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Social and health behaviors in youth of the streets of Ibadan, Nigeria[☆]

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Abstract

Objectives: This study documents the extent and impact of perceived patterns of behavior in a sample of youths of the streets of Ibadan, Nigeria, with the purpose of implementing a Life Skills Educational (LSE) intervention.

Method: The study uses both qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection. Qualitatively, two Focus Group Discussions (FGD) and two in-depth interviews (IDI) with 20 boys and 2 community leaders were conducted on separate occasions for the purpose of eliciting commonly exhibited behaviors and patterns of street youth. Quantitatively, 169 youths (89.3% male) were consecutively interviewed from five subcultural areas in Ibadan, Nigeria. Street youths were accessed through a snowballing technique made possible by “Area boys” (AB, adults, who serve as a symbol of authority for street children).

Results: The mean age of participants was 18.4 years. The majority was on the street for financial reasons, had been on the street for more than 1 year, and had not completed their primary schooling. While youths of the street were economically viable, 69% had a history of alcohol abuse, 14% of drug abuse, and 24% operated as drug couriers; 46% reported school refusal, 27% school suspension, and 47% school truancy. Forty-nine percent admitted to being sex workers and 11% had been raped and were, therefore, at risk of contacting sexually transmitted diseases (STD). One-third of youths had been arrested for various offenses, including street fighting and drug use. While females were in the minority, they were more likely to engage in antisocial behaviors compared with boys.

Conclusions: Although many youths of the street display antisocial behaviors, they also are an economically viable group. Some of their antisocial behaviors may have been exhibited within the context of economic survival.

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Implementing a life skill program to address these antisocial behaviors may help to increase the well being of street youths in developing countries in Africa.

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Keywords: Street children; Behavior; Intervention

Introduction

The issue of children of the street continues to attract the attention of social scientists and governmental bodies worldwide. Research has demonstrated that street children are more susceptible to specific social behaviors. They are often faced with the difficult choice of either resisting or falling in with violence, crime, drug abuse, and becoming sex workers (Anarfi & Antwi, 1995; Anyuru, 1996; Aptekar, 1996; Beyene & Berhane, 1997; Campbell & Ntsabane, 1995; Densley & Joss, 2000; Dube, Kamuura, & Bourdillon, 1996; Ifaturoti, 1994; Kruger & Richter, 1997; Phiri, 1996; Richter, 1996; Unicef, 1990; Wansi, Abbenyi, Mengue, Enyme, & Ntone, 1996).

Many factors may be responsible for the increasing numbers of children and young persons of the streets. These include the increasing level of individual, family, and national poverty, large family size, harmful socio-cultural and religious beliefs, forced early marriage and incest. Other factors include the increasingly fragile social support system, parental illness and the effects of unwanted pregnancy and child abandonment.

The phenomenon of street children with the socioeconomic effects on society needs attention, as every major city in Nigeria has street children. The children either live on the street or derive their existence through hawking wares, stealing, or begging. There are a few studies on street children in Nigeria (Aderinto, 2000; Bamisaiye, 1974; Ebigbo, 1996; Effiong, 1998; Maduwesi, 1993; Oloko, 1998; Oloruntimehin, 1970). The majority of studies have focused on juveniles held in institutions, such as “remand homes” (correctional centers for juvenile youths) or approved schools. These studies have tended to rely on adult assumptions as to how children feel and what they need. Children and young persons are rarely asked about their lives (Ennew, 1996).

With a recent exception (Aderinto, 2000), previous studies in Nigeria have focused on the prevalence and socio-demographic characteristics of street children (Bamisaiye, 1974; Ebigbo, 1996; Effiong, 1998; Maduwesi, 1993; Oloko, 1998; Oloruntimehin, 1970). They were, therefore, limited by their failure to delineate true children of the street from children on the street. The former, which was the focus of this study, refers to those children who live and work on the street, and view the street as their home. The latter refers to children who spent substantial period of time on the street, but will always return home to sleep. Previous studies have also not characterized behavior as perceived by children themselves; thus, experiences of antisocial behavior have been documented from the perspectives of adults.

In view of this short fall in methodology, particularly as it applies to documenting antisocial and health problems of children of the street in previous studies in Nigeria (Aderinto, 2000; Oloko, 1998), the present study, utilizing both qualitative and quantitative approaches, documented the socio-demographic features of and the pattern of commonly exhibited antisocial behaviors of children and young persons of the streets of Ibadan. The findings would aid in the implementation of a Life Skills Educational (LSE) intervention to address these issues (WHO, 1996).

