

**“An Chua?(Have you eaten yet?): Assessing Non-Formal Education for
Street Youth in Hanoi, Vietnam ”**

By

Cecilia Unite

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
Master of Arts in
International Development Studies
at
Saint Mary’s University
Halifax, Nova Scotia
August 14, 2006

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Approved By:

Dr. Anthony O’Malley
Supervisor

Dr. John Devlin
1st Reader

Dr. Suzanne Dansereau
External Examiner



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Your file *Votre référence*
ISBN: 978-0-494-23864-6
Our file *Notre référence*
ISBN: 978-0-494-23864-6

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“An Chua?(Have you eaten yet?): Assessing Non-Formal Education for Street Youth in Hanoi, Vietnam ”

Cecilia E. Unite

Abstract

Many citizens of the developing world do not receive or have limited access to some of the most basic resources and of these citizens some of the most vulnerable are street youth. The numbers of youth on the street are on the rise globally. The motivations to move to the streets are varied; however youth share some of the same vulnerabilities associated with living and working on the streets.

Despite the importance placed on education by governments, multilateral and civil society organizations as an important development strategy, street youth do not receive adequate, if any, schooling. As a result of formal education failing to reach street youth, alternative forms of learning are needed. Non-formal education for street youth is structured to provide an alternative means to the formal education pedagogy.

Street youth in Vietnam are at great risk of falling prey to dangers such as violence, abuse and disease and have limited access to social support such as medical, educational and housing facilities. There have been few responses to address the street youth phenomena, many of which do not address the causes and vulnerabilities associated with living on the streets. This thesis however, will show how KOTO, a non-formal education programme for street youth in Hanoi, Vietnam not only provides skills and knowledge required for employment but self- esteem, an important human condition which is important for individuals to contribute to their social and economic circumstances, which is integral to the development of nations.

September, 2006

Acknowledgements

The road to completing this Masters thesis was a long journey of learning and without the time and support from the staff of the International Development Studies Programme at Saint Mary's University, this research would not have been possible. A special thanks to Dr. Anthony O'Malley for his supervision and advice, Dr. John Devlin for his support and time he put into my revisions and Dr. Suzanne Dansereau for her comments and recommendations at the final stages of my thesis. This thesis would not be what it is without their energy, expertise and knowledge.

I would like to express my thanks to the International Mobilities Office at Saint Mary's University for granting me an International Mobility award which facilitated the fieldwork portion of my thesis. My history with this office extends back to the year 2000 when I went to Vietnam as an intern. This opportunity sparked my motivation and passion to return and conduct research in Hanoi.

Several individuals and organizations deserve mention and thanks. Deepest thanks to Jimmy Pham for his inspirational work with street youth in Hanoi. My thanks cannot go without mention to the numerous staff that spend each day at KOTO. Their devotion and hard work has proven to be successful at changing the lives of the youth that walk through KOTO's doors. A special thanks to Clare Mayoh and Nadine Ziegeldorf at KOTO, Julian Wainwright, Tara Kinch and Jennifer Hutchinson for their friendship and support while I was conducting my research. Thank you to the staff at the Blue Dragon Foundation. They have been another wonderful resource which facilitated my field research interviews in the Phuc Tan and Long Bien communities. Thank you to the hotel and restaurant managers and Nathalie McCaulay at UNICEF for taking the time to share their thoughts and recommendations. Greatest appreciation and thanks to my translators from KOTO and Blue Dragon whose adept skills have been incredibly helpful, particularly in providing advice on Vietnamese culture and traditions. I would like to give a special thank you to the youth who have shared their stories with me. Their resilience and courage is remarkable.

Lastly, I would like to extend my deepest gratitude to my family. Their guidance and support has never gone without appreciation. My parents' life histories have ignited a passion for development at an early age. Thank you for opening up the world to me.

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Introduction

This thesis developed from my work experience in Hanoi, Vietnam with street youth and vulnerable children and from an academic interest in the issues of education, children and development.

The objective of the thesis is to contribute to the debate concerning alternative policies for addressing the causes and vulnerabilities of street youth. I have used a case study to demonstrate how non-formal education can contribute to solving the problems associated with the street youth phenomena. My research shows that the type of non-formal education represented by my case study provides skills and knowledge as well as encourages improved levels of self-esteem, all of which are contributing factors to creating responsible and productive citizens. Such citizens are the true engine of development.

Human resources...constitute the ultimate basis for wealth of nations. Capital and natural resources are passive factors of production; human beings are the active agents who accumulate capital, exploit natural resources, build social, economic and political organizations, and carry forward national development. Clearly, a country which is unable to develop the skills and knowledge of its people and to utilize them effectively in the national economy will be unable to develop anything else. (Harbison, 1973 as cited in Tawaiyole, 1995, p. 142)

Many citizens in the developing world lack some of the most basic resources required for subsistence living, and of these citizens some of the most vulnerable are children and youth. Education is viewed by government, multilateral and civil society organizations as a strategy to promote social and economic mobility; therefore it can be viewed as an important development strategy. Formal education or “schooling”,

however, has not always reached all groups, particularly street youth, due to problems with curriculum relevance, tuition, accessibility and intermittent attendance.

Children and youth are motivated to move to the streets for a number of reasons which limit their ability to access social services or economic resources. As the numbers of street children increase globally, each year more children and adolescents are experiencing vulnerabilities associated with working and living on the street. Street youth are an especially vulnerable group as they are not only subject to their family's limitations, such as low family income; they are without guidance or support from adults. As a result, they are at great risk of falling prey to dangers such as violence, abuse and disease and have limited access to social support such as medical, educational and housing facilities.

Previous to the present research, I had spent a year in Hanoi in 2000 and it was during this time that I met Jimmy Pham, the director of KOTO, a restaurant and training centre for street and disadvantaged youth in Hanoi. His approach to providing youth with a home, a wage and skills in the hospitality industry was unique and I wondered if this programme could change both the economic and social condition of street youth. I decided to make KOTO, and its system of non-formal education, the object of my thesis research. I have chosen to focus on non-formal education as an alternative for street youth in order to examine if it effectively provides this particular group with both the necessary skills and knowledge for employment and increased levels of self-esteem, and, if so, whether it can serve as an agent to promote responsible and self-sustaining citizens which contribute to the productivity and development of their society.

Chapter 1 is an examination of the literature on non-formal education as an alternative to the traditional formal education system for street youth. The causes and vulnerabilities of street youth are outlined in this chapter in order to bring to light the question of how non-formal education can act as a means to provide youth with skills and knowledge. I also examine what constitutes self-esteem and how non-formal education can act as a means to provide street youth with self-esteem in order to alleviate the named vulnerabilities they experience. The perspective adopted when approaching the street youth phenomenon is taken from a combination of literature by the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) (2003); Street Kids International (SKI), (2003); Le Roux & Smith (1998); Kipke et al. (1997) and Scanlon et al (1998).

The methodology for my case study is outlined in Chapter 2. It describes the methods of data collection used to conduct my field research in Hanoi, Vietnam. Primary and secondary sources were used to illustrate the broader theoretical issues discussed in Chapter 1. An organizational questionnaire and case study of KOTO was conducted to gain theoretical and practical information of the programme. Furthermore, interviews were conducted and compared between street youth, KOTO trainees and KOTO graduates to illicit an understanding of their living and working conditions, their access to education or their experience at KOTO and their levels of self-esteem. A modified version of the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale was used to illicit a general understanding of how these groups felt about their self-esteem.

Chapter 2 provides background information on Vietnam to contextualize the case study. The case study of KOTO demonstrates how it operates as a non-formal education programme for street youth. The case study explores whether KOTO provides and

generates improved levels of self-esteem for street youth by collecting data on its programming, interviews with KOTO trainees and graduates who were former street youth. This data was compared to data collected on the street youth group in Hanoi. Further interviews were conducted with managers of restaurants to speculate on the effectiveness of the training conducted at KOTO as an effort to triangulate the data. The case study examines the complexity of measuring self-esteem as a development outcome and adds to the literature on street youth by illustrating the concepts previously discussed on non-formal education for street youth at an operational level.

In Chapter 3, I discuss the findings outlined in the case study. This chapter provides a discussion on the achievements and limitations of non-formal education as an alternative to other street youth solutions. Furthermore I outline the problems with other street youth solutions and recommend KOTO as a model for replication and an alternative to formal education for street youth. Finally, the discussion will provide discoveries which will add to the literature on street youth and their implication on development.

The thesis will conclude by providing suggestions on how non-formal education can act as a tool to affect policy change as it can reach and improve the life chances of street youth and is therefore a viable tool for development.

Chapter I: Literature Review

The worst sin towards our fellow creatures is not to hate them, but to be indifferent to them; that is the essence of inhumanity.

-- From *The Devil's Disciple* by George Bernard Shaw

1.0 Education for Children and its Link to Development

According to Hart (1991), children have always been a vulnerable group in society because they rely upon adults for their protection, their physical, emotional and mental support and to promote their welfare: “Children were given low value because of many circumstances, among them: the Child’s helplessness, emotional immaturity of usually very young parents, and the high mortality rate of children (often mentioned as a cause and result of lack of attachment).” (Hart, 1991, p. 345). Like children, youth or adolescents share similar concerns and vulnerabilities however adolescents experience awkward experimental and vulnerable periods of their life often associated with puberty and sexual development (Hart, 1991). Youth are still reliant on adult guidance to realize their health and positive development however many survive without adult guidance. It is this period in a youth’s life when there is an opportunity to break cycles that perpetuate structural problems that are passed down from generation to generation such as poverty, gender discrimination, violence and poor health and nutrition (Bellamy, 1999).

For youth in disadvantaged situations, making good choices is critical since they face greater barriers to success and have fewer options to help them realize their potential than peers that are in a more advantaged position. Many young workers work in the informal sector, in hazardous conditions or are unemployed. Disadvantaged youth who

suffer from poverty, discrimination or isolation experience higher rates of unemployment than youth in general, and they are more likely to be involved with crime, have children early, have low self-esteem and have little hope for a better future (Rusten, Ogasawara & Brady, 2005).

Investing in children and youth and reducing their vulnerabilities is essential to reduce a country's poverty. Regardless of race, ethnicity, religion or nationality, children are among the poorest or most vulnerable groups in the world. The United Nations (UN) has addressed the issues that children face by drafting the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC). According to the CRC, children have the right to attain human freedom; however according to UNICEF (2006) they remain marginal in society. Kofi Annan's report *We the Children: Meeting the promises of the World Summit for Children* shows that the disparities and pervasive poverty of today is directly related to the under-investment in young people, particularly in the areas of health, education and protection. Therefore, if countries wish to reduce their levels of poverty, they must prioritize the wellbeing of their children (UN, 2002).

Education is widely accepted as essential for development and a crucial means by which the socially and economically marginalized can escape poverty (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), 2003). The World Conference on Education for All held in Jomtien, Thailand, 1990, initiated a global quest to universalize basic education and eradicate illiteracy. As one of the Millennium Development Goals, universal primary education is aimed to be achieved by 2015 (United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), 2004).

The Jomtien Conference also marked the beginning of a broader vision of basic education to encompass all forms of organized education and training that meet the basic learning needs of individuals. These needs include literacy and numeracy, as well as skills, values and attitudes that individuals require to survive, develop their capacities, live and work in dignity, improve the quality of their lives, make informed decisions and continue learning. The “Education for All”, goals and targets for achieving progress in sustainable development, chapter 36 of Agenda 21, encouraged all countries to endorse the recommendations of the Jomtien Conference and to implement its ‘Framework for Action to Meet Basic Learning Needs’ (UNESCO, 2003).

Few would argue with Sen’s (2000) contention that education can benefit an entire population by directly impacting people’s productive abilities. He writes:

Literacy and numeracy help the participation of the masses in the process of economic expansion...To use the opportunities of global trade, ‘quality control’ as well as ‘production to specification’ can be quite crucial, and they are hard for illiterate or innumerate labourers to achieve and maintain. (Sen, 2000, p.144)

Brink (2001) seconds Sen, suggesting that education is a catalyst to develop understanding between people, communities and cultures. Despite the desire of many developing nations to make formal education more accessible, illiteracy is still widespread. According to UNESCO (2001) there were an estimated 887 million illiterates globally where Eastern and Southern Asia have the highest number of illiterates, an estimated 71% of the world’s total illiterate population. UNDP argues that 113 million of the world’s children are not being educated. Across developing regions

more than 80% of children are enrolled in primary schools; however, in 12 countries, particularly in Sub Saharan Africa, the enrollment rate is decreasing (UNDP, 2003).

The dominant model of the development process during the 1950s and 1960s revolved predominantly around economic growth. During this period, particularly in the sixties, education was seen as an economic ‘good’, where a crucial investment in education was essential to create human capital without which rapid growth could not occur (Becker, 2000). According to Simkins (1977) the function of the education system was to produce “high and middle- level manpower with the knowledge, skills and attitudes which would permit the rapid expansion of the modern, largely urban, sector and thus maximize the rate of growth.” (p.20).

This classical view to invest and develop the formal education sector, especially the secondary and tertiary levels, was seen as an appropriate way to generate increased economic outputs. In the West, many who advocated formal schooling as a means of economic development maintained that the same could be duplicated in developing nations (Dejene, 1980). The economic outputs were anticipated to be the production of skilled and educated individuals with the potential to increase productivity within key sectors of the economy (Simkins, 1977).

By the end of the sixties however, this “education as development project” had a number of unexpected consequences. The content of education was geared mostly toward the needs of the modern, urban sector, especially those of industry and the public service. Education reflected the broader strategy of urban-industrial growth as the general goal of development. Growth was unevenly dispersed throughout the economy; and according to Simkins (1977), education became a means by which those in power reinforced their

economic, social and political power. With minimal cross-class participation in the development process, disparities among the masses grew.

The debt crisis in the 1980's saw numbers of children's enrollment in schools fall and a marked increase in school dropout rates. Due to the lack of internal funds for education and other social programmes, many developing countries became indebted to international and national agencies in developed countries. As a result, the assessments and perspectives of a countries educational need came from an external perspective and therefore failed to gain a local view for national requirements (Smith, 2005 and King 1991). As an attempt to curb low enrollment and attendance levels in schooling, there had been a strong emphasis on primary education in developing nations in the 1980s and 90s and now as one of the millennium development goals in 2000 (Torres, 2001).

