data and I will discuss the relationship of actors and places of socialization with street-working children’s conceptualizations of home.

1. Home, Place and Street-working Children: a Theoretical Framework

To lay a theoretical foundation for this thesis, I will here present the academic debate on the concepts that are central to my thesis: home, space and place, public and private and street children. I will start with the concept of home, regarding it as a socio-spatial system and exploring its physical and its psychological/social elements. Then, I will turn to the concepts of space and place, focusing on the difference between place-making and home-making. In continuity of the space and place distinction I will briefly turn to the dichotomy of public and private places. Hereafter, I will present a fraction of the discussion surrounding the concept “street children” and “child labor”. I will conclude this theoretical framework with a brief consideration of the concept of socialization.

1.1. Home

The concept of home has been the subject of much study in different areas of academia (Douglas, 1991; Hareven, 1991; Mallet, 2004; Sommerville, 1992; Tucker, 1994) but it is also prominently present in our daily lives: “I’m going home” or “My home country is far away from here” are expressions we use, or hear, in our daily lives. However what does this *home* really mean? When does a place become our home? *Is* home a place, or should we rather speak of home as a group of people, or as a feeling of belonging? Shelley Mallett (2004: 68, my emphasis), relying on work of Saunders and Williams (1988) writes:

“Home is simultaneously and indivisibly a *spatial* and a *social* unit of interaction. It is the *physical* setting through which basic forms of *social* relations and social institutions are constituted and reproduced. Home is a *socio-spatial* system (...)”.

Saunders and Williams (1988: 82) and Mallett (2004: 68) consider the social aspect of home to be closely related to the household (although household is not necessarily the family). In this definition, home as a socio-spatial system represents the fusion of the house (physical) and the household (social). I, however, would like to take this social aspect of home to a broader realm where it can mean not only the household but all the social actors and interactions that are incorporated in the process of home-making, even when this process occurs outside the house, in the public sphere. Nevertheless, this is a very interesting definition of home as it combines in itself two of the major aspects which are, in the academic debate, central to the conceptualization of home: its social component and its

physical component. Whereas Mallett (2004) combines these two aspects in her definition, there are authors who see home as being characterized by either one or the other. It is this debate, about the home as physical versus the home as psychological and relational, that I want to present here.

Perhaps the first association we have considering the concept of home is with a physical/geographical place, mostly the physical house (but possibly also a country or a region). According to Hareven (1991), this association of the house with the home is an invention of the middle class throughout the process of industrialization. With the advent of industrialism, the work moved out of the house, and consequently, men began working outside the house as main breadwinners while women and children became more explicitly confined to the realm of the house. With this development the dichotomy between the house (as private) and the street (as public), became associated with, respectively, women (as well as children) and men (see also Lee, 2001). As the house began to be considered increasingly a (private) place of security and nurturing, it was, from then on, closely associated with the concept of home. However, being closely associated with the physical house is not an imperative for considering home to be characterized by its physicality. Douglas (1991: 289) does not explicitly state that the home is or has to be a house, but she does emphasize the localized and physical nature of the home, arguing that although it is not necessarily a fixed space, home is always *located* in space. This is an interesting aspect of the physicality of the home.

On the home-as-non-physical side of the spectrum, where home is considered more as psychological and inter-relational (social), it is important to consider four elements of home: [1] home is tightly related to identity; [2] home is made: it is constructed, imagined and (re-)negotiated; [3] home is a relational place and [4] home is emotional.

The idea that home is tightly related to identity is clearly voiced by Tucker (1994: 184) who defines home in the following words:

“Home is where we could or can be ourselves, feel at ease, secure, able to express ourselves freely and fully (...).Home is the environment that allows us to be ourselves...”

Here, home is thus considered to be almost synonymous to identity. For Tucker (1994), “being home” is receiving full acceptance for whom one is. When one is only partially accepted, one can never completely be “at home”. Home here is thus something abstract.

Furthermore, for this author, different levels of a person's identity form the different levels of that person's home: the "true" home of a person is a combination of different homes (elements of identification) that are significant to that person. This also means that one's home is not static and hence changes and develops along with the individual's personal changes and development. Thus, as every human being is different, in the sense of Tucker's home, everybody's home will be different too. This brings us to the second characteristic of home: home is constructed, imagined and (re-)negotiated.

According to Mallett (2004: 77) searching for a home is a basic trait of human nature. This search will always be a compromise between the ideal (imagined) home and the real (lived) home (Mallett, 2004: 69; see also Tucker, 1994: 184; Sommerville, 1992: 530). In this search, people (re-)negotiate their ideas of an ideal home, with the physical, economic and geographic possibilities that exist in reality. Making a home is thus a process of negotiation. In my research I analyzed this negotiation assessing the gaps and overlaps between street-working children's ideal and actual homes (see chapter five). Ahmed et al. (2003: 9) refer to this negotiation stating that "homes are always made and remade as grounds and conditions (...) change." They hereby characterize this negotiation as a process of "home-building" referring to what Yen Le Espiritu describes as "home-making" which is "the process by which diverse subjects imagine and make themselves at home in various geographic locations" (Espiritu, 2003: 2). Note that Espiritu refers to imagining (ideal home) and making (real home), hereby also assessing the duality of the abstract (imagining) and physical (making) elements of home.

Home is thus imagined and made, it is constructed. However it needs to be constructed by people. Who constructs home? When do people consider other people to be part of their home? Home is made up by the relations between the individuals who together constitute it: it is relational. Mallett (2004: 68) therefore argues that home is "a unit of interaction". The "unit of interaction" most commonly associated with the home is the (nuclear) family. Hareven (1991: 282) cites an English language textbook that, at the turn of the twentieth century, states that "the family makes the home". Home and family are often regarded as almost interchangeable, or at least as inter-related or overlapping concepts. It is even said that "without the family a home is 'only a house'" (Mallett, 2004: 74). However, what happens when there is no (nuclear) family? Can there be home? Smith (2008) touches on a very interesting phenomenon witnessed among homeless street children: the creation of "street families" (see also Hagan & McCarthy, 1998). These street families are self-supportive groups of children living in the streets, who attempt to replicate an ideal family

through role playing the tasks of different family members (Smith: 2008: 759). These constructed families are short-lived, temporary and fluid, changing over days, weeks or months (Smith, 2008: 768) giving children the freedom to affiliate with others on an emotional, but also pragmatic basis, as necessity dictates. Here we see thus an interesting combination of the view that the family is important in the construction of home with the view that home (and thus even family) is or can be constructed. Nevertheless, I will show in this thesis that family is not a precondition for the construction of a home, even though it is a very central and important “unit of interaction” within the creation of homes.

The last element of home on the home-as-non-physical side of the spectrum I want to discuss here is home as emotional. As we have seen, Tucker considers home to be something merely positive. Home is where we “can be ourselves”, at home we can “express ourselves freely and fully”. Home in this sense is an ideal place (but maybe not always possible in reality). The conception of home as something merely positive is very much debated. Some authors argue that the home can also be a negative place, a place of trauma, abuse, violence and hostility (Douglas, 1991; Espiritu, 2003; Mallett, 2004). According to Douglas (1991: 289) “happiness is not guaranteed in a home” whereby she speaks of the “tyranny of the home” (1991: 287). Mallett speaks of “homelessness at home” (2004: 72-73) and Hagan and McCarthy (1997: 23-24) argues that the violence, hostility and abuse at home can eventually lead to “real” homelessness. A milder example of home as an emotional place is given by González (2005) who explores how the home (in this case home refers to the household and the house) is an “evocative place of contradictory emotions”. The author approaches home as a place toward which both positive and negative emotions are felt. From the perspective of (especially) housewives the home is both a fortress and a prison, both a place of conflict and a place of security (González, 2005: 193). This duality in emotions toward the home is something I also found among the children in Cusco. I will deal with emotions and with how they are employed in the process of home-making in chapters three and four.

1.2. Space and Place, Public and Private

Characterizing home as a “place”, Mallett states that “the identity and meaning of place must be *constructed* and *negotiated*” (2004: 70, my emphasis). Here the author again builds an interesting bridge between home’s physical-ness (it is a place) and its social, more abstract nature (it can be constructed and negotiated). To understand this characterization

of the home as a “place” and to further develop the notion of home-making it is important to make a brief detour through the concepts of space and place.

Space and place are important concepts in anthropology and despite their phonetic likeness, there is a very crucial difference between them. According to Gieryn (2000: 465) “space is detached from material form and cultural interpretation” while John Short (2001: 15) describes space as “a background, a container”. Space is thus empty. Place however, is “space that is occupied” (Short, 2001: 16) or in the words of Gieryn (2000: 465) “place is space filled up by people, practices, objects, and representations”. Gieryn further argues that “a place is a unique spot in the Universe”. Place is physical but it is also interpreted, felt and imagined. Place is doubly constructed: it is “built or in some way physically carved out” but it is also “interpreted, narrated, perceived, felt, understood and imagined” (ibid.). Note how close this resembles Mallett’s definition of home as a socio-spatial system, with its physical en its social components. Place is thus, like home, constructed, it is made. Making place consists of identifying, designing, building, interpreting, remembering (Gieryn, 2000: 468). Place-making, thus, means to extract “from continuous and abstract space a bounded, identified, meaningful, named and significant place” (Gieryn, 2000: 471).

Let us pause here for a moment. Is this description of place not strikingly similar to how home has been regarded above? Could we then state that home-making and place-making are comparable exercises? I am inclined to argue that they are not, or rather, that there are some crucial distinguishing features between home-making and place-making. As is put forward above, place-making consists of giving meaning to an otherwise meaningless space. This is, however, rather widely applicable. Take for example a shrine of remembrance. Such a shrine is a *place*, it was a space (a piece of land, or even a building) but it has acquired significance through the meaning that people invest in it, through the association that people have of it with their deceased loved ones or, more abstractly, with their fallen compatriots. However, nobody would claim that this shrine is his or her home. This is not only because it is rather impossible to *live* in a shrine of remembrance (*living* is not a necessary precondition for home) but mainly because one will never feel that one *belongs* to the shrine.

In my view there are four features distinguishing home-making from place-making (these are, not surprisingly, closely related to the characteristics of home as I have described above): Firstly, home-making is tightly related to a feeling of belonging: one might not feel that one belongs to a shrine of remembrance, but will always have some feeling that one belongs to the place one calls home. Secondly, home-making is an active process that

involves appropriation and therefore contestation of space: while place-making can be the mere interpretation or association of certain feelings with a space, home-making involves the active appropriation which originates a feeling of ownership (which can be both physical and relational) towards the home. One does not feel one owns a shrine of remembrance but one will always claim some form of ownership over one's home. Thirdly, home-making is a relational process: while a space can become a place through individual attribution of meaning, home-making is a process of interaction with related and non-related others. The related others are of emotional significance for the self. This significance, contrasted with non-related others, defines the boundaries of in- and exclusion from the home. Finally, home-making is an emotional process. Although place-making can, to a certain extent, also be coined as an emotional process as it refers to the attribution of meaning, in home-making this emotional process has a defining role. Home is made through the emphasis on positive emotions and the under-communication of negative emotions. In chapter five I will analyze how this process takes place.

There is one characteristic of space and place that is important to mention here: space and place can be either public or private. Earlier in my discussion I referred to Hareven (1991) who pointed to the emergence of the dichotomy between the house (as private) and the street (as public) through the process of industrialization. As the home is often associated with the house, home has consequently come to be associated with the private sphere. Considering the characteristics of home-making (belonging, appropriation, relational and emotional processes), the association of the house with home might appear viable: it is easier to feel one belongs to a bordered (private) place, a house is easier to own and relations within the private sphere might sooner lead to inclusion and positive emotions. However, in this thesis, I want to explore the possibilities of home-making, not only in the private sphere, but also, or rather, in the public sphere. In order to accomplish this, I will now devote some attention to the public and private spheres.

The public and the private spheres constitute a dichotomy: the one can not be conceived without the other (Low & Smith, 2005: 4). Where one ends, the other begins. However the divisive line between them is difficult to define, point out and, most of all, fix. Therefore García-Ellín (2009: 368) refers to different degrees of "publicness". However, despite the difficulty to define the exact boundary that marks the end of public and the beginning of private, there are elements that differentiate these two domains in general. Examples hereof are the rules of access, the source and nature of control over entry to a certain domain, the individual and collective behavior sanctioned and the rules of use in

specific spheres (Low & Smith, 2006: 3). Two additional characteristics differentiate the public from the private sphere: the visibility and the collectivity of the place: the more visible and collective, the more public; the less visible and more particular, the more private (Weintraub 1997 in García-Ellín, 2009: 356-357). The distinction between public and private is a very interesting one as, in this thesis I am analyzing processes of home-making not only in the private, but also in public space. As the home does often have a private connotation I consider the exploration of the line between public and private very closely related to the process of home-making. Does the appropriation of a public space make it into a private place? Or does a public space remain a public space even though it is imagined by a child to be his or her “home”? This is an interesting verge on which I will be balancing throughout this thesis.

1.3. Street-working Children

The concept “street child” evokes images of a homeless, parentless child, living on the street, making a living by either working or stealing. However, not all children for whom the street is the main background for daily life are indeed physically homeless. Here it might be illuminating to return to Mallett’s (2004) definition of home as a socio-spatial system. If home is both spatial and social, then homelessness can have these two components too. In this line of thought Peter Sommerville (1992) distinguishes two meanings of homelessness. Homelessness can mean *rooflessness* (not having a house to live in) or *rootlessness* (not having a place to call home). This is an important distinction. As we will see in chapter four a house is not automatically a home. What characterized the children in my research was that they had a physical house but needed to engage in specific strategies of home-making to transform that house into a home. Furthermore, this was a process that could also transform a public square into a home. The processes of home-making that I analyze in this thesis are thus not so much strategies of building roofs but of establishing and creating roots. Regarding the general concept of “street child” there are two elements in the academic literature regarding the lives of – and the discourse about – street children that I want to discuss here.