Methods

Study area

Ibadan is the largest traditional, urban center in Africa with an estimated population of approximately two million (National Population Commission, 1999) of whom approximately 700,000 are under 16 years (1999 provisional census report). Ibadan, which is an old city-state, constitutes many tribes, but is dominated by Yoruba-speaking people. It is one of the greatest absorbers of migrants in Nigeria. The metropolis comprises five local government areas (LGAs). Historically, Ibadan emerged around the second quarter of the 19th century as a war town and later developed into a commercial center. Economically, Ibadan is dominated by middlemen or women engaged in trading and commercial activities, such as roadside mechanics, artisans (plumbers, bricklayers, painters, etc.), domestic servants, gardeners, night watchmen, guards, and hawkers. This service sector essentially cushions the unemployment of the growing urban population.

Study design

A two-stage study design incorporating both qualitative and quantitative survey techniques was utilized. The qualitative approach involved Focus Group Discussions (FGD) with a nonpurposive sampling of street children as well as in-depth interviews (IDI) with community leaders. The quantitative approach utilized an epidemiologic survey based on the outcome of the qualitative data.

Study population

A pilot survey preceded the study. This was undertaken to identify locations where street children and young persons lived, to determine ways to access and interview them, and to highlight patterns of social problems. Five locations were identified through the assistance of an identified “Area boy” (AB, adult leader), normally a symbol of authority for street children (Owumi, 1994). Two of the locations were used in previous studies (Aderinto, 2000). The remaining three locations were identified because of the rising numbers of street children and large numbers of Area boys. The “Area boy” was the anchorman who directed the researcher to various locations and to other “Area boys.” This “snow-balling technique” (Oppenheim, 2000) of accessing street children was adopted to access the respondents.

Most children and young persons lived in an area of the city with a high population density. For the purpose of the Focus Group Discussions, the researcher interviewed children/youth identified by the “Area boys.” Two FGDs were conducted: the first in “Ojo” (a suburb of Ibadan city) where a number of street children can be found. Most of the street children here serve as head loaders for the “Hausa” cattle and cow dealers from the northern part of Nigeria. The second FGD was conducted in “Bere” (one of the inner core residential areas of Ibadan) where street children are most likely to be errand boys for the “Area boys” who mostly sell and abuse hard drugs. Each FGD had 10 boys (mean age of 16.9 years, $SD = 1.4$). The data obtained from the FGD provided information for the subsequent in-depth interview with two identified community leaders who volunteered to give information about the behaviors and pattern of the street children. Following the FGD and interview, a 17-item commonly exhibited antisocial behaviors of the street youth emerged. A preliminary content validation of these 17 items was undertaken using

the sociometric ratings and nominations adapted from that used by Ollendick, Weist, Borden, and Green (1992) in their study of neglected and rejected child populations in the United States. The validation study used a nonpurposive sampling (not those involved in the FGD) of 20 street children (mean age 15.4, *SD* 1.8). From this exercise, 20 male youths had to rate the other 19 in the group based on the 17 generated items. From a concordance of the data obtained, evidence showed that substantial agreements were made by the street boys about each other's behaviors. For example, there was agreement among the boys that 14 (70%) and 19 (95%), respectively, abuse alcohol and nicotine. All 20 (100%) classified each other as being stubborn or oppositional. A no-agreement (0%) was recorded for rape, and history of school refusal and truancy, which were defined within the context of the Yoruba culture as *isansa*, which literally means someone who leaves home for school but stays away and never gets there. Truancy or *onijogbon* on the other hand literally means one who often errs against the school rules and often get punished.

The entire 17 items were retained because they were well understood and identified as commonly exhibited antisocial behaviors among street youths in Ibadan and thereby satisfied the "judgment of experts" procedure of content validation (Nunally, 1978). Items included: often tells lies, engages in street fighting, often takes drugs, often arrested by police, engages in rape, and abuses alcohol. The street children were expected to indicate "Yes" or "No" whether they had engaged or were currently engaging in the itemized antisocial behaviors. This 17-item construct together with a 90-item socio-demographic questionnaire, used in a previous study (Aderinto, 2000) formed the instruments used for the main survey.