Despite the named benefits of education, formal education has been subject to specific criticisms in the literature particularly because this form of schooling does not reach or address the needs for those that are on the margins (Nyerere, 1968; Coombs 1968; Simkins 1977 and Dejene, 1980). In particular the tradition of educational critique stimulated by Paulo Freire argues that formal education is oppressive because it bestows the 'banking' concept of education. This concept means that those that consider themselves 'knowledgeable' bestow knowledge upon others, who consider themselves to know nothing. His central argument is that those that are willing to try to change the conditions of the masses must be willing to acknowledge, respect and accept their views; rather than forcing their views as to what they want to learn. In the spirit of this concept, people will discover that they are able to create change within the structure of society that oppresses them. According to Freire, this process will bring about a cultural revolution

that will end class stratification and exploitation, which is fostered by formal schooling (Dejene, 1980 and Freire, 1972).

Gender is an important component to consider whilst determining formal education effectiveness (West, 2003; Hurley, 1990 and Weiner, 1991 as cited in Siddiqi & Patrinos (n.d), Para. 11). The World Education Forum in Dakar, Senegal, 2000 noted that 113 million children are excluded from education, most of them are girls and 100 million of them live in developing nations. In some cases, a girl may be kept at home to tend crops, fetch water or look after younger siblings (Para. 4).

Girls can be seen as less deserving of an education because of cultural and institutional limitations and therefore accessibility to schooling is lower for girls than for boys. Torres (2001) and Asha (2006), argue however, that women with access to better education and employment opportunities rely less on their children for economic security and social recognition.

Weiner (1991) further discusses how discrimination against children can be institutionalized in the case of India, and can be attributed to lower social strata through government education policies as a major factor leading to child labour (Weiner, 1991 as cited in Larsen, 2003, p.23). According to West (2003) and the International Labour Organization (ILO) (1996), in some societies boys are viewed as better workers than girls therefore, boys are less likely to attend school because they are seen as better breadwinners while girls are viewed as better domestic workers.

The ILO (1979) provides additional evidence supporting the notion that formal education in less developed regions, does not reach all children. They argue that the school curriculum does not include practical education appropriate to the socio -cultural

environment in which the target population lives (ILO, 1979). West (2003) concurs by stating that curriculum delivery and pedagogical styles can also create problems for students, "...traditional, rote methods of teaching often do not encourage children and the lessons are not seen to be useful by either children or their parents." (West, 2003, p.19) Other limitations include lack of support for improved school quality levels such as appropriate infrastructure or inadequate teaching resources or teacher training; therefore incentive and awareness for educators regarding highly vulnerable children is low (World Bank, 2003).

Despite the debates over its effectiveness, the literature suggests that education is a demonstrated vehicle for social and economic mobility. This ensures that it remains an important development strategy. Many children and youth however, are not being reached by systems of formal education; therefore, in response to the failures of formal education to meet the needs of children and youth consistently out of school, alternative forms of learning are needed (Coombs, 1968).

1.1 The Limitations of Formal Education for Street Youth in Developing Nations

There is an estimated 100 million street youth globally (McCarney, 2002 and United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), 2003) and some argue they represent 30% of youth in developing countries (McCarney, 2002, p.1).

Street youth are defined as adolescents between the ages of 13 and 23 (Kipke et al., 1997). In some cases, their life trajectory began as a street child, starting from infancy and progressing to adolescence; therefore 'street youth' can often be understood as an extension of 'street child'. Further, street youth, are often found to be balancing their

immediate and short-term coping mechanisms to survive against the potential risks they may encounter or consequences of their actions or decisions. They often live without supervision or protection; but in some cases, they have moved to the streets with their families. Street youth are found in many socio-economic conditions: working in hazardous jobs; existing as former or current drug abusers; in trouble with the law; or being the children of former street children or youth living with families existing below the poverty line. This group may not necessarily be homeless or without families and they may return home on a regular basis. Street youth are also adolescents that have run away from their families and have to fend for themselves (Kipke et al., 1997; SKI, 2003 and UNICEF, 2003).

Definitions of 'street children' and 'street youth' vary among academics, policy makers, practitioners, politicians and the general public; however, the commonality amongst the definitions noted by UNICEF (2003); SKI (2003); Le Roux & Smith (1998); Kipke et al. (1997) and Scanlon et al (1998) suggest that youth who move or spend significant amounts of time on the streets and have some contact with their family but have little supervision from adults, do so for various reasons and are subjected to the vulnerabilities or are associated with living and working on the streets.

The Conditions and Causes of Street Youth

For many street youth without family ties, the street is a better alternative than their past domestic situations. Many are victims of past exploitation, violence, and physical and/or sexual abuse at home, or they have left due to family moves and the introduction of step-parents or siblings (Hong & Ohno, 2005; West 2003; Bond, Mazin, & Jiminez, 1992; Le Roux & Smith, 1998). Some have been abandoned or orphaned

(SKI, 2003), and yet others have left due to personal or parental drug abuse (West, 2003). Youth involved with the use of intravenous drugs, needless to say, are placed at a much greater risk of contracting and spreading Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (HIV/AIDS) and other diseases (Lambert et al., 2005). According to Casa Alianza (2004), family poverty is a primary cause of being at risk or disadvantaged as a youth; 75% of these children and adolescents spend most of their time working to supplement their families' incomes.¹In some cases, children and youth view living on the streets as a means to pass time or have fun (Hong & Ohno, 2005 and Le Roux & Smith, 1998).

In many countries, girls are discriminated against at an early stage in life through to adulthood. In some areas of the world, men outnumber women, and reasons for this discrepancy include: harmful attitudes and practices, son preference, early marriage, violence against women, sexual exploitation, sexual abuse, discrimination against girls in food allocation and other practices related to health and well being. As a result, many girls have fewer chances to receive available social services and in some cases the likelihood of girls to survive into adulthood is lower than boys (United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women (FWCW), 2005 and Borooah, 2004).

Perceptions of Street Youth by Mainstream Society

Children are born into situations that already exist and they become subjected to the reality of their parents or guardians; therefore, children's opportunities are limited or their future is predetermined based on the life that their parents or legal guardians lead.

¹ A broad discussion of the notion or concept of poverty will not be discussed in our research; however further discussion can be found in the works of Amartya Sen (2000), UNDP Poverty Report 2000, Townsend, P. (1993), Gordon, D. and Spicker, P. (eds)(1999)

Children are rarely seen as autonomous social actors who are either successfully or unsuccessfully socialized into an adult society (Stephenson, 2001).

In many societies, street children receive harsh state-sanctioned punitive measures instead of the government services needed to protect them and lift them out of poverty. In the case of Brazil, the emergence of self-proclaimed vigilantes known as “death squads”, and the actions of police officers and security firms have spread fear amongst street youth over the last several years. On July 23, 1993 a vigilante group reportedly opened fire on 50 street children sleeping in the Candelaria district of Rio de Janeiro; and, according to the Brazilian state juvenile court, three street children, on average, are killed everyday (Movimento Nacional de Meninos e Meninas de Rua as cited in Scanlon et al., 1998). Authorities’ treatment of this varied group often reinforces the negative social stigma attached to it.

Although available data suggests that children are more likely to be involved in crime the longer they stay on the street, there is a misconception that their “criminalization” is inevitable (Le Roux & Smith, 1998, Para. 12). Swift’s (1997) astute characterization of street children captures a dominant perception of street children universally: “...a fearful public came to regard them as a threat – as outlaws and bandits. To some people they were no better than vermin, to be eradicated with impunity” (Swift, 1997, p.2). Perceived as criminals and deviants, their forced placement in detention centres is often carried out in the name of public security, whether real or not. Sadly, most programmes within these institutions fail to find long-term solutions for street youth (Rurevo & Bourdillon, 2003). Largely viewed as destined to emotional, social and

economic failure, these children face significant barriers to finding meaningful work and suitable housing arrangements (Crosby-Fraser, 2001).

Livelihood Possibilities

Children in dire need of making a wage often work in hazardous and exploitative conditions. According to UNICEF, 2000, forty percent of young people working on the streets earn less than one dollar a day (as cited in Sauve, 2003). Wages may go, in part or whole, to “threats of the street”, including authorities that demand “protection money” (West, 2003) and, although street boys outnumber street girls, the latter are more vulnerable to violent attacks and are more likely to be forced into the sex trade (Consortium for Street Children, 2003 and New Internationalist, 2005). Participation in the sex trade, the drug trade, theft and begging are viewed as a means to survive (Lambert et al., 2005 and Sauve, 2003). Furthermore, Sauve (2003) notes that many youth sell petty goods on street corners, bus stops and downtown shops. Fundamentally street youth rely on some form of self employment that provides them with some degree of basic income for survival.

Research on street youth to date has made clear that the phenomenon is a combination of individual circumstances and broader social and economic marginalization. Not only have many of these children experienced some form of family disruption or abuse within or close to their homes, their placement on the social margins has further compounded their lack of alternate sources of protection and well-being. The impetus for youth to leave home is varied however their reasons may lie in troubled existences or in pursuit of a better life. The underlying reasons for why children leave home can not be solely attributed to an economic rationale. Even before these children

“chose” the streets, adequate social services (chiefly among them, education) were already inaccessible (Le Roux & Smith, 1998 and Stephenson, 2001).

Educational Limitations

According to Casa Alianza (2004), most street children lack an education beyond the grade-four level. Low attendance stems from their obvious need to earn money and their inability to pay tuition costs. According to UNESCO, in 1990, 20% of primary-school age children were not receiving any form of education (as cited in ILO, 1997). And, although, the need to earn is often greater than the need to learn, social scientists have found other reasons behind these low rates of attendance.

Le Roux & Smith (1998) have documented the anxieties among youth struggling to achieve academically in cultures where scholastic achievement is placed at a premium; and, Hong & Ohno (2005) have argued that children may leave school due to academic failure, boredom and issues of low self-esteem. According to West (2003), adolescents in conflict with the law or who experience discrimination are often excluded from schools, as they are seen as negative influences on their would-be classmates. These circumstances have the potential of encouraging youth to remain or migrate to the streets.

An equally important aspect of the poverty-education interplay is the structure of dominant ideologies in schooling systems themselves. West (2003) argues that public education is often inaccessible to street youth because of its formalized and specialized institutions, which include standardized grading and prescribed syllabuses, time tables and examinations. Furthermore, required documentation like birth certificates may pose significant barriers to this group’s attendance (DeMary, 2000).

A key element in gauging the welfare of adolescents is the extent to which street youth receive the adequate education or training needed to prepare them for the future (Torres, 2001). For the aforementioned reasons, this study does not concern itself with formal education systems; however it surveys the limitations of classic pedagogies in fostering real “development”. Instead, it will add to the research by analyzing the ways in which non-formal education may effect, in concrete ways, youth.

1.2 Non-Formal Education for Street Youth

According to the ILO, non-formal education is designed to meet specific learning needs. It argues that the persuasiveness of non-formal education programmes is attributable to their nature. They often: 1) address immediate and practical needs; 2) take place outside of “school”; 3) meet individual needs; 4) are flexible in their structure and admission criteria; 5) serve voluntary students; 6) entail part-time study; and, 7) cost less than formal education (ILO, 2005, Para. 8).

Harbison (1973) identifies three broad categories of non-formal education. He claims that non-formal educational activities are oriented primarily toward the development of skill and knowledge among employed members of the labour force. He argues in his second category, that the activities in the non-formal system are designed primarily to prepare persons, mainly youth, for entry into employment. His final category is that non-formal activities are designed to develop skill, knowledge and understanding that transcends the work world. The ILO (2005) seconds this last category by arguing that non-formal education’s contents include positive attitudes, functional literacy and numeracy, scientific outlook and understanding of the process of nature, functional

knowledge and skills for raising a family and operating a household, functional knowledge and skills for civic participation as well as knowledge and skills for earning a living (Para.10).

Some scholars have characterized non-formal education as an organized and systematic short term and tangible educational activity functioning outside the framework of the formal system where skills and knowledge are generated from a mixture of un-standardized and unrelated activities aimed at a wide variety of goals. They believe that it provides selected types of learning to a particular sub-group in the population, adults as well as children and aims to relate to the immediate needs of the target population (Harbison, 1973; Coombs, Prosser & Manzor, 1973; Dejene, 1980).

Training provides those working in the informal sector with an established programme, directed and guided by a competent authority. Training is perceived to provide those working in the informal sector with skills through a method of observation and assistance at the worksite. Furthermore, training programmes are designed to facilitate the choice of occupation or a line of training (ILO, 1979). For the purpose of our research, training and acquiring skills are considered to fall under the general rubric of non-formal education.

Non-formal education therefore can be defined as an educational concept and pedagogy different from 'formal' education which is classroom based and has a specific curriculum provided by trained teachers and 'informal' education which is outside of a classroom setting, a lifelong learning process, community based and provides a flexible, unstructured learning content (Coombs, Prosser & Ahmed, 1973; Simkins 1977 and the International Commission on the Development of Education, 1972). Non-formal

education is organized outside of the formal setting, it is tangible, short term and practical; where skills and knowledge are acquired, often times through training, to contribute to society and human development (Brink, 2001; Coombs, Prosser & Ahmed, 1973; Dejene, 1980; Simkins, 1977 and ILO, 2005).

The Non-Formal Education Alternative

Non-formal education for youth on the streets provides an alternative means to an education outside the formal education setting. Generally it is structured for youth that cannot attend an entire day at school, teaching strategies are varied and furthermore, the curriculum is designed to provide appropriate knowledge and skills for a group with varied educational backgrounds and skills regardless of age or gender. Non-formal education's focus on "...specific learning objectives, learning needs, target clientele, organizational and curricular flexibility, relevance to contextual realities and cultural acceptability was attractive to those who yearned for other possibilities in education" (Thompson, 2001, p.9).

Non-formal education addresses areas which formal schooling traditionally does not address such as education for social inclusion, professional skills and knowledge training, personal life skills and health development and improved levels of self-esteem; areas of focus which are vital for being critically thinking, responsible citizens (Torres, 2001; UNESCO, 2005a and Asia Pacific Literacy Data Base, 2002).

1.3 Successful Non-Formal Education for Street Youth and the Link to Development

Alternative Approaches for Street Youth and Development

As discussed earlier, the varying causes and vulnerabilities of street youth contribute to the difficulties in providing a conclusive and concurrent definition of this particular group. Designing programmes or projects for street youth vary as a result of the differing definitions; therefore a careful diagnostic design of projects and programmes is required as street youth vary in experience, gender, age, family and community circumstances. As noted by Moran & de Moura Castro (1997), youth are a particularly different and complex a group to deal with, "...since individuals gain in complexity and behavioural diversity as they grow from infancy through adolescence, remedial interventions for older children are far more difficult to calibrate to the clientele than interventions for younger children." (p.6).