Firstly, the idea of “street children” is a construct. James and Prout (1990: 3) argue that it is important to acknowledge that childhood is socially constructed in the sense that, what is understood as childhood varies cross-culturally. In the same sense, it is important to acknowledge street children as a social construction, not only in the sense that street children are constructed as different from “normal” children, but also in that street children

are viewed differently depending on their context (Glaser, 1990). The conceptualization of street children as different from “normal” children originates in the western assumption that children belong at home (or at least in controlled places), in other words, they belong in the private sphere (de Moura, 2002: 353). When children live outside this private sphere they are considered to be “out of place” occupying a dangerous and liminal position of ambiguity (Lee, 2001: 57). Benno Glaser demonstrates this very clearly when stating that we would not think of characterizing children as “garden” children when they spend most of their time in the garden, as that is seen as “normal” and thus not worth mentioning as a particularity (Glaser, 1990: 145). Furthermore, children are seen very differently, depending on whether they live in one’s own or other countries. Street children are, for example, mostly portrayed as delinquents, runaways or deviants by the media of their own countries, while street children living in other countries are portrayed as victims (Bar-On, 1997: 67; Hall & Montgomery, 2000: 13). This could probably be explained through the direct confrontation with street children in one’s own country, while children in far-away countries leave more room for romantization. These different characterizations of children in the same situation show us how the concept “street children” is constructed.

Secondly, we can speak of different degrees or even categories among street children. Despite acknowledging that street children are a constructed category, it is important to make some distinctions as to what extent children are dependent on the street. In present day academic literature regarding children’s dependency on the street, a basic distinction is made between “children *in* the streets”¹⁰ – referring to children working on the street, with connections to their families and with sporadic support from them; and “children *of* the street” – children living and working on the streets without any form of family support (Bar-On, 1997; Glaser, 1990; Williams, 1993). This distinction is, however, not entirely unproblematic as it is almost impossible, in reality, to draw a line between limited family support and no family support at all. Furthermore homelessness is almost always episodic (Glasser & Brigidman, 1999: 17) and thus a child might be characterized *of* the street at a certain moment, only to change into *in* the street a month later (or vice-versa) (Glaser, 1990: 140). This is further complicated by the gradual nature of the transition. Crossing the threshold into the street is not a sudden conscious decision; it is a process of alienation in which the turning point is difficult to recognize (Glaser, 1990: 152).

¹⁰ This is also sometimes referred to as “children *on* the street”. However I prefer to use “in” because it is easier to distinguish, as “on” and “of” can become a little confusing.

Some authors, therefore, propose to see street children as placed on a continuum with a child working on the street for a few hours a day on the one end, and a child living on the street permanently without adult supervision on the other end (Goode, 1978; in Glauser, 1990: 143). In my research I worked with children who found themselves at the “only working for a few hours on the street” end of the continuum. I therefore speak of “street-working children”¹¹ as the term “street children” readily leads to the assumption that these children are homeless, do not go to school and have no family, which is not the case in my research.

We have thus seen that the academic debate on street children in general revolves around the construction of the concept “street child” and around the degree of street child-ness. However, if these children are street-working children, some attention should also be devoted to the work they do and the role it plays in their lives. In Peru children under the age of fourteen are not allowed to work¹² and between fourteen and eighteen they are only allowed to work a restricted number of hours and within a restricted scope of types of work¹³. Ideas about the morality of child labor are divided into two camps which Strehl (2010: 15) describes as the *abolicionistas* and the *regulacionistas*. The *abolicionistas* take a protective stance towards the children and maintain that every form of child labor should be abolished and prohibited. The *regulacionistas*, defend the children’s right to work and stress that working conditions of children should be improved instead of simply prohibiting child labor. Although this is a morally complicated discussion I noticed, among the people I talked to, and especially among the children themselves, a tendency to favor *regulacionismo* in detriment of *abolicionismo*. The most important argument to defend this is that children will work anyway, as they need to eat and need to go to school and for that they need money and consequently to work. However, by abolishing and, so to say, criminalizing the work done by children (as is the case now), they are exploited and have no legal body that can defend their rights. The prohibition of child labor leads, thus, directly towards the exploitation of children¹⁴. However, work is not always only synonymous to exploitation. Invernizzi (2003) writes about work of street-working children in Lima as an agent of

¹¹ I borrow this term from Invernizzi (2003)

¹² Some rare exceptions are made, reducing the age until twelve; the child has to be able to prove that he/she is going to school though (interview at Ministry of Work, 05.04.2011).

¹³ Interview at the Ministry of Work, 05.04.2011

¹⁴ Interview with Luz Marina, director IRW, 15.04.2011

socialization. As I refer to actors and places of socialization throughout this thesis, it is important to briefly analyze this concept.

1.4. Socialization

Traditionally, socialization was defined as the “preparation of a child for participation in adult society” (Putney&Bengston, 2002: 167) while the family was regarded as the primary site in which socialization took place (ibid.). This is, of course, closely related to the association of the child with the house, the nuclear family and the private sphere as I have argued above. More recently however, there was a shift toward the idea that “parents, siblings, teachers, peers and media all function as agents of socialization for children” (Grusec&Davidov, 2007: 284). Although some authors still argue that the parents are the primary socializers of children (ibid.), others claim that “parents are not really that important in shaping the lives and destinations of their children” (Harris, 1998 in Putney&Bengston, 2002: 178-179). Authors who do not see a central role for parents in the socialization of children have often changed their focus towards peers stating that “a child’s peer group and his or her dyadic friendships constitute fundamental domains of social experience” (Bukovski, Brendgen & Vitaro, 2007: 374; see also Ennew, 1993).

The views on socialization have thus broadened from the parents toward the inclusion of teachers, peers and even media. Invernizzi (2003) takes this a step further by regarding work as an agent of socialization. Hereby she illustrates that not all children live in the context of the house and the school and that thus socialization should also be analyzed outside these spheres. Invernizzi (2003: 319) defines socialization as a “dual action of internalization and individuation”, a process that takes place due to a “whole set of experiences which are not necessarily associated with any intended educational actions of adults”. Internalization means that standards are internalized and roles are learnt while individuation refers to the ability to act in and modify the environment.

In this thesis I take the broadening of the concept of socialization another step further by considering not only family, peers, school and work as agents of socialization but by also taking into account non-related others and the public space. By focusing on the relations children have with their actors and places of socialization (internalization) as I will do in chapter three and on how children actively make home (individuation) as I will explore in chapter four, I describe the interconnection between socialization and the children’s conceptualization of home. This will demonstrate that children are not passive receivers of a preparation for adulthood but active agents who construct their own homes. For this

purpose in the next chapter I will focus on these active agents: on street-working children in Cusco, Peru.

2. Street-working Children in Cusco

In this chapter I will devote my attention to whom the children in my research are. The participants to my research ranged in age from six to eighteen years. All of them were very poor children living in the poorest neighborhoods of Cusco or surrounding villages. Nevertheless, all of them lived in a house and all of them went to school. Almost all the children I talked to worked at least one day a week, sometimes this was un-remunerated work and thus often considered as “helping” instead of “working”. I did my research among two groups of children: the IRW children and the shoe shining boys of the Plaza de Armas. In this thesis I do not strictly separate the two groups as they had much in common. In this chapter I will firstly discuss the socio-economic, family and regional background of the children. Then I will devote some attention to the image people have of street-working children and the image the children have of themselves and in the last section of this chapter I will analyze the daily lives and activities of the children in my research.¹⁵

2.1. *“Yo hablo poco Quechua”¹⁶: Socio-economic, Family and Regional Background*

The families of the children I worked with are characterized by low and irregular household income and work in the informal sector. Unicef has shown that there is a clear relationship between children working on the street and poverty (Strehl, 2010: 14). The family needs the child’s contribution to the household’s budget in order to survive (ibid.). Cusco, belonging as we have seen to the poorest regions in Peru has, not surprisingly, the most children working under the legal age of 14 years (Strehl, 2010: 15). The main activities of these children are selling, work services, washing cars, shoe shining, making music, posing for tourist photos, playing in the streets, begging, stealing, distributing leaflets and juggling (Ensing&Strehl 2010: 4). Work is mainly done in the weekend and holidays, although in some extreme cases children work at night and study during the day as was the case of Antonio when I interviewed him¹⁷.

Poverty and irregular household income lead to a lack of socio-economic security that puts stress on the whole family causing frustration, stress, abuse and violence.

¹⁵ For privacy reasons, all the names of the children participating in my research have been changed to a pseudonym.

¹⁶ “I speak a little Quechua”

¹⁷ Interview with Antonio, 18 years old, ex-street-working child, 21.03.2011

According to Giannina¹⁸ (teacher in IRW) the disintegration of families, parental alcoholism and child neglect (both emotional and economical) brings along risks for the future of the children. Children may increasingly rely on the support they find in the street, join a gang, turn to criminality and learn the “wrong ways”. In this sense, the instability of the household might lead children from being *in* the street to being *of* the street.

The families of street-working children are mostly house renters and not owners. In some cases they live in one cramped rented room with the whole family. This is, for example, the case of Camila, whose father is gone and who lives with her mother and two sisters in a room within the compound of an older lady¹⁹ and of thirteen year old Maria who lives in a little room with her mother. Households are often female headed with fathers leaving temporarily for work or permanently in case of separation. According to the director of IRW the increase in single headed households originates increasing numbers of children working to complement the household income (Figueroa Arias, 2009: 33). A frequent living arrangement is within the extended family with grandparents living around a patio with their children and grandchildren. Another feature of these families is their size (up to ten children) and consequently a considerable age gap between oldest and youngest children. In IRW there are a few cases in which uncles/aunts are the same age, or even younger than their nieces/nephews. Take for example Tomás. Tomás is nine years old but he is the uncle of Maria (who is thirteen years old). Maria’s mother is the oldest daughter of the mother of Tomás. Sometimes the term cousin is then employed among the children.

Most of the children are first or second generation migrants from the countryside, from the so-called *comunidades* (little villages in the mountains), with which often strong ties remain. As a consequence of this background, parents sometimes only speak Quechua. There is, however, a strong stigma around Quechua-speakers (perceived as backward and illiterate) and many children are therefore embarrassed about their parents’ mono-glotism and even about their own ability to speak Quechua. This was illustrated one afternoon in IRW:

Sitting at the table I talk to two sisters, around twelve and fourteen years old. Both have two long braids falling over their shoulders, beautiful high cheekbones and they look at me timidly and giggling. For them Spanish is almost as foreign as for me. They

¹⁸ Interview with Giannina, 15.04.2011.

¹⁹ Interview with Camila, 15 years old, 12.04.2011.

were raised only with Quechua and had to learn Spanish when they first came to IRW. Celia (the cook) comes in and as the conversation is revolving around Quechua she asks the other children if they speak Quechua. Silence. One or two nod slightly. One timidly admits “Yo hablo poco Quechua”²⁰. Celia raises her brows. “You know – she says – you should not be ashamed of speaking Quechua! Quechua is the language of our forefathers. It is a language just like any other language and you should speak it with pride! So, who speaks Quechua?” Now almost everybody nods enthusiastically. “I speak Quechua with my parents” says one. “I can count to ten and I know all the days of the week” says another. And laughing the children start showing off their Quechua skills²¹.

2.2. “Esto soy yo”²²: Image and Self-image of the Street-working Child

Quechua, however, is not the only reason for stigmatization. In general, people from the countryside are regarded as backward, stupid, alcoholic and amoral and, consequently, their children are regarded in the same way. The official of the Ministry of Work, who I interviewed about child labor, ascribed the existence of child labor especially to the families from the countryside. He had a rather negative view of people from the *comunidades*: they are alcoholic and ignorant and as a consequence they have too many children who they then send to work in the city.²³

Poor and working children are, furthermore, often regarded as potential thieves and petty criminals. Their visibility on the street and their old clothes often lead to prejudices about their good intentions²⁴. There is often the idea that children work to pay for their drug addictions²⁵. The ideas of municipal police officers²⁶ regarding street-working children seem to be double. Sitting on the stairs on the Plaza de Armas with Juan and Jaime, a police officer came up to us and told the boys to leave. As we were preparing the photo project, I asked her if they could stay until we had finished. She then overwhelmed me with a sermon,

²⁰ “I speak a little Quechua.”

²¹ Fieldnotes 16.02.2011.

²² “This is me”

²³ Interview at the Ministry of Work 05.04.2011. This official repeatedly told me that this was his opinion and not the point of view of the Ministry itself.

²⁴ Interview Luz Marina, director of IRW, 13.04.2011.

²⁵ Interview with Antonio, participant in IRW, eighteen year old, 21.03.2011.

²⁶ Note: there are, in Peru different groups of police officers. The municipal police officers are responsible for implementing the law on the local level. The tourist police officers are only concerned with tourists’ safety and the national police officers control traffic and crime on a national level.

warning me that they were uneducated little thieves; that I better stay away from them. After having assured her that I trusted them and that we would leave immediately after finishing, the woman threw the boys a disgusted look and went on²⁷. My interview with two colleagues of this lady however, led to a very different discourse. Although they did admit that some of the children on the Plaza steal occasionally, they told me that there are two categories: working children and stealing children. Working children, according to them, do not usually steal: they are honest, hard working children, trying to make a living²⁸.

In contrast to the negative view society tends to have of street-working children, they themselves seem to have a much rosier outlook on their own lives (or at least to portray them as such). What follows is an excerpt of the “Esto Soy Yo” (This Is Me) text that Lorenzo wrote for his book. For this text I asked the children to write down the important things that characterized them:

My name is Lorenzo. I live in the department of Cusco, the district of San Jerónimo and I am twelve years old. I go to school at the Escuela Virgen del Carmen in San Jerónimo. My favorite dish is fried plantain with sweet potato in the oven. I like the Chirimoya fruit. I have black hair, a tanned face, my eyes are dark brown and I have straight downward pointing eye lashes. I like to go to the swimming pool, I like to cook, to draw, do math and reading. I also like to work building roofs. When I grow up I want to be a businessman, a chef cook or an artist. I like to go to the jungle, swim in the river and eat all the fruits because they are all for free! I would like to travel to all countries, explore the whole world and speak every language.

In this description nothing refers to being poor, to having to work the whole weekend, to living in a step-family or having extensively dealt with paternal alcoholism and domestic violence (which is the case in Lorenzo’s life). It is a description of a child, full of dreams, of life and of happiness. Children do not see, or at least not portray themselves as poor, exploited or at the bottom of society. When I asked Benyamín (six years old) what he considered to be the most important thing to say about himself, despite living below the poverty line, working at least two days a week, with an alcoholic father and a mother who

²⁷ Fieldnotes, 12.03.2011.

²⁸ Interview with municipal police officers, 31.03.2011.

does not feed him when she is angry because he forgot to buy soap on the way home, he simply said: “Yo quiero decir que soy un niño feliz”²⁹.