The definition of children and young people differs in Africa to that in the Western world with an upper limit of 25 being culturally acceptable. Children and young adults ranging in age from 11 to 24 years were included in the study population, as this provided a true distribution of street youths. Consequently, children of the street were operationally defined as those who live and work on the street and view the street as their home (Densley & Joss, 2000). "Social problems" is defined as disturbances of conduct, which are culturally inappropriate and unacceptable in the context of Nigerian society.

Study procedure

"Area boys" piloted the various interviews and were useful in recruiting and debriefing younger respondents. With verbal informed consent, 169 consecutively street youth were approached and interviewed. They completed a semistructured questionnaire developed for the study. None refused being interviewed. An average of 30 children interviewed at each location by trained graduate research assistants (M.Sc. psychology or higher). An average of 8 consecutive days was spent at each location. All participants were reimbursed 50 Naira, an equivalent of 30 US cents. The study protocol was approved by the University of Ibadan/University College Hospital, Ibadan Joint Ethical Review Board.

Data analysis

Frequency distributions, means and standard deviations were calculated for each of the 115 variables. SPSS 10.0 for Windows (Statistical Program for the Social Sciences) was used as for the analysis.

Results

Basic demographic data

Table 1 shows the socio-demographic characteristics of the 169 respondents. There was a preponderance of males (89.3%). The mean age of respondents was 18.4 years ($SD = 4.22$, range 11–24 years), of whom 58% were younger than 18 years of age. Approximately 76% were Yoruba, 22.5% were Hausa, and 1.2% were Ibo. The mean level of education was 2.8 years ($SD = 1.4$). Twenty respondents (1.8%)

Table 1
Socio-demographic characteristics of the street children/young persons ($N = 169$)

	<i>N</i>	Percentage
Sex		
Male	151	89.3
Female	18	10.7
Age (years)		
11–18	99	58
19–24	70	42
Ethnicity		
Yoruba	129	76.3
Hausa	38	22.5
Others	2	1.2
Education		
No formal education	20	12.0
≤6 years primary education	135	80.0
≥6 years education	14	8.0
Job description		
Head loading	103	61.0
Car washing	26	15.4
Bus touting	12	7.1
Cart driving	28	16.5
Stayed in remand homes		
Yes	16	9.4
No	153	90.6
History of police arrest		
Yes	57	34.0
No	112	66.0
Reasons for arrest		
Stealing	4	2.4
Street fighting	20	11.8
Hemp smoking	16	9.5
Wandering	17	10.5
N/A	112	66.0

Frequency/percentages are in parentheses. History includes past/current behavior.

had never been formally schooled, and none had progressed beyond primary school. Sixty percent had dropped out of school soon after enrollment. Forty-nine percent of respondents had been on the street for less than 1 year, and 15.6% for more than 4 years.

A substantial majority, 84% of these street youths engaged in some economic viable tasks, for example, 60.9% were “head loaders” namely, they helped to transport wares/goods from one place to another; 16.6% were cart drivers, 7.1% were motor garage touts. Daily earnings ranged from N20 to N3,000 (mean 239.22k; about \$2 US dollars). Less than 2% of the street youths were using modern banking facilities to save their earnings. While 34% had a history of police arrest, few (9.4%) had been remanded at homes. Reasons for arrest included street fighting (11.8%), hemp/cannabis use (9.5%), loitering (10.3%), and stealing (2.4%).

Familial factors

Few youth (9.5%) had been raised by both parents, 27.8% had been raised solely by their fathers, 32.5% had been raised solely by their mothers, and 30.2% had been raised by guardians or other relatives. The majority of fathers of these street youths practice polygyny, with 65% having wives ranging from 2 to 16. The fathers were also poorly educated as 94% had formal education below 6 years. This pattern was also observed with mothers of the street youth, as almost all of them (98%) had formal education below 6 years. The majority (59.2%) had left home for several reasons. Only 4.7% indicated that they “loved” the street; 70.4% wanted to return home, 60.9% wanted to return to school, while 29.6% said that they had no intention of returning.

Social behavior

Table 2 shows the frequency of self-reported behaviors. The most frequent were alcohol abuse (69%), stealing (69%), police arrest (66%), and tobacco use (50%). The majority of street youths (56%) also get angry quickly at every slight provocation. A high number had schooling issues: 46% of the youth had a history of school refusal; 27% had a history of suspension from school; and 47% had a history of truancy from school. More than a third had a history of arson (38%), street fighting (33%), telling lies (35%), and other oppositional behavior (36%). A further 49% had had sex with sex worker and 11% had been raped. There were proportionately more problems in males than females but the number of females was too low to allow for any significant analysis, except in the case of sex, where 83.3% of females had been raped and 100% were sex workers compared with 42.3% of males who engaged in sex work.