Furthermore, several factors may impede children or youth from attending training programmes². Many training programmes require a fee and if the fee is out of reach, then children are not likely or able to attend. A second factor is time. Many children must work and there arises a tradeoff between work, and skill or knowledge acquisition through education (Hong & Ohno, 2005). Unlike street boys, street girls are also tied down to domestic work and cannot participate in schooling (Le Roux & Smith, 1998). Discipline also plays a factor in attending training programmes; the longer children are on the street, the more likely they will lack patience and discipline. Finally, children need encouragement to validate their decisions. If positive encouragement is

² We do not go into great detail in this thesis regarding the debates of what constitutes the concept of training and skills although they are both considered essential components of non-formal education. For further information on this subject please be directed to the works of the International Labour Organization,(1979;1989) and Coombs, Prosser & Manzor, (1973)

provided by the community, adults, parents or caregivers, children are more likely to stay enrolled in classes and attend regularly (Hong & Ohno, 2005).

Over the last few decades, various organizations committed to supporting and rehabilitating street youth have arisen; including shelters, drop in centres, outreach services, health clinics, schools, training programmes and housing establishments (Karabanow, 2004).

A large response to street youth has been through private charities, religious groups and non-profit agencies. The main institutional response to street youth in Brazil before the 20th century was the Catholic Church which provided facilities which imparted youth with basic needs such as shelter and food and were closely linked with religious ideals and the notion of ‘charity’ (Moran & de Moura Castro, 1997). In some cases, church based organizations dealing with street youth, maintain a relationship with government agencies and utilize the resources of the congregation.

In a study conducted in the United States by Loconte & Fantuzzo (2002), religious based organizations dealing with street youth use varying methodologies to attract youth to their programmes, however, their commonalities lie in the initiatives of concerned citizens with the support of government officials involved with their endorsement or assisting staff. They argue that faith commitment is a vital part of religious based charities and despite the church- state boundaries; governments’ role to protect its citizens is exemplified in this one avenue.

A competing model to “charity” emerged based on ‘scientific principles’ focusing on health and hygiene, expanded as a response to education beyond religious discourse and corporal discipline (Moran & de Moura Castro, 1997). According to an American

study conducted by Wright & Weber (1987) as cited in Baum & Burnes (1993), alcohol, drug abuse and mental illness were rated as the most significant indicators for people becoming homeless; therefore approaches dealing with this particular group and policy recommendations must take into consideration or acknowledge these disorders when conducting support programmes for street youth.

An alternate approach for street youth is to address issues of poverty by working as a community to support needs, as articulated by those living on the streets, such as access to better housing, educational opportunities and training programmes, better jobs etc. and also as an aim to strengthen family environments to decrease the risk of youth moving to the streets (Baum & Burnes, 1993; Volpi, 2003 as cited in Ennew and Swart-Kruger, 2003 and Moran & de Moura Castro, 1997). This perspective extends beyond the individual's health concerns into a collective concern focused on improving living standards. This approach therefore focuses on prevention, as opposed to remedial alternatives, as a strategy in dealing with the street child problem (Moran & de Moura Castro, 1997).

On the other hand, as argued by de Benitez (2003), social protection is a better long-term solution as opposed to preventative measures so that children from vulnerable families do not see the street as the only viable environment (de Benitez, 2003, as cited in Ennew & Swart- Krueger, 2003). Rurevo & Bourdillon (2003) concur and argue that the provision of a supportive network for working children as opposed to harassment and laws that criminalize their work is more productive as street children can benefit from the opportunities to earn an income safely, under monitored conditions.

Outreach work is viewed as an essential factor to identify potential street children as soon as they enter the streets and therefore find alternatives for them (Rurevo & Bourdillon, 2003; Rizzini and Butler & Suave, 2003, Para. 29, as cited in Ennew & Swart-Kruger, 2003). Swift (1997) however, argues that involving children in making decisions that affect their lives enables programmes to develop with a street youth centred approach and therefore may gain greater co-operation from street youth in programs. Based on this approach, several organizations use public spaces as points of contact or for outreach activities, providing support in the physical environment familiar to street children. Butterflies is an NGO in New Delhi and it has eight contact points where it meets street children. At these points, literacy, numeracy and health classes are conducted through play and games (Butterflies, 2002).

Peer to peer programs are another approach where older street children care for younger children, particularly bringing to the attention of new street children the dangers and vulnerabilities they may encounter. However, this approach needs careful guidance and monitoring as some children have alleged that street peers occasionally delay passing on information while they make money out of the naive newcomers (Rurevo & Bourdillon, 2003).

According to Rurevo & Bourdillon (2003), street children programmes have had limited long term success in the improvement in the lives of the girls. Interventions have not on the whole succeeded in preventing girls from engaging in activities likely to result in HIV/AIDS and child pregnancies. In some cases, restrictive programmes that compel girls to stay in homes or institutions were viewed as unsuccessful based on the argument that adapting to a more disciplined life is difficult as they felt like they lost their dignity

and right to freedom. Rurevo & Bourdillon (2003) further argue that programmes which provide shelter, food and an education that focuses on sexuality and health rights is relevant for street girls in Harare as it will provide them with knowledge on sexually transmitted infections (STI's) as well as the realities of bearing and caring for children.

Shelters have provided basic needs services to street youth such as food, shelter, clothing and short-term counseling. In some cases they are viewed as safe houses for runaway youth and have acted as surrogate parents for this particular population (Karabanow, 2002). Drop in centres, transition homes and group homes similarly recreate a family-like environment that offer a place of rest and protection from violence and abuse, provide basic needs and recreational activity. These facilities can also provide a sense of community and stability a youth may lack. They may also provide them with coping mechanisms which prepare them for independent living or help them reunite with their families (Family Health International, 2005).

Programmes which focus on skills and training are viewed as another approach for street youth. According to McCarney (2002) and Rurevo & Bourdillon (2003), providing youth with skills and training particularly in areas which will help youth generate an income for their families not only addresses the need to provide alternatives for youth but addresses the short term immediacy of needing to earn an income. One cannot generalize the skills of street youth and apart from the initial cause that drives them to the street, street youth have different lives and their working styles vary greatly; therefore, providing them with opportunities to find better employment will improve their incomes and prepare them for when they become heads of households (Hong & Ohno,

2003; McCarney, 2002; Rusten et al., 2005 and the Consortium for Street Children, 2003).

In the midst of a number of named non-formal education solutions and approaches for street youth, it can be asked whether the listed alternatives generate conditions that will increase street youth's levels of self-esteem and contribute to and facilitate the integration of their positive and productive contributions within society.

Non-formal education that not only focuses on employment but also life skills, gives adolescents the opportunity to develop their personality, their potential as positive and productive individuals and realize their strengths. The following section will examine the dimensions of self-esteem. Furthermore, it will examine self-esteem as a component of non-formal education and how it can effect in concrete ways the well-being of street youth.

1.4 Self-Esteem as a Development Outcome of Non-Formal Education

Definition of Self-Esteem

Self-esteem can be defined as the varying degrees to which persons feel good about themselves, and feel their life is worthwhile and important, and feel that their personalities and life circumstances form a meaningful, in some cases fulfilling, and integrated whole (Leary, 1999; Blascovich & Tomaka, 1991 and Rosenberg, 1965).

Although psychologists have offered a variety of definitions of self-esteem they would agree it is a trait referring to an individuals' degree of liking or disliking themselves, "...the essence of self-esteem is the favourability of individuals' characteristic self evaluations." (Brockner, 1988, p.11).

According to Leary, (1999), high self-esteem has always been viewed as a remedy for social and psychological problems, as it allows people to cope well with most social, economic and cultural circumstances in which they may find themselves. Further, self-esteem can be characterized by four factors; a sense of belonging, worthiness, dignity and control (Burnett, 1993 as cited in Stratton, 2000, Para. 3).

The above definitions of self-esteem do not operate in isolation. Social, economic and cultural factors all play a significant role in shaping an individual's self-esteem. As Leary (1999) argues, individuals with greater self-esteem are able to cope with their social and economic circumstances. According to UNDP (2006), individuals that are able to participate not only economically but also socially are able to, "lead productive, creative lives in accord with their needs and interests... Development is thus about expanding the choices people have to lead lives that they value." (Para.1)

Indicators of Self-Esteem

According to a study conducted by Hall & Foster (1977) as cited in Garcez (2006), students bestowing feelings of success and accomplishment in conducting tasks, had feelings of increased self-esteem. Pelish (2006), uses learning how to play an instrument as an example of how high self-esteem can be attributed to accomplishment due to self-control, responsibility and concentration required in learning how to play. Self-esteem is therefore related to motivational constructs such as mastery and competence associated with accomplishment and provides an individual with feelings that he or she is an agent capable of success (Lyubomirsky et al., 2005 and Gerson & Gerson, 2006).

Dawes (1994) as cited in London (1997) argues that there is a correlation between the level of self-esteem and the degree to which people engage in personally and socially

positive activities. An increase in activities for enjoyment instill a sense of responsibility, acceptance, belonging and accomplishment and it promotes relationship building such as forming friendships, all of which help increase self –esteem (Pelish, 2006).

In some cases, individuals form views of themselves based on their external environment and the treatment they receive from others. Leary et al. (1995) as cited in Pelish (2006) argues that in order to cultivate self –esteem, one needs to be accepted by others. Self – esteem can be gained if the individual feels they have control, competence and ability in their environment and furthermore, if they bestow a sense of competence in areas that are valued by the individual and by others (Bandura, 1977; Crocker & Major, 1989; cf. Van Tuinen & Ramanaiah, 1979; Harter, 1993 as cited in Lyubomirsky et al., 2005 and Coopersmith, 1967). A sense of belonging within a community or group therefore instills a strong sense of self –esteem, whereas if individuals are stigmatized, they may experience psychological consequences such as ego defences, low self- esteem and/or depression (Allport, 1954; Crocker & Major, 1989 as cited in Miller & Kaiser, 2001)

According to Hall & Foster (1977) as cited in Garcez (2006), a positive work experience increases self -esteem as the individual perceives him or herself to be performing well. When an individual is capable of earning a living and succeeding at work, they are likely to experience higher levels of self –esteem. According to Brockner (1988), self -esteem is linked with motivation and performance, meaning that high levels of self -esteem can be associated with better performance at work, “...self -esteem is directly related to self-efficacy or expectations for success” (Brockner, 1988, p. 20).

Self-esteem can also be associated with positive or happy family situations which provide conditions that influence children's happiness during their period of development at home (Mandal, 1988 and Barber, Ball & Armistead, 2003; Seidman, Lambert, Allen & Aber, 2003 as cited in Pelish, 2006). Hamid et al. (2003) concurs that family environment dimensions such as support, cohesion, organization, expressiveness, conflict and control show a strong association with adolescents' self-esteem. This notion can be referred to as collective self-esteem, where an individual evaluates him or herself and places a positive or negative attitude based on the social groups to which he or she belongs to (Crocker & Luhtanen, 1990; Luhtanen and Crocker, 1992 as cited in Bailis & Chipperfield, 2006 and Rosenberg, 1965).

The Asian construct of 'family' takes on the notion of a collective self-esteem where belonging and self-worth is validated through family connections or filial piety. Sharing feelings – especially about the family, seeking help, focusing attention on oneself or discussing family issues with an outsider may be inconsistent with or directly opposes traditional Asian Values (Kim et al., 1999). This is arguably different to the Western view of the importance of the individual (Higgins et al., 2002).

The multiple dimensions of self-esteem makes it difficult to pin point all of its indicators; therefore, we will only examine the notion of accomplishment, societal perceptions, personal enjoyment, earning a living and family dimensions as indicators which correlate to self-esteem.

Street Youth and Self-Esteem

Many street children are badly neglected and they are seriously affected by the hostility and indifference of others. As a result of their negative experiences, they have low self-esteem. According to SKI, the alienation of street youth is propagated by the negative social stigma attached to street youth has limited the lack of investment in the future of this group (McCarney, 2002). Street youth withdraw from those that feel afraid, laugh or feel uncomfortable around them and protect themselves from the sense of failure that is associated from comparison with their peers and aim to, "... achieve autonomy to continue what to others appears to be destructive behaviour; or to insulate themselves from the stigma of being different." (Baum & Burnes, 1993, p.154). The longer street youth spend time on the streets, the more likely they are to show signs of emotional or cognitive dysfunction, especially damaged self -esteem (Le Roux & Smith, 1998). According to Festinger (1954) as cited in Brockner (1988), individuals rely on social cues to govern their thoughts, feelings and actions. This social comparison process affects an individuals' level of uncertainty and therefore influences the extent to which they engage in the social process (West, 2003). These arguments suggest that negative social influences have a direct influence on the self -esteem of street youth.

Entry into education projects or programmes which target street youth as a way out of living and working on the street can be difficult for street youth as they can feel alienated from mainstream society and therefore they are wary of support offered by those they don't know or trust. Beane (1991) argues however, that school is a social agency that encourages participation, achievement, self -direction and completion, all of which contributes to the well-being and positive enhancement of self-esteem in students.

Mandal (1988) agrees that self-esteem is related to positive education experiences as they provide conditions that influence happiness. Non-formal education projects or programmes that focus on self-esteem identify that the first step in improving the future of street youth is to provide those with low self-esteem with a degree of confidence in their abilities and an environment that is accepting, supportive and encouraging.

Non-Formal Education and Self-Esteem

Street youth are caught in the cycle of living and working on the streets and have limited chances to break this cycle; therefore their confidence, and by association, their self-esteem may be diminished. Various street youth organizations and programmes have placed self-esteem as an important indicator of success. The following provides an overview of various methods in which self-esteem is achieved via non-formal education.

Gaining vocational skills including spaces for informal dialogue through play has been viewed as an effective means for children and youth to participate in decision making and as a foundation for self-reconstruction and a belief in the possibility of productive relationships. Padre Bruno Sechi started a youth group whose conceptual reference was based around Don Bosco³ in the city of Belem in Brazil, in which street youth worked as a collective in a small restaurant as well as, "...strengthening the humanity in themselves and others and identifying and discarding destructive reactions acquired unconsciously, through the medium of their homes and schools." (Swift, 1997, p.21).

Rehabilitation camps are another method designed to allow children and youth to work on themselves and their traumatic experiences, as well as make plans for their

³ For an introduction of Don Bosco and Salesians, please refer to The Salesian Way of Educating, Walking with the Young. Patrick Laws, Salesian Publishers, Metro Manila 1993.

future. The Mith Samlanh Friends organization in Phnom Penh, Cambodia helps youth that have gone through difficult experiences such as rape, sex work and drug misuse. As a result, graduates of the programme have acquired skills, including how to read and write Khmer and skills in basic accounting but have also gained self confidence by understanding their community and being able to communicate in a positive manner with other members in society (Mith Samlanh Friends, 2005a).