Some of the children told me that what made them sad in the street were the “poor”, homeless or orphaned children, some even said that they sporadically help them with clothes or food. What also struck me was the fact that the children (especially the younger ones) always referred to exploitation as something that never happened to them, only to others. Lorenzo, for example, said that the police should do more about the exploitation of children, but the fact that the police had taken his cart from him with which he was transporting vegetables from trucks to the market when he was eight, was something he regarded as abominable, because *he* was not being exploited, *he* was just ‘helping his mum’. I found this kind of discourse with many of the children. Even Sofia, who is seventeen and the representative for the organization of working children and adolescents in Cusco (MNNATSOP), talked about exploitation as something she only saw happening to others, even though she had worked in the tile factory of her father, without pay, since she was very young, thereby even being beaten and verbally abused by her father³⁰.

An exception perhaps was Antonio (eighteen years old – who is a volunteer in MNNATSOP) who at the time I talked to him was working from 8pm to 7am in a press while trying to study during the day. He earned 10 Sol (€ 2,5) for a night of work. Antonio was the only one I talked to who was conscious about the fact that he was being exploited. Nevertheless he assured me that it could be worse: sometimes bosses did not pay at all after a day or a night of work...So even Antonio trivialized his own exploitation by referring to others who were worse off.

2.3. “Los Sábados trabajo, juego, hago tareas”³¹: Living, Working and Playing Childhood

The lives of the children, both IRW children and shoe shining boys, revolve around work, play and school. This is an average day during Vanessa’s (ten years old) holidays:

It is Tuesday morning. Vanessa gets up at six AM, takes a shower and eats breakfast.

Because she has holidays she does not need to go to school today and she can go to

²⁹ “I want to say that I am a happy child.”

³⁰ Interview with Sofia, 17 years old, 04.04.2011.

³¹ “Saturdays I work, I play and I do my homework”

IRW already in the morning. Leaving home at seven thirty she walks half an hour over the sometimes paved and sometimes unpaved streets, between the houses, with the mountains behind. Luckily it doesn't rain today, otherwise everything gets so muddy! When she arrives at IRW it is still very quiet. Cuci, the dog, greets her happily and in the kitchen Celia is already busy with cooking lunch. Vanessa helps with preparing carrots, washing plates and peeling potatoes. When her friend Maria comes in they play a game of Mikado and read their favored books. At twelve Celia calls for lunch and Lorenzo reads the prayer before everyone gets a plate full of food. After lunch Vanessa has to clean the girls' toilet. Why can't she swipe the floor like yesterday? That is much more fun! The afternoon is spent with drawing, painting and reading books. Luckily school hasn't started yet, otherwise she would lose the whole afternoon making homework! At five PM she walks home and watches TV and at seven dinner is ready and her parents sit waiting for her. After dinner she is allowed to watch some more TV, but at eight she has to go to bed³².

And this is an average Saturday in Juan's (thirteen years old) life:

It is Saturday morning. Juan gets up at six AM. Mum is outside feeding the chickens. At seven he meets at the bus stop with Diego who looks as if he is still asleep. That's alright, he has another hour to sleep in the bus! Ah, there are Edison and Carlos, just in time to get on the same bus! At eight they all walk up the Plaza de Armas. It is still very quiet and cold, but luckily the sun is out! On a bench sits a man reading a newspaper. Juan walks up to him: "Lustramos señor?"³³ "How much?" asks the man. "Voluntario" is Juan's reply – whatever you want to pay. The man nods and looks back at his newspaper. Juan puts his shoe shining box under the outstretched foot, cleans, shines and polishes the shoe. The man's nose appears over the top of the newspaper. "That's not good enough, do the front of the shoe again". Juan does it again. "And the side". Juan does the right side of the shoe again and starts with the other foot. "Polish it again" says the customer putting his first foot on the box. Juan does as he is told. He gets one Sol. The next customer is sitting ready, but the municipal police officers have also arrived and are already walking this way, better walk off the Plaza and wait a bit. There is Diego again. "Why do those officers bother coming so early?" The day

³² Taken from "Un día típico de mi vida", component of Vanessa's book. NB. Vanessa is one of the better-off participants in IRW. Sonia, for example, does not watch TV because she does not have one and Tomás drinks a tea instead of eating dinner.

³³ "Shall I shine them Mister?"

continues with shining shoes and being sent away from the Plaza. It starts to rain. The boys gather on the stairs in front of the McDonalds, at least there it is dry. Trading polishing material, teasing and chasing each other and sharing the latest news from the neighborhood time passes by quickly. Soon it will be time to go home³⁴.

These are two examples of how a “day in the life of” could look like. Much could be said here about the daily activities of the children, but I want to highlight three important elements of the children’s daily lives here: work, school and play.

As we can see in the two examples above, work belongs to the weekend. Most children I met worked only in the weekends. Exceptions to this became more frequent among the older children who sometimes also worked during the week. The types of work done by the children varied greatly. Children shine shoes like Juan and Diego, but they can also work in tile factories like Sofia, sell vegetables, jelly, food and fruits on the market like Inés, Maria, Benyamín, Tomás, carry vegetables over the market like Lorenzo, work in construction like Valentín or be a mini-van driver assistant like Antonio had been as a boy. Other jobs in which children work are selling phone calls, washing cars, working as a maid, making music/singing and posing for tourist photos (Ensing & Strehl, 2010: 4). Helping was a word that came back often in children’s descriptions of their daily lives, especially helping the mother, but also grandparents, uncles or aunts. Helping is also regularly used as a substitute word for work³⁵. However, children (both boys and girls) also extensively referred to helping the mother in household tasks such as cleaning, cooking and washing. Children are thus the main support of the mother in the household, and spend a considerable amount of their time at home performing these tasks.

Another activity that was named as central in the lives of the children was going to school and making homework. Higher education is regarded as the only way out of poverty. Some of the older IRW participants such as Camila (fifteen years old), Mariana (sixteen years old) and Jonathan (seventeen years old) regard it as their most important goal in life to get a place in the university in the near future. However even the younger children spend several hours per day on their homework and Vanessa argued that “El Sábado es aburrido porque tengo que estudiar todo el día hasta la noche”³⁶. Although this comment is negative, most

³⁴ Based on participant observation and informal interviews on the Plaza de Armas.

³⁵ Interview with Luz Marina, director IRW, 15.04.2011

³⁶ Saturday is boring because I have to study the whole day until the evening. Cited from “Un día típico de mi vida”, written by Vanessa, 10 years old.

children told me they liked to go to school. Maria even stated that school was her favorite place in the world³⁷. Children said they like school not only because of their friends but also because they can learn important things there.

In contrast to the responsibilities tied to work, domestic tasks and school, play is also an element that I observed extensively, not only in children's descriptions of their daily lives but also on a daily basis. In IRW especially the youngest children spent most of their time playing, as they did not have as much homework as the older children. However on the Plaza, among the older boys, I also noticed that play, or maybe it is more correct in their case to refer to recreational activities, is central in their daily lives. Take for example Pablo and Hector. I did not speak once with them without getting a reference to something "fun" they had just done or they were about to do. Activities ranged from exploring the streets in the center, through convincing a tourist to buy a chicken wing for them at McDonalds, to spending the day's earnings in the swimming pool. Likewise Juan and Diego were very keen on visiting the Inca ruins with me, taking me to the Museo Inca and showing me the streets and buildings they liked, without seeming to the least troubled by the idea that they were not earning any money. Later, in chapter four, I will come back upon play and it's role in children's processes of home-making.

Street-working children are thus poor children, coming from the lower social levels of society and living in the poorer neighborhoods in the outskirts of Cusco. Although generally street-working children are regarded as possible thieves and drug addicts, the children themselves portray their lives in a positive way and regularly refer to children who are worse off. The lives of these children revolve around work, school and play. It is on the places, where these activities take place, and on the people who are involved in these activities that I will focus in the next chapter.

³⁷ Interview with Maria, 13 years old, 06.04.2011.

3. Actors and Places of Socialization

On order to demonstrate how actors and places of socialization play a role in children's processes of home-making it is important, before we turn to how children make home, to analyze who the actors of socialization are and in which places this socialization unfolds. In this chapter I will therefore first devote attention to the relationships street-working children have with their socializers and thereafter I will describe three important places of socialization: the house, the street and IRW. In this description I will demonstrate that place can be ambiguous, illustrating how a part of the street can, through the ascription of meaning, cease to be considered "street".

3.1. *"Trabajo para ayudar a mi mama"*³⁸: Relationship to Socializers

According to Luz Marina, director of IRW, all the people with whom the children interact are actors of socialization and therefore important in this process³⁹. Nevertheless I want to focus on four categories of socializers: family members, peers, teachers in IRW and socializers in public space such as police officers and customers.

Within the context of the family the mother is a central figure. It is the mother who decides what children are (not) to do, earned money is given to the mother, the mother is often head of the household and main breadwinner, she has to be asked for permission and she is almost always the first named when children are asked with whom they live. Fathers are often a more problematic figure. When present, fathers are often associated with alcoholic problems and/or domestic violence, but often fathers are "gone" or "dead" (which regularly turned out to mean "gone" as well). Tristán (eleven years old) for example, told me his father was dead. However, when Tomás (nine years old) told me *his* father was gone, Tristán's father was suddenly no longer dead but gone too. Another interesting example of how a (difficult) father can be "placed" outside the family was the comment of Mariana (sixteen years old). Mariana was telling Camila (fifteen years old) and me about how she had asked her *tío* (uncle) for money to buy something for school. She then went on to explain to me that she was actually referring to her father (who is separated from her mother), but as she really did not like her father and did not see him as standing "close" to her, she

³⁸ "I work to help my mother"

³⁹ Interview with Luz Marina, 13.04.2011.

preferred to call him uncle. It is interesting though that parents, even when they are absent, are seen by the children as very central to their lives.



Image 2. Tristán's family tree.

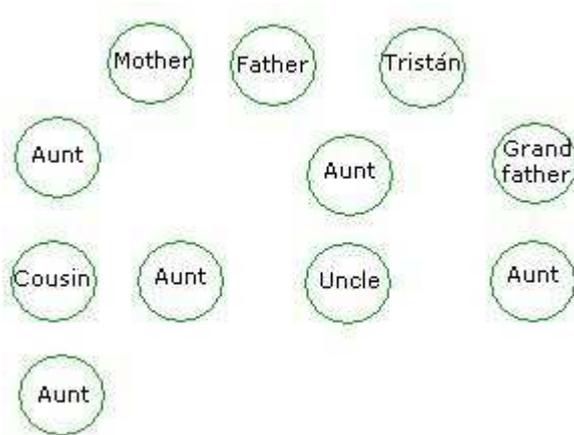


Image 3. Tristán's family tree schematically.

Take again the example of Tristán. His father left two years ago. Soon after, his mother left as well, taking with her his little brother. Tristán now lives with his grandfather, his aunt and her baby daughter. In his family tree however, Tristán stands at the top of the tree, together with both his father and his mother, in the same color. His little brother is absent from the tree and his grandfather and aunt occupy secondary positions in the organization of the tree (see images 2 and 3). We can thus see here that parents, even when they are not present in the daily lives of the children, even when they leave their children behind, are still regarded by their children as very central to their lives and “close” to them.

Stepfathers sometimes replace fathers and stepfamilies are common. Stepfathers are often regarded more negatively than fathers because they consider the children “not their responsibility” and are often more violent toward children from another man than to their own (Figuroa Arias, 2009). Older brothers and sisters are often responsible for their younger siblings, not only in work, but for example also in IRW. They see to it that their younger siblings eat all their food, they intervene in quarrels, they escort them home, they pay their lunch and they carry messages between parents and teachers. In the case of the shoe shining boys it was often an older brother who taught them about shining shoes.

Peers are important actors of socialization as well, especially through their intensive contact and social closeness. Older friends educate and are responsible for younger ones. When I was on the way to the Sacsayhuamán ruins with Juan and Diego, Edison and his friend Francisco wanted to join us. The older boys (Juan and Diego) however, did not want the younger ones to come because then “they will run, fall, and then their mothers will come to us telling us it is our fault...”⁴⁰. Besides this responsibility issue, peers on the Plaza are also friends to whom boys can talk, from whom they can borrow or buy material, with whom they can have fun and from whom they can learn the tricks to become a successful shoe shiner. In IRW older children help younger ones to make their homework, they show them how to clean, they tell them off or they give them advice, like Antonio (eighteen years old) did one day about valuing school:

It is Monday, just after lunch. Sitting with a group of children in front of the kitchen we peel *habas* (beans) for tomorrow’s salad and we chat about the start of the school year. Sebastián sighs and grumbles something about the fact that he doesn’t like school and doesn’t want to go to school. Antonio, who is sitting with us, his trendy cap turned to the side and still wearing his cook uniform looks up. “You know – Antonio tells Sebastián in a paternal tone – when I was in school I didn’t like it. I always skipped classes to go and play pinball”. Everybody has fallen quiet. “Then – he continues – in second grade, I had to leave. I cried. I cried so much that day! And now...ah...when I see my sisters go to school, in their beautiful tidy uniforms, all I want to do is wear mine as well, and go to school, see my friends...” He sighs, then he turns back to Sebastián: “So, you should do your best and enjoy it, and not waste your time on internet or pinball...you should value school!”⁴¹

In IRW, other socializers who give the children advice are the teachers. IRW teachers do not consider themselves to be substitutes for the family, rather their goal is to strengthen the family and to teach children to (re)value their family and their (Quechua) roots (see chapter 2.1). IRW is set up as an alternative space for socialization in which children are taught self-respect and respect for others, in which creativity is developed, assistance is given with homework but also with application for university, financial problems, and family-related issues. IRW teachers do not only focus on the children but also on the parents, organizing

⁴⁰ Taken from fieldnotes, 27.02.2011

⁴¹ Taken from fieldnotes, 08.02.2011.

“school for parents” once a month in which themes proposed by the parents are discussed⁴². I noticed that younger children were sometimes intimidated by the teachers, while teenagers interacted with the teachers in a friendly and confident manner. Teachers were mostly described to me by the children as helpful, advising and kind people.

For the shoe shining boys, the municipal police officers are also socializers. These officers are the boys’ first acquaintance with “the law” and with them they dispute over their presence in public space: the police with their whistles and natural authority, the boys with their consequent defiance of that authority and their stubbornness in working there, even though sometimes they have to run. Furthermore, for the shoe shiners as much as for IRW children, customers are in some way socializers too as they bargain with the children, and as they make them acquainted with the world of business by sometimes “ripping them off” and other times by giving them advice.

Regarding the relationship of socializers with places of socialization there is one interesting fact. Some actors of socialization are related to certain places: school teachers are related to school, IRW teachers to IRW and for example for the shoe shining boys, municipal officers and customers belong to the Plaza. What is interesting is that family members are present in different places of socialization, not only in the house. Different family members live in the house, which is often composed by more than only the nuclear family. Furthermore, most children (at least in IRW) work with their families and thus these “house” actors of socialization are also the “work” actors of socialization. Thereby, often brothers/sisters/uncles/cousins also attend IRW and as the older ones tend to feel responsible for the younger ones, here “house” socializers also turn into “IRW” socializers. In school the same can happen. What we see is thus that family members are present in many different places of socialization. In the next section these different places of socialization will be explored further.