Age differences in social behaviors

As shown in Table 3, younger children were more likely to engage in stealing and obstinacy compared with older children. However, older children were more likely to report school-related problems and to engage in sex work, drug couriering, and arson.

Health profile

Table 4 shows the health profiles of the youth. 80.5% reported at least one episode of illness, and 28% indicated that their illness was caused by the frequent use of illicit drugs. Of the 94% who had sought

Table 2
Prevalence of perceived conduct behaviors ($N = 169$)

Conduct behaviors	Rate (%)
History of alcohol abuse	69.0
History of stealing	69.0
History of arrest by police	66.0
Become angry quickly at every slight provocation	55.7
History of tobacco use	50.2
Sex workers	49.0
History of truancy in school	47.0
History of school refusal	46.2
History of arson	38.0
Do not take instruction from others	36.0
Tells lies	35.0
Engages in street fighting	33.0
History of suspension from school	27.2
History of drug courier	24.0
History of drug abuses other than alcohol	14.0
History of rape	11.0
History of remand homes	9.4

treatment for illness, 23.7% had frequented a modern hospital, while 7.7% had used a traditional hospital. Many (62.7%) had resorted to self-medicating. The most commonly reported illness was malaria, and 21.7% had history of various forms of sexually transmitted diseases (STD) with gonorrhea being the commonest.

Table 3
Prevalence and patterns of conduct problems by age

Antisocial behaviors	11–18 years (percent of 99)	19–24 years (percent of 70)	<i>p</i>
Drug dependence not alcohol	12.1	15.7	<i>ns</i>
Nicotine dependence	43.4	60	<i>ns</i>
Street fighting	37.3	25.7	<i>ns</i>
Stealing	83	40	.02
History of suspension from school	19.2	38.5	.05
History of truancy in school	37.4	61.4	.05
History of school refusal	32.3	66	.04
Alcohol abuse	59.6	81.4	<i>ns</i>
History of remand homes	6.1	14.3	<i>ns</i>
Rape	7.1	17.1	<i>ns</i>
Prostituting	27.3	78.6	.01
Quick to temper	54	59	<i>ns</i>
Obstinacy	43.4	25.7	.05
Tell lies	36.4	33	<i>ns</i>
Drug courier	11.1	41.4	.05
Arson	24.2	57.1	.04
Arrested by police	32.3	36.	<i>ns</i>

Table 4
Health profile of the street children/young persons in Ibadan, Nigeria (*N* = 169)

	Number	Percentage
Illness		
Yes	152	89.9
No	17	15.1
Cause of illness		
Frequent mosquito bite	2	1.2
Exposure to cold	14	8.3
Frequent illicit drug use	48	28.4
Fatigue from work	80	47.3
Others	25	14.8
Number of episodes per week		
1	136	80.5
2	10	5.9
3	11	6.5
>3	12	7.1
Type of illness		
Malaria	156	82.3
Others	13	7.7
Treatment sought		
Yes	159	84.1
No	10	5.9
Treatment modality		
Modern hospital	40	23.7
Traditional hospital	13	7.7
Self-medication	106	62.7
No treatment	10	5.9
History of sexual transmitted disease		
Gonorrhoea	24	14.2
Syphilis	9	5.3
Cancroids	1	.5
Herpes	3	1.7
Others	0	0
No	132	78.3

Discussion

This study sought to document the socio-demographic characteristics of street youth of Ibadan and to describe patterns of perceived antisocial behaviors. Significant findings were that: (1) there is a preponderance of male street youths; (2) younger street youths more frequently exhibit social problems, such as stealing and obstinacy unlike the older street youths who had histories of school suspension, truancy, school refusal, prostitutions, drug trafficking, and arson; (3) parents of street youths are often poorly educated. The father practiced polygamy, while the mothers engage in polyandry; (4) street youths

are vulnerable to antisocial and conduct problems; (5) a substantial majority of street youths engaged in economic tasks that earn them an equivalent of 2 dollars per day.