Recreation is another vital contribution to enhance the physical, social and emotional development of street youth. It is a viable method that creates a forum which allows individuals to breakdown psychological barriers and at the same time encourages adolescents to follow rules, interact with peers and generally improve self -esteem by allowing them to meet personal challenges with success (UNESCO, n.d). According to Alleyne (2003), sport and physical activity may increases self -esteem by having a positive image of our bodies, the physical skills and abilities that we develop. Right to Play (n.d) believes that physical education is fun and it can improve levels of self -esteem. Through sport and play, girls have the opportunity to participate in the community and have access to positive female role models. According to Pricilla Owusu Sarpong, one of Right to Play's local coaches in Ghana,

In Ghana, we tend to place more emphasis on sports for men than for women. We need to change the stereotype that women simply cannot and should not be physically competitive. Health wise, it is just as important - if not more - for girls to be physically active, in both competitive and non-competitive sports. But the non-health benefits that come from being active are just as important. Being told that you can do something can go a long way in a girls self-esteem and confidence levels. That is why I decided to become a Coach. It is important for young girls to have role models, to meet me and learn all that I have been through and know that they too can succeed. (Pricilla Owusu Sarpong as cited in Right to Play, n.d., Para. 2)

Drama and music can also help children understand themselves by re-enacting personal experiences or use their imaginations by fantasizing who they want to be. This encourages confidence and improves their ability to express themselves (Brink, 2001). The David Glass Ensemble is a group that focuses on participatory theatre, film making, publishing, radio and information technology. One particular participatory film project with 40 street girls in Thailand in 2001 focused on the issues that runaway, street children face. The project trained NGO staff working with street children in participatory methodologies and film making. The outcomes of this project saw a fall in attempted suicides, agoraphobia, the use of tranquilizers and improved levels of self worth as it not only recognized the children's' stories, it provided full time employment for three young offenders and it was the first Thai film to have an ethnic minority girl in the lead role (David Glass Ensemble, 2001).

Girls may receive a variety of conflicting and confusing messages on their gender roles from their parents, teachers, peers and the media. They are socialized to put themselves last and therefore undermine their self-esteem. Discrimination and neglect in their childhood can lead to deprivation and exclusion from mainstream society – a downward spiral that lasts a lifetime (FWCW, 1995). Thembaletu Life Skills centre was established in Johannesburg to provide street girls with confidence and self respect. These girls have become separated from their families and have turned to the streets to survive. They are offered a programme that guides them on life skills such as sewing, cooking, health, hygiene, and instruction on sexually transmitted infections and vocational training which encourages training in the areas of hair dressing, beauty therapy, dressmaking and home nursing all of which encourages entrepreneurial

potential. A relationship with a social worker is established and self reliance and independent living is promoted. The success of the project is measured by the fact that the majority of the girls grasp Thembaletu's concept and break out of their past cycles and approximately 30% have reunited with their families (Thembaletu, 2005).

Increasing self -esteem is an important investment for non-formal education programmes as it promotes positive behaviour for the individual and with others. Self -esteem is a viable parameter to measure the success or failure of non-formal education programmes as increased self -esteem promotes good communication skills, critical thinking, conflict resolution without violence, negotiation and assertiveness and understanding, self respect as opposed to self destruction; all important factors that contribute to the dexterity needed for tasks youth may face in the future for their work or in life (UNESCO, 2006 and Anderson, 2006).

Summary

The literature surveys the conditions and causes of street youth and outlines the potential risks they may encounter as a consequence of living on the streets, such as negative social stigmatization and hazardous and/or exploitative working conditions and limited or no access to social services such as education.

Baum & Burnes (1993) indicate that many street youth experience low levels of self -esteem as a result of their negative experiences and social exclusion. Based on the literature, economic, cultural and social factors play a role in shaping individuals self -esteem. Self -esteem is identified as the varying degrees in which an individual feels good about themselves and that their life is worthwhile and important (Leary, 1999; Blascovich & Tomaka, 1991 and Rosenberg, 1965).

The literature discusses the extent to which street youth receive adequate education or training, an important element in gauging their welfare for the future. Furthermore, the literature surveys the limitations of classic education pedagogies and indicates that formal education systems have not always reached all groups, particularly street youth, due to problems with curriculum relevance, tuition, accessibility and intermittent attendance.

Non-formal education with an emphasis on self-esteem for street youth not only focuses on employment, it also focuses on the development of the individual; therefore it promotes the generation of skills and knowledge required for positive social and economic contributions in society. As demonstrated in the literature, activities that provide an opportunity to gain new skills and knowledge and ones that address physical, social and emotional well-being, either through recreation, rehabilitation or in a safe, supportive environment work for street youth.

My hypothesis is that non-formal education for street youth can act as an important development mechanism which encourages productive and responsible youth in society by significantly enhancing their self-esteem.

Chapter II: Case Study

2.0 Methodology

The methodological approach chosen was a case study, using qualitative analysis to gather information and to determine whether KOTO, as one example of non-formal education, was successful at generating increased levels of self-esteem for street youth. The research involved primary and secondary sources. Data collected in the case study was partly acquired through observation, with the intention to focus on 'real world' behaviour. It also enabled me to consider the various aspects of the KOTO programme that have contributed to increased levels of self-esteem.

An organizational case study of KOTO, a project working with street youth in the hospitality industry, was conducted alongside interviews and participant observation. A group of street youth not involved with KOTO acted as a group for comparison. Interviews were conducted with this group and were compared with the interviews of KOTO trainees and KOTO graduates in the setting of Hanoi, Vietnam.

Rosenberg's (1965a) perspective of measuring self-esteem is also used in our research as a tool for measuring levels of self-esteem in order to represent a continuum of self worth statements that are endorsed by individuals with low self-esteem to statements that are endorsed by persons with high self-esteem. Multiple studies have been conducted to investigate the validity and the reliability of Rosenberg's Self-Esteem Scale (Goldsmith, 1986; Hudson et al., 2000; Silbert & Tippett, 1965; Crandal, 1973; Hagborg 1993; Blascovich & Tomaka, 1991).

A modified version of the Rosenberg Self-esteem Scale was employed for all respondents in the street youth, KOTO trainees and KOTO graduates cohorts. This test was used to illicit a general understanding of how these three groups felt about their levels of self-esteem. A scale was ranked from 1 to 5, 1 being strong, 5 being weak which included questions based on perceptions of self and therefore respondents could self evaluate for levels of self-esteem. Ranking tests are not a popular mode of testing in Vietnam, therefore the modifications simply enabled the respondents to read the questions clearly. This version of the Rosenberg Self-esteem Test did not alter the rigour of the test; rather, it was modified to the socio cultural dimensions of the respondents. Furthermore, key themes were extrapolated from the interviews that were indicative of self-esteem. The purpose of the interviews and self-esteem scale was to identify the key characteristics in each group and to gather data on levels of self-esteem within each group.

A variety of background data were collected: family background and situation, accessibility of food, type and stability of work, gendered roles and mental and physical health conditions. The issues drawn from the empirical evidence collected was incumbent for the analysis of KOTO and its contribution to improving levels of self-esteem in street youth. Further interviews were conducted with restaurant managers of KOTO graduates to gain a broader perspective of the situation of KOTO graduates and to gain feedback on the success or failure of the skills and training and levels of self-esteem acquired at KOTO. Groups were disaggregated by gender.

Determining the impacts of KOTO's non-formal education programme for street youth and providing inference regarding reasons for its successes, is limited to the questions in the interviews and questionnaires and the sample size for each cohort. Generalizations for the overall population of street youth, KOTO graduates and trainees cannot be made. It can be argued that an increased sample size for cohorts could have widened the scope of data collected.

A longitudinal study or life histories method could have gleaned more detailed data and set a more accurate context for interpreting findings and comparisons. In suggesting this, the scope of research was limited to the amount of time in the field and the sample size.

Despite the limitations mentioned regarding the method, scope and results, conducting a case study method was the best method given the time and resources to explain a complex instance using qualitative analysis.

2.1 Case Study

The case study addresses street youth in the context of Hanoi, Vietnam and identifies the variables which indicate improved levels of self-esteem for street youth via a non-formal education programme, KOTO located in Hanoi. The data collected provides evidence of how the KOTO programme is successful at achieving the development outcome of self-esteem for street youth.

Adolescents make up almost 30% of the Vietnamese population. This figure represents a significant demographic change and serves as an explanation for the increases in demand for higher education, employment, opportunities for participation

and leisure and protection from drug abuse as well as conflict with the law. Socio-economic stresses on families and the shift from rural to urban areas have provoked new social problems, which include; homelessness, drug addiction, sexual and economic exploitation and violence (UNICEF, 2005b).

According to the Vietnamese Ministry of Labor, Invalids and Social Affairs (MOLISA), street children are one of the ten disadvantaged groups⁴ in Vietnam. MOLISA defines street children as "... 'children who leave their families, earn their living by themselves, and have unstable working and living locations; or children wandering on the street with their families.'" (National Assembly 2004, p.2, as cited in Hong & Ohno, 2005, p. 5). MOLISA's annual statistical report indicates that in 1997, there were 13 377 street children, which rose to 19 047 in 1998 and to 21 016 in 2001 suggesting a significant rise in recent years (Hong & Ohno, 2005). UNICEF's 1997 estimation however, suggests the figure is closer to 50,000 street children (as cited in SEAMEO, 2000). While there is a scarcity of reliable data on the numbers of adolescents on the street, including data on gender, Vietnamese government statistics provide evidence that the numbers are largely concentrated in urban areas such as Ho Chi Minh, Hanoi, Da Nang, Hai Phong and other provincial capitals; with the greatest numbers existing in Ho Chi Minh City and Hanoi (UNICEF, 2005 and Hong & Ohno, 2005).

There are a large number of organizations working with street youth in Vietnam. They provide basic needs that are required for children's survival. Some organizations aim to equip adolescents with skills and knowledge to ensure their safety, survival and

⁴ Disadvantaged children include 1. orphans and abandoned children 2. disabled children 3. chemical-or toxic affected victims 4. HIV/AIDS affected children 5. working children in hard, toxic or risky conditions 6. working children who live far away from their family 7. street children 8. sexually abused children 9. drug addicted children and 10. law violators. (Hong, Ohno, 2005:5 and UNICEF, 2003:72-73)

sustainability. In conjunction with these organizations, concerted efforts have been made by the Vietnamese government to provide alternative strategies for street children and youth. These efforts have been made evident with: the creation of policies such as The Law on Child, Protection Care and Education by the National Assembly (1991); official campaigns emphasizing law enforcement and detainment of unregistered workers and the establishment of Community Learning Centres as alternatives to the formal education system.⁵

This case study will examine whether KOTO's strategy for non-formal education is a sustainable solution for the causes and vulnerabilities for street youth in Hanoi and whether it not only provides a means to gain skills and knowledge, but if it also improves levels of self-esteem.

The following sections will provide contextual information on Vietnam to outline information on the setting in which the study is conducted; this will be followed by a section on street youth in Hanoi to gain a better understanding of the situation of the target population. I will then examine the KOTO case to provide an example of a non-formal education programme in Hanoi and demonstrate how it is a viable development tool as it generates improved levels of self-esteem for street youth.

⁵ Further information on Community Learning Centres in Vietnam can be found in Appeal Project on Promoting Community Learning Centres (CLCs) in Vietnam: A final Report *The Ministry of Education and Training National Institute for Education Sciences Research Centre for Literacy and Continuing Education*. Hanoi, December 1999

2.2 Context: Vietnam

Background

Vietnam is located in the southeastern region of the Indochinese peninsula, sharing a boundary with Laos and Cambodia. The country is divided into the highlands and the Red River Delta in the north; the Gai Truong Son (Central Mountains, or the Chaîne Annamitique); a plateau known as the Central Highlands (Tay Nguyen) and the Mekong River Delta in the south (Cima, 1989). The population of Vietnam was nearly 60 million at the end of 1985 and rose to 77.7 million by the year 2000 (Human Development Vietnam, 2004).

After more than twenty years of separation, Vietnam unified resulting in the independent Socialist Republic of Vietnam at the end of the Vietnam/American War in 1975. The reunification process had proven to be difficult in terms of socio-cultural, economic and political development that would best serve the needs for the Vietnamese people (Cima, 1989).

With a per capita income estimated at less than 200 USD per year, the Vietnamese people in the 1980s remained among the poorest in the world. In 1987, society was predominantly rural (more than 80 percent of the population), with rural residents being engaged primarily in farming (Cima, 1989).

The decline of the economy during the 1970s and into the 1980s led to a series of economic policy or market oriented reforms. In 1986, the Communist Party of Vietnam (CPV) formally announced “Doi Moi”, the national economic reform intended to shift Vietnam’s centralized economy where the state controlled almost all economic activities to a commodity producing economy, where various forms of ownership arose in a multi

sector economy -- state owned, collective and private. Further reform measures were passed in 1987, 1989, 1991 and 1995 which created an era of increased domestic economic activity, foreign investment and fundamentally one where state business interests would dominate state policy (Fforde & Vylder, 1996).

Vietnam's transition economy had also witnessed the reduction of the state role in the service sector, in particular education. At this time, it would appear that the Communist Party of Vietnam (CPV) would abandon its hopes for universal social provision. In 1989, Vietnam's National Assembly passed a constitutional amendment to permit the state to charge fees for education services. Until the end of the nineties, state fees increased regularly, varying by region and in both rural and urban areas. Household education expenditures revealed that by 1996-97, school fees accounted for 46.1% and 61.7% of yearly educational expenditures per lower-and upper-secondary students (Kelly, 2000). Access to education beyond the basic level would depend on individual households' earnings, a development at odds with decades of CPV rhetoric (London, 2003).

The availability of alternative schools offered by non-governmental voluntary sources or civil society organizations as a result of reduced participation of the state has aided in the provision of educational and other social services for children, unable to attend traditional schooling methods. Several of these organizations work in conjunction with various government unions according to their mission and many have devoted their attention to the problems of children, women and families (Gallina & Masina, 2002).

Socio-Economic Effects of Doi Moi

Vietnam has experienced economic growth since Doi Moi; however, it is questionable whether this growth has led to social and economic improvements within all strata of society. The rapid growth of the national economy has not only affected change in urban areas but simultaneously resulted in changes in rural areas. According to the General Statistics Office, 1999 and the Vietnam Living Standards Survey, (Hanoi, GSO) 1997/98, about half of urban residents were from the countryside, where 90% of the rural population originated in the countryside Acharya, 2003. Between 1994 and 1999, 6% of the population moved. Approximately one quarter of Vietnam's population lives in urban areas (Oxford Policy Management, 2004).

Figures suggest that *Doi Moi* generated improvements to people's average living standard since the late 1980's. The GDP per capita rose from 156 in 1992 to 482 USD in 2002. In 1993, 58% of the population was under the poverty line – less than 1USD a day. The ratio however fell to 37.4% in 1998 and to 28.9% in 2002 (Hong & Ohno, 2005, p. 3).