3.2. *“En la calle se juega. En la calle no se debe jugar”⁴³: Places of Socialization*

Stating, like I did above, that all the individuals the children deal with in their daily lives are actors of socialization, one could also say that all the places in which the children spend their daily lives are places of socialization. Places in which children spend their daily lives are their house, the street, school, IRW (in the case of the IRW children), their work place

⁴² Interview with Luz Marina, director IRW, 13.04.2011.

⁴³ “In the street one plays. In the street one should not play”

(ranging from markets, through tile factories and press workshops to the Plaza de Armas), but also the houses of friends and family members, internet cafés, their plots of land and their villages of origin. In this section I will focus on the most important ones in the context of this thesis: the house, the street and IRW representing, respectively, the private and the public sphere and the grey category in between the two. My analysis of these places will be based especially on the exercise in which the children (both IRW and shoe shining boys) linked different positive and negative feelings to the different places in which they spend most of their daily lives.

The house was referred to by the children in an interesting double way. The house was rich in positive characteristics and it was often their favorite place to be, but negative aspects of the house were thereby undeniable. In chapter four I will devote more attention to the meaning of this positive/negative dichotomy regarding the conceptualization of home. Here I will focus on how the positive/negative dichotomy was voiced and to what these characteristics were ascribed. The figure below is Maria's (thirteen years old) house as she drew it for her book.

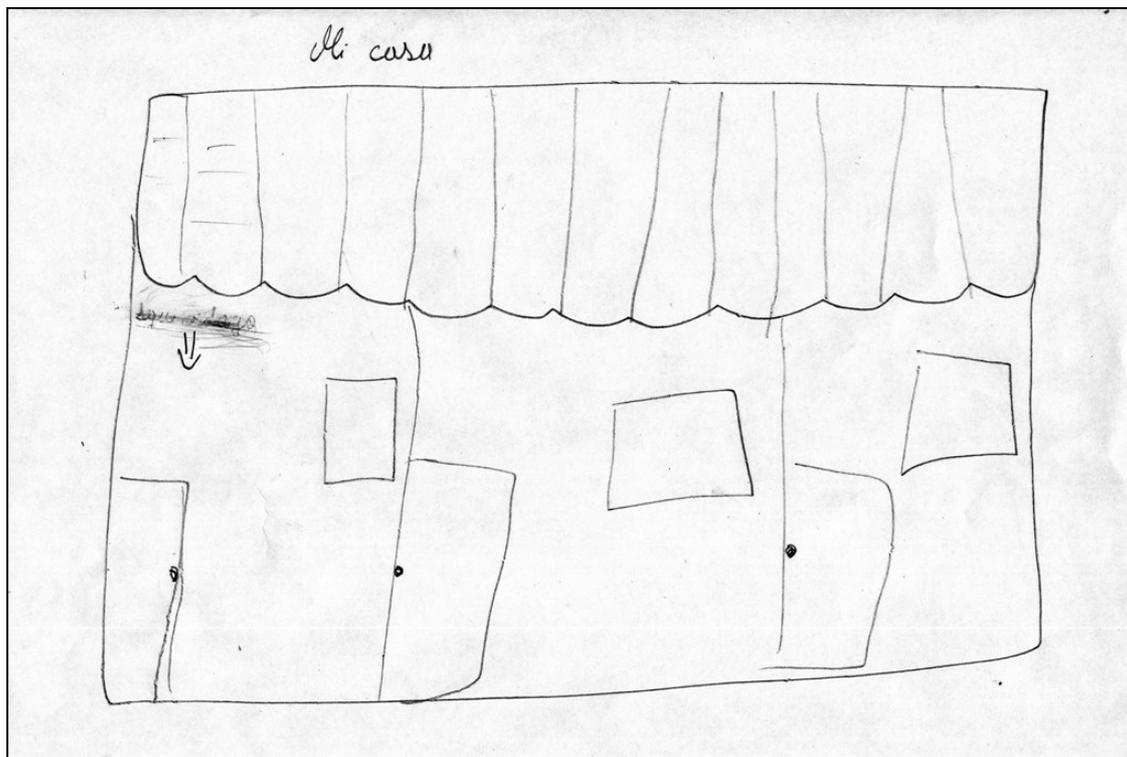


Image 4. "My house" drawn by Maria

Maria lives only with her mother, her father works in Europe. Together, they live in the left room of the house. As she described it to me they have one room in which they have their

bed, their kitchen and their belongings. To her house Maria linked the feelings: security, acceptance, joy and sadness. It was her mother, she said, who made her feel secure, accepted and happy. It was however also her mother who made her sad when she was angry at her. The repeated fights and quarrels among the neighbors did also contribute to the sadness she felt at home. Sometimes negative feelings toward the house were voiced through silence. Tristán (eleven years old), for example, categorically refused to draw his house. My repeated attempts to find out why, only resulted in phrases such as: "I don't know how it looks like", "I don't feel like drawing my house", "I want to draw something else today" or "I can't draw". When it came to his dream house this did not seem to be a problem anymore. Inés (ten years old) did not want to draw her house at first either because "it is ugly".

The positive feelings most children associated with the house were: love, friendship and acceptance. The negative feelings mostly associated with the house were: sadness and boredom. Many children referred to spending much of their time at home alone and referred to that as a reason for the sadness and boredom at home. However, fear and insecurity were also felt at home. About these feelings it was difficult to talk with the children. Negative feelings were often trivialized or projected onto things that came from outside. Inés, for example, ascribed the feeling of fear she had linked with her house to the possibility of thieves coming from outside to steal from her house. When I asked her about what made her sad she was quiet for a moment. Then she said: "that they boss me around". It left me wondering whether that was really the only thing that made her sad, but she would not give any other explanation. In sum, the house is both a positive and a negative place. Children like to be in the house because there they can be with their family, they can play, in some cases watch TV and because they feel loved and accepted in the house. In contrast the house is also a place where children are bored and sad and where they sometimes even feel insecure or afraid and where the family is often absent or possibly hostile.

Interestingly, the street was approached with the same positive/negative dichotomy as the house, although it should be said that the house had a more positive score than the street. When I asked the children how they felt in the street the answer was often comparable to the answer Tomás (nine years old) gave me: "Me siento feliz, alegre y a veces

me siento triste y a veces también tengo miedo de los locos”⁴⁴. This dichotomy was also expressed in Maria’s answer to my questions what one did and did not do in the street: in the street one plays, but in the street one also should not play. On the one hand the street was seen as a very negative place. Children said to be very afraid of the street. The street was portrayed as a place full of *rateros* (thieves/bandits), cars that can run over children, dangerous stairs and locos (“crazy people”) of whom Sebastián (ten years old) told me that, with a knife, they kill those who dare to look them in the eyes. On the other hand the street was often also referred to as a positive place where one could play, do what one wants and meet up with friends. The positive feelings mostly linked with the street were happiness (*alegría*), security (mostly ascribed to the presence of national police) and friendship. Negative feelings towards the street were plenty, but mostly: fear, boredom, sadness, and insecurity (when the police was not present). Boredom was ascribed to the lack of places where children can play while sadness was often linked to people fighting, crying and being miserable in the street. Sofia gave me an example of something that made her sad:

“When I was on my way here (to IRW) I saw two parents, both drunk having an argument on the bridge. Their children stood beside them, crying. That is just not fair! So I said: “don’t fight” but that made it worse, they almost hit me and so I came running. I was scared, trembling. They were both drunk. The mother had a baby on her back and the father was hitting her. She was hitting back. The oldest son was defending his father, his sister was defending her mother. It was horrible!”⁴⁵

Sebastián also told me an episode of his life that justified his feeling of general insecurity on the street. When he told me that hitting his head was a great fear of him in the street and I asked him why, he told me the following story:

“One day I went “*buscar plata*” (searching for coins in a tunnel under the street where they sometimes find money that falls through the grids) with my friend. I was five and he was four. Then my friend hit his head really hard on the grid, his whole head was full of blood. I went running to get my brother and my uncles and they took him out of

⁴⁴ “ I feel happy, cheerful and sometimes I feel sad and sometimes I am afraid of the crazy people.”
Taken from the questionnaire “La calle”, 24.03.2011.

⁴⁵ Interview with Sofia, 17 years old, 04.04.2011.

there, but he died. Now I almost never go look for money anymore. But my brother, yes, he goes there all the time.”⁴⁶

We can thus see that there are different causes of the general feeling of insecurity that the children have towards the street. The negative things that children associated in the street could also be seen in how they wished the street to be. In Lorenzo’s (twelve years old) drawing of how the street would look like if he were the mayor one can see his solutions for the problems he finds in the street (see image 5). On the top we see the school which has a big wall around it so that the children could feel and be safe.



Image 5. Lorenzo’s dream street

Next to the school is a shop and on the other side of the street is the market, so that children could buy good food after school. On the intersection next to the school we can see

⁴⁶ Taken from notes of an informal conversation with Sebastián, 10 years old, 24.03.2011.

three police officers, and every street is equipped with a safe crossing and traffic lights. To the right of the drawing there is a big park because, according to Lorenzo, “nature is very important” and there are two playing fields, one for children and one for teenagers, so that the teenagers would not “invade” children’s games and send them away. The playing fields are well fenced off from the street and at the crossing from the field to the park there is again a traffic light.

A last interesting element of the street I want to consider here is the subjectivity of what is actually considered to be “the street”. After having witnessed the mostly negative view the IRW children had of the street I was curious as to how the shoe shining boys, of whom I knew that they spent their whole weekends on the street, would experience it. I was rather startled when I found out that they had the same negative view on the street. Carlos (twelve years old) for example, when I asked him how he felt in the street answered: “Me siento muy asustado porque es muy peligroso”⁴⁷. Juan (thirteen years old) associated with the street the feelings: lack of respect (people look negatively at you when your clothes are old) and fear (of being robbed). With his work however he associated happiness (when there is work) and boredom (when there is no work). Edison (eleven years old) associated security (because of the police officers – but not the municipal ones) but also lack of respect (people who treated him badly), violence (especially during the night), fear (for being robbed), and hatred (towards the people who spoke rudely to him) with the street. With his work, like Juan, he associated happiness and boredom.

Focusing on the discrepancy between the feelings associated to work and to the street, I gradually became aware of the fact that the shoe shining boys considered the street and the Plaza de Armas to be two completely independent and different spheres. With the Plaza de Armas and their work they associate mostly positive emotions (although sometimes it is boring), however they are terrified of *la calle* (the street). On the street they feel insecurity, fear, violence. On the street people rob, kill and hurt each other. I concluded that the shoe shining boys consider the Plaza *not* to be the street. The Plaza is just the Plaza, it seems a universe on its own. The street is the street in their own neighborhoods and has nothing to do with the center of Cusco. As we will see in the next chapter, this is a vital element of processes of home-making in public space.

⁴⁷ “I feel very frightened because it is very dangerous.” Conversation, 26.03.2011.

IRW, considered as we will see in the next chapter, to be somewhere between public and private space, was a place regarded very positively by the children. In the linking feelings to places exercise, IRW was the place with which the least negative feelings were associated. In the interviews too, children were mostly positive about IRW. Children said to feel happy and secure, they had friends and teachers who helped them with homework and other daily problems and it was a beautiful house. The only negative aspects children pointed out to me were that it was sometimes boring and that sometimes there were fights between different groups of children, although I noticed these affiliations in groups to be very ephemeral and lose.

The house and the street are thus both regarded as both negative and positive by the street-working children, while IRW is regarded mostly as positive. The house is a place of love and acceptance but also of sadness, boredom and even insecurity. The street is a place infested with all kinds of dangers but is also a place where one can play, be free and meet with friends. However, not every public place, outside, where cars drive by and people sit on benches, is considered to be the “street”. When referring to the street and its dangers the shoe shining boys were not referring to the Plaza de Armas but to the streets in their own neighborhoods. The Plaza de Armas was a place on its own. This is an important aspect of the strategies of home-making in public space to which I will turn in the next chapter.

We have thus seen that actors and places of socialization contribute, in various ways, to what Invernizzi (2003) describes as a process of internalization: from mothers children learn structure and how to deal with money, from siblings and peers they learn mutual responsibility but also playfulness, from police officers they learn about the law and from customers about business while IRW teachers teach them about respect. In the house children internalize feelings of love and security but also fear and boredom. In the street children learn to be careful as the street is seen as very dangerous, but they also develop their capacities through play. In IRW children internalize the feelings of security and acceptance. This complex process of internalization aids the children to position themselves in the world. Once positioned in the world, children can engage in a process of individuation, that is: engaging with the environment and changing it. In the next chapter I will illustrate this process when analyzing how children are active agents in the process of home-making.

4. Home and Home-making in Public and Private Space

It is Thursday afternoon. Sitting together in the classroom we discuss the difference between public and private spaces. Lorenzo says he knows the difference: "It's like, private space is where you are only with some people, and public space is where everybody is...". After we discuss that public space is indeed a space that is free to everyone although there are rules about how to use it and that private is more restricted, that people can be excluded from certain private spaces, I ask the children to glue the stickers "house", "school", "IRW", "work" and "street" into either the column that says "private" or in the "public" one. Street and house are the easiest; these are immediately placed in, respectively, public and private space. Then it becomes complicated. Humberto says that school belongs in the private space because not just everybody can walk into the school, Lorenzo disagrees because everyone who wants to study can go to school. Furthermore, Rodrigo and Valentín think that IRW is a public space because the door is always open and people can come in, but Lorenzo, Maria and Humberto disagree because IRW is not just for everybody: you have to be a child and poor and working to be able to participate in the IRW program. Vanessa thinks of something smart, she just glues the IRW sticker right in the middle of the page, between the public and the private columns, because "IRW is both a bit public and a bit private".

In this chapter I will focus on how children make home in both the public and the private space. Regarding the unclear statuses of IRW and school stressed in the vignette above, I focus on street as a public domain, on the house as a private domain and on IRW as a domain that stands in between the previous two. Before that, however, some remarks relating to the concept of home and children's conceptualization of it have to be made.