The preponderance of males as street youths is supported by other studies that have shown that boys are more likely than girls to live and spend time on the streets (Aderinto, 2000; Anarfi, 1997). While the age distribution of this study conforms to most other studies (Aderinto, 2000; Anarfi, 1997; Anarfi & Antwi, 1995; Beyene & Berhane, 1997; Campbell & Ntsabane, 1995), we also included youth in the 19–24-year age range. A cluster in this age group is to be expected if one considers that some children (15% in this study) have spent more than 5 years on the street.

The finding about high prevalence of conduct problems among the street youths, particularly among younger children is novel to this setting. None of the studies reviewed examined the age pattern of conduct behavioral problems exhibited by youths of the street. However, it is not unlikely that some of the differences in behaviors are consistent with increasing age (Rutter, 1989). For example, older children may be more likely because of their “stature” on the street to engage in prostitution, arson, and the couriering of drugs. One explanation for the high rate of antisocial behavior may be the fragmented family background and consequent lack of social support and socialization. This obviously has implications when implementing life skills education, especially in addressing the emotional needs of these children.

That parent of street children are poorly educated with the fathers practicing polygamy and the mothers upholding polyandry is supported by previous work (Aderinto, 2000; Anarfi, 1997). It is, therefore, not surprising that these children were mostly reared by relatives or guardians. This parental neglect is evidenced, and may also explain why most of the youths were driven to the street for economic survival and took up jobs consistent with local commercial patterns of activity in Ibadan, as similar street children had done in Lagos (Aderinto, 2000).

This study confirms findings that street youth are vulnerable to antisocial and conduct problems. While a substantial percentage of children abused alcohol, used illicit drugs, were sex workers, were oppositional, told lies, and engaged in street fighting and acts of arson, there were some children who did not. Also, there was evidence that despite those exhibited antisocial or conduct problems among the youths, a substantial number engaged in economic tasks that enable them to earn a living. This finding perhaps, support the hypothesis that children of the street are driven to the street because of financial difficulty rather than being motivated by antisocial elements that street life has to offer.

About two-third of street youths in the sample were sexually active, but many had commenced sexual activity before reaching the street. These findings are similar to those of a South Africa group of homeless children (Kruger & Richter, 1997). The majority had multiple sexual partners and had experimented sexually with sex workers and street hawkers (Anarfi, 1997; Anyuru, 1996; Aptekar, 1996). The potential consequences are serious as there was a history of STD in 21.7% thereby raising the possibility of HIV infection (Anarfi, 1997).

Despite the prevalence of conduct problems, a substantial majority (84%) of these youth engaged in economic tasks that earn them a living. This is considerably higher than what has been documented in studies of other urban, African youths (Campbell & Ntsabane, 1995). The average daily wage was N239 or 2 US dollars; however, depending on the nature of the work, youth could earn as much as N3,000 or approximately \$US 22 per day.

Limitations of this study include the reliance on self-report (i.e., no collateral informants); the lack of assessment of emotional/psychological problems other than behavioral problems, and the small sample of female street children, which makes gender comparisons difficult.

An important policy implication relates to the concern of how to curtail the increasing number of children of the street. Efforts have been seriously hampered by declining economic growth, increasing poverty, and a breakdown of societal mores. The findings in this study seem to support widely held views that street children are more often than not delinquent and deviant. This may be largely responsible for the inhumane treatment that street children often receive. Though, the findings also showed that the youth often engaged in economic activities that enable them to survive the street.

A resocialization process that involves life skills training is therefore needed especially because such training would help in rechanneling available resources, enhancing economically viable activities and diminishing antisocial behaviors. Although existing programs for street children are oversubscribed (Gould, 1998; Sutherland & Richardson, 1998), most are limited to providing economic empowerment. The fact that many street children are economically viable and do possess management skills challenges the popularly held belief that street youth are essentially antisocial. Attention should, therefore, be paid to life skills intervention strategy as it could provide a valuable buffer against the development of behaviors that appear difficult to modify.

Practice implications

This study has shown that it is possible for social and health behaviors of street youths to be profiled through an initial qualitative data collection. The method facilitates contextualization of study tools to the setting and enhances the utility of the findings within the culture in which the study is conducted. The findings of the study suggest that street youths consist of economically savvy children and those with antisocial behavior, even though there is considerable overlap between the two. Interventions targeting these youths should aim to develop their economic skills while discouraging maladaptive behaviors.

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Résumé

Objectifs : Cette étude met en évidence l'étendue et l'impact des types de comportement d'un échantillon de jeunes des rues de Ibadan, Nigeria, dans le but d'élaborer une intervention Educative de Techniques de Vie (ETV).