According to the Asian Development Bank (ADB) (2001) however, in 1993, more than half of the households in Vietnam were considered poor; by 1998 a third were living below the poverty line set by the GSO and the World Bank. This indicates that more than half of the poor in 1993 were able to escape poverty; however, more than 10% of the non-poor became poor in 1998.

Transition into and out of Poverty, 1993-1998 (%)

Item	Non Poor in 1998	Poor in 1998	Total
Non-poor in 1993	39.2	4.7	43.9
Poor in 1993	27.4	28.7	56.1
Total	66.5	33.5	100.0

Sources: 1992-1993 and 1997-1998 Vietnam Living Standards Survey as cited in ADB (2001)

Between 1955 and 1986, Vietnam's centrally planned economy regarded economic activities in the informal sector as illegal economic activities. Informal financial markets in Vietnam were repressed and information about them was scarce. Legislative policies attempted to restrict and transform this sector and in turn many people avoided working in the informal sector (ILO, 1994). *Doi Moi* created a new stage for development of the informal sector. Due to Vietnam's young population as well as high population density per hectare of cropland, pressure was placed on the labour market and as a result many individuals turned to the informal sector in urban areas (Fforde & Vyllder, 1996).

Several important changes in the social service sector have occurred as a result of the decentralization process and in particular, have impacted the accessibility to education. Decentralization led to the disintegration of institutional collectivist arrangements responsible for financial provisions which affected the quality of state sponsored mass education services, particularly at the community level (London, 2003).

Traditional family and social values have also been challenged by the reform process; however economic as well as social transformations have enabled families to broaden their available options. Vietnam's rapid growth and global integration have intensified certain traditional social problems and have created new ones. These problems include corruption, environmental destruction, inflation of land values, increased levels

of materialism and the decline of cultural and spiritual values (Hong & Ohno, 2005 and UNICEF, 2005).

The transition to a market-based economy has had both social and economic impacts on the country. Although economic reforms have instigated various benefits to the nation, economic disparities exist, notably between rural and urban areas and the economically wealthy and poor. Some of the poorest groups have remained in their former poverty suggesting the transition economy has not had significant effects on the most marginalized. Social reforms made in the education sector, has left open a need for alternatives for those unable to participate in the educational system. Data further suggests that employment has been sought in urban areas as an alternative to current situations of poverty, resulting in many individuals working on the streets. Vietnam's transition economy has left open a need for alternatives for this growing target group.

Street Youth in Vietnam

Due to the invisibility, mobility and seasonality of street children, data collection for this particular group is difficult. Some child workers are highly visible such as shoe shiners, barrow pushers, beggars, and vendors; however others are much less visible such as those who sell drugs, sex services and night market workers (Terre des homes Foundation, 2004 as cited in Hong & Ohno, 2005).

The survey of Buom and Caseley conducted in Hanoi in 1995 showed that a large number of street children came from outside but near the capital in Thanh Hoa province at 27%. Children from Hai Hung (now split as Hai Duong and Hung Yen) were ranked second at 21%. Children from Hanoi followed at 17% and the final group from Ha Nam at 14% (Hong, Ohno, 2005:12). Boys account for 65.4% of street children in Vietnam (Gallina and Masina, 2002). According to the Vietnam Committee for Protection and

Care for Children (CPCC), most street children earn substantially less than one dollar a day, rendering them vulnerable to exploitation and various threats to their well-being (UNICEF, 2005).

Causes and Vulnerabilities of Street Youth in Vietnam

The trauma or psychological damage associated with the vulnerabilities street youth face, vary as equally as their situations and circumstances. According to the CPCC the majority of children and youth on the streets come from poor families; however they argue that a large percentage come from middle class to wealthy families who place great value on a high standard of living and therefore send their children to work on the streets perhaps as a result of changing traditional Vietnamese spiritual and family values due to evolving societal norms (UNICEF, 2005). Other situations such as trafficking girls across borders, particularly China, the increased use of heroin and the threat of HIV/AIDS, add new compromises to the wellbeing of street youth as these situations are on the rise in Vietnam (UNICEF, 2005a and N. McCaulay, personal communication, UNICEF, Hanoi, June 23, 2005).

Large cities such as Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City have generated new opportunities and demands for jobs including house cleaning, shoe shining and selling petty goods to those that are unwilling to conduct those tasks themselves. The expectation of a cash income attracts rural labour, ranging between the ages of 15 and 50, to migrate to the city and supply such services. Many of these workers send remittances back to their families dependent on the extra income. Although working on the street creates risks that are more dangerous and tiresome than rural work, working on the streets is perceived to be more profitable (Hong & Ohno, 2005; UNICEF, 2003a).

As a result of Vietnam's decentralization process, government sponsored facilities and services have been limited. Less than 10% sleep outside with no fixed shelter, where most sleep in lodging houses provided by employers, basic rooms in guest houses cramped with large numbers of people or hidden away in parks or other public spaces (UNICEF, 2005). The inability for families to pay for tuition and school supplies as a result of education reforms or parents superseding desire to earn money rather than pay for school, contribute to youth moving to the streets. The CPCC study indicates that 80 percent of street children drop out of school and the vast majority commence their life on the street shortly after leaving school. The study further indicates that only one in ten street children continue with their formal secondary education once they leave home due to financial constraints or the lack of time or energy to pursue their studies (UNICEF, 2005).

A number of factors, as noted in Chapter 1 have contributed to the precipitous rise in street children. As more children find their way to the streets in Vietnam, many still desire and need help as well as wish to study; therefore specific programmes are required to meet their needs (Gallina & Masina, 2002, p.42).

Projects working with street youth can be street based, meeting them in their own environment, or centre- based, where services are offered to the street children within a physical structure (Brink, 2001). The case study of KOTO takes a centre- based approach and embraces the notion of education and vocational training as a means to provide street children and disadvantaged youth with skills and training necessary for professional and personal development (Street Voices, 2001). The field research will focus on KOTO, one

organization working with street youth in Hanoi, rather than assess a selection of existing street youth agencies.

2. 3a) Field Study: KOTO

KOTO or Know One Teach One, located in Hanoi, Vietnam began as one man's dream - Jimmy Pham, to help youth who are disadvantaged or living and/or working on the streets. For eight years the KOTO training project has grown into a recognized professional hospitality program for roughly 40 students each year. The KOTO trainees undertake an 18 month intensive hospitality, English language and life skills training programme. It combines a theoretical as well as a practical component in the hopes that trainees develop on a personal and professional level so they are able to advance as a positive member in their community.

KOTO has trained over 100 Vietnamese street youth and disadvantaged youth from extremely difficult family circumstances, to be chefs or bar and service staff and currently enjoys a 100% employment rate at the time of graduation for trainees (Street Voices, 2005)

KOTO recruits roughly 25 adolescents between the ages of 16 and 22 per class, to become trainees. Prior to acceptance, they are assessed on the basis of their capacity to undertake the training program, their ability to work in the hospitality industry, and their commitment to the program. Assessments of each applicant's situation are conducted by the KOTO staff through interviews and home visits. Once accepted into KOTO, the trainees are provided with a thorough health examination as well as vaccinations if required. They are also provided with uniforms, laundry, accommodation, medical

insurance, daily meals and a monthly training allowance averaging 600,000 Vietnam Dong (VND)/day (KOTO Volunteer Information Package, 2005).

Trainees are selected for either front of house (hosting or waiting tables) or commercial cookery (Western and Asian food preparation and pastry cooking), on the basis of interest and demonstrated aptitude. The theoretical coursework component delivered at the KOTO training centre is designed with the guidance of Box Hill TAFE, an Australian registered training organization. The curriculum is simultaneously reinforced in the 80 seat restaurant (separate from the training centre), where the trainees are able to gain practical experience in their fields of study. KOTO trainees receive an internationally recognized qualification when they graduate (KOTO Volunteer Information Package, 2005; N. Ziegeldorf, personal communication, February 23, 2005).

An English language course is another component designed specifically for the hospitality industry. Basic English language training is reinforced with communication activities with English speaking volunteers and staff as well as practice in the restaurant with mostly English speaking clientele. It is viewed by KOTO that having basic English provides trainees with a competitive edge in the hospitality industry (N. T. H. Hanh, personal communication, October 20, 2004).

The Life Skills section of the programme aims to increase confidence, to develop teamwork, kinship and to encourage positive personal development and contribution to the community. It provides trainees with knowledge on personal health and hygiene, adolescent reproductive health, rights awareness and knowledge regarding HIV/AIDS. As a component of the life skills curriculum, participation on field trips, charitable events or community fundraisers and weekly sporting activities with the United Nations

International School (UNIS) encourages social interaction and volunteerism. The purpose of the Life Skills section is to equip trainees with the skills to take charge of their own lives once they graduate the programme (KOTO Volunteer Information Package, 2005).

A job skills training session is conducted with the trainees to facilitate their search for work in the industry. Appropriate interview behaviour, CV writing as well as support with organizing interviews are some areas of the job skills training session (C. Mayoh, personal communication, October 20, 2004).

Towards the end of the programme, each trainee takes part in a one-month work experience/training placement prior to graduation. This provides them with an opportunity to gain broader work experience in the hospitality industry while receiving simultaneous support from KOTO. After this final stage of the programme, a large graduation ceremony is held with various guests including diplomats, sponsors, KOTO staff, volunteers, KOTO supporters and the graduates' families (KOTO Volunteer Information Package, 2005).

KOTO argues its main objective is to alleviate poverty amongst vulnerable street and disadvantaged youth by assisting them to become skilled, confident and employable. The project aims to equip its graduates not only with skills and knowledge in the hospitality industry, but with tools and strategies to deal with emotional issues they may face as a result of their previous life circumstances such as depression, trauma, grief and/or loss (KOTO Volunteer Information Package, 2005; KOTO Strategic Plan, 2005 and J. Pham, personal communication, October 21, 2004). The following section identifies how KOTO acts as an appropriate vehicle for street youth to attain skills and

knowledge that prepares them for their future as well as increases their level of self-esteem.

2.3b) Field Study: The Causes and Vulnerabilities of Street Youth in Hanoi

Street Work

I began my research by observing street youth in various environments throughout the city. The first and most obvious location for street youth was in the tourist district around Hanoi's old quarter and Hoan Kiem Lake. Many youth were visible selling postcards, shining shoes and selling trinkets such as lighters and American/Vietnam war paraphernalia. Consistent with the literature regarding street youth and their work roles, personal observation and interviews identified that the work youth conduct on the street is divided in gendered roles. Boys mainly shoe shine and younger boys sell lotto tickets. Both activities are competitive and conducted throughout the city. They work alone; however, they will sometimes form protective groups to look out for each other. Girls on the other hand are most often found conducting domestic work, including live-in nanny work and many girls are vulnerable to sexual exploitation when working in employment posing as Karaoke venues, hair dressing salons for men or working in a Nha Nghi (truck stop hotels). Both males and females sell books, newspapers, postcards and petty goods such as fans and lighters. Both collect rubbish, beg or work in more organized activities such as roadside restaurants. Observations concluded that there are more males visibly working on the streets than girls.

KOTO trainees and former street youth were able to earn wages by working in the training restaurant. The monthly wage enables trainees to study and at the same time save their income or contribute to their family's income. Graduates working in the hospitality

industry earned a significantly greater income than street youth and trainees and in some cases, some received health insurance or other benefits. When asked what an ideal job would be in the future, one street youth said, "I want to be a motorbike park attendant because it is better payment and I don't have to walk around looking for customers." (Field Book 1, Street Youth H, Interview, Giang Vo, July 6, 2005). His response was compared to the higher aspirations of a KOTO graduate, "I want to go to university and study about computers or become a hotel manager or start my own restaurant." (Field Book 3, Graduate C, Interview, Ly Thai To Street, Restaurant, April 5, 2005).

Reasons for Working on the Streets

Interviews indicate that the main reason for youth to search for an income on the streets is due to family poverty. Most came from large families from the countryside where their families' can't afford education and living costs for their children and therefore send their eldest to work in order to support them financially. All street youth that were interviewed had left home to find work in the city because their families were too poor to send them to school. Some youth expressed that they had come from broken homes or experienced a parent's death or serious illness. The average year of schooling completed amongst this group was grade 7 where some had completed one or two years of primary education. They all stopped schooling because they needed to help with the family income. Similarly KOTO trainees' average year of schooling completed was grade 8 and KOTO graduates, grade 9. They all left home to earn an income for their families.

I studied until I reached year 9 and my teacher lent me the money to continue to year 10 but I knew if I didn't work I could not afford to pay her back for school...I went to Hanoi to look for a job so I could support my mother. (Field Book 2, Trainee G, Interview, KOTO Restaurant, May 19, 2005).

Data further suggests that due to families' lack of income, many youth became bored as they weren't involved in school or employment in the countryside and as a result, many followed their friends who were already living in Hanoi or going to move. The data collected for this particular study did not find domestic violence as a main cause for youth to move to the streets.

Living Conditions

At the time of my research, I noticed a visible difference in the numbers of youth working on the streets in the tourist areas as compared to my first visit to Hanoi in 2000. The numbers had drastically decreased which led me to investigate why there was a visible reduction in numbers or if they had moved to another location.

I interviewed one girl selling fans and she told me that many people from the countryside who sell goods in the city live in an area near the river on the outskirts of the centre of Hanoi. Her information, included with the advice from KOTO and the Blue Dragon Children's Foundation staff, led me to conduct observations and interviews in the riverside communities of Long Bien and Phuc Tan. Long Bien is an area famous for its night market. Many people from the countryside, predominantly farmers sell their goods in this area. This area is vibrant with activity at dawn and noticeably an area with many small guest houses, hostels (rest houses where one can pay by the hour) or nha nghi's (as mentioned earlier, truck stop hotels).

I interviewed several shoe shine boys who live in this area and they showed me their room where they live. The rent is very low and the small room is overcrowded. The people living in the room are consistently changing, some of which shoe shine, workers

in road side restaurants and drug pushers. When questioned upon how they felt about living in such conditions, one boy indicated:

Sometimes I feel scared because I don't know who will be in my room at night. My friend from the countryside died because he was involved with drugs. Some people I stay with sell drugs. I also have poor health and I miss my family. (Field Book 1, Street Youth B, Interview, Phuc Tan, June 13, 2005).

One shoe shine boy informed me that he lives on the river on a floating house with his family in the Phuc Tan community. It is a small room with a tin roof that houses five. He said he doesn't like living on the river due to flooding during the rainy season; however despite his discomfort, he doesn't want to leave his family.