The main problem I encountered when discussing interpretations of- and ideas about home with the children was language. The English word "home" is difficult to translate to Spanish. The words I used were *casa* and *hogar*. These, however, do not directly mean home but rather house and household, respectively. Thereby comes that the word *hogar* is often associated with an orphanage. When I asked Inés what characterized the difference between a *casa* and a *hogar* she immediately embarked in an account about how she once, in the crowd, had lost her mother and had been taken to an orphanage where she had to wait for three days before her mother found her again⁴⁸. In the light of this language

⁴⁸ Interview with Inés, 10 years old, 13.04.2011.

barrier I decided to focus on children's relationship to the different places in which they lived their daily lives: what did they feel in these places? What did they do? With whom did they share these places and how did that affect their relationship to those places? Based on the observations of how they behave in those places and how they reflected and talked about them, I built my interpretation on how these children conceptualize home. As I have argued in chapter 1, home is a socio-spatial system (Mallett, 2004) and home as such is related to identity (Tucker, 1994), it is constructed and negotiated, it is relational and it is emotional. These were all aspects I recognized in how children talked about and related to certain places in which they live their daily lives.

4.1. "Me gustaría ser dueño de mi casa"⁴⁹: Being at Home in Private Space

In the theoretical chapter I have employed Mallett's (2004) definition of home as a socio-spatial system. Speaking with Lorenzo about the difference between a house and a home (*hogar*) I was startled by the fact that he articulated what he felt to be home exactly in this combination of a social and a spatial system. Here is an extract of the interview⁵⁰:

Sara (S): Do you know what the difference is between a *casa* and a *hogar*?

Lorenzo (L): Yes, in a *hogar* there is a complete family...and a *casa*...is just a house...without anyone living...

S: Ok, so a *hogar* is always made up by a family?

L: Yes

S: And would it be possible to have a *hogar* made up by people who are not family?

L: Yes

S: And how would that work?

L: Everybody would have to like and know each other

S: Ok, and would a *hogar* no longer be a *hogar* if that would not be so?

L: Yes

S: What would it be then?

L: People would separate...they would go somewhere else...they would fight...

S: And then it would no longer be a *hogar*?

L: No

⁴⁹ "I would like to own my house"

⁵⁰ Interview with Lorenzo, 12 years old, 08.04.2011. This is a selection taken from the interview, I left some phrases in which I ask for confirmation out and one small detour about ownership, because I considered them superfluous in making my point.

(...)

S: ...and you, for example, if you were very poor, and you would live on the street with your family, do you think you would be a *hogar*, if you had no house?

L: No

S: Then you wouldn't? So you need a place to live in...

L: Yes

S: Because living in the street...

L: We wouldn't be able to be together, there would be no place to sit together, we would have no table to eat⁵¹...

In this interview we see home appearing as a socio-spatial system: to have a home one needs a family, or a group of people that know and like each other, but one also needs a house, or at least a physical place to be together. One needs a PLACE (spatial) in which one can BE (social) a family. What is interesting is that Sofia also referred to the need to have a place to BE together as a family⁵². She told me that her family has the habit of 'sitting together' once a week, to discuss family matters, work or other things. This 'sitting together' (the physical being together of the family) is, according to Sofia, very important not only for her, but also for the functioning of the household. Home is thus a socio-spatial system: it consists of a group of people who need a place in which they can perform their group-ness.

As I have also argued in chapter 1, the search for home is always a compromise between the ideal (imagined) home and the real (lived) home (Mallett, 2004: 69). I witnessed this when asking the children in IRW to draw their houses. The images below are the houses as drawn by two boys: Rodrigo (twelve years old) and Sebastián (ten years old). Rodrigo is uncle of Sebastián and they live in the same compound.

⁵¹ An interesting fact is that Lorenzo told me his family does not have a table, here we see the imagination of what would make his house more a home.

⁵² Interview with Sofia, 17 years old, 04.04.2011.

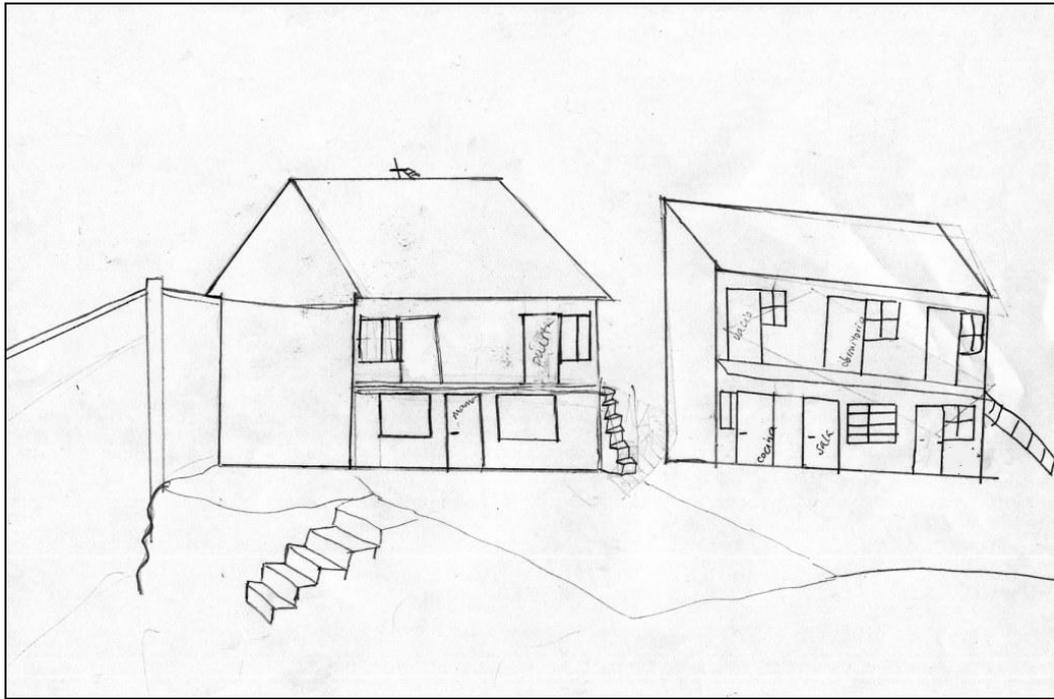


Image 6. Rodrigo's drawing of his house

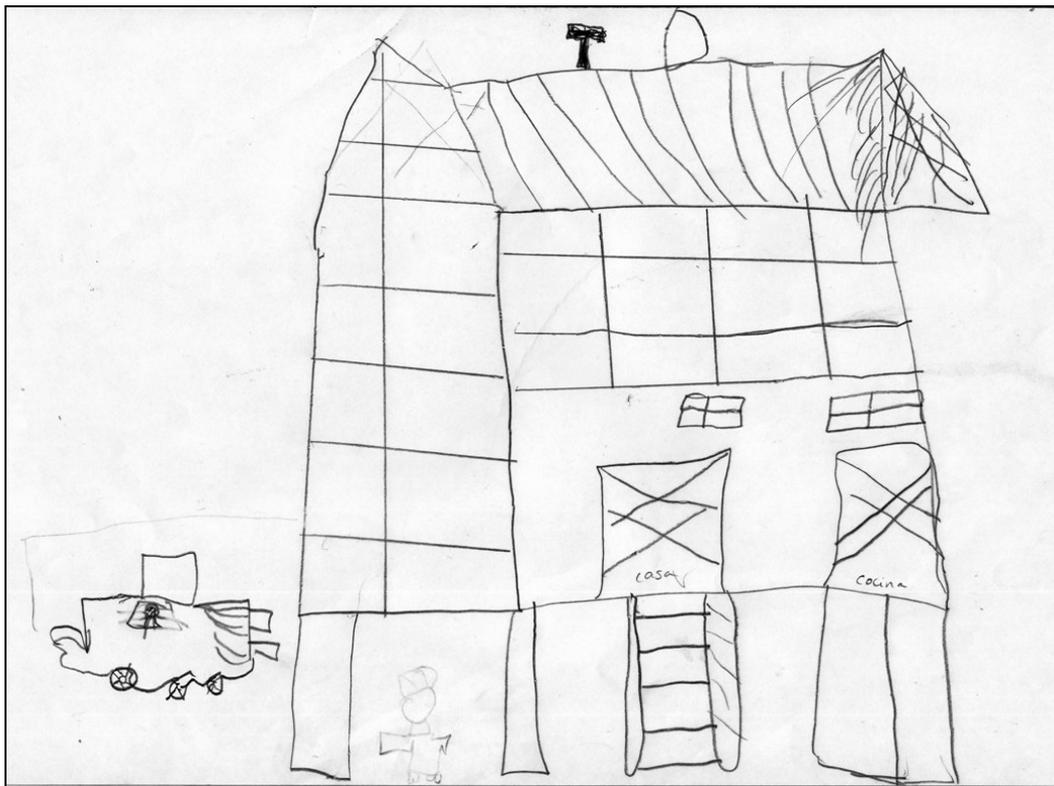


Image 7. Sebastián's drawing of his house

According to Rodrigo the left house in his drawing is Sebastián's house. The house looks modern, it has electricity, it is made of brick and it has a neat roof. Rodrigo's own house (the

right house in his drawing) looks slightly poorer but it still seems to be made of brick and sturdy material. Sebastián's drawing looks different. Sebastián told me his house was made of wood and stood on poles⁵³. His drawing seems closer to that reality than Rodrigo's reproduction of it. After having asked the children to draw their dream house and having talked to them about their houses, about what they would like to change in their houses and what they wished for the future, I became aware of the fact that most (real) houses had been drawn encompassing in themselves reality as much as wishes toward that reality. The drawings titled "Mi Casa" (My House) were thus, already, a compromise between the ideal (imagined) house and the real (lived) house.

In the interviews I had with the children about their feelings toward- and their wishes for their house one theme came to the fore repeatedly: ownership. Children often live in rented houses or even rooms within houses. As we have already seen, both Maria and Camila lived in rented rooms within a compound that belonged to somebody else. Sofia, Lorenzo, Inés and Benyamín lived in a rented house. Renting a room or a house brings along insecurity which is obviously felt by the children. This insecurity is originated by the feeling that one can be expelled from the house at any moment but also by the stress of having to pay the rent each month. This stress is shared by the entire family and thus the ownership of the house is also something that concerns the children. Lorenzo referred to making money to buy his family a house⁵⁴ and Sofia told me she was planning to work half a year to earn enough money to help her father with fulfilling his dream: build his own house. Only thereafter would she work to have money for herself⁵⁵. As I have referred to in chapter 1, home-making is an active process of appropriation that encompasses the wish for ownership. In section 4.2 we will see a clear example of active appropriation. Here however this process seems to be more achieved through imagination (or plans for the future): children imagine their perfect house to be theirs and they imagine buying (or building) a house for their families in the future.

Imagination, I have found among these children, is central in making home. This imagination (and here I borrow a thought from Anderson, 2006: 6) is not the same as inventing: it is a process of constructing and (reproducing) reality in an imagined, though not invented (in the sense of completely fictional) way. What this means concretely is that

⁵³ Interview with Sebastián, 10 years old, 06.04.2011.

⁵⁴ Interview with Lorenzo, 12 years old, 08.04.2011.

⁵⁵ Interview with Sofia, 17 years old, 04.04.2011.

the children thought about, or at least presented, their houses (and family situation) with a strong emphasis on its positive aspects. This entailed the silence about, and trivialization, of negative characteristics. In interviews, but also in informal conversations and to a lesser extent in drawings and gluing exercises, children overemphasized the aspects they liked in their houses, devoting most of their comments toward the positive feelings they associated with the house. It was only through asking what they would like to change about their houses that I discovered the negative aspects of the house. However, when asked about these, children would often trivialize them. The fact that the house was rented was immediately downplayed with the comment “we will soon buy our own house”, the fact that the family had no table was also excused with the comment “we will soon buy one”. The association of sadness (in the gluing exercise) with the house was blamed on the fighting neighbors or was, when confronted with it, coined as a “mistake” in the gluing process. However, what best characterized this over-emphasis and under-emphasis of respectively positive and negative aspects was the sheer silence about the negative aspects (not only of one’s house but also of one’s domestic life).

The clearest example I can give of this silence emerged from the photo project I conducted with the shoe shining boys. I gave a disposable camera to Juan, Pablo, Cesar and Claudio, while Edison and Carlos shared a camera. I asked the boys to take pictures of both things they liked and things they disliked. I only got pictures back from things they liked. There was not one single picture taken from a disliked thing, place or person. But the most interesting observation was the difference between the pictures of Pablo and Cesar who are cousins. Pablo is twelve years old and lives with his father, mother, brother and sister in one of the poorer villages outside Cusco. They live in a house in a compound which they share with a grandmother and the families of two of Pablo’s aunts. One of these aunts is Cesar’s mother. Cesar is eleven years old and lives with his mother. His only sister lives and works in Lima sending remittances to his mother. Cesar’s father left after, according to what they told me, beating up Cesar very badly once. The two boys took their pictures roughly at the same time. However, Pablo’s pictures all revolve around his house, his family members and even their two pigs. Cesar, on the contrary, did not make one single picture of his house or of his mother. Most of the pictures on his camera were taken up by the center of Cusco, his village and by a cousin (daughter of Pablo’s other aunt) who he said he really likes.



Image 8. Pablo's picture of his brother and sister



Image 9. Pablo's picture of his mother and siblings



Image 10. Pablo's picture of his brother and the compound



Image 11. Cesar's picture of a tourist who's t-shirt he really liked



Image 12. Cesar's picture of his aunt (Pablo's mother) and an uncle



Image 13. Cesar's picture of his favorite cousin

As we can see in these pictures, what is positive for Pablo and negative for Cesar – the nuclear family and the house – is over-represented in Pablo's pictures and under-represented in Cesar's. Instead of making pictures of the things he did not like, Cesar

decided to only take pictures of the things that he did like, even if that meant filling his role of negatives with seven pictures of his favorite cousin. This is just one of the many examples I encountered of the over-emphasis of positive elements of home and under-emphasis or even absolute silence regarding its negative elements, leading me to conclude that overemphasis of positive aspects and under emphasis of the negative ones is an emotional strategy of home-making. As we will see in the next section, this imagining home by emphasizing its positive aspects also takes place in the public space.