Méthode : L'étude utilise à la fois des méthodes qualitatives et quantitatives de récupération de données. Qualitativement, deux réunions de groupe et deux entretiens approfondis avec 20 jeunes et 2 chefs de bande ont été entrepris dans des circonstances différentes dans le but de mettre en évidence les comportements fréquemment affichés et les caractéristiques des jeunes des rues. Quantitativement, 169 jeunes (89.3% de garçons) de cinq secteurs culturels d'Ibadan, Nigeria, ont eu des entretiens répétés. On entrait en relation

par la technique dite de “boule de neige” rendue possible par les “garçons de secteurs” (adultes ayant une fonction de symbole d’autorité parmi les enfants des rues).

Résultats : L’âge moyen des sujets d’étude était de 18.4 ans. La majorité étaient dans la rue pour des raisons financières, ils avaient été dans la rue pendant plus d’un an, et n’avaient pas terminé leur scolarité primaire. Alors que ces jeunes des rues subvenaient à leurs besoins, 69% avaient un passé d’alcoolisme, 14% d’usage de drogue, et 24% faisaient du trafic de drogue; 46% déclaraient un refus scolaire, 27% un renvoi scolaire, et 47% faisaient l’école buissonnière. Quarante neuf pour cent avouaient être prostitués, 11% avaient été violés et étaient donc exposés au risque de maladies sexuellement transmissibles (MST). Un tiers des jeunes avaient été arrêtés pour des délits divers, dont des bagarres de rue et usage de drogue. Bien qu’elles soient en minorité, les filles étaient plus susceptibles de se livrer à des comportements antisociaux que les garçons.

Conclusions : Bien que beaucoup de jeunes des rues montrent des comportements antisociaux, ils constituent aussi un groupe économiquement viable. On a pu montrer que certains de leurs comportements antisociaux étaient liés au contexte de survie économique. La mise en oeuvre d’un programme éducationnel s’adressant à ces comportements antisociaux peut contribuer à améliorer le bien-être des jeunes des rues des pays d’Afrique en développement.

Resumen

Objetivos: Este estudio documenta la extensión y el impacto de patrones de conducta percibidos en una muestra de jóvenes de la calle de Ibadan, Nigeria, con el propósito de implementar una intervención en Educación en Habilidades para la Vida (LSE).

Método: El estudio utiliza métodos de recolección de datos tanto cualitativos como cuantitativos. Cualitativamente, se realizaron dos grupos focales de discusión (FGD) y las entrevistas de profundidad con 20 niños y 2 líderes comunitarios en sesiones individuales para promover conductas exhibidas comúnmente y patrones de la juventud de la calle. Cuantitativamente, 169 jóvenes (89.3% varones) fueron entrevistados consecutivamente de cinco áreas sub-culturales en Ibadan, Nigeria. Los jóvenes de la calle fueron captados a través de una técnica de “pelota de nieve” que fue posible por los “muchachos de área” (adultos que sirven como un símbolo de autoridad para los niños de la calle).

Resultados: La media de edad de los participantes fue 18.4 años. La mayoría estaban en las calles por razones económicas, han estado en la calle por más de 1 año, y no han completado su escuela primaria. A pesar de que los jóvenes de la calle fueran económicamente viables, 69% tenía una historia de abuso del alcohol, 14% de abuso de las drogas, y 24% funcionaban como correos de las drogas; 46% reportaron rechazo a la escuela, 27% suspensión escolar, y 47% delincuencia escolar. Cuarenta y nueve por ciento admitieron ser trabajadores sexuales y 11% habían sido violados y estaban, por lo tanto, en riesgo de contraer enfermedades de transmisión sexual (STD). Un tercio de los jóvenes habían sido arrestados por varias ofensas, incluyendo peleas callejeras y uso de drogas. Aunque las muchachas eran la minoría, ellas presentaban más tendencia a involucrarse en conductas antisociales comparadas con los varones.

Conclusiones: A pesar de que muchos jóvenes de la calle muestran conductas antisociales, también son un grupo económicamente viable. Algunas de sus conductas antisociales pueden presentarse en el contexto de la supervivencia económica. Implementar un programa de habilidades para la vida para responder a estas conductas antisociales puede ayudar a aumentar el bienestar de los jóvenes de la calle en países en desarrollo como Africa.