KOTO trainees are provided with student housing where 6 trainees share a small house together. These houses are monitored by senior classmates and assigned KOTO staff. Interviewed trainees expressed their contentedness with their accommodations; however several continue to miss their families and would prefer to be home. Graduates that were interviewed usually rent houses with siblings or with friends. They are responsible for finding and paying for their accommodation once they leave KOTO. All indicate that they live in better circumstances as compared to prior to KOTO.

A KOTO graduate and former shoe shiner and petty goods seller indicated that he used to sleep in parks, on benches at the train station or wandered the streets before he earned enough to rent a small room. He recalled that life at night can be dangerous, especially for prostitutes because of the threat of disease and abuse and the absence of help if they were in a vulnerable situation. His experience living on the streets taught him that survival was dependent on avoiding situations such as gambling circles or getting involved with the mafia as well as temptations in areas such as parks or near lakes where heroin use is prevalent. He now lives in an apartment that he shares with friends.

Threats on the Street

Abuse

A KOTO graduate spoke of how sexual abuse was one threat he encountered when he sold lighters and other goods on the street. Several backpackers lured him into their hotel room with the promise of new clothes, shoes and money. He was molested in the hotel room but was able to escape before anything more serious happened. Other interviews have concluded that foreigners traveling or living in Hanoi have perpetuated pedophilia or sex tourism. One interview indicated that two well known ex-patriots in Hanoi in high status positions are known to control and protect several street youth. In exchange for money, gifts and their protection from the police, sexual services are expected of them. This group of street youth, also known as part of the 'mafia', poses a real threat to many street youth. They aim to recruit new members to their group or they threaten those who work in their 'territory' with violence or theft. One KOTO graduate notes:

If one day I earn a lot of money, it's not safe for me to keep it because somebody might take it. If somebody sees that I make a lot of money from a tourist, I have to buy everybody something, like cigarettes or some food to share or else someone might steal it. (Field Book 3, Graduate C, Interview, Ly Thai To Street, Restaurant, April 5, 2005).

Another graduate remembers:

One time, I was shoe shining in the wrong place and I didn't know. Some boys got very angry with me and they hit me and took my money. I always felt bad and scared and wanted to go home to my countryside but I cannot because have no money. (Field Book 3, Graduate D, Interview, Ly Thai To Street, Restaurant, April 5, 2005).

I interviewed one girl selling fans in the old quarter. She was visibly anxious, constantly looking around and pushing me to buy something otherwise she would keep moving. I noticed that she had really short hair (which is an unusual style for young

Vietnamese girls) and that she probably hadn't washed in several days. When questioned why she has short hair, she indicated that it is easier for her to work on the street if she looks like a boy so men won't bother her and it is easier to keep her hair clean. This interview led me to believe that females working on the street have a greater risk of being sexually abused.

Females in the KOTO trainee and graduate cohorts indicated that they felt safe at KOTO and that they were given equal opportunities. One girl indicated that she learned from the life skills component about her sexual rights. She indicated that she was sexually abused by a family member and didn't realize that this was a violation of her dignity and respect. After attending the life skills component she learned to cope with the violence she had experienced when she was younger.

Poor Health Conditions

Interviews with street youth indicate that they suffer from health problems. Many argue that they don't eat enough and often feel hungry. Most complain about persistent headaches because of the weather (many Vietnamese believe that wind is a source of illness), fever and colds. They argue that having bad health is frustrating because it limits the amount of time they are on the streets working and therefore not having enough money to buy medicine or to eat.

Several KOTO trainees were diagnosed with Hepatitis B, Tuberculosis and skin infections upon entering KOTO. These illnesses can be attributed to life on the streets and their living conditions because of consistent exposure to drugs or living in close quarters with those infected with communicable diseases.

Detention Centres

I conducted observations and interviews in another community named Giang Vo. This area is quite different from Long Bien and Phuc Tan as it appears to be a working or middle class area. There is a shopping and restaurant area that caters to the Korean expatriot community. In this area there are several shoe shine boys and paper sellers that work around the lake by a hotel. There are a few younger children that beg. In this area I learned that most youth working on the street are fearful of the police, particularly during special events such as Seagames 22, International Conferences or certain times of the year particularly in the Summer. Youth are afraid of being collected onto trucks and taken to the police station to either be sent home or to detention centres. As one girl noted:

I go home to the countryside in the summertime to be with my family because the police are busy at this time. It is hard for me because it is better working in the summer time. I don't go to some parts of the city because many [police] are around there. I am afraid of them. (Field Book 1, Street Youth I, Interview, Giang Vo, July 6, 2005).

Street youth that were interviewed indicated that being sent to a detention centre is a continual threat, as they fear the conditions inside, they worry that they are not able to contact their families and they don't want to lose their freedom. Interviews with street youth who have spent time in these centres and personal observations at Nimh Binh detention centre confirm that there is not enough food, warm blankets, clothing, time to shower and use the toilette and that cells are overcrowded and dirty. One interviewee discussed how there were beatings, theft and in another case, manual labour (he had to pack coal for household cooking).

Observations and interviews suggest that there are large numbers of detainees consisting of all ages, both male and female. Interviews with individuals who had experienced detainment in these centers indicated that although they were told to go home after they were released, they all returned to the city to continue the same work on the streets despite the threat of being arrested and doing a longer sentence. Information regarding detention centres in Vietnam and street vending law enforcement was difficult to acquire.

Salaries

Data from interviews concluded that salaries earned working on the streets varied and were dependent on several factors: the type of work youth are conducting, the number of police on the streets and which season they are working in. The data indicates that street youth working for an employer such as lottery ticket sellers or roadside restaurants can earn between 7000 – 15000 VND per day (roughly less than one US dollar a day). Youth who are predominantly independent workers such as shoe shiners or book/postcard sellers can earn up to 1,000,000 VND/ month (roughly less than 100 US dollars per month). The interviewed street youth all agree that the amount they earn on the streets are inconsistent and earnings fluctuate from month to month. They argue that it is better being self employed than working long hours for an employer earning insignificant wages, leaving them with not enough to eat and to send home each month. The data suggests that the driving force behind working on the streets despite the imposing threats is to earn money.

2.4 The Impacts of KOTO: Self -Esteem as a Development Parameter

According to many street youth that I observed and interviewed, their integration into humanitarian organizations, NGO's, charities etc., is not easy as they generally have a sense of mistrust of these groups. They indicate that there is a continual fear of being reported to the police and therefore sent to the countryside or to a detention centre or a fear they will be placed in a dangerous or exploitative situation. Another concern for street youth entering organizations deeming to help them, is that they will have to pay a fee, or that they will not be able to earn money for themselves or their families. They are weary of the long-term benefits they will gain and they are worried they will lose their freedom.

KOTO's approach is to take into account the needs of street youth and to include these needs in a realistic strategy that makes it possible for youth to give up their life on the streets and project their lives into a sustainable future. KOTO addresses these particular needs by not charging a fee and monthly wages are earned as a living allowance or an income that trainees can send home. One meal, accommodation as well as health care are accounted for, they receive training in an industry that demands employees regularly and finally, these criteria, combined with a life skills programme allows them to focus on their personal development. (KOTO Strategic Plan, 2005)

A questionnaire was administered and interviews with KOTO staff, volunteers, trainees as well as graduates were conducted to assess their views on KOTO and to find indicators of how KOTO improves levels of self -esteem. Interviews with street youth acted as a control group and final interviews with restaurant managers and owners indicated the professional outcomes as a result of KOTO. The data suggests that there are several indicators synonymous with self -esteem.

Accomplishment

The data indicates that learning something new and accomplishing something that was started has instilled a stronger sense of self - esteem in trainees. Trainees are visibly proud of their accomplishments and more confident at the end of the programme as compared to street youth and trainees first starting at KOTO. Several KOTO graduates have compared their lives before KOTO and indicated their sadness of not being able to complete their education. Upon completion of the programme, the graduates have indicated that they feel good about themselves because they were able to learn something new, and complete something that was challenging.

A graduate reminisces:

Before I went to KOTO I was not happy or sad, I was bored. I wanted to go to high school and university but I knew that my family couldn't afford it for me so I gave up. I am working at a five star hotel now... I can go to school in the future if I want but I am happy doing my work now... I can do anything and my children will be able to do anything they want. (Field Book 3, Graduate I, Interview, Hotel, July 8, 2005).

Earning a Living and Providing Support

Another indicator of self -esteem is the ability to earn a stable and significant income to therefore provide enough for their families to survive as well as prevent their younger siblings from leaving school. When street youth were asked about why they came to the streets, all respondents indicated that they were motivated by earning an income. They argue that they do not steadily provide enough money for their families and some indicated that they are more concerned about their own survival before providing for their families. As one youth indicated:

I miss my family and the countryside but I can't go home because I don't have enough money. Some days I make a lot and then I can go home but some days I don't make anything. (Field Book 1, Street Youth C, Interview, Phuc Tan, June 13, 2005).

Of the KOTO graduates interviewed, they all indicate that they feel good about themselves because they are able to work and earn a significant income to help their families. Those that particularly work in five star hotels are proud to tell their families that they have a good job.

Before KOTO, sometimes I didn't know how I was going to make enough money. I thought about it all the time. I have a good job and I don't worry about money anymore. I am happy that I can take care of my family and that I can give money to my brother so he can go to school. That makes me feel good about myself. (Field Book 3, Graduate E, Interview, KOTO Training Centre, November 16, 2004).

The following table indicates a significant difference in income generated between street youth, KOTO trainees and KOTO graduates. Although KOTO trainees do not earn significantly more than street youth, they do not have to pay for housing, one meal a day or study related fees. The numbers indicate that KOTO is successful at enabling graduates to generate a much higher income than those working on the streets.

Participants Average Monthly Earnings (VND)

10 Participants/ Cohort	Average Monthly Earnings (VND)
Street Youth	570 000
KOTO Trainees	600 000
KOTO Graduates	2 006 000

The interviews revealed that all KOTO graduate interviewees have a better standard of living than when they were on the streets or when they were a KOTO trainee. All graduates receive some kind of employment benefit at their restaurants and are ensured a safe and stable work environment. Part of the recruitment process at KOTO is

to ensure that trainees are accepting employment that is in a safe and stable environment. These job skills are passed on to the trainees in the hopes that when they search for future work, they are looking for a standard that is acceptable to work in.

Self-Improvement and Personal Development

The ability for youth to focus on enjoyment and self improvement; and simultaneously support themselves materially, is an indicator of improved levels of self-esteem for KOTO graduates as they are able to have fun and spend less time worrying about survival. Graduates not only have the capacity to contribute to their family income but they are able to purchase material goods, attend further training or language classes and save for their future.

Several KOTO graduates have self funded further study in other fields and many have been able to buy mobile phones, motorbikes or rent their own housing. Graduates indicate that they do not struggle with having enough to eat and that they are in a position to buy medicine and go to a doctor if they are feeling ill. This self reliance indicates youth have faith in themselves to survive but that they are deserving of fun as well; this enhances their wellbeing and as a result, their self-esteem.

When I was working [on the street], sometimes I missed my family, but I was busy with my friends. I was a playboy. I was gambling and I tried drugs and I also was not in good health. I have health problems now [this interviewee has hepatitis B] After going to KOTO, I changed my mentality about my life and what was fun or important. I thought more about my future... I am a head chef now and I have a good life... I want to go back to KOTO in the future and help them in the kitchen. (Field Book 3, Graduate J, Interview, Dien Bien Phu Street, Café, July 19, 2005).

Trainees indicate that they feel good about themselves when a new class is recruited and that they are able to share with the new trainees advice and friendship. Being a good role model as well as citizens that contribute positively to society is another indicator of positive personal development. Some KOTO graduates continue the spirit of volunteerism by working for charitable organizations after they graduate or return to KOTO as staff or to support KOTO during fundraising or special events. They indicate that they feel good about themselves to give back to the organization that gave them so much.

I want to come back to KOTO after I graduate and get some experience... I want to come back to KOTO and help new trainees. (Field Book 2, Trainee F, Interview, KOTO Restaurant, May 19, 2005).

According to Jimmy Pham, KOTO's director and founder, once adolescents are equipped with life skills, they will be able to make the right decisions and give back to the community, to KOTO, to their families or to others that are in a position that they were once in; therefore changing their lives. From this belief stems the philosophy of know one teach one (KOTO) (J. Pham, personal communication, October 21, 2005).

Several KOTO trainees indicate the best part of KOTO is going on field trips or working at charitable events. These events facilitate social interaction, team building as well as enjoyment. Interviews with the trainees indicate that the life skills programme is an invaluable component for personal development as they learn about issues they would not otherwise learn in school, such as; using contraception, the importance of hygiene to prevent illness and learning about the spread of diseases such as Hepatitis B and HIV/AIDS. Trainees indicate that they have learned that fun does not need to have negative consequences and therefore with the knowledge they've gained in the life skills

programme, they have the ability to make choices in regards to how they want to live their lives.

KOTO disaggregated by gender and as indicated by interviews with female KOTO trainees and graduates, they felt that they were able to share their lived experiences with other girls who had experienced similar situations. One interviewee indicated that she felt safe in the KOTO environment and that if she had a personal problem, she felt that she could communicate with the female staff.

Respect from the Community

According to KOTO graduates, earning an education in a competitive field improved their self-esteem because they no longer struggle with negative social perceptions of their worth. They indicate that when they lived on the streets, they had to struggle in order for their services to be in demand and experienced low self worth reinforced by a negative social stigma. One interview with a beggar indicated that she feels like she has to harass people and get in their personal space in order to get attention. She indicated that most people ignore her and other people feel sorry for her. She said she would rather people feel sorry for her so that she can get more money, especially from tourists; yet at the same time, although she has gotten used to people brushing her away or ignoring her, she still feels sorry for herself and sometimes angry when people taunt or treat her badly. Interviews with street youth indicate that there is a general sense of undeserving of equal treatment because they are poor as well as a lack of expectation to be treated kindly.

Even before graduating from KOTO, many employers recruit trainees. The general positive perceptions that the hospitality community feels towards trainees and

graduates, provides them with a sense of respect as well as the power to choose for whom they want to work. Interviews with trainees and graduates indicate that they have greater self-esteem as they are perceived as valuable not only because they have skills and training, but that important people in the hospitality industry recognize that they are educated and skilled as well as positive individuals in the community.

The KOTO kids are well known in the industry... it seems as though I compete with other employers because they are well trained, learn quickly and personable. (Field Book 4, Restaurant Manager A, Interview, Restaurant, January 10, 2005).

Ten managers from five star hotels/ resorts and restaurants as well as mid-range tourist restaurants were interviewed to glean information on the effectiveness of the training conducted at KOTO. All managers agreed that during KOTO's work experience component, the KOTO trainees adapted well to the new work environment and often had more skills than regular employees. Despite the short period of time the trainees had to experience work outside of KOTO, many managers called the trainees back for an interview for a permanent position.