4.2. *“En la Plaza me siento feliz”⁵⁶: Being at Home in Public Space*

It is a sunny Saturday morning on the Plaza de Armas, although some dark clouds in the northeast announce the rains of the late afternoon. The fountain in the middle of the Plaza produces the inviting sound of splashing water while the cathedral looks out sternly over the bustling square. Pigeons flutter around picking up the grains that people of all ages have spread around for them. Somewhere a whistle sounds. Juan walks around between the Cusqueños who enjoy their Saturday with their families around the fountain. He wears an old jumper and jeans, he carries a small backpack and in his right hand he holds a wooden shoe shining box with a brush, shoe polish and a cloth. His eyes scan the feet of the people and here and there he offers his services. By the sound of the whistle his head bounces up, trying to locate its source to judge if it is at a safe distance. A man in a dark blue uniform, with a dark blue cap and a golden circle on both his cap and the left side of his chest⁵⁷ increases the speed of his walk, his eyes fixed on Juan. The boy turns around and walks away lightly looking over his shoulder every few seconds. The man in uniform follows him for a while before giving up his persecution. He looks around for more lawbreakers and blows his whistle. As soon as he turns his back, Juan turns around too and walks back onto the Plaza, with one eye scanning for shoes, and the other for dark blue uniforms. Meanwhile the fountain still makes its merry music, the pigeons still roam about in search of grains and the cathedral still stands there, looking out impartially over the cat-and-mouse game developing on the Plaza⁵⁸.

⁵⁶ “I feel happy on the Plaza”

⁵⁷ Uniform of Cusco’s municipal police officers

⁵⁸ Vignette based on weekly observations on the Plaza de Armas.

If we regard the public space, one of its characteristics is that it cannot be owned by the individual. A public space is mostly owned by the state and should be accessible for everyone (García-Ellín, 2009: 357). Nevertheless I witnessed processes of appropriation and to a certain extent ownership (not in the sense of economic and exclusive ownership but let's say social ownership) of the Plaza de Armas. The vignette above describes this process of appropriation. The Plaza de Armas is not a completely free place: economic activities are forbidden. The shoe shining boys were thus not only breaking the law by being under-aged workers but just by being workers on the Plaza de Armas. This made them "illegal" on the Plaza giving municipal police officers the right (and even duty) to expel them from the Plaza. The shoe shining boys logically disagreed with this and engaged in a process of appropriating the Plaza. This appropriation was characterized by a strong, though not unrespectful perseverance in BEING on the Plaza. Even though they were time and again chased from the Plaza they kept coming back which they rarely did in a provocative way towards the police. It was rather a matter of fact way: they were just returning to their work.

This perseverance, the always coming back, made the Plaza theirs, because they *were* there, and effectively the police could do nothing (sustainable) about this fact. To a certain extent, the Plaza de Armas belongs to the shoe shining boys, or at least, they belong to the Plaza. In this ongoing appropriation "game" between shoe shiners and police we can see how socializers can play a role in the process of home-making. It is through the interaction with the police that the boys engage in a process of appropriation, through this struggle the Plaza becomes meaningful: it becomes "my place"; it is in the light of their "illegality" that the Plaza is owned through this process of appropriation. As I have stated in chapter 1 home-making is an active process of interaction between the self and the related other (the other shoe shiners) and the un-related other (the police). In the situation of the house this process might take place within the family through "*sitting together*", on the Plaza it takes place through contestation of space between the children and the police.

Talking with the shoe shining boys, seeing how they related to the Plaza de Armas and doing exercises such as the association of feelings with places with them, I gradually became aware of the fact that the process I had witnessed regarding home-making in the private space – over-emphasis on positive things and under-emphasis on negative things – also took place in the public space. Asking the boys what their favorite place in the city was, almost all of them answered that it was the Plaza de Armas. They liked the Plaza because there was work and they could earn some money, but also because there were tourists on

whom they could practice their English, it was “beautiful” and they could “discover the city”. What the boys did not like about the Plaza were the municipal police officers who chased them away and who sometimes confiscated their working material. Another negative thing they mentioned was un-respectful customers or customers who did not pay.

However, here again I witnessed the under-emphasis of the negative aspects. A telling example is constituted by the pictures that were *not* taken in the public domain. Edison (eleven years old) and Carlos (twelve years old) shared a camera. After I had explained to them what I expected they left beaming. When I received the pictures I found out that they had played tourist. All their pictures were taken in the historical center of Cusco and consisted of pictures of Edison and Carlos’ favorite tourist places. There was no picture of a police officer, of an old and dirty road, a sick dog or a rude person: only facades, a five star hotel and tourist attractions with one of them posing in front of it. Again, negative things were left out of the imagined world.

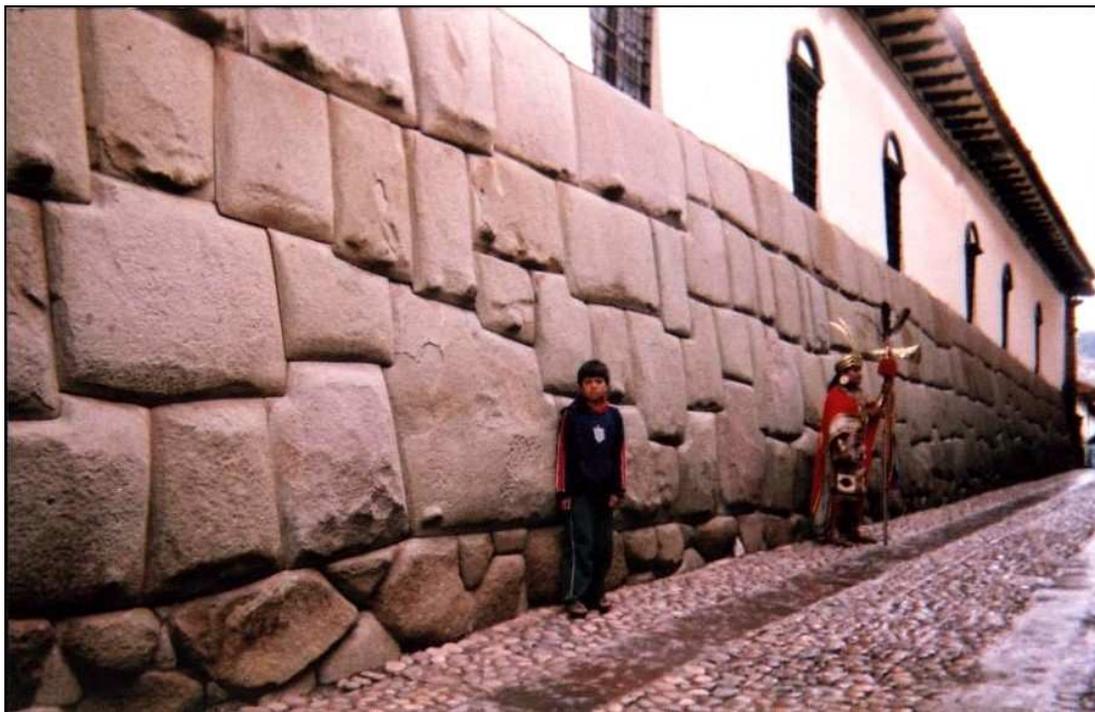


Image 14. Carlos poses by the famous twelve angled stone



Image 15. Façade of Cusco's five star hotel



Image 16. Edison poses in the flower beds of the Plaza de Armas

Although I was not able to witness the IRW children in the public space (that is, outside IRW) they made me aware, through their drawings of and discourse about the street, of another interesting element of home-making in the public space. As we have seen in chapter 1,

Tucker (1994: 184) considers home to be a place “where we could or can be ourselves”. I noticed that the children stressed their child-ness when referring to the street. This was mainly achieved through the emphasis on play. In the street, according to many of the children, one should not play. Nevertheless almost all named play as their main activity in the street (see chapter 3.2).

In the exercise regarding how the street would look like if they were the mayor, often the possibility to play in the street was emphasized. The image below represents the street as it would look like if Humberto (thirteen years old) were the mayor. It would have a park for children, and internet café, a municipal pool and a University (UAP stands for Universidad Alas Peruanas). It would also have lights by the side of the road and a safe place to cross the street from the park.

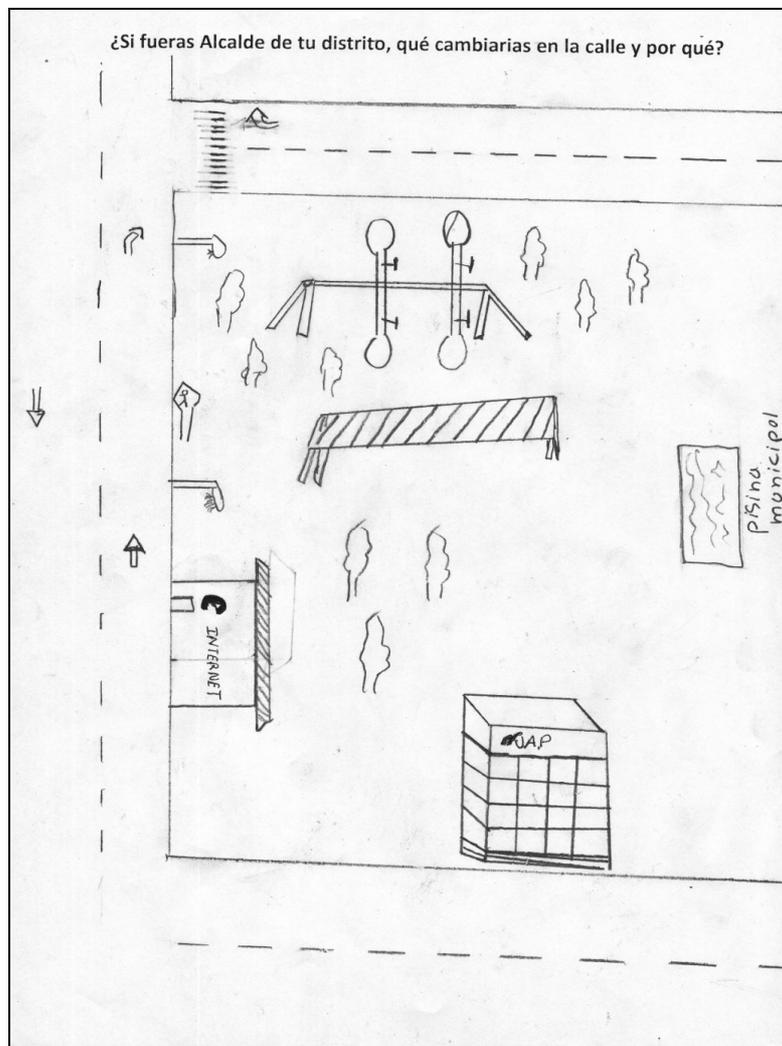


Image 17. The street if Humberto were Mayor

What is interesting is that none of the children referred to the street as a place employed to go from one place to another. The street is a sphere of activity in itself. However, only a few children referred to the street as a place where one works. Most of the children depicted the street as a place where they are *children*, in both the positive sense (the street is a place to play, to hang with friends, to buy things, to walk and have fun) and in the negative sense (the street is a place where a child can be hit by a car, where people can abuse of children, where it is dangerous for children, where one actually should not play). Although this is a less physical and less perceptible form of appropriation in comparison to the shoe shiner boys' appropriation of the Plaza, I think we can consider that, through explicitly being a child in the public space, children create a meaningful "room" for themselves, a room which they, until a certain extent, "own", a room that is "my place" and a room in which they, to a certain extend, can be "themselves" in Tucker's (1994) sense.

4.3. *"En IRW somos amigos"⁵⁹: Being at Home between Public and Private Space*

As described earlier, in a clear demonstration of IRW's ambiguous place in between the public and the private space, Vanessa glued her "IRW" sticker in between the public and the private columns of her sheet of paper. IRW is not entirely public, but also not entirely private. But is IRW home?

Considering Tucker's (1994: 184) definition "Home is where we could or can be ourselves, feel at ease, secure, able to express ourselves freely and fully", it is possible to argue that IRW is home to the children. IRW is a place generally regarded as very positive. Children said they felt secure, loved and respected there. Some coined IRW as their favorite place in the world. Regarding home as a socio-spatial unit of interaction (Mallett, 2004, 68) it is also possible to consider IRW as home: it is a physical house in which children build up relationships with teachers and peers.

Nevertheless there are some aspects that compel me to argue that IRW's status as a home is as ambiguous as it's status as a public or a private space. To briefly recapitulate, the private home is a defined space (a house). It is mostly connected to family and to a wish for ownership. The dividing line that distinguishes between insiders and outsiders is mostly drawn by the insiders and there is a tendency toward emphasis and over-communication of positive feelings. The public home is also a relatively well defined space (Plaza de Armas).

⁵⁹ "In IRW we are friends"

However, it is less connected to family and although it cannot be owned, it can be appropriated. The line between insiders and outsiders is drawn, not only by the insiders, but also by the outsiders through interaction and contestation of space. Here there is, too, a tendency toward emphasis on, and over-communication of, positive feelings.

IRW, is a defined space (it is a house) however it is not directly connected to the family and there is no ownership (or wish for ownership) involved. However it is also not a contested space, consequently there is no active appropriation as there is on the Plaza de Armas. The feeling of belonging toward IRW stems thus from the acceptance the children feel there, but not from their active appropriation of the place. IRW is not made into “my place”. Furthermore the dividing line between insiders and outsiders is also ambiguous, especially because the population of IRW changes on a regular basis: new children come, children leave (temporarily), new teachers and volunteers come and go. Although the general aspects of the population are defined – poor working children and youths and their teachers – the content within this population is constantly shifting. This is not to say that the group of shoe shining boys was never altered, but from what I have witnessed this group was much more stable and continuous than the group that made up the IRW population while I was there. Finally, I did not witness the over-communication and under-communication of, respectively, positive and negative aspects as strongly in IRW as towards the house and the Plaza de Armas. Firstly, IRW simply was not associated with many negative feelings that subsequently had to be downplayed and secondly when there were negative aspects children seemed more open about them, telling me that sometimes it was boring because there was simply nothing to do, or that they were sometimes afraid of teachers, that sometimes the teachers did not understand them or that sometimes they had bad fights with other children. Here negative aspects were never attributed to something coming from outside or to a “mistake” in the gluing process. Seemingly, there was no need to “defend” IRW as a good place, as was done with the house and the Plaza. Home was thus not explicitly made in IRW. Some aspects of home were already present (a place where they can be themselves, a socio-spatial system, a defined space), but possibly because of these, home was not explicitly made by children within IRW. IRW is thus an ambiguous home, just as it is an ambiguous place: it is partly private and partly public, just as it is partly a home (as some preconditions are there) and partly not a home (as it is not actively made into one).

An important aspect of home is thus that it is actively made. As we have seen throughout this chapter, both in public and in private space, the four characteristics that distinguish home-making from place-making are present. There is a feeling of belonging both

toward the house and the Plaza. While the house is owned in imagination, the Plaza is actively appropriated. In both the house and the Plaza relationships with related and non-related others define the substance and the boundaries of the home, and in the two domains home is imagined through the emphasis on positive emotions. In IRW these processes are present only to a certain extent, making IRW into an ambiguous home.