Once hired, trainees receive a starting salary usually higher than many new employees. According to managers, KOTO graduates learn new techniques quickly and generally command respect from other employees, managers and customers. Although their English is good, KOTO graduates still need further improvement while working in their new restaurant and in some cases, a longer commitment to the restaurants that employ them.

Sense of Family

Based on observations and interviews, student support and a family environment were identified as key factors integral to trainees' personal development and commitment to the programme. The sense of family is observed as the largest and perhaps most notable indicator of improved levels of self-esteem for former street youth.

The dedicated staff spends countless hours working with trainees on an individual basis if they are having problems or need to talk about issues that affect them. Jimmy Pham constantly has his door open to trainees and graduates and has supported them through family crisis and other personal troubles. On several occasions, some students have disappointed him with their actions and he's felt betrayed or used; however, they have all come back out of shame, guilt, responsibility or duty to KOTO – their surrogate family. According to Pham's vision of KOTO, it is not only a project or programme, it is a family where all that enter should feel safe and cared for. He believes that every young person has the right to live his or her life with dignity as well as have the opportunity to gain skills.

I am happy because KOTO is my family and I am not alone. My brother Mr. Jimmy [Pham] and KOTO family supports me and gave me a chance to study and become a better person. Someday I [will] come back and work for KOTO but I think it is important to learn more so I can come back with new skills that I can share with the trainees. (Field Book 2, Trainee E, Interview, KOTO Restaurant, May 4, 2005).

Jimmy always identifies present and past KOTO trainees as his brothers and sisters and they identify with him as an older brother and mentor. Trainees have indicated that they not only want to work hard for themselves or their families, they want to make Jimmy and KOTO proud.

A stable family environment that is trustworthy, loving and responsible for the well being of the trainees has created an environment where trainees feel better about themselves, more confident and therefore their self -esteem has increased or improved. The family environment is what draws many of the past KOTO trainees to return and a sense of duty to Jimmy Pham instills devotion within trainees to make the KOTO family proud. Several trainees have indicated that street children think and act differently as they have no one to take care of them or guide them and that they are alone. Some have indicated that street youth are tempted by their 'bad friends' and they have no chances to complete schooling. However, they agree that KOTO changes the way they think about themselves "KOTO gives us self -esteem and hope. It is our family. " (KOTO Questionnaire, March 2005)

The data suggests that belonging to the KOTO 'family' provided an environment and a sense of belonging and to the trainees and graduates interviewed, they felt that it was the most important aspect of KOTO that contributed to their self-esteem. Great importance is placed on the family in Vietnamese society and this concept of filial piety ensures the sustainability of the project as trainees view KOTO as a family in the same cultural sense. Filial piety places great importance on the family. According to Pham, trainees and graduates feel a sense of devotion and moral duty or obligation to KOTO, but more importantly, they feel safe to be themselves and to focus on their personal development or their self -esteem beyond the hardship of their past.

KOTO's Goals	Out of 46 Respondents (%)
Helps provide a stable job	41%
Provides skills and training	35%
Aims to re-locate and replicate	9%
Builds self -esteem and confidence in a family environment to build a brighter future	59%

The majority of respondents of the questionnaire note that KOTO's forte is in personal development such that its success rides on the increased over all well being of the trainee in areas such as self -esteem and confidence. Other trends show that respondents believe that KOTO acts as a stepping stone to help trainees acquire a good job as well and simultaneously integrate as valuable members in mainstream society.

2.5 Modified Rosenberg Self -Esteem Scale

A modified version of the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale was used to collect data on levels of self -esteem for street youth, KOTO trainees and KOTO graduates. The following tables are results of the scale. Each cohort consisted of the same 10 participants used for interviews; I disaggregated by gender:

Cohort	Satisfaction of self Scale = 1 – 5 (1 = very satisfied, 5 = unsatisfied)	I consider myself a good person Scale = 1 – 5 (1 = very good, 5 = not good at all)	I have a number of good qualities Scale = 1 – 5 (1 = I have many good qualities, 5 = I don't have any good qualities)	I do things as well as most people Scale = 1 – 5 (1 = strongly agree, 5 = strongly disagree)	I have a lot to be proud of Scale = 1 – 5 (1 = strongly agree, 5 = strongly disagree)
Street Youth	2.2	1.9	1.7	2.1	2.7
KOTO Trainees	2.1	2.4	2.1	1.9	2.2
KOTO Graduates	2.1	2.1	1.7	1.3	1.6
Mean (Rounded)	2.1	2.1	1.8	1.8	2.2

Cohort	I consider myself useful Scale = 1 – 5 (1 = I am useful, 5 = I am useless)	I am a person of worth on an equal plane as others Scale = 1 – 5 (1 = strongly)	I have respect for myself Scale = 1 – 5 (1 = strong sense of respect, 5 = weak sense of respect)	Inclination to feel like a failure Scale = 1 – 5 (1 = I don't feel like a failure, 5 = I feel like a failure)	I have a positive attitude towards myself Scale = 1 – 5 (1 = very positive, 5 = not positive)
Street Youth	3.5	3	1.2	2.2	1.1
KOTO Trainees	1.9	2.4	1.8	2.7	1.7
KOTO Graduates	1.5	1.7	1.1	1.4	1.2
Mean (Rounded)	2.3	2.4	1.4	2.1	1.3

The data suggests that street youth ranked lower levels of pride, usefulness, self satisfaction, doing things as well and being on an equal plane as others, as compared to KOTO trainees and graduates. The data indicates that KOTO trainees were more reflective on their self worth as they ranked lower levels of feeling like a good person,

having good qualities and self respect, feeling like a failure and having a positive attitude towards themselves.

Another notable difference between street youth and KOTO interviewees is that they have higher expectations for their futures and therefore, this belief in themselves as individuals on an equal plane as others is correlated with a strong sense of self or self-esteem. KOTO graduates believe they have the ability to continue improving the level and types of work they do i.e. to become a manager of a restaurant rather than a staff member.

Observations noted that KOTO graduates were willing to share their stories and were confident and expressed hope for their futures. Their hopes included further education and higher levels of employment and income. Street youth on the other hand had little confidence and were constantly wary of the police and therefore wanted to rush through the interviews. Their main hopes consisted of earning enough money for their families, to go to school and to one day find employment for small businesses such as becoming a motorbike parking attendant. KOTO trainees had hope for their futures, however they were still uncertain of where they will get employed, therefore continually questioning their abilities in the hospitality industry.

In general the data demonstrates that KOTO graduates rank highest with their self worth although not by a large margin compared with the trainees and street youth. The numbers do reflect a general notion of the attitudes that each cohort exemplifies. It should also be noted that self-esteem is not always improved by going through KOTO; for example, one respondent indicated that she felt better about herself after completing KOTO. When further questioned, she indicated that she was happy because she was

going to get married to a good man who made her happy. This individual was in a relationship throughout her time at KOTO.

Although there are no large or significant numbers that indicate a general or overall improvement of self-esteem between cohorts based on the Modified Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale, triangulation with the data gleaned from interviews and general observations provide evidence to suggest that KOTO is integral to changing street youth's lives, particularly in the realm of self-esteem.

2.6 Obstacles in Attaining Self-Esteem

Data from interviews and the questionnaire shows that KOTO has various areas in need of improvements predominantly in the administrative and financial departments. Communication problems, lack of managerial direction and problems with operationalizing curriculum indicate how the goals aren't easily met and question the organizational success and sustainability of KOTO in its entirety. Despite the fallible areas within the programme, 93.5% of those surveyed deem KOTO's goals and philosophy are being met however, through interviews with staff and volunteers, many worry about the longevity of the programme without budgetary stability or government support. The strength of the curriculum, training and support for trainees is dependent on funding and therefore many staff and volunteers spend a great amount of energy and focus on the administrative and financial areas and therefore programme direction and trainee support takes a backseat.

The following figures are as of 2005. They show that KOTO does not generate a self-sustaining income and therefore it is reliant on the inconsistent financial support of external sources of funding.

Types of Funding	Vietnam Dong (VND)	Percent of Budget
Sponsorship	494,726,800.00	31.29%
Fundraising Activities	596,954,915.00	37.75%
Donations	157,923,198.00	9.99%
Grants	331,642,000.00	20.97%
	<u>1,581,246,913.00</u>	100.00%

(Courtesy of Carolyn McCall, Finance, KOTO)

Observations and interviews with restaurant managers suggest that many KOTO graduates aspire to work in a large hotel as it is viewed as sign of prestige. If graduates are not hired at a hotel, there is a sense of disappointment. Although all have been hired at many local five star restaurants and mid range restaurants, their commitment is unreliable if a position in a hotel becomes available. This poses as a negative commitment problem for the managers not involved with the hotel industry therefore directly affecting the immediacy of re-hiring or taking on new KOTO graduates and providing them with opportunities for employment or income – one indicator that contributes to improved self-esteem.

An additional obstacle for trainees to improve levels of self-esteem is based on the undeveloped area of counseling at KOTO. Interviews indicate that many KOTO trainees undergo incredible stresses and psychological problems based on personal trauma. There is no measure to support these students and furthermore, there is no support once they leave the programme. Several interviews with KOTO graduates

indicate that once they left KOTO, it was an incredible shock to integrate into society and be expected to function without immediate support from KOTO. Further interviews with graduates indicated that they have struggled to maintain work because they were not prepared enough to handle their finances, take care of their health and to balance responsibilities with enjoyment.

Summary

The case study chapter provided empirical evidence of how KOTO generates greater levels of self-esteem in former street youth. Interviews between street youth, KOTO trainees and graduates were compared in order to observe the differences in levels of their self-esteem. The research findings will be analyzed in order to show how KOTO acts as a solution for street youth in Hanoi in the Discussion chapter. Elaborations will be made on how non-formal education acts as a viable strategy for street youth to gain better levels of self-esteem in lieu of current government policies and programmes. The Discussion will return to the broader problem of street youth and why it is a development issue and how non-formal education is a viable solution for this particular group.

Chapter III: Discussion

The data collected from observations, interviews and an organizational questionnaire suggest that there are greater levels of self-esteem in KOTO graduates than street youth. The data provides indicators that suggest that KOTO is successful at providing street youth with improved levels of self-esteem. The case study shows that KOTO graduates acquire a sense of stability and importance in their work, confidence in their experience and knowledge in the hospitality industry as well as in themselves. Furthermore, graduates have generated a sense of belonging due to the family environment realized at KOTO, one that is supportive, safe and provides basic needs for those within the programme. The data suggests that KOTO generates a sense of pride within graduates as they are able to provide for their families and support new KOTO trainees. Other indicators show that graduates are able to save money for themselves; for example, they are able to afford their own housing, food, transportation, medical care as well as further education and enjoyment. These indicators are synonymous with self-esteem and do not operate independently of each other.

After speaking with a child protection officer at UNICEF, it appears that the government is working in conjunction with UN organizations to implement alternative care systems for children and their families in lieu of the detention centre system. The framework is currently under construction; however the primary focus is for children and their families affected by HIV/AIDS.

At present KOTO and other organizations like KOTO are the biggest outreach programmes for street youth in Hanoi.

3.0 The Achievements of Non-Formal Education

The empirical chapter revealed data demonstrating the ability of non-formal education to improve the circumstances of street youth in Hanoi; particularly in the area of self-esteem. As discussed in Chapter 1, education is viewed in various circles as a basic human right and a prescriptive measure to reduce vulnerabilities and poverty. Due to the failures of formal education to reach street youth, non-formal education has gained attention as a viable alternative to receiving skills and knowledge, vital for the development of responsible and productive citizens.

The theory suggests that non-formal education can produce the development outcome of increased levels of self-esteem for street youth; therefore improving the human condition and circumstance of street youth. The hypothesis in the case of KOTO was confirmed as the data suggests indicators which provide evidence that levels of self-esteem had improved when comparing the data between street youth and KOTO graduates.

The data suggests that reasons for the improved levels of self-esteem for youth that have undergone KOTO's non-formal education include a family environment which is supportive, it is concerned for the well-being of the trainees, it provides knowledge and training in the hospitality industry and it encourages personal development; particularly in improving self-esteem. Observations have indicated that the KOTO cohorts have a sense of respect for their trainers, for the director, for each other and for themselves. The data indicates that the life skills component is an especially important component for the trainees as they are able to participate in social, sporting and charitable events which encourage team building and comradery as opposed to isolation, a sense of responsibility

and concern for others in a disadvantaged situation and opportunity for enjoyment and travel. All of these aspects combined according to the cohorts involved with KOTO, have built a sense of belonging and worth and greater self-esteem that they wish others in their former situation could enjoy. Many graduates wish and do return to help and be involved with KOTO as a sense of duty, desire and because it is perceived as a 'family' obligation. The combined indicators of self-esteem as noted in the empirical chapter has indicated that KOTO directly affects trainees improving their levels of self-esteem which in turn, enables them to focus on improving their condition and therefore encourages responsible and productive youth in society.

KOTO disaggregated by gender; however only in the most recent classes. The data suggests that girls' participation in the programme had a positive impact on the programme by improving the social dynamic inside and outside of the classroom, and it fostered an environment where they could share their lived experiences with other girls who may have experienced similar situations. The data indicates that girls benefited in the areas of self-esteem particularly because of peer support. This indicates that KOTO's non-formal education supports more egalitarian gender relations and opportunities so that its long term benefits have the greatest benefits for all participants in society.

Data comparisons for job type and average monthly salary between the cohorts show that youth that have completed KOTO not only have a certificate to prove their achievements, they have a much higher level of income in a safe and stable position.

As the data indicates, youth that have undergone KOTO's non-formal education project have long term benefits that street youth do not. All graduates interviewed had improved their standards of living and are able to extend their personal gains onto their

family members and to other street youth by means of financial support and participating in charitable events or supporting future recruitment at KOTO. Many graduates' family situation had benefited financially from them going through the project and acquiring a stable job that pays them well. For example, many youth sending a portion of their savings home has contributed to their younger siblings' school tuition and to their families' debts. It seems reasonable to assume that the likelihood of one of their family members turning to the street for economic opportunity has been reduced. By preventing the perpetuation of youth working on the streets, it suggests that KOTO's non-formal education has been successful in reducing the number of vulnerabilities associated with street youth in Hanoi. The evidence supports the view that non-formal education has the potential to improve the life chances of street youth in Hanoi.

3.1 Complications and the Limitations of Non-Formal Education for Street Youth

On the surface it may appear that non-formal education is an easy solution for the greater, complicated phenomena of street youth. The case study presented a particular training programme that enable street youth with an opportunity to work in the hospitality industry. Although the research has shown that this particular project indicated improved levels of self-esteem, the work in the hospitality industry cannot be the only solution for street youth in Vietnam.

The economic and political climate in Vietnam currently supports the growing hospitality and tourism industry; however it is difficult to predict the stability of this industry in the future. Although street youth attend a non-formal education project, it was

difficult to project how long graduates of the programme will remain in the industry or if they will return to the streets in the future.

On a broader level, not all street youth desire to work in the industry in which they were trained; therefore other types of non-formal education may not show the same results as this particular case. Furthermore, it is difficult to ascertain how long the personal gains in self-esteem generated by non-formal education may last with youth completing the programme. It is difficult to project the duration or fluctuation in levels of self-esteem. At the time of research, KOTO had been running for 5 years, therefore the data is consistent with the length of time KOTO had been in operation. The research is therefore limited to 5 years and cannot speculate if the KOTO graduates will feel the same in 10, 20 or 40 years time.

It should also be noted that self-esteem is not always improved by going through KOTO or the sole factor in generating self-esteem in youth undergoing the programme; however the study aimed to determine whether KOTO supported the positive personal development of each trainee and therefore created an environment and programme which encouraged the improvement of self-esteem.

Another complication with non-formal education is that not all are equipped with the financial ability to support the numbers of youth interested in joining its programmes. In the case of KOTO, the lack of financial resources and financial support from the government hindered its growth and therefore its ability to reach more youth. KOTO's growth over recent years has been faster than the administration had been prepared for. Learning proper management and budgetary skills has been newly implemented in the last year as a measure to be more cost effective and less wasteful of resources.

As a result of KOTO's quick expansion, communication problems arose and posed a difficulty between the training centre and the training restaurant in particular. Extensive fundraising was conducted at the time of research to help build a new location for KOTO which would join the training centre and restaurant into one building in the hopes of providing a more effective programme that has less communication constraints. Unfortunately, the money that was raised to build a new KOTO went to administrative costs, the expensive rent imposed on the two buildings and hiring professionals to search for a new property and design a new KOTO. KOTO is currently modifying their re-location plans and is looking at more realistic and cost effective options which do not jeopardize its philosophy and original purpose.

The monetary limitations experienced at KOTO in turn affect the quality of the programme and the future numbers of trainees recruited. Hanoi is currently a hub of ex-patriots with foreign dollars that are being invested in the community. The ex-patriot and foreign community in Hanoi currently support the programme and KOTO trainees with sponsorship money to attend the programme. KOTO is heavily dependent on the foreign community both in Hanoi and abroad – particularly KOTO Australia, for its fundraising, donations and sponsorship. If this dynamic changes, it heavily influences the survival of KOTO in the future. This lack of financial stability creates stresses for the organization and affects the quality and delivery of the programme.

An additional limitation to KOTO is that it did not have a trained counselor or psychologist on site, resulting in many staff and volunteers working extra unpaid hours supporting the trainees. The data indicates many KOTO trainees have historical or existing psychological problems and the emotional scars may still exist. The data

suggests, however, that due to the life skills component and the extra hours staff and volunteers have spent with trainees has encouraged that they are equipped with better coping strategies as well as improved levels of self-esteem.

Due to KOTO's limited staff and numerous responsibilities, it was observed that many staff members did not regularly make connections with youth on the street. This is viewed as a problem as KOTO is not as aware of the issues that street youth face that could be changing or are different from one recruitment to the next. One observation made was that many potential recruits did not know anything about KOTO, only as a place where street youth could go and get or make money. Although a motivating factor to earn a better income is one of the primary reasons why many street youth apply for the programme, it is KOTO's responsibility to ensure they are recruiting street youth that are truly disadvantaged and meet the criteria of being considered a street youth. This can be done if KOTO had a clear definition of its target group, cooperated and shared knowledge and experience with other organizations that are working closely with youth on the streets and if it had more of a street presence in the future. This could enable better recruitment and improvements of the curriculum that ensure they are meeting the needs and expectations of street youth and address their vulnerabilities in an ever changing environment.

As mentioned in the first chapter, street youth turn to the streets for various reasons. Although non-formal education does not solve all of the problems that street youth face, it does provide an alternative to their educational opportunities and can improve levels of self-esteem which facilitate better life choices.

3.2 The Problem with Other Street Youth Solutions

The government policies aiming to reach street youth to alleviate their vulnerabilities and to provide viable options for them have proven not to be an effective long - term development strategy. An example of this is sending youth to detention centres and sending youth back to the countryside. This strategy fails to address the core problems of why street youth end up on the streets; it does not address the complexity of the street youth phenomena. After spending time in the camps or back home in the countryside, the initial causes for youth to move to the streets still exist. Furthermore, formal education sanctioned by the government has been limited in value for youth in need to earn an income for their families.

The policies fail to address poverty levels, changing social and cultural values or demands of the labour market as some causes for the street youth phenomena, perhaps because these have been indicators over the last few decades of economic success as a result of the transitional economy. The scope of the study addresses these issues; however its objective was not to measure the sustainability of the various programmes and policies that affect street youth.

The data suggests however that education tuition, hours of schooling, the government programme to send youth back to the countryside and detaining street youth in centres result in youth turning, or returning to the streets and therefore does not solve the street youth phenomena. In addition to these reasons, KOTO stands out as one of the few non-governmental organizations dealing with street youth in Hanoi that does not require an entrance fee and provides housing and financial support to the youth recruited.

For these reasons alone, youth are more likely to choose KOTO as it addresses their basic needs while providing skills and knowledge for future stable employment.

Conclusions and Recommendations

KOTO as a Model for Replication

As a result of the positive outcomes that the KOTO cohorts indicate, KOTO's non-formal education can serve as a model for other projects dealing with street youth in Vietnam. Non-formal education is an efficient, effective and relatively inexpensive mode of education where street youth have the opportunity to gain skills and experience that is practical for their realities. As mentioned in Chapter 1, formal schooling bestows limitations—particularly financial and curriculum constraints that are not an effective or practical solution for street youth. Similarly, in the case of detaining street youth in centres, the data suggests that once they leave the centres, they return to the streets in their former positions and therefore their conditions are not improved. The research suggests that the KOTO model of non-formal education is one to be considered by the Vietnamese government as a joint implementer and in cooperation with international organizations concerned with non-formal education for street youth, as it provides opportunities, internationally recognized certification in a growing industry, income generation and an improved human condition for its citizens. The benefits appear to outweigh the costs.

At the time of research, KOTO's non-formal education programme model was under consideration by a non-governmental organization outside of the country for advice and support. There was also interest expressed by a large multi-national corporation to help support and sponsor KOTO with a replication process within the country. It would

be an interesting study to further investigate KOTO's replication process and future partnerships.

As the research suggests, non-formal education can be an effective tool for street youth to gain improved levels of self-esteem. Programmes like KOTO address the street youth situation and provide alternatives for this particular group who may otherwise not have many opportunities to improve their situations. These programmes do not have to be limited to the developing world; street youth are gaining culinary and service industry skills and opportunities in other projects internationally. Through non-formal education an otherwise 'invisible' or marginalized group – street youth, have the same fundamental conditions and vulnerabilities regardless of their location; therefore solutions to these vulnerabilities and conditions should be similar.

Street Youth and their Implication on Development

There are a growing number of street children globally. This suggests that each year more children and adolescents are experiencing vulnerabilities associated with working and living on the street as well as having limited access to social services. In developing countries, motivations for turning to the street are varied; however poverty is one of the fundamental reasons for leaving home. The research has demonstrated that low economic conditions of families serves as a major reason why youth move to the streets. It also demonstrates that it prevents youth from attending school because they cannot afford tuition. By limiting educational opportunities, poverty limits the potential for young workers in a nation.

As the research has indicated street youth are an especially vulnerable group as they are not only subject to their family's limitations; they are without guidance or support from adults. The many dangers they confront as a result of living and working on the streets and their limited access to social support or opportunities that should be afforded to all indicates they have limited choices regarding matters that affect their lives.

The research suggests that by providing both male and female street youth with equal opportunities to acquire skills and knowledge through non-formal education, an investment is made for their futures and the future of society. When humans are able to reach their full potential, they are able to expand their 'choices' and 'freedoms' (Sen, 2000). This means that they will not only contribute to the economic wealth of their nation but it will lead to a society that has access to resources, where it's citizen's are able to participate in society and make decisions that affect their lives. As the findings indicate, once street youth have completed KOTO, they are equipped with the ability to increase their self -esteem, support others than themselves and they have appropriate skills to become productive contributors in society.

Remedies to the street youth phenomena can only be made when policies address the causes of street youth and vulnerabilities they encounter. International and national policies will only be effective if they reach the target groups. Non-formal education projects are an effective means to the realization of such policies if given adequate support. Therefore, the implementation of appropriate policies affecting street youth, with the support of local contributions and non-formal education programmes make a great difference in these children's lives.

Non-Formal Education as a Tool to Affect Policy Change

The thesis presents literature discussing the various limitations which prevent many youth from attending school and furthermore the causes and vulnerabilities of youth living and working on the streets. Education remains an important development strategy as international legislation promotes the right of every child to attend school and the belief of many governments that it is a vehicle for social and economic mobility. Despite ratification of conventions or commitment by governments to protect its vulnerable groups, many youth remain on the margins of society.

The research supports the argument that non-formal education can reach street youth and can improve the life chances of street youth. It provides an alternative type of education model appropriate for its target group, that may provide skills, knowledge, opportunities and personal development that is perhaps not often found in formal or informal education models.

The research indicates that non-formal education is a viable tool for development that encourages positive long-term effects for a nation as it helps to establish productive and responsible citizens and the people around them. Because non-formal education projects provide an alternate model for street youth to gain an education, they are the best actors to work with governments to provide and disseminate information on street youth, to create policies and recommendations, to monitor and evaluate current policies and programmes affecting street youth and to help implement new ones.

Appendix A

Data Collection Tools for Fieldwork

Appendix 1: Interview guidelines for three cohorts: Street Youth, KOTO Trainees, KOTO Graduates

Appendix 2: Modified Rosenberg Self-esteem Test

Appendix 3: Interview guidelines for KOTO staff

Appendix 4: Interview guidelines for hotel and restaurant managers

Appendix 5: KOTO Organization Questionnaire

Appendix 1.

Interview guidelines for three cohorts: Street Youth, KOTO Trainees, KOTO Graduates

Name
Male/Female

Class

1. How old are you?
2. Are you from the countryside? Where?
3. How many people are there in your family?
4. What do your parents do?
5. How would you describe your family situation?
6. Do/Did you go to school? What is the highest level completed?
7. Why did you stop?

If interviewee is a street youth skip to 18

8. What do/ did you study at KOTO?
9. Do/did you find it easy or difficult?
10. How much do you earn at KOTO?
11. What was your life like before KOTO?
12. How did you feel about yourself then.

If interviewee is still attending KOTO skip to 15

13. Do you think KOTO has met its project philosophys or goals?
14. What would you change about KOTO?
15. Do you see yourself returning to or supporting KOTO in the future?

16. Where do you live now? Are you comfortable there?
17. How many meals do you eat a day?
18. What kind of food do you eat?
19. How is your health? Do you have any problems that you know of?
20. Are you working? If Yes – what do you do?
21. How much do you earn a month?
22. Do your parents or other person or organization support you?
23. Do you support your family? If so how much per month?
24. Has your family situation improved?
25. What do you want to do in the future?

Appendix 2.

Modified Rosenberg Self-esteem Test

1. On the Whole I am satisfied with myself

Satisfied					Not satisfied
1	2	3	4		5

2. At times I think I am no good at all

Very good					Not good at all
1	2	3	4		5

3. I feel I have a number of good qualities

I have good qualities					I don't have good qualities
1	2	3	4		5

4. I am able to do things as well as most people

As well as others					Not as well as others
1	2	3	4		5

5. I feel I do not have much to be proud of

I am proud					I am not proud
1	2	3	4		5

6. I feel useless at times

I am not useless					I'm useless
1	2	3	4		5

7. I feel that I'm a person of worth on an equal plane with others

I'm worth the same as others					I'm not worth the same as others
1	2	3	4		5

8. I wish I could have more respect for myself

I have respect for myself

1 2 3 4

I don't have respect for myself

5

9. I am inclined to feel like a failure

I'm not a failure

1 2 3 4

I am a failure

5

10. I take a positive attitude towards myself

I have a positive attitude about myself

1 2 3 4

I have a negative attitude about myself

5

Appendix 3.

Interview Guidelines for KOTO Staff

Name

1. Which department do you work in?
2. Can you describe briefly your job?
3. What are your main responsibilities?
4. In your opinion, what are KOTO's goals?
5. Do you think KOTO meets its goals? How?
6. Do you think youth who under-go the KOTO programme are the same as when they started or do you think they are different? Please explain.
7. Do you think there are areas for improvement at KOTO? If so what are these areas and what do you recommend?

Appendix 4.

Interview Guidelines for Hotel and Restaurant Managers

Name

Place of Work

1. Can you describe the KOTO programme?
2. How long have you been working with KOTO?
3. Do you think KOTO graduates are prepared to work in the hospitality industry?
4. Can you list the pros and cons of having KOTO graduates in your business?
5. Do you have any recommendations or suggestions for KOTO?

Appendix 5.

KOTO Organization Questionnaire

To KOTO Staff, Trainees and Volunteers,

The following are simple questions about KOTO. Please answer each question to the best of your knowledge. Please return completed questionnaires to Ms. Oanh, Ms. Hanh or myself by the end of next week. Thank you for your cooperation.

Ms. Cecilia

1. Can you please describe who street youth are?

2. What are KOTO's goals?

3. What is KOTO's philosophy?

4. Do you think that KOTO's philosophy and project goals are being met? If so, how? If not, why?

5. If you could improve one aspect of KOTO, what would it be?

Unpublished Resources

Field Book 1: Street Youth, Interviews, October, 2004 to July, 2005, Cecilia Unite

Field Book 2: KOTO Trainee Interviews, October, 2004 to July, 2005, Cecilia Unite

Field Book 3: KOTO Graduate Interviews, October, 2004 to July, 2005, Cecilia Unite

Field Book 4: Restaurant and Hotel Manager Interviews, October, 2004 to July 2005,
Cecilia Unite

Observations were made in the following places; Phuc Tan community, Long Bien community, Hoan Kiem Lake district, Giang Vo Lake and at the KOTO Training Centre and Restaurant. These observations are referred to in the Case study.

Field notes 1: KOTO Observations; KOTO Staff and Volunteer Interviews, October, 2004 to July 2005, Cecilia Unite

Field notes 2: Street Youth Observations, October, 2004 to July, 2005, Cecilia Unite

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