Conclusion

Street children are often associated with victimhood and homelessness. According to Bar-On (1997: 64) this comes from a tendency of adults to see it as their sole responsibility to protect children, thereby emphasizing children's weakness. As such, street children are portrayed as passive beings in need for adult guidance and help. I do not mean to say that street children can't be homeless and can't be victims, neither that they do not need help and guidance occasionally. However the idea that children belong to the private sphere, to the house and the nuclear family, has made street children into an anomaly and their relation to the street has become the only characteristic worth mentioning, in detriment of other, more positive, aspects. This protectionism is also expressed by people with an *abolicionista* (Strehl, 2010: 15) approach to child labor. Child labor is, according to *abolicionistas*, per definition wrong and should therefore be completely abolished. However, as children will work anyway, to abolish every type of child labor is to criminalize working children and thus to reduce their rights. To abolish every type of child labor is to deny children's agency and autonomy in a world of which it is sometimes difficult to be dependent. The general stance towards children has thus often been to reduce children to incomplete human beings, who are dependent on adults and who are passive receivers of knowledge. With this thesis I have tried to portray the street-working children in a different light. I have tried to underline their agency and their active strategies to create a place and a home for themselves in their societies. The agency of street-working children comes to the fore, in this thesis, through the analysis of their active strategies of home-making in both the public and the private space.

Home-making is very often regarded as a process that takes place in the private sphere. This originates from the idea that the home is closely associated with the house and the nuclear family (Douglas, 1991; Hareven, 1991). However, in the lives of street-working children in Cusco, Peru, the private space is often very limited in its scope, being reduced to a house within a compound or even just a room. Street-working children thus spend most of their time in either public space or at least semi-public space such as school or day care centers such as the NGO Inti Runakunaq Wasin (IRW) where I conducted research. Regarding the general association of children with the private sphere, these children would thus be "out of place" (Glaser, 1990; Lee, 2001). However, these children are not "out of place" in public space because they engage in active processes through which they appropriate this public space, creating a place for themselves in it, making home in it.

Making home in both public and private space is possible if we consider home to be a socio-spatial system (Mallet, 2004) that is closely related to identity and feelings of belonging (Tucker, 1994), that is appropriated and established through relations with others and that is emotional. In this thesis I have described several processes of home-making in public and in private spaces and in between. As I have illustrated, having a physical place in which one can be together (as a family or as a group) is important for children to feel at home. For the private sphere I have described how children make home by imagining their house to be in between the real (lived) house and the ideal (imagined) house (Mallet, 2004: 69). This is accomplished through an imagined ownership of the house as well as an over-emphasis on the positive elements of the house and the silence about its negative elements. In the public space I have illustrated how active processes of appropriation of space, together with establishing the boundaries of this “public” home, through interaction with related and non-related others as well as the over-emphasis of positive elements and silence about negative elements all contribute to the making of the home in public space. I used the example of IRW to describe processes of home-making in the space between public and private. Thereby I came to the conclusion that IRW is as ambiguous a home as it is a public/private space. IRW is a home to the extent that it is a physical place where children can engage in relationships (Mallet’s (2004) socio-spatial system) and be themselves (Tucker, 1994). However it is not fully a home as the children do not actively engage in processes of home-making in it.

By regarding the actors and the places of socialization as important in how street-working children in Cusco conceptualize home, I have assigned an important role to socialization in this process. As we have seen in chapter 1, Invernizzi (2003) characterizes socialization as a dual process of internalization and individuation whereby internalization means that standards are internalized and roles are learnt while individuation refers to the ability to act in, and modify the environment. This is hence a dual process. What I want to argue here is that how children conceptualize and make home is tightly connected to this dual process of socialization. The actors and the places of socialization provide, through interaction, feelings and knowledge that can be internalized. Through this internalization children can position themselves in the world. From their mothers they learn how to deal with money but in most cases also some form of belonging or love. From peers and siblings they learn responsibility and playfulness but also how to shine shoes. Teachers teach them how to read and write but also about respect. Police and customers make children acquainted with the outside and adult world. In the private sphere the children internalize

feelings of love but also of fear while on the street they internalize feelings of fear and insecurity but also of freedom and joy.

The process of individuation then consists of the children acting on their environment. The active appropriation of spaces, the imagined ownership of the home, the over-emphasis of positive elements of the home, the explicitly being a child in public space, are all acts of individuation. These acts of individuation are however very closely connected to the relations children have in the process of internalization. These two movements (internalization and individuation) are simultaneous and thus mutually influence each other. Within the process of internalization, children establish the substance (through interaction with related others) as well as the boundaries (through interaction with non-related others) of the home. In the process of individuation children actively create a home for themselves in space. It is the combination of these two elements: the relationship with others and the own creation that in fact home is made, be it in private or in public space, or even in the space between.

References

- Ahmed, Sara; Claudia Castañeda; Anne-Marie Fortier and Mimi Sheller
2003 *Uprootings/regroundings: Questions of Home and Migration*. Oxford [etc.]: Berg Publishers.
- Anderson, Benedict
2006 *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso.
- Bar-On, Arnon
1997 Criminalising Survival: Images and Reality of Street Children. *Journal of Social Policy* 26(1):63-78.
- Bukovski, William M., Mara Brendgen and Frank Vitaro
2007 Peers and Socialization: Effects on Externalizing and Internalizing Problems. In Joan E. Grusec and Paul D. Hastings (eds.) *Handbook of Socialization: Theory and Research*. 2007 New York [etc]: The Guilford Press.
- Clark-Ibáñez, Marisol
2004 Framing the Social World With Photo-Elicitation Interviews. *American Behavioral Scientist* 47(12):1507-1527.
- Cohen, Anthony P.
2010 Self-Conscious Anthropology. In C.G.M Robben and Jeffrey A. Sluka (eds.) *Ethnographic Fieldwork: an Anthropological Reader*. 2010 Malden [etc]: Blackwell Publishing.
- de Moura, Sergio Luiz
2002 The Social Construction of Street Children: Configuration and Implications. *The British Journal of Social Work* 32(3):353-367.
- DeWalt, Kathleen M. and Billie R. DeWalt
2002 *Participant Observation: a Guide for Fieldworkers*. Lanham [etc]: AltaMira Press.
- Douglas, Mary
1991 The Idea of a Home: A Kind of Space. *Social Research* 58(1):287-308.
- Ennew, J.
1993 Parentless Friends: A Cross-Cultural Examination of Networks among Street Children and Street Youth. In F. Nestmann and K. Hurrelmann (eds.) *Social Networks and Social Support in Childhood and Adolescence*. 1993 Berlin: Warlter de Gruyter.
- Ensing, Anna and Talinay Strehl
2010 *Street-Working and Street-Living Children in Peru: Quantitative Report Cusco*. IREWOK.

- Espiritu, Yen Le
2003 *Home Bound : Filipino American Lives Across Cultures, Communities, and Countries*. Berkeley [etc.]: University of California Press.
- Figueroa Arias, Luz Marina
2009 *Niñez en Riesgo Camina al Emprendimiento: La Experiencia de Inti Runakunaq Wasin*. Peru: Nicograff.
- Fine, Gary Alan and Kent L. Sandstorm
1988 *Knowing Children: Participant Observation with Minors*. Qualitative Research Methods, Vol. 15. Newbury Park[etc]: Sage Publishers.
- García-Ellín, Juan C.
2009 Gated Communities and Housing Projects: The Control of Public Space in San Juan. *Southeastern Geographer* 49(4): 354-375.
- Gieryn, Tomas F.
2000 A Space for Place in Sociology. *Annual Review of Sociology* No. 26: 463-496.
- Glasser, Irene, and Rae Bridgman
1999 *Braving the Street: The Anthropology of Homelessness*. New York [etc.]: Berghahn Books.
- Glauser, Benno
1990 Street Children: Deconstructing the Construct. In Allison James and Alan Prout (eds.) *Constructing and Reconstructing Childhood : Contemporary Issues in the Sociological Study of Childhood*. 1990 London [etc.]: Falmer Press.
- González, Beatriz Muñoz
2005 The Home as an Evocative Place of Contradictory Emotions. *Space and Culture* No. 8 (May): 193-213.
- Grusec, Joan E. and Maayan Davidov
2007 Socialization in the Family: the Role of Parents. In Joan E. Grusec and Paul D. Hastings (eds.) *Handbook of Socialization: Theory and Research*. 2007 New York [etc]: The Guilford Press.
- Hagan, John; William Edward John McCarthy (and Patricia Parker and Jo-Ann Climenhage)
1997 *Mean Streets: Youth Crime and Homelessness*. Cambridge [etc.]: Cambridge U.P.
- Hall, Tom and Heather Montgomery
2000 Home and Away: 'Childhood', 'Youth' and Young People. *Anthropology Today* 16(3 - June):13-15.
- Hareven, Tamara K.
1991 The Home and the Family in Historical Perspective. *Social Research* 58(1):253-285.
- Inti Runakunaq Wasin
2011 <http://www.streetkidscusco.org/home.html>

- Invernizzi, Antonella
2003 Street-Working Children and Adolescents in Lima: Work as an Agent of Socialization. *Childhood* 10(3):319-341.
- James, Allison and Alan Prout
1990 *Constructing and Reconstructing Childhood : Contemporary Issues in the Sociological Study of Childhood*. London [etc.]: Falmer Press.
- Lee, Nick
2001 *Childhood and Society : Growing Up in an Age of Uncertainty*. Buckingham [etc.]: Open University Press.
- Low, Setha and Neil Smith
2005 *The Politics of Public Space*. New York [etc.]: Routledge.
- Mallett, Shelley
2004 Understanding Home: A Critical Review of the Literature. *Sociological Review* 52(1):62-89.
- Mitchell, Lisa M.
2006 Child-Centered? Thinking Critically about Children's Drawings as a Visual Research Method. *Visual Anthropology Review* 22(1): 60-73.
- Putney, Norella M. and Vern L. Bengston
2002 Socialization and the Family Revisited. In Richard A. Settersen Jr. and Timothy J. Owens (eds.) *New Frontiers of Socialization*. 2002 Oxford: Elsevier Science.
- Robben, C.G.M and Jeffrey A. Sluka (eds.)
2010 *Ethnographic Fieldwork: an Anthropological Reader*. Malden [etc]: Blackwell Publishing.
- Saunders, P. and P. Williams
1988 The Constitution of the Home: Towards a Research Agenda. *Housing Studies* 3(2): 81-93.
- Shehan, Jonhn and Williams College
1997 Effects of Liberalization Programs on Poverty and Inequality: Chile, Mexico and Peru. *Latin American Research Review* 32(3):7-37.
- Short, John Rennie
2001 *Global Dimensions: Space, Place and the Contemporary World*. London: ReaktionBooks.
- Smith, Hilary
2008 Searching for Kinship. *American Behavioral Scientist* 51(6):756-771.
- Somerville, Peter
1992 Homelessness and the Meaning of Home: Rooflessness of Rootlessness? *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 16(4):529-539.

Steel, Griet

2008 *Vulnerable Careers: Tourism and livelihood dynamics among street vendors in Cusco, Peru*. Amsterdam: Rozenberg Publishers.

Strehl, Talinay

2010 *Street-Working and Street-Living Children in Peru: Conditions and Current Interventions*. IREWOK.

Tucker, Aviezer

1994 In Search of Home. *Journal of Applied Philosophy* 11(2):181-187.

Williams, Christopher

1993 Who are "Street Children?" a Hierarchy of Street use and Appropriate Responses. *Child Abuse and Neglect* 17(6):831-841.

Appendix I: Reflection

“To understand a strange society, the anthropologist has traditionally immersed himself in it, learning, as far as possible, to think, see, feel, and sometimes act as a member of its culture and at the same time as a trained anthropologist from another culture.” (Powdermaker 1966 in Robben&Sluka, 2010: 1)

Being a Fieldworker

“¿Profe, quien eres tu?”⁶⁰ Lorenzo made it into a ritual to ask me this question, twinkling eyes and beaming smile, everyday when I greeted him. It was a joke, of a twelve-year-old towards his “teacher”, but at the same time it was the question that occurred to me with at least the same frequency: Who am I? Who am I to think that I can understand these children? Who am I to tell the rest of the world what they think, how they act and what home is for them? Am I not looking in their lives for what is home to me, something that might not even exist in their lives, or play a very different role in them? Who am I to think that the question I pose will lead to the answers I understand? How much of my thesis will actually be about myself?

I had never seriously doubted the quality of Anthropological data until I was confronted with the personal responsibility toward and accountability for the data I gathered. Everyday I was aware of myself, of the fact that children (and adults) answered to question I had asked, and did not answer to the questions I did not ask. Everyday I was aware that certain silences in my knowledge were caused by my own blindness towards reality.

Being an anthropologist means immersing oneself in the lives of others, but it also means being oneself, in the lives of others. This is mandatory, no doubt: without being oneself one could no longer analyze the other...but what then is the role of being oneself in the results of academic research and the presentation of such? My main preoccupation as a starting anthropologist was what DeWalt & DeWalt (2002: 80) describe as ethnographic bias. As a way to deal with this bias we should, as anthropologists “attempt to make these biases as explicit as possible so that others may use these in judging our work” (DeWalt&DeWalt, 2002: 81). This suggestion might account, to a certain extent, for my presence in this thesis. We should however be cautious with this trend: “anthropology should not be ‘about the

⁶⁰ “Teacher, who are you?”

anthropologist's self': rather, it must be *informed* by it" (Cohen, 2010: 114, emphasis in original). According to Cohen (2010: 109), although we should accept that the anthropological interpretation does not begin from a *tabula rasa*, it would also be unfruitful to "provide an autobiography as the interpretive key to our ethnographies". I notice that I am a little inclined to do this. While doing research and writing about it I feel my own interpretation to be very much present in every aspect. I know that this is what anthropology is about: interpretation, nevertheless I feel some kind of need to account for this interpretation. I feel that these doubts and questions will remain present in future fieldwork(s) and that I will have to deal with them. However, I will now turn to two more practical challenges I encountered while doing fieldwork and to my strategies to deal with these.

Conducting Fieldwork in an NGO

The practice of conducting fieldwork in an NGO has, I have experienced, numerous positive and negative consequences. The positive implications were undeniable: the first day of my fieldwork I could start building up rapport and hanging out with my key informants, being to a certain extent, guaranteed of their presence, at least five days a week. This close and routine contact with the children in IRW allowed me to build up a relationship with a considerable number of children in a relatively short time period. It gave me the space and the opportunity to not only talk with the children but also to perform creative activities with them that would become vital to my data collection. However, working in the context of an NGO did also to a certain extent, limit me. I was bound to the rules of the organization: no contact with the children outside IRW, no visits to their houses, no photo project. This meant that despite quite intense contact during weekday afternoon hours, all the hours that were excluded from those excluded me as a participant observer. Although I had vast opportunities for hanging out, my level of integration into the children's lives was thus limited by the rules of the organization. My strategy around these limitations was to focus, with the IRW children on their "discourse about" public, private and home while on the other hand expanding my field to the Plaza de Armas where I hung out in the weekends to build up a relationship with children who I could actually see in the public domain and while working. With the shoe shining boys I could then also do a photo project that compensated, to a limited extent my inability to visit the houses of children myself.

Conducting fieldwork among children

I have, while conducting fieldwork, developed some doubts and reservations towards conducting anthropological research among children. These doubts and reservations can be grouped into three domains:

1. *Issues of participant observation:* According to Thorne (in Mitchell, 2006: 61) adults assume “that they already know what children are ‘like’, both because, as former children, adults have been there, and because, as adults, they regard children as less complete versions of themselves”. I am not one of these adults. I have constantly asked myself if I could effectively be a participant observer. Although I could paint and draw with them, visit ruins and museums and play their games, I was always a “grown up”, and although the children accepted me with open arms, I would never really be one of them (see also Fine&Sandstorm, 1988). So, in how far could I really understand them? I who had never worked as a child, I who had never gone to bed with only one meal a day, I who had never been beaten up by a drunken father...could I really know them? Understand them?
2. *Issues of authority and interpretation:* As I have stated above I was always a “grown up”. This brings with it issues of authority. Children tend to be more responsive, respectful and considerate towards adults than towards age-mates. Although I repeatedly and happily concluded that children in IRW did not consider me as a “real” teacher and thus did not hide things from me which they did from teachers, our relationship was still not one of equals. As a researcher I asked questions and children answered to these, they did not from themselves, tell me much or answer to questions I forgot to ask. In this regard I feel that my own presence in the data I gathered was rather large as I, with my own interpretations, shaped the questions I asked them, and they answered only to those questions.
3. *Issues of communication:* A last issue, which is closely related to the previous one, is that children do not easily, or at least not extensively, communicate with words. My conversations with children were often structured by my questions and their (single-phrase) answers. Hence there was little “get out of the way of the participants or informants and let them talk” (Bernard 1995, in DeWalt&DeWalt, 2002: 120). My strategy to deal with this was: get out of the way and let them draw...

Based on these three issues together with the limitations (and possibilities) caused by being tied to an NGO, I developed a set of alternative research methods which I will now elucidate.

Alternative Research Methods

My alternative research methods consisted of mainly two strategies: a photo project which I conducted with the shoe shining boys of the Plaza de Armas, and what I have come to call “handicraft fieldwork” which I employed with the two groups, although most extensively with the IRW children.

In the photo project I gave a disposable camera to Pablo, Juan, Diego and Claudio, while Edison and Carlos shared one. I asked the boys to make pictures of things they liked and of things they did not like. Although I asked the boys to fill in a “photo plan” in which they planned what they were going to take pictures of, they did not really stick to these plans. I had the pictures printed out two times and spoke to each of the boys about his own photos, writing on the back of my own copy what they said about the pictures. Most of my interest went to what was over-represented and what was under-represented in the pictures and in what the boys said about them. This project did thus not only give me an insight in the parts of the boys’ lives which I did not see myself, but also in how they actually portrayed their lives towards the rest of the world.

My “handicraft fieldwork” consisted of mainly three activities: painting, drawing and gluing (linking things together). This “handicraft fieldwork” was complemented with a few short questionnaires, written texts, informal conversations, observation and a semi-structured interview. I painted with the children mostly in the beginning. Children were very bound to copying drawings and thus found drawing without an example very scary. Painting was a way to overcome part of this fear as color is much more important and there are no clear lines that can be right or wrong. It was also an activity that could be done while I was building up rapport and a nice way to do so. After two weeks in IRW I started my project which was making a book title “Esto Soy Yo” (This Is Me). Every child made his or her own book. The book was composed of written texts, drawings, paintings and gluing exercises. The content list of the book was made up by the following elements/chapters:

- Esto Soy Yo (This Is Me – text)
- Acontecimientos importantes de mi vida (Important episodes of my life - text)
- Mi árbol de familia (My family tree – gluing exercise)
- Un día típico de mi vida (A typical day of my life - text)
- El dominio publico y el dominio privado (The public and the private domain – gluing exercise)
- Lugares de mi vida (Places of my life – places and feelings – gluing exercise)
- Mi casa (My house - drawing)

- Mi casa de sueño (My dream house - drawing)
- La calle (The street - questionnaire)
- Si yo fuera Alcalde (If I were mayor - drawing)
- Mi trabajo (My work - questionnaire)
- Dibujos Libres (Free drawings and paintings)

My project ran every Tuesday and Thursday afternoon when possible and I worked with two groups: the little children and the teenagers. Due to the changing population in IRW and the temporary absences of some of the children the scope of these groups varied week by week. Of the twenty four participants to my project in general, sixteen children participated enough to receive their book in the end. One important aspect of the book was that, at the end of my research I had a product that I could give back to the children. This was not only a very nice thing to do, it also motivated the children to participate. The picture below is an example of a project afternoon with the teenagers group.



Mitchell (2006: 63) stresses the usefulness of drawing as a research tool, not in isolation but as a basis for conversation. This methodology is a form of elicitation. Elicitation is mostly used with photographs, like I did with the photo project (c.f. Clark-Ibáñez, 2004) but can and is also used with drawings and other forms of creative expression. My experience was too that talking about, not only the drawings but also the different gluing exercises, provided on the one hand insight in what the child had made while on the other hand giving me a basis

on which to build an interview. As drawings, gluing exercises and even pictures can be interpreted in many ways in isolation and, as such, lose their value, it was through talking about them with the children that I developed most insights. I would not argue that “handicraft fieldwork” can replace fieldwork in general, rather that it is a key tool when fieldwork is conducted among children. “Handicraft fieldwork” can not replace conversation with children either, but it is a basis onto which an otherwise difficult interaction can be built.

Appendix II: Resumen en Castellano

Esta tesis es el producto de dos meses y medio de investigación antropológica en Cusco, Perú. La pregunta principal que se encuentra en la base de esta investigación es: "¿Cuál es la relación entre los actores y los lugares de socialización y la conceptualización de *home*⁶¹ por parte de los NATS⁶² en Cusco?"

Para encontrar respuestas para esta pregunta realicé una investigación entre NATS que trabajan en la calle, tanto en la ONG Inti Runakunaq Wasin (IRW) como en el centro de Cusco: en la Plaza de Armas. Los NATS que participaron en mi investigación tenían entre seis y dieciocho años. Los métodos que utilicé en mi investigación fueron variados. Utilicé los métodos antropológicos como la observación participante (*participant observation*), *hanging out* (participar en actividades de ocio) y entrevistas/conversaciones informales. Para hacer mi investigación específicamente con niños utilicé un método que empecé a llamar "*handicraft fieldwork*" (investigación por medio de artesanía). Esto implica el uso de actividades creativas como dibujo, pintura y pegar diferentes papeles con goma, y hablar con los niños acerca de sus creaciones. Con los niños que participaron en mi investigación en la Plaza de Armas (todos lustrabotas) llevé a cabo un proyecto fotográfico. Les di una cámara desechable y les pedí que tomaran fotos de cosas que les gustaban y de cosas que no les gustaban. Seis niños participaron en este proyecto. En IRW, los niños hicieron un libro sobre sí mismos incluyendo textos escritos, dibujos, pinturas, cuestionarios y ejercicios con goma. Llevé a cabo entrevistas basadas en este libro con los niños de IRW. Dieciséis niños terminaron su libro. En total veinticuatro participaron en el proyecto de hacer el libro.

La teoría que subyace mi investigación y mi tesis consiste en los debates sobre *home*, sobre *space* (espacio) y *place* (lugar)⁶³, sobre los niños de la calle y sobre la socialización. En esta tesis yo considero *home* como un sistema socio-espacial (Mallet, 2004), que está estrechamente relacionado con la identidad (Tucker, 1994), que se construye y negocia, que es relacional y emocional. Sin embargo, no considero *home* como estando solo en el dominio privado. Con esta tesis muestro que hacer un *home* en el

⁶¹ "Home" es casi imposible de traducir en Castellano. Puede ser traducido como casa un hogar, pero puede también tener un significado más abstracto. Por eso continuaré usando la palabra Inglesa "home" y explicaré lo que considero ser "home".

⁶² Niños, Niñas y Adolescentes Trabajadores

⁶³ Esto son palabras usadas en antropología. No sé si esta traducción es la más correcta pero espero que mi explicación acerca de su significado sea suficiente.

dominio público también es posible. *Space* y *place* son conceptos espaciales mediante el cual *place* es un *space* que ha sido imbuido de significado. Hacer *place*, por lo tanto, puede parecer muy similar a hacer *home*. Sin embargo, sostengo que hay cuatro elementos que distinguen hacer *home* de hacer *place*. En primer lugar, hacer *home* está estrechamente relacionado con el sentimiento de pertenencia (*belonging*). En segundo lugar, se trata de un proceso activo de apropiación inspirado por un deseo de posesión. En tercer lugar, se trata de un proceso relacional, que consiste en un proceso de interacción con otras personas relacionadas y no relacionadas (desconocidas). Por último, es un proceso emocional: *home* es construido a través del énfasis en las emociones positivas y el silencio acerca de las emociones negativas.

Niños de la calle son frecuentemente vistos como víctimas y se supone que son "sin hogar". Por lo tanto son vistos como una anomalía, ya que los niños son normalmente considerados como perteneciendo al dominio privado. Por eso, son considerados "out of place" (fuera de lugar) (Glauser, 1990), cuando pasan sus días en el dominio público. Podemos ver niños de la calle como si se encontrasen en un continuo: en un extremo los niños que viven y trabajan a tiempo completo en la calle y, en el otro extremo, los niños que sólo trabajan unas pocas horas en la calle. Este último extremo del continuo caracteriza mi población de investigación y por lo tanto he optado por el término "niños trabajan en la calle" (*street-working children*). La postura proteccionista hacia los niños en general conduce a la idea de que el trabajo infantil debe ser abolido por completo. Visto que los niños tienen que trabajar para sobrevivir, ellos son criminalizados y despojados de sus derechos cuando su trabajo es hecho ilegal.

Dentro del debate sobre la socialización, los estudios están divididos en cuanto a quien tiene un papel central en la socialización: los padres o los compañeros. Yo, sin embargo, no hago distinciones en lo que toca al nivel de influencia, pero sólo miro a los papeles que diferentes personas tienen en la socialización. Además no considero sólo los agentes de socialización, sino también el papel de los lugares de socialización. Considero que la socialización es un proceso dual constituido por internalización e individuación (Invernizzi, 2003). En esta tesis analizo y describo cómo estas ideas teóricas son visibles en la vida cotidiana de los NATS en el Cusco.

Los NATS que participaron en mi investigación provienen de los niveles más pobres de la sociedad y viven en barrios o pueblos en las afueras de Cusco. Sus familias son pobres y grandes, y viven en casas pequeñas y superpobladas o en una sola habitación. La mayoría de los niños son inmigrantes de segunda generación viniendo de las comunidades rurales.

La mayoría van a la escuela durante la semana y trabajan en los fines de semana y vacaciones. El tipo de trabajo varia: lustrar botas, trabajar en una fábrica de azulejos, vender en el mercado, etc. Los NATS son estigmatizados por su origen rural, pero también son vistos como potenciales ladrones y/o drogadictos. Sin embargo, los NATS no ven a sí mismos como víctimas y retratan sus vidas en general como algo positivo, a menudo refiriéndose a los niños que están en peor situación que ellos. La explotación es principalmente algo atribuido a los demás.

Los actores de socialización que describo en esta tesis son los padres, hermanos, compañeros, profesores, policías y clientes. De sus madres aprenden a manejar el dinero, pero en la mayoría de los casos también alguna forma de pertenencia o de amor. De los compañeros y hermanos aprenden a ser responsables y a compartir alegría, sino también a lustrar zapatos. Los profesores les enseñan a leer y escribir, pero también el respeto. La policía y los clientes hacen a los niños familiarizarse con el mundo exterior de los adultos.

Los lugares de socialización que describo son la casa, la calle e IRW. La casa y la calle son retratados de una manera doble: positivo y negativo. En la casa los niños se sienten seguros, aceptados y amados, pero también puede ser aburrido ya veces sienten miedo e inseguridad. Aspectos negativos de la casa, sin embargo, son a menudo caracterizados por los niños como “no importantes”. La calle es vista como un lugar para jugar, para reunirse con amigos, para sentirse libre y feliz, pero los niños también tienen mucho miedo de la calle: se sienten inseguros, tienen miedo de ser atropellados, robados, heridos o incluso asesinados. Sin embargo encontré la subestimación de cosas negativas en la calle también. Los niños lustrabotas de la Plaza de Armas por ejemplo, no consideran la Plaza como siendo “calle”. La Plaza es una esfera en sí mismo, donde todo lo positivo es acentuado. La “calle” es la calle en sus barrios, y esa calle es un lugar mucho más negativo. IRW es un lugar muy positivo. Los niños se sienten seguros, amados y aceptados allí.

Los procesos de “hacer *home*” que describo en esta tesis son estrechamente relacionados con lo que he descrito anteriormente. En el dominio privado niños imaginan ser los dueños de su casa (que muchas veces es alquilada). Acentúan todos los aspectos positivos de la casa y silencian sus aspectos negativos. En el dominio público este sobreénfasis de los elementos positivos y el silencio sobre los aspectos negativos también está presente. Estos se complementan con un activo proceso de apropiación del espacio que se logra a través de la interacción con personas relacionadas y no relacionadas. IRW, como un lugar entre el dominio público y el privado, es un *home* ambiguo. Ciertos elementos de *home* están presentes: se trata de un sistema socio-espacial, los niños pueden ser ellos

mismos y relacionarse con otras personas. Sin embargo, los niños no construyen activamente un *home* por sí mismos por medio de estrategias como la apropiación o sobre-énfasis en los elementos positivos. Por lo tanto considero que IRW sea un *home* ambiguo.

En conclusión, sostengo que el proceso de hacer *home* esta en muy estrecha relación con el doble proceso de socialización. E el duplo proceso de internalización (a través de las relaciones con los agentes socializadores relacionados y no relacionados) y en el proceso de individuación (a través del proceso en el que los niños crean activamente *home* por sí mismos en el espacio) se hace *home*.